

THE REVENGE OF CASTRO

THE liberator from the hills is a romantic figure and many a community groaning under a tyranny has turned its eyes to the misty mountains and strained its ears for the thunder of hoofs that would tell of his coming to strike terror into the cowardly hearts of the oppressors, and to wreak a terrible vengeance for their crimes.

A romantic figure . . . and vengeance—or poetic justice, as it is sometimes quaintly called—is a romantic concept. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and all is straight for the future. Unfortunately, communal life is not like that, and tranquil social relationships cannot be built upon the foundation of rough justice, unless it is nothing more than a spontaneous outburst of a people's anger and does not become institutionalised under a new authority.

When a nation which has suffered under a dictatorship all the indignities and cruelties upon which a dictator inevitably depends—especially when he feels threatened by any popular forces beneath his heel—when a nation suddenly finds the means to burst its chains and bring the dictatorship down, it is understandable that many accounts will be settled. And when those accounts are written in the red blood of loved ones and comrades in the struggle, nothing short of blood may settle the account.

The Real Revolution

The bursting of the chains, the overthrow of the existing government, is what is usually thought of as the revolution. For the anarchist, however, such an explosion is nothing more than the demolition of a rotten structure and the clearing of a site prior to the building anew of a different structure. And that building, that act of reconstruction, that is the revolution which matters, and it can be said to be a failure if the

new structure is built to the same plan as the old.

Now there are three kinds of demolition squad. We can have one which consists of a small number of opponents of the *Status quo* who plot and work away to snatch power from the existing government and put themselves in the saddle. Or we can have a whole community coming to hate the existing government and suddenly rising up in blind anger and bringing it down, only to elect a new government in its place, pledged to operate the same institutions as the old regime in a way more acceptable to the people—to start with at least. Thirdly, we could have an uprising of a whole community aware that what was necessary was not a different batch of people at the top, operating the same old institutions, but a totally different social structure without institutions of government at all.

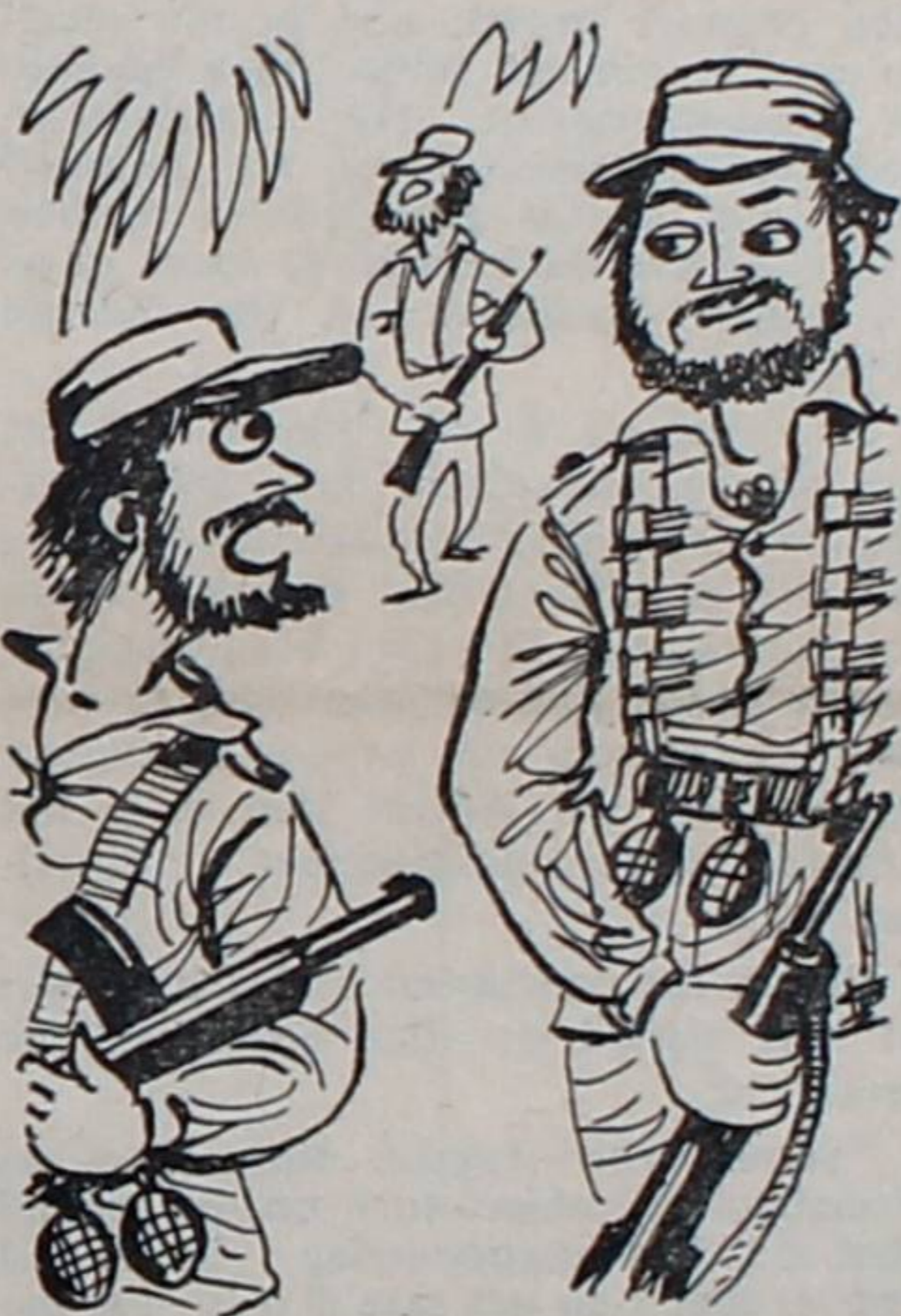
Seeking Power

Most revolutions come about through one or other of the first two methods, or a mixture of the two. Palace revolutions invariably excite the general populace to riot or demonstrate and thus the new rulers can pretend to speak in the name of the people. Nasser's coming to power in Egypt falls roughly into this category, while the Hungarian revolution was almost exactly an operation in the second manner. The Spanish revolution was a much more complicated affair, sparked off by factor one—a Palace revolt by the Fascist generals and involving factors two and three in a revolutionary and civil war situation, in which a large minority of the people were conscious and desirous of a new social structure altogether but were submerged under the weight of confused circumstances and the power of the enemy.

Into which category falls Castro's revolution in Cuba? It is two years since Fidel Castro sailed back from exile to a marshy stretch of Cuba's coast with sixty comrades to walk straight into the guns of Batista's waiting soldiers. Two years since he and a couple of dozen others managed to escape from that ambush and get to the mountains where he built up the force which finally drove out Batista. He started off fairly and squarely in category one—the small band who seek to get power.

In the years of his struggle an underground organisation was built up which gathered funds in the United States and Latin America, smuggled arms to the guerrillas in the mountains, maintained contact with exiles, gathered information and all in all provided the means for Castro's victory. His supporters were

Continued on p. 4



"Hey, Gonzales, now we have ze chance—is better we shoot ze old government or ze new one?"

Constitution Suspended in Malta Another 'Minor' Country Loses Its Rights

THE constitution in Malta has been suspended recently for the fourth time since 1930. Rule in Malta has now passed into the hands of an appointed council controlled from Whitehall and headed by the British Governor. Thus, once again, another 'gallant little ally' has been brought to heel.

In World War I the Maltese provided a garrison for the island, manned minesweepers and provided labour battalions for service at Gallipoli and Salonika. In World War II the island was battered by Italian and German bombers. By June 30th, 1943, 1,436 civilians had been killed, 3,415 wounded or injured, and 6,952 buildings destroyed or damaged. In return for defending the British garrison George VI awarded the George Cross "to the island fortress of Malta to bear witness to a heroism and devotion that will long be famous in history". Together with the medal the British Government made "a gift" of £10,000,000 and announced that after the war full responsible government was to be restored to Malta.

No Co-operation

Blame for the recent constitutional breakdown has been put on the former Prime Minister, Dom Mintoff, who demanded that Malta should become a "free port" under the Security Council and undertaking to "join no military alliance and to repair the merchant or naval shipping of any nation". The reply from the British Government is the suspension of the constitution but—"all Maltese interests represented through a nominated council". So far both major parties left and right in Malta have refused to take any seats in the council, and already under the "emergency" regulations which came into force last April, the Editor of the Labour Party morning

newspaper has been jailed and his newspaper suspended "for bringing the Governor into contempt".

The realities of the Maltese economy have given the British Government a strong argument with which to support its actions. For various reasons agricultural production is limited (production could be improved), the population gets bigger and bigger and there are no industries to speak of. Thus it is argued that Malta would starve were it not for British paternalism. But we know that the monster parent only feeds its young if assured of something in return. Britain has not taken responsibility for Malta because of gratitude for past deeds, but because the island is still a useful little base situated between Gibraltar and Cyprus and could be, as in the last war, "of the first importance as a base of operations".

Numerically of course the Maltese do not amount to much and it is this which makes it easier for the British to adopt such a contemptuous attitude. Colonial policy makers always appear to be so stupid and do not seem to consider the possibility that a collective desire for "freedom" need not necessarily have a materialistic basis, or that people are not easily crushed by strong-arm methods when they are inspired by what they consider to be a just cause.

Colonial Hypocrisy

No doubt it is argued if Britain did not have a foothold in Malta some other country would and the Maltese might be even more enslaved. Situations like these must inevitably occur all over the world unless there is a revolution in ideas both on the part of the ruled and rulers, but we are dealing with the present and what is particularly deplorable is the automatic response of Colonial authorities to any plea for independence.

As anarchists we are not persuaded that the Maltese would be free (as we understand it) once British control is removed. People who need governments and gods are already enslaved even if these are of their own choosing. But, as we constantly point out, Western propagandists repeatedly compare the "free world" with the slavery which exists in Communist countries, and yet a year rarely passes without some voice crying out from a remote corner of the world for help—from British bullets, whips and gallows as well as from Russian jackboots. There are no firing squads in Malta yet, only jails for those who refuse to accept dictatorial government seated in another country. For various reasons it is doubtful if Malta will develop a resistance movement on the pattern of Cyprus but if it did there is no reason to hope that the British authorities would behave any differently.

Since the Maltese people have served the British so well we suggest that they are lent the money with which to develop the "free port" system, given the means to improve where possible cultivable land, and encouraged to limit their families if only temporarily. Such aid as is necessary amounts to so little that it would never be missed, and Britain having done something decent without the usual demands in return for assistance might have one small nation at least looking at her with love instead of hatred.

R.

Reflections on the Disease of our Time Security-Mindedness

THE dominating feature of the Labour Party's "Personal Guide to the Future Labour Offers You" is Security from the womb to the tomb. With homes and jobs for everyone and education and careers irrespective of class and financial distinctions; a future for youth, and an old-age without fear; value for money (by smashing the monopolies and keeping pound sterling "strong") and a healthy people irrespective of costs; and last, but not least, defending us, with H-bombs if necessary, from any would-be aggressor, the Labour Party is offering just what Mass Man craves for most: Security.

Mr. Macmillan too offers the British people security in return for their votes. Only last week-end in Newcastle-upon-Tyne he was pointing out that what Labour was only promising in some possible future, the Tories were actually providing in the present: more houses, more schools and smaller classes, less taxes and higher pensions. BUT

"Of course, in an economy as delicately balanced as ours there is bound to be some fluctuation. There are bound to be, as the techniques and industries change, difficulties in this or that locality" [but all this can be easily managed] "so long as we do not let events take charge of us but remain in charge of them."

This passing reference to our delicately balanced economy is a polite way of saying that however much

the government-of-the-day might wish to ensure full-employment and prosperity for all, security for all, the fact remains that for one reason or another some will always be more secure than others, some will have to join the dole queues, some young people will leave school only to sign on at the labour exchange, some old people will have to expect eviction from their homes or be expected to live on less than the minimum . . .

★

THE security-mindedness of people in the Western world, which gives rise to the growing incidence of mental diseases associated with anxiety and insecurity, is to our minds the direct result of a social organisation based on centralised government, and of production and distribution based on profit and not needs. We believe that Man at all times in his history has sought security, (if only on the grounds that he has survived to this day, or rather has managed to survive when the "forces of nature" coupled with Man's lack of knowledge of himself and his surroundings made survival an end in itself). But unless we make a clear distinction between the security-mindedness of modern industrial man (which generally leads either to a smug, self-satisfied but amorphous conformism, or to the mental hospitals) and the struggles of

Continued on p. 3

European Congress for Nuclear Disarmament Some Call for Direct Action

WE are heartened by some of the proposals made by delegates to the European Congress for Nuclear Disarmament.

We would like to discuss at length in another issue the proposals made by Bertrand Russell, but in the meantime we are happy to give what support we can to some of the ideas expressed by the delegates, notably Dr. Robert Jungk who suggests, as we are ourselves constantly suggesting, that disobedience in the face of governmental folly is an effective way of obstructing the continuation of nuclear arms development, provided it is carried out on a large enough scale. Included in Dr. Jungk's seven-point European Charter which could form the 'philosophical basis for the Congress's work' are the following suggestions:

" . . . the public must guard itself against official attempts to minimise modern dangers, refuse to be the tools of military and political experts, and see through propagandistic falsehoods.

The proposed charter ended: 'We shall refuse to co-operate in any way in projects which we recognise as dangerous to mankind, even if this means that we would find ourselves in conflict with national laws which have been made

obsolete by the coming of the nuclear age.

Too little publicity is given to anti-nuclear feelings which exist among people in other countries. It is therefore gratifying to learn from Dr. Grueber, Dean of Berlin Cathedral, that the whole town of Dortmund ("in the heart of the industrial Ruhr") was protesting against the British Army's decision to station its missiles on the local aerodrome. There is no reason to suppose that the people of Dortmund town would not protest equally strongly if the missiles were "German".

Direct Action proposals were also made by Professor Karl Barth (Basle) who suggested that "people should consider refusing military service" (already being done by pacifists, anarchists and some socialists), and by Pastor Andre Trocne from Paris for people to form a resistance movement whose "members might have to face jail or even death".

In addition a march into the Sahara Desert was proposed on an international level to protest against the possible testing there of the "French" atomic bomb.

PEOPLE AND IDEAS:

PROFESSOR OF SOCIALISM

OF the academic mentors of the Labour movement in this century, Professor G. D. H. Cole, who died last week at the age of 69, was perhaps the most likeable, and certainly the most libertarian; differing from Professor Tawney and the late Harold Laski in his assessment of the role of the State, and in his life-long pre-occupation with the question of self-government in industry. Cole's influence as a teacher spread far beyond Oxford, his scholarship and his literary output were so immense that if you have read anything in the fields of economics, social and trade union history, sociology and political science, you are bound to have read several of his books. Something of his personal predilections emerges when you think of the historical characters of whom he wrote with most affection and understanding: Defoe, Cobbett, Robert Owen, William Morris.

Douglas Cole's first book *The World of Labour* was published in 1913. It was followed by his work with William Mellor on the idea of *The Greater Unionism*. In 1915, with others, they started the National Guilds League as a successor to the Guilds Restoration League which had introduced the idea of guild socialism. In the brief life of this movement, (admirably described by Geoffrey Ostergaard in his FREEDOM series "The Tradition of Workers' Control"), Cole and his associates sought to hammer out a coherent philosophy of industrial autonomy. In his *Self-Government in Industry* (1918) he differentiated it from anarchism and syndicalism thus:

"Anarchism set out to destroy State Sovereignty without replacing it: Syndicalism denied the sovereignty of the State only to enthrone the General Confederation of Labour in its stead. Guild Socialist, recognising that a purely industrial sovereign is no advance on a purely political sovereign, must create a political theory to fit the Guild idea."

By 1920, in his *Guild Socialism Restated*, he had reached the conclusion that the territorial concomitant of industrial guilds was, not a single parliamentary assembly, but a system of co-ordinated functional representative bodies:

"The omniscient State with its omniscient Parliament... must be destroyed or painlessly extinguished... (for) whatever the structure of the new society may be, the Guildsman is sure that it will have no place for the survival of the factotum State of to-day."

Ostergaard in his discussion of Cole's important modifications of the guild theory, (important because the discussions between Cole, Hobson and Tawney in those days, will sooner or later have to

be argued through all over again, unless you think that the present structure of industry with its two poles of private and state capitalism is going to last forever), comments that Cole's Guild Commonwealth, "was, in fact, much nearer to the federalist society envisaged by the anarchists than it was to the Fabian Collectivist State".

In presenting the case of the Miners' Federation to the Sankey Commission in 1919, Cole made the Royal Commission a sounding-board for discussing the theory of industrial democracy, but in the next few years both the syndicalist and the guild socialist movements were fading out with the post-war slump, the government's financial policy which killed the hopeful beginnings of the Building Guilds, and the disastrous transfer of radical loyalties to the Soviet Union. The guild movement itself split, with a right-wing frightened off by the Bolshevik bogey, a left-wing which became the Bolshevik mouthpiece, and a centre faction which Douglas and Margaret Cole tried to steer clear of political involvements.

Maurice Reckitt, from the right wing, wrote at the time:

"Mr. G. D. H. Cole
Is a bit of a puzzle,
A curious rôle
That of G. D. H. Cole,
With a Bolshevik soul
In a Fabian muzzle;
Mr. G. D. H. Cole
Is a bit of a puzzle."

COLE resolved his puzzle in the next three decades with historical research and writing, with the efforts to rescue the Fabian Society from Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, with his work at Oxford, becoming successively Reader in Economics and Professor of Social and Political Theory, and with his dozens of volumes for the general reader on economic and political topics. His political attitudes grew closer to those of the Labour Party leadership, and he was once a parliamentary candidate. With the coming of the Labour government after the second world war however, his rôle changed and he became one of its most forthright critics from the left. *The Manchester Guardian*, in its obituary last week, erroneously I am sure, reduced his criticism to the level of disappointed careerism, remarking that the Labour government "made little or no use of his services and—to his own annoyed disillusionment—showed few signs of ever wanting his advice on any matter of importance."

But it is perfectly true, and it applies not only to Cole, that there was an element of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds about his continuing

to lend his support and his moral authority with generations of students, to the party whose policy was quite contrary in many respects to his beliefs.

At the beginning of 1951 Cole resigned from the chairmanship of the Fabian Society because of its support for the Labour government's policy over the Korean War. A leading article in the *Guardian* commented pertinently at the time, that

"Professor G. D. H. Cole is declaring that he wants the North Koreans (against whom British soldiers, sent by the Labour government happen to be fighting) 'to win'... How can Labour 'supporters' who make no secret of their disapproval of the Government's major policies continue to claim that they 'support' the Government?"

The defeat of the Labour government in the general election of that year removed this particular dilemma for its supporters. Cole's misgivings about the Party's programme continued, and he wrote (in the *New Statesman* 23/7/55),

"Many of us have been saying to ourselves, these latter days, reflecting on what has happened since 1945, 'The Welfare State is not Socialism; it is only a way of re-distributing some income without interfering with the causes of its maldistribution'; and 'nationalisation is not Socialism; it is only a change from one form of wage-slavery to another form'.

"In effect, both the Welfare State and nationalisation, as they exist at present, far from breaking away from the class-system, rest on its acceptance and seek only to render conditions under it more tolerable. In nationalised industry the worker is 'consulted', but he has no power or responsibility save that which he gets from his trade union and an outside pressure group; and in the social services he remains subject to a measure of class-inferiority. His contribution, and even his direct taxes, are collected from him by his employer—a method which Hilaire Belloc used to speak of as an evident hallmark of the 'Servile State'!"

He went on to say that within the structure of capitalism, there are nevertheless 'real and substantial achievements which it is folly to deny or minimise on the grounds that they are not Socialism', and he denied that he "was trying to draw men away from the everyday political struggle on the ground that it is not directed to the establishment of Socialism".

But in the conclusion of his pamphlet of this period *Is This Socialism?* he remarked,

"Some who regard themselves as Socialists will object to it on the ground that it is bad electioneering. To them I answer that I do not care if it is—for the

time being. I am a Socialist and a believer that Socialism means, above all else, a classless society. I am not in the least interested in helping the Labour Party to win a majority in Parliament unless it means to use its majority for advancing as fast as is practicable towards such a society. I do not expect a majority of the electorate to agree at present with what I have said, for the simple reason that it differs from what they have been used to hearing. For the same reason I do not expect a majority even of the active leaders of the Labour Party to agree; for it is not what they have become used to saying."



AS a result of Cole's questioning articles of the early nineteen-fifties, an International Society for Socialist Studies was formed, but, like the Society for Socialist Inquiry and Propaganda which he founded after the defection of the Labour Party leadership in 1931, this has come to nothing, principally, I should say, because of the confusion of aims in seeking the kind of socialism which Cole defined as 'a classless society in a classless world of brothers', and in advocating at the same time, the machinery of the state as a means of accomplishing it.

He himself was moving in his last few years to a position close to that of his guild socialist days, closer indeed, to our own. Writing in the French review *Esprit* (May, 1956) he declared,

"Centralism is always the enemy of democracy and must necessarily be the enemy of socialism. But unfortunately, among those who call themselves socialists a great many are, in fact, ardent advocates of centralisation and count on socialism to strengthen it. This has always been the defect of German Social Democracy which, following Marxist precepts, has confused the march towards socialism with the ever-growing unification of the means of production and has emphatically rejected the libertarian socialism of Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, William Morris, as well as that of the Belgian theoretician César de Paepe. Communism has inherited from this tendency its infatuation with bigness and

has simply forgotten that man does not become bigger as the dimensions of the instruments he uses increase."

And in the *New Statesman* (22/3/58) he reiterated his view that

"to stake the future on larger and larger aggregates of routine operatives does not hold out, to me at least, the prospect of a Socialism under which men would be happy or making the best use of their creative qualities... The most notable writers who have stood out against the acceptance of this trend have been not Socialists, but Anarchists such as Kropotkin and original thinkers like Gandhi. These, I know, are unpopular authorities to quote to present-day Socialists; but may they not prove to have been prophetic?"

The last time I saw Douglas Cole, at a lecture on William Morris two years ago, he smiled wanly when I described him in the discussion as a "crypto-anarchist", but surely his greatest ultimate service to the Labour movement in this country, will be in his reminder (in, for instance, his profoundly libertarian *Essays in Social Theory*), that although "it is part of the traditional climate not only of Oxford, but of academic teaching and thinking in Great Britain, to make the State the point of focus for the consideration of men in their social relations", our century requires in fact, "not a merely Political Theory, with the State as its central concept", but a Social Theory, starting "not from the contrasted ideas of the atomised individual and of the State, but from man in all his complex groupings and relations, partially embodied in social institutions of many sorts and kinds, but always changing, so that the pattern of loyalties and of social behaviour changes with them."

Or as he put it at the end of one of his very last articles (*New Statesman* 15/11/58):

"the great task is that of making a kind of society in which the individual can express himself in friendly collaboration with his neighbours, without becoming a mere unit in a machine too vast for him to control—or even influence." C.W.

Fifty Years of Change

DURING the same week, at the beginning of the new year, two comparisons were presented between the conditions and ways of life prevailing now, and during the early years of this century.

Firstly, in the *Gazette* of the Cyclists' Touring Club, a pair of drawings were reproduced from the sketch-book of an old member, both depicting the tiny cottage at the tip of Land's End, in Cornwall. The first, older one showed it surrounded by hedges and flowers, with a woman working in the little garden outside. In the second, the modern scene, the hedges and garden had been swept away. The words FIRST AND LAST HOUSE were painted above the door, and in very large letters on one slope of the roof, whole a whole wall was taken up with the legend: GIFTS AND GREETING CARDS.

The second comparison was intended to include an explicit appraisal of the changes, and was given in a talk by the writer St. John Ervine on the occasion of his 75th birthday, in which as he put it, he wanted to "explain to the angry young men why I am a happy old man". His reasons were sound and well argued, and the key one was the fact that in England, the past fifty years have seen the abolition of poverty. He gave some examples illustrating the standard of life of ordinary working people during his childhood. However a note of reserve crept in when he spoke of a recent visit to a factory where he had seen a worker standing by an assembly line for eight hours per day, five and a half days each week, putting one nut on a screw, and giving it one turn. Nevertheless, as far as access to a material standard of living was concerned, that man was better off than a skilled craftsman would have been fifty years ago.

Furthermore, he would himself probably be a fairly enthusiastic supporter of the changes that have taken place, just as the greatly increased numbers of people who have the means and leisure to travel to an extent that would not have been possible at the beginning of the century, cannot perhaps be expected to object too strongly to the rape of the "beauty spots" for their supposed pleasure!

A great increase in the possibility of material comfort has occurred over the last half century, and we should make the most of being grateful for it, as it is about the only good thing that has happened. It cannot be insisted on too strongly however, that this is purely the result of scientific development and not a consequence of the reformist activities, however gentle, of political socialists. Apologists for capitalism point to the

development of say, electrical washing machines, which have been spurred on by the competitive nature of the economic system. Apologists for war can likewise say that such useful developments as radar has been produced largely as a by-product of military research. Could anyone point to a single invention (perhaps outside the field of medicine), which was developed solely because a group of people felt that they would like to make life more enjoyable for themselves and their fellows, without any ulterior destructive motive at heart? The comparative lack of such examples is the disappointment which must be felt on looking at the social movements of today which are still capable of boasting over the alleged benefits which have accrued to the English people as a result of their existence.

It cannot be argued that the reformers have been winning on some fronts, while losing ground on others more or less independently; nor as some socialist journals maintain, that we have been eliminating the major social problems of our time, and can later on settle down to clear up the minor points. On the contrary, the increasing weight of oppression as it is felt in the work on the assembly line, conscription and reduction in civil liberties, the threat of nuclear war, and the destruction of beauty with little protest, are part and parcel of the same trend of progress that has produced higher wages, electrified kitchens and popular air travel. The one factor which has made no apparent progress is the ability of people to fight against their governments in their own interests. In fact according to Crossman this possibility has decreased.

There is not much to be done about the fifty years which have just passed, whether for good or bad. However, the popular summing up of them, despite the occasional misgivings weakly expressed by the 'back to God' intellectuals, is that we have done pretty well and can look forward complacently to the coming fifty years for another instalment of progress.

We have not done well at all! The worst have done very badly, and the best and luckiest have done nothing at all.

If anything is more important than the various specific activities towards defending freedom, it can only be the spreading of the feeling that things need not be as they are, that people have both the chance and the power to be free if they wish to use it, but that freedom must be fought for and won for itself. It won't come as a by-product of progress! P.H.

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Food for Thought

Continued from p. 3

It is found that one of the blessings of nuclear fission is a process to preserve foods by atomic radiation. On the other hand we are threatened with further contamination of foodstuffs by atomic fallout.

The 'artificial' versus 'organic' fertilisers is another controversy which has not yet been settled but it is obvious that chemical fertilisers add to our chemical intake in a rather more indirect way.

But it is increasingly obvious that the wastage of soil fertility through sewage disposal out at sea, and the incineration of food wastes, deprives us of organic composts which would soon replace the loss of the horse, the market gardener's best friend.

The Malthusian ghost of starvation and its more possible adjunct, malnutrition, are not laid under a system of mass production of chemically adulterated foodstuffs no matter how glamorously packaged, seductively advertised or deeply frozen.

The market economy of specialization still demands single cropping with its consequent disastrous effects upon soil and producers. The way from banana and sugar production slumps to race riots in Notting Hill is easy to see.

Consequent upon these comes a pattern of boom and slump so distressingly familiar in post-war periods now illustrated by the American phenomena of food surpluses and that charming institution of 'soil banks' or in blunt terms 'taking soil out of production because it doesn't pay to have too much food'.

War against the peasant by the towns continues. But the food-producing countries become ever more reluctant to exchange their foodstuffs for the glamorous geegaws of industry. Argentina no longer will send us the roast beef of Old England so our dietetic habits change.

The policy of self-sufficiency forces itself to the attention of nations once more as markets become more restricted. For the anarchist it has always been a belief that only with a sound balance between industry and agriculture could a free society be founded. It is also necessary to rehabilitate the idea of the small self-supporting community as the unit of society.

This has found reinforcement in the ideas of the greater inefficiency of large-scale units and has, I hope, been illustrated by this sorry picture of food production.

The lowered costs of production which can be credited to mass production are shown to be lost in the accumulation of distributive costs.

In all this the consumer who is supposed to benefit from this mass production of food finds a lack of choice of product (due to monopolies), a lack of quality of product (due to adulteration), and an increase in price (due to the parasites in distributive trades and advertising). Faced with this he has the alternative of a buyers' strike or of setting up his own organization to advise him on the quality and value of goods. Any pretensions the co-operatives may have had to this function has gone but an organization for Consumer Research was started in America and something on similar lines has been set up here.

It is in this field that anarchists may work. An increase in their own and the public's awareness is necessary to pinpoint the lesson of the necessity for a decentralization of food production and distribution with its elimination of wastes and adulteration as a preliminary to a balance in a free society between industry and agriculture. J.R.

Security-Mindedness

Continued from p. 1

our early ancestors, some of the backward peoples in the world to-day, and even the struggling revolutionary minorities in our own time . . . we were saying, unless we make a clear distinction, we shall never understand the causes of the neuroses in this age of potential prosperity and material security.

Perhaps we can make this distinction clearer by a simple analogy. Put two experienced drivers in a car, one in the driving seat, the other as a passenger by his side. Though they both desire the same ends—that is they want to get to Brighton—the driver-driver arrives at their destination fresh and cheerful, whereas the driver-passenger is worn out, his right leg stiff with having applied brakes-that-were-not-there all along the route! In other words just as a driver feels really secure only when he is driving, so does Man only feel really secure when he actually controls the means of life, or is free to seek those means.

The primitive hunter in most cases has a more precarious existence than a factory worker, yet because survival largely depends on his resources and initiative, whereas the factory worker is at the mercy of fashion (the Jones' as determined by the Advertisers), competition, world markets and unemployment—that is factors outside his control, the anxiety or feeling of insecurity which both may experience are not of the same order. The factory worker has no control over his job or the financial mincing machine from which his daily stint emerges as bread, bread and butter or bread and margarine. His insecurity and anxiety are based on a feeling of impotence, of dependence on the "generosity" or willingness of others to provide him with the essentials of life. The primitive hunter, on the other hand, is not only in complete command of his skill, experience and strength but also in direct contact with the sources of his sustenance. For him failure to survive is a matter accountable to natural causes or his own shortcomings as a hunter. For the factor worker unemployment, slums, relief, domestic strife and emptiness are the hazards of birth which only a philanthropic government or Mr. Littlewoods' penny-pools may or may not relieve.

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WE think it unnecessary to tell readers of FREEDOM that we do not think that the alternative to an existence as a factory worker, and all that is involved psychologically and physically by this "condition ouvrière", is a world of primitive hunters! What we are saying, however, is that the almost pathological concern to-day with security and, in consequence, the general refusal to consider, on their merits, as ways of life, those philosophies such as Anarchism, which seek to relate the intuitive desire for survival to a *joie de vivre*, is based on a fundamental misunderstanding of society as it is to-day and of the needs of ordinary human beings. Admitted Man's striving after some kind of security; a security which once it exists makes life a means to an end instead of the end. But the world in which we live denies that right, for it raises the nation, the State, the social and economic organisation above the individual. Capitalism is, by definition, a system which operates in the material interests of a minority of the community; power politics satisfies the unhealthy desires of a very

small number of people in the world as well as providing comfortable jobs for many more; the division of the world into nations serves no useful purpose, except for those individuals whose livelihood and privileges depend on such a division, from the modest customs officials to the exalted ambassadors (with their £6,000 per annum salaries plus £24,000 p.a. expenses*), from the underpaid flag-spangled interpreters to the *saucy* arm-chaired directors of national culture in foreign lands!

The application of modern science to transportation has shrunk the world of Mozart's time into a mere Austria, yet more insularity exists to-day than ever before. We know, a matter of hours after its occurrence, what diabolical tricks Nkrumah's government is up to in Ghana or the excesses Dr. Castro's followers are indulging in in Cuba; we know when Russia tests an H-bomb (whether they release the news or not) or when the British torture a Cypriot, but generally not only do our protests not reach the people of the countries concerned, but when they do, the popular reaction is the contrary of what one would expect . . . simply because the growth of communications far from encouraging a world outlook has raised the iron curtains between nations—has fomented nationalistic pride† which is both irrational and hysterical.

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FOR us it is significant that the *Oxford Concise Dictionary* gives as its first definition of security, "over-confidence". As anarchists we welcome the definition because we enjoy the insecurity, the adventure, the "unknown" in life. But Mr. Fowler and his later editors must have had a shrewd understanding of things as they are when they refused to follow other lexicographers who defined security as "the state or condition of being secure . . . freedom from danger or risk . . . freedom from care or apprehension"‡. For this, indeed, is Utopia! In the best of worlds "danger and risk" cannot be excluded; in a capitalist world there is no "condition of being secure", if only because the capitalist world is a world divided, in which the "interests" of one section of the community more often than not can only be satisfied at the expense of the interests of the other.

For example: most people would feel more secure if production of nuclear weapons were stopped. Yet many workers are earning large wages producing these armaments and resent interference from those who would deprive them of a job. Most people would welcome the extension of smokeless zones in the big cities of the world. This means dispensing with coal for domestic purposes. Miners, on the other hand, are urging their governments to encourage the use of coal in increasing quantities in order to prevent unemployment in the coal industry. The government proposes to effect drastic economies in the navy; workers in naval ship yards and docks, as well as admirals, protest at the proposed cuts. There is a crisis now in the cycle industry. For nine months the Raleigh Industries Ltd. have been working a four day week; now 500 out of the factory's 7,000 workers are being sacked. To solve their problem fewer people should be buying motor-cycles and cars. But in solving their problems more people would be put out of work in the car and motor-cycle industry.

*See the *Evening Standard* (January 14), to get an idea of the perks, and the interests that are involved in the game of dividing the world's people into nations!

†As travel becomes, physically speaking, easier, so bureaucratic barriers become more difficult! Fifty years ago a "foreigner" coming to Britain required no passport. Today he requires a passport, perhaps a visa, invariably he needs to complete a form and satisfy an immigration officer that he is a *bona fide* visitor or a rich, professional-man's servant.

‡Funk & Thomas, 1922.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

DURING the recent Saturnalia one's thoughts unceasingly dwelt upon the subject of food which was doubly apt since the Christian-appropriated feast not only commemorates the return of the sun but also the Roman god of agriculture. The problem of how to live through the winter with no food growing which could be harvested always perplexed our ancestors and the growth of herds, the introduction of the potato, of canning processes and of the more recent deep freeze have been responses to the challenge of a long winter. The end of December has marked a turning point in this struggle for survival and a knowledge that there could be a relaxation in the food stringency since spring was not far away and the pig could be killed.

It may be said, indeed, it is said, that man's conquest of nature since those days has gone so far that we no longer have need of this dependence upon the soil. This is absurd for the more complex and more technically integrated our society becomes the more is its necessary for the primary sources of foodstuffs (and raw materials) to be looked after and the more is it necessary for the products to reach the consumer in the least wasteful and most efficient manner.

It is significant that the first entrance of anarchism upon the English political scene was in the controversy raised by the Rev. T. R. Malthus on the question of population. His contention was that the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence was so great as to make starvation inevitable and the soil could never support such a huge population without distress somewhere, hence there would always be rich and poor. Godwin replied to this argument in what might have been thought to be over-optimistic terms, that man's wisdom would always find new sources of food-stuff and man's wisdom would restrain

Plans for a General Strike

Mr. Dom Mintoff, the leader of the Maltese Labour party, said to-day in a speech containing a five-point programme, including a general strike, against "British dictatorship" that the English were treating the Maltese like slaves.

"Anyone who thinks we will not suffer in the fight for independence is wrong. We will suffer. But we must not be afraid," he said. Legal means would be used in the fight. "We will not use arms but will keep within the law. But if the English do not heed us, then we will be compelled to seek other means."

Reuter 19/1/59.

Even in Switzerland workers in the watch industry are not allowed to feel any sense of security. Price competition from Germany, tariff barriers in America and a new watch industry in India have made the Swiss workers aware of the fact that they can be sure of nothing (for the first time in living memory Swiss watchmakers are out of work) and Swiss watch manufacturers, that tradition has no place in a world of competition (after all why should they have a monopoly in watches any more than the French in Champagne or the Scotch in whisky? Recent events have shown that they haven't!)

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YES, the world we live in is worse than the jungle for we neither use our intelligence nor have the instincts to further the survival of our species. Every man lives in his own self-made little prison, resentful of his fate yet accepting to pay for the governments and the warders who put him, and keep him, there. And in prison the only security they are interested in is the one which ensures that their prisoners shall not escape.

Anarchism because it places the responsibility on the individual and not the guardians, at least puts one on the road to that minimum security to which, we believe, every individual born into this world is entitled by right, yet without dulling the human personality into an acceptance of authority. At most it informs those material needs with a philosophy of life along the elusive road of human happiness!

him from bringing mouths into the world which he could not fill.

The acceptance of Malthus's ideas (like those of Darwin later), found more general acceptance since they squared more with the general *ethos* of the time. Subsequent events have partly justified Godwin and the later introduction of birth control methods (advocated under penalty by freethinkers and anarchists) have served to make his views more within reach of acceptance.

However, as we feasted on December the 25th the ghost of Malthus haunted many men. We saw widespread neglect of agriculture, land turned over to wasteful uses; the spread of subtropics; the decline of the culinary arts; and the widespread adulteration of foodstuffs.

The adulteration of foodstuffs has been a process which has been going on since the growth of capitalism. It is obvious that in a capitalist system the addition of substances to foodstuffs in order to cheat the customer is a paying proposition and some of the earliest legislation and heaviest penalties were for cheating of this nature.

There has just come into force in the United States a new batch of legislation under the Food and Drugs Act which throws the onus for proving that chemical substances introduced into food are not harmful to customers, upon the manufacturers.

In a publication entitled "Food Engineering" there appears currently an advertisement for colouring matters for food which work 'within the letter and spirit of the present Certified Food Colour Regulations'. Scattered about the magazine are advertisements for added vitamins, distilled monoglyceride (produced by Eastman Kodak); for Mono Sodium Glutamate to control flavours; a silicone defoamer, for Takamine sodium, Isoascorbate and isoascorbate acid.

There is also an impressive directory of food consultants whose function it is to advise food manufacturers how to keep within the Food and Drug Acts.

In a symposium recently published in America upon food manufacturing, the argument was advanced that the addition of chemicals was necessary to enhance their keeping properties and consumer appeal.

It is true that in order to preserve food it is necessary to add chemicals (copper sulphate for example) to canned foods but it is not always realized that this addition destroys or inactivates the vitamins which are the dietetic value of the food. In the same way, salting and freezing tend to lower the vitamin content of foods.

This is mainly necessary in a market economy where foodstuffs have to be shifted enormous distances from their point of production to the consumer, or very often, shipped back in cans to the producing area if the producer can afford to purchase them.

This preservation is also necessary in order to guard against gluts on the market. The canners will buy the whole of a fruit crop and can or freeze to hold and sell during a scarcity of the crop when it will fetch a higher price.

In addition to this it has become increasingly the practice to package goods so that they may be sold more rapidly. Indeed, the self-service store is built upon this principle. As a corollary to this, advertising has made the branded name a household word and the consumer's choice becomes less and less apparent.

The secondary purpose of the addition of chemicals is to enhance consumer appeal. For example, one will find canned peas greened with copper, oranges ripened with gases and dyed to restore colour, kippers dyed to imitate wood smoke, 'diatomite filter aids to remove suspended solids'.

We find food being issued with artificial tastes, smells and textures, all synthetic, to replace or to simulate the description on the can or the package, we find foods treated with fluorine, benzoic acid and sulphur dioxide.

For a full glimpse of the Chamber of Horrors the reader is recommended to an essay, "The Staff of Life" in Henry Miller's *Remember to Remember*, in this essay bread is examined as a test case of man's condition.

The Brown versus White controversy has been raging for some time but the facts emerge that the white loaf is the most popular, partly because of the snobbish appeal of its white colour and its easier digestibility owing to the higher extraction rates of constituents which are resold to the public in order to make up dietetic deficiencies caused by this extraction.

The wide scale of vitamins in the United States has led to the further 'enrichment' (I use the manufacturer's word) of foodstuffs with vitamins. "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away".

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In addition to the terrors of chemical warfare in our stomachs we have the recent growth of arsenical insecticides sprayed almost *ad lib* upon unprocessed food, making it necessary for foodstuffs to be washed before consuming. A manufacturer was known to have used a dilute solution of acid to peel sprayed vegetables.

Continued on p. 2

Initiative

'Do-it-Yourself' Hostel for Students

Self-help is the answer which students at King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne, have found to the perennial problem of student accommodation. They took over and converted two houses in Osborne Road, Jesmond, and gave the resultant hostel the proud Tyneside name of "Wor Hoose" (Our House). For six months now, 30 students have been in residence there.

Mr. Tom Johnson, aged 24, who is responsible for student accommodation on the Students' Representative Council and is the flats register secretary, said yesterday that Wor Hoose provided "semiluxury" accommodation, in single, double, and treble rooms. Residents pay 30s. a week for a shared room and 35s. a week for a single room.

Mr. Johnson explained that six months ago they were offered the use of the property:

"The owner stipulated that we should maintain full accommodation, that we should make arrangements to collect the rents, and that we should supervise the place. We have had no difficulty in fulfilling all of these requirements, and we are so satisfied with the scheme that we should like to extend it on a similar commercial basis; for, of course, we lack the necessary capital to buy and convert large houses into suitable accommodation for students."

He regarded the scheme as a compromise between the necessary strict supervision in college hostels and the real independence of the individual flat (which is regarded with mixed feelings by the college authorities). The fact that the student in Wor Hoose had to look after himself and plan his domestic life was, he felt, a very useful training and a help towards maturity.

A similar scheme was opened last month for about twenty post-graduate students at Leeds, but Mr. Johnson emphasised that Newcastle was first with the idea.

Manchester Guardian 14/1/59.

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Doctor Makes Own Equipment

Dr. John Maddison, 56-year-old medical officer for Twickenham, Middlesex, has equipped an old people's clinic with apparatus he has made in a garden shed. He has done it, he says, because the county health authorities refuse to foot the bill.

He said last night at his home in Hampton-on-Thames that other doctors were opposed to the clinic, at Teddington.

"Some of them are years behind the times. They are diehards who have never even visited the clinic."

"I am fed up with working with instruments made of tins and bits of old wire." Dr. Maddison opened the clinic last year to examine old people and prevent illness.

The Ministry of Health is supporting it for one year, and if it succeeds other centres will open.

But when Dr. Maddison asked for £200 to buy apparatus he was told none was necessary as the clinic was advisory and no examinations were to be carried out.

So he got £200 from charities and bought second-hand instruments. With his son Richard, 22, he got to work with a lathe, circular-saw and grindstone and rigged up more.

Dr. Maddison has given 70 old people a thorough physical check, and he ensures that they get essential medicines or extra food.

News Chronicle 19/1/59.

THE REVENGE OF CASTRO

Continued from p. 1
not only the peasants among whom he lived, they were students with various underground organisations, revolutionary groups—and business men in Havana and politicians with various viewpoints in opposition to Batista and thus different axes to grind.

Did not Need the People

But at no time until the very last days of his military victories did the general populace rise against the old dictator. Not until Castro's forces were in control in Santiago and Batista and his men already in flight did the workers of Havana come out on the streets, or stage a general strike. This was probably wise; had they come out prematurely they would have been shot down. But it means that Castro has won without the help of the people in general. He didn't need them for victory—and he doesn't need them now.

In fact every indication is that Castro fears the people, and is prepared to be ruthless against any alternative revolutionary faction which does not toe the line. For instance, we learn from the Libertarian Association of Cuba that many libertarians took part in revolutionary activities against the Batista regime in various underground organisations. These were the Workers' Revolutionary Directorate, University Students' Federation, Movement of Civic Resistance and the 26th July Movement* itself.

The exact nature of these different organisations are not known to us, but there was another organisation in which a few libertarians worked, called the Revolutionary Directorate. Here is what *Time* magazine has to say about Castro's post-victory relations with that group:

If the victors were united in revenge, they were divided in how to share the glory. The Directorio Revolucionario, a student group backed by onetime President Carlos Prío, which had its own band of guerrillas in the central Cuban mountains, worried that adulation for Castro might turn him into a swellhead dictator. The Directorio insisted on stockpiling guns for itself. Castro grew furious, ordered the students to turn over the arms. Outgunned, they complied.

Legalized Vengeance

Meanwhile, in Havana, Castro has already ordered all other groups but his own to hand in their arms, and is setting up 'revolutionary courts'. Before the ink was dry on last week's *FREEDOM*, in which we speculated on the speed with which Castro's ideals would retreat in the face of 'necessity', the news broke

*26 July 1954 was the date of Castro's first attempt at revolution—a frontal attack on a Batista barracks.

of the mass executions with which the liberator from the hills was starting off his new regime.

Now nobody can deny, and we are not trying to minimise, the brutal excesses, the shootings and tortures carried out by Batista's thugs. But the anger of the people is one thing; organised vengeance is another. Only a week before he entered Havana Castro said that executions 'are not a part of our culture'. Less than a week after he entered the capital he was personally inviting foreign observers to show trials where he (a graduate lawyer, incidentally!) is to lead the prosecution. 217 Batista supporters have already been summarily executed and Castro has said that his total for trial (and who can doubt the result?) is 450.

His very boast that these prosecutions will be legal bodes ill for the future. He is institutionalising his organs of vengeance, and they will remain to deal with any further opposition, whether from pro- or anti-Batista factions.

One ironical result of his policy of no mercy for supporters of the old regime is that 500 of Batista's men have now fled to the very same mountains from which Castro started out! There, it is said, they are being supplied by air with food and arms from the Dominican republic whence Batista has exiled himself.

And so it goes. Authority after authority—the more it changes the more it is the same. Fidel Castro had an opportunity to break the deadly pattern of tyranny, but by the time he had the power to do so, that power had corrupted him.

No Resting on Laurels Please!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!
WEEK 3

Deficit on Freedom	£60
Contributions received	£78
SURPLUS	£18

January 9 to January 15

London: T.F.* £2/10/0; London: J.S.* 3/-;
Lakewood: S.M. £5/5/0; Bristol, U.S.A.: A.L.
£2/7/2; Neath: I.T. £3/6/6; San Francisco:
Social Gathering, Dec. 31, per O.M.
£46/11/0; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.* 2/6;
Middlesbrough: P.E. 4/6; Hounslow: W.M.E.
£1/0/0; Wirral: G.G. 6/-; Sheffield: P.L.
10/-; London: D.C.M. 1/7; Birmingham:
H.N. 2/-; Ilford: C.S. 10/6.

Total	62	19	9
Previously acknowledged	15	8	3

1959 TOTAL TO DATE ... £78 8 0

GIFT OF BOOKS: London: C.W.; London: A.S.

*Indicates regular contributor.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

MARCH FROM BRIXTON PRISON TO HOLLOWAY PRISON

We have received the following communication from the Direct Action Committee:

THE Direct Action Committee (or what is left of it at the moment), feels that a march in support of those in prison would be a way of indicating our solidarity with prisoners.

Time and Route

It is proposed that on Saturday, 24th January, 1959, we march from Brixton to Holloway by the following route:—
Meet outside Brixton Prison in Jebb Avenue to begin marching at 11 a.m. via Brixton Hill, Brixton Road, Kennington Park Road, Newington Butts to The Elephant and Castle, London Road, St. George's Circus, Waterloo Road, Waterloo Bridge.

There will be a 30-minute rest at Victoria Embankment Gardens. There will not be a lot of time, so you are advised to bring any food and drink you may require.

From there we shall go via The Aldwych to Kingsway, Southampton Row, Woburn Place, Eversholt Street, Crowndale Road, Camden Street, Camden Road, Crayford Street (N.W. side of Holloway Prison) into Hilton Street where the demonstration will be addressed and will then disperse.

Object of the March

Is to demonstrate solidarity with those who have been, and are, in prison—not only at Brixton and Holloway, but Swansea, Strangeways and Norwich as well. It is no way a protest against their commitment to prison. Any banners made should make this clear.

Timing

The complete route is a little under 9 miles. For anyone who would like to join the march at some point along the route the following times are an approximate guide:—

12 mid-day	Kennington Station.
12.45—1.15	Victoria Embankment Gardens.
2.30 p.m.	Camden Town Station.
3.15 p.m.	Hilton Road.

This is of course a non-violent demonstration to show our solidarity with prisoners. It is important that any show of violence, physical or verbal from hostile onlookers should be ignored.
London, Jan. 14.

NUDISM & SOCIETY

DEAR COMRADES,

In his article "Yes, we have no bandannas" (*FREEDOM* 17/1/59) A.D.F. seems to me to be accepting the patterns imposed on sexual behaviour by authoritarian society as normal to man. The nudists in the film "Unashamed" were after all, people drawn directly from authoritarian society, which has conditioned them to regard sex as something sinful or shameful. One cannot unfortunately, remove the effects of one's upbringing as easily as one can take off one's clothes.

Shame of the body cannot be necessary as an incentive to mating, since animals and some primitive humans do without it, and they also manage to do without rape (in the sense of the overpowering of a genuinely unwilling female) and murder also I may add. These luxuries are reserved for civilised man.

Clothing, by making a mystery of the body, over-stimulates sexual desire. This involves a tragic situation, since society is hostile to sex expression and struggles to beat down what it has first of all aroused to excess. The only outlet left is violence.

Clothing probably developed first as a magical device for protecting the body. It is little realised how many of our apparently utilitarian devices (the shoe, the wheel, the umbrella) were originally intended for magical purposes and acquired practical usefulness later on. Clothing has helped to give man possession of the northern world. The Eskimo needs his skins as much as the space-man will need his space-suit, nevertheless it is amazing how much cold the individual can stand if he has been used to it from childhood. I suspect that in a free society the amount of clothes worn would diminish century by century till nudity was more common than dressing.

But I think that it would be a mark of puritanism to condemn the wearing of clothes in a dogmatic and authoritarian manner. Clothing is on the same level as alcohol and tobacco, which are enjoyable things for the sick people which we

DEAR COMRADES,

G.'s series on "Paranoia" raises some interesting points. The demand for everlasting life is due to a fundamental misunderstanding. In fact of course nothing dies, unless the planet is blown up. Everything which lives merely passes from one form of life into another. The body rots back into the earth from which it originally arose, plants grow from it which pass eventually into the material of other bodies, so that the cycle continues indefinitely.

Consciousness, as we are taught to understand it, that is the highly individualised consciousness, appears to cease with the death of the body. At any rate the continuity of consciousness is broken. Death has been defined as "the end of memory", since most of our lives are spent in remembering, and we exist as separate entities in virtue of our power of remembering our own unique life-experiences. If we had no memory we should hardly think of ourselves as separate from our environment, any more than does an infant, who has no personal memories to go on. Something like this infantile state returns with in-

ANTI-SEMITISM

COMRADES,

I have, for about a year now, had *FREEDOM* regularly, and I can't say how much I admire this gallant and outspoken paper. You bring a new perspective approach and coldly (almost cynical) eye to view the things we tend to accept without question.

I would like to throw another bone into the kennel, if I may. It appears to me that over the past few months, in our fashionable organs of "establishment" propaganda dissemination, that repulsive illegitimate, anti-semitism, is making what, to some, seems a welcome reappearance. I watch the "telly" as often as I have to and over the past few weeks, in plays, murder serials and the like I have observed a growing tendency to put someone of obviously Jewish race in a part which shows the character portrayed in as unfavourable a light as possible. (The error is never made of trying to portray the race unfavourably or its Gentile-inspired mythical characteristics—that would be far too unsubtle). For instance, this evening I noticed two crime series in which one crook in each film was obviously Jewish, and a play in which the villain (a thoroughly nasty piece of work) was evidently Semitic.

The possibility had crossed my mind that the powers that be were preparing us for another trade "recession". We are aware that when hardship hits, a scapegoat has to be found. Throughout history small groups which do not integrate fully with conformist society have been subject to persecution when unemployment and privation become rife. And how convenient to turn the idle minds and use up the energies of the people in "witch-hunting" a minority group, if not they might root out the real cause of the rot—the structure and organisation of society.

I have also noted the leaning towards anti-semitism in various national newspapers. In one recent Sunday paper I observed an attempt to denigrate a prominent socialist by an article hack by bringing to light a number of wealthy backers the man had, the names of whom seemed to read like the roll-call of a Nazi concentration camp.

I will only add that I am not myself Jewish, so have no personal axe to grind except that I have much compassion for a badly persecuted people, and admiration for a minority group which has maintained its independent integrity for twenty centuries.

I shall be interested to read what other comrades think on this.
Nottingham, Jan. 15. D.C.

are at present. In a free society these stimulants would probably continue to be enjoyed for some time, but gradually the desire for them would be felt less and less, and the need for them would die out.

It is an interesting speculation, but I think that probably a sexually free society would not appeal to many people of the present day, precisely because sex would be an accepted pleasure, taken naturally and simply. Its enjoyment would be something subtle and fine, beyond the capacity of most people living now, who have been conditioned to see sex as something gross and violent or tragic and idealistic. The majority of people at the present day are incapable of appreciating the beauties of nature, which demands something of the same subtlety.

Yours fraternally,
ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Paranoia

It is probable also that this is the state of consciousness of most animals. It is certainly true to say that individualised consciousness, when the person feels himself or herself a separate entity, is born a long time after the physical birth of the person, taking place sometimes as late as five or even seven years old. This is the reason why we cannot remember much of our early childhood. Individualised consciousness sometimes dies before the person himself, and then we get a case of "second childhood".

Our early childhood tends to get forgotten, not because we were unconscious but because it was a different form of consciousness. Thus the continuity of consciousness is broken even during a lifetime.

As long as there are beings on the planet that are born, grow and die, some form of consciousness exists. It exists even in plants. Yet only man apparently has this individualised consciousness. From this comes the trouble. The solutions that men have adopted have not been happy. The Christian sees life as a brief spasm, a sort of probation for Eternity. The freethinker, following on the Christian's heels, sees it as a brief spasm without Eternity to follow. The result of both these ways of looking at life is to isolate the individual to an unhealthy degree, indeed they increase the disease they set out to cure, by making him feel cut off from the rest of nature of which he is really a part. One can easily see that paranoid delusions will be prone to spring up in response to this sense of isolation. To identify with some powerful organisation is the way out many people take.

We are taught to regard the individualised consciousness as the most important thing, to hold it in high honour. We are discouraged from developing our sense of oneness with all life, because there is a strong, if generally unexpressed, fear that to do so would be to destroy "culture", to abandon "reason", to lose the gains that humanity has won. Hence the taboos on sex, because sex is one of the ways of experiencing this sense of oneness.

I believe that this fear is unjustified, but as long as it exists paranoia will be with us.

Yours fraternally,
ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

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. 25.—Arthur Uloth on
A FREE SOCIETY IN OUR
LIFETIME?

ORPINGTON HUMANIST GROUP

Sherry's Restaurant
(opposite War Memorial)

Sunday, January 11th, at 7 p.m.
S. E. PARKER on ANARCHISM

CROYDON LIBERTARIAN GROUP

Discussion meetings held every other Saturday at 7.45 p.m.

at 228 Holmesdale Road,
South Norwood, S.E.25.

FREEDOM PRESS

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

Vol. 1, 1951, *Mankind is One*
Vol. 2, 1952, *Postscript to Posterity*
Vol. 3, 1953, *Colonialism on Trial*
Vol. 4, 1954, *Living on a Volcano*
Vol. 5, 1955, *The Immoral Moralists*
Vol. 6, 1956, *Oil and Troubled Waters*

Vol. 7, 1957, *Year One—Sputnik Era*
each volume paper 7s. 6d.
cloth 10s. 6d.

The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of *FREEDOM* at 5/- a copy

VOLINE :

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