

# FREEDOM

AN ANARCHIST WEEKLY-4d.

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'Had the people of England obeyed the precept to eschew violence and maintain order, the liberties of this country would never have been obtained.'

W. E. GLADSTONE

## BIRTH CONTROL A Solution to World Malnutrition?

THE alarm with which the nomination of Senator Barry Goldwater as Republican candidate for the American presidential elections is viewed in many quarters in the United States and generally, outside, makes nonsense of the propaganda put out by the same organs of Mass Communications over the years, that the United States is the bastion of Democracy, the democratic world's defence against the forces of anti-freedom and dictatorship. For if the nomination of one man can threaten all that it is alleged has been achieved in the past years in the direction of the peaceful settlement of the political differences dividing the world, one cannot but conclude that the democratic basis of the American way of life goes no deeper than the quality of its President. And therefore it could be said that more solid steps towards democracy have been taken in countries such as the Soviet Union, (where most "experts" would agree that the kind of personal power enjoyed by a Stalin is no longer possible), than in the United States where so-called democratic processes can throw up as potential

### WHICH IS THE REAL AMERICAN PROBLEM -

# Goldwater or Poverty?

leader of the nation a man, described by James Cameron as "a racist, a bigot and an anachronism, whose fanatically principled jingoism the world may yet find time to rue".

The fallacy in the argument is, in our opinion, that in fact the President of the United States does not possess unlimited power. The outstanding feature of Kennedy's years at the White House was that he did not succeed in getting any of his social reforms adopted by Congress—and in spite of the fact that the Democrats have a majority both in Congress and in the Senate. It is said that it is in the field of foreign policy that the President enjoys considerable powers yet here again it is one thing to propose a line of action and quite another to actually carry it out.

The choice of Goldwater rather

than one of the other contenders doesn't prove very much. Is there in any case all that much difference between him and a Scranton, a Rockefeller an Eisenhower or a Nixon? As Karl Meyer, the *New Statesman's* American correspondent points out

What happened was not so much a victory for Goldwater or the cranky and narrow principles he espouses, as it was a defeat for the Eastern establishment that has dominated every Republican convention since Harding was nominated in 1920. Not since the Bryan Democrats rose up in wrath against Grover Cleveland and the Eastern 'gold bugs' has anything like this been seen in US politics.

It would seem therefore that Goldwater is "in" simply because the party machine wanted to keep other contenders out. Do we know, however, to what extent the party

machine represents the overwhelming wishes of the Party's supporters? James Cameron in the *Daily Herald* observes that "the extraordinary moral of all this is how frighteningly vulnerable is an inarticulate nation to the pressures of an efficient party machine" and refers to "a phenomenon surely without precedent in political history which is

to have the vast majority of delegates in the second great party of the land committed to the support of a man whom three-quarters of the American electorate regard with distaste, if not fear.

We would suggest, however that, in that case the American people cannot see the wood for the trees. The problem is the body-politic, on which the Goldwaters are mere pimples. The fact is that Goldwater if elected in November will no more change the situation in the United States for the worse than could Kennedy for the better.

Obviously the considerable interest over the Goldwater nomination shown by the British Press is prob-

ably motivated more by British electoral considerations than by a sincere concern with trends in American politics. It is the fond hope of the government to embarrass Mr. Wilson and the Labour Party over their nuclear policy by pointing to the dangers to Western security if someone like Goldwater gets into office, and to the need therefore to retain the British nuclear "deterrent". And one can therefore expect the Goldwater bogey to feature prominently in Tory electoral propaganda during the coming months. What they won't discuss is the real lesson to learn from America: the existence of widespread poverty in the midst of widespread prosperity, both man made, both inevitable consequences of a free-for-all capitalism, such as the Tories in this country advocate. Paul Johnson examines in detail "America: the Sick Giant" in last week's *New Statesman* and presents a picture of a machine-age hell beside which Goldwater appears as a small time politico.

### INDUSTRIAL NOTES

## THE POSTMEN'S CASE

Despite appeals from union leader Mr. Ron Smith, to return to normal working, postmen continued with their unofficial action. This mostly took the form of bans on overtime and a work-to-rule. This action was widespread, affecting not only London but also many places throughout the country, including Bristol, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Derby, Wolverhampton, Nottingham and Southampton.

Further walk-outs occurred when the G.P.O. posted up their special notices telling staff that the men who "deserted their posts" either during the previous week-end or during the official one day strike on Thursday, will lose their pay and that the "privilege" of sick leave without a certificate was withdrawn from the strike.

The notice goes on:—

"1. Every officer on entering the Post Office signs a declaration to the effect that he has read and fully understands certain provisions of the law designed to help the Post Office and its staff to render their essential duties to the public.

2. Any breach of the Post Office or Telegraph Acts may lead to prosecution.

3. Disobedience of any official instruction makes an official liable to suspension without pay and to disciplinary penalties including dismissal.

4. All officers are liable to alteration of their duties to meet emergencies, to give such extra attendance as the needs of the service may demand, and to perform Sunday duty when necessary."

Men stopped work at Mount Pleasant, Birkenhead, Norwich, Romford, Sheffi-

eld, Dover, Hereford and Hammersmith and at Swansea, Winchester, and Hastings, postmen started a ban on overtime. Postmen regarded these notices as "intimidation", Mr. Downes, a top G.P.O. London official said they were not intended to be provocative and Mr. Ron Smith described them as "ham-handed".

No doubt, as far as the G.P.O. is concerned, these notices are a routine matter, but the thing is the postmen are quite aware of their responsibilities. As Mr. Smith said, "They do not tell postmen anything that their commonsense does not already tell them. After all, no man would go on strike, leaving a registered bag in the middle of the floor".

It seems to me that the whole attitude of the G.P.O. to the postmen is one of the 19th century master, servant relationship. Postmen are not just employees but, as these notices show, servants as well with special services to perform. They have shown that they are sick to death with this attitude of the G.P.O. and the pay dispute has shown up a number of grievances. First of all, on the question of wages, it seems that for the essential service the postmen provide for society, they have had a raw deal. Due to a lack of militancy, the nature of the job, and being Government employees, the wages of postmen are low. As far back as 1951, the weekly average was 18/- lower than that of workers in the manufacturing industry. In 1956, the wages had improved and the average was 12/- lower, but since then, while wages in the manufacturing industry have increased by 40%, postmen have only had a 24% increase and the weekly average is now £2-£3 lower.

To get anything like a decent wage, overtime has to be worked. This is easy in places like London, Liverpool, Manchester and other big cities which deal with a heavy volume of mail and have staff shortage. But there are many places where overtime working is not necessary and the postmen take home what in most cases will be the lower provincial rate of £11 15s., less deductions.

On top of all this is the discipline of the offices. Any small deviation from the rules is usually punished by loss of pay. An example of this is the man who had 4 hours wages stopped for having spent 20 minutes in the toilet, and this in spite of the fact that the

man was obviously ill. Of course there is the right of appeal but postmen know by now that it is just a waste of time as they are usually unsuccessful.

Lateness is a very serious offence and often can result in the loss of either half or a whole day's pay. Of course the discipline does not affect the postmen on the rounds so much, although loss of wages is incurred for misdelivery. In fact the G.P.O. seems to be a State within a State, with its own set of officials who see that the postmen follow regulations and dish out punishment if these are broken. One of the attractions of the job, providing you can stick it out that long, is the pension scheme, the maximum after 40 years being half pay with a lump sum equivalent to 1½ years' pay.

Even without the official one day's strike, the postmen's own direct action had caused enormous pile-ups of mail. The Postmaster General had to suspend all deliveries of parcels, printed paper services and unaddressed circulars. What will be the outcome of this dispute? Mr. Smith, knowing the feeling of the rank and file, obviously had to take some action and the strike has been described by some as necessary to "let off steam". This move by the unions is not so much to enforce the full demand of 10½%, but as a means to "restore the disciplined loyalty" to the union. If no official action had been taken, then the whole thing might have got out of union control, as it very nearly did anyway.

Mr. Smith is now out for a quick settlement of about 6-7%. An increase in this region has been suggested, with perhaps a recall of the Armitage Committee of Inquiry to find out what they meant by their recommendation that the G.P.O. and the union hold "constructive and responsible negotiations". It was the repeat offer of 4% in the negotiations that followed the report on the Inquiry that started the present dispute.

Mr. Woodcock of the T.U.C. has already started his peace overtures and more of these can be expected from him and Mr. Smith. It is up to the postmen to reject any compromise that may be negotiated for them. The time is now ripe to win their full demands and an interim award of 10½% should be the aim. After all this is in line with the Government appointed inquiry. The postmen have already shown their strength in the unofficial action taken last week and they should be prepared for further action of this kind.

P.T.

ANTI-ELECTION COMMITTEE.

## BLOOM - BOOM - BUST

SO John Bloom the self-declared monopoly-buster has gone "bust" after four glorious—and profitable years. And it was inevitable that he should because he wanted to eat his cake and have it, because he wanted to fight the monopolists and at the same time be one himself; because he wanted to cock a snook at the established pillars of capitalism and at the same time use them for his own ends. But because they had solid foundations in the City they could just let clever John have all the rope he wanted . . . to hang himself. Of course Bloom has, by all accounts, feathered his nest, and during his heyday his salesmen earned princely commissions, and Sir Isaac Wolfson was getting a cool 10 per cent. as money lender to Bloom's clients, not to mention the advertising agents and the newspapers. And even the shareholders were for a time on a goldmine, so one is not going to waste one's tears

on the widows and orphans hit by the collapse of Bloom's Empire.

Bloom blames his failure on everybody—"we are being squeezed by the banks and everybody"—everybody except himself. Yet his undoing was his megalomania, a case of success going to the head. He imagined that he alone could cut out all the shopkeepers and drive all the existing manufacturers of washing machines out of business. And he was so confident that he did not limit himself to washing machines but branched off into cameras, travel, refrigerators, trading stamps. Some will argue that Bloom was a monopoly-buster and did have the effect of bringing down prices in all the commodities he handled. That is true. But because he was a spiv rather than a Robin Hood; because he dreamed of being a tycoon and not a reformer, whatever benefits have accrued to the consumer by his assault on the capitalist citadel are incidental, short-lived, and, in the long term will almost certainly be cancelled out.

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### Anti-Election Appeal

The "Hazards of Voting" leaflet was recently re-drafted and revised and we are now ready to start duplicating 10,000 of these. We have got the ink and paper but find we are short of money to meet the bills. This has happened before but has been got over by the usual 2 or 3 comrades giving money to the funds. If more comrades would give some cash it would be appreciated, especially by the 2 or 3.

Could comrades who owe money for anti-election material please pay up if possible, for we assure you we need the money. This is urgent!

All money to Bill Sticker, 17a, Maxwell Road, Fulham, S.W.6.

## ANARCHY 42

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DISCUSSES

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BLOOM entered the washing machine market when it was "expanding" and the established manufacturers could well afford to tolerate the "pirate" in their midst. When by last year he had not only cornered a third of the home market, but it was also showing signs of saturation, the "big boys" decided it was time to fight. Prices were slashed, improved models introduced, so much so that Bloom was obliged to intensify his publicity

Continued on page 3

# AROUND THE GALLERIES

EVERY major work of art has fathered its sterile brood of imitators who in their aping of the style or subject matter of the artistic godhead have attempted to draw upon themselves a little of the divine light of public acclaim and the reflected glory of another man's universal fame. But, though they guise their parodies behind the labels of school, influence or disciple they are inevitably foredoomed to the shadows of public indifference for a work of art is by its very nature a thing unique in itself and all else can be but *pastiche*. There is always the artist who seeks to reinterpret an accepted work of art through his own particular medium, yet if he fails, he has produced nothing, and if he succeeds he has created another work of art that exists by virtue of its own inherent talent but is forever forced to ride in forced captivity with another man's work. Shakespeare will always be cursed with Mendelssohn's "Dream" music, Peer Gynt must perform to the violins of Grieg, John Gay's lilted comedy must always carry the Teutonic solemnity of Brecht's heavy-handed humour for magnificent though these secondary works may be in themselves, they have by their unsought intrusions become the official bedfellows of an unwilling host.

We can accept the illustrators of the latter classics for they carry the accolade of the author's approval and the work would be shorn of a minor peg if, for instance, the novels of Dickens appeared without the drawings of Phiz, for in these instances each man worked in harmony with the other but the work of a Beardsley or a Moussorgsky outlives its parasitical role to exist in its own right as minor masterpieces hampered only by meaningless titles of interest simply to the pedant and the historian, for the work that these men chose to re-interpret with brush and bow has long vanished into the limbo of the third rate and the unremembered.

Francis Hewlett is a thirty-four-year-

old Cornish painter and he had decided that his first one-man show in London should be built around a group of canvases dealing with his image of Captain Ahab. He has used as his single and central theme that of Ahab's death by drowning, and we are shown this character from Melville's *Moby Dick* twisting and turning beneath the waters. I approached this exhibition at the New Art Centre at 41 Sloane Street, S.W.1. with partisan sympathy for Hewlett states that he is a pacifist and an anarchist yet honesty demands that I reject this work. I am at a loss to understand why an artist of Hewlett's sensitivity should have ignored the universal theme of death by drowning for what is but the cheap and unnecessary gimmick of using Melville's name in a catalogue but that in itself is of small consequence for, as always, the final judgment lies with the work and not the catalogue.

There has grown up amongst the Cornish painters a group of young artists who with their use of local topography have truly earned the title of regional painters. These young artists, of whom Shields was an outstanding example, brought into being a flowering of abstract work that owed its creation not to the work of American east-coast painters or the Mediterranean sun-worshippers but found its inspiration in the soft cold greens and greys of Cornwall. Hewlett in his Ahab backgrounds is such an artist and in these passages he has produced some beautiful and lyrical work but superimposed on this fine work are the clumsy twisting forms of Ahab. Upon effects of light through

water Hewlett has scrawled these unintentionally comic figures and in what would appear to be an essay in painterly laziness he has not painted, but scooped out his desire to show motion like a child doodling in sand.

His drawings I would dismiss as so much wall space filling and his "heads" a brave try but it is the tragedy of this work that the artist should have sacrificed his magnificent Cornish backgrounds for the sake of a popular subject matter.

Lewin Bassingthwaite at the Piccadilly gallery at 16a Cork Street, W.1., offers twenty-three canvases of a brooding suburban house haunted by the figure of a puppet child. Only the house is real and the child climbs the lonely stairs to face the doors of silent and empty rooms while the cold white English light masks the windows without a view. Captured in these minor works is the alien world that a child finds in a loveless house where laughter is a crime and horror is a paw-mark or a toy not in its ordered place and only the house is real.

At the Quantas Gallery beneath their Piccadilly showroom (come fly with us to Australia), Sidney Nolan no longer amuses the Town with his series of Ned Kelly paintings.

This Australian primitive painter came to London and caught the attention of the fashionable with his gay and badly painted studies of the Australian outlaw Ned Kelly. The Town, after their fashion, loved him and for a few months it was heresy to dare to damn his work but now it is used as an excuse to coax people into an airline showroom.

They are still the same gay, cheerful, slaphappy comic paintings of a few years ago but the Town has little use for past amusements so they hang there

THE war to end war began 50 years ago, lasted four and a half years and killed eight million people. It shattered the seemingly secure, comfortable and optimistic world of pre-1914 and replaced it with the present age of doubt, insecurity and lack of confidence.

The main cause of war in 1914 was the clashing of the various European capitalisms in their scrambles for markets, raw materials and profits. Crude nationalisms and military rivalries were rampant and the various tribal feelings were joined together in pacts and alliances which embraced most of Europe. The above facts are still, fifty years after, too unpleasant for many people who prefer to believe that the excuse for war (the assassination at Sarajevo) was the cause.

When the British state found itself at war with the German state for the first time its first job was building up an atmosphere of hatred towards the Germans. France had always been Britain's traditional enemy and the carefully built up climate of opinion regarding French inferiority (Agincourt, Waterloo, frogs, snails, etc.) had to be quickly back pedalled and a wave of fear, prejudice and loathing directed at the Germans instead. This was easily done with the aid of the Fleet Street press which sunk to new depths and came up with vile stories of Huns raping nuns on tables, using priests as bell clappers and spearing Belgian children on bayonets, roasting and eating them. The whole of German literature and history were ransacked in order to categorically prove that Germans are brutal, blood-thirsty barbarians. Wagner, Luther even Goethe were dragged in while with Nietzsche, surely the world's most misquoted philosopher, they had a field day.

It was quickly found that romantic ideas of war were obsolete and the fighting settled into bitter stalemate with hundreds of miles of opposing trenches surrounding the territories of the central powers. Mud, lice, rain, heat, cold, gas, sudden attacks and bombardments made life unspeakable. To break this deadlock the allied military leaders decided to fight a war of attrition. This meant frequent large scale attacks, not in the serious hope of piercing the enemy lines but simply to cause casualties. It was calculated that if the Germans, Austrians, etc., lost one man to every two or three of the attacking British and French then the latter, with their much larger supplies of man power, would inevitably win when the slaughter had reached several millions. By the laws of attrition the Somme battle of 1916 with half a million dead for an advance of half a mile was a great victory as was the 1917 campaign in Flanders when another half million perished to capture

## THE GREAT WAR AND MODERN ANARCHISM

a few square miles of pulverised marshland. One French contribution to attrition fighting was to use coloured colonial troops in the van of attacks. (They're black and our losses will be heavy).

In 1917 Czarist Russia collapsed into revolution and there were great mutinies in the French Army and it seemed as though the German state would win. This prospect so worried the American financiers who were owed vast sums of money by the British and French for war supplies that the American state declared war on the German state to safeguard the investment. This intervention turned the tide and Germany collapsed.

The Great War dealt a blow to the Left from which it has never really recovered. Nearly all the fine phrases about international solidarity and proletarian fraternity made by European socialists before 1914 had proved to be just hot air. First the German, then the French, British and other socialist movements followed their governments into war. In Britain the only people to remain true to their beliefs were a few pacifists, some anarchists and some members of the I.L.P. The nations trooped willingly to war and one wonders what the degree of boredom and frustration must have been to produce such an eager acceptance of violence and death. Only on the Eastern front where officers found it necessary to chain men to guns and in the French 1917 mutinies were there any large scale refusals to fight. But as the slaughter progressed many men became bitterly disillusioned, among them the poet Siegfried Sassoon who at war's end wrote:—

"The boys are back. Bands played and flags were flying:  
And crowds of Yellow-pressmen lined the street  
To cheer the soldiers who'd refrained from dying,  
—Snapping their bayonets on to charge the mob,  
Grim fusiliers broke ranks with glint of steel.  
At last the boys had found a cushy job. I heard the Yellow-pressmen grunt and squeal;  
And with my trusty bombers turned and went  
To clean the butchers out of Parliament.  
Sassoon's dream was unfulfilled and

to be picked over by the critics and ignored by the *haut ton*. But let us leave the last words with Ned Kelly himself when he wrote to a Member of Parliament: "I am really astonished to see members of the Legislative Assembly led astray by such articles as the police, for while an outlaw reigns their pockets swell: 'Tis double pay and country

girls'; by concluding, as I have no more paper unless I rob for it, if I get justice I will cry a go. For I need no lead or powder to revenge my cause, and if words be louder, I will oppose your laws with no offence (remember your railroads), and a sweet good-bye from Edward Kelly, a forced outlaw."

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## ELECTION ANTHOLOGY-5

THOSE who know the real attitude of syndicalists towards parliament, know full well that our ignoring of parliamentary methods is not as the manifesto states, because the present Labour Party in the House of Commons has failed to voice the real needs of the people. Our objection is a much more serious one, it is that parliament is part of the decaying capitalist régime, an institution wholly unsuited to afford the workers opportunities of getting control of the industries and the wealth produced by the workers in these industries. We look upon parliament as utterly unsuited to the enabling of the workers to apply their own labour in the controlling and ultimate owning of all wealth-producing agencies. Many members of the British Socialist Party claim for parliament that it is an excellent platform for propaganda purposes, but they frankly admit its uselessness for the purpose of revolution and reconstruction of society. We declare it to be not of the smallest value that there should be a few socialist speeches made in such a place. Such speeches would give the workers no power nor would they send fear to the hearts of the capitalists. Naturally the capitalists will fear nothing until they find out they are losing the power to control the working-class. Our syndicalist method is the encouragement of the working class to control itself.

There is absolutely no agency in existence or projected at all suitable to this great work except the industrial organizations of the workers. Industrial solidarity is the one and only all-powerful agency through which and by which work can be controlled, all unemployment solved, and capitalist exploitation stopped forever. TOM MANN (1913).

Democracy is that system of government under which a great free people, having 35,717,342 native-born adult whites to choose from, including thousands who are handsome and many who are wise, pick out a Coolidge to be head of the State. It is as if a hungry man, set before a banquet prepared by master cooks and covering a table an acre in area, should turn his back upon the feast and stay his stomach by catching and eating flies. H. L. MENCKEN.

The reform you [English workmen] desire may give you more influence in Parliament: but your influence there will of course be useless to you—perhaps worse than useless—until you have wisely made up your minds what you wish Parliament to do for you; and when you have made up your minds about that, you will find, not only that you can do it for yourselves without the intervention of Parliament, but that eventually nobody but yourselves can do it. JOHN RUSKIN.

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is still a socialist he supports a brand so mild that it is indistinguishable from conservatism. It is to retain the votes of such people that the Labour Party has so watered down its programme. If Wilson and the Labour leaders did come up with a militant socialist policy their vote would slump heavily. The greatest obstacle to the fulfilment of the ideas of anarchism, pacifism, socialism, syndicalism, etc. is the indifference, apathy and sometimes the hostility of the working class.

The problem then is how to get people interested in anarchism. One way not to do it is that described in a recent very sensible letter to FREEDOM and wait for (work for even) unemployment, bad laws, tyranny, starvation. The number of anarchists who yearn for the bad old days because it was easy to work up a jolly good hate is very small. It is a fact however, that it has been at times of crisis and misery that anarchism has enjoyed its greatest support. Woodcock maintains that the heyday of British anarchism was the 1880's and 1890's—two very lean decades with much slump and hardship. The Spanish war and the second world war gave it its next lease of life—two more disasters. The anti-nuclear movement has given anarchism its most recent influx of supporters and it must have come as a shock to many of them to read in FREEDOM that a good proportion of libertarians do not believe there will be a nuclear war and while hating the deterrent agree that it does deter.

Most anarchists also believe that living standards will continue to rise and that liberalisation—in sex, education, treatment of offenders, etc., will gather momentum—although for the wrong reasons. If war, living standards and questions of sex, education, etc., are being dealt with elsewhere anarchism's only real beef left is the lack of freedom in the modern world. The struggle for freedom and responsibility is central to anarchism, and to put more emphasis on it would attract more supporters. After all freedom is the one big thing lacking in people's lives and in society today. To stand aside from the rat-race perhaps to build oases of anity in the lunatic desert of modern society—communal enterprises, bootleg economies, various types of mutual aid. The positive side of anarchism could be something which is enjoyed in one's own lifetime and not postponed to the remote future.

This is a slow unspectacular anarchism. You don't need to be proficient with a machine-gun (who is?), or know the exact definition of satyagraha, or know how to build barricades. No one knows what the chances are for such ideas but they are one possible way ahead. R.J.

# FREEDOM

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## BLOOM - BOOM - BUST

Continued from page 1

as well as the gimmicks to keep up his sales. To add to his problems Bloom had to contend with a rival direct selling organisation. He sought to solve the latter headache by a link up (most inconsistent for a self-declared monopoly-buster don't you think?) And the only way that he could wage a price-cutting war was to have sufficient financial backing to operate, at a loss if need be, longer than his competitors. This he could not find, and he was, furthermore, loath to risk the millions he had salted away. So last week while Rolls advertisements were appearing on one page of the popular dailies the announcement of the winding-up of the Company was appearing on another. Bloom was hoist by his own petard. He challenged the monopolists to compete and they accepted and gave him more than he had bargained for! In less than a year he was being driven out of business.

There will be those, especially among shareholders and Bloom's ex-employees who will now be saying that Bloom is a crook, a swindler, a confidence-trickster. Only anarchists would be justified in calling him by these names and only because they would not make a distinction between him and the "big boys" who have defeated him or the system which he and they worship. For an ex-Bloom-salesman who could make a cool £5,000 a year on door to door selling, or shareholders who received 200 per cent. dividends, to expect Bloom to sacrifice his perks to safeguard theirs is sheer impertinence as well as displaying a naive attitude to the capitalist system. When the winds were in Bloom's favour there were many who made easy money as well as Bloom, though he undoubtedly made a lot more than they did (but that's "the incentive that makes capitalism tick"! ) And those same winds have blown his ship on the rocks; what grounds have the "victims" to belly-ache? What has Bloom to belly-ache about? After all was he not intent on driving his business rivals out of business?

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THE Bloom case illustrates two points the anarchists always make: (1) capitalism is not free enterprise, competition; by its very nature it is monopolistic. (2) It is argued that large scale enterprises are more economical than small ones. Bloom at the outset realised that they were not; that they were cumbersome, bureaucratic machines. Success went to his head. Not content with selling 650 machines a week he took over Rolls Razor factory in 1960 and nearly doubled the number of machines available for sale, and the organisation to sell them. And it didn't stop there. But as soon as he was faced with competition, from among others, the £82m. English Electric, Bloom ran into difficulties. Early this year in his words to the *Evening Standard's* City Editor "our costs began to work out at £12 per inquiry. That's far too much". And overnight Bloom the booster, the megalomaniac, the "Stepney lad" who had struck gold was made to face the grim realities of capitalism. He was "proof" that under capitalism everybody can rise to the top. Not only

do we know that the chinks in the protective armour of capitalism are few, and therefore open to few Blooms, but his crash just as that of the Dawsons and many other self-made tycoons, is the inevitable fate in store for those who not content with having made a quick pile have also an appetite for power.

Bloom is, in spite of his denials last Monday, a millionaire, and he has acquired his fortune in a matter of four years, and we are sure, within the Law. The most skilled worker in his Rolls factory would have to work between 500 and 1,000 years to earn a million, let alone salt away that much!

We welcome Bloom's downfall, not because we support the bankers and the industrialists who have engineered it, but because monopoly and privilege can only be combatted and destroyed by a popular revolution and not by the Blooms who fight the monopolists as the only way to become monopolists themselves.

## BIRTH CONTROL

### No Solution to World Malnutrition

DR. SEN, Director General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation said in Rome earlier this month that food production must be doubled by the year 2000 in order to meet the world's minimum nutritional requirements, and that "by 1980 we think that there will be widespread famine in many parts of the world". But neither the director nor the FAO can include birth control as among the solutions to the problem because out of the 112 member nations about 25 are Catholic and to do so "might harm relations with them".

This is an extraordinary attitude. It is one thing to respect people's religious beliefs, quite another to have to suppress one's own views in so doing. Surely at the FAO the catholic minority need not attend discussions on birth control when the majority wants to discuss the subject?

Of course birth control is not the main answer to the problems of malnutrition, which can only be solved by increasing world food production and distributing it equitably among all the peoples of the world. Birth control as a policy arises only when natural resources combined with know-how cannot provide sufficient food for everybody. This situation has not yet arisen, and probably will never arise. The problem today is that natural resources are not being fully used because from a capitalist point of view it is not worth doing so.

Now it is interesting to see that the Vatican observer on the FAO having to reject the birth control solution for doctrinal reasons, produces very interesting arguments along lines which most anarchists would approve. Monsignor Ligutti, an American, who has been the Holy See's observer since 1946, argued that all this talk about

THE HAWK MODEL Co. of Chicago, U.S.A. are marketing plastic model kits of Frankenstein's Monster, Madame Tussaud's Guillotine, The Drag Hag, Brother Rat Fink, Bat Fink, Wolfman and King Kong. Eighteen million kits have been marketed to children. One Chicago mother said that a Frankenstein kit had cured her 9-year-old son of TV induced terrors. "He was always imagining that monsters were close at hand. Now he realizes his fears are silly". Alfred Bronner, M.D. of Passaic, New Jersey said, "The monsters are a safe outlet and externalization of inner aggressive and anti-social drives". . . .

SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER was chosen as Republican presidential candidate at San Francisco. The Republicans indicted the Democrats for not seeking to conquer communism but only to achieve parity of power with it; failing to reduce unemployment to a "tolerable" level; they said the Democrats had "exploited inter-racial tensions by extravagant campaign promises without fulfilment". The Republicans promised "to implement and effectively execute" the Civil Rights Act, a resolution to "enforce" the Act was expunged as offensive to the South. The Democrats they allege have appeared to set limits on America's willingness to act in South Vietnam and with a list of further sins of the Democrats, the Republicans conclude: "Have these leaders successfully advanced the purposes of this mightiest nation mankind has known? Tragically, in each instance, the answer must be no. Let the Democratic Party stand accused". . . .

THE DAY before the convention, hotels were picketed by printers protesting at the printing of the convention literature by imported strike-breakers. Other pickets held up posters reading: "Ringo for President, vote for the man with class, a vote for Ringo is a vote for fun". . . .

population explosion is "bunkum"

"Twenty-five years ago Dr. O. E. Baker, of the US Department of Agriculture, predicted that the population in America would shrink. There were to be empty schoolrooms. Why, even the predictions made two years ago are not correct.

"I don't think that an increase in population causes poverty and misery. Look at Haiti. The people there are eating more than they did 50 years ago, despite the population jump. And the people in India, Japan, and Mexico are eating more per capita than ever before. "Our problem is to get rid of surplus food, and what is needed is not birth control but the fair distribution of the world's goods. There are people in South America, China, Pakistan, and other places who want to preserve the status quo and who want to perpetuate social injustice. I sometimes hope the population expands and just pushes them in the sea."

Was the Vatican representative suggesting that a revolution is needed in some areas? "Yes, a revolution."

He went on to accuse the "great merchandising powers in the United Kingdom, Australia, the United States and elsewhere of blocking every attempt to correct the imbalance in the world's food supply. Liverpool will say that we'll ruin the wheat market and so on."

A week or so later the Monsignor came back to the attack with these forthright arguments:

He was not convinced by the 'economic pie' theory that fewer mouths would mean more food. In fact, he sees as dangerous any "miracle or disaster" which would reduce the world's population would have the effect of sanctifying the status quo, and particularly in places where now there is already social injustice."

He felt that Denmark and Ceylon had given the best answers to Professor Arnold Toynbee's dire warnings against the population explosion. His own answer "Toynbee said we don't have enough hats. So we must cut off some of the heads. I say we need to make more hats, or else take some of the



LEMUEL PENN, a negro educationist was returning after two weeks' duty as a lieutenant-colonel in the United States Army Reserve when he was shot by a sniper as he was driving through Georgia. Eleven negroes are said to have disappeared from Southern states in recent months, all are thought to have been victims of racial violence Byron de la Beckwith, accused killer of Mississippi negro leader Medgar Evers (on whom the juries could not agree in two trials), will probably never get a third trial. Meanwhile, he is back at his old job, selling fertilizer. Race riots broke out in Harlem after the shooting of a negro youth, another youth was killed in the riots. . . .

THE E.T.U. is to vote whether to bar Communists from union office. Maurice Thorez, the French Communist, died aboard a ship taking him for holiday to the Crimea. He retired from the party leadership a few weeks ago. In 1939 he was called up but fled to Russia. The Party, in his absence, tried to obtain permission to publish *Humanité* during the German occupation. In 1944 Thorez returned to Paris to join de Gaulle's coalition government. It is said that

hats from the places where they are now stacked up."

Where of course he appears very much less logical and sound, so far as we are concerned, is when he said that if predictions came true and the world became overcrowded "God will render man less fertile". That remains to be seen. But we agree with his main argument that as things are at present "Birth control is inconsequential to the problem of world famine", and we applaud his view that a world wide revolution is needed to redistribute and make the best use of the world's food resources and potentialities.

## More New Readers, More Money Please!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT JULY 18th 1964

Week 29	EXPENSES: 29 weeks at £70	£2,030
	INCOME:	
	Sales & Sub. Renewals	£
	Weeks 1-28	1,485
	Week 29	21
		1,506
	New Subscriptions:	
	Weeks 1-28 (143)	159
	Week 29 (2)	2
		161
		1,667
	DEFICIT	£363

DEFICIT FUND

Bromley: J.G. 15/-; Swansea: R.R. £18;	
Bletchley: R.S. 4/2; Falmouth: R.W. 1/6;	
Coventry: R.S. 4/6; S.W.18: R.S. 10/-;	
Woldingham: F.B.* 5/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-;	
London: A.S. 2/10; Southall: Anon. 2/6; S.E.3: M.W. £1; Liphook: N.S. 15/-;	
London: N.D. £1/1/-; N.6: K.W. 18/2; S.E.20: M.P. 10/-.	
TOTAL	24 19 8
Previously acknowledged	451 3 10
1964 TOTAL TO DATE	£476 3 6

\*Denotes Regular Contributors  
GIFTS OF BOOKS: London: A.S. London: Anon.

when an officer brought de Gaulle Thorez's dossier he said, "First of all, he is a deserter." De Gaulle replied, "That shows character, anyway". . . .

"PRAVDA" REVIEWED a new play on the early post-revolutionary years unfavourably, saying that it showed Trotsky—"Lenin's sworn enemy" as too positive a character. The play also gave a distorted picture of the party and the historical events of 1921 and failed to unmask the origins of the Kronstadt mutiny, or to show that the people behind it were anti-Bolsheviks, foreign imperialists, and anarchists. . . .

JOMO KENYATTA, in England for the Commonwealth talks was attacked by a man outside the Hilton Hotel. Later, Martin Webster (21) was charged with assault and threatening behaviour, John Tyndall (30) was charged with using insulting words whereby a breach of the peace might be occasioned. John Tyndall was, on Friday, committed on bail for trial at London Sessions charged with stealing £40 owned by the National Socialist leader, Colin Jordan. The Nationalist Party in Johannesburg issued a statement, dissociating itself and the Government from a defence fund to assist the defence of Webster and Tyndall on the charge of the attack on Jomo Kenyatta. . . .

THE CHINESE, in *People's Daily* and *Red Flag* have accused Krushchev of abandoning communism and ruling by a privileged bourgeois stratum. "This is composed of degenerate elements from among the leading cadres of party and Government organizations, enterprises and farms, as well as bourgeois intellectuals." They describe Krushchev as a "usurper" and warn that Russia is now "facing an unprecedented danger of capitalist restoration." *The Sunday Citizen* revealed the Labour Party's plan for a national unit trust with share holdings throughout industry, offering units for sale over post-office counters. The Labour Party in the opening of their election campaign have taken the Empire Pool, Wembley (presumably empty), for their mass rally on September 12th. The Conservatives are holding a rally the same day the the Friends' Meeting House. . . .

A SOUTH LONDON tobacconist was paid for shag by a 'Russian seaman' with a golden sovereign taken from a concrete ball. The tobacconist was asked for £2 for the sovereign (current market value £2 9s.). A 'Frenchman' who was in the shop asked the 'Russian' if he had any more concrete balls. He wrote the figure 4,600. The tobacconist agreed to buy them for £1,500. Some of the balls were left, the money paid over and the 'Russian' and the 'Frenchman' left the shop on an excuse. They never returned. The concrete balls were empty. The two men when caught were given thirty months' imprisonment each. . . .

MR. JOHN BLOOM wilted.  
JON QUIXOTE.

## L.A.G. Summer School

Theme: Aspects of Anarchism.  
S. E. Parker on: **Individualism.**  
Philip Holgate on:  
**Anarchist Communism.**  
"X" on: **Anarcho-Syndicalism.**  
Sat. Aug. 1 & Sun. Aug. 2 at 7.30 p.m.  
Mon. Aug. 3, 2 p.m. at Lamb and Flag, Rose Street, London, W.C.1.  
Requests for accommodation to L.A.G., 10, Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

## INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CAMP

August 1st-31st at "Camping International" on Route Nationale 107 between Anduze and St. Jean du Gard, River Bathing, Caves, etc. 2nd week devoted to discussion of modern anarchism.

Weekend School in Strike Tactics  
September 19th & 20th  
Bristol Local S.W.F.  
Please contact  
M. J. Walsh,  
22 Hampton Road, Bristol 6.  
Fee 30/-. Pay as you become an expert anarchist agitator.

## Notes on

## THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

IN an article in the American-Italian anarchist fortnightly, *L'Adunata*, 27/6/64, Alberto Moroni discusses the development of the Italian movement during the post-war period. He divides the period into three parts. During the immediate post-war years there was a time when revolution seemed possible. The people were armed and the state disarmed as a result of the resistance movement and the military defeat of fascism, and the older militants had visions of something on the lines of the Spanish revolution, following in the tradition of the "Settimana Rossa" and the Occupation of the factories. This optimism was dissipated when the popular feelings were exploited and destroyed by the political opportunism of the parties and the unions, which in turn led many young militants to turn towards anarchism from the other movements. Unfortunately, some of these comrades took with them a party political psychology into the anarchist movement, leading to splits, personal abuse, etc. The '50's saw the decline of political interest among the people, and the anarchist movement declined into a collection of isolated groups doing what they could to keep publications and ideas going. From 1960, with an outbreak of anti-fascist militancy in Genoa, the youth of Italy began to take a new interest in the social struggle, and near anarchist opinions having been stated at congresses of the unions and political parties of the left. Moroni's article gives the impression that although some new blood has come into the anarchist groups, there isn't really a satisfactory contact between the new feelings of radicalism and the specifically anarchist movement.

That is probably true in all European countries, including Britain where there is at least a large sector of personal contact between Anarchist and the wider movement of radical protest. It

is interesting to note that the Spanish C.N.T. is trying to overcome such difficulties through the Group for Confederal Studies in Paris which is holding a series of colloquia at which representatives of the three "generations" of veterans, middle-aged and youth will discuss their different outlooks on contemporary problems, with a view to synthesis (*Espoir* 21/6/64).

*Le Monde Libertaire* (July, 1964) carries a communication from the Bulgarian movement in exile to the effect that forced labour camps have been opened again in Bulgaria and according to latest reports ten anarchist militants and numerous trotskysts, opposition communists, etc., have been arrested and

accused of the absurd charge of taking the Chinese side in the international communist dispute.

A new growth of interest in the psychological theories of Wilhelm Reich seems to be springing up, and an appeal has been issued for funds to republish "The Sexual Revolution" in French.

The Dutch group which publishes the monthly anarchist journal *De Vrije* have begun to publish extracts from Elzbacher's work *Anarchism* in the form of a series of pamphlets. The first is "The ideas of William Godwin".

This month's issue of *Befreiung* (Mühlheim) contains a reminder that it is the thirtieth anniversary of the murder of the German anarchist Erich Mühsam

in Sachsenhausen concentration camp, and contains two of his poems. Because of its numerically small size, the German movement is little known in England, and deserves much more interest because it had to try to force its roots into unreceptive soil and also because in the years immediately following the first world war it was faced with a revolutionary situation in many parts of the country.

When these notes appear in print, the International Anarchist Congress at Bückeburg will be beginning, and anarchists throughout the world will want to send their greetings and hopes that the Congress will make a useful contribution to anarchist thought.

## Down with Militarism!

FREDERICK THE GREAT is credited with having said that if his soldiers began to think, not one of them would remain in his service. Although it is not explicitly mentioned, this fact lies behind the political controversy that has been taking place in Western Germany for the last few weeks.

When the rearmament of Germany by the Western powers was agreed to, less than ten years after the defeat of Hitler's army and the pretence that German militarism had been crushed, never to rise again, a number of so-called "safeguards" were written into the constitution of the Bundeswehr. At that time it was even suggested by supporters of German rearmament that it was better for it to take place under the democratic guidance of the victors than to be striven for by German nationalists. Now, after another ten years, one of the personal representatives of the famous safeguards, a parliamentary overseer of the Bundeswehr, has written a series of articles in an illustrated magazine, "Quick", exposing the fact that the army was not living up to the norms laid out for it in the constitution, but was developing into a "state within a state".

It is interesting to have a look at the career of the critic, Vice-Admiral Heye, who in the 1920's was a soldier in the so-called "Free Corps" which fought against the revolution in Germany at the end of the first world war and succeeded in drowning it in blood, and who apparently played the role of a loyal soldier during the Nazi regime, commanding a U-boat during the war. Nevertheless, he has engaged in what *Der Spiegel* calls his most difficult struggle, that against his own colleagues.

Even the presentation of criticism against the way the Bundeswehr is being run can be dangerous, and a military commander found it necessary to issue a proclamation calling on soldiers to pull together and maintain their loyalty, and said that several acts of "indiscipline" had been caused as a direct result of the series of articles. It is significant that much of the opposition to Heye's attitude has consisted not in attempts to refute what he says, but in attacks on him for publishing his findings in a weekly illustrated magazine, where it would be read by millions of ordinary people, instead of allowing them to lie hidden in the files of a parliamentary report.

Briefly, Heye's criticism starts from the declaration that the German laws setting up the Bundeswehr, which depends on conscription, that the soldier is a citizen in uniform, and retains the same rights of free speech and access to law as any other citizen. His report lists numerous cases in which this liberty of the soldier-subject has not been respected, and claims that these demonstrate that a "state within the state" has grown up in the army. Later on he withdrew the suggestion that this had a political meaning and said that he merely meant it in a sociological sense.

Heye deserves admiration for the fact that being a soldier himself, he has been able to come out against the practices that go on in the army, and that he has done it in an illustrated weekly when he found that no-one was listening to his more formal reporting. However, in a way he is being illogical and confused, because no army can function effectively unless it does forbid its soldiers the right to think for themselves and protest to magistrates against the way they are

treated, and it must therefore by its very nature develop into a state within a state.

For years anarchists have devoted a particular amount of propaganda to anti-militarist activities and this has been partly out of a feeling akin to pacifist ideology, that the destruction of life and humans produce that is caused by war, the hateful society that we live in shows its greatest viciousness and that it must be brought to an end. To anarchists however, the spirit of militarism is also an evil in itself because of the way it induces an attitude of obedience, because it crystallises in an extreme form the hierarchical power structure that is to be found throughout society and makes the surrender of personal responsibility into a great virtue.

Whatever the pretended safeguards that well meaning liberals try to set up when an army is created, it is inevitable that it becomes a state within a state, simply because if a group of people are handed the power to dominate the lives of others, it is a difficult task to take that power away from them, particularly if in the process they have armed themselves with guns and tanks and are clamouring for atomic weapons.

While the fact that a section of the German official political organisation, led by a conservative is critical of these military developments is interesting, and it is difficult to imagine a similar wave of criticism in England among the pillars of the establishment, they are wrong in thinking that the evils of military organisation can be swept aside while the

structure of authoritarianism remains in society.

In his report to parliament which Vice-admiral Heye submitted, and the lack of response to which led him to publish in "Quick", a list of brutalities of military officers against their men is catalogued culminating in the notorious Nagold trial when the treatment of conscripts led to the death of a young soldier on a forced march.

Towards the end of his third article in "Quick", the vice-admiral says that someone once accused him of doing something revolutionary, to which he had to laugh, and remarks that if the development of civil courage among troops is revolutionary, then he is.

However, if instead of stopping at the encouragement of soldiers to report brutality among the officers to a civil law court (which is not as far as I know possible to English soldiers), the soldiers had been urged to refuse to submit to the treatment handed out to them; instead of the word play on "citizens in uniform" they had been urged to decide for themselves whether they are making a contribution to society by serving in its army or whether they would be better off doing something else; then it would certainly have been revolutionary and would have led to a more violent clash between anti-militarists and the state machine, since as Frederick the Great realised, thinking by soldiers is incompatible with the existence of an army.

The fact that the army is a state within a state is not dangerous because it detracts from the benevolent authority of the broader state as the liberals maintain. It is rather that militarism, a necessary appendix of every national authority expresses in a heightened, extreme form the aspects of authority that anarchists want to see abolished. The solution is not for the parliament to try to enforce democratising legislation, but for the soldiers themselves and the potential conscripts to vote with their feet. P.H.

## OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

First Tuesday in each month at 8 p.m. at Jean and Tony Smythe's Ground Floor Flat, 88, Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21, Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

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Can you help the Homer Lane Society with its project to establish a Community for Disturbed Children. Write to Roy Frye, 14 Ainger Road, N.W.3. for further information.

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Comrade and his girl want work on the land in remote country place to get away from the London "rat-race". Any offers to P.C. c/o Freedom Press.

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for Street-corners, Hyde Park and public meetings. Get in touch with Peter Turner, c/o Freedom Press.

## Anti-Election

Anti-election campaign advancing to Baron's Court border. Please help overthrow futile system. Meet for leafletting 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6., Monday, July 27th 8 p.m.

If you think that your 'fings' are worth inclusion in this column let us know...

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