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# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"I wish men to be free, as much from mobs as kings—from you as me."  
—LORD BYRON.

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Threepence

## ELECTION YEAR?

LIKE the good tactician he is, Mr. Macmillan is keeping quiet about his plans for a general election. Under the well established arrangements by which the people govern in this country, the party operating the machinery of government on behalf of the people can choose its own time for appealing for a renewal of its lease, a reaffirming of the confidence of the people.

Any time within the next seventeen months the Prime Minister may send out his henchmen to stump the hustings and try to collect enough votes to send Supermac back for another term of office. For M.P.s in marginal seats it can be an anxious time; for the leaders of the party the fun and games and thrills of a gamble for power (with none of the dangers that exist in other, unmentionable, countries); for the public, the sovereign people, a brief illusion of importance engages their attention—they even attend political meetings—and for the first and last time they actually see their representatives.

Until they have played their part, struck their blow for democracy and the inalienable right of free choice. In a word, until they have voted, having been wooed and flattered by the confidence trick. Then, your votes safely in their pockets, the con men turn their backs and proceed to organise you from a distance.

Supermac is keeping mum about his proposed date for the circus. He may in fact not be sure himself, although that seems unlikely. After all, he is the man in charge now, and all the signs are that he is taking measures that will win back the popularity his party had lost eighteen months ago.

### Taking Appropriate Measures

The signs and portents of the impending election are there. In measure after measure Mac is baiting his hook. He is not a sporting type for nothing and just as he organises his day's shooting on the Scottish moors so he sends out his beaters to send the victims soaring on the wings of a fake prosperity, to be shot down and popped in his bag.

The recent lifting of hire purchase and credit restrictions, the new schemes for pensions and house ownership, the dropping of the bank rate and, latest of all, convertibility, seem to provide something for nothing for everybody, from the working class housewife to the international exchange financier.

But—and what a 'but' it is—as is explained elsewhere it all adds up to a gigantic gamble, and is in any case not due to the unflappable Mac and the competence of the Conservative Government, but to the American recession and the changed balance of economic strength in

Europe due to the German recovery. Just as the Labour Party took the credit for full employment during the post-war period of reconstruction in a sellers' market, so the Tories are now claiming credit for being able to ease restrictions in a buyers' market.

### They Had to Act

In fact the great haste in which all these new measures have come in has more than a hint of panic about it. It was not so much that the Tories 'were able to' ease restrictions as that they jolly well had to—and quickly—in order to stop a snowballing recession here on the American scale.

In America the unemployed figure is now around 5 million; here, it is about half a million. But the British figure hides a much wider incidence of short and part-time work—especially in the docks, for example, where the guaranteed week scheme provides a pittance for dockers for whom there is no work, but who do not appear in Ministry of Labour statistics because they do not register for unemployment pay.

A veneer is thrown across this by Conservative flag-waving but the reality is not so bright as the Press Lords would have us believe. "The £ Flies High" screams the *Sunday Express* when telling us of the devaluation of the franc, and estimates

that the new exchange rate means an extra brandy for every Englishman in France changing a pound into francs. It so happens that in giving us this glad news they ignore completely the coincidence that as well as devaluing the franc De Gaulle is slapping heavier taxes on the French and cutting subsidies, the inevitable result of which will be increases in prices of everything sold over the counter in France—including brandy! All in, holidays in France for the British are likely to be dearer, not cheaper. The cost of living for the French will be higher, not lower—but the French government will cover this up by changing over to a 'De Gaulle franc' (worth 100 of the existing ones and bringing centimes back with the value of the present franc) which, says De Gaulle himself, will 'give the franc dignity'.

### Symbolic Figures

De Gaulle does not think in terms of giving dignity to the French worker. For the man of destiny, a worker is like the franc—something to be manipulated for the benefit of the state—and you may be sure that De Gaulle looks at himself in the mirror every morning and murmurs 'L'Etat—c'est moi!' And with good reason, since so many Frenchmen have made him the symbol of France.

Similarly do so many of the British look upon their suave television performer, their smooth pro-

Continued on p. 7

## Rocket Site Demonstrators Refuse to be Bound Over

THE total count of rocket site demonstrators to be arrested at Swaffham, Norfolk, the weekend before Christmas was forty-six and they all turned up at court on Monday morning pleading guilty to obstructing the police at the site.

Outside the court about 100 supporters presented encouragement to the arrested, while inside 39 of the demonstrators refused to be bound over to keep the peace. They have been given a week to decide whether to change their minds and if they do not they face 14 days jail.

Actual wording of the court's decision was that the defendants were given seven days in which to enter recognisances in the sum of £10 'to be of good behaviour towards Her Majesty and all her liege people, especially the Constable of Norfolk.'

In fact the Constable of Norfolk's representative in court was able to say that no violence whatever was offered by any of the demonstrators. It seems then, in view of the rough handling meted out by the police and RAF, that the Constable of Norfolk should also be bound over to be of good behaviour towards such of her Majesty's liege people who choose to sit in front of lorries on rocket sites!

When Michael Scott, one of the defendants, said that the base could lead to the destruction of millions of lives, the magistrate Colonel (!) Boag warned him against making a political speech. The Colonel, however, had not thought it unseemly to make a political speech himself when he said: 'You have been tried here not for the views you hold but for your action in challenging the law. You have challenged the very authority that in the last resort will preserve your freedom.'

The Counsel for the prosecution had already outlined the marchers' offences and said: 'The reason given is that the demonstrators wish to abolish nuclear war. That is a cause which must recommend itself to any right-minded person, but this is not the way to go about it.'

This is very much in line with most of the newspaper comment at the time of the demonstrations. Nobody, however, has been able to say just what is the right way to go about it!

As Michael Scott said in court: 'Some of us are beginning to feel a lack of confidence in Parliamentary debates, and hope that this will bring home to our fellow-countrymen the depth of our conviction.'

It should do more than that. It should demonstrate a means by which the murderous work of the State can be exposed and defeated.

### APOLOGY

A READER has written to draw our attention to a most unfortunate slip in our report of the rocket site demonstration in our issue of 27/12/58. He writes:

'There is a "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" and a "Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War". To (apparently) blend these into: "Direct Action Committee against Nuclear Disarmament" results in a real misnomer.'

It does, indeed, and we thank reader Burns of Birmingham for pointing this out to us and apologise most humbly to the demonstrators and organisers of the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War for our carelessness.

## The Convertibility Gamble

PERHAPS the most extraordinary feature of the news on CONVERTIBILITY, which cannot have gone unnoticed by our readers, is the entirely correct assumption that hardly anyone knows what it is all about, let alone understands it. (This may well include the present writer).

So far as the layman is concerned (and who do we know outside this category?), the whole business divides itself into two separate issues: 1. the effect on us laymen, and 2. the effect on the general economic and trade situation. Both these issues may be further subdivided as to direct and indirect effects, though once this is done, the first issue becomes entangled with the second. Nevertheless it is fairly safe to say that the layman is not going to be directly affected by convertibility; that is to say that since he has no dealings in foreign currency (especially dollars) it makes no difference that foreign holders of sterling can convert it into dollars more easily than hitherto.

All the indirect effects of convertibility on the layman are inextricably bound up with issue two and may therefore be dealt with at the same time.

Conflicting reports have simultaneously blamed Britain for forcing devaluation on France and France for forcing convertibility upon Britain. Almost certainly neither is the case and the whole operation was carried out by Britain and France in agreement with Western Germany, which has caused its D-mark to become freely transferable externally in a similar manner to sterling. Thus the three principal European currencies have

simultaneously created a situation in which it is now possible for European free trade agreements to be made after years of fruitless negotiation. In other words the French have admitted the unreality of their previous franc and have performed a financial sleight-of-hand in the Cripps tradition; this has caused buoyant West Germany and quietly confident Britain to co-operate at long last.

Probably none of this would have happened were it not for the fact of the recent American recession (a more esoteric word than the phrase 'partial slump'), which enabled such previously questionable currencies as the D-mark and the pound to make something of an impression. W. German recovery was of course already astounding the economic wizards, and Britain improved her position by purchasing imports judiciously both as to quantity and price and imposing rigorous credit restrictions "at home". France alone must therefore make a sacrifice now in order to reap the profits later on (it is presumed), whilst freely acknowledging the crippling costs of a long North African war and a series of futile governments (from every point of view).

And so the European economic picture, compounded of "confidence in the future", "closer co-operation" between Germany, Britain and France, freer trade and payment between "all the nations of the world", etc., etc., gives a background as to the reasons for sterling convertibility.

There must be a snag somewhere, say the cynics, and there is. The whole thing is a gigantic gamble. Britain's "recovery" has been made, as previously stated, firstly by purchasing commodity goods cheaply at a time of world recession, and not too many of them—thus closing the trade gap and building up gold reserves. Secondly, by exercising credit control—which is a way of keeping production down and creating unemployment.

If world trade improves in general (as is to be expected some time), commodity prices will rise again, placing sterling in

a less favourable position, which will cause foreign holders of sterling to sell out in exchange for better currencies (which they may now do very easily)—in fact a "flight from the pound". The only way to counteract this will be for the British Government to impose once more, further and possibly more drastic credit restrictions than in past years. Thus cutting down production again and increasing unemployment.

## The Deterrent Balance is Moving Against U.S.A.

WE cannot share the optimism of seasonal professional purveyors of cheer that the future of mankind looms prosperous and peaceful, that is if we adopt the correct formula—hard work and loyal support for our governments. Even as the "happy bells across the snow" ring in the New Year the peaceful chimes are lost in the noisy rumbling of nuclear "deterrents" and "defences".

A United States Government-subsidised firm of scientists, The Rand Corporation, has stated that within the next 18 months Russia will have 300 operational intercontinental ballistic missiles which, according to the report, means that:

"Russia's missile capability opened the possibility of being able to eliminate America's strategic Air Command—the West's deterrent—in one blow".

According to *Nucleus*, writing in *The Observer* (Sunday, 28th December) on H-weapons, the "... threat to the U.S.S.R. is several orders of magnitude greater than that to the United States", although the balance of deterrent power is "moving

The gamble is therefore, in essence, a playing-up of winnings made so far, in the hope of turning sterling into a hard currency (shades of the gold standard), and creating a "European dollar"; as against the possibility of the entire structure falling apart—at its worst—or more likely, for Britain to fall back economically to the times when it was necessary to put one's "shoulder to the wheel", "tighten one's belt", practice austerity, save, and work hard—providing you have a job.

against us month by month. The present situation is that both the United States and U.S.S.R. are developing more advanced forms of bombers, together with their associated stand-off bombs, whilst at the same time they are both developing various forms of H-headed ballistic missiles."

It is argued as a justification for the development of nuclear weapons that we must keep ahead of the U.S.S.R. in nuclear strength as the surest deterrent to Russian aggression. What happens when the entire Russian destructive potential is equal to that of the West? Vague suggestions that now is "the time for new policies" may give some assurance to people who have faith in the ability of their leaders to "work for peace", but new policies with the unlikely aim of preventing war for all time cannot alter the fact that two mighty forces have the power to destroy the majority of mankind. There is nothing of any account said, or done, by political leaders which can convince thinking people that H-bombs are harmless in their hands.

HELP us to  
FIND MORE  
NEW READERS  
for 'FREEDOM'

# REGINALD REYNOLDS

WE were very sorry to learn of the death in Australia on December 16th of Reginald Reynolds. He was 53.

Reg. Reynolds came from a Quaker family and his activity in pacifist and anti-imperialist movements dated from his encounters with Gandhi in 1930. Like many other humorous and satirical writers he was a very serious man; his funny books about sanitation and beards, and his witty weekly verses in the *New Statesman*, were the bub-

bling over of a temperament deeply and continually concerned with the struggle against war, against colonial oppression, and for penal reform.

He and Ethel Mannin first came in contact with this paper in the days of *Spain and the World* over the question of aid for Spanish refugees, and in the years just before the last war and during the early war years he was a regular contributor to these pages. We reproduce in this issue of FREEDOM one of his articles from those days. When the

Freedom Defence Committee was formed at the time of the arrest of the editors of this paper in 1945, Reg. Reynolds was one of its most active supporters, as he was of every kind of civil liberties agitation.

Reg. Reynolds will be very much missed. His combination of qualities, wit, intelligence, concern with social issues, and active work for the oppressed, and an immense capacity for friendship, is rare indeed, and we send our sympathy to Ethel Mannin and to all who will feel his loss.

## DOG DOES NOT EAT DOG

THE *Daily Express* on Tuesday, December 23rd, was quoting the authority of the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism for what happens to a city when it loses its newspapers through a strike. The 'graduate researchers' (sic) reported the following:

They found that funerals are suffering—one-fifth fewer people come to mourn. But garbage collectors are having a ball—there are 2,000 tons less garbage to collect each day.

Marriage bureaux are unaffected, but pretty young society girls are having "fits

and spasms" because no one knows what they wore at their weddings.

Civic business has almost come to a standstill. No one makes speeches, no one receives delegations, and the mayor's top priority "clean-up" committees have virtually stopped their cleaning-up.

A Wall-street broker who has just married his secretary is delighted. "It was my second marriage and I didn't want it publicised anyway."

Grown-ups are buying comic books like hot cakes. Television has scarcely gained any new viewers—radio is getting all the surplus.

A publicity man, almost suffocated without the gossip columnists, hired a sandwich-board man to walk up and down Times-square displaying choice pieces of gossip about his show business clients.

In a varied patchwork of reports, the majority impression is that sales generally have slumped. Naturally enough, 10,000 news-stands out of 16,000 have shut up shop.

This seems to be an improvement! Less funeral attendances, less garbage, less society chit-chat, less speeches, delegations and crusades; less gossip. More comic books sold . . . (they may even get round to real books).

We don't remember anything catastrophic happening in London when we had our strike but note the awful doom-cry in the final paragraph:

The conclusion is inescapable. And it's what the journalist in me half-hoped it would be: New York is suffering slow strangulation. No city can function properly without its newspapers.

This seems a colossal *non-sequiter* unless one thinks of the French fried potatoes that are being carried about New York without benefit of newspaper or the other domestic functions for which newspaper is desirable (e.g. wiping razors; testing curlers, and placing under carpets). Perhaps the *Daily Express* is thinking of all these functions!

J.R.

## The Divine Right of Politicians

[We reproduce this characteristic article by Reginald Reynolds, who died last month, from our May, 1940 issue.]

★

SOME people spend a great deal of time arguing about "Rights"—whether there are such things, whether they are natural and inherent, whether this or that is a "Right" or just a privilege and so on. A great deal of time would be saved if it were only realised that a Right is not a thing that can be proved or disproved. It is not a matter of logic at all, but of how you feel about things. The whole ideological basis of class conflict is the rivalry in conception of 'Right' that necessarily exists between the "Haves" and the "Have-nots".

When the poor man in court excused his petty theft with the words "I must live, Your Worship," and when His Worship replied "I see no reason for that," they expressed two rival conceptions of Right which no amount of argument could have reconciled to the man in the dock. His Right to Live was as real as his existence itself—he felt it in his bones, and without being a moral philosopher he felt that this Right meant something much more fundamental than the Right of Property which he violated in order to keep alive. But to the man on the bench, not faced with that problem, the Property Right appeared much more holy than this Right to Live; and it is hardly likely that any amount of logic or dialectics would have altered

what he felt about the Right of another person.

When we as anarchists, assert the Right of people to be free to control their own lives, individually where possible, collectively where necessary, to have and to express their own opinions without hindrance, to appoint their own leaders (if they desire leaders) and to censure or remove them if they need censure or removal—when we assert their Right to the full value of all they produce, their Right to the land and to all the means of production (not as a "trust" held on their behalf by a beneficent bureaucracy but as public property controlled by the people)—when we assert such Rights we do so because this is the way we feel about things. We see no more reason to argue about such matters, to us self-evident, than we should argue with a man who wanted to cut our throats—or, in other words, we postulate our Right to be free with the same axiomatic conviction that inspired the man in the dock who believed in his Right to live.

The Prescriptive Right assumed by politicians is equally arbitrary but far more astonishing. Indeed, it is so astonishing that it is rarely mentioned at all, because if any man were to get up and tell an average crowd what the politician thinks (but refrains as a rule from saying) he would be booed or lynched according to the temper of the crowd. For the characteristic of the politician is that he not only demands for himself every Right that we claim for the individual but all the Rights of all other individuals, or, to put it differently, the Right to trample on them. In a word, he demands Power.

★

IT is not my purpose here to argue against the power of individuals or groups in society. As I have said, you either believe in freedom or you don't; if you do it is impossible to accept the Prescriptive Right of a ruler or ruling class. What is important is to see the insidious methods by which Power is obtained and held—to observe the way in which the very language of democracy, socialism (yes, even anarchism) can be used as part of the demagoguery of our worst enemies.

Even Adolf Hitler does not say to the German people: "I don't care a damn what you want: this is my will, and this is what I shall do." In every utterance he is careful to identify himself with the State, and the State with Germany. Thus, whilst he assumes in actual fact the Prescriptive Right of absolute power, he is careful to conceal this assumption in an elaborate system of mysticism which makes him appear rather as the mouth-piece of the people than the bully with the big stick. Even his title of "leader" is a well chosen misnomer, for a "leader" implies a free community of people choosing one of their own number as *primus inter pares*—certainly not a dictator beyond removal or even criticism.

Similarly the Communist Party, both in Russia and outside it, have combined at all times a dictatorial authoritarianism with highly uplifting phrases. They always speak for "the masses" whether the masses are voting for the Labour Party, watching football matches or merely afraid to open their mouths (except to shout the proper slogans) as in the Soviet Fatherland. But behind this verbal idealisation of "the masses" is a contempt for them which can be traced to Marx himself and to the conviction that, since ideologies are the product of social conditions, these latter must be changed by dictatorial means in order to produce the "correct" ideology among the people. Marxism has no more use for real democracy than have the bourgeois politicians, though the Marxists, like the bourgeois, can talk by the yard about democratic rights when it suits

them. Under the Czarist despotism democratic rights made an excellent rallying cry, rooted as they were in the essential needs of the people. But once the revolt against the Romanovs was achieved and the position of the Bolsheviks established by the October Revolution, Democracy took a back seat. The original Soviets were abolished, and under a constitution which retained their name (a typical demagogic device) a new hierarchy was established. In the new Russia the industrial worker was given weightage over the peasant, all parties but that of the Bolsheviks themselves were abolished, and as no divergence of view was tolerated within that party it was only a matter of time before the absolute dictatorship of a clique was established. Side by side with this development there was, of course, the centralisation of political control, of which the abolition of soldiers and workers' councils was a first step. Thus, before Lenin's death, political power was consolidated in the hands of a few "leaders". Within the Communist Party they could only be criticised at the risk of the critic being expelled. Outside the party it was impossible to organise any kind of opposition, because it was illegal. The transit from such a system to the personal autocracy of Stalin was so obvious that any intelligent child could have foretold it.

★

AND yet we still find naive critics of Stalinism who point to the "good old days" of Lenin and sigh wistfully for their return. What they have failed to grasp is that Stalinism was inherent in Leninism—in the doctrine of Prescriptive Right by which a party assumes its "historic mission" to push, bludgeon, coax, hoax and chivvy "the masses" into so many pigeon-holes. The idea is as old as the Divine Right of Kings, and older. As Berydaev points out, the Communists simply revived in their self-evaluation the idea of the Jews when they labelled themselves the Chosen People. And their conception of their own historical function was as simple as that of the gospel-

writers, who explained events as occurring "that the Scriptures might be fulfilled." It is surely not an exaggeration to say that both Mussolini and Hitler learnt a great deal from these methods, for they too have a neat trick of assuming that there is but one God, History, and dictators are its prophets. Thus the Prescriptive Right assumed by politicians finds a pseudo-scientific "justification"; for, since the activities of politicians are part of history and history is personified as the "judge" of those activities, whatever is done (being history) achieves immediate sanctity.

When one hears people talk of "history" as their justification it is therefore well to remember the old adage "Happy is the nation which has no history." History is merely the record of the *fait accompli*, and in the centuries that it covers it is rarely a happy record. Yet those who seek here the basis of Prescriptive Right have with a sure instinct placed their finger on the right spot; for the "Rights" of rulers and governors are, in actual fact, not rights in any ethical sense, arising from the *fait accompli*. Someone steals a piece of land and in course of time his heirs are the "rightful" owners. A dictator seizes power and his is the "rightful" government. The British conquer India and consecrate the perpetuation of their own brigandage as "Government by Law established"—neatly justifying the conquest by the Law, though the Law has no authority except in the indisputable fact of the conquest—the *fait accompli* again.

This, then, is our most serious challenge to the politicians. We query their good intentions, we doubt the infallibility of the calculations on which they stake human lives. But more than anything else the Prescriptive Right they assume is completely repugnant to us; and we believe that, if the numerous sophistries and deceptions whereby it is concealed could be exposed, the Prescriptive Right of politicians would prove intolerable to the vast majority. Anarchism is not merely an esoteric philosophy. Still less is it a political nostrum. It is the voice of the

human spirit in chains, heard dimly through all the ages in moments of revolt. Our task today is to see to it that, when next that voice is heard, it shall not be silenced by cheap concessions or appeased by the offer of a new Messiah. Where others seek to play with human lives as though they were pieces on a chess-board, we alone say to men and women, "No one was born to be your master. The Earth is yours. Do not offer us Power, or anyone else. Take what is yours."

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

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## Quiz for Aspiring Bums

SUBWAYS ARE FOR SLEEPING. Edmund Love. Gollancz, 1958, 15s.

HOW many readers of FREEDOM know how to walk into a cinema without paying? How many actually do so, as distinct from reading Saroyan on the subject? How many sleep on the Tube, or keep a rota of their friends whose houses they may occupy during their absence?

Answer, none: because the bum, though he exemplifies one classic trait of anarchism, economic independence, is not a true anarchist. To parody another semi-humorous weekly, he is as much like "that shadowy figure, the FREEDOM reader" as the rooting claw of a mole is like the soft, pliable hand of *Homo Sapiens*. One may be perfect and the other degenerate; or the latter may be versatile against the former's premature specialisation; but the fact remains that the bum digs for a living, while the anarchist, though he knows how, does so no oftener than he can help.

Doubtless a questionnaire could be devised which would soon reveal the distinctions (readers may mark their answers with a tick\*):

- |   |     |    |
|---|-----|----|
| 1. Have you bought a new shirt during the last eighteen months? | A   | B  |
|   | Yes | No |

\* (For men only. Love reports that of the several thousand bona-fide tramps handled yearly by one of his characters, only one was a woman).

- |  |     |     |
|--|-----|-----|
| 2. Have you entertained your friends to a meal in a restaurant during the last 6 months?   | Yes | No  |
| 3. Have you reason to believe that your name is on the register of electors?   | Yes | No  |
| 4. Do you sleep more than 3 nights a week in a bed, and if so, is it owned or rented by you (either alone or in conjunction with a partner)? | Yes | No  |
| 5. Apart from people to whom you may make payments under a maintenance order, have you any dependants?                                       | Yes | No  |
| 6. Have you any unearned income (pools or scholarship grants not excluded)?  | Yes | No  |
| 7. Do you use envelope economy labels?   | No  | Yes |
| 8. Do you use reversible collars?  | No  | Yes |
| 9. Do you tip in barbers' shops?   | Yes | No  |
| 10. Do you habitually thumb lifts between places less than 20 miles apart?   | No  | Yes |

Those with more than 5 A's are disqualified. If you score upwards of 7 on the right-hand side, you are a promising hobo, while 10 B's are required for full bumhood.

Anyone who has done well on this test, and would like to progress, should read no further, but buy Mr. Love's book

immediately (that is, if he can't borrow it). Content: a dozen or more individually brilliant stories of successful failure.

One question, for students of sociology: whether the bum, strictly speaking, is known at all in England? A Love-bird seems to be classifiable neither as a tramp, that pathetic victim of economic crisis (Enclosure Acts or Irish potato famine) canonised by Orwell, nor a spiv, who (as somebody has no doubt said before) is a parasite on capitalism. Bums are neither victims nor parasites. What are they then? Perhaps the new Superman. In that case, why have the Americans got them all?

A.D.F.

### CORRECTION

THERE is, I think, a small correction to be made in C.W.'s interesting review (FREEDOM 10/25/58) of Galbraith's *The Affluent Society*. C.W. attributes the characterization of American consumer behaviour as "Borrow, Spend, Buy, Waste, Want" to Kenneth Rexroth, the San Francisco individualist and poet. In fact, this slogan was quoted from *Business Week* (see issues of May 5 and June 16, 1956) by Kenneth Burke in his essay "Recipe for Prosperity" (*Nation*, September 8, 1956, pp. 191-93). Mr. Burke's essay bears strongly on the problem discussed so ably by Galbraith and C.W.

MYRON SIMON.

Dearborn, Mich., U.S.A.

## ELECTION YEAR?

Continued from p. 1

duct of Eton and the Guards, as symbolic of the imperturbable Englishman, enviably superior. And falling for his confidence trick, fail to see that their Supremac is building up a favourable atmosphere precisely in order to get them in his bag. It is our guess—and, please, remember it is only a guess—that the next Budget in April, will be an 'easy' one. Something will come off income tax, perhaps purchase tax also. One or two other financial fiddles can be played and then Macmillan will go to the country for its vote of confidence.

With nothing better to offer—because they play the same game—the Labour and Liberal parties will not convince the electorate that there is any point in changing governments now. And when they have been returned, what is to prevent the Tories reversing their present financial policies if the situation warrants it?

Our standards of living are fixed, not by the wealth we produce but by the needs of sterling, franc, mark or dollar balances, by the demands of the states and the power cliques who rule each one. This year should provide another interesting example of the consummate skill of the British ruling class; of democracy at work.

## Revolutionary Suggestions

AS most of our readers probably know FREEDOM is produced on a voluntary basis by a number of comrades who think it worth while that the paper should continue publication. Such money as is needed is spent on paper and ink, type-setting, printing, postages and sundry minor items; hence the deficit fund. Apart from the actual writing there are numerous tasks involved in actually getting the paper to the subscribers: delivering material to the type-setters, reading proofs, making up the paper, carrying lead type around, folding, running-off and stamping labels, putting labels round the paper and a few other general jobs. This all happens fifty-two times a year; most of the time it is more or less a "labour-of-love", sometimes a bit-of-a-bore and occasionally a bloody nuisance.

Most of the work is carried out by a small nucleus of comrades, some of whom have been at it for decades, others only for years. So far as contributions to the paper are concerned the same applies, but there are a few who write articles on and off and of course a number of readers who sometimes write letters to the paper.

We mention all this because it occurs to us that it may be of interest to those who do not already know how FREEDOM is produced. Without the comparatively few workers and writers who feel responsible for the paper, it could disappear next week, almost without trace. It is rather an uncomfortable thought but true nevertheless. The situation would be improved of course if there were more comrades involved, particularly as contributors, for although it is always possible to fill up a paper with material of some kind, this would not really fulfil the desired function. The possibility of "something happening" to three or four of the editors could prove fatal to the paper.

This is a gloomy note on which to strike a new year, but we offer no apology since it is a true statement of fact, and one which is deplored by the editors themselves. It could however be improved with a little help from a few interested comrades and friends. What about a New Year resolution which could be of benefit to FREEDOM, which is, after all, the only weekly paper in Britain produced voluntarily, without paid advertising, and at the same time represents the view of a fractional minority in which you are interested.

## Pillaging the Future

IN the course of a discussion, H. Wilbur Shurr, the American economist, was asked whether his country's prosperity depended on a constantly increasing level of consumption. He agreed, with pride, that this was so. When asked whether that made the individual simply a unit of consumption who would be guilty of sabotaging the system by reducing his needs, he replied: "Sure; if we become a nation of goddam skinflints we'd all be out of work."

Overlooking the implication that enough is too little, and that prosperity depends on excess consumption, there is the fact that the American citizen is as much a slave to the demands of his economic system as any Russian to the compulsive nature of a communist society. Self-interest, even when practised voluntarily, puts the individual as inescapably in his place as the threat of directives and dogma. When Shurr was asked whether excessive consumption was not gobbling up the earth's resources, and was actually looting what should be passed on to future generations, his reply was: "Unless we can prove that we can produce the goods better than the communists, those future generations will feel we failed miserably in our duty."

The economist, in discussions of this type, sees the future in terms of the next twenty or thirty years. During this period, apparently once and for all time, capitalism and communism are going to have that ultimate showdown. In his microcosm, as tragically as that bowler-hatted City man in Delvaux's painting—lost in his newspaper as he walks through idyllic surroundings of natural and feminine beauty—so the economist, the planner, the politician, those distinctly of the present, inhabit a world completely cut off from Time, its magnitude and its obligations. During the last few weeks we have heard the annual Reith Lectures and have listened with awe to time and distance measured in thousands of million light years, of the infinity ahead, of our own planet's infancy—that is the past being measurable while the future of infinity dwarfs its comparatively recent creation.

Which is reality? Time measured in millions of light years or the next thirty? As one places earthly life within the context of this question, a picture which escapes the imagination of men like Wilbur Shurr, is immediately and frighteningly evoked. It is of the earth

being a storehouse holding certain limited resources, never to be replaced, and man resembling, at best, the queue rushing through Selfridges' double doors on the opening morning of the sales; at worst, soldiers looting conquered villages. For the first time since man began his social life, that is within the space of a few thousand years, or more appropriately during the last fifty years of modern industrial society—and infinity ahead—a number of the resources of our planet have been used up and almost every mineral (metals, oil, chemicals) has a life-span that can be calculated. Matter may be indestructible—but not in the hands of man.

Some time ago, as a light-hearted solution to the crowded roads of London, and bearing in mind the empty Bentleys and Rolls travelling daily between the City and Maidenhead, it was suggested that if the sizes of cars were halved the dimensions of the roads would be automatically doubled. This kind of simple logic, producing as much scorn as a Christian bishop might show for a pacifist, can however be universalised in time as well as space. The life span of any substance of limited dimensions is directly related to the rate of its destruction—or consumption. The commodities and resources which man consumes leads inevitably to seeing the individual as a unit of measurement. Relate this to the probability of the earth's population trebling within the next hundred years, and a revolutionary change taking place in the wants of Asiatics and Africans, and man's heritage becomes not only a measurable quantity but a frighteningly inadequate estate.

Frightening, that is, to those who can project themselves into the minds of those living five hundred years from now, people not so much interested in the fate of capitalism or communism, but in simply facts in the history books, but faced with the consequences of the wasteful consumption of earlier times—ourselves. And certainly, providing that the population has not decreased by natural or wilful means, enjoying not a higher standard of living but an accelerating poverty; ending perhaps by a return to the most primitive patterns.

The dimensions of this change can be gauged by taking only one particular commodity—mineral oil. Discounting the potentialities of nuclear energy, which does not affect the basis of the argument, the life span of all known sources

of oil is considerably less than a hundred years, assuming consumption to grow with rising standards of living. The earth's most obvious and widely-used source of power is therefore, literally, going up in smoke. To say that nuclear energy will solve future problems of power, besides being debatable, does not alter the culpability of the mad selfishness with which we are denying, say, our great great grandchildren any oil at all.

Oil, of course, is only the most obvious of the failing commodities, and it may be that society will be fortunate to return to the pre-internal combustion era. Other commodities, however, even the most elementary of metals, are similarly expendable and irreplaceable. So far, in examining the needs of future generations, the emphasis has been on the supply of food and the inadequacy of our planet to support a population above a certain number. Warnings are frequently forthcoming about the rape of the land,

the need to have overall planning to feed humanity fifty years from now, the limits of cultivation. But what one never hears about are our obligations to those living five hundred years away.

Put into the perspective of Time, and watching the feverish appetite of modern society, the conflicts of political and economic systems, the virtues of cultivating one's own garden, the family as the basis for most individual obligations, the false values of progress, the incidental gluttonies concealed by the crusade to higher living standards—only one conclusion can be drawn. That looking at our irresponsible era, future generations will refer to us as The Looters, The Pillagers, The Age of God and Grab; something like that, anyway.

To end on a personal note, and to remind ourselves of individual importance, readers may remember when buying their next car that they have a duty to choose a Goggomobil rather than a Cadillac. By doing so they will have preserved the world's supply of oil for a measurable fraction of a section. C.H.

## NEW PAMPHLET

TO a writer, debater, or anyone who is likely to be for or against Communism in controversy, this pamphlet\* provides conveniently arranged facts regarding the use made by the international Communist organisations of "fronts" such as the International Union of Students and the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

The reasoning behind it however, is that youth join such organisations out of ignorance. Consequently it exposes the facts behind their activities rationally, and appends a list of organisations of which young people should beware, beginning with the *Union of Working Youth*, Albania and being careful not to omit that outpost of bolshevism in Ubangui Chari, the *Young Workers of Ubangui*.

It seems more likely that people join these fronts for quite irrational reasons; they are impressed by the power of the U.S.S.R. and they enjoy getting as close to dirt as possible without falling in. The person who passes over the horrors of Communist government with remarks about their positive achievements or welcomes the Russian intervention in Hungary "to crush fascism" is indulging a mental perversion. It is a reaction, how-

\**World Youth and the Communists*, by Nils M. Apeland. Phoenix House Ltd., 2s. 6d.

ever unhealthy, to the hypocrisy of the West and the co-existence of Christianity and nuclear war preparations.

If anything will get through to these people, it will probably not be a rational argument such as this pamphlet presents. It is sponsored by the International Union of Socialist Youth, and after all, they cannot go too far in denouncing the hypocrisy of those who write "Peace" on their banners and then advocate the policies of a power block.

P.H.

## WHERE IS THAT LAST MINUTE EFFORT?

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!  
WEEK 51

|                        |       |
|------------------------|-------|
| Deficit on Freedom     | £1040 |
| Contributions received | £801  |
| DEFICIT                | £239  |

December 19 to December 23

Margate: T.L. 11/-; Walsall: R.J. 7/-;  
Newton Abbot: E.D. £1/3/0; Rhu: J.B. £1;  
Bronx Group: per M.G. £8/15/0; Salinas:  
F.C. 7/-; London: J.S.\* 3/-; London: W.F.\*  
9/9; Hailsham: L.S. 2/-.

|                         |      |    |   |
|-------------------------|------|----|---|
| Total                   | 12   | 17 | 9 |
| Previously acknowledged | 788  | 3  | 5 |
| 1958 TOTAL TO DATE      | £801 | 1  | 2 |

## PARANOIA

GENERALLY speaking, the term "paranoia" has come to be associated with ideas of persecution—the so-called "persecution mania". The paranoid person is conceived of as perpetually misinterpreting everything that happens to him as though it were an attack on his well-being, his freedom or his very life. It is important to remember however that the word paranoid stems from two Greek words and means literally "beside reality". The essence of paranoia is that it is concerned with a system of ideas which does not depend upon the ordinary process of reality-testing on which rational beliefs are based. In addition to being "beside reality", the paranoid system of beliefs has a more or less logical internal consistency. If another person challenges the rationality of some fantastic belief which a paranoid holds, the paranoid will refer to some other parts of the system of his beliefs and prove logical consistency as if this were a test of rationality.

It is the purpose of this article to demonstrate that paranoid sufferers are not usually confined to mental hospitals but are at large, and that their paranoia is a very influential element in the shaping of social policy. Those paranoid sufferers who are inmates of mental hospitals are there because the nature of their paranoid beliefs is of an unusual, individual and generally socially disapproved form, which makes it very difficult for them to live in the ordinary community. The rejection of the validity of their peculiarly individual system of paranoid beliefs by society, makes these poor sufferers outcasts and builds up the huge edifice of a sense of persecution which is often the most obvious symptom of the paranoid patient in the mental hospital.

Where the form that paranoia takes is common and socially approved of, no sense of persecution need arise. In fact, society provides various channels by which approved forms of paranoid belief can find expression, and indeed reward. What is contended here is that paranoia is not a condition that divides the "lunatic" from the "sane", but it is a mental mechanism which can operate in all of us. If this paranoid mechanism comes in conflict with reality, instead of existing side by side with rational mental processes as in the average person, then the mind in which the conflict occurs breaks down into illness. Persecutory ideas and even hallucinations develop, and the sufferer is lost in his own deluded world.

To be concerned with criticism of society and those of its institutions which seem to make no sense at all—war, political oppression, the waste of economic resources and the waste of human effort in self-immolatory practices—is to be concerned with the study of irrationality. Many public policies and private practices seem to be simply the work of lunatics. It is unfortunately true that many individuals in positions of great power in the world to-day are truly insane, and

their insanity determines the power that they wield. This has always been true historically, and to-day it is all the more dangerous because of the greatly increased technical resources at the disposal of such lunatics. While saying this I know that I invite the instantaneous disbelief and repudiation of the idea that many of the powerful figures in the world to-day are, judged by objective standards, insane. The idea is so repugnant to us that we cannot stomach it: if someone were to break it to a helpless trainload of passengers that the engine driver who was in control of the express travelling at full speed, was a homicidal lunatic, they would have much the same reaction of disbelief at all costs. We concede it as a fact that powerful leaders of men who have caused the rise and fall of empires in the past were often insane, but it is uncomfortable to speculate about the sanity of those who control our destinies to-day.

However the ordinary men and women who in their daily lives support and implement policies which are paranoid are not themselves insane. One can only explain this paradox by a consideration of the paradox of the rational system and the paranoid system of thought existing side by side in the average person.

The hospitalized paranoid patient is not necessarily stupid or irrational in matters which do not involve the sphere of his paranoid beliefs. It is somewhat curious to have a pleasant and intelligent conversation with someone who appears to be a sensible sort of person, until he refers in an off-hand way, say, to the international organization that is trying to persecute him by means of tainted wireless waves. An invariable characteristic of the paranoid is the tendency to refer the most impersonal of happenings directly to himself. If a paranoid suffers from the delusion, say, that the G.P.O. is plotting against him to ruin him, whenever he sees a postman in the street he will be convinced that the postman is looking at him in a peculiar way and has been sent to spy upon him. Also, if he sees a man who is not a postman looking at him on a bus, it will occur to him how devilish it is of the G.P.O. to have him followed by plain-clothes postmen. Chance remarks heard in the street are taken as referring to him, and he looks round for the mail-van, post-office or pillar-box from which the operations are being directed. Everything begins to be woven into his ego-centred delusion; radio programmes seem to be directed at him, advertisement posters seem to contain innuendoes about him, and the real world recedes in importance except in so far as certain elements of it are interpreted as manifestations of the malignancy of the G.P.O.

There is obviously a wide range of phenomena associated with the illness of paranoia. Sometimes paranoids will have auditory hallucinations—they hear voices which they may interpret as God or demons speaking to them,

often making frightful accusations. But although paranoia is often associated with serious mental illnesses such as schizophrenia, there is no hard and fast line that can be drawn between the "sane" and the "insane" as far as paranoia is concerned. We all have our paranoid forms of thought to a greater or less degree, and most of us manage to reach some sort of balance between the paranoid and the rational areas of thought in our daily lives.

### Paranoia in Everyday Life

STUDY of patients severely incapacitated by their paranoia reveals the main characteristics of the paranoid mechanism.

- (1) It is delusory in that the ordinary criteria by which we evaluate and accept or reject evidence in forming everyday judgments is not used in paranoid thought.
- (2) Elements of real experience are arbitrarily selected and woven into the paranoid scheme torn out of their proper context.
- (3) It is highly self-centred. All sorts of unrelated material is related to the self, and from this misinterpretation of reality ideas of persecution frequently derive.
- (4) The paranoid scheme of ideas has some internal logical consistency.
- (5) Although slightly modifiable by rational argument, any such modification is liable to cause the paranoid person great emotional distress.

The most striking examples of paranoid thinking in everyday life occur in the realm of religion and politics. Religious systems of belief reject the ordinary canons of evidence and substitute faith; for the natural they substitute the supernatural. The delusions of insane paranoids are paralleled by the beliefs of religious people; for they believe that the ordinary laws of cause and effect can be altered by prayer. They select elements of reality and mingle them with their supernatural creations to form a more or less internally consistent scheme, like any other paranoid. The highly self-centred aspects of paranoia are manifest in both religion and politics but in a group fashion. The Jewish religion, for instance, interprets all the floods, earthquakes, wars, pestilences and famines occurring around Mesopotamia and Egypt for many centuries, entirely in terms of the welfare of their own ancestors—God's chosen people. The Christian sects are no less self-centred; they are convinced that they and they alone have the monopoly of truth and have sought to improve their religion, and the social and moral implications of it, in every corner of the world no matter how grossly inappropriate it may have been to existing cultures.

G.

(To be continued)

## The Story of an Anarchist Paper

# SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA

ON October 19th, 1907, the first issue of a new workers' paper appeared in Barcelona. It bore the title *Solidaridad Obrera*, Workers' Solidarity, and since then it has continued to advocate the ideal contained in its name, with only temporary breaks brought about by the physical preponderance of its adversaries.

The 51st anniversary of this date was marked by our comrades of the Spanish Libertarian Movement in exile, with the presentation of a special number of the weekly *Solidaridad Obrera* of Paris, devoted entirely to recording the history of the first 51 years of the paper's existence. The cover, and almost the complete text, of the issue No. 1 are reproduced. We see, on the front a design which must have been more familiar at the beginning of the century than it is now, a sleeping worker being roused by a female figure carrying a scroll, and whose thoughts and words are conjuring up a vision of emancipated workers, raising on high the ideals of solidarity and freedom.

Two months previously, delegates from several organisations had met, and decided to set up a Federation, to be called "Workers' Solidarity". The first issue of its organ shows, too vividly to be easily recaptured, the society into which it was launching its message—a society in which seven days of work each week, and up to thirteen hours per day, were common. There was little security in the rights to organise, or to carry on propaganda aimed at improving the conditions of life. Masses of the people were brutalized and apathetic, yet here and there, these small groups had managed to gather together and make the voice of libertarian communism heard in the workshops and factories.

Many are the arguments which have taken place around the relations between anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism. Both points of view would find evidence in this publication of fifty years ago. On the one hand, the ideas of an ultimate revolution, in which the people would directly supplant capitalism and the state, and replace it by a free communist society, were being reflected and discussed side by side with the news and encouragement of the day to day struggles of the workers. In fact most of the first number was taken up with reports and comments on strikes. Against that, it is clear that the ideology behind the federation and its paper were far from being "pure" anarchism. A list of immediate demands is concerned with reduction of the hours of work, increases in pay, the institution of compulsory, rational education as a solution to the problem of child labour, etc.

However, the history of *Solidaridad Obrera* speaks for its own value to the cause of the Spanish working people. From the start it was involved in violent campaigns. In April 1908 the Maura government used the pretence of some terrorist incidents to propose laws even more drastically attacking the freedom

### A Calendar of Violence

#### January.

10. Famous British personality murdered.

#### July.

6. Police fire on crowd after bomb outrage had killed 20 people in market.
7. More murders: more British troops and cruiser sent in.
11. Another week of terrorism: many deaths.
15. Bomb explosion in Bazaar: 10 killed. Troops took control.
25. Another bomb outrage: 47 people killed.

#### August.

In three weeks of terrorism 174 killed, 183 wounded.

#### October.

5. Situation serious: large British reinforcements sent in.
6. High Commissioner arrived in England to discuss situation.
9. It was decided to send further reinforcements, bringing strength up to 17 battalions of infantry, 2 cavalry regiments, an artillery battery and armoured cars.
12. Bombs thrown at British troops.
16. High Commissioner returned: new punitive measures.
19. Rebels rounded up by troops. Cyprus? No, this was Palestine in 1938. And so it goes on . . . E.F.C.

of reunion. *Soli* took part in, and gave its aid to, a great campaign against this proposal, which was dropped as a result. Other campaigns were carried on for the release of workers imprisoned in the village of Alcala del Valle, following the clash between people and police in which several deaths occurred; and against the radical paper *El Progreso* which had sacked some workers unjustly. In 1909 came the movement of rebellion against the colonial war being waged in North Africa. The terrible repression which followed this event led to the suspension of the paper by the police. In 1910, the first national workers' congress was held, and as a result the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labour) was formed. *Soli* became one of its organs, being edited by the Catalan Regional Federation. Another long suspension was soon to follow when the C.N.T. declared a national strike in sympathy with the workers of Bilbao. The syndicates and their publications were declared illegal. The next year saw the Mexican revolution, and the Spaniards enthusiastically gave support to the libertarian achievements which were made in the course of that struggle. The variety of questions in which the anarcho-syndicalist paper found itself involved is shown again and again. Particular brutalities by the police, efforts by the textile workers to bring about widespread and substantial improvements in their conditions of work, and the case in which religious students had interrupted a lecturer while he was expounding the theory of evolution, all found *Solidaridad Obrera* in the thick of the fight.

The need began to be felt for a daily paper to urge the revolutionary syndicalist cause, but lack of financial resources proved a handicap difficult to overcome. It had been hoped to greet May Day, 1914 with the first issue of the daily, but this proved impossible. With the outbreak of war, the paper took a firm anarchist stand, in opposition to some other factions of the left. It is worth recording the appeal made to the workers of Spain:

The truth is that this war which is causing blood to flow throughout the battlefields of Europe has been caused like all previous ones, by the existence of the state, which is the political form of privilege.

The mission of the anarchists and syn-

dicalists, whatever the place or position in which they find themselves in the present tragedy, is to carry on proclaiming that there is only one possible war of liberation; that which the oppressed of all countries wage against their oppressors, the exploited against the exploiters. Our mission is to call the slaves to revolt against their masters.

Anarchist and syndicalist propaganda and action should preferably be devoted to weakening and disintegrating the various states, cultivating the spirit of rebellion, and developing discontent among peoples and armies.

In times of such agitation, when millions of people die, sacrificing their lives for an idea, it is most necessary to demonstrate to these men the generosity, greatness and the beauty of the anarchist ideal; social justice brought about by the free association of producers; war and militarism suppressed for ever; freedom gained by the destruction of the state and its apparatus of coercion.

Long live Anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism!

At last, the day arrived when the comrades were able to put on the streets the first number of the daily *Solidaridad Obrera*, on October 7th, 1916. It is for the period from this date to 1924 that the lack of archives was most troublesome to the comrades in Paris who prepared the special number, (from which the factual basis for this article is chiefly taken—the opinions are the writer's own). The period seems to have been a difficult one, and at times the particular ferocity of the police in Barcelona led to the publication being transferred to Valencia. The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera caused the suspension of all workers organisations and publications from 1924 to 1931.

The declaration of the Republic saw the paper appearing once more, legally free, but still in practice seized and attacked, and its editors and collaborators prosecuted and imprisoned at every step. At this time the circulation of the daily was 26,000—a figure on which it was difficult to keep going financially; and the economic problem was made worse by the successive seizures. During 1932 it was seized 32 times.

However, the work had born fruit. The magnificent revolutionary achievements of the people, especially in Catalonia, in meeting the fascist rising with

a social revolution, would not have taken place but for the patient propaganda of people such as those behind the C.N.T. and *Solidaridad Obrera*. The issue of July 19th, is reproduced, with more than a third of the front page deleted, by the republican censor! The next three years were occupied by the double tragedy; the fascist forces gaining the upper hand in the military war, while in Republican territory the activities of the political parties were destroying the revolution. Although the editors tended to accept the co-operation of anarchists in the antifascist front, they were attacked just as violently by their new-found political friends as by their open enemies. The C.N.T. presses were denied newsprint, and the editor of that period says that the censorship was so severe that they needed twice as much material as would fill each issue, to be sure that enough would be passed. In 1937 *Soli* reached its highest circulation of 186,000 daily. In January of 1939, the organisation of the paper followed the path of the refugees into exile in France.

Half a century of revolutionary activities, in which the Spanish people have shown themselves better equipped for a libertarian struggle than those of anywhere else in the world, and yet Spain is still under the heel of dictatorship. Yet the work of the anarchists is still going on. On secret presses throughout Spain, underground leaflets are printed and circulated, bearing the names of the anarchist periodicals, including that of *Solidaridad Obrera*, keeping alive the knowledge that opposition to the régime is still active and vocal. In exile, the publications of the same name in Paris and Mexico carry the voice of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism throughout their small but widespread circulations.

The difficulties in the path of this organ of the revolutionary workers of Catalonia have been greater than those faced by most editors, and at times the work must have seemed hopeless. Even if to-day the practical realisations of Spanish anarchism cannot be seen in material fact, the workers who gave it strength can be sure that their contribution to the liberative trend in history has been one of the greatest, and the years to come will provide ample opportunity for the continuation of their work. Long live *Solidaridad Obrera!* P.H.

### LAND NOTES

## A New Rural-Urban Civilization?

" . . . there's so much war in the world, Evil has so many faces, the plough so little

Honour, the labourers are taken, the fields untended,

And the curving sickle is beaten into the sword that yields not.

There the East is in arms, here Germany marches.

Neighbour cities, breaking their treaties, attack each other:

The wicked War-god runs amok through all the world."

—GEORGICS, Book I.

IN the foreword to his translation of Virgil's *Georgics*, Cecil Day Lewis begins with this paragraph:—

"The fascination of the Georgics for many generations of Englishmen is not difficult to explain. A century of urban civilization has not yet materially modified the instinct of a people once devoted to agriculture and stock-breeding, to the chase, to landscape-gardening, to a practical love of nature. No poem yet written has touched these subjects with a more expert knowledge or more tenderness than the Georgics. In our love of domestic animals, in the millions of suburban and cottage gardens we may see the depth and tenacity of our roots in earth to-day. It may, indeed, happen that this war together with the spread of electrical power, will result in a decentralising of industry and the establishment of a new rural-urban civilisation working through smaller social units. The factory in the fields need not remain a dream of poets and planners: it has more to commend it than the allotment in the slums."

It must be remembered that this translation was published during the war, when agriculture had much more immediate significance as a very necessary means of life and not only this, but, as a haven from the cities threatened with physical destruction. Now when the

destructiveness of modern industrial civilisation is far more subtle and thorough the attractiveness and innate soundness of life based on close association with its sources has receded. There has been a half-hearted attempt to spread the population in new towns. These are not in any sense the sort of thing that Day Lewis had in mind when he spoke of rural-urban civilisation working through smaller social units. The demands of a highly centralised industrial society depend on the shattered conglomeration of family units of which the television force is a valuable medium through which such a structure can be maintained. How long such a crabbed and narrow structure can be maintained against the necessity of mankind to grow and widen his love and measure the fruits of his work in terms of health and inner satisfaction. People have become a maw through which the products of an industrial civilisation must be pushed through in ever increasing quantity of goods, and to spend their time getting the money to do it. The time, energy and material consumed in this wasteful system could be well spent in trying to find the basic stuff of a really satisfying social organisation. The number of people who when they have made money move at once to the country to buy a farm is very high. Many do this to escape tax but this is not the only reason. There is still something of quality about farm butter. It is said that one cannot tell the difference between a certain brand of margarine and butter, but I should say that this is due to the poor quality of butter.

### Milk Economics

In order to take advantage of the higher price of winter milk, the bulk of the herd here calve in the Autumn. Therefore there is a large number of calves to be reared. To rear them on whole milk is reckoned to be uneconomical. On some farms the calf is removed

at birth although it is now generally recognised that the colostrum has great beneficial effect on the calf. From the mother's warm uterus where everything that is needed is provided at the right temperature the calf is dropped on to a cold floor often in draughty conditions, then in about three days is forced to drink in gulps from a bucket a liquid known as 'milk equivalent'. The result is scouring and slow progress and a disease known as white scour which can very soon kill a calf or make a severe check to its progress. At one time a container with a teat was used to copy the conditions and rate of flow of natural feeding. This however is costly in labour and of recent years there has been an attempt to provide a bulk container with a number of tubes which prevent the calf from feeding too rapidly. The difference however between a calf reared on the cow and the artificially fed one is most marked and comparative tests could well be made over a period of years to see what effect this artificial feeding has on health, longevity and milk yields. It is contended that this makes no difference but as most trials are carried out by those who have a vested interest in the sale of foodstuffs to farmers it is doubtful whether there is complete objectivity. Certainly the initial cost of natural feeding is higher but one wonders whether in the long run these economics will prove to be shortsighted.

Many farmers spend at least one day a week at the markets. The pubs being open all day are probably quite an attraction. As far as dairy cattle are concerned however, the market is a bad place to buy stock, unless there is a special sale and show. On the whole the occasions that I have to attend a market are few and generally I find it a slightly nauseating experience in spite of the fact that there is control over the handling of animals. Markets do not appear to serve any basically useful function.

ALAN ALBON.

## The Populous Solitude

ONE of our artistic friends did a collage once, of a decaying leaf, perfect in form, but a rotting skeleton. He called it "S.W.5."

In S.W.5 area last week, a woman was found dead in the back of an abandoned Hudson car parked in one of the squares. She had been sleeping in it for several nights.

When the body was found a caretaker said: "Poor thing. Maybe she needed help."

A resident said: "I didn't know about this until today, but I gather people did know she was there and thought she was dead."

Another said: "Well, it's none of our business if someone wants to sleep in a car."

Here we have examples of the perfect anonymity of the great city. Nobody knows, and what is worse, nobody cares. In addition we have the 'good form' of S.W.5 which feels that such things are best left to the authorities. So the woman was left to sleep and die in the car. Unfortunately (or fortunately?) the owner of the car was unknown too, so he did not assert his property rights and have her removed to prison for trespass or to a welfare centre.

S.W.5 retains the skeletal form of the fine old Victorian residences, and squares but "the force that through the green fuse drives" the elemental sap of communal awareness and responsibility is dead and the stage towards Mumford's Necropolis is reached. J.R.

## MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Regular Sunday meetings now held at "Marquis of Granby" Public House, Rathbone Street (corner of Percy Street, Rathbone Place and Charlotte Street), 7.30 p.m.

JAN. 5.—Jack Robinson on FOOD FOR THOUGHT

JAN. 11.—Tony Gibson on ANARCHISM—A NON-CONFORMIST SECT

JAN. 18.—Vic Mayes on WHO ARE THE ANARCHISTS?

JAN. 25.—Charles Humana Subject to be announced.

### EAST LONDON DEBATING CONTEST DEBATE

Second round meeting between the Malatesta Club Debating Society and the Conservative Trade Union Advisory Committee will debate the motion:

"That the interests of Great Britain and the World in general will be best served by the continuation of the present Government."

at the Conservative Centre, 112 Cannon Street, E.C.4, on Tuesday, 6th January, at 7 p.m.

Speakers for the Malatesta Club will be Rita Milton and Philip Sansom. Conservative speakers not yet named.

### ORPINGTON HUMANIST GROUP

Sherry's Restaurant

(opposite War Memorial)

Sunday, January 11th, at 7 p.m.

S. E. PARKER on ANARCHISM

### CROYDON LIBERTARIAN GROUP

For details of meetings and other activities, please write to:

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

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