

Vol. 19, No. 43

October 25th, 1958

Threepence

TEDDY BOYS PLACES HIGH

THE League of Empire Loyalists Tory Party's vote-catching new look were most savagely set upon, in a who have been described as 'rightwing, upper crust Teddy boys and girls'. That they are upper crust is, in our opinion and without much biographical detail to go on, very unlikely, for the publicity-seeking pranks which have brought the League into the public eye are out of character for young ladies who might be debutantes and young gents who might be officers in the Guards. No, the social levels from which an outfit like this draws its goon squad are much lower than upper. They are from the frustrated middle middle and lower middle classes who are jealous of workers who earn as much or more than they, who can no longer afford private education or domestic servants or who take as a personal affront (because they have no personality of their own) the decline of Britain's power in the world and the complementary rise of nationhood among Asians, Africans, and Arabs.

is a small group of neo-fascists whereby they appear to be flabby manner described by eyewitnesses as criminal (see the letter from a Dutch reporter reprinted in FREEDOM last week).

MUCH COAL TOO BURN? TO

HOW is the Coal Board going to get out of the mess it is in at the moment? The latest report is that unsold stocks amount to a value of £67 million, and the storage of this costs about £5 million per year. Demand is falling even now, and the problem is therefore likely to be aggravated.

being frozen in unsaleable stocks of coal it would still be able to pay its way by forcing its annual overdraft with the Ministry up to the hilt. It would appear now however, that the full £75 million for this year has been already drawn, or nearly so."

In their frustration, it is true, they have something in common with the Teddy boys, and in their urge for action. But the channels into which they divert their frustrated energies are very different. The Teddy boy proper has no time for militarism or patriotism; he is a rebel without a cause. The essentially middle class members of the League of Empire Loyalists have found in their organisation an acceptable cause, an ideology which is respectable and is, after all, only a somewhat militant Toryism. And the compulsive need to do something is provided by the

welfare-statists instead of rugged empire-defending individualists.

Respectable Meetings

The League has won its notoriety by stunting at respectable gatherings where the maximum publicity may be expected: at Tory meetings particularly and at the Lambeth Conference last summer when some of its members donned bishop's garb and got in on a gathering in order to protest against the Archbishop of Canterbury's invitation to Makarios to come to this country for the Conference.

In choosing this respectable type of meeting they have shown wisdom. They presumably knew better than to try their tricks at say-a Communist meetings. Communists are no gentlemen and an Empire Loyalist, being from the Communist point of view loyal to the wrong empire. could expect short shrift at the hands of the comrades. But the Conservative Party is the party of ladies and gentlemen-or so the Empire Loyalists thought,

The Savages

Now in this incident it was not the Empire Loyalists who behaved like Teddy boys at their worst-it was the Tories. The Conservative gentleman who smashed his fist into a League member's face while two others held his arms; the Conservative lady who struck another interrupter 'in his vital parts' while he was being carried out stretcherfashion from the hall-these were the upper crust Teddy boys and girls whose mask of restraint and good breeding slipped more than somewhat, and showed better than anything else could possibly have the basis of frustrated hate and violence upon which their ideology rests.

These were the same Tories who but a few days before had been howling for the return of flogging and the rope, but who had been cleverly restrained by Mr. Butler. The bloodthirsty rank and file Tories were concerned, they said, to remove violence from our society*i.e.*, to stamp it out by the violence of the state. But by their immediate reaction to the Empire Loyalists' interruption of their leader, by the blind fury of their savage assaultsfor which the stewards were congratulated from the platform-they demonstrated plainly enough that for them violence is more than an expediency or an accident: it is a way of settling differences, a way of life, part of their hateful being. As one of the Empire Loyalists said: 'Communists, Socialists, Liberals-they're nothing by comparison. Them Tories, they're bloody savages!'

There are two courses open to the financial and economic experts. The first is to obtain more credit from the government, and the second involves closing down many pits, causing widespread unemployment, and cutting down production of coal. Naturally, it would like to be able to pursue the former course, and for their electoral interests. the political parties would like to be able to urge it along. The arguments presented for this approach are that at least part of the fall off in the demand for coal may be temporary, and that the increase in oil consumption, which is to a large extent responsible for it, is politically uncertain. Just about as convincing from the economic point of view, that is, as the arguments for keeping trolley buses.

The solution being advocated by the political parties and trade unions would result in the prolonging and worsening of the economic unreliability of the mining industry. It does not require much imagination to realise that such unwieldiness will not last for ever. Later on, perhaps just after an election, and it will not make much difference which party has won, the whole problem will arise again in an even more aggravated form. and the unemployment which has been avoided now will hit us then-unless of course a little war can be devised in some corner of the earth to take care of it.

In an editorial for the same day, the Guardian lays its finger, although lightly, on the central issue, in saying

. . . this is not a matter of trading policy, but one of great political moment. For years the Coal Board has been instructed to produce coal at almost any cost. It has done so-at great costand now there is more coal than can be sold.'

The crisis has arisen, not as an act of God, but because coal production has been treated, not as a question of producing needs, or even as a 'trading policy', but as one of 'great political moment'. Notice that even so, the Coal Board could not correctly anticipate the position seven months in advance. Where does it lead the miners? Under the ground doing overtime when the 'great political moment' calls for high production, and on the dole when it does not. No wonder the industrial psychologists find it a problem to convince workers that hard work will not work them out of a job. Looking back, the men at the South Wales pits who fought against the voluntary Saturday shifts were right all the time. They knew more about where their interests lay, and as it turns out the interests of their fellow miners and many more workers as well, than the Coal Board. The next step is for them to gain enough confidence in their judgment to get into a position where they can put their knowledge into prac-

They certainly know better now. In an attempt to draw attention to what they consider to be the betrayal of the empire they staged an organised interruption during the Prime Minister's final speech at the Party Conference at Blackpool, and got the surprise of their mis-spent lives.

For instead of politely shushing them, or leaving the speaker to quiet the opposition, the Tories went mad. Instead of ejecting the interrupters with a minimum of violence they

The economy of state capitalism has a quality of inflexibility about it. There is obviously going to be a trend away from coal consumption in the future, and the Board and the Union have made some plans to meet it, but according to the Manchester Guardian 8/10/58:

"At the beginning of the year the situation did not look too grim, and the board presumably hoped that even with more and more of its working capital

At the same time, a change-over from high coal production to a lesser level can only be accomplished without hardship in a society where production on a national scale is concerned solely with the needs of consumers, and where the livelihood of each individual or community is not tied up with the actual amount of work he is doing at that particular time.

SYNDICALIST.

Australia Nuclear Hazards

KRUSHCHEV has now announced that Russian nuclear weapon tests will be continued, since (as he clearly foresaw) the U.S. and Britain did not stop exploding their bombs, Meanwhile, a recent article in The Australian Journal of Biological Sciences (Aug. 1958, p. 382) gives further information on the dissemination of radio-active elements from nuclear explosions. The author, H. R. Marston, shows that radio-active iodine collects in the thyroid glands of pasturefed sheep and cattle. A few days after the first nuclear explosion at Monte Bello (May 16, 1956). activity due to radio-iodine was detected in thyroid glands collected from sheep and cattle over a wide area. After the second explosion (June 19, 1956), these concentrations of radio-iodine increased a hundredfold or more showing the speed with which grazing animals assimilate and concentrate radio-iodine from fall-out. Some of the areas most heavily contaminated by this second explosion were 1500-2000 miles away, and its subsequent effects could be detected in the thyroid glands of these animals in territory about a thousand miles wide, stretching west to east across the Australian continent. There were indications that many areas received repeated contaminations of radio-active debris, the hazards from which are cumulative. Since sheep fed in pens, on covered hay, had little radio-iodine in their thyroids, the radio-iodine must be absorbed from the pasture, not via the lungs. It thus follows that the concentration of radio-iodine indicates the rate

at which the grazing animal gathers other radio-active material, such as radiostrontium. The rapid accumulation of radio-iodine points to an equally rapid gathering of radio-strontium and other bone-seeking isotopes, and a speedy launching via milk, into human foodstuffs, thence to the skeleton, where they attack the bone marrow. The ensuing risk of leukaemia and other diseases is particularly great in the very young, e.g. the unborn child and the baby, since bone-formation is then particularly intensive.

Political Realism and the Bomb

CORRESPONDENT in our A "Letters to the Editors" column this week ("Doing something about the Bomb") gently pours scorn on those pacifists and anarchists are all very fine, and may well "point the way out of the chaos", but which, she maintains, are useless, in fact, in a world in which the majority of people are not "beautifully rational". And she therefore welcomes any and every attempt to do something to save mankind from the annihilation which will almost undoubtedly result from the unleashing of nuclear war. The strength of the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign lies, in her opinion, in its appeal to mankind's fundamental desire "to go on living" which, she maintains, has nothing to do with reason, or enlightenment. It's something which is there in all of us. Three times in her short letter does our correspondent refer to "the basic desire for survival [coming] to the fore" or to "enlightened or unenlightened we want to go on living".

so many theories about young people being cynics and defeatists as a result of having grown up first in a war and then in a permanent cold war!), but if we are to be realistic whose "beautifully rational theories" we must look at things as they are

should manifest itself universally in the human race, rather in the same way as every nightingale from Communist China to the B.B.C.'s stars in the Surrey woods all sing the same song. But it is (fortunately) only too clear that this is not the case. The millionaire who commits suicide because he is bored with life, and the man obsessed with money who risks the hangman's rope in a desperate effort to achieve his goal; the passenger who scrambles into the first lifeboat, and the captain who calmly stands on the bridge as his ship goes down; the swimmers who watch a child being carried out to sea, and the non-swimmer who gets drowned in a vain attempt to save it . . . these are all members of the human race, but their attitudes to survival in any particular situation are as diverse as is their approach to life.

Measurements of the radio-activity of the air in Adelaide indicated that the plume from the third Maralinga explosion (Oct. 11, 1956) passed close to the city, and contaminated it and the surrounding country with radio-active fission products.

One can only hope that children in Adelaide were not significantly affected by this contamination. What are their parents doing about it?

FREEDOM IS LOSING MONEY Deficit List on p. 4

We are glad to read of one young person for whom the will to live is so strong (especially since one hears

and not as we feel or experience them personally.

Unlike the lesser animals Man is guided by the intellect and not by instinct. Animals are equipped for survival (within limits) because only those so equipped survived in the evolutionary process, and reproduce themselves because they have no alternative! For Man, on the other hand, death or survival depends on social customs, economic conditions and other Man-determined factors. And the reproduction of the human race, too, is Man-determined.

We enter the world unequipped intellectually, and virtually without instincts; we are therefore, entirely at the mercy of our fellow-men. At a certain stage we are left to our own devices, with our physical inheritance, and the knowledge and prejudices acquired in those socalled "formative years". If the "desire for survival" were so strongly ingrained in us-either by our education or by our inheritance-it

TS it not significant that the family-,

security-, pensioned-minded city clerk who shuffles over London Bridge every morning, and whose most adventurous thought has been to spend a night in a low dive in Soho, should be the backbone of the Der Continued on p. 3

FREEDOM

PEOPLE AND IDEAS: Unconventional Wisdom

"If you open the works of any economist you will find that he begins with **PRODUCTION**, i.e., by the analysis of the means employed nowadays for the creation of wealth: division of labour, the factory, its machinery, the accumulation of capital. From Adam Smith to Marx, all have proceeded along these lines. Only in the latter parts of their books do they treat CONSUMPTION, that is to say, of the means resorted to in our present society to satisfy the needs of the individuals; and even there they confine themselves to explaining how riches are divided among those who vie with one another for their possession.

"Perhaps you will say this is logical. Before satisfying needs you must create the wherewithal to satisfy them. But, before producing anything, must you not feel the need of it? Was it not necessity that first drove man to hunt, to raise cattle, to cultivate land, to make implements, and later on to invent machinery? 'Is it not the study of the needs that should govern production? To say the least, it would therefore be quite as logical to begin by considering the needs, and afterwards to discuss how production is, and ought to be, organised, in order to satisfy these needs.

"But as soon as we look at Political Economy from this point of view, it entirely changes its aspect. It ceases to be a simple description of facts, and becomes a science, and we may define this science as: The Study of the needs of mankind, and the means of satisfying them with the least possible waste of human energy."

-PETER KROPOTKIN: "The Conquest of Bread".

THE second thing that the student of passion, to the defence of what they have economics is taught is the assump- so laboriously learned". The concensus

fact that the Professor of Economics at Harvard has come round to the "to each according to his need" principle. For Galbraith is arguing the case for divorcing income from employment, divorcing production from security. "We have seen," he says,

"that while our productive energies are used to make things of no great urgency -things for which the demand must be synthesised at elaborate cost or they might not be wanted at all-the process of production continues to be of nearly undiminished urgency as a source of income. The income men derive from producing things of slight consequence is of great consequence. The production reflects the low marginal utility of the goods to society. The income reflects the high total utility of a livelihood to a person."

No-one could seriously argue that we "miss" the goods which are not produced in a depression, it is the hardship due

... as others see them

HAVE passed a whole afternoon at Hyde Park by the portable platform of the London Anarchist Group. The regular speakers at this weekly meeting have dazzled me by their physical powers of resistance and their presence of mind, their brio and their seriousness, their bite and their humour.

A young Spanish militant opens fire, in an English a little hesitant still, but which promises us, with the aid of greater maturity, a debater full of interest. Then comes the turn of Rita Milton, as pleasing to look at as to hear, nervous as a cat in her gestures and her Scottish mimicry-sometimes with claws out, sometimes with the velvet glove. What life (and what precision of language) is in this little bit of a woman, at grips with the obstinate contradictor, who twists and turns about, quibbles, and ends by striking his colours!

But here is Philip Sansom, with his good-natured air, youthfully socratic, his ruddy complexion, his beard and hair of golden red floating in the wind. He takes possession of his audience at once, and will not release it for nearly two hours. His calm and his conviction, his warm voice, his smile, the perfectly relaxed way he makes use of each incident, of each interruption, to nourish, to illustrate, to knit together an impressive improvisation, permit him to dominate all the difficulties of his fourfold task: to please and instruct, to move and to convince. How different he is from the tub-thumper or the dreamer, which is how the anarchist is conventionally represented!

offers. In his hands social satire becomes comedy, and the eyes which are fixed on his fill with mischievous joy. Suddenly he takes on, in order to expose the point of view of his adversariesmilitant Communists or Socialists, politicians, Conservatives, austere clergymentheir forced attitudes, their various accents and their conventional gestures, their stereotyped vocabulary of grimaces, ideas and words. He refutes, in doing this, the image which they give men, these human caricatures made to the measure of dehumanised folk, themselves deformed and reduced to caricatures by present society. And the falseness of the social content shows itself so well in the falseness of the cant which covers it -aristocratic cant, clerical cant, bureaucratic cant, proletarian cant-that there is no need for any other refutation.

Young and old, men and women, workers and bourgeois, Negroes, Hindus, Chinese and Cockneys (and even those for whom every political theory is a dead letter) then explode with an avenging laugh. They blossom out in their full humanity, momentarily delivered from all the limitations of etiquette. It is Hyde Park itself which parodies Hyde Park, with all the joyous verve of which the English genius is capable. A libertarian and egalitarian spirit has blown through the crowd. And, in front of this platform, set up before a varied conglomeration of people at a loose end, who thus become a single people thanks to the spirit of comedy, one thinks of Shakespeare, of Ben Jonson, of Molière and, still more, of Aristophanes.

tion that "goods are scarce: economics is a study of scarcity and the problems arising from scarcity". But what happens when scarcity is replaced by superfluity? Professor Galbraith's book* seeks to show that the assumptions of orthodox economics with its assumption of scarcity and its consequent religion of production are absurd in the context of contemporary America.

His country's productive capacity is so much greater than its needs that a significant slice of the gross national product -eleven billion dollars worth of advertising-is devoted to the frantic production of wants which the actual productive machine has subsequently to satisfy. Advertising has , in fact, become the key to the whole economic system and is the most important industry since it alone keeps people and factories at work. And production is vital, not for the sake of the goods produced, but because the worker's income, security and purchasing power depend upon it.

In the interpretation of social phenomena, says Galbraith, there is a continual competition between what is relevant and what is merely acceptable, and in this competition "all tactical advantage is with the acceptable". Audiences of all kinds most applaud what they like best, and people approve most what they understand best-"we adhere as though to a raft, to those ideas which represent our understanding. This is a prime manifestation of vested interest. For a vested interest in understanding is more preciously guarded than any other treasure. It is why men react, not infrequently with something akin to religious

of acceptable ideas he calls the Conventional Wisdom. It is not the property of any one political group-there is a conventional wisdom of the left as well as of the right.

The notion of the conventional wisdom applies as much to economic theory as to anything else. Adam Smith's classical formulation of economic liberalism was viewed with alarm when published; soon afterwards, it became the conventional wisdom and "there were solemn warnings of the irreparable damage that would be done by Factory Acts, trade unions, social insurance, and other social legislation". Now the conventional wisdom accepts the welfare state and holds that these measures "softened and civilised capitalism and made it tenable". though there have never ceased to be warnings that the break with laissez-faire was fatal. It has been the same story with the gold standard and the balanced budget, and again it was only circumstances which defeated the conventional wisdom. The American budget was never balanced during the depression, but it was not until 1936 that Keynes published his General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, and the unbalanced budget became respectable. Keynesian theory itself has now turned into a body of conventional wisdom, the obsolescence of parts of which, in Galbraith's view, is now well advanced. He makes fun of the different conventional wisdoms, from Social Darwinism to Marxism, which substitute acceptable ideas for observable facts, and in particular, of the economic shibboleths to which all right-thinking Americans subscribe, most of which are "cherished almost exclusively either in the second person or in the abstract". Rugged champions of free enterprise scorn the quest for security, having first ensured their own, and the advocates of bold risk-taking are often those who have never, individually or corporately taken a risk in their lives. "The preoccupation of workers with unemployment insurance or old age pensions has usually seemed most supine and degenerate to business executives who would be unattracted by companies in which they were subject to arbitrary discharge or which lacked adequate pension arrangements." The conventional wisdom lauds production when it is sanctified by profit and gratifies private acquisitiveness, but deprecates it when its purpose is to satisfy social needs; thus cars have an importance greater than the roads on which they are driven, and "Vacuum cleaners to ensure clean houses are praiseworthy and essential in our standard of living. Street cleaners to ensure clean streets are an unfortunate expense. Partly as a result, our houses are generally clean and our streets generally filthy." Education is unproductive and the manufacturer of the school toilet seats productive. The theme stirs Galbraith to this report on an American domestic outing: "The family which takes its mauve and cerise air-conditioned, power-steered, and power-braked car out for a tour passes through cities that are badly paved, made hideous by litter, blighted buildings, billboards, and posts for wires that should long since have been put underground. They pass on into a countryside that has been rendered largely invisible by commercial art. They picnic on exquisitely packaged food from a portable ice-box, by a polluted stream and go on to spend the night in a park which is a menace to public health and morals. Just before dozing off on an air-mattress, beneath a nylon tent, amid the stench of decaying refuse, they may reflect vaguely on the enormous unevenness of their blessing."

to unemployment which depresses us. Thus "good times" are identified with full employment rather than with high production. Galbraith therefore proposes to "break the connection between output and production" and to eliminate the hazard of depression unemployment for the worker by what he calls Cyclically Graduated Compensation - unemployment compensation which, as unemployment increases, is itself increased to approach the level of the weekly wage, and diminishes as full employment is approached.

Even worse, from the point of view of the conventional wisdom, he is no longer impressed by the cult of efficiency:

"If the modern corporation must manufacture not only the goods but the desire for the goods it manufactures, the efficiency of the first part of this activity ceases to be decisive. One could argue that human happiness would be as effectively advanced by inefficiency in want creation, as efficiency in production. Under these circumstances, the relation of the modern corporation to the people who comprise it-their chance for dignity, individuality, and full development of personality-may be at least as important as its efficiency. These may be worth having even at higher cost of production. . . .

"Can the North Dakota farmer be indicted for failure to labour hard and long to produce the wheat that his government wishes passionately it did not have to buy? Are we desperately dependent on the diligence of the worker who applies maroon and pink enamel to the functionless bulge of a modern motor-car? The idle man may still be an enemy of himself. But it is hard to say that the loss of his effort is damaging to society. Yet it is such damage which causes us to condemn idleness." "In the United States, as in other western countries, we have for long had a respected secular priesthood whose function it has been to rise above questions of religious ethics, kindness, and compassion and show how these might have to be sacrificed on the altar of the larger good. The larger good, invariably, was more efficient production. The sacrifice obviously loses some of its point if it is on behalf of the more efficient production of goods for the satisfaction of wants of which people are not yet aware. It is even more tenuous, in its philosophical foundations, if it is to permit the more efficient contriving of wants of which people are not aware. And the latter is no insignificant industry in our time.'

Philip on the platform is so little embarrassed or self-infatuated that he slides easily into whatever rôle circumstance

A.P.

Translated from "Les Harangues de Hyde Park", in "Defense de l'Homme", August 1958, by A.W.U.

Footsteps in the Snow

IN a recent New Yorker there was a cartoon which sums up this age of anxiety. Two explorers in a jeep are surveying a wild, snowy landscape and saying to each other: "They said it was here they saw the monster," the horror lies in the fact that their jeep is stationed in the midst of a vast depression made by an enormous footprint.

The credulous reception of stories

happen in the animal or vegetable or mineral kingdom but a man-like animal is rather like blasphemy.

This ability to believe in the supernatural has fathered the Loch Ness monster, flying saucers and men from Mars amongst its numerous progeny. The Loch Ness monster shows itself frequently-during the tourist season. The rumour of men from Mars flung a New Jersey suburb into a wild panic in 1938 and to-day sighters of flying-saucers are common and an organization exists which claims to receive messages from outer space. What is it that creates this willing suspension of disbelief? The boredom induced by the limited, charted and tabulated universe leads one to believe that there are more things in heaven and earth, etc., etc. There is also a little pleasure in feeling that the men of science do not know everything. Their paternal power is undermined by the feeling that there are things which their philosophy has not dreamed of. But this feeling goes deeper. In the myth of the abominable snowman there are parallels to the Norwegian legend of the Boyg and the German legend of the spectre of the Brocken. In each case a figure appears in a high place, the Boyg is actually invisible but its presence is felt. The isolation has presumably allowed the creature to live undisturbed by man and his appearance is presumably to warn man off this sanctuary of the unknown. The physical explanation has been made that the spectre of the Brocken was the shadow of a man thrown onto the mist. This he failed to recognize and took it for a Boyg, a spectre or a yeti. The flood of science-fiction, fantasy and X-horror films are indications of the type of material which evokes a response in the fantasy and horror-ridden minds of modern man.

*THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY by John Kenneth Galbraith. (Hamish Hamilton, 218.)

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP OPEN DAILY

(Open 10 a.m.-6.30 p.m., 5 p.m. Sats:) New Books . . . A Room in Moscow Sally Belfrage 15/-

Spies and Informers in the D. N. Pritt 8/6 Witness Box In the Cage, etc. Henry James 21/-Reprints . . . Selected Poems John Betjeman 2/6 D. H. Lawrence 2/6 Love Poems Saturday Night James T. Farrell 2/6 Second-Hand . . . Route to Potsdam

B. G. Ivanyi & Alan Bell 2/6 Communist Challenge

Kenneth Ingram 3/-Secret China Egon Erwin Kisch 4/-People of the Deer Farley Mowat 4/6 She Came to Stay Simone de Beauvoir 4/6 End of Economic Man Peter Drucker 3/6 The Individual and Society J. M. Baldwin 3/6 C. L. R. James 4/-Minty Alley The Last Tycoon F. Scott Fitzgerald 4/-The Cantab Shane Leslie 4/-Insurrection in Poshansk Robert Neuman 4/-Peter Vansittart 3/6 Broken Canes Fred Henderson 2/6 By the Sea This Age of Plenty C. Marshall Hattersley 2/6 The Balconinny J. B. Priestley 2/6 Periodicals . . . September 1958 1/9 Liberation We can supply ANY book required, including text-books. Please supply publisher's name if possible, but if not, we can find it. Scarce and out-of-print books searched for - and frequently found!

TO a lot of people, quite apart from those to whom it is economic blasphemy, Galbraith's debunking of the religion of production may seem to ignore two important facts: that America's age of affluence is an island in a world of poverty, and that in America

about the abominable snowman is the keynote of modern belief. Footprints in the snow lead to an enormous man-like creature called by the natives a Yeti. Descriptions of the creature are vague but the chief feature seems to be a desire to believe in its existence and its resemblance to man gives an added dimension of horror. One can expect anything to

"To wish to give milk to Hottentots became, for a while, a symbol of advanced economic irresponsibility. Ultimately the necessities of the case triumphed. Under the guidance of an impeccably conservative Secretary of Agriculture, world-wide gifts of food in large quantity became an established policy. If the Hottentots have not yet acquired dried skim milk, it is only because they have not yet sufficiently pressed their request. But again elaborate disguise was essential. The receiving countries 'bought' the products with their own currency, which meant that they supplied money that cost them nothing and which the United States agreed not to use in appreciable amount.'

Even the sharing of surplusses has to be disguised as an "economic" transaction in terms of the conventional wisdom, and the rational distribution of the products of industry is not a matter of productive capacity but of social attitudes. All the same it is a pity that Galbraith does not give the question of American foreign aid, and its tragi-comic political history as a weapon of economic and Cold War strategy, more consideration in this book. Similarly with consumer credit-he devotes one chapter "The Bill Collector Cometh" to the phenomenon which Kenneth Rexroth characterised as Borrow, Spend, Buy, Waste, Want, but his arguments would have been enhanced by a discussion of the effect of artificially-induced obsolescence on the dwindling resources of raw materials. Professor Galbraith's immensely entertaining book is in effect a plea for a change in social values. Specific changes in economic, financial and fiscal policy which he recommends are not those which appeal to us, but the changed values he demands by exposing the absurdity of existing ones, are very much our concern. His book is bound to be influential in altering opinions and (in the twenty years which we are told it will take our economy to "catch up" with the American), is going to make it progressively more difficult for intelligent people to uphold the conventional wisdom of economics.

C.W.

Postage free on all items **Obtainable from** 27. **RED LION STREET,** LONDON, W.C.I

A NARCHISTS have never thought much of the conventional wisdom (they may have, of course, a conventional wisdom of their own), and many of Galbraith's points they would take for granted. The book's principal interest from an anarchist point of view is the

itself there are large 'pockets' of poverty. He has in fact an admirable chapter on the new position of poverty in the United States, (in 1955, 7.7 per cent. of U.S. families had incomes of less than 1,000 dollars, and a very large number of individuals, not members of families were in this income class), distinguishing between what he terms "case" poverty and "insular" poverty. The point is that neither of these forms of poverty are susceptible to elimination merely by increasing production of goods and services. Of the problems of the "underdeveloped" countries, and of the responsibilities of the rich countries towards them, Galbraith is well aware, as we know from other utterances of his, but the point is again in this context, the output of goods and services in America has little to do with their problems. He remarks that the obvious remedy to the "problem" of over-production of food in the United States is to give the surplus away to people who can eat it, a solution which the conventional wisdom regards with horror. The other remedy, that of taking acres out of production has to be euphemistically described as putting them into a soil bank, while

W. B. Yeats wrote that:

What the world's million lips are Must be substantial somewhere.

searching for,

This yearning for the unknown whether for the lips of love of Bardot or the lips of death of Dracula is strong in man. The projection of fears and desires into fantasy constructions is obvious in the cinema and literature and popular myths.

What is less obvious is the projection of these into life, politics and international affairs. The mechanism of projection is the driving force in modern war and race hatred. The spectre that looms up before us on the Brocken is our own, those huge footsteps in the snow are ours, our complex civilization is encamped in the footprint of a primeval man.

The Teddy Boys of Notting Hill Gate are the other half of the respectable citizens of Little Rock. The gunmen of EOKA are the counterpart of the NATO forces. The lengthened shadow of a man is history, but the stunted shadow of a man is criminology. J.R.

Freedom

Vol. 19, No. 43 October 25, 1958

Realism and the Bomb

Continued from p. 1

British Armed Forces in time of war? The man who is caution personified for fear of losing his job, does not hesitate when the Government calls on him to risk his life in war. One is much more likely to find the war-resister (as distinct from the Christian pacifist types who are in a category of their own) among those who have neither security nor status in existing society, who are unafraid of social upheavals, the upsetting of the status quo and the "routine" of stable society. We do not need to generalise; it would only be necessary to show that the exceptions behaved in the way we describe to make nonsense of the notion that Man is controlled by an instinct of survival. Indeed, just as it has been made patently clear that smoking is a powerful factor in the incidence of lung cancer, yet we smokers go on puffing the delectable weed, so in spite of the fact that as long ago as 1955 nine eminent scientists, including Russell and Einstein, issued a warning to mankind of the effects of a H-bomb war (and dozens more have since confirmed their views and pointed to the serious genetic aftereffects of continued testing of these weapons), mankind goes on behaving as if H-bombs, like cigarettes, were all part and parcel of everyday life. Which of course they are!

which he pointed out that though he had probably made more speeches than any other delegate condemning the bomb, to pass the motion calling on unilateral disarmament without putting something in its place was tantamount to "sending the British Foreign Secretary naked into the conference chamber". In spite of the opposition to Bevan's "betrayal" his point of view has permeated the Labour movement as well as the more "realistic" sections of the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign. In recent weeks the correspondence columns of the New Statesman have been humming with protests and counter protests sparked off by a letter from Commander Stephen King-Hall in which he repeats his much-expressed viewpoint that he supports unilateral nuclear disarmament, not because he has become a pacifist, but because he considers it a more effective weapon of defence for this country.[†]

THE three most recent important films from Sweden can be divided in two ways. A pair of them are directed by Ingmar Bergman, a director who is receiving a great deal of international recognition lately, and who is taking many of the prizes at international festivals, and the third is directed by Lars-Erik Kjellgren, who is perhaps less well known outside Sweden. On the other hand, two of them are works of the highest degree of naturalism, while the third is very largely dependent on symbolical, and generally exta-natural methods of presenting its message. That the divisions do not correspond is a remarkable fact, testifying to the versatility of the Swedish film-making world. The earlier of the Bergman films is "Närz Livet" (Near to Life), and was awarded a prize at Cannes. Its setting is in the maternity ward of a hospital, and it explores the feelings and exper-

Three Swedish Films

to the situations in which the three women find themselves, than the time allows. In a film of this type the characters have to behave, in the easily perceived, outward matters, much as one would expect them to behave. The art of the director must lie in choosing the fleeting look, and emphasising the right word, sufficiently to make his point, without disturbing the impression of reality. The contrast between the three is made dramatically and impressively. taking their attitudes to husbands and boy friends, the visitors they receive. and the little things they expect and do in the hospital. If only it could have been for half an hour longer.

The other naturalist film is the one directed by Kjellgren, "Lek pa regnbagn" (Playing on the Rainbow). It is a rapidly moving, dialogue based film. Its theme is a love affair between a progressive-minded student (Alf Kjellin) and a young library assistant (Mai Zetterling). We are introduced to them before they meet, and see them with previous lovers. Their first meeting takes place at an 'advanced' film discussion meeting, and the humorous aspects of progressive student life are lightly touched upon. The rest of the film shows the development of their relations during their first few months together, contrasting the feelings of the student, who wants a relationship based on "full freedom for both partners", continuing indefinitely, and the girl's wish for a primarily monogamous affair, eventually culminating in marriage. Discussions like this (perhaps the reverse?) must have gone on in the bedrooms of every anarchist in the world, and most other people as well, but it was a surprise to hear and see it at the pictures! The usual events take place, such as telephone calls and visits from former friends, the chance arrival of the unsuspecting mother in her son's flat, and are all treated in an emotionally sympathetic, and visually beautiful way. The fact that Kjellgren came down fairly clearly for the girl's point of view was not offensive at all, because he did so by an honest argument, without distorting

the other's side. At one point, while the couple are talking, and she is making remarks such as "Your ideas are all out of date now", a procession goes by outside singing "The International", and she breaks off and confesses to a feeling of shame at her retreat from the heights of progressive ardour. Such a picture could perhaps not have been made in England because free love is not so widely recognised as a possible point of view, and it indicates that art can only treat a controversial question in a really integral way when both points of view are fairly represented in the community to whom the art is directed.

The third film is "Smuttronstället" (Wild Strawberries) and in it Bergman makes use in parts of surrealist techniques reminiscent of the early Buñuel productions. An old doctor is to be presented with an honorary degree. During the day's journey to the presentation he reflects on his life, each important influence or incident being recalled by some place or happening on the way. There is great lattitude in the interpretations which can be put on the 'message' of this film. Somehow, coldness, hypocrisy and alienation from the human values of life have fallen to the lot of the doctor as his professional achievements have increased and gained recognition. There is no coherent or ideological suggestion as to how that can be avoided. The only way out perhaps is to recognise the pitfalls of the academic life and to have an active will to make something better, and by an artistic approach one can only try to develop consciousness of them. All these productions combine intelligent and sensitive treatment of important affairs with beautiful photography and acting. "Wild Strawberries" is perhaps the best artistically, having won the Grand Prix at Berlin, been selected for the London Film Festival, and is shortly to come to the Acadamy. "Nära Livet" may also come to London, several minutes shorter no doubt, and perhaps "Lek pa regnbagn" is too much to hope P.H. for.

WE have argued at length the case

The following letter from Victor Gollancz is short and to the (and our) point:

SIR,-Permit me to quote, with the briefest possible comment, three phrases from Mr. Ritchie Calder's letter to you: (1) 'It is categorically untrue that our line (or our support) is merely moral or pacifist'. Note the pejorative 'merely'. (2) 'A pamphlet on the moral argument, intended for the churches and necessary to rebut the bishops, has not yet appeared'. Intended, apparently, only for 'the churches' and only, it seems, necessary for the purpose of rebutting the bishops. Moreover, 'it has not yet appeared'.

(3) 'We have always insisted that the platforms, should embrace the political, military, scientific and moral arguments'. Moral in the fourth and last place.

VICTOR GOLLANCZ.

Is it realistic to expect sincerity to emerge from platforms which seek to embrace these four diverse arguments and which make it quite clear that the political and military points of view are not moral ones? In any case what is the connection between the desire for survival and any of

mutual relations. One of them is typical of the perfect wife and mother, looking forward with great enjoyment to the wonder of her child; another is an intellectual woman to whom the realisation that her husband did not love her came after the baby was conceived, and the third is an unmarried girl who hates the idea of a baby, and is afraid to go home to her mother.

iences of three mothers-to-be and their

The film starts with the inestimable advantage of four extremely attractive actresses, in the rôles of the expectant mothers and the nurse. After all, between tooth paste advertisements, night club scandals and the things they are called on to play in, Hollywood has not got four attractive actresses left. The action is so natural that one really feels that it was not a film at all, but a slice of real life. For instance, the whole of the action takes place in the ward, the corridor outside, the adjoining operating theatre and the sister's office, all within a few steps of each other. All the people concerned could easily have come from one's immediate circle of friends, and it is possible to wish for an even deeper analysis of the possible reactions

Sir Richard's Dilemma

against the H-bomb threats through appeals to Man's "desire for survival", because when we were young in years we too shared such views about the overwhelming power of the desire to live (in the same way as we also thought it obvious that all workers must be socialists or communists or anarchists, and could not therefore understand why, with a majority of workers and unemployed-and only a few were non-voting anarchiststhe Tories always won the elections!), but soon came to realise that we were simply reflecting our own joie de vivre. And however meaningful it was to us-and still is-it was not necessarily a reliable yardstick in a world so indifferent to survival that millions could die in man-made famines (e.g. India and Russia), and more millions could kill and be killed in wars in which nothing was at stake for them, without hardly a protest either from the bystanders or the victims. There was acceptance, passive, resigned. This was nature's way of keeping down the population; war was in Man's nature. So far as war is concerned

these, except incidentally?

WE do not wish to labour the point. We have repeatedly supported initiative which seeks to bring the public to grips with its problems, and repeatedly criticised them when at the same time they call on the government to take the necessary action, because in the first place one is appealing to the public sense of responsibility and in the second destroying that action by accepting government as the channel through which it must be expressed. Government is the negation of public responsibility. Our differences with those who think like our correspondent are not over "symptoms" and "causes", but over the illusions they have that you can believe in government and at the same time educate the public to think deeply, or even just have an animal-like instinct for survival, which will influence that government.

As Vice-President Nixon made it clear a few weeks ago, American foreign policy decisions just couldn't be made on "the basis of opinion polls". Governments only listen to the people when they know that besides disagreeing with their policies the people are ready to disobey them.

WAGING PEACE, by Sir Richard Acland. Muller, 13s. 6d.

THIS book is subtitled, "The positive policy we could pursue if we gave up the Hydrogen Bomb". Sir Richard argues that the Bomb should be given up, dealing with the issue from various points of view, ranging from that of the moral absolutist, who will have no truck with the weapon, to that of the "practical man", who sees in the Bomb no effective defence, owing to its tremendous destructive power. The trouble is that the "we" situation is a myth. The decisions are taken by an oligarchy, responsible to no one but itself, to whom the masses submit. The characterstructure of the majority of the people is such as to prevent them taking their lives into their own hands. This is the impasse from which the revolutionary and pacifist movements have failed utterly to escape. Freedom cannot be brought about until people are able to develop a free attitude. But they cannot develop a free attitude because of their upbringing. It would require years of psychological treatment to free them, and this is scarcely a practical proposition when one considers that it would have to be given to most of the world's population.

To me the problem is becoming increasingly one of industrial survival in a barbaric society. The fate of civilisation worries me progressively less and less. I can even contemplate its total destruction with equanimity. Even the prospect of the obliteration of all life on the planet leaves me unaffected, since each individual now alive is bound to die eventually, and I should imagine that passing into oblivion feels much the same whether done alone or in company. It seems to me that there is nothing one can do to check or divert the course of events, but as individuals one can do a lot to:

Sir Richard's point of view is that of a Christian, and he puts the world's troubles down to "sin" and "evil". There is a great danger, from which I do not feel that I have escaped myself, when one thinks about these sort of problems, of developing a terribly negative outlook, a sort of destructive or hopeless pessimism. As Nietzsche says, "While you gaze into the abyss, the abyss gazes into you."

This "evil", which accounts for Christian hopelessness, lies in the perverted impulses anchored in the characterstructure of people conditioned to an authoritarian way of life by their parents, who in turn were conditioned by theirs. The chain of cause and effect goes back to the period, several thousand years ago, when man's intellectual development had reached a point when he was first able to see himself as in a mirror, to stand outside himself and postulate ideals to live up to, when he first began to see

himself as a unique individual rather than as part of a group. This is the split in man's nature which the Christians refer to as "the Fall", but it is not something to be regarded as a terrible mystery, which involves us all in guilt and wickedness about which we can do nothing. We can do a lot, only, what we can do lies in the field of private life, or personal relationships and the upbringing of children, not in action in the political arena. The effects of authoritarian upbringing can be overcome by a few exceptional people.

The author hopes for "an almost miraculous transformation in the outlook and behaviour of millions of people". What hope is there of such a thing? All his hopes for what might be done if the H-Bomb were abolished depend on this miracle, which I do not believe will ever happen.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.



the public in general has not been allowed to change its views. And if we are to campaign effectively for the abolition of the H-bomb it seems to us that we must take this factor into account, among others.

AS our correspondent points out enlightenment cannot come in

a decade" but then, what makes her think that the political leopard will change its spots in ten minutes? For this is what the self-styled realists who believe that public opinion (expressed through constitutional) channels, of course), will induce government to abandon the principal weapon of its authority and the strongest argument in the diplomatic vocabulary, are asking us to believe. Surely their illusions should have been shattered long ago by Bevan's, now historic, Brighton speech*, in

"See "The 'Sagacity' of the Hon. Mr. Bevan, P.C." Freedom Selection, Vol. 7, pp. 187-190.

That is realism to our minds. And while our correspondent thanks God for the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign's "rumble" she should not delude herself into believing that the rumble is the storm, or that when they bark they are biting.

Many people, for a long time, have been barking. Most of them are too respectable to suggest that it's time we started biting!

†Presumably if he were an American he would support that country's retention of the Bomb. Incidentally no one has asked him that question so far as we know. We offer it to our friend the Editor of Peace News who has been writing very worried editorials about the Commander and his immoral approach to what the Editor thinks should be a moral issue. The answer should help him to get the Commander in proper perspective!

(a) avoid being conscripted or drawn into the war machine;

(b) survive in the case of nuclear attack, at least for a time, by retiring to some remote place beforehand and learning how to live off the country, what plants are good to eat, how to hunt with the bow, how to construct a hut out of basic materials that will keep out the rain.

Peril and hardship are involved in both (a) and (b), but the situation that confronts us is utterly fantastic in the first place. Our problem is to ensure that, if any one can survive at all, they shall be people of free spirit.

-	INCLUDIN	Anarchism 3s. 6d.
1	Vol. 1, 1951, Mankind is One	Poetry and Anarchism
r	Vol. 2, 1952, Postscript to Posterity	cloth 5s., paper 2s. 6d.
	Vol. 3, 1953, Colonialism on Trial	The Philosophy of Anarchism
	Vol. 4, 1954, Living on a Volcano	boards 2s. 6d.
t	Vol. 5, 1955, The Immoral Moralists	The Education of Free Men 1s.
	Vol. 6, 1956, Oil and Troubled Waters	RUDOLF ROCKER :
	Vol. 7, 1957, Year One-Sputnik	Nationalism and Culture cloth 21s.
	Era	JOHN HEWETSON :
	each volume paper 7s. 6d. cloth 10s. 6d.	Ill-Health, Poverty and the State cloth 2s. 6d., paper 1s.
1.1	The paper edition of the Selections is	F. A. RIDLEY :
	available to readers of FREEDOM	The Roman Catholic Church
	at 5/- a copy	and the Modern Age 2d.
	E. A. GUTKIND : The Expanding Environment 8s. 6d.	K. J. KENAFICK : Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx paper 6s.
	VOLINE : Ningtoon Congress (The Design	TONY GIBSON :
	Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12s. 6d.	Youth for Freedom paper 2s. Who will do the Dirty Work? 2d.
	(Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21) The Unknown Revolution	*
	V. RICHARDS : cloth 12s. 6d.	Marie-Louse Berneri Memorial Committee publications :
1	Lessons of the Spanish Revolution 6s.	Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A Tribute cloth 5s.
1	PETER KROPOTKIN :	Neither East nor West
	The State : Its Historic Rôle 1s.	Journey Through Utopia
	The Wage System 3d.	cloth 18s. (U.S.A. \$3)
	Revolutionary Government 3d. Organised Vengeance	27, Red Lion Street,
	Called Justice 2d.	London, W.C.I.
	Curren susaice att.	London, W.C.I.
1		

FREEDOM

Welsh Nationalism

The traditional pattern of community life in Wales is certainly healthier than the pattern of relationships in big cities like London and Cardiff, and Welsh is a fine language with an ancient literature. One must sympathise with your correspondent Hywel Davies in his anxiety lest Welsh culture should die. But it is very doubtful whether the establishment of a Welsh state would be of much use in keeping it alive.

I agree that an independent Welsh government would support and encourage the language, and any institution or custom which would tend to show reason for its existence as a separate state. The first act of the independent Irish government (whose case was somewhat similar) was an Act for re-naming the police force and painting the pillar boxes green, and it has kept up a campaign to Irish-ise Eire ever since. The Irish language is taught in all schools; a working knowledge of it is obligatory in Civil Service candidates; official announcements are published in two languages; there are long broadcasts in Irish, and publications in Irish are heavily subsidised.

Subsidies, museums, propaganda, censorship, all the good works a State could perform, would be completely ineffective to defend the Welsh way of life against a feeling, among the Welsh, that English provincial dullness is ordinary.

How, then, can the Welsh way of life be defended, by the Welshman who honestly feels that it is superior to the possible alternatives? Part of the answer, I think, is to be found in those communities where ordinary people have learned to mistrust and oppose the State, instead of trying to use it for their own purposes. The best known example is Morellus in Mexico, whose inhabitants joined in several Mexican insurrections in the hope of protection from landgrabbers and corrupt police, only to be invaded again by the same marauders, immediately a new government recalled the arms by which it had come to power. The anarchist Emiliano Zapata, himself a Morellus Indian, eventually taught his people that they could keep their freedom by refusing to surrender their arms, taking the law into their own hands and remaining outside the control or the protection of the Mexican state, without creating a State of Morellus. A nearer and more recent example is Friesland in the Netherlands. During the war, the resistance movements of Europe were issued with hundreds of short-wave radio transmitters, which were recalled in due course by the governments of the Liberation. But the Frieslanders hung on to their transmitters, and now use them against the Dutch authorities as they used them against the Germans. The positions and directions of police patrol cars, customs launches and whatnot are broadcast continually, so that smugglers, moonshiners, deserters, tax dodgers and other criminals (including the broadcasters), have adequate warning of their approach. The Dutch comrade who gives me this information tells me that the Frieslanders are much influenced by the ideas of the anarchist Johann Most, a native of German Friesland, where the peasants speak the same language.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

munity life of Friesland and Morellus, the loyalty of neighbours to each other and the traditional form of mutual aid, is now unrivalled as the means by which society helps individuals. The Morellus and Frieslandish languages have gained a special importance as the sign to distinguish neighbours from strangers, and remain in favour with their users in spite of the fact that other languages have to be learned for the purposes of commerce or travel.

It may be said, with truth, that the independence of Morellus and Friesland could not have been achieved if weapons had not been distributed to them by the very people against whom the weapons are used, and could not be maintained if the State were willing to go to expensive and bloody lengths to repress them (as the Bolshevik government repressed Makhno's followers in the Ukraine). But it is equally true that such independence would not have been attempted, if the people had been as law-abiding and trustful as the others who were issued with arms, or if they had thought in terms of national sovereignty and independence rather than of *personal* sovereignty and independence; it was essential to their culture that they accepted some of the things they heard from anarchists. The communal feeling of a population cannot be strengthened by State subsidies, but it cannot fail to be strengthened if the population will make themselves independent of the State, and given certain conditions they will seize the opportunity for independence when it comes. What the necessary conditions are can only be guessed, but it appears from the cases of Morellus and Friesland that they include the following. The population must be a regional minority within the jurisdiction of the State, inhabiting a somewhat inaccessible and sparsely populated region. They must also be a distinct cultural minority, with a language and a pattern of life which is peculiar to them. And they must be influenced by the doctrine of individual sovereignty, through anarchist agitators who must be of them and speak their language (for one of the less desirable features of minorities is their clannishness).

Marx & Anarchism

GEORGE MOLNAR notes that I am quoted in FREEDOM as regretting that anarchism has been "contaminated" by Marxism, and points out that a study of Marx's writings could benefit anarchists on the whole. I agree that anarchists could benefit from such study, provided that it were broad enough to get a proper perspective of Marx's writings, and included some study of the French socialists, English economists, Hegelian writers, Russian revolutionists and early anthropologists which make up the background of Marx's thought. A study of Marx which is limited to such snippets of Marx which have been endlessly re-published by the self-styled "Marxists" of one sort and another, seldom does more than equip people with a set of slogans and clichés which are a substitute for thinking. This vulgar-Marxism has indeed contaminated anarchism, for it provides a superficially easy understanding of social dynamics in terms of class struggles with the implication that the problem is as stated in the Communist Manifesto. The Communist Manifesto was something of an "energizing myth" when it was written and does not compare well with the greater understanding of Marx's more reasoned works. But it is precisely this myth of the messianic rôle of the "proletariat" which is seized upon most eagerly by those whose acquaintance with Marx is slight. The sadly defeated individual insecure in his personal life, can pin his hopes to the great by-and-by when he as a class-conscious member of the "proletariat" will come into his own. Marx had something of the Hebrew prophet in him, and it is the voice of Elijah, Amos and Hosea which echoes through his works, which has had the greatest mass appeal.

From what George Molnar writes, he is obviously no mere vulgar-Marxist, but appreciates the complexity of the issues involved. I would, however, stress the point that Marx is not the only important source of extra-anarchist theory which anarchists who have the time and inclination could well study. The Utilitarians from Hume to J. S. Mill are perhaps a more important field of study for anarchists, particularly those of the movement in Britain. Again, Weber is really far more enlightening on problems of class and power than Marx, and Pareto far more important for anyone who studies the 20th century developments of State power. Again Stirner, having sat with Marx at Hegel's feet in youth, cuts the Gordian gnot of the dialectic from which Marx never escaped, and much of Stirner is as fresh and vivid to-day as when he wrote it. Spenceryes: Malthus-yes; Godwin-of course! And I have even forgotten to throw Hobbes in with Stirner as a must for any anarchist. So really, unless we are going to spend our lives in a University library, Marx is not so very important after all. Anarchism has its roots, not only in the specifically anarchist writers such as are published by anarchist printing presses, but in many important writers who were certainly not anarchists. Marx is among them, but his influence has been monstrously puffed up by those who have achieved emancipation from lowly status by climbing up upon the backs of their "fellow workers". The anarchist movement has been contaminated by Marxism, and many led by the nose by Marxist slogans. Ordinary people have not the time to spend their days in university libraries (where even some of the more interesting works of Marx are often unobtainable in translation). I therefore criticise George Molnar for implying that there is a treasure of enlightenment which anarchists could use to enrich anarchism through the works of Marx.

And the result of all this is that the Irish language is still dying, about as quickly as it was dying under the English. The aspects of Irish culture which are thriving, like devotion to the clergy and hatred of sex, are thriving without official support; and the tradition of young men drilling in the mountains survives in the face of active state opposition.

I know there are big differences between the Irish and Welsh situations. But there is a general lesson to be learned from Ireland, Nepal, New Zealand and all the other places where the State has supported a local culture: namely, that no State can revive a culture. It is possible to support a corpse, and to push it from outside so that it moves like a live thing; but when the pushing stops the movement stops, and when there is no support the corpse immediately falls down.

A language or a community, is only alive so long as people accept it as part of their normal, ordinary, everyday lives. When it becomes a hobby, a subject of serious study, a thing of wonder, to those

A few years ago the Dutch Minister of the Interior described the illegal broadcasters as 'an illiterate rabble who have put Friesland outside the Netherwho are alleged to live by it, it is dead. lands community'. But the real com-

Marx has been shown to be wrong. Events have not turned out as he predicted. This does not detract from his eminence as an important sociologistby being involved as an active politician he was led to be far more dogmatic and polemical than befits any social scientist. Events have shown that the class system instead of becoming more and more polarized as one must predict from Marxist theory, has been at all times highly fluid. The individual's destiny is not determined by his class any more than it is by his genetic constitution; in fact Marxist thinking in terms of destiny has proved singularly unscientific in that it has been worthless as a predictive method. Anarchism has stressed the importance of government as a thing in itself, and not as a mere dependent variable of property ownership or class, and indeed how right the anarchists have been. The most important social fact of the 20th century has been the enormous concentration of power in the State, and the threat to every individual, group, association and class consequent upon such concentration. We live now under the threat of extermination which has little to do with any of the tensions which a Marxist analysis of society claims to reveal.

TONY GIBSON.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Doing Something About the Bomb

Some anarchists and pacifists have declined to give their support to the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign, on the grounds that it is far too superficial a remedy, attempting to deal only with the symptoms of the evils of our society. whilst neglecting the fundamental problems: i.e. the unstable structure of a competitive power-seeking society; in the case of the anarchists-the need to condemn all war as a crime against humanity; the pacifists.

The Nuclear Disarmament Campaign proposes a superficial remedy. We are a society largely composed of superficial people. The most carefully reasoned argument in the world can pass far above the average person's comprehension, but when faced with the possibility of total extinction, the basic desire for survival comes to the fore. It may only be the desire to survive and go on living in

the same old routine existence, but it is still the desire to go on living.

We have beautifully rational theories which seem to point the way out of the chaos, but not enough beautifully rational people to put them into practice. The majority of people may not be capable of individually deciding to carry out non-violent civil disobedience.

Enlightenment cannot come in a decade, but in the meantime, enlightened or unenlightened, we want to go on living. This campaign may only be dealing with a symptom, but at least it is not ignoring it. A faint rumbling of public opinion perhaps, but thank God for the rumble,

yours sincerely. London, Oct. 9.

P.B.

[This letter is referred to in our Editorial columns].

DONALD ROOUM.

Pink Spectacles

What about Wales, Mr. Davies?

The editor of FREEDOM during the recent past has been quite liberal in printing critical comment of Anarchist dogma, but not much of this criticism has been very constructive, as the critics adhered too much to abstract condemnations of the state, which presently is the capitalist state. These critics condemn this state too abstractly, ignoring the foundation on which it rests, to wit, the private ownership of the means of production. Marx was more fundamental, as he pointed out that the nature of the state, as well as all other social institutions, depended upon the mode of production as varied historically during evolutionary development. Thus Marx could see that due to evolutionary development, the proletariat finally would take control of the means of production, thus abolishing the class struggle, resulting in the witherance of the state, as the state never was any more than referee in this struggle or a means forcible to suppress it in favour of the owning class. Abolition of ownership would abolish the state he said. Already it is seen that the increase in power of the workers is decreasing the power of the state. Sincerely yours, Ohio, Oct. JOSEPH MANLET. [Is that so!-EDITORS.] **PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!** WEEK 42 **Deficit on Freedom £840** £601 Contributions received £239 DEFICIT October 10 to October 16 passivity. London: J.G. 4/9; London: P.F.* 10/-; London: J.S.* 3/-: Maidstone: S.P. 10/-: Billingham: J.G. 1/6; Shoreham: P.P. 1/6; London: London Anarchist Group £1/0/11; London: P.F.* £1; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.* 2/6: Wolverhampton: J.W. 2/6: Salisbury, S.R.: L.A.S. in memory of M.L.B. £1; London: V.R. £1; St. Louis: N.M. £1/7/6; Gateshead: J.D. £1; London: W.F.* 2/6. ... 8 6 8 Total ... 592 18 7 Previously acknowledged 1958 TOTAL TO DDATE ... £601 5 3 GIFT OF BOOKS: Moline: E.R.J. *Indicates regular contributor.

My remark about the contamination of anarchism by Marxism was made at an international anarchist congress, and 7.30 p.m. I think that the delegates from other countries well knew to what I referred, for their experience has frequently paralleled ours in this country regarding the dissensions within the anarchist movement. Towards the end of the war, the ties, please write to: movement in this country embraced ten-S. E. PARKER, dencies which were both anarchist and anarcho-Marxist. Those of the latter tendency, regarding themselves as classconscious proletarians intent upon the pursuing of the class struggle, affected to despise the merely anarchist part of **COMMUNAL LIVING SCHEME** the movement who were concerned only Will those people, whether anarchists with the opposition to authoritarianism or not, who would like to contribute to as such. The anarcho-Marxists in the 'social evolution and to their own enjoytwo big centres of the movement in ment of life by trying out some form or Britain, Glasgow and London, did their other of community living please conbest to put theory into practice and extact: J. D. COOPER, 54 Hillfield Road, propriate the tangible assets of the move-N.W.6? ment-with varying success. In practice, both splinter groups and individuals who have sought to square Marxism with anarchism have generally FREEDOM ended up in the fold of some authoritarian party, or have quietly subsided into The Anarchist Weekly **Postal Subscription Rates :** 12 months 19/- (U.S.A. \$3.00) 6 months 9/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50) 3 months 5/- (U.S.A. \$0.75) Autonomy Call Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies Uruguayan students barricaded them-12 months 29/- (U.S.A. \$4.50) 6 months 14/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25) selves inside the university building at Cheques. P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers Montevideo last week after a clash with police in which 130 students were arrested. Scores of students and 11 police FREEDOM PRESS were injured in the fighting. The students 27 Red Lion Street are demanding greater autonomy for the London, W.C.I. England university. Tel.: Chancery 8364 Times Educational Supplement 10/10/58.

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Regular Sunday meetings now held at "Marquis of Granby" Publis House, Rathbone Street (near Percy Street and Oxford Street), 7.0 p.m.

OCT. 26.—Arthur Uloth Subject to be announced.

WATFORD: "Community Living": Speaker: John Cooper, and Discussion (Group in formation). Watford Branch, Progressive League, Thursday, Nov. 6th, 7.45 p.m. at the Cookery Nook, 93, The Parade, High Street, Watford (near the ponds). Train met Watford Junction,

CROYDON LIBERTARIAN GROUP For details of meetings and other activi-

> 228 HOLMESDALE ROAD, LONDON, S.E.25.

Research

Several anarchist comrades in different countries are agreed in the view that there is a place for the scientific study of a series of problems, and have decided to found an international Institute for that purpose. The project is called, provisionally and simply, "RESEARCH". Among the first of the potential collaborators, we have met several comrades who are interested in the problems of

Church & Hospital

Nearly a third of all New Yorkers are Roman Catholics and their political influence has imposed upon the municipal hospitals an unwritten rule that they must not prescribe contraceptive devices even when a patient's health or life is at stake. Early last summer, when one of the hospitals decided to break the controversial rule for a Protestant woman with severe diabetes, it was forbidden to do so by the Commissioner of Hospitals, who is a Jew, and the Mayor, Mr. Wagner, who is a Catholic, refused to intervene. Protestant and Jewish doctors and other groups hotly disputed the right of any religious body to dictate the practices of tax-supported hospitals and recently the city's Board of Hospitals voted to erase the unwritten rule-with the proviso that doctors, nurses and patients who have religious objections need not take any part in promoting artificial contraception. At Queen's College, a public institution, the shoe may be on the other foot. The State Commission Against Discrimination has ordered an investigation of charges that, although Roman Catholic teachers are hired, they are discharged before they have served long enough to have permancy of tenure. The Economist 11/10/58.

EDUCATION

We would like moreover, to get in touch with all those, in the movement or among sympathisers from the ideological point of view, who would be prepared to make contributions to this "Education" section of the Institute "Research", of which they would thus form the first section.

We are making this appeal so that all those who feel themselves capable of collaborating should make the fact known, by writing to comrade J. de Smet, rue de la poste 57. Bruxelles 3.

We wait with joy and impatience for other "specialists", mathematicians, logicians, anthropologists, biologists, historians, etc., to get in touch. When a "genuine" prospectus of the Institute "Research" has been drawn up, we will communicate it to you.

J.D.S.

Brussels, Oct. 12.

Printed by Express Printers, London, E.I.

Published by Freedom Press, 27 Red Line Street, London, W.C.I.