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Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Without freedom of thought there can be no such thing as wisdom."
—P. L. GORDON

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Threepence

Reflections on the Devlin Report & Government DEMOCRATS' DILEMMA

THE Report of the Nyasaland Commission of Inquiry (the Devlin Report) is a remarkable document which throughout bears the imprint of the legal mind concerned only with establishing the facts and leaving it to others to draw the conclusions. During the five weeks they spent fact-finding in Nyasaland the Commission heard the evidence of 455 individual witnesses, and about 1300 witnesses in groups, as well as receiving 585 memoranda. But in spite of the large number of witnesses they heard and the mass of documentary evidence—"much of this was secret information" to which they had access—the claims they make for their Report are modest.

We have not written this Report in the form of findings for or against any individual; we have written it in narrative form as a statement of the facts for your use based on what we believe to be the balance of probabilities and not upon proof beyond reasonable doubt.

But the Commons debate last Tuesday week on the Report clearly showed that politicians are not interested in objectivity or facts. The government which had in the first place appointed the Commission "to enquire into the recent disturbances in Nyasaland and the events leading up to them" accepted those parts of

the Report which appeared to justify its policy and rejected the rest. The Attorney General made it clear that whilst it was "the duty of every Government to give careful consideration to the report of any commission they appoint", no government

either pledge themselves to, or are bound to accept all its conclusions or criticisms or recommendations if any are made.

But this was a fact-finding Commission as the Report reminds the Colonial Secretary in the introduction:

The task with which you entrusted us was to report and not to make recommendations. We have aimed at setting out all the relevant facts as objectively as we can in order that those whose responsibility it is to approve or disapprove may be provided with a firm basis of fact for their deliberations. (Our italics).

What then the Government has rejected in the Report are not "conclusions, criticisms or recommendations", of which there are none, but the facts as they appeared to the Commission. If the Government appoint a Commission to piece together the facts it cannot then reject their findings except by declaring that it is better informed than the Commission! And in that case it is difficult to understand why the Commission was appointed in the first place. Alternatively the Government would have to explain why it withheld information from the Commission which would have materially affected its findings.

TO our minds the explanation is a simple one. The government in appointing the Commission of four safe, respectable men, eminent in their respective fields and all reputedly Conservative in their political outlook, was confident that the Report they would produce would confirm its own assessment of the situation which it had used as the justification for the declaration of a State of Emergency in Nyasaland last March.

What it had not bargained for was the zealotry with which the Commission set about its task. In his opening speech for the Government the Attorney General expresses on one hand the Government's gratitude "to the Commission for voluntarily

devoting so much time and effort to its task" while on the other hand makes slighting references to their method of hearing witnesses in groups.

... they heard evidence from 455 individual witnesses and, they say, about 1,300 in groups. [What are the implications of that remark "they say"?] May I say, in passing that I am rather intrigued about how that was done. Hearing witnesses in groups strikes me as a somewhat novel procedure. It would certainly save time in the courts, but it sounds rather a noisy business, and questioning witnesses in groups must have been rather difficult. Still they did it, and they studied no less than 585 memoranda."

We suggest that the purpose of the Attorney General's gratuitous remarks was to cast doubt on the ability of the Commission to cover so much ground in the limited time, as well as to write-off as valueless the 1300 witnesses who gave their evidence in groups. For it must not be forgotten that the Government had the invidious task of rejecting a large part of the Commission's findings on the strength of its own knowledge of the facts as supplied by the Governor who, in his turn, depended on the reports of seven paid "informers"!

The Labour Opposition in its Amendment which read "that the House accepts the Report of the Nyasaland Commission of Inquiry" was as hypocritical and opportunist in its acceptance of the Report as the Government was dishonest and opportunist in accepting some and re-

Continued on p. 3

Anarchist Summer Schools & Geneva Conference 'Getting Things Done'

VISITORS to the Anarchist Summer School last week-end who were worried about "anarchist organisation" ought to spend some time studying newspaper reports of highly organised institutions and see for themselves how chaotic organisation can be.

The Geneva Conference, now in its ninth week (second session) convened by teams of organisational geniuses, should teach the lesson that "getting things done" is primarily a question of co-operation, common interest and a genuine desire to work out policies which have some hope of success.

The breakdown in relations between groups which is of "public interest" is usually caused by lack of co-operation and conflicting interests. In these instances physical organisation merely provides for the smooth running of a battle which may take weeks, months or years.

In a relatively small issue like the printing dispute which has been going on for weeks the "peace terms" now accepted by both sides could have been settled in a couple of days, and certainly if agreement had only been dependent upon efficient organisation, settlement could have been reached in a couple of hours.

To-day's newspapers (Tuesday, 4th August) report that President Eisenhower and Mr. Krushchev have agreed to "tour each other's countries". Yet these two gents have been dithering over this plan for, as far as we know months, probably years.

What prevented them making up their minds long before this? They have fast planes at their disposal and a whole army of civil servants expert in the organisation of banquets and balls, private conferences and plenary assemblies. No lack of organisation here but also no genuine intentions to settle the worry of the world—fear of war and hunger—if it means that the two mighty powers have to concede any of their military and economic strength.

The issues which these two will discuss in their exchange visits were just as important (or unimportant last year, or the year before, but the mysteries of diplomacy would not permit it even although the conditions have not changed. If there is a temporary "easing of tension" after the back-slapping and the belching "the people" will be grateful to their wise leaders who created the tension in the first place!

It cannot be stressed often enough that these diplomatic exchanges are momentary expedients containing little value in terms of co-operation and permanent stability, and that the task of the anarchist or "sympathiser" is in the first instance to awaken people to the realities of power politics.

The Anarchist Movement is already organised to this end, therefore, we do not need more organisation but more anarchists who can intelligently use and extend the machinery which at the moment is turning regularly even if only in a small circle.

R.

PRINT DISPUTE A Disappointing Result

THE newspapers told us last Friday that there was stalemate in the negotiations between employers and unions in the printing dispute.

On Saturday however the glad tidings were that settlement had been reached, and it is difficult to see why an extra day's bargaining was necessary when in fact the unions appear to have yielded on all the points on which they were stubborn on Friday.

They have finally settled for a reduction of the working week from 43½ hours to 42 (instead of 40 as demanded) and a wage increase of 4½ per cent. (instead of 10 per cent.). These were the terms suggested by Lord Birkett, the retired judge who held a judicial enquiry into the dispute and originally rejected by the unions.

The employers, therefore, have got away with less than 50 per cent. of the union's original claim. Not only that, but the unions have agreed to many provisions for "increased productivity" and for a certain amount of work to be undertaken by semi-skilled labour rather than craftsmen as at present, for new arrangements for the intake of apprentices and the length of period of training, for full co-operation in the introduction of new processes and in "method study".

All these terms, and others agreed upon, work in the interests of employers. The workers' hopes for a 40-hour week are postponed till 1961, when, it is agreed, unions and employers will "consider whether there is justification" for another decrease in hours.

The printing workers may well be wondering whether their six-week struggle (with half the industry at work and the national press hardly affected) was really worth it.

Money, Lovely Money!

THE Mr. Roy Thomson who has recently bought up the Kemsley chain of newspapers (see FREEDOM, 25/7/59) is a man with a gift for producing the telling phrase.

He is of course in a position for making his slightest word heard throughout at least two continents, even though he maintains stoutly that he is not interested in the spreading of ideas, only in the accumulation of money.

Perhaps this is just as well, for

Mr. Thomson has so far managed to collect 27 newspapers in Canada, seven in U.S.A. and nine in Scotland. His purchase of the Kemsley chain gives him control of 30 more publications, including 12 provincial dailies and three Sunday nationals, *Sunday Times*, with a combined circulation of 14 million.

But his interests extend also into television and music appreciation. As the happy owner of TV stations on both sides of the Atlantic, Mr.

Thomson is in a strong position to hear the kind of music he prefers. For as he has said: "The most beautiful music to me is a spot commercial at ten bucks a whack".

And to demonstrate once again that there's one law for the rich and another for the poor, Mr. Thomson has also made a wise-crack which just shows how you can get round the law against forgery: "Owning a commercial T.V. station is like having a license to print your own money."

No Money!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 31

Deficit on Freedom	£620
Contributions received	£512
DEFICIT	£118

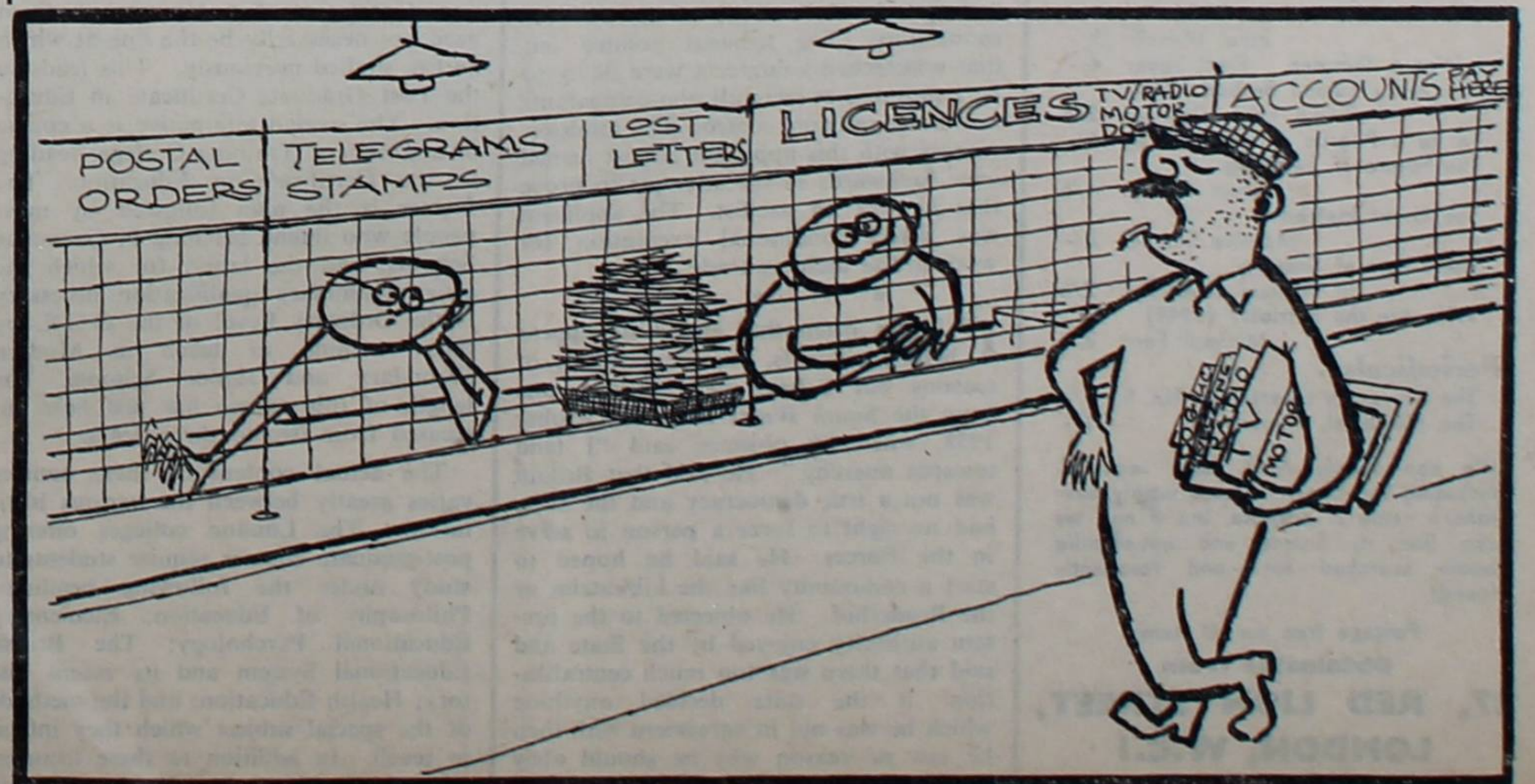
July 24 to July 30

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Total	9 10 2
Previously acknowledged	503 4 10
1959 TOTAL TO DATE	£512 15 0

GIFT OF BOOKS: London: P.H. London: C.W.

*Indicates regular contributor.



"And while you're at it, you might as well let me have one of those licences to print my own money!"

Survey of the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunals A PLACE OF JUSTICE

ONE day recently, I went to a Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal at Kensington Town Hall. How this suburb of colonels' ladies and Spring sales would quiver if it knew what went on in its midst. But they need not worry, Britain is sound at heart and Kensington stands where it did; there are no moral take-over bids.

Kensington Town Hall is a fine example of the flowering of the Victorian exuberance school of architecture. To put C.O.s and Tribunals in a right frame of mind there is a statue in the entrance of "Peace contemplating the map of the world"; on the stairs a painting showing the Mayor of Kensington receiving the regimental colours of the 31st Knights-bridge Light Horse Brigade (or something) in August 1914 and on the landing facing the tribunal hall there are the actual regimental colours. Great stuff! I was enabled to survey all this military glory because there was a case (a C.N.D.-er) going on at the time and the man at the door would not allow me in—just like Covent Garden opera.

A dear old lady asked me if I was going before a tribunal. This built up my ego no end for it was (*ehue fugaces*) twenty years since I was registered as the non-combatant I always have been. I told her no, I was eventually let into the Holy of Holies.

The first case that came on was a bearded young man, a painter. One of the members of the tribunal made his first (and I believe only) joke, "A house-painter?"

The applicant made a case for pacifism on grounds of expediency. This he pointed out was a long-term policy and his case was on moral grounds. He, as most of the other applicants, had been deferred since 1956 for his studies. This seemed to irk the tribunal as their general attitude seemed to be that deferment was a privilege only to be granted to those who would eventually accept military service. The additional crime in this young man's case was that he was not a pacifist at the time of registration.

He was asked if he had studied the other point of view. (This regardless of the fact that the other point of view is the *status quo*—the Mayor of Kensington and all that.) He had. He believed in passive resistance. He was told that the people in Belsen believed in passive resistance and look where it got them.

He pointed out that his policy was a long-term relative policy—the amount of evil from passive-resistance was less than the evil arising from war. He was struck off the register but told to study the matter more in time for his appellate.

THE next man was a Baptist draughtsman with a stammer. He believed he was not called by God for non-combatant duties. He believed that God did not call one for combatant duties either, as war was a sin. He believed the goodness of God was inconsistent with militarism. Did he believe in peace at any price? No, but war was a product of sinfulness. He denied that God was a sinner and he may have unwittingly given that impression. Was it sinful to lay down your life? He believed the weapons of warfare were carnal. The Tribunal pointed out that non-carnal weapons were not precluded. Generals Gordon and Joffre both carried Bibles in their knapsacks. The objector thought that killing precluded the possibility of salvation. On a more mundane plane it was revealed that he had become a Christian after deferment, which again seemed to upset the Tribunal, for they feel that intellectual attitudes should be frozen in the deep-freeze of the mind or better still, acquired (if orthodox in their unorthodoxy) at birth. This young man was also struck off and told to study the matter more for his appellate. This examination mentality was probably assumed for the benefit of the student-type objector they are having these days, but it seemed to me suspiciously like an essay in buck-passing.

THE third objector was another Christian and a Sunday School Superintendent. He believed it was his duty to help the State. He based his pacifism on the Sermon on the Mount. He believed war was caused by sin, lust and the devil. He was a member of the Assemblies of God and a soldier of Christ. Did he believe in loving his enemies? How could he do that, unless he had some? If he believed in turning the other cheek wouldn't that mean if London was bombed we should offer the enemy Edinburgh. The applicant said it came down to the individual level. A member of the tribunal gave it as his opinion that force was not useless because "the Germans were now behaving much better than before the war". Another said that Jesus had not told the centurion to give up his occupation. This applicant was given conditional exemption. The tribunal generally finds out what an applicant is doing and tells him to do something else.

The fourth applicant was short and sweet. He was a draughtsman. He believed that man was a responsible creature made from dust and that the Creator was the only giver and taker of life. He admitted when pressed to it that he was one of those called "Brethren" (Plymouth Brethren) and had been "breaking bread" for several years. He had no objection to the Non-Combatant Corps. So without any questions he was registered for the Non-Combatant Corps.

The fifth and final applicant was a plumber studying to be a sanitary engineer. He was a Congregationalist Sunday School teacher. He was a member of a pacifist family but he had discussed it with his opponents. It was pointed out to him if Jesus Christ was willing to lay down his life why shouldn't the applicant. The applicant was perfectly willing to go to the front line on humanitarian tasks if he went on his own responsibility. The tribunal pointed out that unattached volunteers were likely to be a nuisance as were all non-combatants not under military control. The minister-witness with this applicant almost leaned over backwards in his attempts to prove that he was no pacifist. The applicant was given conditional exemption for work in the building trade.

IT is not often that anarchists appear before tribunals, this for a variety of reasons but I have two cuttings, one from the *South Wales Echo* in October 1958, when an objector said "I tend towards anarchy." He said that Britain was not a true democracy and the State had no right to force a person to serve in the Forces. He said he hoped to start a community like the kibbutzim or the Bruderhof. He objected to the present authority enjoyed by the State and said that there was too much centralization. If the state decided anything which he was not in agreement with then he saw no reason why he should obey the State. He agreed he had received considerable benefits from the State, but,

he regarded these as his right and not as a privilege. I have no record of the tribunal's findings in this case.

The second case, also in October 1958, was reported in the *Kensington News* as follows:

"I am an anarchist. I wouldn't vote, I wouldn't fight. I only pay my taxes because I can't say no." So said one young Conscientious Objector at a Tribunal held at the Kensington Town Hall last week.

There was the anarchist argument, quoted above. This looked like a tougher nut. After his remarks about not paying taxes, this anarchist Objector went on: "When the workers of the world fight for their country, they are in fact not fighting for their own advantage, but for the vested interest of the Governments. I don't mind helping the community by work, but I do not want to help the Government's war effort."

It was at this juncture, however, that the Tribunal pointed out that the Objector had no right to be stating his case before them for exemption, when he did not admit the authority of the Government. It was the Government, they pointed out, through Act of Parliament, that gave them, the Tribunal, power to accept or reject his objection. "You cannot have the best of both worlds," they commented.

"But I came here to state my case of my own free will, so that I would not be thought a criminal. The point is that, if I refused to do my military service, the police would take me off to the Magistrate's Court, and then I would be regarded as a criminal. But I want to show that I am not an irresponsible person."

The Tribunal: "But if you don't approve of Acts of Parliament, then how can you be ruled by them? You are seeking to state your case under the Conscientious Objectors' Act."

The Objector: "But I want to compromise, by advertising my case to you, without being regarded as a criminal."

The Tribunal: "Yes, that is right."

The Tribunal then went on to point out to this Objector that by paying his taxes, he was supporting the Government.

The Objector: "Yes, but if I did not pay my taxes, I would be sent to prison, where I would be unable to state my case. I have got to live under the present society until that society is reformed."

Finally, however, the Tribunal decided

that this Objector had no proper case, and refused his objection.

DURING the 1914-18 war the No Conscription Fellowship published a magazine called *The Tribunal*. Sardonicly, under the title was the line "Tribunal (O.E.D. A place of justice)".

Well might they complain. The Tribunals of 1914-18 were an ordeal, they bullied and badgered C.O.s. A military representative sat upon the tribunal, the proceedings were held in a police-court atmosphere and examples of tribunal's ignorance, viciousness and stupidity abounded. A military representative at Sheffield said as far as he was concerned there was only one ground of total exemption and that was 'death'. A member of the Oldbury tribunal said to an objector: "It seems to me there are two things you possess, cowardice and insolence."

The Conscription Act deemed rejected C.O.s to be soldiers and many were arrested by the military and put into military prisons and subjected to severe humiliation and punishment. Many were threatened with shooting, seventeen of them were in May, 1916, taken to France where they could be sentenced to death when they refused orders, many of them received 28 days Field Punishment No. 1 which consisted of being strapped to a framework as a form of crucifixion. In June 1916 the government introduced the Home Office scheme which reviewed sentences and gave "genuine" objectors civilian alternative work.

The result of all this was that 16,000 refused combatant service, of these 6,261 were arrested, 175 evaded the Act. Of those who were arrested 71 died and 31 became insane. Of these 16,100 objectors 1,191 were Socialists of various denominations (this possibly includes anarchists).

In the second world war it was different.

Many former conscientious objectors became responsible ministers in Labour governments, the survey of prisons after the war "English Prisons Today" was written by two objectors and the Government which introduced conscription (in 1939) resolved to profit by the mis-

takes of the 1914-18 show. The Unitarian Prime Minister of that date went out of his way not to be nasty to the "conchie". As it was the first introduction of conscription in peace time (in 1914-18 conscription did not arrive till later in the war) he had to go carefully.

The result was a masterpiece of conscription by conscience. The maxim of 'divide and conquer' was pursued by the government to produce an efficient piece of utilization of man-power.

The tribunals lost their embarrassing military representative and in some cases their *quasi* police-court air. Exemptions came in three sizes "Unconditional" (very rare); "Conditional—upon land, hospital or forestry, etc. or own job (if of national importance); "Non-combatant". "Conditional" was dependent upon two things, the nature of the conscience and the nature of the job.

In the second world war the objectors were different. Socialists (of most brands) were anti-Fascist, Fascism meant war so Socialists supported war. The larger percentage of objectors were religious. Theocratic and evangelistic sects had grown apace between the wars, and there had been no corresponding political upsurge.

In the main, the religious bodies were 'alternativist' (to adopt the terminology of the first world war) rather than 'absolutist'. The outstanding exceptions to this were the Jehovah's witnesses (known in Europe—mainly in concentration camps—as International Bible Students). They refused to do alternative service (non-combatant or civilian) and so were by far the greatest proportion of any denomination to suffer imprisonment.

They were not and are not—pacifists in the strictest sense of the term, relying as they do on the text "If my Kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight". They look forward to God's war, Armageddon, where by some hitherto unrevealed method the sheep will be separated from the goats, and the wheat from the chaff and the elect (J.W.'s of course) will inherit the kingdom.

If sincerity and stubbornness of belief, a willingness to experience poverty and persecution are socially commendable, the Jehovah's Witnesses are that. But if a dogmatic conviction of rectitude, a masochism with a promise of later vengeance are socially undesirable the Witnesses are also that.

A Jehovah's Witness, Stanley Holton, *Continued on p. 3*

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VIEWPOINT

Teaching and Teachers

AMONG most groups of University undergraduates, a common assumption is that teaching is a last resort as a career. It commands a lower salary than the other alternatives which are offered, particularly to scientists, but has the consolation of safety. The lower pay is also balanced by the long holidays. The attraction which teaching exerts on non-university people is parallel.

These factors are by no means despicable. One of the aspects of work in society today which is severely criticized by anarchists is the lack of leisure which it involves, and to anyone who feels inclined to it for other reasons, teaching is a direct way of getting a job which does afford generous holidays.

However, a feature of the educational system which acts very strongly against enlightenment among educators is the training system. There are two channels by which people achieve qualification as teachers. Firstly, anyone with a degree may take a one-year course in the education department of a University, which need not necessarily be the one at which he has studied previously. This leads to the Post Graduate Certificate in Education. The second alternative is a course in a Teachers' Training College, leading to the Certificate in Education. The former is the plan followed by most people who intend teaching in Grammar Schools, and the latter, for which the only preliminary qualification necessary is the Ordinary Level of the G.C.E. by those wishing to teach in Modern Secondary and Junior Schools. The length of this course has just been increased from two to three years.

The actual content of these courses varies greatly between the various institutions. The London colleges offering post-graduate courses require students to study under the following headings. Philosophy of Education; Elementary Educational Psychology; The British Educational System and its recent history; Health Education; and the methods of the special subject which they intend to teach. In addition to these lectures, each student has to undertake teaching practice for the equivalent of about eight

weeks, under the supervision of the staff of the chosen school and of a lecturer who makes periodical visits. For anyone who manages to get into a progressive school for "teaching practice", the former supervision is non-existent and the latter can be neutralized by collective action.

However, as in schools, the most important factor is not the content of the lessons or lectures so much as the predominant attitudes which are handed down less obviously from lecturer to student. Among these are the assumption that the role of the teacher is to impose a code of conduct on the children and that it is quite legitimate to use meaningless punishments to achieve this. Among the preliminary hints dropped by one lecturer in the department which I attended was that each teacher should decide on a personal idiosyncrasy such as a rule that the pupils' desks must be clear when he came into the room, and enforce it ruthlessly on every occasion. The idea of this was to "show the kids who was in control". Another lecturer, a female (are they more deadly in the educational world?) after giving the usual homily about getting the pupils under your thumb, added in a confidential tone that "really, they like to feel that you're on top". These attitudes are very common among the staff of training establishments, particularly among those who lecture on educational psychology, since they make it quite clear that they regard psychology as being inferior to "common sense", and "common sense" means keeping the kids under your thumb, etc. Their attitudes fall on pretty receptive ground.

During a weekly discussion group, I had the opportunity to put forward progressive ideas, and while one or two students agreed in theory, hardly any felt that anything much could be done in practice. A piece of research was carried out a few years ago to investigate how much students' attitudes were changed by the psychology courses which they attended during the teaching year. The result was that the changes were

very small. For instance to the question: "Do you think children are born intrinsically evil?" at the beginning of the course 78% answered "Yes", while after a year of psychology 75% did so. Another recent research showed that a large proportion of teachers felt that their education year had been a waste of time.

The non-graduate training colleges are notorious for the restrictions which they place on their students' private lives. One women's college insists that its students must be in at ten o'clock, but will give late passes twice a term, provided the woman promises that she will be spending the evening in the company of "another member of this college".

Another college (for men) permits its students to have women in their rooms provided the beds are removed.

In its claims to be a profession, the teaching world is implying that somehow a great lead of knowledge is somewhere in the air, which must be handed down through the generations of teachers before they can effectively practise their calling. This is entirely untrue: the system of training teachers passes down, not a body of necessary knowledge, but a set of attitudes which are necessary, not to effective teaching, but to effective conformism, and to the basic job of State education, which is to try to instil this conformism into children.

It is said that nowadays the training colleges are more liberal, and have been influenced by Neill's ideas and practice. My experience was that progressive education was only mentioned in order to be sneered at, and as a warning against what could happen if theories were taken to their logical conclusion. In particular, it was pointed out that free schools were an aberration of the 'thirties which had been disposed of now. Wherever the State has assimilated parts of the theories put forward by advocates of free education, it has been to give its own system greater stability and efficiency—a favourite device of authorities.

P.H.

Democrats' Dilemma

Continued from p. 1

jecting other parts of it. For, unwittingly perhaps, the Commission has produced not only a factual report on the situation in Nyasaland but a withering indictment of Government. Not just the Nyasaland Government or the Macmillan Government but of the whole principle of Government. In saying this we are not plugging a propaganda line but giving our considered—and we hope objective—opinion after reading the Report from cover to cover. Whether in the space available we will be able to substantiate this statement is another matter; but we will try!

★

MR. JAMES CALLAGHAN in his opening speech for the Opposition declared that in Nyasaland the Government had failed to act in accordance with the principle laid down 100 years ago by William Harrison in his Inaugural Address to the American Congress in 1841 that

"The only legitimate right to govern is an express grant of power from the governed."

For Mr. Callaghan the meaning of this statement is clear. He illustrates it with reference to

The people of Nyasaland [who] more than half a century ago entrusted to us responsibility for their government until they had prepared themselves to take over their own affairs. What our Government have ignored is that they did not take that step of entrusting us with that power in order that we might impose upon them an alien form of government against their will.

This is of course a lot of nonsense. When the territory was brought under the "protection of the Crown" some fifty years ago it was, according to the first proclamation, with "the consent and desire of the chiefs and people". It is curious that ever since the people have been trying to have a say in the administration of their country, without success! The Devlin Report rightly describes the present administration of Nyasaland as a "police State" but it also rightly draws attention to the fact that

The election of Africans to the Legislative Council has not altered the fact that the Government was a benevolent despotism; about its benevolence there should be no mistake and the "despotism" was that of a kindly father and not of a tyrant. (Our italics).

Shrewdly the Commission adds however:

Every member of the Government believes that at bottom in Nyasaland there is government by consent and would not be happy if he thought otherwise: his view is based on the assumption that, apart from a small minority of self-seeking trouble-makers, the African wants what is best for him and that the Government knows what that is.

Not only do the politicians take it for granted that they know best what is good for the people but they make sure that they are equipped with the necessary force to impose their "benevolent despotism" on the people.

William Harrison's principle is to our minds a contradiction of terms. A people with the power to appoint others to govern over them would never abdicate their power. To-day even in the most "democratic" of countries no government is "legitimate" in Harrison's definition of legitimate for the people have not the power to dispense with government except by acting against the law and therefore courting prosecution.*

This is the case in Nyasaland to-day. The Devlin Report, discussing

the question of Federation which the Government is determined to go through with, declares that

... it was generally acknowledged that the opposition to Federation was there, that it was deeply rooted and almost universally held. We found it to be so. Even among the chiefs, many of whom are loyal to the Government and dislike Congress methods, we have not heard of a single one who is in favour of Federation. Witness after witness appeared before us for the sole purpose of stating that the cause of all the troubles we were investigating was Federation.

On the one hand Mr. Callaghan draws the attention of the Government to the fact that "the policy of violence resulted from the mood of frustration felt by Congress because there was no constitutional way of making its view effective" but on the other, Mr. Callaghan, the politician, goes out of his way to draw the government's attention to the fact that he was not opposed to the declaration of a State of Emergency in Nyasaland last March. Indeed he quotes from his speech on that occasion in which he had said that

"Since our exchanges earlier this afternoon, and the declaration of a state of emergency in Nyasaland, it has become abundantly clear that the powers which the Governor of Nyasaland asked for are necessary." (Our italics).

In other words while declaring that the government of Nyasaland is flouting the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people, the principle of government is nevertheless sacrosanct: law and order *über alles!*

As the Devlin report puts it

We apprehend . . . that it will be generally agreed that on the facts we have found and in the situation that existed on 3rd March, however it was caused, the Government had either to act or abdicate; and since with the forces at its disposal the maintenance of order could not be achieved within the ordinary framework of the law, it had to resort to emergency powers.† (Our italics).

In this paragraph is the bitter answer to those who optimistically talk of government -of -for and -by the people as a possible form of social organisation. The moment a government has, or is "legitimately" given, the power to govern it assumes not only the role of the Executive but also that of defender of the *status quo*. And where the "ordinary framework of the law" is insufficient it can vote itself—or "resort to"—emergency powers,‡ in the name of the people, yet in their effect, *against* the people!

Nyasaland, where as Mr. Bevan put it "we deny people constitutional articulation" may be an extreme case of the anti-social, authoritarian role of government. But have not the events in Nyasaland simply revealed the true nature of government when it is opposed by a unanimous public opinion? Is there any reason to believe that if in Britain we opposed certain government measures as strongly and resolutely as the Nyasaland oppose Federation, the government would heed that opinion or hesitate to resort to emergency powers if it felt that the "ordinary framework of the law" was inadequate? What measures did the government take during the General Strike of 1926?

*Dr. Banda and his friends while expressing more closely the wishes of the overwhelming majority in Nyasaland, think in terms of government and the machinery of government, not of the people. In a speech he made (printed in the Devlin report) he told his audience "Don't hate the police. Hate the government. They are the ones I am fighting, not the police. When we get our Government we will have the police, Europeans and Africans . . ." (Our italics).

†How these emergency powers were operated in Nyasaland is dealt with in detail in the Devlin Report and will be summarised in a subsequent issue of

‡So far as Nyasaland was concerned the Governor in Council had power under the ordinary law (Penal Code, sections 70 and 72) to declare a society to be dangerous to the good government of the Protectorate and thereupon it would become unlawful! (Devlin Report para 185).

Letters to the Editors

THE FRATERNAL SOCIETY

The Editor,
FREEDOM.
FRIEND,

Sid Parker may have been a little hard on P.G.F., nevertheless his criticism was sound: as I see it there are four principal ways of reaching the Fraternal Society: the Individual revolution as advocated by Sid and Ammon Hennacy, abolishing power thereby and only then forming free co-operatives; formation on a large scale of collective contract systems in towns and Gramdams in the Country, and subsequent supercession either through gradual means or a non-violent stay-in strike of the existing system (neo-De Leonism); a succession of Civil Disobedience Campaigns, ranging from the massive-Indian Swaraj-type through the Montgomery type to the minuscule Pickenham type, each aimed at an obvious evil which many non-anarchists can see for themselves, and each of which uncovers some new evil to the popular eye; until such time as the state apparatus collapses for want of the necessary violence to maintain it; finally Syndicalist Direct Action. I frankly do not believe that any one of these can succeed in isolation, that is not to say that I have any great hopes of success anyway, however I believe there is a need for Anarchists to work out to what extent one can reconcile these methods; rather than to debate their relative merits.

If Industrial Unions are to be built they should have at their base something smaller than the old Workers' Council—possibly the Collective Contracts and they should maintain a certain small number of non-violent resisters at perhaps half the average wage. Obviously there can be no organizational aid to Individual revolutionaries. If they are not to be built, then I fancy we must logically reject not merely all violent forms of revolutionary struggle but all non-violent coercion as well, and rely entirely on Bhoodan-Diminty type action (except of course for Individual acts). While I am prepared to accept

that the latter is more moral and would produce a more truly Anarchist Society if it could ever succeed; I think it unduly optimistic to consider it, and it carries the disadvantage of having no way to prevent things getting even worse than they are.

Yours fraternally,
London, July 25. LAURENS OTTER.

★

To The Editors,
FREEDOM.

SOCIAL CREDIT OR SOCIAL REVOLUTION

DEAR FRIENDS,

I was interested to read the letter 'Credit Note' from the Social Credit Association.

The opposition between anarchist and related ideologies and the Social Credit movement has always seemed to me to be very unsatisfactory.

The difference between the two policies seems very simple. Anarchists advocate abolishing money and 'giving the goods away'. Social Creditors advocate 'Giving the money away', for that is all the 'National Dividend' amounts to, basically.

Personally I would prefer to abolish money. Apart from numerous secondary disadvantages, the use of money has the basic fault that it comes between the worker and the object of his work. Food is no longer produced to be eaten, it is produced for money. Work ceases to have a conscious social purpose and becomes a purely individual, egoistic affair, and this produces a limited a-social or anti-social mentality which is thoroughly unfortunate, and ridiculous.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that a rational and honest money system of the Social Credit type would have several advantages over a moneyless economy. It makes some concession to human stupidity and selfishness and could be used by people like the present generation of humanity who have been

conditioned for centuries to use money, and would not easily be able to show the tiny amount of social responsibility needed to operate a full communist economy.

Also, the distribution of products of limited supply and demand, works of art and other 'luxury' goods for instance, would present no problem in a Social Credit economy, but at present does not fit easily into a moneyless scheme.

However, in practice a Social Credit society would probably eventually become a moneyless society. There are some spheres where, I should think, even Social Creditors would agree that the use of money is absurd. Health, Education, and transport services, for instance, would be 'free' in any sane society. Whenever I travel on the London Underground I am infuriated by appeals to 'hurry along, please' after which, at the end of the journey I have to stand in a queue for several minutes while a train-load of people, one at a time hand in their silly tickets at the station barrier.

At present, of course, there is no possibility of money being abolished. The interests of the ruling class (i.e. the 'Rich') bar this absolutely. Money and its concomitant the policeman and all the armed forces of the State are the two weapons by which our rulers control all the rest of us, and they are not likely to throw either away.

However, begging a good many enormous questions, we will assume that in a Social Credit Society this barrier does not exist, and there will be no huge entrenched interest in favour of the use of money. Therefore, in such a world people could have a calm and rational attitude to the whole question, and money could be discarded, and 'free' services operated wherever it seemed convenient and desirable. In fact, in time, money would probably die out altogether as people gradually became accustomed to the money-less conduct of their affairs.

As I have said, I detest money and would prefer to see it abolished altogether and at once, but nevertheless, I could be quite happy in a Social Credit society. I'm not suggesting that FREEDOM should propagate Social Credit and I don't suppose that Social Credit papers will preach Anarchism, but I do suggest that the two schemes should be regarded as alternatives, and not as rivals.

Best wishes and yours truly,
Oxford, July 19. J. W. SHAW.

★

The Editor,
FREEDOM.

ANTI-ROCKET-SITE CAMPAIGN

DEAR FRIEND,

As a result of recent campaigning against the rocket site at Polebrook (near Peterborough), two workers have left their jobs for conscientious reasons. They have reported that there is a sense of unrest among other workers on the site.

It was therefore decided a week ago by members of Northamptonshire Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament groups together with members of the Direct Action Committee that a rally should be held on Saturday, August 22nd, at the Polebrook rocket site. This will be the culmination of an intensive two month campaign against the construction of missile bases in the East Midlands. There will be a march out to the base from Polebrook village at 2.0 p.m.

The rally will be held immediately outside the security fence surrounding the site. Its purpose will be to address the workers and urge them if they believe the job they are doing is wrong, to leave it; or at least to down tools in order to join in the meeting.

We hope this rally will be supported by people from all over Britain. We especially hope for Trade Union support. So far three local Trade Union branches have passed resolutions stating that they will send delegates to the rally. Speakers will include local Trade Unionists; also Mr. Ingall and Mr. Godfrey, the two men who gave up their jobs on the site.

Donations are urgently needed to help cover the costs of the rally. Further particulars about coaches, etc. can be obtained by writing to the Direct Action Committee (344 Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4).

Yours sincerely,
PAT ARROWSMITH,
(Field Organiser D.A.C.).
WENDY BUTLIN,
(Secretary, Peterborough C.N.D.).

A Place of Justice

Continued from p. 2

was one of the main victims of the cat-and-mouse procedure which however liberally the law had been framed, was the inevitable lot of the stubborn objector.

Eventually, a way round this legislation was found by instituting the provision of a second tribunal which could be held early in a prison sentence and was usually followed (for imprisonment by some curious reasoning was held to prove conscience) by the required exemption and remission of sentence. It was felt by some C.O.s that this prison-tribunal turned some 'absolutists' into 'alternativists' by reason of the dangling bait of freedom.

HOWEVER, more humane in outlook as the general viewpoint towards C.O.s was (for was not the C.O. part of the propaganda for the 'democratic way of life?') despite lapses such as maltreatment of C.O.s at Dingle Vale Camp the problem of the tribunal was the same as in 1914-18.

Granting the existence of conscience at all; whether in the 'still small voice' of the religious objector or the 'social product' of the political, rational or humanitarian objector, how could five humans—however intelligent and well-intentioned determine the existence of such a factor? Its existence would make the military and industrial machine grind slightly in one or two places but its detection and assessment was all too often left to the denial by this tribunal of its existence. There was a fine razor's edge. Faith could be proved by works. But a political faith was not proved by works. A belief could be strongly held because inherited (e.g. Quaker) or weakly held because subject to family influence (e.g. ex-soldier father). A conscience could be amply backed by intelligence but drowned by rationalism. It could be too otherworldly to be practical or too much like commonsense to be really conscientious. One could be co-operative enough with the national effort to be compromising or unco-operative enough to lack any humane feeling. One's religious belief could be so respectable than any deviation from it was felt to be heresy; or views could be so wild that conformity was heresy. And so on.

Whether in the midst of all this humbug it was worth while going before a tribunal has always been a debatable point. To paraphrase Thoreau if I de-

clare war on the State that does not stop me accepting the advantages it offers, as I would from other enemies. To the Stirnerite the tribunal had something to offer, with a well-prepared case, a useful occupation, a polite manner and 'a little bit of luck' conditional registration was not difficult and one could live one's life with the minimum of interference. The choice of going on the run, placed one in a travelling prison with complications of employment cards, identity cards, ration books to be faced up to hourly and daily. The third choice which many took was to state one's case without compromise and accept whatever punishment the State gave. There were variations upon all these positions and positions outside of the present discussion such as 'Schweik-ing' one's way through the Army, staying in a reserved occupation, etc., but the three main attitudes all have much to commend them, and as every anarchist is his own anarchism every anarchist objector to militarism has his own object.

AT the moment the position with tribunals is very interesting. There are indications that the percentage of objectors is going up. As most of these are lapsed deferments and conscription is supposedly coming to an end, there is an outbreak of "why-me-itis". A new category of objectors, those to nuclear warfare has arisen (there was a recent article in the *Catholic Herald*, debating this position in the light of the 'just war' argument) and the general intellectual level of objection has risen with a corresponding reluctance on the part of tribunals to dismiss applicants so late in the game and a fiercer determination on the part of objectors to resist.

As to the ending of conscription it is just possible that this may be an election stunt. It is quite on the cards that it could be argued that rejection of the bomb necessitates conscription. Also that full employment necessitates conscription. It may also be that knowing the elections were coming the hot potato of a decision upon conscription has been passed on to the War Minister's successor of whatever party. In any case, our N.A.T.O. commitments (short of a de Gaulleism) as for a continuity of foreign policy—whether Conservative, Liberal or Labour—and the farce at Kensington Town Hall, is part of that. J.R.

WORKERS' COUNCILS IN POLAND

THE strikes which broke out in the factories of Poznan on June 28th, 1956 were concerned with immediate day-to-day issues. The workers were striking for bread—in a country which is one big granary. But the revolutionary ferment which developed in the succeeding months had much wider aims. Among the intelligentsia the student paper *Po Prostu* rapidly attained a circulation of 150,000 copies. In an article in the issue for Sept. 30, 1956 ("Workers' Control" by Y. Kossek, R. Turski and W. Wirpsza) and another in that for Oct. 28 ("The First Patrol" by S. Chelstowski and W. Godek), Stalinism was defined as "a socio-economic system . . . in which there is a relationship of economic dependency of the popular masses on the group of administrators. The political expression of this is the dictatorship of the ruling group over the proletariat." "For Stalin, the dispossession of the capitalists was not the last but the first act of the State . . . There is no dictatorship of the proletariat as long as the worker is the hired employee of a State enterprise, and not its master." Remedies suggested were the introduction of workers' control, the transformation of State property into social ownership, re-energization of market relations, profit-sharing schemes, and the improvement of cost-accounting. The last prosaic item is a euphemism for the demand that figures should represent facts and not fantasies. Gomulka himself in a speech on October 21st, revealed (*Dissent*, Special issue Nov. 1956) "that the whole pretence at social planning (that last feeble strand of rationalisation for the shaky fellow-travellers) was simply a lie. Falsified statistics, he said, simply veiled a record of disorganisation, waste, squander and above all, outright Russian aggrandisement".

The demands of the young intellectuals were reflected by those of the workers. Gordon Cruickshank (*Universities and Left Review*, Summer 1958) writes:

"Basically what the Polish workers were seeking was a workable alternative to the over-centralised, inevitably bureaucratic, system in which they suffered exploitation, oppression, poverty, and the incredible inhumanity of the bureaucrat in power. They wanted a responsible form of control that vested ultimate authority in a given enterprise in the hands of the mass of the workpeople rather than in one man, or a small group of managers. They did not imagine they knew all the answers but they were anxious to experiment, to learn through trial and error."

The Workers' Councils, according to Victor Zorza of the *Manchester Guardian* "sprang up spontaneously all over Poland after the 'revolution' of October 1956", while according to Anthony Crosland, in *Encounter*:

"The initiative for workers' control came rather from the intelligentsia. But the Workers' Councils, once established, did evoke a brief, fierce enthusiasm from the workers, with all the signs of a genuinely popular, democratic movement 'from below'. They never had a chance. They met practical difficulties enough,

which might have destroyed them anyway; they lost the support of the workers when they proved unable to grant immediate wage-increases, and were too hamstrung by the central planners ever to achieve real economic power. Finally there was the decision of the Communist Party to emasculate them because they represented a potential threat to its authority."

Peter Wiles, the economist, has succinctly described the situation: "In Poland the people never got on top of the politicians. There was instead a vicious, silent struggle between two party factions, each trying to lay their hands upon the levers of power." Gomulka needed the support of the workers and the young intellectuals to maintain his régime against the Stalinists of the 'Natalin Group'. The more secure his position became, the easier it was for him to flout the intelligentsia (suppression of *Po Prostu* in October, 1957) and the workers (curtailment of workers' councils in April, 1958).

Danger of 'Anarchy'

"What has changed in Poland since October?" asks a Warsaw joke. And the answer is "Gomulka has changed." And the official explanation is of course the danger of 'anarchy'. In justifying the suppression of *Po Prostu*, the Party theoretician Schaff declared that the Party could not allow

"a camouflaged struggle against the policy of socialism to be carried on under the cloak of an alleged struggle for the freedom of spiritual creativity . . . True freedom for science depends on a clear and effective cultural policy of the Party . . . The absence of such a policy is not democracy and only leads to anarchy."

Similarly Gomulka in his speech to the Trade Union Congress in Warsaw on April 14, 1958, said that the workers' councils had detracted from the Party's "leading role" and that though "it was not wholly the fault of the councils if they had failed to function properly", the danger of "anarchy" made it necessary for a new framework to be established in which the councils are to form "one of the four elements in a permanent 'Conference of Workers' Self-Government' which is to be established in every factory. The other elements are to comprise the management, the party committee, and the trade union group."

Commenting on the implications of his speech, Victor Zorza wrote in the *Guardian* (15/4/58)

"In the experimental period which followed the October 'revolution' there has been much friction between these four elements in Poland's industrial life. At the beginning of the period, the party and trade union committees, both discredited in the workers' eyes, found it difficult to secure any kind of following or loyalty, which the workers were, however, prepared to give to the newly formed autonomous councils.

"A hurriedly drawn-up law on the rights of the councils was often lacking in clarity, and this, together with bureaucratic opposition to their activity and the needs of a strictly-planned economy, as well as the interests of good management, often gave rise to friction and disputes.

Some of the councils arrogated to themselves some of the managerial functions and claimed a say in the appointment and dismissal of works managers, the regulation of prices for locally-disposed output, and some aspects of plant policy.

"This direct participation by the workers in the running of the factories has often helped production. But the derogation from the central authority of the State which was implicit in the activity of the councils, and sometimes the direct conflict between the interests of the State as a whole and of the workers of a factory as represented by their council, have now led Mr. Gomulka to clip their wings. . . .

"The trade unions, for instance, which have recently acquired a new and genuine vitality, are finding themselves under increasing pressure from the central authorities. Some union leaders have insisted that the efficiency and levels of production are the proper concern of management, and that the unions should confine themselves to looking after the members' interests. They are now being accused of making an artificial distinction between the interests of the State and the workers, and of opposing the one to the other."

What the Workers Wanted

Mr. Zorza's explanation leaves one wondering what exactly the original Workers' Self-Management Councils of 1956 saw as their functions. The clearest account we can find is in Gordon Cruickshank's article. He says:

"What the workers wanted in a given enterprise was to elect a self-managing council by direct secret ballot. They did not want either the Party group or the Trade Union Committees to determine who should sit on the council. Those whom they decided were the best fitted for the job, and those most trustworthy, should serve. They wanted the council to control the whole administration of the enterprise, and to report back regularly to mass aggregate gatherings of all the personnel in the enterprise. They wanted profit-sharing schemes as an incentive to production effort and as a way of raising living standards. Managers would be appointed or dismissed only after consultation with the council, and the council itself would have powers to recommend the discharge of unsuitable managers.

"The workers wanted the councils to have the right to develop relations with other enterprises with the aim of ensuring a good flow of materials and of breaking the demoralising bureaucratic bottlenecks which drove everyone mad. They wanted the councils to investigate

producer/customer relations at home and abroad.

Of the curtailment of the Councils he writes:

"To the dismay of the Polish workers the Party leadership, particularly through Gomulka, soon began fencing in, canalising, and proscribing the powers to be accorded to the Workers' Self-management Councils. Successive legislation tightened the shackles on them. Gradually it became clear that the old Soviet-patterned economic bureaucratic system was to be retained largely, although with some modifications and decentralisation. The Workers' Self-management Councils—the white hope of the workers—if they were to exist at all—were to have the limited main functions of developing production-incentives within the bureaucratic system and of keeping the workers happy.

"Once the Councils were reduced to that status inevitably the workers began to lose faith in them, and, anyway, the councils then had little to do that was not normally done by the Trade Union organisations. Thus arose the Workers' Self-management Council *versus* Trade Union Committee conflict which was the main alleged reason for the latest decision to group the councils within a larger organisational framework including the normal Works Council, the Trade Union committee and the Party group leadership in a given enterprise. Reducing the Self-management Councils in practice to something of a mockery of what the workers thought they would be in late 1956. Transforming them from democratic organs of workers' control to miserable auxiliaries of the Party and government—of the bureaucracy they set out to destroy."

The Peasants

In Poland the usual enforced collectivisations were undertaken in the late nineteen-forties. Agricultural production declined and when in October, 1956, farmers were told that they might leave the collectives, four-fifths of them did so. Production increased, but last month a new government programme was announced since production had not kept pace with growing consumption. "How is it to be done?" asked the *Manchester Guardian* (15/7/59):

"Obviously not by helping the peasants simply to become more efficient, more prosperous—and therefore more independent. Collectivisation would be equally unsuitable not because the last party congress solemnly foreswore any renewal of past attempts to collectivise agriculture 'by force', but because the peasants

would resist by cutting down production. The régime cannot risk the use of force, so it must try to persuade. 'Agricultural circles' are to be the instrument chosen for that purpose. These circles originated as voluntary peasant organisations for mutual help, but no more than 15 per cent. of Poland's peasants belong to them at present. They are now to be turned into a 'mass peasant organisation', and their character is to be changed by providing them with agricultural machinery which will be their collective property. Of course, they themselves will have to pay for that machinery, although by a method intended to conceal that it is their own money. Purchase of machinery by individual farmers is declared to be 'economically unfounded and unrealistic' and should therefore become impossible. Unorganised peasants wanting to borrow collective machinery will have to pay up to 20 per cent. more than the normal fee.

"The peasants thus encircled are to be turned into collective farmers at their own expense. In the words of the Communist Party resolution, the agricultural circles are to be 'a school forming the consciousness and practical habits of the countryside towards collective farming'."

The *Guardian* comments that "In less than three years Mr. Gomulka has been able to show that his separate 'Polish road to socialism' was simply a method of bringing the country back into the Soviet fold." It is difficult not to agree with this gloomy conclusion. The poet Adam Wazyk has written the epitaph of the Polish 'October' Revolution:

"It was only a small fire in the laundry, The firemen came, and promptly put it down . . ."

C.W.

LETTER

The Editors,
FREEDOM.

PRO-LIFE LAWS?

DEAR SIR,

A.W.J. obviously has not read our book so really he should not comment. His letter is fit only for *The Times*.

Ian Leslie thinks that "Anarchist" is the only label that does not commit the wearer to a party line. Joke, over. Think man, think. What's more, it's not the wearer-of-the-label's thoughts that are relevant but the other person's who is misled by the label.

Pro-life laws do get passed. I recommend a look at law.

Having read their letters I wish to reiterate what a wonderful review C.W.'s was and state that the offending passage regarding laws is exactly three lines long, in a book of 269 pages.

Yours faithfully,
Nottingham, July 27. PAUL RITTER.

THE LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP'S Summer School

THIS year's anarchist Summer School differed from all previous ones by the fact that it was held in the country. We don't mean simply that it was held out of London, for in the past it has been held in Glasgow and Liverpool, when there were groups strong enough in these towns to organise it.

The London Anarchist Group has, however, organised this annual event for several years past and in the last four years the task was made easier through the existence of the Malatesta Club, which solved at least the problems of a meeting place and catering. With the demise of the Club the Group had to find alternatives, and the idea of holding the Summer School in the country not only solved the problem, but solved it magnificently.

We were fortunate, of course, in having a comrade in a responsible position on a farm, willing and able to make space available, fortunate in having another comrade with camping equipment to lend and fortunate in finding someone willing to come forward and shoulder responsibility for the purchasing and organising of the catering.

The particular circumstances of camping right on the spot where the discussions were held made it easier for comrades to bring their children, making it possible for some to come who otherwise would not have found it possible.

The presence of the children occasionally created disruption in the discussion room, but this was far outweighed by the general pleasure they gave, and it was interesting to note that the interruptions were

minimised by the tolerance with which the kids were treated rather than the reverse.

There was no central theme for the discussion, this year. Bob Green opened the first session with a typically pungent talk on "The Attractions of Pseudo Psychology", in which he made an appeal for a healthy dose of scepticism in our approach to certain schools of psychology which offered panaceas for our problems but which could not in fact be scientifically justified.

On Sunday, Alan Albon gave us a talk on "Community, Farming and Relationships" which is printed elsewhere in this issue, and on Monday morning Philip Sansom opened the discussion with a contribution outlining his views on the implications of the libertarian position, effective propaganda and movement organisation. Both this and Bob Green's contribution will appear in *FREEDOM*.

The week-end allowed plenty of time for individual contact, informal discussion and visits to the local inn, where the regulars took the anarchist invasion in their stride in a most friendly manner.

All those present considered the week-end a great success and would agree that special mention should be made of the work carried on in advance, in planning and ordering for the catering and in actual preparation of food, by a new comrade, Mary Stephenson, while she, we feel sure, will agree that the number of willing helpers greatly eased her task on the spot.

We feel that a new standard has been set for our Summer School, and look forward to the next.

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