

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Whenever government assumes to deliver us from the trouble of thinking for ourselves, the only consequences it produces are those of torpor and imbecility."
—WM. GODWIN.

AUTOMATION & THE WORKERS

BECAUSE we are anarchists, we tend, perhaps, to be over optimistic in our appraisal of the potentialities of certain trends and developments in society. Yet it seems to us, as we have already written in these columns, that the giant strides made by science in this century and its application to the techniques of production—for his destruction, as well as for a better understanding of Man's "nature" and behaviour—the application of which knowledge could lead to his complete enslavement . . . or liberation—this revolution in science cannot, we submit, take place beneficially to mankind without a corresponding revolution in our social thinking. At the time of the elections none of the party managers thought it expedient to tackle the question and make an issue of it. But now that this all-important matter for the politicians has been settled, and their jobs are unquestioned for another five years, some of the real issues, some of the "facts of life" can now be ventilated more freely. As for the recent strikes, they have been much more valuable perhaps in this direction than in the narrow issues over which they arose. For press and Parliament at the time of writing, the topic of the day is Industrial Relations.

is faced on the one hand with the need for raising the standard of education, of health and of life in order to ensure maximum productivity and on the other, with the social problems that the raising of these standards create.

PERHAPS at present the greatest stress is placed on advancement as measured by money. But at some point or other in this particular aspect of the struggle a stage will be reached where all industries having their wage scales linked to the cost of living, every increase in wages will be automatically nullified by an increase in the cost-of-living index. One imagines that the capitalists, supported by the Trades Union bosses, will declare that only increased productivity will produce higher standards for the workers. In fact already to-day there is a growing awareness among workers that their improved standard of living is due to working longer hours (not to mention the contribution made to the family budget by the wife's earnings, which in many cases become an indispensable source of income) and not the result of a growing egalitarian process in society. The demand for maintaining, or even improving, living standards whilst at the same time working shorter hours will prove to be a much more far-reaching demand in a positive direction than differentials, which serve to consolidate capitalism rather than weaken it.

NEVER at any time this century have the broadest groups of people been so well-off" maintains the *Daily Express* and the question so far as they are concerned is to know "what then has gone wrong". The logic of their question is quite clear, because these supporters of capitalism and Empire, take for granted that everybody accepts as an absolute truth that society will always be divided into rulers and ruled, directors and workers; into those who lead and the many who follow. Such an assumption may have been advanced a century ago with some degree of confidence, but to-day the complexity of industrial production and organisation is such that without a skilled and intelligent working class it would be impossible for the industrial machine to function. Modern capitalism, therefore,

TO our minds capitalism is in retreat not so much as a result of pressures from the Trade Unions (indeed, the president of the National Union of Vehicle Builders, speaking at his Union's annual conference, recognised that for many socialists the policies of the Labour Party are "helping to give capitalism a new lease of life."), but as a result of its own internal problems—crises which were once resolved by means—including wars—which to-day would, if applied, create as many new problems for capitalism as they had solved. But it is a fighting retreat in which capitalism seeks to save

that which is fundamental to its continued existence—the social differential. By aiming at giving everybody a stake in society—as the Prime Minister put it recently: "to spread property ownership widely instead of merely destroying private prosperity"—the ruling classes hope to remove certain deep-seated class antagonisms without removing the differentials which after all exist today not only among railway workers, but among the "property owning" section of the community as well!

To this end, the tactic of capitalism is to absorb the Trade Union movement. The slogan will be the over-riding interest of the "national prosperity" which demands the closest collaboration between the employers and an organised, responsible working class.

SUCH a rôle is far from distasteful to the Trade Union leadership. Their acceptance of invitations to talk over things with the new Prime Minister at Downing Street; their openly declared confidence in the Tory Minister of Labour (indeed, in so far as such appraisals are relative, is Sir Walter any worse than their late Ernie Bevin?); their support of wage freezes and their efforts to extend control over the working community; all are clear indications of

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"FREEDOM" BANNED IN KENYA

TO a member of Parliament who asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what specific books and newspapers are prohibited from importation into Kenya, a long list was supplied in which we were interested to see that *FREEDOM* was among the banned publications. The choice is not without its amusing side for it includes such titles as *Health and Efficiency*, *Beauté de Femme*, *More Camera Studies of the Nude*, *Beauté Moderne* besides *The Doctrine of Passive Resistance* and a number of books dealing with the Kenya problem, including the *Kenya Report 1953*. One wonders whether the banning of the lovelies had as its aim to protect the white settler or whether it was felt that pictures of unclothed white women should not fall into the hands of Africans.

As was to be assumed all publications of the British Communist Party are banned as well as those of fellow travelling organisations. But we feel that to have selected only *FREEDOM* for banning among the other weeklies is a compliment indeed.

Collective Punishment

ACCORDING to the *Manchester Guardian's* Paris correspondent (June 26).

Drives to break up terrorist organisations continue to be carried out by the police in both Algeria and Morocco. At Kenchela, near the Aures mountains of Algeria, the French authorities say that the entire local terrorist organisation has been arrested, including four brothers belonging to an influential family.

The main police action in Algeria has been in the department of Constantine. Among those arrested is a former deputy and member of the dissolved M.T.L.D. party, Dr. Lamine Debaghine. In some cases, the police and soldiers are said to have destroyed the gourbis

where rebels were believed to have been given refuge. Gourbis are the small cabins in which most Algerian peasants live. It is not stated whether individual cabins or whole hamlets are being destroyed, though the latter seems probable. In winter such action would lead to severe hardship, but it would be less at this season.

These vigorous measures have not prevented further terrorist action.

Of course collective punishment is an old weapon in the armoury of colonial powers. Only last week to an M.P. who asked for an assurance that "systems of collective punishment will be abolished in all our colonies or Protectorates" the Secretary of State for the Colonies replied with an emphatic "No", adding that

"Provision for collective punishment only exists in a few territories and is seldom used. It is based on the need to penalise communities who have sheltered offenders or have refused to act in aid of the authorities. The few Colonial Governments which retain this provision consider that since there is no practicable and satisfactory alternative it would be unwise to relinquish this power, and I accept their judgment."

A *Reuter* report of the trial in Nairobi of 10 men and two women for the murder of a British boy reads very much like an example of collective punishment. All the accused pleaded not guilty to murder. The judge however accepted the evidence of the two women accomplices in the dock that the ten men did the killing while the women were near by but he dismissed allegations by all twelve accused that statements and confessions said to have been made to the police were extracted by violence, threats or fraud. On the "evidence" he sentenced nine men to death, and the tenth man and the two women were ordered to be detained indefinitely.

The Dockers Stick it Out

NEW life was breathed into the dock strike last week-end by the determination of the Northern ports strikers not to go back to work without recognition.

In face of half-heartedness in London and faint-heartedness in their own executive, the men from the North have dug their toes in and stood up for themselves.

Members of the executive of the NASD left London last Friday and held a series of meetings in Manchester and Merseyside to try and persuade the men to go back and let the TUC decide the issues. They got nowhere. The answer they got from the Northern men was an expedition of some 400 of them in coaches, or motor-bikes, pedal cycles and by hitch-hiking, down to London to stop the creep back to work and try to bring out all of the white union men in support.

In this they had considerable success. Arriving at Tower Hill at 4 a.m. Monday morning, they

marched through London's dockland with banners flying, joined by hundreds of London strikers, to picket the Royal group and the Albert Docks—where hundreds more dockers stopped work.

At a huge mass meeting at Custom House Fields they voted solidly to continue the strike until their victory was won.

In the morning and afternoon large delegations went to the House of Commons, where M.P.s representing constituencies in the North were given a rough time by the men they were supposed to represent. Promises were made—and it remains to be seen, at the time of going to press, what will transpire next.

The delegation from the North has had a salutary effect on London, where the strike has stiffened considerably. It seems a pity that all the other ports in the country could

not be brought out and this long-drawn-out strike would soon be over.

This whole strike should be a most magnificent lesson for the dockers—and for workers everywhere. This strike has had everything—solidarity and blacklegging, determination and wavering, leaders rattling, political groups muscling in, and rank and file militants doing their stuff.

The lessons are there—that its rank-and-file organisation that is worth while, and politics and leadership that ruins everything.

CRAWFIE DROPS A CLANGER

NO-ONE has contributed more to the ballyhoo about our royal personages than the hacks on the popular magazines who churn out an endless spate of life stories, reminiscences, and anecdotes about supposed incidents concerning these eminent figures and their hangers-on. The most prolific source of this drivel is the women's magazines, for whose readers England's royal family has acquired something of the glamour that surrounds the characters in the "romantic" stories that make up the bulk of their reading.

The palm for the most sickening of these columns of royalty-worship must surely go to Marion Crawford, who retails her gossip in the pages of *Woman's Own*, a gaudy weekly aimed at the more cretinous of the female populace. "Crawfie", as (we are told) she is "known to millions", was a royal governess for 17 years, a profession that has left its mark on her prose, which has the patronizing air about it of "If you're a good boy I'll tell you a story".

In *Woman's Own* for June 16, Crawfie waxed enthusiastic about Elizabeth the horsewoman: "The bearing and dignity of the Queen at the Trooping of the Colour ceremony at the Horse Guards Parade last week caused admiration among the spectators . . ."

greatly has the atmosphere of our racecourses improved since the Queen became Patron of the Jockey Club!" Crawfie moves on to Ascot. "Ascot this year", she writes, "had an air of enthusiasm about it never seen there before . . . But of course, the magnet was unchanged—the Royal patronage."

Unfortunately for Crawfie the events she so fulsomely describes were cancelled because of the railway strike. But we can hardly expect her to have known about that. In her private dream world, where princes of the blood-royal cavort all day on white chargers, no-one so plebeian as an engine-driver could ever penetrate.

It will be interesting to see whether the gullible women who normally swallow great draughts of this stuff found that for once it stuck in their throats. I wish I could believe that it would and that they would at last begin to suspect that they are being played for suckers. But I fear that they will go on reading about "The real Prince Philip" ("by one of his closest friends") with undiminished appetites.

In the meantime I shall go on waiting of the day when a politician drops dead as he is about to begin the broadcast speech that rash newspaper editors have already printed and dispatched.

EDWIN PEEKE.

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 25

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BARRETT REPORTS FOR WORK

DICK BARRETT, for 12 years general secretary of the National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers, has finally retired, in the middle of a strike for recognition of the union which has paid him for 12 years!

And not only has he retired in the middle of a battle, but on Monday morning, while his new members from the North were giving him a lesson in strike solidarity—he reported for work at the Surrey Commercial Dock!

He wasn't able to blackleg, however, in spite of his apparent willingness, for two reasons. One, he didn't have a registration book, necessary for every worker in the docks. Two, he couldn't get a gang to work with him. When he walked through the dock gates—only eight men followed him!

ANARCHIST SUMMER SCHOOL

AS already announced, this year's Summer School will be held at the Malatesta Club in London over the August Bank Holiday weekend.

Comrades from the provinces or abroad wishing to attend and who will be in need of accommodation for any or all of the time are asked to write EARLY, stating their requirements clearly.

Comrades in London with accommodation available are also asked to write early, stating how many they can put up in double/single beds, etc.

All meals except breakfasts will be arranged at the Club as from the Friday evening, but these must be booked in advance.

The programme of lectures will shortly be announced, and application forms will soon be available.

Arrangements can also be made for comrades able to take their holidays during the first week of August to spend that time at COMMUNITAS, the community in Gloucestershire, after the Summer School in London.

Early application by comrades wishing to do this is desirable.

All correspondence to:
JOAN SCULTHORPE,
60 Kenninghall Road, London, E.8.

SCIENCE NOTES

AUTOMATION—FLYING SAUCERS

THE automation of industry, just beginning in this country, is already well advanced in Russia and America, and within a couple of decades it will be well established in all the major industrial countries. Oil refineries have been automatic for many years. The Vauxhall motor company in this country uses a machine which completes gear boxes from the rough castings, a process involving sixteen different operations. Two semi-skilled men are needed replacing twenty skilled engineers.

At the Austin car assembly plant in Birmingham electronic machines operated by a punch card system direct sixteen miles of conveyor track, automatically sorting the various types of car parts and delivering them where required in the assembly process. Two men have replaced eight. In America a Ford assembly line produces as many engine blocks with forty-one men as compared with one hundred and seventeen previously, and in a new steel plant six thousand five hundred men do the work done by eleven thousand in the old mill. Automation is also widespread in the business world particularly in insurance and banking.

This is a new industrial revolution that brings with it as many problems in adaptation as the last one. Of the two main attitudes to it the optimistic one looks forward to an increasing living standard with a plentiful supply of cheap goods and more leisure. The pessimistic outlook sees with apprehension, unemployment and an already regimented society dominated and enslaved by machines. In this country up to now all redundancy due to automation has been absorbed in general industrial expansion, the need to produce more export goods to survive in the jungle of international competition. But America has three million unemployed.

The American trade unions, aware of the dangers of a rapid change to automation are bargaining with the big companies for safeguards for their members. A strike of one hundred and forty thousand Ford workers was recently averted by the company agreeing to claims by the Automobile workers' union for a guaranteed annual wage. The agreement provides for payment of 60-65% of wages for up to twenty-six weeks idleness per year in addition to unemployment benefit. Other union proposals include payment to redundant workers while training for new jobs, the reduction of the working week to thirty hours, and

schemes to encourage the creative use of the increased leisure.

If industry were controlled by the people working in it, automation, sensibly applied could be used to abolish many boring and unpleasant tasks. The activities and successes of the American unions demonstrate the power that lies in the hands of the industrial worker. This power is now used in an attempt to maintain and safeguard the workers' interests but the major problems of a capitalist economy are left untouched and in the hands of Wall Street financiers and Washington politicians.

Height and Happiness

THE staff of approved schools have, among their other activities, been measuring the growth rates of the detained boys. When these were compared in terms of increase in height it was found that the height of children at approved schools is less than for those at ordinary L.C.C. schools. It was also found that in approved schools only, there was a tendency for growth to be arrested at puberty although the effect was very much less in 1945-48 compared with 1934-37.

The report published in the *Medical Officer* offers the suggestion that happy children grow more quickly than unhappy ones, or at least that the growth of children who are emotionally disturbed is more irregular than that of more normal children.

Men on the Sun?

THE German Supreme Court has ruled that the sun is not inhabited and as a result the German Astronomical Society can claim a reward from the estate of a German amateur astronomer. They presented to the court a detailed

refutation of his theory that the sun consisted of a habitable body surrounded by a hot sphere with holes (sunspots) in it. The astronomer had offered the reward to anyone who could disprove his belief that vegetation and human life would be found on the sun.

Flying Saucers, Orgone and Love

ON June 18th, an audience of the Flying Saucer Research Society were treated to a very comprehensive outline of the development of the theories of Wilhelm Reich, by Paul Ritter. This was followed by an attempt by David Boadella to show a relationship between Orgone energy and flying saucers.

The means to a unitary science by the method of Organomic Functionalism was described. Starting from Freud's inability to explain masochistic tendencies other than by postulating the presence of a death instinct, Paul Ritter described how Reich observed that these tendencies were accompanied by muscular tensions which interfered with the natural release of energy at orgasm and with a natural biological pulsation. He described the orgasm formula of mechanical tension, energy charge, energy discharge, mechanical relaxation as a widespread and fundamental biological process. Such processes were explained in terms of a new energy concept called Cosmic Orgone Energy and of which heat, light, electricity and radio-activity are but aspects.

Reich's concept of Work Democracy was mentioned and its relationship to anarchist theory pointed out, in that the emphasis is on human relationships united in terms of love and work rather than in terms of ideologies. Character

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THEATRE

ORSON WELLES—SHOWMAN

MR. ORSON WELLES, having tried most things in a magnificent pioneer spirit and brought them off brilliantly, now turns his attention to the theatre again. His restless spirit discards all those things which the theatre in England has come to mean. His nostalgia like that of the twenties, is for a vaster horizon, he plunges for the wide open sea, the wild waste where men are men, battling with the elements and the powers of evil. He brings us Herman Melville's "Moby Dick" (Duke of York's Theatre), in his own adaptation and masterly production.

Mr. Welles' conviction is that a bare stage, and an audience is all the actor needs. Let the actor's, the producer's and the audience's imagination do the rest. Here I am wholeheartedly with him. Unfortunately he has not quite the courage of his conviction, he must needs explain himself to the audience in advance, make an excuse for the sparseness of his means. So he begins his drama with a Pirandellian stunt. A company of "ham" actors in a provincial American theatre, having played "King Lear" the night before, are about to give a first rehearsal on the stage of "Moby Dick". In the course of this "prologue" Mr. Welles as the actor-manager has some fun, giving a few vitriolic notes to the actress playing Cordelia and while cocking a benevolent smiling eye on the old-time actor, voices his own grievances about audiences in general.

This, it seems to me, is a concession which should be left out. I realize that the play as it stands is too short and needs more body, but not this padding in the nature of a stunt which says: "please excuse our deficiencies we are only trying this out and make no pretence of giving you a finished performance, so don't expect anything." The apology is unnecessary, and weakens the effect of Melville's masterpiece. An adaptation of a great novel, though it may lose some of its essential quality and leave great gaps, is made according to the adaptor's love and appreciation of it. That which strikes him as vital and important is high-lighted and the result often makes a greater impact than the original conceived in a different medium. Had Mr. Welles barged right in with all hands on deck setting his stage, concentrated more on Melville's book and evoked the poetry of the sea from the word go, forgetting to be clever, his daring and vitality would have struck with greater force. The rehearsal idea is anyway an inconsistent one. The stage manager who reads out the scenes is forgotten halfway through, and the actor's first fumbling reading becomes a rollicking performance without a hitch.

Having said this I must go on to say that throughout the evening I was staggered by the masterly grasp and efficiency of Mr. Welles as director and showman. His vision, lighting, grouping and sound effects thrill by their breath-taking speed and brilliance. We are made dizzy by the ingenuity of action, never has a bare stage been put to more exciting use, never have ropes held more magic, dangling, swinging, cleated or hauled. The ship is there, the wharf is there and the sea is all about us. The first half of the play with its rumbustious climaxes sweeps along at a furious pace, the storm is magnificently real and we are almost carried away. But not quite, "there's the rub". Throughout the performance the vital spark of Mr. Welles the actor is missing. He is like a great hulk of a ship, without the throbbing guts. An inspired stage-manager walking through his own production condescending to act *faute de mieux*. As Father Mapple, the preacher, he comes at times near to feeling, but as Captain Ahab, particularly in the second part his performance creaks with boredom. There's no heart in it. Or can it be that Mr. Welles, as the "ham" actor-manager is being subtler than we think? This is carrying consistency and realism too far the other way. No amount of brilliant technique can make up for this lack of heart, call it fire, inspiration, genius what you will. Pure stage-craft alone will never hold the magic.

The conception of Pip the negro boy is disastrous. The scene between Pip and Ahab which should have been heart-rending and highly significant, becomes one of acute embarrassment. A breach of taste. And here Mr. Welles seems plainly to founder.

Some of the other actors also catch a mild self-consciousness particularly Gordon Jackson. The poetry and speech are too often lost in the general noise and it is hard to distinguish one seaman from another which is dramatically wrong. Nevertheless Mr. Jefferson Clifford and Wensley Pithey manage to make their mark and Mr. Patrick McGoohan as Starbuck gives the best performance of the evening.

The production which has only a limited run of four weeks should on no account be missed, and will be applauded wholeheartedly by that section of the public who have been bewailing the death of the theatre. It supplies new blood, and new hope, with Mr. Orson Welles as showman magnificently in evidence, but unfortunately leaving Mr. Welles the actor way behind. D.

Society & Personality

by Albert Einstein

WHEN we survey our lives and endeavours we soon observe that almost the whole of our actions and desires are bound up with the existence of other human beings. We see that our whole nature resembles that of the social animals. We eat food that others have grown, wear clothes that others have made, live in houses that others have built. The greater part of our knowledge and beliefs has been communicated to us by other people through the medium of a language which others have created. Without language our mental capacities would be poor indeed, comparable to those of the higher animals; we have therefore, to admit that we owe our principal advantage over the beasts to the fact of living in human society. The individual, if left alone from birth, would remain primitive and beast-like in his thoughts and feelings to a degree that we can hardly conceive. The individual is what he is and has the significance that he has not so much in virtue of his individuality, but rather as a member of a great human society, which directs his material and spiritual existence from the cradle to the grave.

A man's value to the community depends primarily on how far his feelings, thoughts, and actions are directed towards promoting the good of his fellows. We call him good or bad according to how he stands in this matter. It looks at first sight as if our estimate of a man depended entirely on his social qualities.

And yet such an attitude would be wrong. It is clear that all the valuable things, material, spiritual, and moral, which we receive from society can be traced back through countless generations to certain creative individuals. The use of fire, the cultivation of edible plants, the steam engine—each was discovered by one man.

Only the individual can think, and thereby create new values for society—nay, even set up new moral standards to which the life of the community conforms. Without creative, independently thinking and judging personalities the upward development of society is as unthinkable as the development of the individual personality without the nourishing soil of the community.

The health of society thus depends quite as much on the independence of the individuals composing it as on their close political cohesion. It has been said very justly that Græco-European-American culture as a whole, and in particular its brilliant flowering in the Italian Renaissance, which put an end to the stagnation of mediæval Europe, is based on the liberation and comparative isolation of the individual.

Let us now consider the times in which

we live. How does society fare, how the individual? The population of the civilized countries is extremely dense as compared with former times; Europe today contains about three times as many people as it did a hundred years ago. But the number of great men has decreased out of all proportion. Only a few individuals are known to the masses as personalities, through their creative achievements. Organization has to some extent taken the place of the great man, particularly in the technical sphere, but also to a very perceptible extent in the scientific.

The lack of outstanding figures is particularly striking in the domain of art. Painting and music have definitely degenerated and largely lost their popular appeal. In politics not only are leaders lacking, but the independence of spirit and the sense of justice of the citizen have to a great extent declined. The democratic, parliamentary régime, which is based on such independence, has in many places been shaken, dictatorships have sprung up and are tolerated, because men's sense of the dignity and the rights of the individual is no longer strong enough. In two weeks the sheep-like masses can be worked up by the newspapers into such a state of excited fury that the men are prepared to put on uniform and kill and be killed, for the sake of the worthless aims of a few interested parties. Compulsory military service seems to me the most disgraceful symptom of that deficiency in personal dignity from which civilized mankind is suffering to-day. No wonder there is no lack of prophets who prophesy the early eclipse of our civilization. I am not one of these pessimists; I believe that better times are coming. Let me shortly state my reasons for such confidence.

In my opinion, the present symptoms of decadence are explained by the fact that the development of industry and machinery has made the struggle for existence very much more severe, greatly to the detriment of the free development of the individual. But the development of machinery means that less and less work is needed from the individual for the satisfaction of the community's needs. A planned division of labour is becoming more and more of a crying necessity, and this division will lead to the material security of the individual. This security and the spare time and energy which the individual will have at his command can be made to further his development. In this way the community may regain its health, and we will hope that future historians will explain the morbid symptoms of present-day society as the childhood ailments of an aspiring humanity, due entirely to the excessive speed at which civilization was advancing.

William Blake
Admirable Anarchist

THE enquiry in England is not whether a man has talents and genius, but whether he is passive and polite, and a virtuous ass, and obedient to noblemen's opinions in art and science. If he is, he is a good man. If not, he must be starved!

Such could be the inflamed, almost hysterical impatience of William Blake, artist-engraver, when he paused to comment upon the kow-towing, conformist society of the 18th century. The quotation is taken from a recent Pelican publication on William Blake by Dr. Bronowski, who is recognised here as a thorough non-conformist and an able analyst of the life of one who found himself beleaguered and sometimes bewildered by the events in the times in which he lived.

Blake was an admirable anarchist, self-taught, always a little credulous, wondering, but persevering, healthily furious, using his pen in the manner of a ploughshare, up-turning the old top-soil of established practice and orthodoxy for the fresh and necessary sub-soil of new ideas and their progressive application. He was a mystic and it is into this part of Blake's turbulent nature that Dr. Bronowski so searchingly looks. He examines the involved and complicated reason why Blake should be as one who was always spitting in the eye of something or somebody.

Trimmed down to essentials the answer is that Blake was living a completely disorientated life, from the immediate social life around him. The 18th century was one of many centuries notorious for its political intrigues and humbug. The working class were so cruelly exploited that even they rebelled! Riots were commonplace. The tyrannous wheel of the Industrial Revolution had begun to

turn. The journeyman craftsman and others of his like sensed their forthcoming extinction in the mechanically produced article, and Blake, a born craftsman, sensitive, own-minded, saw further and felt more keenly the oncoming demise.

For long enough he ranted and raved against the criminal negligence of the State towards most of its people, and the church for its condoning silence towards the State. It was a deplorable atmosphere for an artist, and Blake, who believed in the supremacy of the imagination, finally retreated from reality to his own authentic world. He had never been bound by objective appearances. To belabour a cliché: he was—if anyone—in the world but not of it!

Of course Blake has—comparatively speaking—been ignored by the biographers and other boosters of suitable reputations. People do sing 'Jerusalem' but are they aware that it is a blasting satire on 18th century conditions brought about by self-interested politics and fornicating diplomacy, and that it is just as relevant to-day?

The satanic mills are still with us—different only architecturally. The tyranny of the industrial repetitive process is now more than ever an agonizing fact. The machine could have been a servant, but the capitalist system made it a master. Its demand is to be served by an operative.

Dr. Bronowski has done very well to say so much so convincingly in such a form of publication. He mentioned his indebtedness to other sources, but they are few. Blake it seems has found—or been found—by a forward-moving champion.

HARRY BRINDLEY.

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AUTOMATION AND THE WORKER

Continued from p. 1

the lines along which the T.U. leadership are thinking. But such attitudes are also indicative of their own internal difficulties, and we think these are not difficult to seek. Hitherto the "unity" of the Trade Union movement was assured by the greedy and reactionary attitude of the employing class and the stark reality of a large army of unemployed workers, but never by a positive ideal. Working conditions, hours of work and wages have, at least so far as the principal industries are concerned, ceased to be matters over which a direct struggle between worker and employer takes place on the spot. To-day they are legislated for at some remote "high level" for the country as a whole, and for all workers whether organised in a Union or not. Unemployment as a technique for increasing production has lost its attraction for most industrialists who are as much, if not more, concerned with the problem of markets for their goods than with productivity; and a prosperous internal market requires full employment (of the womenfolk as well), and even overtime.

Thus, viewed broadly, capitalism has removed the props on which Trade Union unity was supported. And in spite of all the talk of "human relations" in industry, of the workers having their "share of the cake" the deep cleavage in society persists.

WE were reminded last week of the ideological ossification of Trade Unionism through an article in the *Manchester Guardian* (June 22) recalling that it is a hundred years since the last of the experiments in Owenite co-operative socialism came to an end. The Leeds Redemption Society, as the last survivor was called, which was founded in 1845 to enable "the Working Classes to work out their own Redemption by Union among themselves", published a monthly paper, the motto of which proclaimed the goal of the new society as—"Labouring Capitalists, not Labourers and Capitalists". One can, at a distance of a hundred years, smile at the naiveté of these Redemptionists whose motto "Labouring Capitalists" was in fact a contradiction in terms, but the terrible reality is that the objectives of present day Trade Unionism are the same in spite of a century of experience. And, what is even worse, is that, intellectually at least, the Tories of 1955 have caught up with the Redemptionists of 1855 . . . and the Trade Union bosses of 1955 in this country and America (see FREEDOM 25/6/55)!

It is, however, unrealistic and sectarian to write-off the Trade Unions because their objective has been a limited one though when their obituary comes to be written we feel that no one will deny that they outlived their welcome in that they retarded the development of the social revolution. In any case it was not our intention to hold a post-mortem on Trade Unionism, but rather to look forward to this coming age of atomic energy and automation, which is no pipe-dream but a fact.

In a society not divided by classes, the advent of atomic energy in industry and the robot factory would be welcomed by all as triumphs of scientific research for reducing the problem of providing the means of existence to proportions which

would allow to all the necessary leisure to concentrate on the much more important problem of living full and interesting lives. But that is not the reaction to-day. At the Conference on Automation held in Margate last month it is quite clear that Industry is only interested in Automation as its predecessors were in the automatic loom and the steam-engine: that is how it can benefit financially from its application. Labour for its part views Automation not without suspicion: will it create unemployment they ask, and the Trade Union leaders express themselves as being content if they can have guarantees that Automation will not result in a lowering of living standards in the industries where it is applied or in a large number of workers having to sign on at the Labour Exchange because they have become "redundant".

From the point of view of the community, indeed of mankind as a whole, the attitude of Industry to Automation is narrow and inhuman; that of the Trade Unions, defeatist.

ALL the appeals to "human relations" in industry exuded by the Government and its supporters in last week's Commons debate on Industrial Relations were simply a means to an end, a seeking after a *modus vivendi* between Labour and Capital so that the existing economic system might survive (whatever they may say, capitalism without the co-operation of workers cannot operate; we have yet to have proof that mankind cannot survive without capitalism!) What of the Trade Union Leaders? Is their struggle also become a means to an end? Are we in fact witnessing a struggle for power between the managers of industry and the managers of Labour? Such an hypothesis, we think, could be substantiated by drawing parallels between the relations of management to industry and of T.U. leaders to membership, the unquestioning acceptance by the T.U.C. of the existing economic system, and their remoteness from and general hostility to, their membership. But the fact remains, irrespective of the validity of our hypothesis, that Trade Union leadership can offer very little to the workers in the industrial revolution confronting them. Just as this revolution brings with it new techniques, a new psychology and a new vocabulary, so must the workers movement be infused by a new outlook, new objectives and also a new vocabulary. At the very least those who produce the cake should be in the position to determine how it shall be divided. At best the cake could be large enough for all to help themselves according to their needs.

It is here that our anarchist optimism manifests itself, for, to our minds, atomic energy and automation provide us with the key to a world of plenty in which working hours and dangerous and unpleasant work will be reduced to a minimum. And to those who might say: "But atomic energy is also the key to the Hydrogen bomb, and Automation the door to mass unemployment" we can only reply that it is our ability to think and reason that distinguishes us from animals, that gives us the powers to love or to hate . . . and provides us with the powers of choice. But we must repeat our opening remarks: the industrial revolution of our time demands also a revolution in thinking. It will not come from the managers and the Trade Union leaders whose future has its stake in the social structure of the past, but from the dispossessed who can well afford to forget the past and cast their glances into the future and its potential store of well-being and happiness.

REUTHER'S REVOLUTION

"A lot of people call everything we do 'creeping Socialism'. They called social security that and they called pensions that. I really don't know what creeping Socialism is. If the critics will define the term, I'll tell them whether I think this agreement is creeping Socialism . . . We have to keep up with the times. Every time we do something new, people cry that it's either Communism or Socialism."

—HENRY FORD II, 20/6/55:

THIS plaintive cry from the boss of one of the world's greatest capitalist organisations indicates the howl that goes up in free-enterprise America whenever any move is made outside of the rigid pattern of competitive catch-as-catch-can trading practices.

The agreement to which Henry Ford referred is that which he has just signed with the United Automobile Workers' Union of America, guaranteeing his thousands of workers a wage throughout the year.

This agreement on the Guaranteed Annual Wage (GAW) has also been signed by General Motors, the largest automobile-making concern in the world, and its achievement is hailed as a personal triumph for Walter Reuther (pronounced Rooter), top man of the UAW.

To understand the significance of the GAW it is necessary only to know the way in which thousands of workers for the great auto-building firms are subjected to seasonal lay-off every year. In America more than in Britain, competition between the car-makers leads to the design and production of new models practically every year. Which means that whenever a new model is going into production, and the tools and presses have to be set up afresh, the whole assembly line is affected and workers are stood off. This has been a scourge in the auto industry, and the GAW agreement is an attempt to get round it.

What's it Worth?

What in fact does it offer the workers? When the announcement about the agreement was first made, consternation was widespread as it was thought GAW would be made a pattern throughout the whole of America and would impose an impossible burden on enterprises without large resources. But as the details became known, it was found that what Fords and GM had conceded fell considerably short of the guaranteed annual wage—although it was a form of wage guarantee—and that the payments to their unemployed workers which the companies have contracted to make in supplement to those supplied by the

States are likely to cost them much less than was generally imagined.

The companies, in fact, are bound to contribute, from the trust funds they are establishing, only enough to laid-off workers to make up to a guaranteed level of wages what the state agencies fall short of doing. And this guaranteed level is by no means what the union originally demanded; that is, a figure that would enable a worker to maintain, while idle, the same living standard that he had when he was working.

Under the Ford and General Motors contracts a worker is guaranteed 65 per cent. of regular take-home pay for four weeks after the first week of lay-off, and for the next 22 weeks he is guaranteed 60 per cent. of take-home pay. In effect, this means that in most states much the greatest part of the unemployment benefits received by a worker would come from state agencies, and in some states (paying higher unemployment compensation) all of it would come from those sources.

Moreover, for the next three years, even though there might occur in that period a depression, forcing extensive lay-offs, Ford and General Motors cannot be compelled to meet any unemployment demands beyond those which can be covered from their trust funds.

In point of fact this 'revolutionary' decision is going to cost Fords another 20 cents an hour per worker and G.M. another 22 cents—a small sum indeed in proportion to the wages paid (Ford workers average \$106 weekly)—and a sum which will not be difficult to get back from the customer—who, after all, pays for all the costs when he buys the finished product.

How the Boss Gains

In the long run the employers stand to gain much more from this arrangement than they will lose—for they will lose nothing. What they will gain will be first, stabilisation throughout the industry—and stabilising as big an industry as automobiles in America will have a steadying effect on the whole economy.

Secondly, the firms using GAW will be able to maintain their labour forces, with no risk of losing their workers to competitors or other industries during lay-offs.

Thirdly, it will create the sense of 'belonging' to a company in the minds of the workers. By giving them a stake in the firm in bad times as well as good, loyalty to the employers and seeking security under their wings will tend to dampen militancy.

Fourthly, GAW will act as an incentive for employers to boost productivity, to lay off workers less and get more out of them while at work, and at the same

time to make up for the ordinary wastage of labour through leaving and retirement by greater mechanisation.

The Power of the Union

Apparently one of the aspects of GAW which has worried American industrialists most is not so much the actual agreement itself but the power of the union which it discloses. In this respect it is interesting to notice that Reuther was offering a workers share-holding scheme by both Fords and G.M., but turned it down. Although he started off in his career, like so many other labour leaders, as a radical socialist, Reuther to-day is perfectly satisfied with the capitalist system.

He turned down the offers of shares in the industry because he did not want the union to have any part in management. Now this is all right if he is in effect saying 'We don't want to collaborate with you in capitalism—we want to take over the whole works and run it ourselves.' But Reuther doesn't say that. He is perfectly content to remain a wage- and condition-bargainer within the capitalist set-up, only prouder of the ability of American capitalists to pay higher wages than anyone else.

Because of this, although UAW has colossal strength, although that strength was behind the negotiations with the threat of strikes if they failed, American capitalism has nothing to fear from unionism of the Reuther type. It's aggressive and, within capitalist limits, progressive—like the capitalists themselves. They'll get along all right together.

For the auto workers GAW offers some advantage—in the same way exactly that the decasualisation scheme offered some advantage to Britain's dockers. In the same way the American workers will realise that in settling for this sort of security they must sell themselves for it in return.

Just as the dockers now find that the scheme and the unions are used as a means of discipline, of keeping them quiet, so may the auto workers in time see their freedom vanishing before the union/employer agreements.

In a way, all these social security schemes bring with them a kind of serfdom. As in the olden days the barons made themselves responsible for the welfare of their serfs—because they were their property, like their cattle, so now those who buy labour recognise the value of looking after it a bit better than they did in the first flush of wage slavery.

The Guaranteed Annual Wage, like all ameliorations within capitalism, do nothing to alter its essential nature: authoritarian and exploitative. It brings no more freedom, no more say in the running of their places of work, no more dignity or responsibility to those who produce all wealth.

But it enables them to pay the mortgage and hang on to the television set while laid off. We suppose that's something, but hardly a revolution.

P.S.

Science Notes

armouring—the total physical tensions and its social manifestation—irrational behaviour, called by Reich Emotional Plague, is present to some extent in everyone as a result of an unsatisfactory environment inhibiting the primary biological needs, especially in childhood.

Physical evidences for orgone energy and the small pulsating vesicles or bions which are its basis were dealt with too briefly to be adequate and the existence of bions remains doubtful except perhaps to an audience who can quite readily believe in flying saucers.

Reich explains cancer as being caused by very small T. bacilli which result from the disintegration of bions in the body due to adverse conditions such as muscular tensions. Treatment of cancer using an orgone accumulator, which is a box made of alternate layers of metallic and non-metallic materials, and which concentrates the all-pervading orgone energy resulted in a reduction of pain and tumours and the prolongation of life.

After one mg. of radium had been placed in an orgone accumulator and then removed, a geiger counter showed the presence of intense radiation in the accumulator. The radium had induced a dangerous disintegrating effect on the highly concentrated orgone energy and in the vicinity of the laboratory the presence of Dor clouds caused such symptoms of Deadly Orgone Sickness, as mental dullness and despair. Serious harm to life was only avoided by dispersion of the cloud using iron pipes placed vertically with their base in clear running water.

Reich's manipulation of Orgone energy now enables him to exert considerable control over the weather. He has already diverted a hurricane from New York and is at present trying to turn a desert

into fertile land, an experiment which makes the British government's attempt to increase the rainfall in Salisbury Plain appear puny in comparison.

Opposition to Reich's work on sexual function may be dismissed as examples of emotional plague, but the field of weather control should be sufficiently removed from sex for it to be judged on its empirical merits.

It is to be expected that scientists will require more detailed evidence of scientifically-controlled experiments than seem to be available before they will accept the existence of energy which contradicts the second law of thermodynamics.

David Boadella drew parallels between flying saucers and orgone energy in terms of their lumination and radiation effects, high speeds in complete silence, and their types of movement, by drawing on a number of accounts of flying saucer incidents where the colour observed, the eye irritations caused, and the movements seen could be explained as the result of high concentration of orgone energy. The implication is that flying saucers manipulate streams of orgone energy and their visits are due to their concern about the spread of Deadly Orgone Sickness as a result of the atomic explosions in America.

The questions and discussion were largely dominated by the many anarchists present, with the exception of a gentleman who kept insisting on the importance of Divine Will.

The nature of the meeting precluded any serious attempt to assess the validity of Reich's theories but enabled them to receive some publicity in the face of a general tendency to ignore. This account of the meeting is offered in the same spirit.

Bios.

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UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

"We are determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of War."

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER.

LAST week in San Francisco the United Nations held their conference to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter.

Having watched the antics of the large member nations over a decade the ringing words quoted above may sound depressingly cynical, but only to those who expect the representatives of States and Governments to stand by their statements and promises.

As a 'peace' making organisation the United Nations was limited from the start. The basis of inequality which existed between the small and large Nations was written into the constitution granting the "big powers" the right of veto. As the Mexican delegate complained at the time, the charter created "an order in the forest which will keep the mice in order, but NOT the lions." But apart from the obvious defects of an organisation which allows large nations privileges over the small, it is inconceivable that so many National States, with their conflicting economic and "ideological" interests can agree on anything which might threaten or weaken their power. For instance, Britain demanded that the United Nations should not be allowed to intervene in matters which were "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State". In deference to her wishes this was granted, and when a few years ago British policy in Malaya (to give only one example)

was to punish collectively whole villages as reprisals for the activities of the "terrorists", an organisation whose existence was supposed to owe its inspiration to the famous declaration of the Four Freedoms, was unable to stop a powerful country passing an inhuman Colonial Policy.

United Nations intervention has not brought a halt to the march of totalitarianism in South Africa, or an end to the slave camps in Eastern Europe; and the countries not within its jurisdiction, like Spain and Portugal, still spread Christian civilization by the bullet and the whip.

This is not to say that all the people who support or even work within the United Nations organisation are cynical opportunists. To many, the U.N. appears as a move towards universality and much of the relief work organised through its Economic and Social Council is of immense value.

Its Children's Fund has financed the treatment of millions of children suffering from disease; the World Health Organisation and the Food & Agricultural Organisation have attempted to reach the forgotten corners of the world where the struggle for survival is helplessly pitted against starvation and disease. In so far as these organisations are financed by the 93 Member Nations of U.N.O. there is recognition by all concerned that the helpless and the needy are the responsibility of society as a whole.

On the political issues the U.N.O. is bound to fail however. The conflicting national interests under capitalism which gives power to the big nations who in turn vie against one another for total domination, will decide the fate of the world, unless the ordinary people in all countries recognise that their respective Governments will destroy them and so rise up in protest against the policies of lunacy and murder.

R.M.

Have you renewed your
Subscription to
FREEDOM?

FREE SCHOOLS & SOCIAL SLAVERY

A. S. NEILL must realise that progressive schools owed much of their impetus to a simple reaction against the stuffy methods and curricula of Church and State schools. Now the professional educationists who control schools of that type have been converted. The official Report on the Primary School contains this significant sentence:—"the curriculum is to be thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored." Also these people have grasped the idea that play is of value both educationally and in the development of a balanced personality. This leaves Neill in the position of a Labour Elder Statesman who finds his programme has been pinched by the Conservatives—welfare state and all.

Neill misunderstands me in assuming that I want to persuade children by teaching 'rights and wrongs'. Since adults do influence the children they live with and teach I consider the adult in a free school should aim to express his beliefs in his behaviour and to be perfectly frank in answering questions. For example at a school where I taught Peter K. (aged 12), found a contraceptive behind our cottage. He knew what it was but asked me about it some time afterwards. I explained why we used it and he was satisfied, though surprised that we were not prepared to emulate his pet mice and rabbits. Otherwise I feel it would be as wrong to take advantage of a child's immaturity by propagating pacifist ideas as it would be to disseminate political or religious beliefs.

When I wrote of a free school being self-supporting I was thinking of a school run jointly by parents and teachers or by a community rather than by receiving financial support from some authority.

I still think it a mark of failure that boys do not gain a strong enough love of freedom in progressive schools to make them resist when the state demands two years conscripted service in the armed forces—though it does illustrate the strength of social conditioning. This goes to prove my contention that free schools need a free society. At present

progressive schools exist only on sufferance. If they became a serious threat to conventional morality the State would suppress them immediately and a public outcry would be organised by the gutter-press. True, there is no likelihood of an Anarchist society in the near future, therefore with that as an aim it rests with us to make an individual protest or revolt against a corrupt social system and seek to aid all projects of a healthy co-operative nature.

Kent, June 27. FRANCIS T. BROMLEY.

MORE SUPPRESSION

IT is not only the *New Statesman* and *FREEDOM* which suppresses readers' letters. We have had an example from our comrades of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Committee similar dastardly practice on the part of the *Daily Telegraph*.

On 6th May the *Telegraph's* gossip columnist, 'Peterborough', carried the following note:

THE REAL CURE

A *Daily Telegraph* reporter who had spent most of the previous 36 hours dealing with the London bus strike was climbing on to one of the few buses in Fleet Street in the early minutes of yesterday when a figure came from the shadows.

The figure—young, pale-faced, bespectacled, with a shock of hair—called "Here you are, mate," handed the conductor a leaflet and disappeared.

The leaflet proved to be issued by the Anarcho-Syndicalist Committee of Whitechapel. It informed the busmen that a combination of anarchy and syndicalism was the answer to their troubles.

Until then my colleague, as he says, had thought that was exactly what all the trouble was. And so had I.

The leaflet referred to was one calling for a public transport workers' syndicate, with a statement of the aims and principles of anarcho-syndicalism on the back.

The committee replied to the *Telegraph* with a letter couched in moderate terms (to try and ensure publication) but

I DID a double take when in *FREEDOM* (Vol. 16, No. 20) I read:

... we feel that there is something basically unsound about the niggardly view that we don't like Government because it robs us of our money. If they questioned the purpose for which the money was used; if they demanded, for example that it was used for additional social services instead of weapons of destruction then we could feel more sympathetic to their pleas. (emphasis supplied).

And instead of seeing a defence of the individual in the next number, I read:

Anti-voting sentiments have been voiced in other unlikely places too. We do not necessarily agree with any of the reasons given for abstention; as R.M. pointed out last week, we wholeheartedly disapprove of some of them. (emphasis supplied).

I say that there is something basically sound in the self-regarding view that we don't like Government because it robs us of our money; and I wholeheartedly disapprove of the intimation that the anarchist opposition to or attitude toward taxation might soften because the rates may enable the rescue from exposure of an abandoned child, enable the schooling of the poor, and enable the chlorination and fluorination of the water supply.

The immediate implication of R.M.'s statement is that she (and the rest of *FREEDOM* writers) have no objection to taxation as a method.* It would seem that R.M. & Co. give their consent to the conscription of property/wealth or the tokens (\$, £, ...) thereof. And since the tokens of wealth represent time spent at labour, R.M. & Co. are in the position of justifying forced labour. Now that the principle of slavery is well established

*Our correspondent is entitled to draw his own conclusions, even though in our opinion they have no basis in fact. We thought the Editorial "As Ye Sow ..." made our position quite clear—EDITORS].

THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CAMP

WE have already announced that an international camp is to be held in Italy again this year. Dates are from July 1st to August 31st, and the address for correspondence direct is:

GRUPPO KRONSTADT,
Vico Agogliotto,
Cancello (Genova).

Those interested or able to go might like to consider the possibility of organising a party from this country, to take advantage of party-travel fare reductions, and other mutual-aid arrangements.

We have a comrade prepared to assist in the organisation necessary for this, who would be able to go to Italy himself in the last fortnight of August. He has some camping equipment.

Readers who would like to get together for what would obviously be a wonderful holiday should write to:—

RAE VINYCOMB,
54 Wickstead Avenue,
Leagrave, Luton, Beds.

TWO CRITICISMS FROM AMERICA ON TAXES

for (at least some) anarchists, I imagine that R.M. can do no less than wink at the unsublimated conscription of conscientious objectors into alternative service—for, as nut-house flunkies, they provide those "additional social services", don't they? And if I am not over-extending myself in suggesting that R.M. is probably not a pacifist, then she can have no principled objection to drafting women into military uniform, though her qualm about "weapons of destruction" poses a grave inconsistency.

II

These deductions can be countered (1) by arguing that the question of niggardliness is apropos inasmuch as it is an issue of the Robber-Rich safeguarding their take against the Robber-State—a dispute internal to the Thieves Fraternity. Or these deductions might be countered (2) by the quotation of some abstract syllogistic run-down from elsewhere on these same pages of *FREEDOM* (Vol. 16, No. 21: "Anarchist Alternatives", p. 4)—a process of mind which sets taxation beyond the pale.

But all such counter-punching would not necessarily throw light in the present issue, namely, the fundamental malaise that afflicts the pitch and tone of *FREEDOM*. Especially is the first dodge useless for this purpose. But the impersonal, disembodied form in which the other counter-punch is possible, throws a spotlight on the ineffectualness and ineptitude in the communicative style of *FREEDOM* writers.

Consider: just at that juncture where a *FREEDOM* writer reduces taxation to direct individual terms ("robs us of our money" [emphasis supplied]) she betrays a, if not the, most basic understanding of anarchism: non-compulsion. At that juncture I felt more kinship to many an arch-conservative than I did to R.M.

Instead of saying: *refuse to pay taxes!* *FREEDOM* denigrates the negative attitude to taxpaying.

But *FREEDOM* is quite prodigal with the slogan: *Refuse to Vote!* At this juncture I quote from *FREEDOM* (Vol. 16, No. 20): "Even voting for the right is doing nothing for it." (Thoreau). If voting for the right is doing nothing for it, then surely *not voting* is not any greater accomplishment. All of which introduces the relevance of TAX-REFUSAL, DRAFT REFUSAL (refuse the call-up!) and BOYCOTT OF WAR INDUSTRY (stay out of war work!) as the substance of slogans complimentary to REFUSE TO VOTE!

The emptiness of REFUSE TO VOTE by itself, is felt and commented on by many readers to which I have known such writing to have been exposed; and

Revolutionary Living

AS one of the 27 American Pacifists who have refused to pay taxes for the support of the violence of the State, and as a reader and supporter of *FREEDOM*; let me take this opportunity to express some thinking on revolutionary activity which I have looked in vain for in the pages of *FREEDOM*.

FREEDOM appeals to me firstly, because of its basic anarchist orientation, and secondly because I find it free from dogma and doctrinaire creed. Your self examination and self criticism is a refreshing change from papers with a party line to push even when I agree with much of that party line.

However, as much as I am willing to identify myself with you intellectually, I think conversation, however radical, needs to be supported by revolutionary living. The greatest impact we can make on our authoritarian society is in our refusal to co-operate in direct 'voluntary' collaboration with the State. When I use the word 'voluntary' I use it in the broadest possible sense; as I consider any direct collaboration in response to an order from the State, a voluntary act.

There are anarchists and pacifists in this country, among whom the writer is included, who have resisted the demands of the State at many points, though perhaps not at all points, which allows for improvement in the future.

I have refused to accept a deferment as a conscientious objector under conscription, as I feel that one should be completely in active opposition to the institution of conscription rather than permitting oneself to be caught up in the institution, even if the work one is assigned to is non-military in character. There are many men who have taken this and similar positions in this country and paid for it with prison. I feel anarchists should be in the forefront of this resistance.

Media, Pa. RICHARD T. DOWNHAM.

the sterile impalpability in the wording of those alternatives that may accompany the anti-electoral slogan, has been largely without effect and has left those alternatives to pass unobserved.

One might say that *FREEDOM* makes an ideological gab for the minds of its readers, but makes no demands on their behaviour.

REFUSE TO VOTE is an excellent slogan that can not be repeated enough. And yet it remains the most ineffectual sort of thing that *FREEDOM* could counsel compared to REFUSE TO BE DRAFTED! REFUSE TO PAY TAXES! REFUSE TO PERFORM WAR WORK!

Perhaps all this but points up the necessary ineffectualness of an anarchist periodical written without the orientation provided by the concept of NON VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION.

Or is it that the syndicalist concept of direct CLASS MASS action smothers the concept of INDIVIDUAL NON VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION on the pages of *FREEDOM*?

Chicago, June.

JOFFRE STEWART.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at
THE MALATESTA CLUB
155 High Holborn, W.C.1.
(Nearly opposite Holborn Town Hall)

JULY 3—A. Hallworth (Asst. Sec. ASLEF) on

THE RECENT LOCOMOTIVE MEN'S DISPUTE ON WAGE DIFFERENTIALS

JULY 10—Jack Robinson on
WHO PAYS TO ADVERTISE?

JULY 17—Donald Rooum on
ANARCHISM & CLEAR THINKING

JULY 24—Edwin Peeke on
Subject to be announced.

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS
Every Thursday at 8.15.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.
MANETTE STREET
(Charing X Road)
Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

GLASGOW

OUTDOORS
At Maxwell Street
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

The Malatesta Club

155 HIGH HOLBORN,
LONDON, W.C.1.

★

Saturday, July 2nd

The UNITAS Old Nic Company
presents
'LEMON TEASE'

in which everyone is invited to contribute humorous verse, songs, prose, etc.

INSANITAS presents:
ORGAS, HATE AND MARTIANS
Speakers: P. R. & D. B.

Sponsored by the Flying Bedstead
Research Society

Thursday, July 7th

S. Fanaroff opens a discussion on
'The Anarchy of Anarchism'

Saturday, July 16th

THE UNITAS Old Nic Company
presents a play
'Is Monogamous Marriage Conducive to
Sexual Happiness'
or—'Glamorous Night'.

FREEDOM

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