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Freedom

AN ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

Vol. 11, No. 13

June 24th, 1950

Threepence

THE SCHUMAN PLAN: War Preparation! WHY BE ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THAT?

IT is difficult for ordinary people to grasp in any concrete way the significance of the Schuman proposals to pool the iron and coal resources of Germany and France for their mutual advantage. The conduct of heavy industry affects the workers of the world in numerous ways, and yet remains a remote influence without immediate tangibility except for those who work in it. At the same time it is obvious that the Schuman plan is a political event of great significance. The general pros and cons, and the particular difficulties involved have received sufficient discussion in the daily press, so that it is unnecessary to go into them here except where they impinge on the problem which presents itself to anarchists. In this article, therefore, we shall try to consider the matter from the standpoint of anarchism—that is to say, both from a broader and in another way from a narrower point of view.

The Question of War

First of all, it is necessary to consider why such a plan for close international action (as the French claim, for supranational action) should have been put forward at all? It seems clear that it is the necessity for the western nations to co-ordinate their heavy industry in the face of the military threat presented by Russia. Hence it is not unreasonable to regard the Schuman plan as being part of war preparation. Of course, it has been said on the other side, and not without justice, that the plan has as one of its objectives the removal of a standing cause for rivalry between France and Germany. Nevertheless, it seems unrealistic to regard the coming war as being between France and Germany once again, as both these nations have fallen to the status of second class powers. Regarded as war preparation, therefore, it is difficult for anti-militarists to become over-enthusiastic about it.

At the same time, international rivalry being already tense, and capitalist economies being still unable to find a substitute for war preparation as a means of keeping industry going, it is quite obvious that some such attempt to co-ordinate war potential in the western nations is inevitable. In this paper we have consistently urged that the hopelessness of the circle of wars and war preparations, with

sale instead of for need, responsibility in the hands of the few instead of resting on every individual, etc.) within which this civilised war dance revolves.

Political Questions

To return to the Schuman proposals. Great interest has centred on the unwillingness of the British Government to enter into commitments as the plan at present stands. The reason given is that the government cannot agree to surrender control of British heavy industry to a supranational authority, because British commitments to the Empire and to America forbid it, and that it would jeopardise planned economy. These practical objections are backed by theoretical considerations which are of greater interest to anarchists.

The effective control of heavy in-

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ANARCHISTS ON TRIAL IN GENOA

LAST November, three anarchists in their twenties, comrades Busico, Deluchi and Mancuso, forced an entry into the Spanish Consulate in Genoa, locked-up the staff in a room of the Consulate and then made a search of the building for the Consul himself. Their objective, in the words of Busico, was to "make an *attentat* on the life of the Consul with a view to shock public opinion into taking up a definite anti-Franco position". But the Consul was away and the three young men burned a few papers, destroyed a portrait of Franco, and caused small damage in the offices with a German hand grenade. They then took down the Spanish flag and in its place hoisted the flag of the Anarchist Federation, "because we are no the kind of people who do something and then hide so that no one shall know whence the blow came". One was caught, the other was at large for two days, the third escaped to France, but later gave himself up in order to share the fate of his comrades.

After seven months in prison awaiting trial, the case finally came before the Tribunal in Genoa on June 1st. Busico recounted how the idea came to him. "In Spain," he told the Court, "I lived among the Resistance and there I came to know something of the infamy of Franco, of the many evils and the misery afflicting the Spanish people for which he is responsible. Go to see for yourselves the Barrio Chino of Barcelona! In the Spanish prisons the inmates and those held only on suspicion, are tortured in the most terrible way; and many are the prisoners who are 'taken for a ride'. This, and much worse, is Catholic and Franco Spain! I thought of acting from outside for the destruction of that dictatorship. Then, events decided for me. I learned of Alpuente, of Lopez and other comrades summarily executed and finally of the assassination of F. Martinez, my dearest friend and brother. I thought something different from the usual demonstrations with posters and similar ineffectual means should be used". And he then went on to describe his meeting with the other two comrades and what followed up to the time of his arrest.

★

THAT excellent independent weekly literary-political magazine *Il Mondo* (17/5/50), publishes a two-column article on the case which is both objective and sympathetic towards the idealism of the accused. Busico's statement, writes Aldo Garosci in *Il Mondo*, was presented

with simplicity and clarity. "But the case of Busico is not that of a young exalté; it is the story of an exceptional person 'of the days of resistance', when people risked their lives with a human feeling of solidarity, because they thought or believed it possible to contribute something towards liberty in the world... Busico is one of those who, when liberation had come, were not satisfied with any kind of solution which would give them the means to earn a livelihood. Moved by his ideal of solidarity, feeling perhaps more strongly and clearly the anti-tyrannical lesson of anarchism towards a country which was 'entirely tyrannical', Busico went to Spain during 1947-1948 to help his comrades in their struggle against Franco." The writer goes on to explain what such a struggle involves: the difference between actually living these experiences and reading about them second-hand, of "sharing with them [the Spanish resistance] the dangers and that bread of daily solidarity which has a taste unknown to those who, during these past years, have lived for themselves only". "All these things," continues *Il Mondo*, "he explained and we understood them. But did the Court really understand them, in their human significance as well as in their social and moral meaning?" And the writer answers with a definite "No". The Court and the accused "spoke in two different languages", it was inevitable that the proceedings could not proceed smoothly. In the first place, the Court refused to hear the testimony of a number of prominent Italians such as the well-known author of *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, Carlo Levi, and then strenuously resisted the efforts of the defence to use the trial to expose to public opinion the barbarity of Franco's regime. So that when the second comrade, Deluchi, spoke and said that he was "addressing the public," the Court firmly pointed out that "you address the Court, not the public." You

A. E. U. Approve Military Black-Legging —If Strike is Unofficial!

WHENEVER we think the servility of the Trades Unions has reached its lowest level, something else comes along to provide a new low.

At a conference of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, a resolution was put forward condemning generally the use of troops by the Government as strike-breakers. The Executive Council, however, through the President Jack Tanner, could not agree to the resolution unless the word "official" was inserted before "strikes".

In other words, the leaders of the A.E.U. condemn the use of troops in the unlikely event of there being an official strike in which the Government would find it necessary to intervene, but approve of the military black-legging to break an unofficial strike. Could there

be a finer example of the way in which union leaders are out to safeguard their jobs at the expense of the workers they are supposed to represent?

SWEET MIXTURE

IN this country, women's organisations do not have the power over public opinion they are reputed to have in America. Nevertheless, such bodies as the Housewives' League and the National Federation of Women's Institutes (the latter with a membership of women from the rural areas) represent quite a large number of potential voters and as such can command the ears of politicians.

Delegates representing 438,000 members of Women's Institutes recently met at their annual meeting in London, and discussed housing, cost of living, open-cast mining and—sugar. It seems the women feel the scanty ration of sugar a request to Food Minister Maurice Webb to "allocate a greater proportion of sugar to housewives to enable them to do more home cooking and preserving". And nobody who has even been to a Women's Institute bazaar or exhibition and tasted the jams, preserved fruits and home baking on show there would wish to do anything to prevent their continued and increased production.

Fear of a Glut!

In this respect it seems that atomic scientists could, if they can only forget those bombs for a little while, go quite a long way towards solving the sugar shortage. At the same women's conference Sir James Scott Watson, Director General of the National Agricultural Advisory Service, revealed that atomic scientists could produce sugar from water—and as much as even the Women's Institutes could need.

Meanwhile, Mr. Maurice Webb, considering only traditional means of sugar production, was predicting such an improvement in the situation that within two years we may have to be careful of a world glut! Then, we suppose, sugar will have to be destroyed in order to prevent a "deterioration of the market".

To and Fro

One of the reasons that sugar is short is that it, like nearly everything else, is in demand for the export drive. And, of all places, sugar products are being exported to—Jamaica, chief sugar-producing country of the Empire. A letter in the *London Evening Standard* (9/5/50) from the secretary of the Jamaica Manufacturers' Association, Mr. E. A. Hall, puts the matter clearly enough:

"Here in Jamaica we are selling large quantities of sweets and marmalades made in England. They are unrationed in Jamaica and rationed in England. Our own factories—which get only a very small quota of glucose and can make candies only of lower quality than the English—have to close down because of the mass importations.

"If we were a dollar country, it would be understandable; but you are only getting sterling for your sweets, while you have to buy a large part of the sugar with dollars. To make confusion complete, many English people working in Jamaica are sending home sweets made in England to their relatives because those relatives cannot buy them in England.

"So sugar is bought in Jamaica (or in Cuba for dollars), is sent to England, made into confectionery, sent to Jamaica, and then sent back to England. Could there be a more ludicrous situation?"

No, Mr. Hall, that situation is ludicrous even under the general lunacy of capitalism!

TAXI STRIKE CONTINUES

LONDON'S first official strike for a long time looks like being a long drawn-out affair. 3,500 taxi-drivers are striking for an increase in their commission; only 50 are driving cabs for owners at the old rate of commission. They are mostly non-union members and are not issued with the Union's "No Blackleg" label which is displayed by owner-drivers who are sympathetic to the strike, and on cabs belonging to those firms—the smaller ones—who have already agreed to the new rate.

Both sides in the dispute, the big employers (owning from 100 to 400 cabs) and the strikers, are determined not to give in. But the strikers are getting strike pay from the union and some are "doubling-up" with owner-drivers or working extra shifts for the small firms, so that it looks as though the workers will be able to hold out almost indefinitely. Meanwhile, the public has hardly noticed the strike, since there seem to be plenty of cabs about and it is only a small proportion of the population who use them anyway.

MANY readers will remember that most stirring and exciting film, *New Earth*, made by Joris Ijens in 1931, which told the story of the building of the dyke, twenty miles long, which connects North Holland with Friesland, enclosing the Zuyder Zee from the North Sea. This, though in itself only a beginning, marked the culmination of centuries of continual struggle against the sea, starting in the thirteenth century. Dykes were built and sea water was replaced by surface water and rain, which was drained off by a network of ditches and channels. It was still necessary to dispose of this water at a higher level than the land itself, and this was done, first by wooden buckets and then by a hand mill working a series of buckets on a wheel, lading the water over the dykes. The introduction of windmills in the fifteenth century and their later technical improvements made possible widespread reclamation of land, the scale of which was again increased by the modern development of steam and electrically-operated pumping stations.

Since 1500, Holland's arable land has been increased by about 1,600 square miles in this way.

The Zuyder Zee project was proposed in the 19th century by a hydraulic engineer, Dr. Lely, but it was not until the experience of disastrous floods in 1916, and the shortage of food caused by the blockade in the first World War, that the Dutch government decided to carry out his project. The enclosing dam, called the Afsluitdijk, was begun from both ends in 1927, and in 1932, after great difficulties the two dykeheads were joined and the Zuyder Zee is a sea no longer. (It is now called the IJsselmeer.) Surface water and rain gradually replaced the salt water which poured over the sluices. To-day, characteristically, for the Dutch farm intensively everywhere, cattle graze beside the road on top of the 300 feet wide dyke.

The first of the four polders of the IJsselmeer, the 77 square miles Wieringermeer Polder was dry by 1930. (It lies at the west end of the dyke where the former island of Wieringen is incorporated.) This was completely cultivated by the outbreak of war, with 6,000 inhabitants and 512 farms; but two holes were blown in the dyke by the retreating Nazi armies in 1945. As the water which covered the farms was fresh, it did not damage the land, but all the buildings were ruined. The water was again pumped out by December, 1945. (Other areas of Holland were flooded during the war, and Amsterdam was almost entirely surrounded by water at one time. British and American bombers blew four gaps in the dykes which protected the island of Walcheren.)

The North East Polder, of 186 square miles was cut off from the IJsselmeer in 1940, and was emptied of water by the end of 1942, but the work of cultivation and building of villages and farms could not be started until after the war.

"Main ship canals were dredged before the polder was dry. Into these run ditches, 5 feet in depth which are planned to a rectangular network, forming fields of 800 by 300 metres. Still smaller ditches two feet deep were dug across the fields. After the water has drained off and the land has settled, these small ditches are replaced by agricultural drains."

The task of getting humus into the soil was undertaken by the North East Polder Administration, working the land in farms of 1,250 acres with hundreds of tractors, seed drills and combine harvesters. When the land is ready it is leased in small farms of between 30 and 120 acres, most being 60 or 90 acres. The drainage ditches form fields of identical size and all holdings are in multiples of 12 hectares (30 acres). The provisional plan provides for 1,690 farms and 340 vegetable and fruit gardens, the remainder of the land being used for plantations, where the soil is sandy or peaty; roads and canals; ten villages; and one town, Emmeloord, which will have from 8,000 to 10,000 inhabitants.

"The construction of a town and villages where there are no existing buildings at all has necessitated a very carefully balanced building programme of farms, shops, public buildings and homes in the villages so that the needs of the inhabitants can be supplied and shop-keepers earn a living as the villages grow."

The farms are being provided with all-purpose barns ingeniously designed of

NEW EARTH

An article in the last issue of *Freedom* contrasted the destruction of the soil by open-cast mining of poor quality coal for export to pay for imported food, with the making of new land by the Aran peasants, by gathering "handfuls of soil from nooks and crannies, and sand and seaweed from the shore". The economic circumstances of to-day doom the pitiful efforts of the Aran islanders, but there may still be a time when their labour will be remembered with gratitude, just as the people of the Orkney Isles, once poor and barren, and now the best-farmed agricultural county of Scotland, remember their ancestors who built up the fertility of their islands. The most spectacular and justly celebrated example of the constructive efforts of men in making new land is that of the Dutch, who over the centuries have reclaimed at least forty per cent. of their country from the sea itself. It used to be said: *God made the world, but the Dutch made Holland.*

prefabricated reinforced concrete sections, for quick erection, but the houses are largely traditionalistic in design and not particularly attractive. Lewis Mumford speaks of "that tendency to overaccent the traditional that the historical-minded townsmen often too readily shows when dealing with the peasant or farmer; a habit of mind that overlooks the fact that the latter is often as eager to exchange his traditional dwelling for a modern one, as he is to exchange the pump for running water, or horsepower for electricity if he can get it; a fact particularly notable in Holland."

The South West Polder which will lie to the north-east of Amsterdam, with an area of 220 square miles, is now under construction, and the building of the enclosing dyke was begun a fortnight ago. I saw the long lines of hurdles and bundles of straw across the water, that will form a breakwater against which sand will accumulate to form the basis of one of the dykes, and dredgers at work digging future drainage canals out of the bed of the IJsselmeer. The dredgers, tugs, barges and men were covered in fine, grey mud. The final and largest polder, the 493 square mile South East Polder will fill the southern part of the former Zuyder Zee.

When the whole scheme is complete, the agricultural land of Holland will have been increased by ten per cent. (already at least forty per cent. of the country has been reclaimed from the sea since the fifteenth century) and the Administration estimates that the reclaimed land "will offer employment to 300,000 people, where formerly only 3,000 fishermen eked out a meagre existence."

Tremendous as these achievements are, the land reclamation will not in itself offer a solution to Holland's very serious population problem (the population has almost doubled since 1910), although it will provide opportunities for many of the country's 40,000 trained farmers who have no land to work, but only if they have capital. The number of applicants for land on the North East Polder far exceeds the number of farms. Priority is given to those who have worked for at least two years on the reclamation. All must have had training at an agricultural college, and all must possess capital of 250 florins for each hectare of land leased (i.e., about £60 for each acre). The rents vary according to the quality of the soil. This provision, as Mr. Gordon Hosking points out, "greatly restricts the scope of the resettlement scheme."

I ought indeed, to emphasise that, admirable as the project is, there is nothing revolutionary about the methods of land tenure and administration. The reclamation work on the IJsselmeer polders and elsewhere, provides a solution to the unemployment problem, but I cannot agree with the *R.I.B.A. Journal*, which says that the men are paid good wages, since the unemployed who are given reclamation work receive 44 florins a week, which becomes 38 florins (£3 15s. 0d.), after deduction of tax and insurance contributions. (I got the impression that there is real hardship among the lower-paid workers in Holland. The cost of living is higher than in Britain.) On the other hand, very good social welfare and travel facilities are provided by the Administration, and there must be great satisfaction in working on one of the world's few really constructive and

permanently valuable engineering projects. I do not think that the sense of working together and common purpose which pervaded the old film *New Earth* is a myth.

There are certain incidental results of the draining of the Zuyder Zee which are of special interest. The North East Polder is continuous with the higher land to the East, and a certain drying-out of this land was noticed as a result. Consequently a wide canal will be left between the new polders and the mainland, while a big lake will be left in the Amsterdam area, since if the water level were lowered very much, the innumerable piles upon which most of the city stands, might rot. (On the other hand, if the water level were raised, as happened during the Nazi occupation, the basements of the city would be flooded). Climatic changes may also result from the replacing of 1,341 square miles of salt water by 876 square miles of arable land and 465 of fresh water. The winters

How the Dutch made Holland

in the area may become colder and the summers more humid.

There remains the reduction by two-thirds of the number of fishermen for whom a livelihood can be provided, and the question of the future of the old towns and villages which will no longer be ports. Mr. G. V. Charles puts it like this:

"The remoteness of some of the towns has isolated types, costumes and customs, and resulted in poor stock hardly compensated for by the attraction of tourist trade. The communities will surely find themselves deprived of their independence, and a minority feeling will be hard to overcome."

I cannot quite follow his argument because it seemed to me that the degeneration of these places has already happened and that their integration with new industries in the new land will be very much to their advantage. The island of Marken which will be incorporated in the South West Polder is an example, though perhaps an extreme one. The place is already dead. The old wooden houses are "quaint", the costumes are "picturesque", but I could not help noticing that many of the people had a deformed and vacant appearance. (This results, I imagine, not so much because of inbreeding, but because the more healthy and vigorous people have con-

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tinually left the island.) All the shops are filled with wooden shoes and model windmills, souvenirs for visitors, mostly Americans who could also, for a large tip, be photographed in the ancient costume. This all seemed to me unhealthy and degrading, and I believe that the atmosphere will be greatly improved by the impending incorporation of Marken in the new polder. I am told that the similar island of Urk, now part of the North East Polder has been brought back to life by the change, besides itself providing some variation and sense of historical continuity to the new landscape, which is naturally at this stage bare and raw, but which will when the trees have grown and the buildings mellowed, have a similar appearance to the areas reclaimed centuries ago on a smaller, but considering the more primitive engineering, equally heroic scale.

In the train, crossing Holland, I was talking to the man sitting opposite. We looked out of the window at the country passing by. We saw rectangular fields without hedges, divided by ditches at regular intervals, rows of trees, all the same size, windmills and pylons, black-and-white cattle, and red brick farm-houses. Flat as a pancake the land spread out to the dykes on the horizon, with an almost frightening expanse of sky. Everything was very prim and trim. "What a peaceful, lovely country," said the Dutchman, "Did you ever see a more beautiful sight?"

I thought of the gently undulating English landscape, the patchwork of fields, the clumps of trees, planted with conscious artistry by our ancestors, the view softened and closed by distant hills. But I understood his enthusiasm.

C.W.

- 1 *Bouto (The Hague)*, 24/9/49.
- 2 *R.I.B.A. Journal*, Oct., 1949.
- 3 Lewis Mumford: *The Culture of Cities*.
- 4 *De Bezige Bij (Amsterdam)*.
- 5 *The Plebs*, April, 1950.
- 6 *R.I.B.A. Journal*, Dec., 1949.

HEART-FIXING INDUSTRY

"Institutionalized Lynch"

1 out of every 3 works of fiction read in the U.S. is a murder "mystery". They are printed to the tune of 300,000,000 per year. 50% or more of all pulp and pocket book literature is murder stuff. Soft covered "comic" books for the kiddies (not to be confused with the daily strip (mostly for adults) selling for a dime a piece), are printed to-day in the U.S. at the rate of 500,000,000 per year. In 300 titles or more, each with an average monthly printing of 200,000 copies. "In 1933 there was not one comic book openly published in the U.S." While their first appeal is (as yet) still to the children, the American soldier in his purchases during the last war purchased ten times as many comic books as copies of *Life*, *Liberty*, *Readers Digest* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, combined. It was their favourite, indeed practically their only reading matter. Legman estimates that on the average "every child in America (with rare exceptions) who was 6 years old in 1938 has by now absorbed an absolute minimum of eighteen thousand" sadistic picture-shots, or an average of 300 per month. For what is the content of these mysteries and comics?

1. The Mystery:

The only mystery of the mystery is how anyone can think the mystery has anything to do with it. Legman puts it sharply:

"Are you impotent, frigid? Does your wife insult you in bed, your husband dominate you? Why get a divorce? Divorce is expensive—for Catholics, impossible. A murder-book is only ten cents to borrow, twenty-five cents to own—free, gratis and for nothing to write. Strangle your spouse nightly on paper. (The murder-mystery is the foundation of the family: it prevents divorce.) Does your boss tyrannise and exploit you? Don't shoot him (not really recommended, anyway—J.G.) you'll hang for it. Kill him nightly on paper—you the detective, he the hounded-down murderer. (The murder-mystery is the mainstay of usury: it prevents revolution.) Are you weak, stupid, namby-pamby, ineffective? Don't improve yourself. Don't turn against your constricting, recalcitrant environment. Dissipate the aggression you feel, siphon off your endocrine resources, be a killer, nightly—three hundred nights a year—for a dollar a week. Absurdly simple, cheaper than a hunting license, and you hunt human beings. (The murder-mystery is the backbone of civilisation: it dispenses utterly with intelligence.)"

2. The Comics

Incidentally it is the murderer who is the chief victim, not the murderess, who is often as not a cad, i.e., no sympathy. The murderer is put outside the pale of humanity and humane consideration, cf. Japanese, Nazi, Jew, etc. Although the mysteries are gory and violent enough, it is the comic book that is the virtuoso of this literature, albeit unsuitable as it surely is. Adults are more and more coming to read "joke" books. Mystery interests, look to your laurels (or is it hemlock?)

LOVE AND DEATH: A Study in Censorship. By G. Legman. (Breaking Point Press, New York, 1949. 95 pages.)

Straight murder by knife, machine gun, poison, X-rays, bombs, revolvers, flame guns, bamboo splinters, etc., etc., etc. In China, America, on Mars, in New York, Germany, out West (where men was men), in this century, last century, 50,000 years ago, in 2000 A.D., any time, any place, anywhere: all over. Plus all kinds of refined tortures. Just try for a minute to imagine the worst: provided it does not too obviously involve sex—it has been done.

Add to these: newspapers (and if an "interesting" murder takes top billing in the penny press with headlines two inches thick, what else does it mean but simply that the millions of its daily readers are first interested in nothing more than that?) movies, radio thrillers and television and you will get a good idea of what conceivably goes on in the American mind.

The Social and Personal Meaning of the mysteries and comics

Legman (who incidentally writes in a fine, lucid, exciting and wonderfully scholarly style) describes a recent supreme court decision freeing the production of comic books from some hindering state censorship. There was an immediate and tremendous flood of increased publishing all over the country, many new magazines coming out. At about the same time we witnessed the proscribing of Edmund Wilson's *Memoirs of Hecate County* allegedly for obscenity. That is, the sluice gates are down now for the pleasures of murder and violence. The walls are up around the disgusting and perverting sex and love.

(Really, what is one to do when the world is upside down?)

Psychologists for decades have known the relationship between sex-love and hate-sadism: baldly: hate is frustrated love: sadism is frustrated sex.

Saints and geniuses, declares Legman, can perhaps sublimate their sex into something "higher" or at least viable. The average man would just rather kick somebody in the genitals.

Although the explanation is simple, the implications are terrific.

In human individuals we create warped, hateful, dull, spiteful, lying, cheating, violent and uncreative beings. In society we create war. The instrument of death goes through a magic transformation: from the live and gentle, the inquisitive, joy bearing phallus, to the black fearful printed "comic" revolver, the kid's bullying "toy" gat, to the real death-dealing submachine gun killing real people, really coming. (Thus death provides the only sense of life to inhibited, frustrated men and women to whom sex and life have taken on a dull pasteboard flavour at best, at worst when the anxiety breaks through, a fearful flavour of guilt, wrong and self-hate.)

But, say the bourgeois apologists: these books "let off steam". Do they? Then

why are more and more read? Why does their sale go up in wartime when plenty of steam is being let off (here the soldier, identified with the "comic" hero, always kills the other guy). No, not even wars let off steam. Because the joy of the human body that you repress arises anew every day and every day you repress it more, and you need stronger and stronger methods to suppress it. It takes more and more violence to suppress it, to permit its expression in a "healthy" form, i.e., killing 100,000 Japanese ("non-human") in one shot.

"Avatars of the Bitch"

This whole question of sex suppression and violence is intimately and rather involuntarily connected with the development of patriarchal society, the institution of private property and the position of women.

In addition to the proletariat and the colonial peoples of the larger social world, there are a colonial people and a proletariat of the family: the women and the children. There (in numbers alone) are a great oppressed class. Radical literature (written by men) has neglected these questions to the point of shame. We shall not here touch on the children question and shall restrict ourselves to the certain aspects of the "woman question" which Legman brings up.

The modern bitch is the woman who wants to be just as mean, proud, nasty and sadistic as the man. She takes up her pen and sits right down in the swankiest (and stupidest) advertising factory "up" there with the rest of them, she walks right into the nearest hard-low ("sophisticated") 5th Avenue drinking dive, and marches right off into the bloody army to kill and be killed just like her equal fools: the men.

This frightens the pants off the men, because of all places in this forsaken world, and in spite of their own aggrandizement at her expense and slavery—men still want in women that love, security, stimulation, comfort and friendship that they find nowhere else in this bleak and miserable world.

Legman traces the history of the first development: the hussy-virago-amazon-bitch in the modern novel starting most phenomenally with *Gone with the Wind* through Winsor (Forever Amber) and a whole slew of others: the busty-cussy novel. He also outlines man's counter-attack and putting woman where she belongs (the male novelists are already at the point where generally they simply kill her off (Hemingway, etc.) while the women still are content to emasculate the male in all kinds of interesting ways.

Yup, woman has fallen for it bookline and stinker. The old story of the old slave as the new tyrant.

Might one suggest that a world which suppresses love and sex tightly and continuously, only to have periodic colossal anxiety mass murderous and suicidal attacks called War every so often and threatens to blow us, too, away, who desire nothing better than to be left alone without little problems of work, art and love, might one suggest that that world is "a little off the dream" (to coin a phrase)?

JACK GALLEG0.

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Confessions in Russian Trials

THE problem of how the preliminary work of extracting confessions, pleas of "guilty", and incrimination of other accused, is achieved before the Russian government stages a propaganda trial, received further elucidation recently. Mr. Zbigniew Stypulkowski, one of the group of Polish Resistance leaders who were invited to a conference in Moscow in 1945 and then disappeared until they were put on trial ten weeks later, recounted his experiences on the B.B.C. recently. It was a broadcast of great interest, taking the form of a discussion between Stypulkowski, W. N. Ewer of the *Daily Herald* as political expert, a Mr. Hampson as legal expert, a psychiatrist, and a chairman. Stypulkowski emerged as a very sincere and sympathetic figure, telling a story of great heroism and suffering with the utmost modesty and moderation. The remainder of the team, however, made it only too clear that the expediency of the cold war, and not simple indignation, lay behind the programme. Nothing can detract from the horror of these trials, but this political flavour of propaganda made the broadcast somewhat less effective than it might have been.

Softening them up

The sixteen resistance leaders were flown to Moscow—and then simply disappeared. Russian authorities "had no information" about them when the governments of the west made enquiries. Then without explanation, in the summer of 1945, they were suddenly put on trial just as the discussions between the Russian sponsored Lublin committee and the London Polish government-in-exile were due to start. One was not on trial, due to "ill-health"; he has not been heard of since. All the rest, except Stypulkowski, pleaded guilty and confessed to fantastic "crimes". Stypulkowski describes what happened in the seventy days preceding the trial.

He was interrogated 141 times during this period, sometimes for as long as 15 hours at a stretch. First the examining judge questioned him about his family—he was fortunate in not knowing where they were as they had been in German concentration camps, except for his young son whose whereabouts he managed to

conceal. The rest were subjected to constant anxiety about the welfare of their families. Stypulkowski was questioned to discover his background, his interests, hopes and ambitions, all for the purpose of discovering the best way to break him down. Constantly his story was gone over and he was cross-examined on what he had said before. The judge alternately sympathised with him and menaced him, raised his hopes and dashed them, appealed to his ambition—"Russia needs men like you."

To aid the softening up process, he was always questioned during the afternoon or the night—the times when sleep-

ing was allowed. If he was seen to nod, the warden would wake him up. Food was infinitesimal in quantity, but to stimulate appetite and so exacerbate hunger, it was nicely served. The light was on the whole time, and his cell was cold—and sleeplessness and hunger made this much more of a trial than if he had been otherwise well cared for.

Stypulkowski held out

Stypulkowski held out. He gave as reasons for his success, the lack of anxiety about his family, his physical vigour, his optimism and his legal training. He had the gratification of observing that the

strain also told on his judge who was clearly afraid of failure. All the rest broke down. Ewer pointed out that also in his favour was the fact that external political considerations made it necessary to hold the trial within a certain time. With no time limit he would unquestionably have succumbed.

Stypulkowski's narration shows how keen was Orwell's insight in "1948". He was not tortured physically, because marks would have been awkward, but no such consideration deterred the legal authorities when a man was merely required for information rather than for show at a trial. Nor does his experience

The Daily Worker and the Political Trials in Prague and Belgrade

WITCH-HUNTS, if one's only source of information is the *Daily Worker*, take place only in America. The political trials in Roumania, Poland or Czechoslovakia having nothing in common with American fascistic intolerance! In fact, what is happening in the satellite countries can only be described as *head-hunting*. The latest show trial took place at the beginning of this month in Prague where 13 men and women were found guilty on the usual charges of treason, espionage, etc. . . . and four (including a woman) were sentenced to death, five to imprisonment and four to prison terms of from 15 to 20 years.

The *Daily Worker* sent their reporter, Mr. Sam Russell, to cover the trial and for several days readers were treated to columns of "confessions", one more abject than the other, and extracts from the prosecutor's speech which was so impassioned that it "brought many in the public benches to tears" and "sent a shudder through the court as [the prosecutor] described the crimes of the accused." Since Mr. Russell did not understand a word of what was being said, for he relied on "the group of court interpreters who translated every word of the trial for me and made my reports possible", we wonder whether the "shudder" was also translated for him by the court interpreters.

However, on his return to London, Mr. Russell must have found his dispatches so fantastic that he thought even *Daily Worker* readers might have shuddered with incredulity and to reassure them that everything was in order and aboveboard, contributed an illuminating article (*D.W.*,

14/6/50) entitled "Why they Confess". Mr. Russell had 21 column-inches in which to enlighten us, but most of his space is taken up with moving descriptions of the meeting of Youth delegates in Prague, which, as the week drew on "became more and more splashed with blue, the blue of the shirts of the Youth delegates, etc. . . ." and of ceremonies in the village of Lidice. As to why they confessed, he gives two reasons which are most enlightening: "First was the fact that the weight of evidence against them was already overwhelming at the time of their arrest . . . Any question of psychological pressure, reducing the prisoners to nervous wrecks can be ruled out from the start." We have Mr. Russell's word for this and it should be enough; for Mr. Russell is an observant man and if he could detect a shudder going through the court he could surely easily detect whether the prisoners appeared to be under psychological pressure. The second point he makes is to refer to the alleged statements made by the prisoners to the effect that "the greatest factor in the confessions, was the patient explanation of the realities of life in Czechoslovakia to-day, given them by workers who had been allocated to them to try to show, by talks and by giving them books and literature, just what has been done in the country since February, 1948, to make life better for the people. And the word 'patient' was used by many of the prisoners themselves in describing these discussions they had had while awaiting trial."

One is reminded of Orwell's 1984, when Winston is being tortured by O'Brien in

order to make him come round to Big Brother's point of view. "I am taking trouble with you, Winston," he said, "because you are worth trouble." Unlike Winston, the Prague prisoners at the end "had not been able to accept the Communist [Big Brother's] point of view." But like Winston, these unfortunate people have suffered Winston's fate.

★

Mr. Russell, in his reports did not judge it necessary to give details of the prisoners, political backgrounds. He did just mention that Dr. Milada Horakova, who was sentenced to death, was "a former M.P. of the Czech National Socialist Party. Did he perhaps hope that *Daily Worker* readers might confuse that Party with Hitler's National Socialism? It would certainly help if they did, especially when read in conjunction with the prisoner's alleged statement that "she had to admit that by her activity she had finished by following the same line as the Nazis."

Tribune (16/6/50), however, supplies some biographical details of the prisoners from which we learn that Dr. Horakova "spent the war in Hitler's concentration camps" and was a member of Dr. Benes' Party.

★

In another capital, Belgrade, a second trial was being staged. But the boot was on the other food. The "renegade" Tito was staging his treason trial. The prisoners were a Colonel and a Major-General, "hero of Yugoslavia's liberation

★ PAGE FOUR

invalidate Koestler's suggestions in *Darkness at Noon* in which party loyalty was used to bring old Bolsheviks into line. Discussion afterwards with his fellow prisoners shows that in every case an individual approach was made.

Russian Propaganda and Democratic Expediency

The lawyer pointed out how misleading it was to think of these shows as trials in the English sense. The issue was not whether the accused was guilty, for the whole purpose of the trial was to serve some propaganda end—in this case to convince Mikolajczyk and the London Poles of the futility of standing up to Russia, and to discredit the resistance and their leaders—the betrayal of General Bor was less than a year behind.

Ewer rather shamefacedly described the newspaper comments in the west at the time—"Fair trial, light sentences" was the main tenor. But his comment was interesting: "We did not know then what we know now!" This illustrates the expedient angle, for of course we knew then what we know now. The Treason trials in Moscow of 1937 and 1938 showed quite clearly that confession means something different in Russia from what it does in an English court of law. But Russia was an ally in 1945 and inconvenient truths required decent shrouding.

What emerges from Stypulkowski's narration is that given time no man could hold out—except superhuman heroes; that the purpose of the trials was to serve political propaganda ends for both internal and external consumption. Even their obvious hollowness served the ends of government by making men feel that there is no hope of justice, that struggle is useless.

Intensify the fight for human rights

It seems clear that, short of the internal overthrow of the Russian type of dictatorship, the only way that these trials will be countered will be to rob them of their effect. If people no longer believe them, if in fact they convince them of the utter baseness of the regime which uses them, then innocent men may not require to be driven mad by deliberate legal sadists employed by governments for that purpose. For men and women under the power of the Russian type dictatorships such disbelief is clearly harder to achieve than for ourselves. In the countries of the west, these revelations should stimulate men to hold on still more resolutely to human rights and freedoms, and to hold government in the contempt that it deserves.

ANARCHIST.

THROUGH THE PRESS

THE PRACTICAL MEN

It is in the detached treatment of such subjects that Mr. Liddell Hart may well illuminate the thought of those practical men who are planning the defence and the break-through of World War III. Let us hope that, this time, his astute influence will not be limited to our enemies.

—R. H. S. Crossman in
New Statesman, 17/6/50.

RURAL IDYLL

Of the 6,747 villages covered in the survey conducted by the National Federation of Women's Institutes, 2,152 are shown to be without a village hall. About 854 villages state that they are without a post office, and 701 without a telephone kiosk. There are 1,406 villages without a junior school, and more than 4,000 without a recreation ground.

In Herefordshire, out of 117 villages only 16 have main water and only 53 an electricity supply.

"The overwhelming needs of the villages throughout England and Wales is for improved sewerage or, indeed, for sewerage of any kind," states the report. "Village returns cite distressing cases where garbage cans are tipped out on village greens, and exposed dumps are an eyesore and a breeding ground for flies."

The Times, 14/6/50.

ART NOTES

A common error made by sculptors and painters alike is in depicting Adam with a navel. Adam was created, not procreated, so had no navel.

Letter in *Picture Post*, 10/6/50.

WE PAY

In addition to his salary of £3,500 a year, Sir Oliver Harvey, British Ambassador in Paris, enjoys *frais de représentation* (or what more vulgar people would call an expense allowance) of £10,500.

Sir Oliver is no doubt entitled to use his expense allowance in whatever social diversions seem to him and his wife most likely to enhance British prestige among the French.

It is just a little difficult to see how that prestige is enhanced by the presence at the British Embassy of one handsome British couple observed at recent social functions there: the man dark, glossy, well groomed; the woman statuesque and blonde.

"Why, isn't that . . . ?" murmured other guests at one reception. "No, it can't be . . ."

It was. The handsome couple were Sir Oswald and Lady Mosley.

Leader Magazine, 10/6/50.

RE-ARMING GERMANY?

ing and dangerous" the notion that Germany can stand aside from the current political conflict between East and West. "Germany—in the past a dire menace to other countries—is not a menace to-day," said Sir Brian, "nor can she become one in the near future. The menace to world peace and civilisation comes from a different quarter." With the dividing line between the Soviet and Western spheres of influence running through the middle of their country the Germans cannot at present "retreat into an ivory tower of neutrality or hold a balance by sitting on a fence. When such

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

issues are at stake," he continued, "I have no use for the holders of balances and the builders of bridges. For the most part, they are people who seek an alibi for their own moral and physical cowardice."

Note carefully, that remark about Germany not being a menace now or in the near future. The menace now comes "from a different quarter", so we can risk Germany becoming a menace in the distant future so long as she is of use in crushing the existing menace, which five years ago was an ally fighting against what was then the menace which may become a menace in the distant future as a result of crushing the existing menace . . . and so on, *ad nauseam*.

Who are the real cynics: the anarchists or the politicians? And do you still have faith in politics and politicians?

★

A LESSON IN CAPITALISM

THE *Manchester Guardian* (15/6/50) reports that "Two Egyptian brokers have cornered the market in June deliveries of Ashmouni cotton and have caused prices to rise nearly 100 per cent. in the last three months. Many smaller dealers are unable to meet June commitments and have lost heavily."

"Ashmouni was bought and sold for about £E15 in March and closed yesterday at more than £E28."

"Some traders estimate that the two brokers will make more than £E10,000,000. Intervention by the Egyptian Cabinet on June 10 is alleged to have saved them from losing a large amount. A Cabinet order then changed retrospectively the standing market regulations so that sellers could not meet futures delivery contracts in a specific

grade like Ashmouni by mixing in other types. The order affected all June delivery, and left the two brokers in complete control of the market."

★

YOU HAVE BEEN WARNED DEPT.

IN this column we try, within our space limitations, to keep readers informed of the very latest developments in the lethal weapons to be used for their destruction in the next war. We hope this information may bring home to some of them, at least, that this is not a time for sitting on the fence. A *Reuter* report from Washington (13/6/50) states that, "American scientists are working assiduously to develop a guided missile carrying an atomic bomb, Dr. Robert F. Rinehart, executive secretary of the United States Research and Development Board said in a radio interview to-night. Asked about this, he commented:

"General Collins (United States Army Chief of Staff) stated about a week ago that it is possible to develop guided missiles carrying atomic warheads which can be placed with accuracy on a target. "From this you can assume that the problem is being worked on assiduously."

"United States scientists are seeking to perfect methods for detection, decontamination, and protection in the event of attack by new 'nerve gasses'."

★

AMERICAN WITCH-HUNT (NEW VARIETY)

THE latest development in the American witch-hunt is the discovery last month by a zealous senator, that a Communist fifth column "is using sexual degenerates for subversive purposes". He alleged that the Washington police estimate there are 3,750 sex pervers in the government, ranging from high-ranking-officials to minor functionaries, of which 300—400 are suspected of being homosexuals.

Dr. R. H. Felix, director of the National Institute of Mental Health, pointed out in a letter that there is no evidence that the rate of sex perversion is higher among Federal government employees than other persons.

He said a survey indicated that perhaps as many as 4 per cent. of the national male population were "confirmed homosexuals."

But on June 7, the Senate unanimously approved a \$10,000 investigation of sexual pervers in the government service.

The Chairman of the Expenditures Committee said he would recommend that the hearings be mostly behind closed doors, and promised there would be no sensational horseplay."

And this encroachment on people's private lives, is carried out in the name of democracy and freedom! In the "struggle against totalitarianism" the world is going completely totalitarian, and hardly a voice is raised in warning because most people are involved up to their necks in taking sides in the (at present) cold war.

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YUGOSLAVIA AND THE ENGLISH SOCIALISTS

YUGOSLAVIA occupies such a prominent position in the cold war which is proceeding between the Anglo-American governments and the rulers of Russia that it is only to be expected that there should be some special pleading. Yugoslavia must be supported because it serves as an example to other countries behind the Iron Curtain demonstrating that it is possible to defy Moscow and survive; because it is a key to the disruption of the European Russian Empire; because it is a barrier, linking with Greece (U.S. European Empire), to cut off the Russians from Albania and their direct access to the Adriatic. So run the arguments. It will be noticed that they are all strictly strategic, practical, "realist"—the kind of arguments which Conservatives and Liberals, the parties of the bourgeoisie, find no difficulty in accepting.

Ziliacus and Ballantine

But for the Socialists it is different, for they pay lip-service to an ethical outlook, and also claim to be concerned for the welfare of the working-class. For Yugoslavia to be acceptable to them, Tito's regime must possess a socialist gloss, or that gloss must be provided by the leftist apologists. An active advertising agent for Tito-socialism is Konni Ziliacus, only recently transferred from the rival firm of Stalin-socialism, and therefore very well equipped for his task. "For the first time in 30 years," he writes, "a major Communist Party are applying the Marxist Leninist social analysis and the lessons of the Russian Revolution, on lines of their own, to the problems of building Socialism in their own country and running its foreign policy." (*Reynolds News*, 14/5/50). In letters to the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*, he writes under the cloak of objectivity, criticising the Russian Government for its dictatorship over the satellites, and the Anglo-American drift towards Fascism and a new world war. It is comical to see him answered by adherents of his

former firm like Pritt, and reviled by the editorials of the *Daily Worker*!

Now Ziliacus is not likely to carry much conviction, for fellow travellers are rightly regarded with contempt, and readiness to change trains dilutes credentials still further. But he is an able exponent of partisan argument, and no doubt socialists in need of anti-Cominform ammunition will make unacknowledged raids on his exposition.

In a different and rather astonishing category is a pro-Tito article by Will Ballantine in the *Socialist Leader* for June 3rd. Like Ziliacus, Ballantine has recently visited Yugoslavia, and come back full of enthusiasm for Tito's regime. He writes mainly for trade unionists and describes the trade union structure of Yugoslavia—"all workers from the director downwards join the union of their industry." His account reads exactly like those of the Soviet trade unions in a Stalinist text-pamphlet. For example, the functions of the unions are to "educate workers to develop a socialist attitude towards work and the people's state," to organise "socialist competition, shock-work... strengthening work discipline... propagation of Marxism-Leninism..." etc., etc. In his peroration we read that "the socialist urge is everywhere, and the freeing of the people from state restrictions is in keeping with the teaching of Lenin. Freedom is a great thing in life, and having won economic freedom the Yugoslavs are sure that the teachings of Lenin are being put into effect." (But Ziliacus quotes a leading member of the government as saying, "We must admit that in the Socialist States we have not yet solved the problem of freedom...")

Britain, with a population of 48 millions has a prison population of 20,000; but Yugoslavia, with a population of 16 millions has "anything from 100,000 to 200,000". That "there are, however, many other ways (i.e., than direct threats and open terror) in which the government also brings pressure to bear on possible opponents. The threat that a family's home may be requisitioned or that a man may lose his job and therefore a worker's (privileged) ration card is effective in inducing non-Communists to take their share in "voluntary" work". There is also a well-documented account of the running of the free peasantry in order to make them join the collectives which could well be an account of the Russian First Five-Year Plan.

Where does the Socialist Leader stand?

Now Ballantine's article was printed in the *Socialist Leader* without so much as a flicker of editorial comment. Is one to assume that socialists with so small a following that they can afford to be independent are going to underwrite this murderous regime of Tito's? What have they to say about the fact that the men now coming up for a show trial in Belgrade, charged with "treason because they attempted to flee illegally to Hungary," were arrested in August, 1948? They have been held without trial for 20 months.

For anarchists, "putting the teachings of Lenin into effect" does in fact mean a regime of brutal force and terror. But for the *Socialist Leader*, Lenin is a symbol of all that is strong and good in socialism and invoking his name must be taken to mean approval.

An Ethical Position

The bourgeois parties do not claim to be ethical, only practical, strategic, realistic. It seems that socialists have to disregard the truth so blatantly that even the *Times* stands up well to comparison; or they have to admit that dictatorship, suppression of all freedom, and the glad use of lying and deceit, are justified in the struggle for power; that one can justifiably forget the tortures, the concentration camps, the fear and misery; in fact, that "fascism" is merely a convenient term of abuse for the Right. Time and again events have shown that a decreasing number of socialists stand on the ethical ground which was once common in the working-class movement, but which has been steadily undermined by the teachings of Marx and Lenin.

Anarchists will insist that there can be no forgetting the thousands of workers dead in the path of Tito's struggle for power. No forgetting that the Moscow-trained Tito was a thorough-going exponent of the Communist policy of extinguishing by assassination or indefinite imprisonment all revolutionists, even all liberal opposition. As for the bourgeois attitude, no amount of strategy, "realism", and the rest, can make toleration or support of a murderous dictatorship anything but a crime, a betrayal of humanity.

J.H.

Truth from the Times

It is rather sad to have to quote the *Times* as being very much more truthful than this independent socialist. After outlining some achievements of the Tito regime, their correspondent declares: "Such considerations cannot, however, alter the fact that the country is still in all essentials a police State. Persons may be arrested without reason given and kept in prison for months without trial on a simple order from the Ministry of the Interior. Complete control of the Press, radio, and information services consolidates the government's power to overcome any organised opposition and enables it to indoctrinate the people, in particular the armed forces and the young." (*Times*, 13/6/50.)

The *Times* goes on to point out that

ABC OF AUTHORITY

(Continued)

S is for Syndicalism, which means the appropriation and control by workers of the capital goods with which they work. It demands the control of every industry by its workers, and is in fact the application of anarchy to the production of goods.

T is for the Teaching Method. Perhaps the most obvious way of helping to undermine Authority is to spread the truth that anarchy is possible and desirable.

U is for Unauthoritarianism. Not the least effective way of abolishing Authority is to refuse to exert it, or to submit to it in one's own life.

(To be continued)

D.R.

FROM PAGE ONE

Towards Centralisation and War

Industry in the Ruhr and the Saar would only be possible if the controlling authority had very wide powers. Democrats demand that any body possessed of such powers must be responsible to an electorate who appoint them and can recall them (we pass over the deficiencies of such conceptions in practice). Hence, if the Control Board envisaged by Schuman is to control even governments, then it ought to be responsible to some elected federal authority covering the area in which it exercises power. An alternative is for the Board to have nominal power over governments, but not to possess its own means to enforce its decisions. In this case the power would remain with the governments, who would therefore be enabled to disregard or modify the decisions of the Board and so defeat its ends. The problem is summed-up by a writer in the *Observer* (4/6/50): "If control is denied both to the individuals and to the nations concerned, then the inter-

national authority will have only two futures open to it. If it is powerful enough to enforce its decisions, it will become an irresponsible managerial dictatorship; or, if it is not powerful enough for that, it will become a sham and a flop, and its impotence will be displayed at the first serious clash with really strong national or private interests."

The Labour Party Statement

It is not necessary to dwell very long on the sensational affair of the Labour Party's pamphlet on European Unity. The government, while refusing to be bound by the existing form of the Schuman proposals, reiterated its friendly interest in the general conception and desire to be kept informed of the progress of discussions. The Labour Party's pamphlet, discussing the plan, declares that it is important that an international capitalist cartel should not be set up, and warns against the

LETTERS Free Love Controversy

DEAR SIR,

Might I reply very briefly to some of G's points? As he says, we are in pretty broad agreement—the more so since I entirely accept his remarks about "admiration"—I meant specifically that love for a partner ought to imply readiness to accept her complete freedom of choice. By intramural continence I meant only restriction of coitus to a single permanent partner—what is normally described as "fidelity". On the psychiatric side of the desire for repeated change, however, I do not think that modern medicine treats all such behaviour as primary evidence of maladjustment, but there is enormous evidence that it is far commoner in personalities we should class as immature on other counts. This becomes clear from any study of the motivation of partner-choice (too big a subject to tackle here, but one which is fairly clearly treatable in terms of Freudian psychodynamics) and most clinicians would agree that even among people who are studied in their normal environment, and not because they come for treatment, insecurity and regression tend to go with marital instability and rapid change of partner. In part, the social attitude towards such changes provokes this, but there is much to suggest that failure to be satisfied with the family as a life-unit is very often, if not always, the outcome of childhood insecurity or of escape behaviour.

It should be stressed that social psychology has no business to be the apologist of "established social customs"—as I see it, therapeutic sociology aims to create an entirely new set of attitudes based on analysis of motivation and social behaviour. Whether it happens to support or reject an existing pattern will depend solely on what can be found out by observation and experiment. In our general attitude towards conduct problems, both your correspondents are therefore in close agreement: we seem to differ chiefly in the way in which we interpret existing evidence. It has been said in the past that too much ink is spent in discussing such things as family-patterns or sexual ethics. In view of the place which child environment plays in personality development, I think it is perhaps the most important single element in effecting social change, and whatever the true answer to the questions of home stability which we have been discussing, they seem a fundamental issue in any theory of social psychotherapy. The more we keep them in mind the better.

ALEX COMFORT.

SOCIALISTS IN THE ELECTION

AS an old reader of *Freedom* it distresses me that what appears to be deliberate inaccuracy with reference to Why Did The Voters Vote?

In the first paragraph, the statement is made that none of the parties advocated any fundamental changes in the structure of society. Surely it is common news to any reader of *Freedom* sufficiently alive to political life that the Socialist Party of Great Britain entered the lists with candidates duty bound to the abolition of the wages system. This is the most fundamental change that society could undergo. At least, in my opinion.

Comradely yours,

GORDON BEESON.

P.S. Replies...

IT is rather ironical that a supporter of the Socialist Party of Great Britain should accuse us of deliberate inaccuracy when the party line of the S.P.G.B. towards us is that all anarchists are at heart petit-bourgeois capitalists. This, you will admit, is just a bit inaccurate and must be deliberate, since all the Party's propagandists say exactly the same thing in the same words—and everyone alive to political life knows that potential members have to go through the catechism as laid down in 1904 before being allowed into the fold. (And "fold" is a pretty apt term in this case.)

To back up their inaccurate presentation of Anarchism, S.P.G.B. speakers never fail to quote out of context or mis-

interpret the writings of Max Stirner—perhaps the most easily misunderstood of anarchist writers, especially by critics who have obviously not read him—whose individualism would naturally make him anathema to such a mentally well-regimented body. Bakunin is sufficiently damned by having dared to disagree with the great God Marx, but on Kropotkin, whose theories of mutual aid don't quite fit in with the concept of the anarchist as petit-bourgeois-individualist-capitalist, these socialists remain silent.

However, I would agree with your probable retort that even if the S.P.G.B. are inaccurate (if not dishonest), that is no reason why I should be. But if you look again you will see that what I actually wrote was "... none of the parties for which we could have voted ... advocated ..." (my italics). Now, out of 625 constituencies, in only two were the voters fortunate enough to have the chance of voting for S.P.G.B. candidates, so that the vast majority could not have voted for that party's policy even if they had wanted to. In any case, the (post-election) party line is that they didn't really hope to be able to put their policy into operation (*sic*), but they "entered the lists" merely to get an idea of the amount of support that policy found in two working-class districts. Well, they found out, but it seems an expensive way of getting information we could have given them free.

★ From page three

Daily Worker and the Trials

fight and top adviser to Marshall Tito on military affairs, charged with plotting "with the Russians for the overthrow of the government and for spying". The *Daily Worker* was not represented at this trial but if we are to believe the Associated Press report, the spectators in court reacted in a less subtle way than their shuddering Prague counterpart, by shouting, "Smrt!" when the Major-General concluded his testimony. "Smrt" means "death"; but instead they got 20 years' imprisonment.

We have searched in vain for the *Daily Worker* report on this trial, which took place at the same time as the Prague trial. We understand the *Daily Worker's* embarrassment in the matter; their readers can swallow almost anything that is dishied out but there are limits even to what their stomachs can hold.

V.R.

HOUSE TO LET

For one or two months this summer, one of the most beautifully situated and comfortable villas of the Côte d'Azur, 800 feet above sea level, 3 minutes by car from the sea and from the world-famed Hotel la Réserve, in Beaulieu, with free use of the wonderful swimming pool. Also 3 minutes from the famous restaurant, Chateau de Madrid, 10 minutes by car from Nice, 15 minutes from Monte Carlo, 4 masters' bedrooms and bath, large living-room with beautiful view overlooking the Mediterranean, dining-room, sitting-room, outdoor patios, barbecues, 3 acres of beautiful gardens. Magnificent pergola facing sea, where outdoor meals are served.

All inclusive, 5 honest, well-trained French servants, excellent chef de cuisine, a gardener and a chauffeur, 2-car garage, guest-house with 2 bedrooms and bath, 3 meals daily, French wines, including champagne, laundry, linen and silver. Price: \$5,000 per month.

[Advertisement in New York Herald Tribune, 27/5/50.]

Note.—\$5,000 converted into sterling is £1,786.

Special Appeal

May 19th—June 16th:

Anon 2/6; London: B.G.D. 2/6; London: B.H.Y. 1/6; Fulham: W.E.D. 10/-; San Francisco: T.C. 2/-; San José: G.P. £1/15/5; Thundersley: C.W. 1/-; Glasgow: A.McD. 4/-; Anon 2/6; Vancouver: M.P. £1; Cambridge: C.L.D. 5/-; Colne: L.B. 1/3; Douglas: M.C. 2/6; Anon 1/-; Port Clinton: D.McC. 10/-; New Earswick: H.A.A. 8/6; London: K.J.M. 1/2.

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Postal Subscription Rates
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Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies
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Meetings and Announcements

SUMMER SCHOOL IMPORTANT

REQUESTS FOR ACCOMMODATION have already been received from comrades in the provinces, who wish to attend the Summer School. London Comrades are urged to make every effort to provide beds for them.

Please forward details soon of available accommodation to:—
Pat Cooper, 613 Finchley Road, N.W.3.

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).

These lectures will be discontinued during the summer. They will recommence in the autumn.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP OUTDOOR MEETINGS every Sunday at 7 p.m. at

MAXWELL STREET

with Frank Leech, John Geffney, Eddie Shaw, J. Raeside

LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST GROUP

Open Air Meetings every Sunday, 7.30 p.m. on Lewis's blitzed site

COLNE & NELSON DISTRICT

Discussion Group held fortnightly, July 8th at 2.30 p.m.

at

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

HAMPSTEAD

Open-air meetings will be held at White-stone Pond every Sunday at 3.30 p.m. Sunday, July 2nd, at 3.0 p.m.

NORTH-EAST LONDON GROUP

Discussion Meetings fortnightly, 7.30 p.m. JUNE 27th Sam Fanaroff "RUNNING A COMMUNITY"

JULY 11th Open Discussion "THE ABC OF ANARCHISM" Enquiries c/o Freedom Press.

MALATESTA MEETING

A meeting to commemorate the life and work of Errico Malatesta is being held at the Trade Union Club on Sunday, July 23rd, at 7.30 p.m. S. Corio, Mat Kavanagh and John Hewetson will be among the speakers.