

YUGOSLAVIA; Is the State 'Withering Away'? Do the Workers' Councils work? That is the truth about Tito's 'syndicalism'
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Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"How can great minds be produced in a country where the test of a great mind is agreement with the opinions of small minds?"
— J. S. MILL

Rhodesia: Whites mean to stay on top

THE Dominion Party in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is making no bones about its intentions if elected to power, in its appeal to the prejudices of the white voter. A report from Salisbury states that:

"During a debate this week in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament a Dominion party member, Mr. W. J. Harper, newly elected Deputy Speaker, told the House: "If the country gives us power, we on this side will alter the franchise or make any laws that may be necessary to see that political power remains in the hands of Europeans."

The party's "Statement of Principles," issued last year, says that control and leadership must "for all times remain in the hands of civilised and responsible persons." But in the latest party pamphlet, issued this week, the words civilised and responsible persons" have been replaced by "Europeans."

The Dominion party leader in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, Mr. S. E. Aitken-Cade, has confirmed that the party would change the franchise laws if it came to power. He agreed with the principle that "lower-qualification voters" (chiefly Africans) should be allowed to use their votes, but only in their own areas, where African interests are paramount, not to elect M.P.s."

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THE deep-rooted fear of contact with the black man which many white people display seems fantastic to the normal mind, a fear which is wider spread than is apparent on the surface. It is this often inexplicable attitude which makes us think that legislation against racial discrimination can only partly deal with the anti-social manifestations of racial prejudice and not with the causes.

How, for example, can any law cure the state of mind which is in fear of a qualified black doctor conducting post-mortem examinations on European bodies?

An African doctor in Salisbury, Rhodesia, has been stopped carrying out his job because he might have to work on dead white men! A Government Commission inquiring into medical services in the Central African Federation, told Mr. Justice Morton, the Chairman, that there had been a complaint about the African Government Medical Officer "working on a European". The complaint went to the Ministry and the ruling "came down that he should not do this work in future."

The superintendent of the Harare African Hospital giving evidence before the commission said that:

The doctor was now working in the out-patients' department of the hospital and was "very fed up," Mr. Wright said. "We cannot let him do his job properly," he explained. The doctor could not be sent to a rural area—because there would be some European patients—and it was considered "impolitic" for him to examine drunks in a police station or work in Salisbury Prison (where there are about forty Europeans).

Questioned on these allegations by the chairman, Dr. D. M. Blair, the Federal Secretary for Health, said: "There is still a lot of prejudice and one does not want to ride roughshod over peoples' views. He might be posted to a rural area where there are European patients. If Europeans don't wish to make use of his services then they will have to make their own arrangements."

Associated Press.

Transport Workers Congress exposes Political Hypocrisy COUSINS & THE LABOUR PARTY

THE Press may be right when it suggests that Mr. Cousins has put a spoke in the wheel of the Labour Party's electoral machine, but only because it is the Press that has, almost unanimously, exploited, and distorted the Transport workers' resolutions on the H-bomb and nationalisation for its own political ends. The same Press which condemned the Labour Party when it expelled the rebels in its midst now condemns the Party for harbouring rebels.

The Cousins bombshell—declares the *News Chronicle*—coming on top of the wrangle over nuclear weapons, reveals a profound disunity in the Labour Party which must reflect on its ability to govern. (Our italics).

Both the *Evening Standard* and the *Sunday Times* jesuitically depreciate the "squabbles" in the Party, and the former, in its editorial columns solemnly reflects that "voters at the General Election will . . . be in a perplexing dilemma," for

They will not only have to choose between the Tories and Socialists. They will first have to decide whether the Socialism of Mr. Gaitskell or that of Mr. Cousins will come out on top. They are unlikely to bet on a tandem combination where the two partners are pedalling furiously in the opposite direction to each other.

The dishonesty of these Liberal and Tory propagandists stands out a mile. Any honest democrat should welcome the public discussion of the major issues of the day as a positive sign that the democratic processes

are operating. And the party whose policy is hammered out by public discussion far from standing condemned is surely the one which should commend itself to a majority of the as well as electorate. But of course things do not operate in that way in existing society. Elections are won or lost by the floating voters who are probably more influenced by minor day to day issues which affect them materially, personally, than the large issues which even though they may threaten their very lives are not felt as personal threats since the whole community would, in the event, become involved.

If, then, at the coming General Election, the Labour Party fails it will not be because of its Defence policy—one way or the other—but because (1) it has not offered the floating voter that something which will make him feel that he would be better off under Labour than Tory government and/or (2) the Press, largely anti-Labour, has managed to create a feeling of no confidence in a Party which is "dis-united". And to our minds Mr. Gaitskell and his shadow cabinet are less concerned with the issues dividing them and the rank-and-file of the Party as well as certain unions, than with the use to which the disunity, as distinct from the issues, will be put by the press and by their Liberal and Tory rivals.

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AT the Transport & General Workers' Union Conference, Mr.

Cousins said something which none of the politicians of the Labour Party even during the most "rebellious" periods of their careers could afford to say.

He affirmed that he had always believed in the Labour movement, but he had never believed that the most important thing in their lives was to elect a Labour government. The most important thing was to elect a Labour government determined to carry out Socialist policies. . . . (Our italics).

Apart from his illusions about government, Mr. Cousins' "affirmation" should be of great interest to those who now support the Labour Party, for it poses the fundamental question of whether the L.P. should exist to fight elections for their own sake, to put one party in power rather than another, or whether it looks upon itself as the uncompromising exponent of socialism. We think it clear that they cannot have both, and indeed we have seen that since the Party's defeat at the 1951 elections much of the Socialist content of its original programme has been jettisoned in a desperate attempt to appear before the public clothed in political respectability and talking a language which will not antagonise the middle class voter.

Frank Cousins can afford to speak a language now forgotten by the power-aspiring politicians of the Party (it is amusing to note that the congratulations he received came from the has-beens, the old men of the Party—Morrison and Shinwell—

and not from the Bevens or the Gaitskells) for the very simple reason that Mr. Cousins has power which ever government is in office. Like any millionaire (and his million bread and butter votes put Mr. Clore and his millions in the shade!) he can afford to say what he likes when he likes. But if it's really socialism that he wants it is not enough to talk about it at delegate conferences once a year. If we want to see socialism practised the people must learn to want socialism as a way of life, and this will require years of socialist education and agitation. And where better could the initiative be taken than within the organised workers' movement?

The millionaire Press is anti-socialist, we are being continually told. Yet why do not the Trades Unions invest some of their millions in their own press rather than in government bonds and war loans? Again, public ownership is dear to Mr. Cousins' heart. Then why does he not initiate a series of pilot experiments of worker-controlled industries, co-operative agricultural schemes, and perhaps a public service in an ill-served town which would be operated and managed by the workers themselves in co-operation with the public?

The Unions have the workers, they have the funds . . . and they have Mr. Cousins. But (in spite of their occasional protestations of devotion to Socialism) have they also the ideas?

TOPICAL DIATRIBE

Is Sport the Opium of the People

ONE of our contemporaries (not to hurt anybody's feelings) recently made an essay into the field of popular journalism by including in its weekly onslaught on the capitalist system a page devoted to sport. One of their most regular contributors, an expert on the wiles of the Papacy, showed himself to be an expert on the more commendable wiles of heavyweight boxers, whilst the class struggle was pushed into the background in favour of the struggle with bat and ball. This was doubtless a brave effort to keep up the circulation for it is obvious that, far from these circus being merely an effort to 'keep-the-workers-minds-off-the-class-struggle' (to coin a phrase), it takes a superhuman effort to get the workers' minds on to such a subject as the class-struggle, whatever that is. It is well known that even the *Daily Worker* owed one of its circulation booms to the superior dialectical prognostications of its equinary expert.

But the rot has set in, in higher quarters. I recollect a member of a Peace delegation of the most high-minded vintage who was in Moscow during a test-match. Even the great Mr. K. himself could not tell the delegate how the match was going (if only the Russians could play cricket!). His anxiety over the world-shaking crisis was only put at rest by the British Ambassador telling him the score.

This boosting-up of the trivial is reflected in news headlines. Britain fails again (tennis), England doomed (cricket), Our hopes dashed (boxing), Why does England fail? (football). The *Daily Herald* carries the fighting front page headline "We shall resist any attempt at censorship". The shades of Wilkes,

Carlike and Bradlaugh clap their hands, but we read lower. It is the censorship of the Football Association they will resist.

The cult of the trivial carries sports items to front page prominence. Whether 'Abide with me' should be sung and the scandals of body-line and Gorgeous Gussie's pants have rocked the presses of England, if not the world. The proportion of news-space given to sport sometimes ranks as high as 50% in a newspaper when one deducts the space given to advertising; it seems that the non-sporting types get very little news for 24d.

On Radio and TV the coverage given to sport is higher than the newspapers for often there is no alternative but to watch or listen to some sporting event. Example: this week Monday 3-5 Tennis, Tuesday 3-4.45 Tennis, Wednesday 3-4 Lawn Tennis, Rowing and Golf, Thursday 3-5 Lawn Tennis, Rowing and Golf, Friday 3-5 Lawn Tennis, Rowing and Golf, Saturday 2.10-5 Lawn Tennis and Rowing. This is only Home Service listings. Saturday on the Light has nearly five hours of sport. As for television the fascination of movement on a screen makes them suckers for sport.

There are two lines of counter-attack to any murmur of protest about the undue prominence and attention given to sport in modern life. The most usual line is that sport is sneered at by pale, effete intellectuals who are adverse to physical exercise.

As to intellectualism, the intellectual effort to comprehend the permutations on a pools form would repel even a senior wrangler and the feat of computing the form of a horse would be best

left to a mechanical brain rather than the 'race-course frequenters'. Any discussion on sport will reveal the prodigy in the company who has memorized the sporting records of the past fifty years. When it comes to intellectuals the sporting world has a great quota.

Sport has been removed further and further from physical exercise. There are those who play games professionally, play as amateurs, those who read about sport, those who are passive spectators or active 'fans', those who are the captive audience for radio or television, those who gamble on the result of sporting fixtures, or a series of sporting fixtures, including those who gamble at the fixtures, gamble with a bookmaker by letter, telephone, or through an intermediary or indulge in the divination through cabalistic symbols of the probable fortunes of an Association Football fixture. All these categories justifiably, and sometimes with heat and pride call themselves 'sportsmen', but I think it can be wagered at beneficial odds that the percentage of those actively participating in sport is relatively small and is declining, compared with the vast numbers of the other categories of 'sportsman'.

The Church's Committee on Gambling estimates the national turnover on gambling for 1958 to be in the region of £568 million which makes it a major industry.

This is, of course, additional to the large sums taken at the gate of sporting fixtures, and the amounts which change hands as transfer fees. There are also the fees (revealed and hidden), paid for sponsorship and advertising in connection with sports stars or products.

Gambling and pools tend to be a major form of social opiate. The expectation of, for example 'coming up on the pools' frequently inhibits against social awareness or action. The abandonment of reason as a guiding principle in life and the concomitant rise of astrology and football pools are a feature of modern life. The prospect of getting rich quick is dangled before us in every issue of the newspapers.

Sport is now a medium of mass entertainment and a big business, its concentration on publicity, 'star' values and 'gimmicks' is as obvious as any other branch of business. The less obvious 'tie-ups' with manufacturers of sports equipment and the many ramifications of the motor industry with its racing connections, is tribute to sport as a business.

The connection of sport with money-making is often shied away from as if it were a bad smell. In many sports there is a rigorous, and often snobbish, distinction between 'amateur' and 'professional'. The 'amateur' is supposed to stress the 'ama' (=love) side of his prowess, to do it for money is unthinkable, and liable to get him disqualified so there has grown up a "shamateurism", a way of indirectly making money by sponsoring goods, coaching, writing (or more often putting one's name to) books and articles, managing a sports business, accepting directorships. The uselessness of sport has been codified into the tribal taboos against direct money-making but the 'sportsman' has to live and ways are found of getting round these.

The professionals have an even worse

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Does Tito's Dictatorship Show Signs of Withering Away? WORKERS' COUNCILS IN YUGOSLAVIA

THE writings of the Holy Trinity of Communism, Marx, Engels and Lenin, are, like the Bible, capable of whatever interpretation the reader is looking for. Like the doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ, the Marxist doctrine of the withering away of the State, though on the agenda, is always taken as read, while the meeting passes on to the next business, which is how to make the State stronger. But it is always evoked in time of trouble or change, or when it becomes necessary for the Talmudic scholars of the Party to find the textual justifications for a change in the Party Line, or when a new bid for popular support is thought desirable.

The doctrine was first equivocally sketched in Marx's address to the General Council of the International on the Paris Commune, when he was seeking the support of the disciples of Proudhon, and again in the Report of the Commission set up by the Hague Congress in 1872 to examine the activities of the Bakuninists. Engels, to steal the thunder of Bakunin's faction declared that all socialists were agreed that the State would wither away as a result of the social revolution, but that the anti-authoritarians were wrong in demanding "that the political State should be abolished at a blow before the social conditions producing it were abolished", and in the *Anti-Duhring* he described the ultimate destiny of the State after the seizure of the means of production by the working class:

"The intervention of the State in social conditions is rendered superfluous in one field after the other, until it falls dormant by itself. The place of a government over persons is taken by the administration of objects and the direction of the process of production. The State is not 'abolished', it withers away."

Lenin, in his *State and Revolution*,

written while he was in hiding during the period of the provisional government in 1917, drew heavily upon these formulations of Marx and Engels, declaring that "It is clear that there can be no talk of a definite time when the withering away of the State will begin". Meanwhile a "new, immeasurably higher and incomparably more democratic type of State-apparatus" is to be created "immediately".

Lenin & The Soviets

The first Soviets (the word is simply Russian for Council) sprang up in the unsuccessful revolution of 1905. Martin Buber observes that,

"They arose spontaneously, as the institutions of the (Paris) Commune did, not as the outcome of any principles but as the unprepared fruit of a given situation. Lenin emphasized to the anarchists that a Workers' Council was not a parliament and not an organ of self-administration. Ten years later he stated that Workers' Councils and similar institutions must be regarded as 'organs of revolt' which could only be of lasting value 'in connection with the revolt'. Only in March, 1917, after the Sovietic pattern had been, in Trotsky's words, 'almost automatically reborn' in Russia and after the first reports of the victory of the revolution had reached Lenin in Switzerland, did he recognise in the St. Petersburg Soviet 'the germ-cell of a workers' government' and in the Councils as a whole the fruit of the experience of the Paris Commune."

But Lenin aimed to use the Soviets, he accepted them "as a programme for action but not as a structural idea", for (Buber remarks) the devolution of power on the Soviets meant for him "not only no real decentralisation but not even the incentive to the formation of anything of the kind". The popular slogan "All power to the Soviets!" came to mean simply "All power to the Party through the Soviets!"

In Russia, as the decades passed since the revolution, the doctrine of the withering away of the State receded and was firmly put into never-never-land by Stalin. But in the labour camps, the only place in Stalin's empire where free discussion took place, the opposition discussed it continually, as the testimony of different generations of returned prisoners shows (e.g. Anton Ciliga in the 30's, Margarete Buber-Neumann and Brigitte Gherland in the 50's. Back to Lenin was the slogan, but the demands went far further than Leninism:

"... the word of the great Vladimir Ilyich had changed strangely in the interpretation: it had assumed Syndicalist, even Anarchist features, more in the likeness of those Kronstadt sailors who rose against Lenin in 1921 to demand 'Soviets without Communists'. In their view, the Socialist state of the future would not be run by either one or several parties, but purely by peasants' and workers' syndicates."

(B. GHERLAND, *Observer* 14/2/54). The same demand was reported by other released prisoners when the Russian camps began to empty after the great strikes of 1953.

"First they believe that the kolkhoz in its present form cannot be saved, but should be replaced by voluntary co-operatives of individual peasants, with co-operative ownership of the machines which are now owned by the State. Second they attack the principle of totalitarian party control by urging that democratic trade unions and peasant organisations, independent of the party, should play a major role in deciding economic policy and administering production."

Tito's Revolt

When, at the height of Stalin's power Tito defied him, and got away with it, the Yugoslav Communist intellectuals, looking for ideological differences to justify 'National Communism' took up the cry Back to Lenin, and then, seeking in their precarious situation support first from the opposition (i.e. the workers and peasants) in Yugoslavia, and then from the social democratic parties of the West, made concessions—end of forced collectivisation, a market economy, workers' councils of a sort.

The initial change in Yugoslavia (apart from the later concessions to peasant resistance) was not a revolt against a social system or a political ideology, it was, as Irving Howe has noted, "designed to modify a relationship of power" between the local Communist leadership and the Russian leadership. Milovan Djilas himself, Tito's propaganda boss at the time, emphasised this in the article in the *American New Leader* (19/11/56) which won him a cell in the Mitrovica jail:

"Yugoslav national Communism was, above all, the resistance to Moscow of the Communist party, that is, of its leaders. Not that the people opposed this resistance, not that they did not support it and benefit from it—quite the contrary. But the interests and the initiative of the leaders played a crucial and leading role... in Yugoslavia, therefore, the entire process was led and carefully controlled from above..."

Is Tito an Anarchist?

In his study of Tito, *The Triumphant Heretic* (Heinemann, 1958), Ernst Halperin observes that "the Yugoslav system, launched by its inventors as undiluted Marxism-Leninism, is in reality no longer Marxist" and he asks from what source did the Yugoslav conception come?

"The Titoist watchwords, 'The Factories for the Workers!' and 'Direction of Production through the Producers!' belong to the mental armoury of the Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists."

"Ever since Proudhon and Bakunin, an Anarchist current has run through the Labour movement—at first as a mighty river out in the open, later, after being dammed and diverted by the Marxists, as a strong subterranean stream. Anarchists in the strict sense have been reduced to small, insignificant groups, except in Spain. Their teachings have been driven from the consciousness of the working-class movement, but they live on in the subconscious; often those who harbour them take them for the purist orthodox Marxism..."

"In 1918 and 1919 numerous small groups of Anarchists and nearly the whole Anarcho-Syndicalist wing of the trade-union movement flocked to Communism, and lent force to the storm then raging over Europe."

"Is it, then, impossible that today, at a time when the Socialist Labour movement of Europe appears to be prey to a hopeless stagnation, a new powerful impetus should be given to it by the extreme left, through a revival of Anarchist ideas?"

Halperin hastens to point out, as we would ourselves, that there are immense differences between the theory of Anarcho-Syndicalism and the practice of Titoism:

"The Anarchists was to abolish money; in Titoist Yugoslavia the monetary system is in full force. Anarchism stands opposed to a regular army; Yugoslavia has a very strong army. Anarchists loathe police power; Tito's régime has a strong police force complete with a ubiquitous organisation of informers... Anarchism, however, is a vehemently anti-authoritarian, libertarian doctrine..."

By contrast, nothing more authoritarian can be imagined than a Communist Party with its thought discipline and its use of intellectual and physical terror in dealing with the world outside its ranks. The dictatorship of the totalitarian party, and even the very existence of such a party, is incompatible with the Anarchist or Anarcho-Syndicalist social order. In the Titoist system, based, as it is, on Anarcho-Syndicalist principles, the Party represents an alien body. In practice, the presence of that alien body has paralysed the whole system."

He emphasises that "the leading men of the régime are well aware of the contradiction between totalitarian Party dictatorship and self-administration in factory and commune. Be it said in their honour that at one moment they genuinely intended to abolish this contradiction by the gradual dismantling of the Party dictatorship". Tito talked in 1952 of the "withering away of the Party", and when the 6th Party Congress met at Zagreb in November of that year, he decided that the Party should wither away—by changing its name.

"The term Party is no longer fitting. It is my deepest conviction that it would be juster, and more appreciative to the present stage as well as to the perspectives of the coming developments, if Party called itself 'League of Communists'."

The Yugoslav Programme

The *Programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists* which was adopted at the 7th Congress of Ljubljana in April 1958 has been published in an English translation by the ISSS. The editor, Mr. Kurt Dowson, in a disarming note says "Readers may find that the Ljubljana Programme, although difficult to read, contains a number of new and original ideas. But this is left to their judgment." Our judgment is that it is not so much unreadable as soporific—200 pages of those prefabricated phrases which form the surety literature of the Communist bureaucracy. Marx's own writings sparkle by comparison. It does not contain any new or original ideas.

On anarchism (after explaining that "backward concepts among the working people, the feeling that their needs have not been satisfied, small-owner selfish-

ness and so forth, often link up with reactionary, ideological and political trends whose origin lies in the remnants of the old society or in other influences alien to socialism") the programme declares that

"One of the manifestations of this backward social consciousness is blind destructive anarchism. If displayed among the working class, it is primarily a reflection of blind, spontaneous reactions to the objective difficulties and problems of the transition period, i.e. to the continuing discrepancy between needs and social material possibilities, to an expanding bureaucracy and other distortions and the pressure they exercise on society as a whole. The phenomenon of anarchism is the consequence of objective and subjective weakness in the factors of socialist progress; it is a reflection of spontaneous pressure by the working class to speed up social advance and of undeveloped socialist consciousness. Among certain sections of society, especially among the intellectuals, the middle classes and the petty-bourgeois elements, and also among certain sections of the working class, anarchism often makes its appearance as a reaction to the difficulties of the transition period in general, a kind of retreat from the difficulties of the struggle for socialism, a retreat masked by abstract pseudo-love of freedom. As such, destructive petty-bourgeois anarchism and abstract liberalism are not an independent social and ideological political force, but merely the forerunner of other anti-socialist forces."

The withering away of the state, says the programme, "is a process that lasts during the entire epoch of transition from capitalism to communism":

"The period during which this process of withering away takes place is also the epoch in which the state with its specific elements exists and plays a definite, indispensable, positive role in society, different in various stages of development during the transition period."

But

"In carrying out its functions in the economy, the State tends to deprive economic life of its immanent driving forces in order to establish the present itself as a social necessity... Our own experience, and that of other socialist countries, has shown that, when the management of the economy is exclusively in the hands of the State machinery, the inevitable result is a growing tendency towards greater centralisation of power and closer amalgamation of State and Party machinery; they grow stronger, and strive to divorce themselves from society and impose their power upon it."

Bearing all these facts in mind, the League will struggle persistently

"against two currently noted equally dangerous and harmful tendencies in the social life of Yugoslavia: first, against the tendency towards an anarchist underestimation of the role of the state, expressed in pseudo-liberal attacks on its socialist character, and against all attempts to undermine its political forces in their struggle against bourgeois counter-revolution and social demoralisation; and secondly, against the tendency to transform the state into an all-embracing force, into a force above society, which would in fact liquidate the direct social influence of the working people on the policy of the state leadership, in other words, against all statist idolatry."

Communists Stay on Top

The Communists "do not renounce their leading role in society", but "they must educate the working people to take a greater, more direct, and more independent share in the management of society, and to think and act in a socialist manner, until the very last citizen has learnt to manage the affairs of the community." The aim of the Communists must be

"to fight for the progress of socialism and in that struggle to achieve their leading role less and less through their own power and more and more by means of the direct power of the working people who operate the socially-owned means of production, and by means of the most varied forms of social self-government."

The Workers' Councils are discussed in these terms:

"The Communists will devote special attention to the development of the workers' councils. The workers' councils are democratic, economic-political organs of social self-government through which the direct producers—within the framework of the unified social economic plan and in conformity with the general interests of the community expressed in the unified economic system—manage the enterprises independently and share decisively in the development of the productive forces. The driving force behind the activity of the direct producers in the workers' councils, aimed at raising the productivity of labour and speeding up development of the productive forces to an increasing extent, is the

workers' determination to improve their own living conditions and the general material standards of the social community by improved individual labour, greater business efficiency in the enterprise as a whole, and rapid general economic progress in the social community and their resolve to develop freely their individual creative abilities and talents, in accordance with the general interests of the working people. The workers' councils are neither representatives of the owners nor collective owners of the means of production. They manage the means of production on behalf of the community, being stimulated in their work by their own material and moral-political motives. For this very reason, they are the most suitable social-economic instrument of struggle against bureaucracy and selfish individualism."

But the document emphasises that:

"Self-government does not mean absolute control over affairs. It presupposes systematic discipline within the economic organisations and in the sphere of distribution and expenditure of social resources in general. The community must be equipped with administrative and social instruments and bodies ensuring the necessary social discipline and responsibility,"

and while it is declared that the Communists must aim at bringing about a gradual reduction in, and abolition of "the contradictions between the government and the governed, between the leaders and the led, between the state and its citizens", the next paragraph says:

"At the same time, the Communists will continue their struggle to preserve the key positions of state power, on which the future development of socialist society and the defence of that society from attacks by the most diverse (internal and external) anti-socialist forces depends, and keep these positions in firm revolutionary hands. The great socialist, democratic, human and peaceful goals which Yugoslav socialist society has set itself can be reached quickly and painlessly only if the enemies of socialism are prevented from introducing obstacles and dislocation into internal social life."

Camouflaged Dictatorship

What it all means in effect of course, is that the State is to wither away, with the same people on top. As in Russia, All Power to the Soviets, becomes All Power to the Party through the Soviets. Ernst Halperin has summed it up thus:

"There is one thing everybody must know who has ever been a member of an association, be it the humblest bowling or rabbit-breeders' club: how easy it is for a small determined minority of the membership to conquer the executive through systematic preparation, and to stay in power. Now imagine that this small ruling group prohibits the formation of any other groups within the club, and has the strength to make this prohibition stick because it is backed by the State and can, if necessary, mobilise the police against its opponents. This is exactly the case with the works councils and other so-called self-administered bodies in Communist Yugoslavia."

"The Yugoslav system is nothing but a camouflage for the Party dictatorship. By being transferred from the State to the 'workers' collectives', the factories are in reality being transferred into direct administration by the Party. To the foreigner it may appear a very subtle camouflage. A foreign guest, for example a Western European socialist deputy, who is allowed to be present at the session of a works council, may even overlook the detail that the council is being steered by a small, strictly disciplined group, or, if he notices it, may think it a harmless symptom of growing pains."

"On the other hand the camouflage fails to deceive their own people. In the Titoist system there is talk of self-administration and factory democracy day after day, hour after hour. The worker is told that he has the right to decide on the affairs of the enterprise because production is administered by the producers themselves. But as soon as he wants to make use of his right he is forced to realise that in everything except subordinate details the decision lies not with him, but with the Party. The same is true of a worker who himself belongs to the Party organisation and is a member of the leading Party cell. He, too cannot decide according to his inclination and judgment, even if a large section of his comrades agree with him. His Party is not democratically organised, after all. It recognises no freedom of opinion, and the member is bound by Party discipline to obey instructions from above in full. This is the obstacle which hamstring self-determination in factories and communes."

In the programme, we learn that the League is of the opinion that

"the proclamation of an absolute monopoly of political power by the

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YUGOSLAVIA

Continued from p. 2

Communist Party as a universal and 'perpetual' principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist development is an untenable dogma."

But the fate of Djilas, or more recently of the septagenarian social democrats Krekic and Pavlovic, sentenced to seven and eight-and-a-half years' imprisonment after what the *Manchester Guardian* called "a macabre trial in which the charges ranged from the ludicrous to the fantastic" makes one apprehensive for the safety of those who take this utterance seriously.

The Peasants

On agricultural policy, the programme, while declaring that "large-scale socialist agriculture" is "the only way to progress in agricultural production", nevertheless

"considers it imperative for the peasant to feel secure on his land, to rest assured that his right of possession is legally protected and that no measures of expropriation (except in cases fully established by law, when a general social need is indicated) can deprive him of his land while he is cultivating it. While looking after his own interests and those of the community and using his own discretion, he should voluntarily make the decision to join a socialist co-operative and to share in large-scale socialist production, which alone can extricate him from his backwardness and poverty."

Some people would accept this as a gracious concession to humanitarianism by the Party, but it would be more correct to see it as the result of the disastrous effects of enforced collectivisation. After the break with Stalin, as though to prove that Yugoslavia was more Stalinist than Stalin a great drive to increase the number of collectives was begun. The forced labourers and 'administrative prisoners' on public works, which were such a feature of Yugoslavia at the time were mostly peasants who had failed to produce the food quotas demanded by the regulations and 'had preferred a term of forced labour to ingress into a collective farm', Halperin observes that

"When the consequences of the passive resistance of independent and compulsorily collectivised peasants were aggravated by a drought in the summer of 1950, the harvest was catastrophically bad and the country threatened by famine. Already by May of that year, the difficulty of getting any goods, and the forms of trickery used to persuade peasants into collective farms, were provoking unrest and tumults... There were casualties—dead and wounded—and hundreds of peasants were arrested... Yet, after all, the peasant riots had a healthy result. They served to prepare the Party cadres for the change of course in economic policy which had become inescapable."

The Communists had driven the peasants into the collective farms by "sheer naked terror", and when after 1951, in order to increase agricultural production, compulsory deliveries in kind were abolished, those peasants who "had had the moral strength to resist the pressure of Party and State, and to retain their independence" reaped some benefit, while those on the collective farms found their existence less and less bearable. It was peasant resistance that brought about the new agricultural policy, not the 'humanisation' of the Party.

Power does not Abdicate

Our scepticism over the operation of the Workers' Councils in Yugoslavia, the feeling that they exist in form, but not in content, need not blind us to the fact that there are people in Yugoslavia who are looking for genuine workers' control of industry. The rather pathetic letter from Vladimir Dedijer to *Tribune* at the time of G. D. H. Cole's death, illustrates this (though K. A. Jelenski's "Lettre de Belgrade" in this month's *Preuves* describes Dedijer, who refused to join the chorus against Djilas, as "outside all activity"). So does the recent publication of an Oxford thesis by Branko Pribicevic of the Institute for the Labour Movement, Belgrade, which studies in careful detail part of the history of the demand for Workers' Control in this country. (*The Shop Stewards' Movement and Workers' Control 1910-1922*, Blackwell, 1959). These people are not

BOOK REVIEW

Two Views on Africa

AFRICA SOUTH, July-September, 1959, 4s.

BRITISH POLICY IN CHANGING AFRICA, Sir Andrew Cohen, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 12s.).

THE current issue of *Africa South* is devoted to the Central African crisis. From it emerges one fundamental fact that will hardly be new to anyone, but is worth re-stating because something too well known tends to become dull and under-emphasised, that is that to the Whites in South and Central Africa, whether they believe in "partnership" or apartheid, the black man just isn't a human being in the ordinary sense, but a sort of Neanderthal who cannot be allowed equality.

This is insisted on all the more firmly because the white people very well know that their superiority lies only in the technical field and is of very recent origin. Up till the sixteenth century Europe could not have subdued Africa, or boasted much superiority. As far as humanitarian considerations are concerned, most white settlers must be unconsciously aware, even if they won't admit it, Europe has no superiority even now. Buchenwald and Auschwitz were not the work of Africans, nor was the bombing of Hamburg or Hiroshima. Consciously of course the general belief

is that Africans are inferior to Europeans in intelligence, and therefore are cruel, incompetent and lazy, not to mention superstitious, whereas white people never are, or at least not to the same extent.

From this issue of *Africa South* one can draw conclusions for the future of Africa that are grim. One is able to see the pattern of the future emerging, a savage war between Black West Africa and her allies and the white-ruled East and South. Since Europe is in decline, and White Africa can hardly survive without Europe, Black Africa is almost certain to win. But the slaughter and destruction will be very great, and the end will be an African totalitarianism of great power, and a danger to the rest of the world.

There are articles by Barbara Castle, M.P., Kangama Chiume, Tom Mboya, a cartoon by Vicky, a study of Roy Welensky, a contemporary account, by an African of the tribe, of the near-suicide of the Xhosa people a hundred years ago, a review of two new books on non-violence and the report of an interview with Garfield Todd, former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia.

The Africa of Sir Andrew Cohen is in a different world entirely. If the names were changed one would not know it was the same continent. He sees everything through such rosy-tinted spectacles that at times one feels he is not writing about our poor old war-torn planet, but

about one of those "twin Earths" so beloved of a certain kind of science fiction writer, where conditions are almost the same as on our planet but not quite. Such awkward things as Mau-Mau, which do not fit into the picture at all, are dismissed with a wave of the hand.

The "Scramble for Africa" appears to have been a humanitarian move, following upon the abolition of the slave trade. There was less violence, Sir Andrew believes, in the conquest of Africa than in that of the Americas. Of course there were regrettable incidents.

I am not denying that European occupation did bring some benefits to some Africans. "It's an ill wind that blows nobody good." But it has benefitted some more than others. One would hardly guess that there was any oppression in Kenya from Sir Andrew's urbane prose.

The writer has a reputation for being a humane man, which is well-justified. Yet he never questions, nobody does, whether any people have the right to force "progress" on a "backward" race who do not want it. It is assumed that the more advanced are perfectly justified in organising the lives of the others, even if the latter prefer to muddle along in their bad old ways, the Karasuk for instance (p. 67). They prefer the brutal old life, and it seems to me that they have a right to be left in it, if they so desire. Otherwise democracy is shown

to be a sham. You only have the right to do what you want when it does not conflict with what your rulers feel is best for you.

It is my belief that authoritarianism and humanitarianism are incompatible. The cruelty of the "progressive", in the service of his religion of spreading "civilisation", can be quite remarkable sometimes. And it is in no way diminished by the fact that he believes he is doing an act of kindness.

Again, there is in this book no sense of the tragedy of human life under authoritarianism. It is the work of a regular Pangloss. All is for the best possible in the best possible of worlds.

This is the administrator's view. It is not the view of a man who believes the African is a kind of ape, but it is not the view of a libertarian either. Human beings are wayward, violent, muddled, so they must be tamed, straightened out, freed from disease and sent to school. This point of view has conquered the world because no satisfactory alternative has ever been produced. The only force against it is a sort of dour conservatism. (And anarchism, which has little appeal).

The world of the Karasuk is probably not one it would be delighted to revert to. Taboos, despotism, warfare on your back doorstep half the time, cruel initiation rites, disease and periodical starvation make little appeal to most of us. Yet the alternative, managerial authoritarianism, is terrible too, in a different way.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

The Zimmerman Telegram

THE ZIMMERMAN TELEGRAM, by Barbara W. Tuchman (Constable, 18s.).

THIS well-documented and meticulous chronicle of the events leading up to the "Zimmerman Telegram", proposing unrestricted U-boat warfare and an alliance between Germany, Japan and Mexico against the U.S.A., the discovery of which led to the entry of America into the First World War, proves beyond any doubt that the rulers of our world, and the people they rule over, are not to be understood or judged as sane men but as mental patients.

They see life in the style of a *Boy's Own Paper* adventure yarn. Almost every page of this book contains an example of conduct which is, if not positively insane, at least near the borderline of sanity. Whether it was the Kaiser, with his paranoid fantasies of the Yellow Peril, which he first proclaimed as the number one threat to European civilisation and then tried to ally himself with; or Wilhelm Wassmuss, the German Lawrence, who saw himself leading the desert tribes of Persia in a wild *jihad* (Holy War) against the British; or President Wilson, who "was in the impossible position of trying to function as seer and executive at the same time", and seriously thought that the embattled lunatics of Europe would be moved by reason (but since when have men been moved by that?) to negotiate a peace; or Zimmerman himself, who as a "man of the people" felt it imperative to outdo the Junker aristocrats in "toughness", not a man among them displayed any contact with reality.

President Wilson alone emerges as a sympathetic figure. He really was distressed when people were killed. To all the others, human beings, whether secret agents, Mexican revolutionaries or desert tribesmen, were simply there to be used. Their personal feelings were important only insofar as it was possible to use them in order to manipulate these folk, and cause them to spy, to raid or to revolt as occasion required. The Allies

interested in Workers' Control merely as a slogan. But whether they will have any influence to wrest workers' control from Party control is another matter. If you believe the platitudes of the *Programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists* you may expect the party to wither away. If on the other hand you think of the lessons of history you will be less likely to believe in miracles. Power does not abdicate. It has to be deposed. And like the rich man in Tolstoy's fable, the rulers of Yugoslavia will do anything for the workers except get off their backs. C.W.

were as treacherous and cruel in this matter as the Central Powers.

Yet Wilson was in an impossible position. Power and idealism are incompatible. "Politics is the art of the possible." Yet even his idealism led him astray, and he caused as much bloodshed as anyone else.

The plan of the German ruling class was to tie up American resources in a war with, or in, Mexico. Japan was to be weaned from the Allied cause, and given the chance to strike at the United States across the Mexican frontier. The Panama Canal was also to be seized.

This plan went back even to pre-war days, to the period of the Diaz régime, but now Germany was preparing to launch unrestricted U-boat warfare against Britain, as the only possible way of defeating her, and it was feared that this would bring the United States in. In the meantime, even while the United States remained neutral, a war in Mexico would limit the supply of munitions America could make to the Allies. It would not matter if the Mexicans and Japanese were ultimately defeated. But in the event of a victory Mexico would have back Texas and the other territories that she had lost to the United States.

One can only wonder why the peoples of the world have allowed themselves to be tools in the hands of "the great", who appear in this record as most trivial, silly, squalid, callous and, in some cases, even stupid.

The truth must be told, although it is fashionable to say "no one wants war". The truth is that people like war, however much they hate some of its effects. Though starving, the German people wanted victory, though poverty-stricken and at odds with each other, all Mexicans could agree in their hatred of the "gringos" who had offended their national pride, though countless thousands had died in the trenches, the British and French would not give in or withdraw.

The fact that Barbara Tuchman writes from a perfectly conventional point of view, and ends with the trite remark that America cannot live in isolation however much she may wish it, makes her account all the more damning. A pacifist or anarchist could be accused of unfairness, owing to prejudice, of seeing the worst of everything, and putting a worse interpretation on events when a better was available. But this writer believes in the necessity for war, government and politics.

There can be no doubt that mankind is suffering from a collective psychosis. Its symptom is a desire for power. It has many of the qualities of paranoia. Is one to consider the power-urge as a form of paranoia? How did it arise in the first place? Is any cure possible, or must humanity blow itself up?

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Novel with a Difference

ENGLISH novels of industrial life are rare. The efforts at social realism in the nineteen-thirties seem to have frightened off both writers and readers; or perhaps it is that the post-war relative affluence is regarded as providing less dramatic raw material than strikes, the dole, and slow starvation. Alan Sillitoe's first novel *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (W. H. Allen, 13s. 6d.) shows what a rich vein of vitality and social observation is left untapped by novelists who think that the human comedy can only be related in terms of the upper middle class or the surviving pockets of peasantry. His non-hero, Arthur Seaton, works in a Nottingham bicycle factory, churning out hub-cases on a capstan lathe at four-and-six a hundred on piecework, restricting his earnings to about fourteen pounds a week because if he didn't either the rate-checker would lower the rate or the income-tax would take a bigger slice—"feeding pigs on cherries, as Mam used to say".

The main character is not the glamorized proletarian hero of the thirties or the neurotic 'angry' of Kingsley Amis or John Osborne in the fifties but he is "amoral, cunning, dishonest, selfish and unscrupulous at times", which is the sort of thing which might happen to anyone.

He is not the puppet of social forces beyond his control. He thinks now to social forces at all. He just gets on with his capstaning, his boozing or his women without worrying.

He has been proclaimed an anarchist but I would qualify and describe Arthur Seaton as "one of nature's anarchists". There is the instinctive anti-militarism of the working-class (which lasts for the duration of the peace).

"The only thing the army cures you on," Arthur retorted "is never to join

the army again. They're dead good at that."

He has voted Communist (illegally, with someone else's voting paper) because he likes to help the losing side. "Looney laws," he says are there "to be broken by blokes like me."

His rescue of a drunk from the police, and his attempted incitement of a window-smasher to break away from a military policeman (his hierarchy of hates would run like this: 3. Policemen, 2. Military Policemen, 1. Women Military Police), and his participation in the overturning of a car in which a drunken driver had nearly run him down, shows his heart to be in the right place.

So does this: "What did they take us for? Bloody fools, but one of these days they'd be wrong. They think they've settled our hashes with their insurance cards and television sets, but I'll be one of them to turn round on 'em and let them see how wrong they are."

Simply by fidelity to his material, the author has tapped a seam of riotous vitality and given us a novel of industrial life with a difference. It is real.

WARD JACKSON.

Switching the Hate on and off

THE B.B.C. has postponed the showing of a T.V. series about the war against Japan during the official visit of the Japanese Prime Minister to Britain.

A B.B.C. spokesman said: "When the programme was planned we did not appreciate that the films would coincide with the visit.

"That is not the time to look at old sores. The scenes in the film are tough."

The series will now begin in about three weeks when apparently the time will be suitable "to look at old sores"!

Viewers have been warned that the series is not suitable for the nervous or the very young because of close-up action pictures which start from the conquest of Manchuria in 1931 and end with the dropping of the atom bomb in 1945.

The horror pictures which the B.B.C. intend showing will no doubt justify the results of the atom bomb on Japanese cities in the minds of most people who will be oblivious to the implications of the hypocritical decision made by the B.B.C. officials.

Slipping!

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Letters to the Editors

TEACHERS

Bravo Ian Leslie! It's about time the anarchists had a good word for the poor underpaid, overworked, and if I may say so, devoted schoolteachers. They may "harbour all types"—but the "types" still manage to wipe the kid's snotty noses, dry their pants, put sawdust on their vomit, and quite often supply the odd bob to pay their "dinner" money when they have forgotten it or lost it.

The "types"—or at least those who teach my children at an L.C.C. school—also have the time to take out their "forty assorted individuals" to Kew Gardens in the evening, and at week-ends to take them to places of interest, not as a crowd, but in batches of seven, and buy them lunch and souvenirs of the places visited.

To judge by his examples Ernie Crosswell must have searched pretty hard to find things to sneer at the teachers about, with his sanctimonious jibes about their loyalty if they emigrate, and their selfishness if they demand a rise in pay.

One would have expected an article on teachers in an anarchist paper to have concentrated on *freedom* for the teacher—the freedom to teach, by agitating for a reduction in the size of classes and for an end to the cramming of the curriculum by the examination system.

Instead, you publish a piece of pointless denigration which can scarcely enhance your paper's reputation, or do justice to the intelligence of its readers. London, July 13. V.B.

★

CREDIT NOTE

P.G.F. in his "Letter to a Newcomer" doubts the necessity of currency. Surely he is being prejudiced by the fact that existing monetary systems have merely existed to ensure that power is centralised in the hands of a small number of men. These have manipulated currencies to maintain their authority over us slaves of the Workhouse State by means of the well-known doctrine that it is necessary to work in order to eat.

A few economists (none of them the hired hacks of the established financial authorities) have however propagated ideas which provide for an economic system based on the distribution to everyone of the potential abundance we are capable of producing, rather than on making everyone work.

Unrest in Spain

Agitation in Barcelona

Notices from Barcelona tell us that in the textile factories of that city (2,200 factories employing 177,580) the workers are again demanding higher wages to meet the increasing cost of living. The government discharges and denounces as agitators anyone who protests. Widespread strikes are expected there and in both Sabadell and Tarrasa where factories operate on the three day week and various factories are closing, thus increasing the already sizable unemployment.

In numerous textile factories of Catalonia there were found on the ground and at the employees' entrances mimeographed leaflets urging the workers to united action against tyranny. Here are some excerpts from the leaflets. "Unite with your comrades and friends. Organize in tight intimate groups and fight tyranny. The future of Spain depends on our own strength of action. Our strength will build our syndicates."

"Act in solidarity with your fellow workers. Protest against any and every injustice committed in your workshop, factory or office. Demand wage increases, better safety conditions, more and better social benefits. Prepare for the great days when we will construct the solid foundations of our union movement. The C.N.T. is with you."

Solidaridad Obrera (Mexico City).

Spain: Civil Trials Sought

Two students, a boy and a girl, were recently arrested in Barcelona on charges of circulating propaganda for a general strike against the cost of living.

According to an affidavit sworn by them after their release, the parents of the male student were arrested the same

This can be achieved by means of three simple mechanisms:—

- (1) Open the National Credit Office (what we have now is the National Debt Office), which shall calculate and authorise the issue of:
- (2) The National Dividend, based upon the productive capacity of the community as a whole, as a flat-rate share of the nation's real wealth to every citizen, whether in employment or not, and over and above wages and salaries. The N.C.O. shall apply:
- (3) The Limited Profit Inducement to prevent inflation.

R. T. S. WEBB,

(Assistant Secretary,
Social Credit Association).

Wembley, July 8.

★

ANYONE (Negroes and Jews excepted) FOR TENNIS?

NEW YORK, JULY 8.

Dr. Ralph Bunche, Under-Secretary of the United Nations and a Nobel Peace prize-winner, disclosed to-day that he and his son have been barred from membership of the exclusive West Side Tennis Club in Forest Hills.

Dr. Bunche, a Negro, said that the club's president, Mr. Wilfred Burglund, told him to exclude Negroes and Jews. He quoted the official as saying it is a private club "the same as a person's home, where you can invite whom you want to."

The United States national tennis championships are held there every year.

Dr. Bunche declared: "I deliberately revealed this experience because I find it to be shocking in New York City and I think the citizens and the country generally are entitled to know about it." He went on:

"But I keep the story in proper perspective: neither I nor my son regard it as a hardship or humiliation. Rather it is a discredit to the club itself.

"It is not, of course, in the category of the disfranchisement, deprivation of other rights, segregation and acts of intimidation suffered by many Negroes in the (United States) South and of discrimination in employment and housing suffered by most Negroes in the North as well as the South. But it flows from the same well of racial and religious bigotry."

Mr. Burglund could not be reached for comment.

Associated Press.

Is Sport the Opium of the People

Continued from p. 1

In football, for example, a form of what is almost chattel slavery persists in the transfer system in America, recently a complete baseball team was sold 'down the river' from Brooklyn to California despite the labours of Abraham Lincoln. In America too, there is the institution of a college football team built up for prestige purposes without regard to the scholastic qualifications of the player. It was in America too, that the gigantic bribery of baseball players and 'fixing' of a whole series of league matches was revealed many years ago.

The association of sport and organized crime is by no means exceptional. From the murder of Battling Siki to the recent dog-doping cases, the results of the combination of finance and sport are always damaging to the standards of the sport. Whenever an activity is undertaken purely for money, the methods of achievement are less scrupulous, and it is obvious that the only result a player can guarantee is his own defeat so that 'fixing' pays a very rich dividend. This deprives sport of all its skill and unexpectedness so that there develops an aridity in the games. The viewing of a player as a valuable 'property' tends towards a conservation of energies and the tendency of a sport to become less adventurous and more sedentary.

Highly organized professionalism in sport tends to a decline in amateur participation not only because of the tendency of people to be spectators rather than actors but also because the professional standard of highly trained specialists gives the amateur an inferiority complex in the face of such a high standard.

This high standard is exaggerated by the cult of the personality in sport which builds up the godlike images of the superman and superwoman. This exploitation of the 'star' system is death to the 'team spirit' and makes for much professional jealousy. The Private Life of sports champions is frequently public property and the cult of the trivial is unleashed upon every pot-winner.

The abstract idea of 'sportsmanship' shines like a white light amongst the thousand wickednesses of the world. Sports writers tend to confuse the F.A. Cup and the Holy Grail and a cricket eleven ('ours') with the Apostles (Judas played for the Other Side), but the reality is different.

Thorstein Veblen in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* says:

"As it finds expression in the life of the barbarian, prowess manifests itself in two main directions—force and fraud. In varying degrees these two forms of expression are similarly present in modern warfare, in the pecuniary occupations, and in sports and games. Both lines of aptitude are cultivated and strengthened by the life of sport as well as by the more serious forms of emulative life. Strategy or cunning is an element invariably present in games, as also in warlike pursuits and in the chase. In all of these employments strategy tends to develop into finesse and chicanery. Chicanery, falsehood, brow-beating, hold a well-secured place in the method of procedure of any athletic contest and in games generally. The habitual employment of an umpire, and the minute technical regulations governing the limits and details of permissible fraud and strategic advantage, sufficiently attest the fact that fraudulent practices and attempts to overreach one's opponents are not adventitious features of the game. In the nature of the case habituation to sports should conduce to a fuller development of the aptitude for fraud; and the prevalence in the community of that predatory temperament which inclines men to sports connotes a prevalence of sharp practice and callous disregard of the interest of others, individually and collectively. Resort to fraud, in any guise or under any legitimation of law or custom, is an expression of a narrowly self-regarding habit of mind. It is needless to dwell at any length on the economic value of the sporting character. . . . The most obvious characteristic of athletic and sporting men is that of extreme astuteness. . . . (This type) is of no economic value to the community, unless it be for the purpose of sharp practice in dealings with other communities."

As witness the behaviour of the new world champion Johanssen who with low cunning concealed from Floyd Patterson, his opponent, that he packed a wicked right and accordingly when, after two rounds, this sinister play gave way to a dextrous succession of right hooks which floored Floyd Patterson, Floyd was defeated by sheer astuteness.

With boxing we are on the fringe of the type of sport which can readily be identified as, in the Gladstonian phrase "pandering to the pernicious proclivities of the populace". That is, the type of sport which appeals to appetites for cruelty, sensationalism and the more easily identifiable aggressions. Bull-fighting is the example that springs most readily to mind. Of course, we English know that only the barbarous Spaniards have such sports. The Spaniards know, of course, that only the barbarous tourists insist on seeing them!

The gladiators of Ancient Rome, the T.T. racing, the ice-hockey players, all-in wrestlers all added this thrill of danger, of blood, and of speed. Speed in itself, seems to be a cult with its attendant craze of setting up records which are sometimes only identifiable by reason of advanced technical equipment. It is said that these sports are the sublimation of the aggressive instincts, that it is a catharsis to see Fulham knock the day-lights out of the Wembley Tigers. This is refutable because "the appetite grows by what it feeds upon". One starts with wrestling, proceeds to all-in wrestling, then to female wrestlers, then to wrestling in the mud. There is no catharsis, only a masturbation of the emotions.

To quote Veblen again: "Sports of all kinds are of the same general character (predatory), including prize-fights, bull-fights, athletics, shooting, angling, yachting, and games of skill, even where the element of destructive physical energy is not an obtrusive feature. Sports shade off from the basis of hostile combat, through skill, to cunning and chicanery, without its being possible to draw a line at any point. The ground of an addiction to sport is an archaic spiritual constitution—the possession of the predatory emulative propensity in a relatively high potency. A strong proclivity to adventuresome exploit and to the infliction of damage is especially pronounced in those employments which are in colloquial language specifically called sportsmanship."

Veblen goes on further to speak of the "arrested development of man's moral nature" seen in the sportsman. The 'boyish' nature of sportsmen is obvious in the practical joking, trophy-hunting, horseplay and 'hazing' indulged in by sportsmen on the loose.

This predatory element in sport is accentuated by the chauvinistic out-growths of sport as witness the Berlin Olympic Games of the 'thirties, and the present boon-doggling going on about Nationalist China and the next Olympic Games. The overtones of fervent nationalism can be detected in every win for England and the headline cries of "Buck Up England" or "Is England Finished?" are not far removed from political or racial issues.

At the other end of the scale there has been a decline in regionalism in sport. The labels on teams have no references to their country of origin and the transfer system has made the residential qualification a *non sequitur*. The success of Irish, Scots and Welsh players has made for the success of England.

Within the fabric of sport there are snobberies. The dichotomy (if you will pardon my language) of amateur and professional is the key to the leading question, "What games do you play?" There is a world of difference between the spheres used in rugger and soccer for example.* As for cricket with its pre-occupation with protocol, leisure and space and the comparative complexity of its equipment and costume marks it out as a leisure-class activity with a highly-developed factor of conspicuous consumption. The consumption of time and of space and the apparent unimportance of the result (it matters not whether you lost or won, but how you played the game) makes it an obvious upper-class pastime. It is the only game which has the honesty to proclaim a contest between gentlemen and players and Kipling has observed the distinction 'muddled oafs and flannelled fools'.

Another device to restrict the scope of a sport to a particular class is to give it a *locale* or surround it with elaborate equipment. The removal of a sport to Spitzbergen or Kenya and the elaboration of golf equipment makes certain sports the hallmark of those who can expend money on yachts, polo-ponies, grouse moors and horses.

In this class of conspicuous consumption

*This pre-occupation of games with the spheric form has led some to accredit it with sexual significance which is not without point.

tion Royalty is notorious, their love of nature and kindness to animals is seen in their vicarious participation in the gruelling Grand National, the chasing of deer and fox to exhaustion and dismemberment, the impaling of fish upon hooks, and the shooting of game expressly reared for that purpose.

The detachment of the sport of the chase from its utilitarian beginnings in food-hunting is seen in the customs of stocked rivers, big game preserves, grouse moors, carted stags and sacrosanct foxes. Oscar Wilde's description of fox-hunting as "the unspeakable in pursuit of the uncatchable" springs readily to mind when considering this taboo against catching anything for a purpose so sordid as eating.

Sport has in the main, little justification. It fosters anti-social activities and emotions, creates a vested interest, and a diversion into trivialities and it bolsters up a class-system and a sectional class-interest. It tends as present developments go to cater extensively for vicarious living and is in that sense an opiate. J.R.

THE DAVID BELL FUND

It is very satisfying indeed to note the feeling of solidarity which expresses itself in the many letters of concern for our friend David Bell. Among the people who contributed to our fund this week is one of our oldest comrades, old-age pensioner, etc., who cycled from his home in the country to hand in his contribution.

We visited David in Wormwood Scrubs. He is well and likes to thank you all for your expression of solidarity. He was quite astonished over all the interest for just one Conscientious Objector.

PETER FEAK & MAX PATRICK.

Anyone, who likes to express his sympathy with David's refusal to be directed by the state-machine, is still able to help by sending cash, postal order or cheque to:

PETER FEAK,

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JULY 19.—Donald Room on
SOME SILLY IDEAS

BIRMINGHAM.

JULY 19.—N.S.S. at Midland
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