

Freedom

A N A R C H I S T F O R T N I G H T L Y

"He alone has a right to liberty.

Who has to fight for it from day
to day."

GOETHE

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Threepence

Win, Lose, or DOUBLECROSS?

JOHN L. LEWIS —Is the Spell Broken?

AT last it seems that the power of the American miners' leader, John L. Lewis, to push the miners in and out of strike action as he thinks best, is on the wane.

For eight months it has been clear that a show-down was coming between the United Mineworkers of America on the one hand and the mine owners and the U.S. Government on the other. In the States, the unions sign contracts with employers—usually every year—and when these expire fresh negotiations have to be entered into for their renewal—with, of course, each side trying to better its conditions of agreement in the light of prevailing circumstances.

Eight months ago, John L. began new negotiations with the bosses, to find them apparently determined not to grant any wage increases, and no longer prepared to accept the union's closed shop principle. The miners' leader began calling a series of lightning strikes, and put into operation a three-day week to reduce coal stocks on the surface, the better to exert pressure on the owners.

Came the day when Lewis decided his men should come out on strike and force a show-down with the bosses. But also came the day we have all wanted to see—when the miners started taking their own decisions instead of taking orders from their union boss.

Truman Uses Taft-Hartley Act

The Federal Court, on the application of Truman's Department of Justice, granted two injunctions against the miners: firstly that they must drop the clauses in their agreements that gave them closed shop rights and the right to work only when "willing and able"; secondly, that they must return to work while negotiations continued.

Incidentally, the Government applied for these injunctions under the Taft-Hartley Act, on his opposition to which, Truman had won trade unionists' votes in the last presidential election. But when "necessary", of course, he used it.

In the face of this legal action by the State, John L. first appealed to, and then ordered, his men to go back to work. At the time of writing, however, the miners are digging their heels in and thumbing their noses at employers, Government and union leader alike, while the American industrial empires are faced with a coal supply of only enough for four days, the lights are going out in many big cities, and New Yorkers are beginning to shiver as central heating plants fall out of action.

It's the Miners who matter

But the miners have realised that they are the people who matter when it comes to getting coal. They are reported as saying:

"Injunctions don't dig coal. Bayonets don't dig coal. Not even orders from John L. Lewis will dig coal."

"We're the ones who work the mines. We get hurt and killed."

Unfortunately, they do not yet seem to have realised that the logical development from there is towards workers' control. They are appealing to the State to take over the mines and keep the profits for "the Nation", apparently under the illusion that the State as an employer will give them a fairer deal than the State as operator of the Taft-Hartley Act and the Federal Courts. However, they will learn. They are already to be applauded for having taken out of their noses the rings that John L. Lewis had so expertly put there.

Next, instead of looking to the State for aid, let them work towards taking over the mines themselves, locking out the employers, and producing coal for the benefit of the community of which they are so useful a part, instead of for the profits of the useless.

A GENERAL ELECTION gives wonderful scope for the gambling spirit. There must have been thousands last week with no interest in politics who nevertheless sat up half the night listening to the results as they came through, and how many could resist the temptation to have a bet on the issues? The general spirit is not greatly different from that in which football fans anxiously watch the Saturday evening papers to see whether, say, Arsenal or the Villa are going to win the League Championship. This is fortunate for the political apologists who have to explain the results to their supporters, for the absurdity of the election post mortems is less apparent in the race meeting atmosphere.

Yet anarchists must also have their inquest in view of the enormous percentage that went to the polls. Conservatives are jubilant about their increased vote, Labour about their retention of power, while Liberals claim that the balancing Liberal Party is the real holder of decisive power. Most comical of all was the *Daily Worker* whose front page contained no headlines proclaiming that all the Communist candidates were defeated, and all the cryos too; instead the *Worker's* headlines were about the lost deposits—of the Liberals!

HEAVIEST POLL EVER

What then are we to think of the 83 per cent. poll? Of course it shows that the population as a whole still accepts the electoral method, though it seems certain that this accept-

ance is not very fervent, has not much conviction. Such fervour as was occasionally to be noted sprang more from party loyalty than from any strong conviction about the opposing programmes. And even those who seemed fervent enough required little pressure to concede that it didn't greatly matter which party got in—things would be much the same either way.

And apart from a few enthusiastic loyalists of one or other party it was quite apparent that the motive governing many voters was purely personal—"how will it affect me personally and my work?" This is a practical enough approach beyond doubt, but it does not argue any very deep-seated convictions either about the parties involved

(Continued on page 4)

What Now in Industry? THE GROWING CONFIDENCE

FROM the result of the election, it would seem that wages are just not a subject on which the workers feel very strongly—unless it is that they are now quite confident of their own ability and strength to demand and get the wages they want.

It is, of course, impossible to tell how many of the votes cast were in fact negative in their purpose—as A.M. pointed out in our last issue, both the main parties sloganned "Keep the others out" and it may well be that many workers voted Labour to keep the Tories out, and many middle-class people voted Tory to keep Labour out, without really falling for the party programmes they actually supported with their votes.

Nevertheless, the voting was very obviously done on a class basis, and it seems, superficially at least, that the workers are solidly for Labour. This means that not only are the workers not upset by the back-sliding from socialist principles which has been a feature of the Labour Government's regime, but that the wage freeze is not held against the Labour Party either. It is significant too, that the only party seriously using wages as a plank in its election programme—the Communist Party—was ignominiously kicked right out of the picture by the voters. And the Conservatives who had some vague line on "a £6 minimum and no wage-freeze," received practically no votes from the lower income groups who would have benefited from such a minimum being established, and drew their main support from middle-class folk not affected by the wage freeze and

employers whom one would think would welcome it.

The Reason for the February Election

We have, of course, yet to feel the real results of devaluation, and it may well have been a strong reason for Attlee's choice of an early election this year, that no real hardship has yet been felt from either Cripps' jugglery or the wage-freeze. He may have felt that to wait until wages really became a vital issue to the workers may have been asking for trouble.

As it was, the act of devaluation had been almost forgotten, its effects not yet felt, and the recent refusal to grant increases to the higher paid (£1,500—£3,000 a year) civil servants was probably calculated to make the workers feel that "we're all in it together" anyway. (Personally we should have little objection to having our incomes frozen at £3,000 a year, although the civil servants concerned seemed able to produce heart-breaking arguments to show how poverty-stricken they really are.)

What's the Position Now?

But however that may be, what is the position now on the wages front in industry?

Well, we are more or less as we were, except that the prospect of another election this year with the possibility of a Tory majority next time may lead those workers with wage claims outstanding to make extra efforts to gain increases before the Tories get in—for obviously a Tory promise of a £6 minimum, or of anything else for that matter—would be speedily forgotten if they won power.

But perhaps we should accept the suggestion in the first paragraph above—that the workers are confident in their own ability to maintain wages standards without political aid. After all, whichever party ruled the country they would have to continue with the export drive. Capitalist Britain is irrevocably wedded to that for some time yet, and however much in their hearts the Tories might wish to see a pool of unemployed as a threat to the employed, the needs of the production drive would preserve full employment whether the government wanted it or not. We have already pointed out that to-day's high employment is not due to the Labour Government's good wishes but to the over-riding circumstances of the export drive. These will continue for some time yet, whichever political leadership the country tolerates.

The workers' attitude then, may be seen as this: In the political field they support the party which offers them most. Since the Tories offer absolutely nothing, it is not difficult for Labour to do better than that, and we should be foolish to deny the material benefits of such welfare measures as the Health Scheme. Therefore the workers will take what Labour has to offer, reserving the right to take direct action if necessary to maintain their own economic standard of living, irrespective of whether in the event the Labour Government likes it or not.

Are Workers Realising Their Strength?

As Anarchists, of course, we are not prepared to sell any morsel of our freedom in return for the benefits of the welfare state, knowing that we could look after our own welfare much better without the state, nor do we get very excited about the wages struggle in any case, since we propose the abolition of the wages and money systems in favour of free production and distribution.

What we are pleased to see, however, is this confidence in their own strength (which, after all, underlies every strike—especially unofficial ones). The rank and file have not accepted the wage freeze and we can look forward to some real struggles against it, but carried out not in Parliament or polling booths but where the workers' strength really exists—at the point of production.

P.S.

APPEAL TO CONSCIENCE

ON BEHALF OF THOSE PERSECUTED & IMPRISONED IN SPAIN

We have received the following letter from the Delegation in Great Britain of the C.N.T. It has been circulated to the press, who have so far shown great reluctance to publish it.

the persecution less odious when it victimises our political adversaries, the Communists.

Thousands of democrats, of free men of all shades of liberal thinking, are prisoners in Franco's jails, their sole offence the holding of beliefs opposed to the regime. The existence of the victims of totalitarianism is an insult to the civilised world. It is an affront to all who call themselves democrats and Christians. It is a mockery of all who gave their lives in the last war fighting totalitarianism in Germany, Italy and Japan.

Peace with honour is impossible for the world whilst in the very heart of Western Europe there still exists this totalitarian State free to persecute and destroy the people who seek to build a true democracy in their country. Thousands of persecuted and imprisoned men and women in Spain cry to the conscience of the democratic world, with their tragic and bitter witness against that so-called Christianity and democracy which condemns totalitarianism of one colour and condones it of another. As their voices cannot reach the outside world, we speak on their behalf, appealing to all persons—whatever

their political ideas or religious creeds—who hold honoured positions in the cultural or political life of their democratic nations, to raise their voices to demand from Franco's government the liberation of its political prisoners, the cessation of special legislation and tribunals for these political opponents.

Under pressure the Franco regime may release its present victims but this alone is not enough. The continued existence of such a regime makes a mockery of the professed democratic ideals of the nations which tolerate it. Pressure must also be brought to bear to bring an end to the regime itself. The opportunity exists. Spain is driven by historic necessity to form part of the community of free European nations. It is the silence, the apathy, the embarrassed inactivity of the democratic states, which at present encourages the continued existence of Spanish Fascism, with all its crimes.

The political aspect of the Spanish problem—and tragedy—is beyond the radius of the private individual, but its moral aspect is not.

Whoever reads this appeal makes him or herself an accomplice of Franco by silence and indifference. Our authority for this appeal to conscience is the suffering of those thousands inside Spain who cannot believe that the free world outside remains indifferent to their sufferings or will refuse to raise a voice of protest on their behalf.

For the Delegation,
The Secretary,

MANUEL SALGADO.
CHARLES DUFF.
HERBERT READ. ARTURO BAREA.
SYDNEY SILVERMAN. ILSA BAREA.
FREEDOM PRESS GROUP.

VERY HIGH PRINCIPLED...

Colonel McCormick, owner of the "Chicago Tribune", after a 70-minute interview with General Franco in Madrid, said: "Franco is very dynamic, magnetic and high-principled."

News Chronicle, 27/2/50.

Functions and Dangers of THE POLITICAL MYTH

[continued from last issue]

IT was some time, however, before there was any widespread use of *deliberate* deception in slogans. Many catch phrases came into use during the French revolutionary period, and it is possible, in the perspective of history, to say that they conveyed promises which were never fulfilled. It might be said, for instance, that in so far as actual political behaviour was concerned, the slogan "Liberty, equality, fraternity" was a mockery. Yet it did represent the main points of the theoreticians who preceded the French Revolution, and it seems certain that most of the men of 1789, even including such authoritarians as Robespierre and Saint Just, really believed that their policy would bring about the eventual reign of liberty, equality and fraternity. It was only by Bonaparte, the first of our modern totalitarians, that the slogans and symbols of the Revolution were unquestionably used to further ends of personal power which were clearly their opposite in spirit as well as in fact.

In such slogans as the last we already see a tendency towards vagueness and abstraction which characterised the resounding catch-phrases of the nineteenth century political conflicts. Faced by such words as *liberty, equality, fraternity*, the hearer, instead of pausing to consider what their user really means, tends to apply his own definition which, in the case of large and generalised terms, can be very different from that envisaged by his neighbour. When, for instance, Winston Churchill talks of *freedom*, the chances are about a thousand to one that he means something very different from what Bakunin did when he used this word. Hence such terms are freely exploited by men of all parties, and have often led people into giving support to programmes whose results were very different from what they had expected.

Typical of the more resonant nineteenth century slogans is the celebrated exhortation which terminates the *Communist Manifesto*: "Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain." Clearly, such a phrase represents only an airy daydream unless we can relate it to something more concrete and precise. How are the workers to unite? How can a man who has his life and that of his family to consider, assume that he has only chains to lose? By what means is he to gain the world when it is already dominated by governments, capitalist enterprises, armies and police forces who are all disinclined to move out of their positions? No doubt it was all very clear to Marx and Engels; the workers should unite in disciplined Marxist parties and seek to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie, in which task they would undoubtedly have the assistance of those historical forces which formed the Gods of the Marxist metaphysics. But even Marx's own theories, voluminously argued as they were, remained very vague on precise details, and the celebrated slogan itself has since been used by a remarkable variety of both parliamentary and insurrectionary parties who have been interested only in gaining a world for those of their own persuasion and who are willing to double the chains of the workers if they find it necessary to suit their own purposes.

Not all the slogans which emerged from the working-class movements were, however, abstract or imprecise. Strikes and struggles over particular issues often produced slogans which represented fairly accurately the concrete demands of the moment. "Not a minute on the day, not

a penny off the pay," speaks clearly enough, even if it does not give a picture of all the circumstances of the particular situation in which it was used.

Similarly, in recent years, as the value of repetition and suggestion in publicity have been more thoroughly understood, governments have frequently been content to express their own actual desires in striking terms which would impress their subjects. Such well posterised wartime slogans as "Work Harder" show this technique at work in its boldest form. At other times the pill is sugared with a coating of political idealism, and we get phrases like "Lend to defend the right to be free."

Such slogans of simple technique are equally subject to criticism since, once the habit of attending to them is acquired, they can be used effectively to suggest either good or bad actions, and sometimes, as in the case of the notorious Nazi slogan, "Perish Judah", both to suggest a morally evil course and to divert attention from other aspects of a party's policy.

The slogan of plain falsehood is most frequently used by a leader or party already in power, or prepared to stifle all criticisms as soon as that power is gained. Most propagandists in democratic countries are content to distort, to omit and to misrepresent rather than to lie directly. But a dictator or a potential dictator can afford to say anything that may pave his way to power, and the usual practice of totalitarian parties is to make their propaganda accord as far as possible with the desires of the people to whom it is meant to appeal. Mussolini, for instance, described Fascism as "revolutionary", because talk of revolution was then popular in Italy; Hitler tapped the two main urges of post-war Germany when he called his party "National Socialist". It would be easy to choose many examples from either Fascist or Nazi history to show the deliberate use of falsehood in slogans. But illustrations from other groups will be just as effective and will show that the blatant disregard of truth is a common characteristic of totalitarians in their use of slogans. Pilsudski realised the profound longing among vast sections of the Polish population to be done with the impositions of authority; relying on his old socialist record and using the rallying cry, "Down with dictatorship!" he established himself as dictator. Lenin and the Bolsheviks rose to power largely because they reconciled themselves to existing circumstances and to the desires of the widest sections of the people by adopting the slogan, "The land to the peasants, the factories to the workers," although their own intention, which they pursued as soon as they were sufficiently established in power, was to take both the factories and the land into the control of the state and the Communist Party.

There is little need to elaborate on slogans of this type. Their nature and their function are evident. But it must be emphasised that their difference from slogans of other types is of degree and not of kind. The intention of any slogan is to catch the imagination of the politician's audience by a technique of simplification, so that the potential supporter who is either unable or unwilling to think out an issue for himself will be stirred by a direct appeal to some image which impels him to acceptance. Like so many propaganda devices, it by-passes the faculty of judgment. Many slogans, indeed, are in themselves harmless, since they do at least represent an approximation to reality. Their use is dangerous

because it creates the habit of accepting ideas and practical schemes without considering their consequences, or, at times, without even realising that they are patently inconsistent with the real intentions of those who use them.

I put these considerations forward because I think they have an important bearing on the problems of anarchists. Anarchist propaganda has in the past made free use of slogans and, while the anarchist has not the politician's need to distort the truth deliberately, he often, in aiming at simplifying an issue, achieves a result which actually blurs the truth of

a situation. Moreover, by contributing to the general tendency of people to think in slogans, he does his part, in spite of himself, to render his audience less agile in their judgment and therefore more susceptible to the tricks of other, less honest propagandists. It seems to me that the time has come for us to reconsider our preconceptions of the way in which we should put forward our ideas; the use of slogans is merely one among many weak points in a method of presenting our views which certainly needs revision. The vagueness of our phraseology is another subject for attention, and

Free Methods in State Schools

WHAT is the significance of the advances in progressive methods to be found in State schools? As examples let us take three schools that have been considerably in the limelight since the war. Prestolee, between Manchester and Bolton, is a primary school that has been built up by the Headmaster, Mr. O'Neill. Thanks to his firm belief that what

children learn for themselves is of more value than what they are taught, and that the children are free to plan their work and proceed with their studies as their fancies suggest, the greatest problem of the school is how to get them to go home at the end of the day, or their parents at the end of the evening. Time-tables are largely done away with: activities are

it is not unconnected with the problem of slogans.

Here I am merely stating the problem that has troubled me for some time past, and I am not suggesting any easy solution. Where people are so thoroughly conditioned into accepting the suggestions of the publicist in every field of life, it would be impractical to imagine that the spell of slogans will be an easy one to break, and we may well have to wait for a long time for a reaction among the general public against the propagandist's extreme simplification and distortion of social issues. But that does not mean that we should not examine thoroughly our own way of putting forward our ideas; if we fail to dissociate ourselves wholly in practice from the methods of the ordinary run of party propagandists, then we shall certainly hinder rather than help the development of that independent judgment which is the only real foundation of an anarchist attitude.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

The Election Solution: PARTITION!

THE Prime Minister in common with other politicians expressed himself baffled with the General Election results. The parties almost dead-heat, the difference being such a precarious balance in the House of Commons as to make parliamentary government an unworkable procedure, since it would have to proceed on the hypothesis that all M.P.s would spend all their time at the job for which they contested so eagerly and for which they accept so high a sum, not only from their salary but from the manner in which it adds to their earning power and prestige in so many cases.

However, no difficulties would arise if one looked at the Election results from the standpoint of any reasonably incurable lunatic. A moment's glance at the map would show that the equal division of the country follows a fairly universal pattern. By looking at the shaded constituency maps shown in some newspapers, it can be seen that there is a solid block in the South which is overwhelmingly Tory; whereas South Wales and the industrial North is far and away a Labour stronghold. A solid Labour block spreads continuously on both sides of the river in London, with a Tory corridor from Hampstead to Westminster, and some fringes on the outer parts which carefully dovetail into the Conservative outer suburbs.

It can readily be seen, therefore, that the obvious solution—to our lunatic—would be the simple one of Partition. Divide the country up into Labour and Conservative blocks and let Mr. Attlee form the Government for one and Mr. Churchill form the Government for the other. All the argument as to "whether the country wants Socialism or not" are thereby overcome. Mr. Churchill's England lives by free competition and Mr. Attlee's England lives by State control.

As to the Tory voters living in areas with Socialist majorities, and Socialist voters in Tory areas, all one has to do is to drag them from their homes, burn down their dwellings, take away their possessions, and drive them willy-nilly into the other part.

Many madmen are quite logical, and our lunatic could improve upon this theme without any doubt, perhaps making provisions for the relics of Liberalism, providing an American guard for the Tower of London and other parts which are more or less devoted to U.S. tourists anyway, and nothing could prevent him from making quite a reasonable plan out of it except the forcible restraint of his keepers.

Unfortunately, this is not a joke. Substitute politics for religion and it has already been done on a mass scale; what else did the idea of Pakistan mean? The same lunatic's solution has been tried in Israel and Ireland.

The people of this country should be thinking themselves lucky that the madman's solution will not be tried out on them to the wrecking and slaughter that accompanied it in the division of the Indian sub-continent. But they bear a heavy responsibility for its being tried there. At some other time the question of national partition may come up—it has been settled by brute force in the Hitlerian conquests of lands around Germany and is being repeated by the Polish and Czech Governments against Germans. The solution was cheerfully recommended as regards Ireland and Palestine.

If the lunatic who wanted to partition this country had the reins of power, he could impose his scheme. Lunatics have had the reins of power many times. Think about it next time some lunatic in power suggests partition as a means of settling a problem in some other part of the world.

INTERNATIONALIST.

Is Communism Cracking?

THE fact that Tito has remained in power a year and a half after the publication of the Cominform resolution and the purges in many Communist parties has, in the West, brought forth a theory that Tito's affair is not only a sign of weakness of the Soviet bloc but also the beginning of its break-up. This theory is propagated by many journalists and politicians like Vernon Bartlett, who, after his visit to Eastern Europe, maintained that in two years other countries would follow Tito's example.

But this theory is false on two accounts: (1) the West was inclined to see all the purges of Communist leaders as signs of the internal break-up of Soviet Communism. It is sufficient to glance at the statements of Western journalists and politicians during the Moscow trials 1936-1938 to notice that nearly all of them agreed that the Soviet regime was in a deep crisis. Events, however, proved differently. The regime instead of breaking under the strain, was strengthened and Stalin instead of being weakened, came out of the purges stronger. The same thing is happening to-day in the satellite countries. Journalists again speak of weakening, while in reality Soviet power is being consolidated. Only if one shuts one's eyes it is possible to maintain that Soviet influence is not stronger both in Hungary and in Bulgaria after the trials which took place recently.

The fallibility of this theory is even greater when one remembers that Tito is

not only the first, but also the only and the last Communist ruler who has outlived (temporarily) a Moscow sentence. If any case repeats itself in the satellite countries, it is the case of Raki and not of Tito. Tito's case cannot repeat itself among the Communist leaders in either Western or Eastern Europe. In Eastern simply because the U.S.S.R. has taken precautions to prevent it, while in

READER'S OPINION

Western Europe similar problems regarding relations between the C.P.s and Moscow will arise only after the local C.P.s get into power.

(2) When in the West one speaks of Communism, one means more often its two subsidiary elements: the satellite countries and the C.P.s, than its main: the U.S.S.R. and China. When Communism threatens the other half of Europe and endangers the whole of Asia, this is the result not of the activities of satellite states or of the C.P.s in the West but of the U.S.S.R. with its hundreds of divisions and the atom bomb and of China, which is on the point of becoming the strongest power in the Far East. In the past year we witnessed two epochal events: China has gone Communist and the U.S.S.R. has produced the atom bomb. In comparison with these two events, the fact that the Norwegian C.P. has lost its 11 seats in Parliament, that the general strike in Italy has failed, that the Greek guerrillas have been defeated and that Tito has not yet been liquidated,

It is to be noticed that none of these three schools is a Grammar or a Technical School. Would the State allow its recruits for the Civil Service and its directors of the export drive to grow up in a non-competitive community? Is it that the masses of "proles", as depicted in Orwell's 1984, can be set free because they will have no responsibilities in later life?

In each case these schools appear as oases among hideous industrial surroundings, and the greatest credit goes to the headmasters for the work they have persisted in against all manner of odds. The success of the three schools has depended almost entirely on them personally, for their work has not been part of a general movement in the State system: rather they owe their inspiration—in this country at least—to the demonstrations of pioneer independent schools begun and carried on since the end of the last century.

Is it not significant that so much authority is vested in the Head? For this sets the pattern of the State itself, and where there is not joint responsibility among the staff (i.e., workers' control) the County Council is able, by a stroke of a pen, to remove the Headmaster and his methods, too.

ANTHONY WEAVER.

becomes unimportant. There can be no dissolution of the Communist bloc as long as Stalin is alive, and it is a question if it will be possible afterwards, and there has never been a break-up of an aggressive imperialism and ideology while its strength is ascending. Soviet Communism is to-day such a case. It rules over 700 million men, that is to say, over a third of the world's population. Never has an empire in history covered such a surface nor ruled over so many people. Under these circumstances, it is more likely that Soviet Communism will press on, instead of breaking up.

B.L.

... from our stock ...

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Who IS Free?

AN international inquiry by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural organisations has shown that the writers, artists and composers of only two countries—Iraq and the Dominican Republic—regard themselves as free to create what they like.

Elsewhere, there are censorship fetters, imposed by politics, religion or both, according to a poll of 400 intellectuals, including John Dos Passos, André Gide and other internationally known writers and artists.

This, to our mind, is an important admission. It is to be hoped that one day a similar inquiry will be made among the ordinary citizens—or is it really necessary? Are there not enough examples before our eyes every day to convince us, without the aid of a sub-committee of UNESCO, that we are not free? A few examples selected from the Press during the month of February shown only too clearly that even the little freedom that exists is being gradually whittled away.

In Germany

The political history of every German in the Soviet Zone is being investigated by the East German police, it was disclosed to-day.

The gigantic task of building a file on 20,000,000 people is being started by the issuing of a new questionnaire.

Herbert Warnke, State Secretary of the Interior Ministry, announced the move in an interview in the *National Zeitung*, Soviet Zone newspaper, for former members of the Nazi party.

The purpose of the interview was to assure the former Nazis that they are welcome in the "National Front" if they follow the Communist leadership.

Mr. Warnke said "everyone must answer the new personnel sheet truthfully."

"We must know," he said, "from when to when a person was a member of political parties and organisations. It is immaterial whether it is the SPD (Socialists), KPD (Communists) CDU

Christian Democrats), LDP (Liberal Democrats) or the NSDAP (Nazis)."

In Argentina

The Peron Government has expropriated all newsprint now held and to be received by newspapers and importers. Informed circles estimated a total of 10,000 tons of newsprint have been thus expropriated, including about 3,000 tons each from the large independent dailies *La Prensa* and *La Nacion*.

This move is the more significant in view of the repressive measures taken by the Peron government, some time ago, against these independent dailies.

In America

Dr. Ralph Bunche, former U.N. mediator for Palestine, in an article in the American magazine, writes that: "If I visit Washington I cannot buy a meal, order a drink, see a movie or, with a very few exceptions, rent a hotel room, except in the Negro section of the town."

He said that the American Negro has made gains, but is still at a heavy economic disadvantage as regards work opportunities and standard of living. "American anti-racial and anti-religious practices make a mockery of both the Constitution and the Charter of United Nations."

Some Americans are so scared by the Communist bogey that, according to the

Manchester Guardian's brilliant correspondent, Alistair Cooke, they are now less alarmed at the "wide and increasing secret authority of the Federal Bureau of Investigation." Some weeks ago when it was revealed that the F.B.I. had been tapping the telephones of Judith Coplon and of the Russian Gubitcher long before they were arrested, there was a "reasonable outcry against the whole business of wire-tapping and many people quoted Mr. Justice Holmes's characterisation of it as 'a dirty business'."

But now the Fuchs case in England has created such a scare that the announcement by Edgar Hoover, chief of the F.B.I., that his organisation was at present "tapping only 170 telephones" has "alarmed more people than it comforted." And Alistair concludes that "there seems every chance that Mr. Hoover will get from Congress permission to increase his staff of secret agents by the three hundred he demanded."

In the Gold Coast

The Magistrate's court in Accra, last month sentenced Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, head of the Gold Coast Nationalist Convention People's Party, to a year in gaol for "inciting others to take part in an illegal strike."

Eight other leaders of the "positive action" strike, called on January 8th, to secure Dominion status for the Gold Coast, were also sentenced to a year in prison.

FRANCO REPRESENTATIVE SHOT

A UNITED Press report from Mexico City (21/2/50) states that Jose Gallostra, fifty-eight, "semi-retired" Spanish Minister to Bolivia, was shot to death in a crowded down-town street yesterday by a former Spanish Loyalist soldier described by the police as an anarchist.

[The Spanish Embassy in Washington said Mr. Gallostra had been sent to Mexico as an "observer" and was still a member of the Spanish diplomatic service at the time of his death.]

Police immediately arrested Gabriel Salvador Fleitas Rouco, thirty-eight, a Cuban of Spanish descent, who according

to the police, confessed firing two bullets into Mr. Gallostra's head from a distance of less than three feet.

Fleitas Rouco told police Mr. Gallostra had "wounded my dignity" last week when they met for the first time.

Fleitas, who fought with the Loyalists during the Spanish civil war, told police: "He told me we had sold out Spain . . . I did not see him again until this morning. He said something that molested me and I tried to object but he tried to pull a gun and I beat him to it."

Police said, however, that Mr. Gallostra was unarmed.

NEWS FROM JAPAN

IN spite of many difficulties the Japanese anarchists continue to publish their weekly paper, *Heimin Simbun*. The I.W.M.A. Press Service has translated extracts from recent issues from which the following items have been taken:

"Thousands of children from poor families have been sold to the textile factories in Aichi. Some agents have been arrested for their suspicious dealings. Children are being obliged to work a ten-hour day. Juvenile crime is high and increasing daily."

"The silk factories are passing through a serious crisis, but in some establishments workers have formed factory councils to

take over production themselves."

"The shipping monopoly is in the hands of the firm of Seto Sundo in Hiroshima. But the island inhabitants are trying to form co-operative ship-building societies to compete with the monopolists."

"In Kasama, Asakura, there is a colony founded by anarchists, where free communism is practised. The inhabitants are engaged in agriculture and forestry."

Heimin Simbun also announces the death, through malnutrition of the well-known anarchist, Elizo Koike. He was a leading Esperantist and the translator of Kropotkin's works in Japanese.

THE GENEROSITY OF GOVERNMENTS

THE "generosity" of governments is never disinterested. To those people who look on Marshall Aid as a genuine helping hand to the war-scarred nations of Europe, this remark will appear cynical. But it is a generalisation which can easily be proved. And politicians, unlike their "fans" do not even bother to hide the real reasons for their "generosity". For instance, only last month, Mr. George McGhee, Assistant Secretary of State, urging Congress to approve a grant of \$24,450,000 to Middle East countries as a contribution to the United Nations work relief programme, designed to solve the Palestine Arab refugee problem, pointed out that "while the problem is unresolved, the refugees themselves will continue to

serve as a natural focal point for exploitation by Communist and disruptive elements, which neither we nor the Near Eastern government can afford to ignore."

"In this critical area we can ill afford to stand by in the face of any major security threat."

"The presence of 750,000 idle and destitute people, whose discontent increases with the passage of time, is the greatest threat to the security of the area which now exists."

Not one word in the report urging approval of the grant on the grounds that the Arab refugees were dying-off like flies.

Who, may we ask are the cynics? LIBERTARIAN.

WITHOUT COMMENT

Converting Africans . . .

AFTER an investigation lasting seventeen days, a Commission of the United Nations Trusteeship Council to the British Cameroons has decided that polygamy is a "type of social security" and will have to continue "UNTIL WESTERN CIVILISATION, THROUGH EDUCATION, CONVINCES THE AFRICANS THAT OTHER WAYS ARE BETTER AND PREFERABLE."

The report adds: "Plural marriage is partly a means of sustenance to the women involved; hence the practice that a chief inherits the wives of his deceased predecessors."

The report comes four days after the announcement from Lake Success that the one hundred or so wives of a Cameroons chieftain had declared that they were per-

fectly happy and would prefer no interference. The Commission said it did not appear to be advisable to deal with the problem by direct intervention or the prohibition of polygamy "as long as the mass of the people remained attached to the practice and considered it to be an important, and even necessary, element in the social order."

. . . to Western Civilisation

DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN speaking at the Princeton last month, gave to the world a sombre warning that the decision to achieve security through an armaments race was "a disastrous illusion." The arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union, he said, was supposed to be "a preventative measure" but it has now become an "hysterical" process, by which "on both sides the means to mass destruction are perfected with feverish haste—behind the respective walls of

secrecy." This decision had already led to the "concentration of tremendous financial power in the hands of the military, militarisation of youth, close supervision of the loyalty of the citizens, in particular of the civil servants, by a police force growing more conspicuous every day. Intimidation of people of independent political thinking. Indoctrination of public by radio, press, and school. Growing restriction of the range of public information under the pressure of military secrecy . . ."

"The H-bomb appears on the public horizon as a probably attainable goal . . . if successful, radio-active poisoning of the atmosphere and hence annihilation of any life on earth has been brought within the range of technical possibility. The ghost-like character of this development lies in its apparently compulsive trend. Every step appears as the unavoidable consequence of the preceding one. In the end there beckons more and more clearly general annihilation."

THE MEANING OF POLITICS

ONE begins to wonder more and more what can be the meaning of politics in an age of contactlessness. Louis Quatorze said, "L'etat c'est moi." Harry Truman has said, "I am the Helium Bomb." A Princeton Professor has shot himself at a game of Russian Roulette. This is the sum total of my impression of what has happened in the past 3 months in that great outer world of which America is such a glittering pretzel. For I no longer bother to read the bourgeois press. And I only read the anarchist press for the vain-glory, gossip and that old occasional feeling near the heart (please be kind).

Here in America it is so easy to be optimistic. Just keep your head right under the ink pump. And we have all kinds of optimism. From the flypaper kind ("We're going to build a better flypaper") of the corner candy store to the "We may be drowning, boys, but we're certainly not drowning—and besides we've drowned before" of the eternal (and I bow before their glory, and I blush for my arrogance) the eternal and very boring I.W.W.

Due to certain personal reasons, I seem to see it all more clearly now. Looking back and through and now a little deeper and more personally involved, I see a certain dissolving in the physical (and moral?) fabric of even what were once revolutionary circles (was it really moral?) To what extent they had any really great basis is another thing. And precisely those groups that seemed to have had the least personal valid (I mean human) reasons for perpetuating their traditions [C.P., S.W.P. (Cannon's Trotskyites)] seem to be the least affected (at least by these things).

As to the W.P. (Schachtmanite Trotskyites), left wing Y.P.S.L., and various individuals (I am really speaking about a specific group of people in N.Y.C.) "political" activity seems to have collapsed. The W.P. in the past few years (now the Independent Socialist League—one step forward!) has acted like a training school for creating (at the risk of being vulgar) sensitive individuals. It has a high standard, takes in young intellectuals (many from the N.Y.C. colleges and the radical Zionist movement Hashomer Hatzair) educates them fast in the meaning of bourgeois degeneracy, leaves them with the unsolved problems of bureaucracy and the degenerate personality of our time and finally convinces them they'd be happier, freer and more constructive outside the party. Then a new term of college kids comes in and repeats the process.

In any vaguely pulsing intellectual enterprise in this city you can be sure to find your ex-Trotskyites. They outnumber the living Trotskyites about 50 to 1.

We Anarchists bumble along in our own little groups, not being fooled (in the main), nor trying to fool any one. We have our little talks every Saturday, and enjoy each others company as best we can, and that's that.

There is a small and lively interest among some left wing radicals, mostly former members of left wing groups and people around *Resistance* in the works and ideas of Wilhelm Reich.

There has been a turn inward towards art, sex, love, existentialism, philosophy and religion.

Resistance to war seems bogged down in many things; perhaps most important and least recognised is this: technic has changed the ugly face of war into a smooth and terrible machine or perhaps just a smooth machine beyond terror. The draft is suspended, men were actually discharged from the army before their terms were up. After all, if Harry Truman is

the Helium Bomb, what the hell do we need an army for?

The sickening thought comes that the next war will be on, over and done for even before we've gotten our sugar ration.

Let these new technics fill us with longing, I present the reader with a copy of Orwell's 1984, which (although I have only had it described to me) makes it all seem as close and friendly as that old police station on the corner moved right into your living room, and the lovely sergeant sitting right on your lap, blowing green smoke in your face.

Let us at least face this ugliness, this order of truth and then try (and first as individuals and not as shadows of ideologies) to build from there.

JACK GALLEG0.

La Protesta

(ARGENTINE)

ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Ordered to Close

OUR correspondent in Buenos Aires send us the following news item from a Buenos Aires paper:

"In the course of their proceedings yesterday, Deputies Visca and Decker of the Congressional Investigatory Commission, ordered the closure of the anarchist paper *La Protesta* of this city for not publishing the words "Año del Libertador General San Martin" on its date line."

Our correspondent comments: "To elucidate this, I should explain that the phrase in question relates to the Argentine historical 'hero' to whom the year 1950 has been 'dedicated'. This is a kind of Hitler stunt, with gigantic pictures of the gentleman in public squares, pictures and slogans in the shop windows, etc. By order of Congress, every newspaper in the country must, each day of the year, print the above phrase on its date line on each page! An interesting point, by the way: the Commission was originally instituted to investigate charges of police intimidation and Gestapo methods."

"However, it was placed in the hands of an old stooge of Peron's, Visca, an ex-butcher, now Congressman and political carpet bagger, who has been far too busy closing down the press to bother about the original charges. His method of press censorship is the classic one of ordering Government control of newsprint distribution and then simply failing to deliver or restricting paper supplies to hostile or 'unreliable' publications. The anarchist paper is the latest victim."

However, we are not dismayed. *La Protesta* has a fine and long record, and we are sure it will take more than Peron and his stooges to suppress it for long!

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★

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THROUGH THE PRESS

EXTINCTION

The hydrogen bomb could be made to kill everyone in the world, four American scientists warned to-day.

Chemicals placed around the bomb could be converted into dusts fatal for days or 5,000 years.

Daily Express, 27/2/50.

ETERNAL TRIANGLE

Marriages are breaking up to-day because the parties have left God out of it. Do not nag one another and, above all, remember that marriage is not all a bed of roses.

SOLIDARITY

Daily Express, 27/2/50.

Barbers on strike in Belfast plan to open emergency premises "so that workers won't have to go without shaves and hair-cuts."

Daily Herald, 27/2/50.

YOU LAZY ANARCHIST RASCAL!

Voting SHOULD be made compulsory. Beats us why it never has been so made. The fate of a country might well depend upon the vote at an election. Lazy rascals should be made to take an interest in the country.

Daily Mirror, 23/2/50.

BOGEYMAN

Mr. P. Buchan-Hepburn, Tory, at Penge, to a persistent heckler mentioning the name of Churchill: If Mr. Churchill were to walk into this room, a mouse wouldn't speak—not even you.

Daily Express, 22/2/50.

NOT WANTED

Shakespeare, Dickens, and indeed, all the British classics, except Jane Austen, are discarded in the list of 40 books which Princeton University described to-day as "worthwhile reading for the busy man".

Daily Express, 20/2/50.

UP IN SMOKE

The cyclotron used to make the atom bomb was burned out at the Palmer Physical Laboratory to-day. It cost \$18,000,000 dollars (£6,428,000).

Daily Express, 23/2/50.

FASHION NOTE

"The fact that the King has had a tartan dinner jacket made will make a lot of difference to their export—especially to America."

"Of course, the King has worn the jacket only at informal private parties. In public he wears formal dress."

"Now many young men are following his example and ordering their own tartan dinner jackets."

Daily Mirror, 23/2/50.

REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISTS RE-ORGANISE IN ITALY

Rebirth of the U.S.I.

A FEW weeks ago, a congress of revolutionary syndicalists was held in the small coastal town of Piombino, in Central Italy. The purpose of the congress was to lay the foundations for a re-formed *Unione Sindacale Italiana* (U.S.I.)

In 1902, the Italian Socialist Party founded the *Confederazione del Lavoro* (Confederation of Labour) which had as its object the affiliation of all the trade union organisations. But it was also an attempt to make the workers' organisations an instrument for the Socialist Party. But it did not succeed wholly in either, for a large part of the membership was strongly influenced by the ideas of the French syndicalists. A number of large, successful strikes gave added prestige to the advocates of direct action inside the movement, and as a result a conference called in 1912, by a number of organisations which were not in agreement with the *Confederazione*, resulted in the creation of the *Unione Sindacale Italiana*. In 1914, it took up an anti-militarist position and when Italy entered the war all its most active members were arrested and imprisoned. But it once more sprang into activity at the end of hostilities with a membership of 600,000. The rise of Fascism resulted in its eventual physical suppression.

After the "liberation" of Italy, the question of rebuilding the U.S.I. was discussed at considerable length by the Italian anarchists but the general view was against. We do not propose to discuss here the arguments put forward at

the time, but the general view seemed to be that anarchists should carry on their activity within the existing Trade Union movement, and that the activities of the revolutionary syndicalists should be co-ordinated by a *Comitato di Difesa Sindacalista* (Syndicalist Defence Committee). In June, 1948, a congress of this Defence Committee was held in Leghorn and the following was one of the resolutions adopted: "The Syndicalist Defence Committee considering the possibility of an eventual scission in the C.G.I.L. (Italian General Confederation of Labour), deploring the attitude of all the political parties which are provoking the breaking-up of working-class unity, thereby demonstrating their inability to defend the interests of the working-class, and reserves the right to examine at an opportune moment its own position in the event of such a scission taking place."

The scission took place in the summer of 1948, with the break-away of the Christian Democrats. A third of the C.G.I.L.'s funds was assigned to the new organisation, the remaining two-thirds being held by the Togliatti-de Vittorio and Nenni-Desanti factions. Many anarchist-syndicalists felt that as a scission had taken place, consideration of

"working-class unity" were no longer valid objections to the reforming of the U.S.I. And the recent congress at Piombino, which was attended by delegates from eleven groups and which had the support of a further twenty, was the result of considerable activity within the anarchist movement during the past eighteen months by the supporters of a revolutionary syndicalist movement.

So far as the congress was concerned its main purpose was to outline the objectives of the new organisation and to nominate a Committee of co-ordination, with a secretariat in Bologna, whose immediate task will be to draft a constitution. At a later date a National Congress will be called.

As to what chances of success the new U.S.I. will have, it is difficult for us to say, not being on the spot. Undoubtedly, opinion within the Italian anarchist movement itself is divided. And the fact that such men as Armando Borghi, who was the secretary of the U.S.I. after the first

world war, have opposed the idea, has obviously considerably influenced the movement. At the same time there is considerable discontent among the Italian workers at the way the political parties are using the Trade Union movement for their own ends. Just recently, for instance, a move was made to build up an anti-Communist bloc in the Labour movement by the fusion of the Socialist Labour Federation (with an estimated membership of 500,000) and the predominantly Catholic Italian Free Confederation of Labour (strength estimated at from 1 million to 1,400,000 members). They hope by the fusion to attract the support of 10,000,000 unorganised Italian workers who have so far resisted membership drives of the Communist-controlled C.G.I.L. (Italian General Confederation of Labour).

The revolutionary syndicalists need have no fear that the U.S.I. could now be accused of destroying a "working-class unity" which does not exist. But whether they will have the strength and resources to compete with the well-oiled political machines and the political vultures who at present have a stranglehold on the Italian industrial workers, is another matter.

R.

ABC OF AUTHORITY

(Continued)

It is for Illegal Authority. People say that if there were no legal system, the world would be in a chaotic mess. Anarchists believe that the legal system, and the authorities whose ends it serves are responsible for the chaotic mess that the world is in. The authoritarians say that without law, the strong would tyrannise the weak but, in fact, the social instincts of strong people would tend to dissuade them from bullying and violence, making them the gentlest of people, except when they are compelled to use their strength for Authoritarian ends. "Prisons," said Kropotkin, "are the universities of crime," and the lawyers and police authorities are its professors.

D.R.

From the International Congress—2

We continue below, publication of translations of the resolutions passed at the recent International Anarchist Congress.

Declaration on means and methods of developing throughout the world our federalist and autonomist principles.

It is fundamental for us anarchists to carry our struggle for freedom and justice into all those lands where we can seize any possibility of action from the authoritarian powers, and this we can do by spreading all around us our willingness to struggle, and our message of fraternity which will open the road to social revolution.

The means which we employ to develop our federalist principles are many and various but it always is the direct social struggle which does most to awaken active consciences to the fight for freedom. Convinced that it is not possible to realise the free society of tomorrow within the corpse of the old society, by reformist means, we seek to march with the people towards the social revolution and for this reason we make a frontal attack on the acute problems resulting from exploitation and domination, working among the people, and with them, in order to con-

centrate and intensify their urges towards liberation.

We invite them to join us in combatting all forms of oppression and we are with them in the struggle. This is the essential. The rest—free methods in education, co-operatives and communities, etc., are complementary activities, which, with the participation of the anarchists, can reinforce our efforts, but they are not, and they cannot be the fundamental essential of our activity, given the fact that the possibilities of these means of propaganda are strictly limited and controlled by the vigilance of the authorities.

★

Resolution on the question: How can we spread our ideals in countries lacking an organised anarchist movement, particularly colonial countries?

THE Congress has studied the problem of imperialism, that is to say, the collective servitude of certain human groups, imposed by other groups which are considered to be more highly developed. This servitude—which is exercised not only economically (exploitation), and politically

("trusteeship" and paternalism), but also in the sphere of culture (suppression of the indigenous civilisations)—takes many forms to-day. Besides the classical imperialism of France and Britain, Belgium and Holland, etc., there are developing the giant new imperialisms of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. At this moment, these imperialisms are the most dangerous of all since they pretend to fight for the welfare of the "protected" peoples (Point 4 of the Truman declaration).

In fact they play a part in the implacable struggle between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., who seek to iron out the whole world after their own patterns. In this sense it can be said all the countries in the path of these two giants are colonial countries, or are in the process of colonisation. Nonetheless, we must pay particular attention to the "classical" colonial countries which, from their particular social structures, their original culture hostile to foreign ideologies, and their still intact revolutionary potential, can effectively oppose the monstrous attempts to make the whole world uniform.

In their propaganda the anarchists must denounce all forms of imperialism, not forgetting the "home-grown" agents of foreign imperialisms, and those indigenous elements who would be amenable

to (or who aspire to) succeeding the foreigners in exploiting the populations to which they belong. These new potential governing classes are largely composed of technicians who are sent to study outside their own countries. It is necessary for us to try to reach them with our propaganda, while they are still students in those countries where our movement already exists. This direct propaganda can have an equal effect amongst those colonials temporarily in Europe and America (colonial regiments, sailors and port workers, in particular) whose lot is especially miserable.

The organised movements could also study the possibility of sending to those countries where our ideals are not yet known, comrades, or groups of comrades, who understand the customs and the cultures of the peoples among whom they propose to go and live and who could spread our ideas of autonomous and anti-authoritarian thought and action.

(To be continued)

WIN, LOSE, OR DOUBLECROSS—continued from page 1

Insincerity, Posturings & Intrigues

or about that nebulous abstraction, the "good of the country".

If voting is important at all it must be because the individuals voting take a responsible view of their choice. But in recent years it has more and more been suggested that it is irresponsible, unpatriotic not to vote. This propaganda for the ballot as such is no doubt in part responsible for the heavy poll. But it does not take much reflection to see that such massive voting can only spring from a somewhat casual exercise of the right to vote, for a dispassionate observer might think that to vote when one has no real views or only lukewarm ones was very irresponsible indeed. But *Freedom* has often enough pointed out that the institution of government by delegated authority encourages irresponsibility.

ALL PARTIES GAINED VOTES

In this respect the figures are interesting. All three finally represented parties increased their total vote compared with 1945: Labour gained one and a quarter million votes, the Tories two and a half million more, the Liberals nearly half a million. But in general, the picture was the same as before and just what

one would expect; the Labour vote came mainly from the mining and industrial districts, while the residential, commercial, and agricultural areas voted Conservative. It is reasonable to assume furthermore that the bulk of the votes were cast from adherence to one or the other party, so that the deciding votes came from those who were too apathetic, too uninterested in politics, too young even, in 1945. The conclusion inevitably follows that the democratic electoral procedure ensures not the rule of the majority, for the deciding vote comes from the small fraction which increased the percentage poll, and which is hardly politically conscious at all.

Then there is the anomaly of relation of seats to total votes cast. The Conservatives claim that the Liberal party is defunct, and certainly their defeat (and the losses which Lloyd's sustained for them) could hardly have been more crushing. Yet the Liberal vote was, numerically, more than a fifth of the Labour Poll, while their representation in seats is less than one-thirtieth of the number of Labour members. This is not to raise the old scarecrow of proportional representation, but merely to point to one among the

many anomalies of election times, of which the total upshot is surely to discredit the whole sham apparatus.

NO RECOGNISED ALTERNATIVE

To sum up, therefore, one may say that the election was not taken as seriously as it should be if the population were as seriously concerned about how their affairs are administered as they should be. If people were seriously concerned about such matters they would throw out the whole absurd business. That they do not take it seriously on the one hand, and on the other fail to take steps to throw it out altogether, is due to the fact that there is no generally accepted alternative. Dictatorial reaction offers an alternative to the ballot box which is still fundamentally unacceptable to the British people. But anarchism provides a more practical and fruitful alternative to either, and the problem for men and women of vision is to make it acceptable to their fellows. When it is so the whole sorry electioneering business with all its thinness, insincerity, posturings and intrigues, will be relegated to the limbo of half-remembered, almost incredible superstitions of a dark age.

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Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

INDOOR Lecture-Discussions every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. at the

Trade Union Club, Great Newport St., W.C.2 (near Leicester Square Station).

March 5th - A Debate

"THAT WORKERS' CONTROL WILL BE ESTABLISHED BY INDUSTRIAL ACTION ALONE."

Proposer: Philip Sansom (London Anarchist Group).

Opposer: Don Bannister (London League for Workers' Control).

March 12th - A Debate

"ABOLISHING WAR MEANS ABOLISHING GOVERNMENT"

Proposer: Tony Gibson (London Anarchist Group).

Opposer: Sybil Morrison (Peace Pledge Union).

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

INDOOR MEETINGS every Sunday at 7 p.m. at the

CENTRAL HALLS, 25 BATH STREET, GLASGOW.

Frank Leech, John Geffney, Eddie Shaw.

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP

OPEN DISCUSSION MEETINGS held fortnightly

PLEASE NOTE: NEXT MEETING

Sunday, March 12th, at 3.0 p.m.

Meetings fortnightly thereafter.

Enquiries: Ring Royal 4669

COLNE & NELSON DISTRICT

Discussion Group to be held fortnightly.

Sunday, March 12th, at 7.30 p.m.

at Twisters and Drawers Club, Cambridge Street, Colne (Lancs.)

HAMPSTEAD

Discussion Meetings are held every Tuesday at 8 p.m. prompt.

at 5, Villas-on-the-Heath, Vale of Health, Hampstead, N.W.3

Tuesday, March 7th: "THE SOCIAL BEARINGS OF REICH'S WORK"

Discussion led by John Hewetson

ANARCHIST SUMMER SCHOOL 1950

It has been suggested that the Summer School be held in London this year. Will Groups and individuals send "Freedom" their views or alternative suggestions? Remember that the School has to be planned a considerable time in advance.