

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Commentary on Capitalist Efficiency

Wheat Gluts & World Hunger

A B.U.P. report from Ottawa (18/8/54) states that:

"On August 1 Canada had 587.5 million bushels of wheat from the 1953 crop still on hand, and a new crop estimated at 512 million bushels rapidly ripening on the prairies. In the face of declining world markets Canada will have to increase her wheat exports by 40 per cent. in the new crop year to avoid an almost unmanageable record surplus in July.

With this year's carry-over added to the crop now being harvested, the Canadian Wheat Board will have 1,100 million bushels to dispose of during the year. Canada's average domestic consumption is about 160 million bushels a year. Exports in the last crop came to less than 240 million bushels."

If this were a civilised world instead of a capitalist jungle the news of Canada's huge surplus would be welcome news indeed. Instead it will cause widespread concern among Canadian farmers; will probably have repercussions on the world prices of wheat—thereby causing more despondency among other producers as well as among the speculators . . . and the millions of starving will go on starving.

Canada's surplus is not just a token surplus. 587.5 million bushels from last year plus 513 million expected from this year's harvest, minus Canada's own requirements of 160 million bushels, leaves a surplus of 940.5 million bushels to be disposed of. And if our arithmetic is correct this is approximately 33½ million tons of wheat. Last year only a quarter of this surplus was disposed of in world markets.

What are the obstacles that prevent the disposal of these millions of tons of valuable food grains? Shortage of hungry people? Of shipping? No, of course not. The obstacle is the shortage of money to pay for the wheat, its transport and distribution. To think that the objectors to anarchism are always telling us that capitalism works and is efficient, and that money is the only satisfactory means of exchange!

LESS SALES, MORE PROFITS

WORKERS are always reminded that if they want more wages they must produce more. To increase wages without a corresponding increase in production means increase in prices, that is an increase in the cost of living. The experts

talk about spirals, and faced with this now awe-inspiring word, the workers' leaders withdraw their demands . . . and the cost of living goes up just the same.

Such arguments are not applied, it would seem to big business in America, where we notice from Company reports recently issued that in spite of in some cases considerable drops in sales, profits have increased as well as the dividends paid to shareholders.

For instance the net profit made by B. F. Goodrich, the rubber company, for the six months ended June 30 was 8 per cent. above that of a year ago though sales had dropped by 13 per cent. The net profit of \$18.2 million equals \$4.33 a share on 4,213,757 shares as against \$4.03 last year. It will be argued that this increased profit was the result of a substantial reduction in taxes this year, but it does not take away from the fact the net profits have increased in spite of a lower turnover—and quite apart from the fact that by no stretch of the imagination can one consider shareholders as "productive workers"!

THE BUREAUCRATIC MACHINE AT WORK

USING a sledge-hammer to crack a nut is what we expect from the huge centralised industrial organisations that have arisen in our time.

Interesting and even amusing, but not surprising, is the story told by a railway signalman in last week's *Railway Review* of "another fine example of how we save money on the railways". It describes how British Railways tackled the problem of laying an 18ft. by 10ft. concrete base at a station sixty miles from London:

"In due course (says the article) the necessary materials arrived by road—not by rail. The men engaged to do the unloading travelled by train for some twenty miles and then had to wait the arrival of the lorry transporting the material.

"On the following day eight men arrived by train for the purpose of mixing the cement; but, strangely enough, the lorry did not bring any tools such as shovels which, as any kid knows, is an essential when one sets about the job of mixing cement; and, strangely enough again, neither did the eight men, who

travelled some twenty miles by train. So they scrummaged around and got the best, apologies for shovels they could find from around the station and platelayers' hut. In two days the concrete was well and truly laid. The men departed.

"But, the day after, a wagon arrived at the station, was duly shunted into the adjacent siding and ultimately man-powered into the dock for unloading. Imagine the surprise and the hilarity upon the unsheeting of the wagon when it was discovered that the consignment consisted of a cement-mixer, power-operated, of course, and the other various impedimenta, purposely forwarded from the Engineer's Depot some twenty miles distant to ensure the cement being well and truly mixed for a concrete base approximately 18ft. by 10ft. . . . Who is responsible for this type of nonsense?"

The moral of this story is, we believe, quite obvious, and it is not that "private enterprise" would have done better. There is little to choose in the matter of centralisation and bureaucratisation between nationalised and large industrial organisations. The individual is as much a cog in the wheel in the one as in the other. After all, stories such as the one quoted above could equally have been recounted when the Railways were being run by private enterprise. R.

SUGAR PRODUCTION CUT

The Jamaican Government is to be asked to recommend that sugar manufacturers on the island reduce production by 10 per cent. after next year. This follows the international sugar agreement which limits Jamaica's exports to 270,000 tons a year.

Sunday Express, 22/8/54.
From which we assume that everybody everywhere has enough sugar?

"There is as much mob law on the Statute Book, and more, than there is, or ever will be, in a few stones shied at policemen or flung through a few plate-glass windows."

—SEAN O'CASEY.

IN CYPRUS

Demonstrators Defy Sedition Law

NOTHING could be better calculated to make people rise than the conscious act of keeping them down! It is an obvious fact which can any day be verified in the nursery! In politics the latest example of government stupidity, and lack of understanding of human psychology is its stand over Cyprus. Having told the people of Cyprus that they are free to advocate any solution to their island's problems *except* the solution they want, threatening with imprisonment those who disregard this warning (see FREEDOM 14/8/54), the natural reaction has been to make them want union with Greece (Enosis) more than ever before!

Described as the biggest demonstration for Enosis since the disturbances in 1931, more than 30,000 Cypriot villagers, many from remote parts of the island gathered in Nicosia last Sunday to denounce the British offer of a new Constitution, and the Cyprus Government's enforcement of the anti-sedition law, as well as to declare their wish for union with Greece.

Addressing the demonstrators, the Archbishop Makarios declared that Britain had sentenced them "to be born slaves and to die in slavery", and added, ignoring the anti-sedition law:

"We shall remain faithful unto death to our national claim. We shall never give way; we shall never compromise. We shall show contempt for force and tyranny. We shall rise above the obstacles in our way, aiming at Enosis and only Enosis."

To which the crowd responded enthusiastically and seditiously with slogans such as "Down with illiberal laws", "Down with the Constitution" and "Enosis".

But the government is not without its supporters. Dr. Fazul Kutchuk, secretary-general of the Turkish National party in Cyprus, has sent a cable to the United Nations Secretary-General saying: "A hundred thousand Cyprus Turks strongly protest against the Greek Government's petition regarding the union of Cyprus with Greece, and vehemently reject Enosis, self-government or a plebiscite." So that a policy to divide and rule, at which the British are old hands, will be the obvious one to pursue.

OUR reactions to events in Cyprus are rather of indignation at the high-handed, dictatorial, attitude of the British Government, than of sympathy for the cause of Enosis. The Government is not in the least bit interested in the aspirations or the material problems of the islanders *per se*. They have decided that Cyprus must take the place of the canal zone of Egypt as a military base; hence the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, categorical statement that Cyprus was one of those territories "which owing to particular circumstances would never expect to be fully independent". And it is just as well that the Government should show itself in its true colours. For it may persuade those starchy eyed revolutionaries, who saw in the declaration of independence of countries such as India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia a change of heart, that the nature of government has not in fact changed; that governments let go only when their victims succeed in shaking themselves free from their grip.

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SYNDICALIST NOTEBOOK

Hull Dockers Break Away

THE dockers of Hull are not renowned for their militancy, nor for any great sense of solidarity. More than once when London's docks have been strike-bound, ships have been diverted to Hull, to find willing hands prepared to do what should have been branded 'black' work.

The quiet life of the Hull dockers, however, has been most rudely disturbed by a bitter strike which has brought all work in the docks to a standstill and is, at the time of writing, eight days old and threatening to spread to the lightermen.

The strike and the action of their union officials has also provided sufficient experience and disillusionment for the Hull dockers to pull out of the Transport & General Workers' Union without any more ado. In this respect they show themselves far quicker to act than the London portworkers, who have had scores of examples of the true nature of Arthur Deakin's union and yet still

remain in it—the vast majority of them at least.

The Hull strike started with the refusal by dockers to unload the wheat cargo of the *Seaboard Enterprise* by hand. This entails the men in the holds of the ship filling sacks by hand, and manhandling the 5-bushel bags. They have to dig their way down through the holds of wheat, have no foothold, and from beginning to end the job is dirty, dangerous, and unusually arduous. Besides which it doesn't pay.

Most grain ships nowadays are unloaded by mechanical means, the grain being sucked up from the holds and either sacked immediately by means that eliminate the shovel, or blown straight into great storage silos to await handling at a future date.

The Hull men feel strongly enough about this job to have come out in their thousands—recognising that the attempt of the employers to get the *Seaboard Enterprise* unloaded by hand is but the thin end of the wedge.

But the union, of course, has played its usual game of trying to get the strikers back to work before negotiations can begin. Which in this case would mean that the *Seaboard Enterprise* would be unloaded and away again before the union and the Dock Board had finished their 'negotiations'.

Some of the dockers have decided to follow the union's lead, and at a meeting in the City Hall a majority of the 900 present voted to resume work. At the same time, however, over 2,000, at a meeting called by the strike committee a mile away, the decision was taken to remain out. These latter have broken away from the T. & G.W.U. and have applied—and been accepted—for membership of the 'Blue' union, the Stevedores and Dockers, in London.

It is easy to understand their disillusionment with the Transport & General.

At the City Hall meeting, Mr. A. Bird, national group Secretary, said: "This hand-scuttling is a rotten, dirty, underpaid job that should have died with Queen Victoria." Then why had the T. & G.W. not done something about it long before this?

At the time of writing, the strikers are preparing to organise pickets at all dock gates—and especially at King George's Dock, where the *Seaboard Enterprise* is lying—to prevent the return to work. Special police precautions are being taken to prevent any serious clashes.

It is impossible at this juncture to prophesy how this strike will end. The strikers are in a strong position if they remain solid, and are approaching the lightermen to join them. Just why they should think, however, that they are going to be very much better off in the other union, is a bit difficult to understand. What strength they have shown in this strike has been as a result of their own solidarity in direct action. They have shown their organising ability and their preparedness to fight in their own interests. Why hand all that over to another union boss? Why not keep their strength to themselves and rely on themselves?? Why not base their organisation, on the point of production, instead of a head office in London in the hands of a leader they will not be able to control?

If they would do that, the Hull dockers would have taken a real step forward.

Later

THERE has been no conflict between dockers going back and dockers staying out—for the simple reason that they have all stayed out.

On the day after the two decisions described above were taken, only a hand-

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Police Methods in Kenya

The Eastern African Court of Appeal sitting in Mombassa recently outspokenly criticised the Kenya Police Force and Government, and spoke of the "danger that the police force in Kenya is tending to become a law unto itself." The Court quashed the convictions on four Kikuyu tribesmen sentenced to death for murder.

Referring to the protective custody of witnesses, the appeal judges said:

"We think it deplorable that the authorities concerned should tolerate as a general practice anything so obviously unlawful. . . . We are not unaware that during the present emergency many witnesses have been murdered, and many others have disappeared, probably in fear of the consequences to themselves should they give evidence against the terrorists. And we do not shut our eyes to the fact that in some—and perhaps in many—cases witnesses may actually be detained. "But neither can we, as a court of law, shut our eyes to the fact that except in these special cases this so-called protective custody is unlawful, and amounts to false imprisonment."

The appeals they heard were those of four Kikuyu servants sentenced for the murder of their employer—Mr. W. G. Bruxner-Randall—who was skinned to

death with his wife at their home near Thika one night in March.

The appeals were allowed on the grounds that the Judge at their trial, Acting Justice Bechgaard, failed to direct himself correctly before deciding that the accused men had made statements voluntarily. The appeal judges said that he had also misdirected himself about the corroborative nature of the statements. There was practically no evidence, they said, other than inculpatory statements amounting to confessions which the accused made to Chief-Inspector Roger Dracup, of the Thika police.—*Reuter*.

MEANWHILE, the number of Kenya Africans executed by the British continues. Up to July 9th the total had reached 581 for the following offences: Murder (including Mau Mau cases), 232; unlawful possession of arms, and ammunition, 182; consorting with terrorists, 91; administering unlawful oaths, 18; acting with intent to further terrorism, 6; and procuring supplies for terrorists, 2.

How many, we wonder, were victims of the police methods so forcefully condemned by the Eastern Africa Court of Appeal recently?

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THE CRISIS OF CIVILISATION

A DECADE OF DECISION, by Fred Hoyle. (Heinemann, 1954).

THE realisation of the possibility of a world food shortage in a fairly short time, is beginning to spread. Quite a number of books on the subject have come out recently, and I think that it is pretty well certain by now, that if some means of halting the rapid growth of population, particularly in the East, cannot be found, the world is in fact facing famine. I do not think that there is anyone who would deny this. It is, as usual, when we come to the solution that discord breaks out. The need for some form of birth control is clear, but Gandhians and Catholics tend to preach the impossible and undesirable ideal of abstinence, and even those who, like our present author, favour birth control, seem to have little idea of the need to revolutionise society itself.

Mr. Hoyle's book is dedicated "to those who are determined that Britain shall not decline into apathetic dependency", and I think that this patriotic slant is a mistake. He proposes to shift the population at the rate of a million a year to the Dominions, and so reduce the vulnerability of these islands to atomic attack.

But who is to work this emigration? The government is not likely to do it. Firstly because governments, except in exceptional circumstances, do not take radical measures, are in fact incapable of it except perhaps when they have just come into power after a revolution. Secondly the expense.

Then of course the vast mass of the people are not at present in the mood to do such a thing voluntarily. And it is unlikely that the government will force them, not only due to the reasons outlined above, but also because the job would be too tremendous. It would mean chasing a million people out of the country each year! Only when people have developed sufficient sense to become anarchists, and set up a free society, will they have enough spirit for such radical measures.

But the difficulties are increased, for Fred Hoyle wants the productive workers to stay, and the non-productive workers to emigrate. He says quite simply:

"The productive workers and their families stay, the non-productive workers and their families go. We have seen that Gt. Britain is overloaded by upwards of 25 million people. It is those who can best be described as the over-load who must go. The full productivity of Great Britain must be kept up at all costs

during the actual migration, and this certainly could not be achieved if our industrial population were moved abroad."

"The productive workers stay, the non-productive workers go." It is as simple as that, is it? Tamerlane, during his conquests, sent back from the subdued territories all the artists and craftsmen that he could catch, to beautify Samarkand, his capital city. In Inca Peru, I believe, whole populations were moved en bloc from famine areas to ones where food was plentiful. Such things are only possible in despotisms in the grand manner, or in highly developed totalitarianisms where the individual has no rights.

Such a managerial society as Hoyle would have to have to realise his plans is not attractive to anarchists, or to anyone who loves freedom. The cure is worse than the disease.

However, even when we have our populations shifted to the colonies and Dominions, we are not at the end of the problem. There is still the problem of the shortage of the food supply. How can this be increased? Our author would have us bring new land under cultivation. We should, he says, develop the resources of the Congo and Amazon basins, which have scarcely been touched as yet.

This is an excellent idea, but who is going to carry it out? If private capitalism is let loose on the job imagination boggles at the chaos and cruelty that would result. If the State does it, and I do not believe that there is a State in the world to-day whose rulers have sufficient imagination, the result will be the ground-nut muddle on a huge scale, and even if it were carried out successfully the States involved would only use the scheme for imposing their tyranny more effectively.

And then consider the effect of all this on the local inhabitants. The jungles of the Congo and Amazon are the homes of many tribes of primitive and savage peoples. In the forests of Brazil in particular there are a large number of tribes untouched by civilisation for a long time. At the moment they are safe within their jungle citadel. To break in on them would be barbarous, and I shudder to think what would happen to them if "the powerful industries of the U.S. and the Commonwealth" were let loose on them.*

Fred Hoyle has little use for social systems it seems. He is prepared to accept capitalism, because it is functioning, and because productivity is higher in capitalist countries than in "Communist" ones. Presumably he would accept "Communism" if it had a higher rate of productivity. "In ignoring the one really important issue—the ratio of productivity to population—Plato made the same error as those moderns who spend their efforts in discussing the relative merits of Socialism and Capitalism."

But the whole point of the matter is that under the present form of social organisation, along with its essential philosophy of life, no such schemes as Hoyle puts forward can be carried out. It may well be that the human race approaches its doom, and in fact has been on the way there since civilisation (as we know it) commenced. This fact has been obscurely realised for centuries, for prophecies of the end of the world are as old as history.

I do not want it to be thought that I am in any way trying to minimize the gravity of the situation in criticising Hoyle's suggestions. I am at one with him in agreeing that the situation is so bad that in a short time it may be past

*I may of course be idealising anarchists, but I am convinced that if they had the task of developing the Congo and the Amazon they would not despoil the natives, nor bulldoze them out of their way. Even though such a development would mean a change of life for them, an anarchist society would not push ahead too fast, and would be sufficiently enlightened to come to some sort of arrangement with the local population, so that both they and their guests could work together in friendship for their mutual benefit. This process would be slower than it would be under capitalist or statist direction, since the rights of the local tribes would have to be respected. But the results would be better in the long run.

redeeming. But quite apart from the fact that his suggestions seem to me to smack of Bolshevik ruthlessness, they do not even seem practical. Maybe there are some enlightened despots about into whose hands this book may fall. There may be some Lenins of the future who will be in a position to implement these proposals. If so, the non-productive workers of Britain, and the Indians of Brazil, had better look out for themselves!

The force of the book is also weakened by the fact that a good deal of it is devoted to how we are to oppose Russia. The author outlines the way whereby the West may build up its industrial potential and get a high standard of living for its people, while the population in the East goes on growing, thus putting the "Communists" in a hole.

But if war should come—"let us make up our minds once and for all that if the match should start, the first ball bowled shall be an atomic thunderbolt: it will certainly come to that in the end; since henceforward no nation that possesses atomic weapons is going to allow itself to go down in defeat before it has given those weapons a try-out... Let us moreover, prepare ourselves for such a contingency. Let us stockpile as many bombs as we can and let us build the very best aircraft in which to carry them..."

Of course no one would accuse the author of wanting a war, atomic or otherwise, but the fact that he can regard it as perhaps a regrettable necessity shows the extent to which liberal or "advanced" thought has declined since the last century. It just shows how the Bolshevik mentality has in fact triumphed.

In the last century most "progressive" thinkers of all shades had the basis of their philosophy in liberalism. They believed in the importance of the individual, although they might be anything from Jeffersonian democrats to revolutionary syndicalists. They all believed that the individual should be free, it was the foundation of their philosophy, however differently they might interpret it. However much they might swerve from their ideal they had at least the grace to do so with a bad conscience.

Their descendants of to-day however are of a different stamp. The triumph of authoritarian socialists in Russia and elsewhere has led to a general acceptance of their methods, even by those who are supposed to be supporters of democracy, freedom, and all the rest of it. In the last century the anarchists were the spear-head of a vast body of truly liberal opinion. But now the shaft of the spear has rotted, and the head is almost useless without it, which perhaps more than anything else helps to explain why anarchism appears less effective than it did fifty years ago.

Fred Hoyle's book seems to me to be symptomatic of the tendency of modern "advanced" thought to be the apologist of one form or another of totalitarianism. ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Viewpoint

Concerning Anarchism

[A number of interesting articles have been reprinted in FREEDOM from the American journal Manas during the past few years. It is a journal libertarian in its approach to those problems, such as Education, in which it specialises, but this is the first time we have read in its columns an article dealing specifically with the philosophy of anarchism. We believe its sympathetic approach will be read with interest by readers of FREEDOM—EDS.]



FOR many people old enough to remember the nervous days immediately following World War I, the terms "anarchist" and "Bolshevik" are practically interchangeable, both meaning a dangerous terrorist who makes bombs in his garret and tosses them at unsuspecting innocents. There was little enough to support this conception in the 1920's, except the anti-red headlines and cartoons in the newspapers, and the myth, sedulously cultivated by the F.B.I., that the United States was threatened by a small group of ruthless murderers preaching doctrines of political nihilism.

It is true that a generation of anarchist revolutionaries were preoccupied with what they termed "anarchism of the deed"—involving an act of sudden and desperate violence against the established order. They hoped by these means to call the attention of the public to injustices suffered by the working classes. Today, most anarchists feel that this method was a terrible mistake, for, instead of generating sympathy for the workers, the violence horrified all but the very few, and made it possible for enemies of the labor movement to claim that every militant effort to secure justice for working men was inspired by anarchist agitators who plotted insane vengeance against the property-owners and all "respectable" people.

The story of anarchist and other forms of revolutionary violence is traced in a number of excellent volumes. Books like Emma Goldman's *Living My Life*, and Berkman's *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* give the anarchist viewpoint, while the *Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, Louis Adamic's *Dynamite*, and Robert Payne's *Zero* are versions by social historians. In fundamental psychological terms, the manifestations of violence in the anarchist movement are symptoms

of alienation in men who were often moved by high principles, and who were able to show that the exploiters of the working man had themselves used violence for generations, almost as a matter of course, in suppressing libertarian and equalitarian tendencies.

Those who accept the notion of Moral Law can hardly contest this anarchist judgment, since, today, the entire world of respectability is threatened with violence of the most devastating sort, and if the guilt of violence were limited to a tiny minority of anarchists and revolutionaries, how could the fear of unleashed atomic fury haunt practically the entire world?

Meanwhile, the lessons of experience and the leavening influence of men like Tolstoy and Gandhi have brought about notable changes in anarchist thinking. Many anarchists of today are also pacifists, and vice versa. Since the end of World War II, a slow ground-swell of anarchist ideas has been affecting people of widely differing backgrounds. While anarchy means literally, "without rule," its practical implication for most anarchists is "freedom with self-rule," and some have even adopted the term *autarky* as embodying an affirmative spirit.

The important thing is this: the anarchist tradition and philosophy represent two ideas which are badly needed by the modern world—the ideas of freedom and individual self-government and responsibility. Whatever the future holds, whatever the politics and social organization adopted by men of tomorrow, these two ideas will have to be the primary shaping influences, if there is to be any future worth talking about. The anarchist, then, is one of the few men of our time who is worth listening to.

It is easy to criticize anarchist philosophy, since the anarchist refuses to acknowledge the need for any sort of external constraint on human behavior. By doing this, the anarchist avoids the extremely difficult question of defining the *absolute minimum* of constraint required by present-day society bearing imaginable resemblance to the people of our time. We take the view, however, that criticism of anarchist views is now of practically no importance, while recognition of the major truth in the anarchist position is virtually a condition of survival for intelligent and free human beings.

About the Theatre

The Free Individual

THE title of Anouilh's play, *Le Voyageur sans Bagages*, itself explains his conception of the free, authentic individual as a "traveller without luggage", an unrestricted being, undistorted by authoritarianism in any of its physical, mental or spiritual manifestations. There is astonishing strength in the writing of this superb and exciting play, one of the masterpieces of twentieth century theatre; dialogue, characters, theme, use of situation, everything has the mark of a master-hand. Baston is a young officer who was found near a prisoner-of-war train in 1918 and had lost his memory. He has been a national enigma for eighteen years. A new psychiatrist at the hospital has decided that Gaston shall visit in turn the six families whose claims to him (after many hundreds have been eliminated) are thought to have equal chances of being substantiated. His contact with them over the several days of a visit should awaken something in his memory about the family where he really belongs. He comes first to the Renauds' house for the experiment to begin: over the four acts of the play he is concerned with discovering the past of the young Jacques Renaud, who he is supposed to be. He interviews the family one by one, sees the mother, the brother, the sister-in-law, even the servants, and soon realises how sordid this respectable family really is. Modern life has become stylized. It is not a life rhythm, but a death rhythm. The culture is no longer vital: mental sluggishness and cowardice bind the prison cage like flexible bands. The true

lords of the lives of people like the Renauds are the dead; and even though they may be governed by living people they, too, are inspired by the dead. The graves are the sources of worldly wisdom. The "common sense" of the bourgeoisie is a flower that blooms on soil fed by the juices of dead bodies. The corpse soon rots away in the grave, yet he desires to live forever in the souls of the living. Men, securely imprisoned in the "cultural" wall of authority and dead beliefs and ideas, are rotting away, spiritually.

Gaston is horrified at the thought of recognising himself in this wretched boy, Jacques "who's surrounded with dead birds and slaughtered animals, who was a liar and a cheat, and maimed his best friend, and went off to the war with not a soul to wave him a friendly goodbye... Jacques Renaud, who never loved anyone but himself... he frightens me." If he recovered his memory, Gaston would have to shoulder all those sordid relationships again. His real personality, as it is has become to him during the eighteen years, would be distorted again into the conceptions the Renaud family group have of him. He sees only too well that by acknowledging his past he will lose his freedom. The past, memory is nothing but a self-imposed straitjacket. Anouilh is protesting in this play against the dehumanizing influences of the falsely "individualistic" bourgeois society. The great majority of people whatever they may say and think about their "egoism" do nothing for their

ego all their empty life long, but only for a phantom of this ego which has been formed in regard to them by their "friends". Gaston is not offered a new life as Jacques Renaud: he is invited to wear the shroud of a corpse, a past which is the sum of all that his relations "remember" of him. At present, men who pitifully boast of their "freedom" are always living up to a picture which authority, society and others make of them, acting these dreary rôles, containing all the falseness of the half-reported past and charged with a sense of guilt that vitiates our choice in the present. As Gaston says: "Duties, obligations, hatred, cruelty and malice... What was it I used to think memory would be like? ... And I always forget remorse... Hm! Now I've got a whole past, packed, labelled and complete." That is the trouble with people's lives at present: they are encumbered by the past, by fear of public opinion, by all their "luggage". They cannot be themselves, and live joyfully in the reality of their own souls.

As a consequence, they all live in a haze of impersonal and half-personal opinions, and of arbitrary and misleading valuations: the one in the head of the other, and this head, again, in the head of somebody else—a queer world of bloodless abstractions, of phantoms which pretends to give itself a rational appearance. Jean Anouilh surrounds Gaston with a collection of sordid. **Continued on p. 3**

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SOLIDARITY AND INITIATIVE

THE *Progress of a Deficit* which we issue each week in these columns as a kind of medical bulletin on the "financial health" of our enterprises would show that the patient's conditions was deteriorating each week and that his GAP had reached proportions which only death could halt BUT FOR THE FACT that we had received three or four contributions from our overseas comrades during the past weeks which have prevented such a crisis. In particular readers will have noticed a contribution of some £45 from comrades in San Francisco a couple of weeks ago, and there is a story behind this generous help, which we only discovered in reading an announcement in last week's issue of *l'Adunata* (New York, 21/8/54). We translate:

"The comrades in San Francisco have taken a highly commendable initiative and invite militants and anarchist groups in the United States and in Canada, whatever may be their native tongue, to join them.

It is a question of the London weekly FREEDOM, widely distributed and read in America and in all continents and countries where English is spoken, but whose continued publication is always threatened by the insufficient financial help it receives.

Here is the original English text of the appeal from the San Francisco comrades:

As a result of FREEDOM's recent appeal for funds, we in San Francisco have formed a committee which with contact the various groups in America in a general appeal. It is our intent to enable those of *Freedom Press* to continue their good work unencumbered by the difficulties of limited finances.

To start our campaign here, at a recent meeting this committee collected a sum which has been sent to *Freedom Press*. It is our wish that others will join us to make this a successful effort.

Anyone interested in aiding FREEDOM through this crisis can send contributions to:

David Koven,
1452 Kansas Street,
San Francisco, California.

This group will undertake the responsibility of forwarding the funds to *Freedom Press*.

San Francisco Committee for
Freedom Press.

Koven's name—continues the *Adunata*—is that of a comrade widely known in our circles from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific—and is a more than sufficient guarantee of the reliability and seriousness of the undertaking.

As to the merits of FREEDOM and its effectiveness as a propaganda weapon, those who have had occasion to see the paper that to-day has no equal in any language or country. It has correspondents and readers in all parts of the world, and deserves to have many more.

FREEDOM is a truly international publication and it is natural that it in the international field that it should find its means of support and its information.

The editors of *l'Adunata* give their full support to the comrades of San Francisco and consider their undertaking worthy of the widest solidarity."

★

FOR many years a warm comradeship has linked our group with the comrades issuing *l'Adunata* as well as their most generous opinion as to the merits of our journal are typical of this unstinting comradeship, and, deeply moved, we thank them.

As to the San Francisco comrades (and with them groups in Los Angeles and elsewhere on the West Coast), we have on a number of occasions acknowledged in these columns the constant examples of solidarity we have received from them in our task of publishing FREEDOM, and to them—and to

David Koven in particular—the FREEDOM PRESS GROUP sends its greetings and thanks for all they have done in the past and are now proposing to do in the future. We are using no meaningless cliché when we say that their gesture is a source of great encouragement to our group as well as, we are sure, to many comrades in this country.

But may we just add a word of warning against complacency! We have always aimed at making FREEDOM pay its own way through sales and subscriptions, so that contributions might be used for *developing* our work. And we have no doubt that a little extra effort on the part of our comrades throughout the world would result in those extra twelve hundred regular readers we need to make FREEDOM solvent, being found. Not only financially solvent, but 1,200 more people who will be reading the anarchist point of view; and this is much more important than being solvent! May we suggest that our readers in Britain, Australia, India, Israel, Japan, etc., acknowledge the generous initiative of our San Francisco friends by a campaign to obtain 1,200 new readers?

★

WHEN we mentioned "development" we had in mind that parallel with the publication of a weekly journal, and equally important, is the issuing of books and pamphlets in which anarchist ideas and kindred subjects may be discussed in greater detail than is possible in a newspaper. In the course of the past fifteen years FREEDOM PRESS has published more than 50 titles, original works as well as anarchist classics, of which more than a quarter of a million copies have been sold to date. With some exceptions our literature has not what is commonly called "popular appeal", and therefore we recover the outlay for their production only over a period of years, certainly over a much longer period than our paper suppliers, typesetters and printers are prepared to wait for their money! Add to this the fact that printing costs have tripled in the past few years, and it is clear that our output of literature must be governed by our financial resources. Our present crisis, apart from the deficit on FREEDOM, is the result of having dared to defy this hard financial logic last year when we published no less than four major works, hoping that each would help to pay for the other within the period of credit allowed by our suppliers. On such hopes many a commercial publisher has ended in the bankruptcy courts! We still survive, but only just, and our publications programme this year has been suspended except for the *third* volume of FREEDOM reprints which will appear next month.

One specific case that results from this financial crisis is that very shortly Alexander Berkman's classic, the *A.B.C. of Anarchism* (comprising the second part only of his work *Now and After*, originally published in America by the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*) which has been on FREEDOM PRESS lists for many years will no longer be available. Eleven thousand copies of our edition of the *A.B.C.* have been sold and there is always a demand for it. Yet to publish an edition of 2,000 copies today will cost nearly £200, and it will take perhaps six years to recover production costs. FREEDOM PRESS is not now in a position to undertake such a project, nor, do we suppose, are the groups in San Francisco, or our friends of the *Resistance* group, or those in Chicago or even the Libertarian Book Club in New York. But such projects, it seems to us, are essentially ones for solution on an international scale. Berkman's *A.B.C.* has done good work, not just in London but in Los Angeles, Glasgow and Sydney, Bombay and Johannesburg as well. Are there not enough of us in the

A BIT OF HISTORY

Portuguese India

GOA is hardly noticeable on the map of Asia. Few of us will even be able to recall the history of this remote part of the Indian continent because we remember our history books richer in more spectacular accounts of invasions and counter invasions. The rise and fall of the Roman Empire and the exploits of the Crusaders are of more account in our selected accounts of history than the invasion of Goa by the Portuguese in 1510.

The events of last week which brought Goa into the news when a group of Indian Nationalists served notice to march, on *Independence Day*, into Goa as a protest against Portuguese rule sent us scurrying to our historical records to find out what political significance Goa had which made it hit the headlines.

We find that the first Portuguese invasion of Goa under Albuquerque in 1510 was accompanied by the first Dominican friars to land in that country. After being routed once, the Portuguese returned a few months later and in the process of over-running Goa massacred the entire Mohammedan population. The Dutch then attempted a blockade of Goa but were unsuccessful. Its prosperous period up until recent times was more or less during Goa's peaceful spells between 1575-1625. Trade according to some accounts was gradually monopolized by the Jesuits. Up until 1835 Goa was only inhabited by a few priests, monks and nuns. The Inquisition was introduced into Goa in 1560 which led the historian J. Fryer to write that Goa is a "Rome

in India both for absoluteness and fabrics". Modern devotees will be more interested in Goa as the final resting place of St. Francis. To-day Goa is economically prosperous and last year the export figures of manganese and iron ore amounted to 11 million dollars. Economically then Goa is very important to the Portuguese, although last week most of the newspaper accounts would lead one to believe that the thing that worried the Portuguese most was that the remains of St. Francis might be damaged. Undoubtedly this is a very strong weapon in the hands of the Portuguese rulers, and in the event of a serious uprising of Indian Nationalists this would be used to incite world opinion. Two newspaper reports from widely different sources point to this. The *Observer* correspondent writes:

"Thousands of Catholics in Goa began marching barefoot to the church of Bom Jesus in old Goa to pray to Saint Francis Xavier.

"They had been told that Nehru's armed Indian hordes were going to pour in upon them; that their religion was threatened and that as the Indians would remove the body of the Saint disaster would descend upon their land."

In true crusading style Lisbon's *Diario de Noticias* denounced Nehru as a forerunner of Communism; "The spectacular show staged by Indian imperialism . . . is nothing but an episode . . . of the subjugation of Asia to the sinister disintegrating forces of Russia," it went on "Portugal will not let this sordid spoilation, which also affects the whole Christian West, be accomplished without denouncing it to the world by raising its voice and shedding its blood."

We see here now the familiar ideological arguments are used to cover up the real reasons for the fury of the Portuguese rulers. St. Francis had indeed answered their prayers, however, for, (for political reasons which would demand another article), the threatened march of the Nationalists never came off, except for about fifty Indian pacifists—half of whom were Catholics!

The Portuguese, nevertheless, did not bank entirely upon St. Francis, for elaborate precautions were taken to prevent marchers from entering the city. African and Portuguese troops, bayonets and rifles at the ready, blocked the roads in.

We wonder if the comment of some of the settlers sums up the temper of a people traditionally bred in authoritarianism:

"We don't have democracy in Portugal and we have seen how its works in India and we don't like it."

R.M.

Briefly

PROGRESS & CULTURE

The *Manchester Guardian* reports that: "The Theatre Royal, Huddersfield, which was granted a subsidy of £40 a week by the town council this month, is to close indefinitely after the final performance by the repertory company tomorrow night. This will mean that Huddersfield will be without a 'live' theatre—the Palace closed three months ago.

Mr. John Hale, the manager, said yesterday that the owners of the Theatre Royal, which was built in 1880, had decided to close it because of heavy losses and the absence of any assurance that the council's grant would be continued after the end of the financial year."

The *New York Post* reported some weeks ago:

"New vistas are open to-day, thanks to Frank P. Walsh, an industrial plant guard from West Hampstead, L.I.

He shot his television set. Walsh, unable to sleep because the thing was "playing too loud", stilled the set with one shot from his .38 caliber revolver, for which he has a license. His wife, mother-in-law and five children were watching at the time.

The wife called police, but there is no law against murdering television sets. (If there were, it would be justifiable videocide anyway).

However, he will be charged—substantially—by his TV repairman."

PANTALOONS & CORSETS

ROME, Aug. 20 (U.P.)—Pope Pius XII has asked Roman Catholic bishops throughout the world to take action against "indecent" modes of dress, particularly in the summer season.

The Pope's call said such dress habits had "spiritually ruinous effects, especially on young people."

The call was issued at the Pontiff's express instruction in a letter written by Pietro Cardinal Ciriaci in the "Acta Apostolicae Sedis"—the bulletin that carries Catholic disciplinary directives throughout the world.

FLEEING FROM AN ALLY!

THREE of a party of 40 Yugoslav students broke away from their companions in Nuremberg railway station yesterday, fled to U.S. Counter Intelligence Corps agents waiting in a car, and sought political asylum, according to West German authorities. They are aged between 25 and 28.

News Chronicle, 21/8/54

We thought nobody needed political asylum from Tito—since 1948!

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English-speaking world to see that this good work continues?

★

THESE are some of the thoughts that the news from our San Francisco comrades has provoked in our group. There can be no resting on laurels, or marking time or sitting back. There's a lot of spade work to be done . . . and we feel very energetic!

The Free individual

Continued from p. 2

worthless relations—sordid, that is, in relation to Jacques but quite acceptable to others. Society is made up largely of people who are sordid, because they have objectivised their personalities in wealth, power and "reputation", and worthless, because they are enslaved and afraid to be free, sovereign individuals. Through the eyes of Gaston we see the incessant frustration and mutilation to which the individual is condemned. In his dreams Gaston has built up his lost childhood as infinitely happy, and now the truth—that it was cruel and vicious in the extreme—he cannot bring himself to believe. But he has absolute proof (through a scar on his back) that he is the real Jacques Renaud.

Gaston, left in despair after his final cruel scene with Valentine, stares at his reflection in the mirror, as he realises that he cannot get away but is caught in the trap of the past and society and authority. He seizes something on the table by him, hurls it at this image of himself, and shatters the mirror to pieces. Anouilh seems to mean here that all the corruption and degradation in our lives can be destroyed if we refuse to go on reflecting the mistakes of the past. Gaston drops on to the bed, holding his head in his hands. In a few seconds, a boy in an Eton suit pokes his head round the door. This is one of the most inspiring moments in all of Anouilh's plays: the boy represents the purity and freedom of the future, the new lives we can create for ourselves. The boy is from one of the families that claim him: But all his relatives are dead. Then the solution to his own problem dawns on him—here is a family with no memories of him whatsoever. He finds a way of making the evidence prove that he belongs to this family. Gaston is now free, he has no past, no weight of duties, obligations, relations or past round his neck, no "baggage" to burden him on his way, on his journey through existence.

ALL men should be unrestricted as Gaston is at the end of *Le Voyageur sans Bagages*. What should men learn so they will be able to learn to make their lives whole and beautiful? A oneness of conditions for all, the abolition of all obedience and authority, the rejection of duties and the prating of moralists and priests, the sovereignty of the individual and a rich differentiation of souls. Then life will become a bush of flowers the roots of which will draw strength from the respect of all for the unique personality and essence of freedom of each man. It will be a fire fed by the glowing coals of sincerity, mutual friendship and absolute tolerance, the common strife to rise higher. The individual has to found himself upon his own decisions consciously taken; and this is not an act done once for all, but one that must be sustained by being perpetually renewed, so long as he lives. Self-consciousness when it is thoroughly awakened is consciousness of one's solitude and one's liberty. When everything goes of itself and is taken for granted, in his early life of impulse, instinct, obedience to duty, submission to authority, the objective world hides the individual from himself.

What is the individual? He cannot be reduced to or identified with his body, his rôle in society, his actions, nor even his "character", which is manifested in all his aspects. At the bottom is his liberty, the source of his possibilities, of what he wills to be. Existence for the individual is this active choice of himself in liberty. If he does not come to himself and exercise his liberty in the realm of being oneself, he remains in the realm of being there, objectively, authoritarily determined, inauthentic, a thing. Gaston comes to himself, accompanied by the anguish and the thrill of knowing that all he thinks, decides and does separates him from the realm of slavery, launching himself in flight, *Le Voyageur sans Bagages*. D.M.M.

Railmen Restive Again

ful out of the 600 who voted to return actually turned up to work. They were not started.

The police precautions were unnecessary, for all the picketing was peaceful and orderly, in accord with strike leader Albert Hart's appeal for 'no trouble'. Five hundred men picketed the *Seaboard Enterprise*, on which the hatches remained firmly battened down.

On the question of switching unions, Mr. Bird has pointed out that under T.U.C. agreements no union would accept members from another union while a dispute is in progress, and the employees say they will only negotiate with the T.G.W.U.

The first point seems to us another reason for the Hull dockers not trying to join another union, but maintaining their own independent and unofficial organisation. The second could soon be settled by the employers being compelled to change their minds by the determination of the strikers.

RAILMEN RESTIVE AGAIN

IT is eight months since the last wages crisis among railmen nearly led to a national stoppage. That stoppage was averted by the action of the National Executive in accepting an increase of about 5 per cent. all round instead of the 15 per cent. asked for, on the promise that negotiations would start immediately for a thorough overhaul of the wages structure and investigation of efficiency throughout the industry.

We described the National Executive's threat to lead a strike at that time as a hoax, a bluff which came off in that it screwed a bit out of the Transport Commission and at the same time gave the impression to the hard-up rank and file that their leaders were really prepared to do something for them.

Still Waiting

Now, however, eight months later, the railmen are still looking for the balance of the increase they wanted—and in two areas at least are prepared to go it themselves in strike action whether the Executive likes it or not.

The Manchester District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen, which represents some 25,000 workers over an area from Matlock to Burnley and from Todmorden to Warrington, instructed the National Executive of the union to tell Sir Brian Robertson, the chairman of the British Transport Commission, that unless there is a "satisfactory settlement" of the wages dispute it will resort to strike action. An official of the council said last night that feeling in the district was so high that there might be independent strike action even if the National Executive did not follow its instruction.

And the Manchester N.U.R. men have been followed by the Banbury branch of the A.S.L.E.F., which has passed a resolution supporting strike action if satisfaction is not reached when negotiations are exhausted.

The existence of two organisations—the National Union of Railwaymen and the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen—among railmen (and there is a third—Transport Salaried Staff Association—for the clerks) is ridiculous. When they really want to get something done they each have to resort to direct action, which can only be really effective with the support of the members of the other organisation. It would, then, be more sensible if all railway workers, be they footplate men, signalmen, platform or maintenance staff, clerks or cleaners, or whatever, joined in a federation based on their industrial identity of interest.

Disunity

Unity among railmen is, of course, rendered difficult because of the complex number of different grades, each with their special rates of pay. It is easy to see how, not only their union structures, but also the wages system, divides them. That is why, as anarcho-syndicalists recognise, the unity of the working class, essential in the struggle for a better form of society, entails right from the beginning a denunciation of the wages system.

The Manchester railmen, in February, 1951, won an unofficial strike against the advice of their Executive. They can clearly do it again, but how stupid and frustrating it is to remain under a leadership against which they have to be repeatedly rebelling!

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST.

American Trade Unions

THE modern American trade unions, like the modern bureaucratic State endeavours to form its organization on as wide a base as possible, by attaching to itself great financial bonds by engaging in its bureaucratic services the largest possible numbers of individuals, thus transforming potential adversaries into staunch defenders and partisans of the Oligarchy and the *status quo*.

The bureaucratic spirit that prevails in the trade unions creates a chain reactive spirit that corrupts and creates a climate of moral poverty. As in the modern bureaucratic State so it is within the trade union that the subversive and non-conformist is ostracized, and the subservient and yes-man is favoured. There is arrogance towards inferiors and servility towards the influential leaders and superiors.

Due to the fact that the trade unions are governed to a great extent by the "Leader" princip, thereby, no-one dares openly speak in opposition to the Leader without expecting punishment or injur-

ious consequences as a result of such opposition (Note—intimidations exposed in various unions).

These trade union Leaders (some by inheritance—late Bill Hutchenson of the carpenters' union is succeeded by his son) share in common with Lenin the cynical attitude as to freedom being "Bourgeois prejudice." The argument is that freedom is of no value to the wage earners. Most labour leaders polemicize that the workers will gladly barter all their freedoms and liberties in exchange for bigger pork chops and double pay for overtime.

Most unions lay strong claim to be pillars of democracy. If in doubt, they will refer you to their democratic constitutions and by-laws, but if one is to judge freedom and democracy by a constitution of an organized order, then oppression and tyranny in Bolshevik Russia is a figment of one's imagination. There is no difficulty in disproving the myth and general belief that unions are strongholds of democracy and that the rank and file has full freedom of association and expression.

If such is the case, then why is it necessary for some employers to check-off union dues from their employees (Note—United Mine Workers)? Why do State politicians rise to fame as union racket busters? Why do the State and police authorities and the crime commissions have to come in so very often and put the house of Labour in order? To mention a few of the degrading infamies within the house of labour, such as, the old I.L.A., with its corruption and racketeering and new I.L.A.-A.F.L. with its strike-breaking. Or, the recent scandal of the operating Engineers-A.F.L. pertaining to the recent Yonkers raceway.

Some union officials became so obsessed with the idea of making a fast buck, that they saw nothing wrong about owning a fleet of trucks or buying into business, such as construction, stevedoring, etc. Some union officials play the stock market, some gamble at the race track. There are approximately from 30,000 to 40,000 paid officials in the unions in the United States, whose profession is union leading. They are self-contained and carry an air of indispensability. They, the union officials, think of themselves as administrators of an Industrial concern, and of the dues-paying members as stockholders; whereas the stockholder of, let's say, Bethlehem Steel, can sell his stock at a gain or a slight loss, the dues-paying union member may lose his stock which is his union card, by being expelled from the union and deprived of a livelihood, should he fall in disfavour of the union bureaucrat.

In the late thirties, new young labour leaders arose spontaneously in the Maritime, Automobile and Transport Industries, representing A.F.L. and C.I.O. and other types of unions. At the outset these leaders were adjunctive. Their

functions, to a great degree accessory. Soon, however, they also became professional leaders and by establishing patronage machines, they have perpetuated themselves and now they are irremovable. Their behaviour is no better, and no worse than their blood brothers, the commissars in the Soviet tyranny. In other words rebels rise spontaneously and generate the immobile, passive mass into action. The aftermath is, the true rebel is liquidated and the phony rebel joins the solidifying bureaucracy.

A brief description of the pyramid of the trade union structure is as follows. At the top of each union there is the perpetuating elected leader whom nobody seriously dares to challenge during elections, then follows his chosen elected agents and non-elected appointees, followed by the commandos or better known as the Goons who with the aid of the machine are placed on choice jobs in the trade, then follows the cringers, who always vote Aye with the machine expecting favours in return for same.

All those mentioned are planners of sly innovations for their own preferment. The remainder consists of the full book members followed by the permitmen who are required to pay the same dues, assessments and initiation as regular union members, but the permitman has no choice of employment, no rights or means of redress if in disfavour with any official or another full member. The hope of the permitman is to graduate from his inferior status into full membership, and it is the machine which decides.

Some unions have amassed a great deal of money during the wartime years, thousands of permits were issued and tribute was collected which filled the union coffers, but at the early signs of unemployment, membership books are closed and the permitmen join the ranks of the unemployed.

The trade union leaders are to a great extent a reflection of the greater part of the memberships. It would be sheer demagoguery to chastize the power madness and calculating self-seeking make-up of the union oligarchy without admonishing a greater part of the union membership itself. For the greater part of the union rank and file are devoid of any moral or ethical ideals. Mutual aid, compassion, human dignity are looked upon as idealistic pipe dreams and therefore incompatible with the ideal of the pork chop tussle.

The founder of the A.F.L., Sam Gompers, once stated that unemployment indicates that the hours of labour are too long. At a meeting March 23/54 the C.I.O. Executive Board president Walt Reuther opposed a proposal for the thirty hour week as a solution for checking the growth of unemployment. It seems apparent that some union brothers felt morally obliged to share the scarce employment with their unem-

THE AGONY OF ADOLESCENCE

I AM inclined to agree in the main with Max Patrick's "Viewpoint on Anarchists" (FREEDOM, August 21st, 1954), but one thing he says acts on me like a rag to the proverbial bull.

"One is not born into the Anarchist movement. Adolescent people are hero-worshippers, they like to model themselves on other people and are therefore easy prey for any leader or politician. An Anarchist youth-movement is impossible...."

But all things have a reason. Adolescents are not made the way they are by God or Fate. Their often unpleasant ways are not of necessity part of the process of growing up, as is commonly believed. It is the result of their inferior position in society.

Social convention insists on treating them as children. Neither Law, nor (which is much more important) Custom give them any rights. This despite the fact that they are often at work, sometimes keeping themselves, sometimes making an important contribution to the household budget. Their parents still have the right to control their lives for them, a right of which many make the fullest use, especially in the case of girls, whose virginity must be protected. Everything possible is done to restrict or repress their sexuality. They are made to suffer unbelievable humiliations, and are often given a cruel sense of inferiority which may warp the character for life.

The world treats them as children, though they regard themselves as adults. They feel that they are grown up, and yet they remain in a shameful state of tutelage. Naturally enough they aspire to adulthood with its freedom and privileges. That they find, as often as not, that this freedom is a mirage does not affect the argument. There is no doubt that adults do in fact enjoy a greater freedom. If the average adult was suddenly forced back to his adolescence (as Mr. Bultitude in *Vice Versa* was sent back to childhood and the horrors of boarding school) he would find his new life full of restrictions and would protest bitterly.

It is significant in this connection that the military in every country try to have the call-up as early as possible. Never having known any real freedom, the adolescent finds it less hard to adjust himself to the military life than an adult would. Believe it or not, many adolescents find conscription a welcome escape from home. That is a measure of the lack of freedom that the adolescent has.

In his position the adolescent aspires to adulthood. He dislikes anything childish, and he often wants to seem older than he is. Young girls may well have motherly feelings when they see babies and little children, but they are as keen on looking grown up as the boys. Hero-worship is part of this. Most of the heroes admired are either adults, or other young people who have modelled themselves on adults. The heroes are often figures of power and prestige in their particular sphere. They are not just adults. They are super-adults, and in identifying with them the adolescent revenges himself for his humiliations by imagining himself the master of the adult world.

With all this in mind we need not be surprised at the hysteria, violence, and oddity of behaviour that adolescents display. Their extraordinary costumes, dances, and customs need not amaze us. Faced with a hostile and contemptuous world, sexually starved, at war within their own minds, unsure of themselves, what more can we expect?

However, the problem is relatively new. Until recently persons of fifteen or sixteen were regarded as young adults. Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* would be children by our standards to-day. Even as late as the end of the last century it was possible for Jack London to captain a small fishing boat at the age of fifteen, and live on board with a girl.

ployed brothers, but Mr. Reuther objected, stating that: "A shorter work-week would only mean sharing the scarcity". Reuther instead expounded that labour's real need "is to increase the purchasing power not to increase the leisure". Now the question arises how will purchasing power come to men who are unemployed?

In conclusion, from a libertarian point of view the trade unions contain within their make-up an inherent vice which ultimately can lead to degeneration into communist or fascist State-controlled labour fronts.

FRANZ FLAGLER.

But with the lengthening of the education period, with its consequent dependence on the parents, the new concept of a non-adult non-child intermediate personage came into vogue. This was helped along by the triumph of Victorian anti-sex taboos (in the Victorian era people married much later than they do now), and perhaps not a little by the fact that the span of life was getting longer. In the Middle Ages few lived much beyond forty.

The final step was to treat youthful criminals separately from adults, and quite suddenly the public became aware that there was such a thing as "juvenile delinquency". It is hard to say which was worse, the old system of treating young and older criminals alike, or the new one of treating the youthful offenders with a nauseating admixture of paternalism and brutality, thus breaking down their self-respect.

Most people did not have a happy adolescence. Let them look back at it, before they read some insufferably patronising treatise written about the problems of adolescence by some elderly hollow-pate. Books dealing with adolescent problems are usually a waste of time to read. There are exceptions such as the works of A. S. Neill, some of the publications of Freedom Press, and Ethel Mannin's *Common Sense and the Adolescent*, but these works are not as widely read as they deserve to be.

In actual fact, in answer to Max Patrick, there are anarchist youth federations in quite a number of countries. Despising the adolescent will do no good, for if they are not treated decently they will go on supporting fascist and authoritarian institutions. I may add as a passing shot, that although no doubt adolescents played a large part in bringing in Hitler and Co., the adults played the larger part in it, either actively, or by passive acquiescence. A.W.U.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at

THE MALATESTA CLUB

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