

THE CITY SALVES ITS CONSCIENCE—ON THE CHEAP

ALL last week there was a great banner stretched right across the imposing entrance to the Stock Exchange in the City of London—nerve centre of Britain's commerce, starting point of booms, slumps, scares and crises and dictator of our standards of living and dying.

The City, it seems, was celebrating its very own Refugee Week. Through the auspices and with the help (presumably the Stock Exchange could not afford to mount the show alone) of that well-known humanitarian journal, the *Daily Telegraph*, an exhibition was organised within the holy precincts of the 'Change itself, showing the denizens of one of the wealthiest stretches of jungle in the world just what it is like to live as a refugee.

City gents are obviously very impressed and concerned with the problem, and are no doubt patriotically proud of the fact that the idea of holding a World Refugee Year first came from this country. The same City gents are probably also very proud of the many contributions they have made for the provision of refugees in the first place.

If it were not for the hard work put in over many years by these solid citizens who are so very much the backbone of our country, there might even have been a shortage of fugees in 1959. As it is they can be counted in hundreds of thousands in camps all over the civilised world, and if we add the numbers of persons (are they persons?) who have gone through these camps and are now living in exile among strangers in countries far from their own, then the count gets up into

COMPARISONS

FOR the refugees of the world—£100,000, but two years ago a managing director of a famous motor manufacturing firm was paid £100,000 not to go and work for somebody else.

IN the *Evening Standard* for 3/12/59 there appeared a headline: "£72,000 for a Flat". The article below it told us that blocks of flats of unparalleled opulence are being built in London's snooty St. James's area:

In one of them (No. 26, St. James's Place), a lease on a first-floor flat can be snapped up for £70,000. Jauntily, I was old that extra charges for rent, service and rates would leave little change out of £2,000 a year.

Another flat with a panoramic view across Green Park has a price-tag of £72,000, with the same extras.

This splendid structure will be finished early next year, and only two floors out of seven have been leased. Yet, despite the huge prices, I am assured that buyers will easily be found.

While next door, Mrs. Lilley, widow of a shoe manufacturer, has built herself a new block of flats because, she says, "I am a simple person. I like to see trees and hear birdsong at my window in the spring. And I have found two other quiet, simple families to take flats in my block."

What is the price of simplicity in Mrs. Lilley's building? It is about £50,000 per flat. Services come to £700 a year, and ground rent to another £300. The rates are high.

AT the Law Courts last week, Lord Keyes was awarded £40,000 libel damages against some publishers who were also ordered to pay the costs of the case—estimated at nearly £20,000.

millions and millions.

Astronomical figures, of course, are nothing strange in the City. With share values at an all-time high, holdings by the City gents and their clients can be expressed in figures only comparable to the distance between the earth and the sun.

It should follow therefore, that the City would express its pride in the very healthy refugee situation, for which it can bear so much of the credit, by setting its target for the week's collection at a sum which would bear, in pounds sterling, at least some close relationship to the numbers of refugees in say, Hong Kong, or the Middle East, or some other area where British finance has for long had handsome pickings.

But what in fact is the target for the City? It is £100,000! This is exactly half the amount involved in one little deal which was discussed at the Tribunal of inquiry into the Bank Rate leak two years ago—a deal which, you may remember, was put through by the lifting of a telephone after the Stock Exchange had closed one afternoon.

We mention the Bank Rate leak Tribunal not because we want to stir up dirty water about the City (perish the thought!) but because it provided us *hoi-polloi* with practically our only glimpse into the working of the Old Pals' Act in the City and how it affects the national economy and the fantastic figures

involved and how it all pays off so handsomely. At that period one firm attempted to unload £2,000,000 worth of gilt-edged shares, sold about three-quarters of them and a few days later bought back £500,000 worth and made themselves a profit of £32,000! And the difficulty of the Tribunal investigating these business deals was precisely due to the fact that these sort of transactions were not so unusual as to point unerringly to a misuse of information by a director of the Bank of England!

The City of London sets as its target for the relief of the World's refugees a figure only three times what one firm made in one week in 1957 by selling and buying shares. And even this figure is not coming from the over-loaded coffers of the syndicates of bankers, brokers and underwriters who operate this whole filthy business. Outside shops and offices there are bins and collecting boxes for passers-by and humble office workers to drop in their contributions. If by these means the target is reached, the bowler-hatted vultures who buy and sell the bones and blood of others, whose activities are responsible for war and waste and so many of the tensions and conflicts which create refugees in their countless streams of misery, these respectable thieves and legal murderers will have their consciences quieted—on the cheap.

Krupp's Empire

ALFRED KRUPP, controller of a £200 million industrial empire, is no ordinary twentieth century capitalist.

Although these days his workers are well cared for and are reputed to be the most loyal in the world, during and before the last World War, Krupp was among the largest individual employers of slave labour in modern times.

The Americans sentenced him to 12 years imprisonment for war crimes committed by the Krupp firm—Britain refused to take part in the trial—and in common with other large German industrialists Krupp was ordered to sell "a major part of his steel and coal holdings" under the Allied 'deconcentration laws'.

Last January the five-year period granted for the sale expired, and the mixed German-Allied commission appointed to study the Krupp case granted him another year's extension. Now a further year has been given by the commission who also report to the allies that:

"... it is useless trying to enforce the sale".

The commission recommends that Krupp be allowed to keep his coal mines and steel mills.

It was obvious from the start that the powerful Krupp would get round the order to sell. His plea has been that he could not find a buyer abroad or in Germany for his holdings. Shortage of money is certainly not the reason, and the socialists in Germany have pointed out that their Government is having no trouble selling up State-owned industry. It seems that capitalists have a greater sense of international solidarity than

the men they employ!

Quite apart from the influence Krupp wields in important places (and the vast sums probably being paid in bribes), few foreign buyers are prepared to risk the possible effects on production which might be caused by antagonisms emanating from the German people, particularly Krupp employees (of which there are 80,000), should large chunks of the massive empire be purchased by foreign capital.

The Krupp interests also extend to shipbuilding, aircraft and machinery of all types. Krupp has said publicly that he will never make arms again, a pledge not to be taken seriously. West Germany is part of the Western Defence bloc, and there may come a time soon when German arms production is considered necessary "for the defence of freedom and democracy", assuming Germany herself is not again the next enemy.

In the meantime Britain (basically uneasy about German economic competition) is content to see German industrialists producing domestic and 'peaceful' goods, like ships and aircraft, because Britain can supply all the arms that Germany needs at this stage.

Germany has in fact deposited here £42 million for the purchase of British arms, and may be the first buyer of the top secret artillery rocket made by English Electric.

It is not outside the bounds of possibility that it will be returned some time in the future with greater speed than it will take to ship it across the North Sea and with an 'enemy' label on it; it has happened before with armaments!

Reflections on 'The Hottest Thing in U.S. Politics'

Politics, Bishops and Birth Control

IN spite of Eisenhower's parting remark on birth-control that: "I cannot imagine anything more emphatically a subject that is not a proper political or governmental activity or function or responsibility"—a remark which we shall try to show, no politician or government leader could easily substantiate—

Press reports from the United States make it clear that, to quote the *Evening Standard's* correspondent, birth-control is "Now the Hottest Thing in U.S. Politics". With nearly a year to go before the Presidential Elections, and candidates still to be nominated by the parties, any controversial issue is bound to be "hot", and the opinions of the leading Presidential candidates determining factors for or against their chances of nomination.

Birth-control is always a controversial subject (even in countries where it is recognised) probably because birth-control is linked to sex, and in no country is sex a non-controversial subject. The present political excitement in America has probably very little to do with birth-control in fact, but much more with the problems of the relations between Church and State (or "politics", for the man-in-the-street).

Briefly the birth-control issue in U.S. politics has developed in the following manner: Earlier this year a United Nations Population Commission expressed concern over the "social and economic" consequences of the world's population more than doubling by the year 2,000 with Asia's proportion increasing from

56 per cent. in 1958 to 62 by the end of the century. These figures have caused considerable talk of a "population explosion" which might outpace the world's capacity to produce food.

Numerous bodies, including the Protestant World Council of Churches, have proposed that mass birth-control measures be employed to slow population growth. And last July the Draper Committee on Foreign Aid recommended to the President that the United States should assist those countries which ask for such aid "in formulating

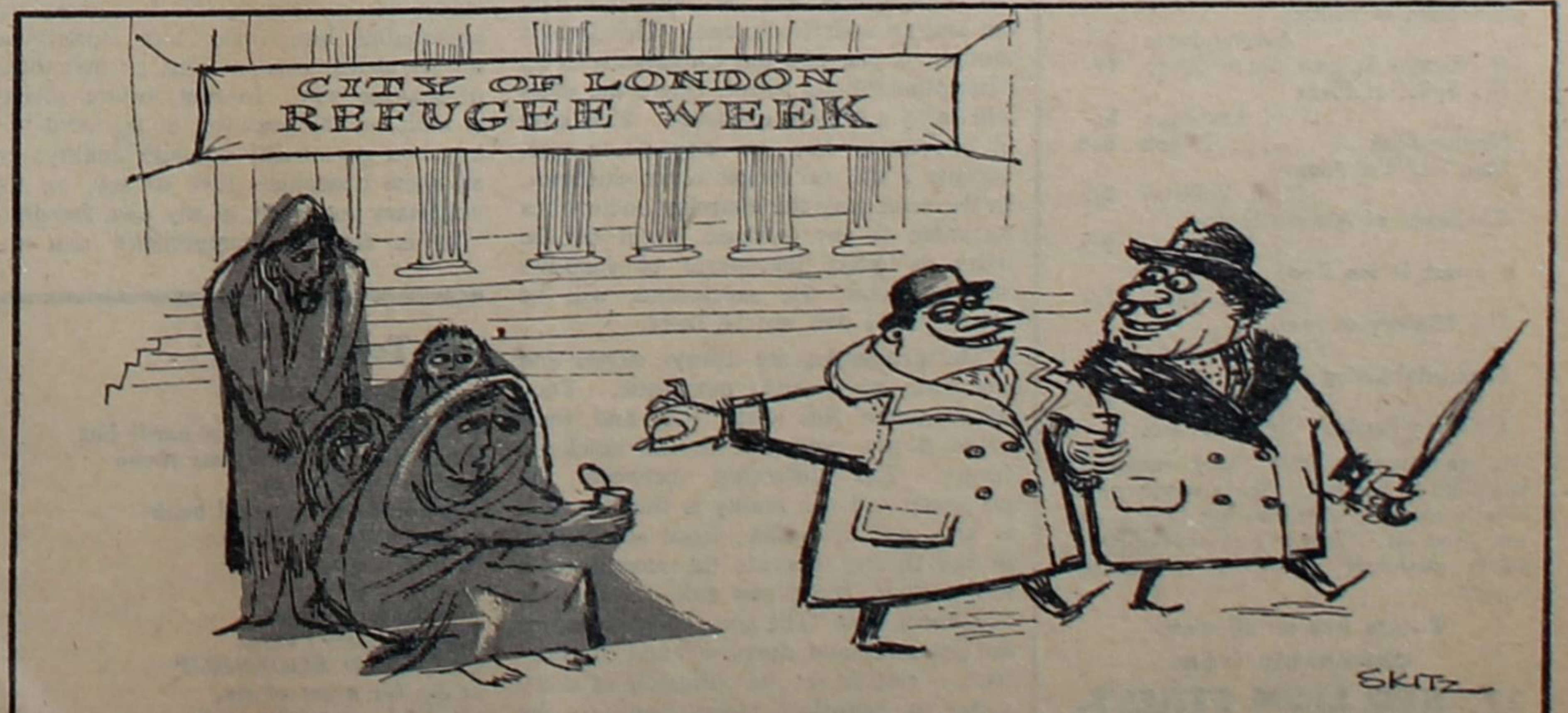
programmes designed to deal with the problem of rapid population growth". No steps have been in fact taken by the U.S. Government along these lines so far, but the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States have decided to make their position clear in any case. And a fortnight ago they issued a 1,500 word statement in which they denounced what they called a "systematic and concerted" campaign in favour of birth-control, and criticised the "recently coined terror technique phrase 'population explosion'".

While recognizing the problems raised

by rapid population growth the Bishops said that "in a chronic condition where we have more people than food, the logical answer would be, not to decrease the number of people, but to increase the food supply." They said Catholics "are prepared to dedicate themselves" to the task of increasing the food supply. But, the statement added, Catholics "will not... support any public assistance, either at home or abroad, to promote artificial birth prevention."

Apart from the fact that the Bishops have got the wrong end of the stick when they suggest that birth-control is intended to reduce

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'As I was saying, Sir Jack, if we start a take-over rumour about Mammoth Armaments this week and THEN get Freddie to drop a clanger in the House over that border incident between ...'

Freedom

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Politics, Bishops & Birth Control

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the number of people—that is genocide not birth-control—we heartily agree with them that if population outstrips food supplies then we must see to it that we produce more food. We are equally delighted to learn that if such an event arose "Catholics are prepared to dedicate themselves to the task of increasing the food supply".

Well, what are they waiting for? Here we are in 1959 arguing about what will happen to the world's population in the year 2,000 when we know, and the United Nations' experts have already told us, that at least half of the world's present population is living in conditions of starvation or on diets insufficient to maintain health! What pronouncements have the Catholic Bishops made about the millions of tons of foodstuffs rotting in improvised stores in the United States, or of the government's "soil bank" whereby farmers are subsidised to keep parts of their land out of production? What moral strictures have the Bishops passed on their faithful among the industrialists and the financiers who have been industrialising the world at the expense of its agriculture, because it is more profitable?

THE Bishops' denunciation and criticism has had political repercussions only because one of the most favoured Democratic candidates for Presidential nomination, Senator John Kennedy, is a fervent Catholic, and we can only presume that since his religion has not so far been considered a liability in a country in which Catholics are still a minority, supporters of rival candidates within his own party are using the issue to try and force him into the position of saying that in a clash between his Church and the State he would be on the side of his Church. As a good Catholic politician he must know that the Pope does not make such black and white demands on the faithful-in-high-governmental positions. The Pope knows his place in the game of politics, especially in a predominantly Protestant country*. Obviously he is much more interested in seeing a Catholic President of the United States, than a might-have-been with principles! The Bishops, it is true, started all the trouble and as a writer in the *N.Y. Times* (Nov. 30) put it "are following their mission as they see it, regardless of the effect on the Presidential Campaign". But are they? Their power and influence outside the Church depends on the numerical strength and discipline of their flock, a concern not only of the Bishops but of Trades Union leaders as well. The only difference between them is that the Bishops show more understanding, and show more intelligence and their ambition is "made of sterner stuff".

THE Bishops in their statement also emphasized that the church's opposition to "artificial birth prevention within the married state" was unchangeable. Contention or the "rhythm method"—love-making by the female calendar—for those miserable creatures who cannot abstain—are the only "morally acceptable" methods of birth-control so far as the Roman Catho-

lic Church is concerned. We cannot help feeling that this is the thin end of the wedge, and that in giving his blessing to the rhythm method the late pope made a cardinal mistake. By abstaining from sexual intercourse during the period of maximum fertility in the woman's menstrual cycle, and presumably changing one's luck during the "infertile" period, the participants are engaging in sexual intercourse for the purpose of pleasure, love or by whatever name one calls the banned word, not for the purpose of procreation, which, until only very recently, was the R.C. Church's only justification for this otherwise disgusting, humiliating, obscene act. In so doing the Church has recognised a distinction between sexual intercourse for the ends of procreation, and intercourse for the pleasure the participants derive therefrom. Is their line of defence that there must be a balance between procreation and pleasure for the latter to be moral? If so, by what authority, by what standards of morals?

BUT to return to the Bishops! Clearly it is more important for them in the long term to maintain their hold on the flock than to overwater their spiritual wine in seeking immediate political successes. This they can confidently leave to their politicians. And Mr. Kennedy is obviously neither so naive nor inexperienced to be unable to cope

with his political enemies within the party, as the following extract from a *N.Y. Times* reports shows:

Long before the Bishops issued their statement, he had felt it would be a "mistake" for the U.S. to advocate birth control in other countries. Such action by the U.S. would undoubtedly be considered "objectionable" by such countries. It would be the "greatest psychological mistake for us to appear to advocate the limitation of the black or brown or yellow peoples whose population is increasing no faster than in the United States". If he were President and the question came before him in the form of legislation or as a recommendation he said, "I would base my determination on my personal judgment as President as to what would be in the interest of the United States. If it became the law of the land I would uphold it as the law of the land."

What a master-stroke his remark that after all why should the Americans tell the people of Asia and Africa to control their population when in fact it was not increasing at a faster rate than in the United States! And what an important statistic, too often overlooked by those Americans who spend sleepless nights worrying about the fate of the rest of mankind in the year 2,000!

ANARCHISTS have been among the pioneers of birth-control in all countries,† but not as a solution to "problems" of population or poverty, but in the first place for providing couples with the knowledge of how to avoid unwanted

pregnancies; secondly, of combating the church's view on sex that its primary purpose was procreation, and that any pleasure involved was exclusively reserved for the male (hence the officially recognised brothels in most Catholic countries); thirdly, because sex is one of the major symbols of real freedom and equality between the sexes.

For these very reasons birth-control has never been advocated by governments. For political, economic or military reasons they encourage or discourage large families. Thus birth-control is a greater crime in secular France than in a Catholic Italy, and prolific motherhood both in Communist Russia and de Gaulle's France is prized and financially rewarded. In Britain some Parliamentarians have been talking of the need to impose a tax on parents with large families (why not in fact adopt the proposal of another M.P. who suggested keeping down the dog population by subjecting them to Purchase Tax irrespective of whether they were sold or not?)

The interest now shown in birth-control "in other countries" is less a concern with the fate of generations yet unborn than with the "yellow, brown and black menace" to white supremacy in the world.

BY all means educate the world on birth-control, and make available the means by which this

knowledge can be implemented. But this will not stop some people having, because they enjoy having, large families. Birth-control—voluntary birth-control that is—will undoubtedly slow down the world population increase. But it will not solve the food problem which has been with us for a very long time. It is simply that we must produce more food by putting more land under cultivation and using our scientific knowledge and modern technology to increase the productivity of the land.

Food production is not a paying proposition for the industrialist and the financier. Producing motor-cars and missiles is. For the hungry millions it's the other way round and surely it is time their view prevailed.

†For our American readers caught up in the political controversy over birth control, it may be of interest to know that more than half a century ago Emma Goldman gave her first lecture on birth control in New York, and in her *Living My Life* she reminds her readers that:

"Neither my birth-control discussion nor Margaret Sanger's efforts were pioneer work. The trail was blazed in the United States by the grand old fighter Moses Harman, his daughter Lilian, Ezra Heywood, Dr. Foote and his son E. C. Walker, and their collaborators of a previous generation. Ida Craddock, one of the bravest champions of women's emancipation, had paid the supreme sacrifice. Hounded by Comstock and faced with a five-year sentence, she had taken her own life. She and the Moses Harman group were the pioneers and heroes of the battle for free motherhood, for the right of the child to be born well."

In fact, how slowly we progress if we bother to relate our puny efforts to all the spade-work that has been done before our time!

PEOPLE AND IDEAS:

ORIGINS OF THE WELFARE STATE

AT the Labour Party's "rethinking" conference at Blackpool, Mr. Gait-skill described the Welfare State as "another Labour achievement" adding that "Unfortunately gratitude is not a reliable political asset". But should we be grateful? Conservative and Liberal politicians would hasten to deny that Labour created the Welfare State, and would point to the basic legislation of the Liberal government before the first world war, and to the fact that all parties in the coalition government in the second world war supported the Beveridge proposals. Anarchists on the other hand would respond with a variety of attitudes. Some would admit the advantages of the social services, and piously regret that the State runs them, some would adopt the middle-class attitude of taking the mickey out of welfare, and others would adopt the critical position based on statistical analysis of who pays in and who draws out, which was discussed in a pungent and entertaining series (*The Welfare State and I*) in *FREEDOM* a few years ago.

But what do we mean by the Welfare State? Social Welfare can exist without the State. States can (and frequently do) exist without undertaking responsibility for social welfare. Every kind of human association may be said to constitute a welfare society: Trade Unions, Christmas Clubs, Churches and teen-age gangs—all of which presumably aim at mutual benefit, comfort and security—may be considered as aspects of social welfare. The State, on the other hand is a form of social organisation which differs from all the rest in two respects, firstly that it claims the allegiance of the whole population, and secondly that it has coercive power to enforce that allegiance.

Association for mutual welfare is as old as humanity itself, it is biological in origin. Kropotkin, whose *Mutual Aid* chronicles this innate human tendency, describes, not the strengthening, but the destruction of the social institutions which embodied it, with the growth of the modern nation-state from the fifteenth century onwards:

"For the next three centuries the States, both on the continent and in these islands, systematically weeded out all institutions in which the mutual-aid tendency had formerly found its expression. The village communities were bereft of their folk-motes, their courts and independent administration; their lands were confiscated. The guilds were spoiled of their possessions and liberties, and placed under the control, the fancy, and the bribery of the State's official. The cities were divested of their sovereignty, and the very springs of their inner life—the folk-mote, the elected justices and their administration, the sovereign parish and the sovereign guild—were annihilated; the State's functionary took possession of every link of what was for-

merly an organic whole... It was taught in the Universities and from the pulpit that the institutions in which men formerly used to embody their needs of mutual support could not be tolerated in a properly organised State; that the State alone could represent the bonds of union between its subjects; that federalism and 'particularism' were the enemies of progress, and the State was the only proper initiator of further development."

That this is not an extreme view can be seen from the history of pauperism in this country. In the Middle Ages, such cases of destitution as occurred were relieved without recourse to State action. Guild members who fell into poverty were assisted by the fraternity, whose interest extended to the widows and orphans of deceased brethren. "Monastic charity was exercised towards all who needed it, and many great lords and great ecclesiastics kept open house to all comers. Hospitals and lazaret-houses existed for the sick."

WITH the passing of the Middle Ages, and the establishment of a firm nation-state by the Tudors, it was characteristic that the first State legislation on poverty was that beggars should be whipped and the second was that they should be branded, and that the essence of the Poor Law, from its codification in 1601 to its amendment in 1834 and its ultimate disappearance in our own time, was punitive.

We may thus conclude that there is an essential paradox in the fact that the State whose essential characteristic is that of the policeman and the soldier, should have become the administrator and organiser of social welfare. The connection in fact between welfare and warfare, is very close. Until late in the 19th century the State conducted its wars with professional soldiers and mercenaries, but the increasing scale of wars forced states to pay more and more attention to the physical quality of recruits, and the discovery that so large a proportion of the eligible cannon-fodder was physically unfit (a discovery which the State made afresh with each war of the last seventy years) has led the State to take measures for improving the physical health of the nation. Professor Titmuss remarks that "It was the South African War, not one of the notable wars in human history to change the affairs of men, that touched off the personal health movement which eventually led to the National Health Service in 1948" (*War and Social Policy*).

With the extension of warfare to the civilian population, the need to maintain morale by the formulation of "peace aims", and the general feeling of guilt over past social injustices and of resolution for the future, which war engen-

ders, the concern over physical health extended to wider fields of social well-being. Again Titmuss remarks (*Essays on 'The Welfare State'*) that the "war-time trend towards universalising public provision for certain basic needs...

"means in effect that a social system must be so organised as to enable all citizens (and not only soldiers) to learn what to make of their lives in peacetime. In this context, the Education Act of 1944 becomes intelligible; so does the Beveridge Report of 1942 and the National Insurance, Family Allowances and National Service Acts. All these measures of social policy were in part an expression of the needs of war-time strategy to fuse and unify the conditions of life of civilians and non-civilians alike."

His sardonic conclusion is that "The aims and content of social policy, both in peace and war, are thus determined—at least to a substantial extent—by how far the co-operation of the masses is essential to the successful prosecution of war."

This "co-operation of the masses" in a different respect is another factor leading to the development of the Welfare State. The industrial revolution brought with it the need for a minimum of technical skill and knowledge amongst all but the lowest grades of factory workers, and there consequently arose a new skilled artisan class who could read and write and figure, learning at Dame schools, Mechanics Institutes, charitable schools or those of rival religious denominations. When, in spite of the punitive activities of the State under the Combination Acts, this class developed trade unions and friendly societies for mutual aid and protection, it demanded in turn, political representation, and though the Chartist demand for 'manhood suffrage' failed, the extension of the franchise became inevitable, and with it (since "we must educate our masters") the Education Act of 1870. But universal popular education, as Lewis Mumford observes in *The Condition of Man*,

"contrary to popular belief, is no belated product of 19th century democracy: centralised authority was now belatedly taking up the work that had been neglected with the wiping out of municipal freedom in the greater part of Europe."

YET another factor also resulting from the industrial revolution, is urbanisation. The herding together of masses of people in the early industrial towns and cities led to the most appallingly insanitary conditions, and the consequent spread of contagious diseases, which were no respecters of persons, striking down the slum dwellers and property owners alike. The growth of public health legislation and building regulations in the 19th century was hastened by each

new outbreak of cholera. Meanwhile, though the State—merely feared the city mob, individuals sought to penetrate the lower depths of the 18th and 19th century towns and alleviate their horrors. From the concern over the conditions of special groups at the very minimum conditions of human existence—John Howard and Elizabeth Fry working in the prisons and asylums—to the urge to improve the situation of occupational groups—Lord Shaftesbury and Robert Owen seeking to improve factory conditions and end the slave labour of orphan children (the wards of the State), then to the investigation and alleviation of the conditions of whole social classes and finally the organisation of voluntary societies to transform the whole urban environment—The Town & Country Planning Association for example, or the Smoke Abatement Society—there is a continuous history of pioneering effort by individuals and voluntary associations, followed by official recognition and legislative action.

It is in fact almost a tradition in this country for the work of unofficial pioneers to be the precursor of action by the State. Voluntary Hospitals, Sick Clubs, Threepenny Doctors, Coffin Clubs, Friendly Societies of all sorts were testimonies to the infinite variety of organisations for mutual aid and support whose functions have been absorbed by National Insurance.

Some of the critics of the Welfare State—usually those who are under the impression that it is a device in which the middle class subsidises the working class, (whereas if we are to believe the contemporary school of investigators represented by Messrs. Titmuss, Abel-Smith, Martin and Vaizey the opposite is true)—some of these critics seek to reverse this trend. Mr. Colin Clark in *Welfare and Taxation* actually recommends that the social services be "denationalised"—the residue of their functions being put into the hands of Churches, local friendly societies and voluntary organisations.

This kind of suggestion is in harmony with an anarchist approach, because of its anti-statism, but it is hardly put forward from an anarchist point of view; it is simply an expression of the dogmas of *laissez-faire* liberalism. But it implies a problem of strategy for anarchists. Should our 'line' be to advocate "denationalisation" and voluntarisation of social welfare, along with Mr. Clark, or should we agree with those who see the future development of social welfare in this country to lie in making its benefits more "free": in the abandonment of the "insurance" basis, which is simply a form of regressive taxation, and in the general direction of the "divorce of income from production" which Galbraith sees as the logical corollary of an affluent society?

*In fact the Catholic Church is the largest religious denomination in the United States. According to the *Official Catholic Directory* there were 26,718,343 Catholics in the U.S. The Baptists were next with less than 16 million.

