

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Politics: The Conduct of public affairs for private advantage."

—AMBROSE BIERCE
(Devil's Dictionary.)

After the smiles at Geneva the real issues take over

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

IF you believe in power politics you believe in political parties, leaders, governments and "talks at the summit" . . . one almost feels like saying that you can believe in anything. You can believe with the *New Statesman & Nation* (Aug. 13) that

It is indeed an intense sense of relief which unites President Eisenhower with President Bulganin. Neither ever conceived that his own country would launch war. But each giant was quite convinced that the other giant was capable of doing so. It was this conviction which created the climate of cold war, and precipitated the rearmament race. The cold war was suddenly called off at Geneva because both sides recognised that these suspicions were entirely unfounded. It is now admitted that there is not Hitler either in the White House or in the Kremlin fanatically set on a career of world conquest.

You might agree with the American *New Leader* (Aug. 1) that the Geneva conference was "a triumph for Ike"—or on the other hand with Señor de Madariaga (an old pre-war League of Nations professional) that it was "a portentous step forward for the Soviet Union and therefore a serious defeat for the West" (*Manchester Guardian*, Aug. 4). Which goes to show that if you take these conferences seriously you can draw any conclusion that suits your particular political phobia. We did not take the Summit talks seriously because we just cannot believe with the *New Statesman* that the "cold war" and "armaments race" were "created" and "precipitated" because the giants mistrusted each other and that as a result of Eisenhower talking with his hand on his heart and Bulganin telling him that he believed him, the situation had suddenly changed and the misunderstanding ended. A rather expensive misunderstanding if one tots up the price of the cold war in terms of man-power and materials during these past ten years!

THE Geneva conference took place at a significant moment in the world's political and social struggle:

(1) That with the advent of the H-bomb, which all the major powers possess but against which no power has yet developed a neutralising* weapon, war has ceased to be, in

BIG BUSINESS WITH A VENGEANCE

THE United States Steel Corporation, the largest of America's steel producers recorded sales in the second quarter of this year of \$1,095,833,942 (about £370 million) an increase of \$160 million (£54 million) over the corresponding period last year. Net profits amounted to \$105,225,558 (£36 million). Sales and profits for the first half of the year were the highest in the Corporation's history, amounting to \$2,000 million (£700 million) and \$178 million (£60 million respectively).

In spite of an apparent decrease in the number of smokers in America, The American Tobacco Company has announced record sales for the first six months of this year. They amount to \$533,756,000 (£185 million) and the net profits were \$24 million (more than £8 million).

It should be noted that the profits are net, that is after taxation has been paid. The American Tobacco Company, for instance paid \$26 million in taxes, so that in fact gross profit amounted to more than £17 million!

the words of Clausewitz, "politics carried on by other means".

(2) That the world is on the threshold of an industrial revolution as a result of the development of atomic energy and automation.

(3) That science has reached a point where it is in a position to conquer—or perhaps only to investigate—outer space and its potentialities (not for tourist traffic to the planets but possible sources of energy, etc.).

(4) That in the midst of a period of "prosperity" the industrial powers are facing an economic crisis—a crisis of capitalism.

THOUGH the people of this country and the other "great powers" were informed of some of these facts after the summit conference, it is obvious that they were common knowledge to the leaders and their advisers before and must therefore be taken into account in assessing the "sincerity" of the speeches at Geneva.

*Since an H-bomb war could, according to the eminent scientists, wipe out the human race, no advantage politically could be derived by a Power that could produce an even more potent weapon. Only by producing an antidote to the "fall out" resulting from H-bomb explosions could war be reinstated according to the Clausewitz formula, and then only for a limited time, because the answer to the antidote would obviously be a Z-bomb against which the antidote was useless. It's the old game of war-weapons at a higher level! The only hope is that there is no antidote to the H-bomb.

(White) Workers of Africa Unite

A REPORT from Salisbury (Rhodesia) last month announced that the South African Mineworkers' Union had told the European Mineworkers' Union of Northern Rhodesia that it was prepared to pay £1,000 a month for five months to help its members in their resistance to proposals for the advancement of Africans in the industry in the event that the white miners were called out on strike over the issue.

This curious racial solidarity was apparently unnecessary, for a few days later the leaders of the Rhodesian mineworkers reached agreement with the Anglo-American group of companies (one of the largest copper-mine owners in Rhodesia) to permit some 24 categories of jobs now held by Europeans to be transferred to Africans. According to a *Reuter* report, under the agreement, union members whose jobs go to Africans will be given

alternative employment under terms and conditions not less favourable than they would have enjoyed otherwise. During the next three years an independent firm of industrial consultants will examine all members' jobs for an objective analysis of their contents, responsibilities, skills, and training. Then the union and the companies will meet again to see what further steps it may be necessary to take.

It has also been stated that the Anglo-American group has agreed that no European jobs would be handed over to Africans without the agreement of the unions.

Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, chairman of the Corporation, said in a statement that the signing of the agreement had, as far as the group was concerned, ended the deadlock on African advancement in the copper mining industry. It was difficult, he said, to think of a precedent for action "as generous and enlightened" as that of the white workers in the industry handing over certain jobs to Africans so that "Africans could progress". "In effect," he concluded, "it is a practical example of the spirit on which the new

Using the term "sincerity" within the limits of politics—that is of a tactic applicable to a particular political or economic situation—it seems to us that the Russians were more "sincere" than the Americans. The Russian announcement last week that they propose to reduce their armed forces by 640,000 is, according to Mr. Cankshaw in a front page article in last week's *Observer*, "doing a good deal more than making a peaceful gesture: it is taking a first most urgently needed step towards strengthening the Soviet economy". "The men are so urgently needed at home", continues Mr. Cankshaw referring to the needs of Russian agriculture "on which the final fulfilment of the tremendous industrial revolution absolutely depends". Whilst the *Manchester Guardian* (Aug. 15) shows less enthusiasm over the move, pointing out that what Russia is doing now was done by the Western powers immediately after the war, the real question that needs to be answered is whether the United States economy could absorb a comparable number from its armed forces (and it should be borne in mind that a reduction of 640,000 members of the armed services involves a corresponding reduction in labour power engaged in services and the production of equipment, etc.) when, though in July a record number of 65 million persons were in employment, there were still 2,500,000 unemployed.

President Eisenhower's offer of complete inspection by Russia and America of their respective territor-

Central African federation has been founded—the spirit of partnership."

The extent of this spirit of partnership can be gauged from the fact that the original deadlock was over the displacement of some 282 Europeans and the "advancement" of 382 Africans! And did Sir Ernest give one moment's thought to the fact that the struggle was over the advancement of Africans in their own country? Imagine the outcry if in this country British miners were only allowed to do the unskilled work while all the skilled jobs were given to Italian miners! Why, the British miners won't even let the Italians come and do the unskilled jobs even though there is no question of "displacing" anybody!

Almighty Precedence

Senator George Bender of Ohio recently made the following statement during a discussion about who should be next U.S. President:

"I have faith in God and Dwight Eisenhower." Said a reporter who was present at the time:
"In that order?"
"Yes," said Bender.

Lunar Precedence

The Reverend Reginald C. Gaul is reported in *The Observer* as having said: "Maybe after the trifling venture of reaching the moon has been accomplished, the authorities will attempt to gigantic task of bringing electricity a few yards down the lane."

'Plane Precedence

Extract from an advertisement put out by the Hawker Siddeley Group:
"This is England, where speech is free and democracy works. The trouble is that freedom itself is never free."
Of course not, it costs aeroplanes—manufactured by the Hawker Siddeley Group!

ies was made, we believe, more for its propaganda value than as a practical gesture. As the *Manchester Guardian* points out, an "international inspectorate" is "still official doctrine though it is impracticable." And

"President Eisenhower knocked the bottom out of it just before the Geneva Conference by saying that the United States itself would hesitate to open all its plants and factories to international inspection. The British and French Governments, although not as frank, must share this view."

In any case Eisenhower's proposal for exchanging "complete blueprints

of military establishments" clearly indicates that whilst Russia and America would have full knowledge of what is happening in their respective territories they will still maintain "military establishments". So it is not total disarmament that we are considering but simply "arms inspection"; a kind of controlled "cold war".

UNLESS we have completely misunderstood the nature of capitalism, even in its New Look (and we defined this in an article on the

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THE WAGES OF SIN

ACCORDING to The Concise Oxford Dictionary the word *honeymoon* originally referred to 'waning affection'. Present-day usage refers to that period which is reminiscent of a climatic kill after an excessive ritual performed in accordance with the laws of God and Man, virtue and decency.

An article by Reginald Bennet in *The Practitioner* gives significance to the ancient meaning and confirms our own view that . . . "It almost seems wonderful that any marriages have ever survived (the honeymoon)." He continues:

"The honeymoon is an ordeal. More often than not it is a ghastly disappointment, and one whose personal humiliation no excuses . . . can mitigate. All too often the girl, if she has been a good girl, has lacked any semblance of learning in what to expect . . . The naughty girl has gradually learned through experiment. So the wages of sin is serenity and the wages of virtue—shock, plus a married life endangered from the start . . .

"[After] the sheer fatigue of the wedding day [there is] inevitably a long evening or night's travelling to complete the exhaustion. Strange circumstances in a distant hotel; a good deal of alcohol, perhaps, or worse, the hangover from it six hours ago—these all make the [male] as . . . ineffectual as [he] is ever likely to be. In addition, the lore of the honeymoon—the vast repertory of awful jokes, none dignified—may be added to the anxiety . . . At best there may be a hopeless anxious fumbling effort, certain to complete the rout of a tense, frightened, ashamed and embarrassed girl."

A survey reported in the *British Medical Journal* again emphasises the problem of badly adjusted sexual relations. According to Dr. J. A. C. Pougher who has made a survey of 500 patients who sought consultation, "half the working life of a general practitioner is taken up with patients suffering from neurosis, and marriage problems are the most frequent

causes of neurosis". Of the 500 patients 273 were women, the remainder men. All suffered from purely "nervous symptoms such as headaches, tiredness, depression and irritability. Among women, apart from the sexual problem, the usual causes for neurosis were fear of ill-health, insecurity of old age and responsibility for an invalid.

On marriage problems Dr. Pougher states: "In many cases inadequate sexual relations played a large part. It is clear that frank and honest instruction by parents on sexual matters, particularly to girls at puberty, would prevent much neurosis, especially in early marriage.

Dr. Pougher stresses the part the doctor can play in preventing the onset of neurosis in children.

"Without interfering in domestic life he can watch the emotional development of the children on his list, and where necessary tactfully instruct parents."

The Voters Decide

NOBODY can have really believed that the voters of Mid-Ulster would reverse their General Election vote ten weeks afterwards and throw out the jail-bird they had voted for on May 26.

But according to Parliamentary procedure, the election was invalid because the successful candidate, Mr. Thomas Mitchell is serving a 10-year prison sentence for IRA activities. So the farce of a by-election had to be played through and the electors have voted for Mr. Mitchell again—with an increased majority this time.

So the Government has made itself look rather silly. Under our Democratic procedure, surely an electorate is entitled to have the Member of Parliament of their choice?

The fact that Mr. Mitchell is in jail hardly affects his usefulness to his constituents. After all, he is as useful to them in prison as he would be in Parliament.

Anarchists Banned from Entering U.S.

THE law prohibiting anarchists from entering the United States is still operative, according to a news report in the *Musicians' paper Melody Maker*, August 6, 1955.

The report states that Dill Jones, the pianist, has been refused admittance to the States, and was informed that he was ineligible for entry under Section 212a of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

"On making inquiries, the *Melody Maker* discovered that Section 212a of the Immigration and Nationality Act lists over 30 reasons why visas may be withheld from aliens wishing to enter the United States.

Included in the banned category are Anarchists, Polygamists, Professional Beggars, Paupers, Stowaways and Communists. Also debarred are aliens who might deprive American workers of skilled or unskilled work, or "adversely affect the wages and working conditions of workers in the U.S."

Mr. Jones intends to appeal against the decision, as he "has never had anything to do with Communism or Anarchism, and doesn't think he falls into any of the other categories".

"What possible reason could there be for keeping me out of the States?" he complains. "I have been one of the keenest advocates of American music!"

Georgia's Mean Racism

In its most mean-spirited action yet against the state's Negro teachers, the Georgia board of education extended its previous resolution to revoke for life the license of any teacher who "supports, encourages, condones, or agrees to teach a mixed grade." From now on, added the board, this policy would apply to any teacher "who is a member of the N.A.A.C.P.,* any allied organization or any subversive organization."

Time, 13/8/55.
[*National Association for the Advance of Coloured Peoples].

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 32

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SOPHISTICATED PEASANT

A Note on the Writings of Edward Hyams

"I hope I may live to crack a bottle of the best Kent wine with him, or even two or three, for even under the table I feel that Mr. Hyams would be excellent Company..."

—RAYMOND BUSH (Introduction to *Vineyards in England*).

BOOKS are the multiplication of minds, and I suppose that most readers have had the experience of coming into contact by way of books with a mind with which they feel an immediate sympathy, and of being in touch, solely through the printed page with someone whose attitude to life and view of the world seems immediately familiar and likeable. To mention only writers of our own day, I have felt this sense of communication with Ignazio Silone and George Orwell, and increasingly in the last few years with Edward Hyams in his three capacities, as agrarian propagandist, Horticultural adviser and satirical novelist.

I know nothing of Mr. Hyams as a person (except his voice on the radio and his enigmatic visage at the Horticultural Hall), other than the information given on the jackets of his books and in *From the Waste Land*, from which I learn that he was born in 1910, began his working life in a cigarette factory, travelled in South Europe and North America, and before the war made a 'comfortable income' in the advertising business. He spent the war in the Navy and emerged in 1946 with about £100 in cash and a derelict cottage with a bit of ground in East Kent which he had bought before the war as a weekend toy, and little else. Little except two vital things: the conviction that his former mode of life had been pernicious and parasitical, and a wife who shared this view and had the advantage of experience in the Land Army. They were he says,

"more or less improbably, not only alive but whole, and even in good health. To have a house at all was fortunate,

with Europe's millions in the streets... What was the point of making a lot of money for spending if it involved 50 hours a week of detested work without an iota of social value? No doubt uncongenial work can be justified when it is of use, like sewage maintenance. But not when it is an aspect of parasitism. About 10 per cent. of the population of the United States were living upon the producers by doing 'work' which no adult could possibly enjoy. Why? Presumably to buy vacuum-cleaners and nylon pen-wipers. If, during holidays, we both felt not merely pleasure and relaxation, but an overwhelming, almost hysterical sense of relief and release, surely we must be wasting the irrecoverable time of our working hours? ... Yet the price to be paid for our new way of life was that of living from hand to mouth... we did not even know, and had very little reason to think, that my writing, and what we could coax our land to produce, would feed us."

They certainly haven't wasted the subsequent nine vintage years. They turned their three acres of waste land into a successful fruit holding. Hyams has become an authority on strawberries and on vines, and by example and precept has sought to revive viticulture in this country. Apart from his works on vineyards and his books for growers, he has written a delightful and wise account of his initiation into horticulture, two very important works on man's relation with

the soil (*Soil & Civilisation and Prophecy of Famine* were discussed at length in our issues of 17/5/52 and 11/4/53, and the reviews are reprinted in *Selections from Freedom*, Vols. 2 and 3), and an almost alarming number of brilliantly funny (and also serious), novels. I cannot imagine how he finds time for all this, perhaps the seasonal nature of his occupation encourages his typewriter to fruit in the winter, though the grower's winter is short enough. Certainly the best of his articles in the *New Statesman* appear in the cold months and the poorest ones in the summer.*

WHAT set me off on this eulogy was Mr. Hyams' latest novel, *The Slaughterhouse Informer*. (Longmans, 12s. 6d.) which I have just finished reading. The setting is East Kent which "has so high and ancient a tradition of thoroughly professional farming that even its amateur farmers, city men, film magnates and wealthy novelists originally intent upon turning urban profits into untaxable rural amenities, distressed their accountants by making a profit out of the land". In the market town there survives a dead-and-alive journal of the

*I notice that these of his articles which I thought worth keeping, *Soil & Socialism*, *Our Batters* (about worms), and *Our Lady* (about religion), appeared in December 1951, November 1949, and February 1951 respectively.

meat trade with a falling circulation, which is kept going because to kill it would be to kill the old compositor who puts it together.

"Work's the only thing he likes. He's supposed to be a compositor but he does a bit of everything and he's the only man who can make this bastard machine work, that we print the rag on. I've an idea he was even writing the copy himself, or setting up on the linotype out of his head, or perhaps out of back numbers."

The story is about what happens when a collection of Hyamsian characters boost the old *Slaughterhouse Informer* into *The Weekly for Angry People*, and expose... but it isn't fair to tell you any more, or even to tell you what happens to Myrna Figg, the cowman's daughter who exudes "a kind of essence of lusty femaleness, a quality which had been as innocent as it was animal had she not discovered that it had a market value", or about Dr. Sloper of the Ethical Recreation movement, the most successful post-war saint that America has produced.

I must also resist the temptation to explain what happened in a previous novel *Gentian Violet* when Jim Blundell, by way of a commission in the Navy, was translated from his sober Labour and non-conformist background in the industrial town of Trough, to the money-making milieu of the gentry and fruit-growing clergy of the Kentish village of

Brattenden, or the shocking result of his making the same demagogic speech, with the right words altered, at the Conservative garden party in Kent (under the influence of home-made wine), and at the factory meeting in Trough (as a result of class-conscious remorse). This 'romance of political life' would please neither Lord Woolton nor Mr. Morgan Phillips, and it all began because little Gentian Violet Fletcher wormed her way into the affection of Mr. Bryce-Godwyn by peeping wide-eyed through the daffodils, and Bryce-Godwyn had to live in Brattenden because he earned his living by writing those charming rural pieces in the weeklies, though he really "detested the countryside saying that it was damp, dirty and inhabited by intellectuals devoted to their compost heaps".

THE action of *The Astrologer* moves away from Mr. Hyams' astonishing home county to Kastri in Greece, the site of the Delphic oracle among the olive groves, for it was there that young Launcelot Barker, the mathematical genius was installed by political, business and newspaper bosses when he found that, with the aid of calculating machines he could foretell the future. Here the author's social and political satire is at its most savage. Take for example this portrait of the United States Ambassador, who was a genuinely tough American:

"He really was as ignorant, brutal and insensitive as he appeared to be, and this is more singular than is generally understood. The minds and souls of the majority of outwardly tough Americans may fairly be compared to a Camembert cheese; rounded, smooth, firm and inoffensive while cool, they are prone, as the temperature rises, to run to viscous, creamy fluidity giving off an offensive smell. But Mr. Veintosh was not like that; Mr. Veintosh was a very hard case indeed... He had been the head of a firm of Industrial Psychologists, with a large staff. His principle activity and source of income had been the settlement of industrial disputes. He had made a careful study of the psychology of strikers, and had developed therefrom a method of dealing with them which became nationwide. This method manifested itself in various ways: brass knuckle-dusters; short truncheons of hard rubber; tear-gas; all these became the instruments of industrial harmony. And when the maladjustment of the strikers was so considerable as to be described by Mr. Veintosh's public relations officer as *traumatic*; the Veintosh method was most effectively expressed in terms of sub-machine-guns.

"During the war he served as Provost-Marshal... cases of rape by negro soldiers he did not hesitate to punish by hanging, and by white troops with a severe reprimand. The Europeans themselves he regarded as a kind of nigger, and the worse kind at that, the educated ones. He found some books in their houses, but few baths, and drew his conclusions accordingly. His shrewd penetration of the European character led to his post-war appointment as an

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COAL - 3

(Continued from last week)

SINCE the war, 'productivity teams' from almost every industry have crossed the Atlantic to learn from American methods of production, and undoubtedly the Americans, with their unconcern for traditional methods and readiness to embrace new, advantageous ways of doing things, have had much to teach the British teams.

Unfortunately, in the one industry in which all the rest are based, and the one most in need of assistance, American methods are just not applicable. This is the opinion, not only of British mining engineers who have been to the United States to learn, but also of American experts who came over here to offer us their 'know-how' on the spot.

The American miner to-day is producing an average of nine tons per eight-hour shift. In some pits, such as those in Belmont County, Ohio, the production per manshift is as much as 20 tons. In Britain, the average per manshift is less than 3½ tons.

Looking at the figures from the other side of the Atlantic, the miners reckoned that the methods which serve them so well could be introduced here, with beneficial results for British coal production and through that, the whole British economy.

Different Conditions

But it is one thing to look at coal production on paper and quite another to tackle the job at the coal face. The diversity between the average and the top rate of production in the States shows how much coal-getting can vary within that country. Get miners from South Wales, Kent, Durham and Lanarkshire talking together and you will soon hear of the diversity in conditions in different parts of this country.

How much more different then are the conditions likely to be between American mines and the British? Not only are the physical, geological differences likely to be great, but the social, psychological and cultural backgrounds to the two communities are different also. It is, however, the former which has blocked British use of the highly efficient machines which the Americans have developed.

In America seams of coal can run for a hundred miles five to eight feet thick only a few feet below the surface. A pit shaft there can be nothing more than a gentle slope running down from a great hole cut in the side of a mountain. The tunnel can be big enough to take a 39-ton cutting machine capable of cutting and conveying eight tons of coal a minute.

A pit shaft in America is rarely more than 400 feet deep and is most likely to be only about 200. Open-cast mining accounts for a bigger percentage of total output than it does here.

But in Britain the average depth of mine shafts is 1,170 feet and can be anything up to 3,000 feet deep. And at the bottom of those shafts the seams don't run fat and thick; they are narrow and uneven, and they peter out, to begin again a few yards of solid rock further on.

Of course it was not always so. Britain's coalfields have had their share of good, thick seams. But in the 700 years that men have been plucking the coal from this island, most of the good seams have been cleared out. Only the thin ones remain, and the trouble with those is not only that they are thin and therefore difficult to work, but that when it is got out, the coal is of inferior quality.

All That's Left

Our American helpers, therefore, were stumped. The Joy Manufacturing Co. of Pittsburgh has produced its great 39-ton 'Continuous Miner' which can tear away into the hillsides of Ohio—but it brought no joy to British miners—for there is no pit in the country where it could operate. The most successful of such machines to be introduced here is a junior of 15-tons now in operation at Donisthorpe Colliery, Leicester. But in the main, the American experts had to admit that they were beaten—by the sheer cussedness of British geology.

It should not be thought that British mining engineers have had no answers, however. Within the limitations imposed by physical conditions, new machinery has been developed that has eliminated much back-breaking toil at the coal-face. Conditions do not lend themselves in general to combined cutters and carriers, and the long distances the coal has to be hauled from the face to the pit shaft and thence to the surface render continuous belt delivery unpractical in many mines and the whole business of haulage expensive in nearly all mines.

Such machines, such techniques, as have developed, however, do at least conform to their specific requirements and should prove helpful in getting out what coal is left. And there's the rub—what is left. So far no expert, British or American, has devised a machine for getting out coal that isn't there.

Saved by the Bell

There is no doubt about it that the economy of Britain is in for a very anxious time for the next couple of decades. Coal production is just not going to increase on the scale the National Coal Board is planning—if at all. Five years ago the NCB published its 'Plan for Coal'. It was a fifteen-year plan aiming at an estimated production of 240 million tons of deep-mined coal a year by 1965.

In 1950 when the plan was drawn up, production was running at about 205 million tons. To-day it is about 215 million tons, which would bring it up to 235 million by 1965 if the present rate of increase is maintained. But that is a very big 'if'—for the one factor that tends to be forgotten in this grand plan drawn up at the summit is the human factor—the miners themselves.

Coal being, so far, the basis of all home-produced energy, its cost has affected the cost of every manufactured product. For Britain to maintain her position in world markets, the price of her manufactures must be kept at a 'competitive' level. The price of coal must therefore be kept at a minimum and since the experts must be paid salaries high enough to keep them from

straying to other industries, since the Coal Board officials have appearances to keep up, since there are mansions to be purchased, since compensation cannot be reduced and since new machinery must be bought—the only item on which economies can be made is the miner's wage.

As much as miners' wages have improved since 1939, they are still not commensurate with the dirt and danger of the job. While better pay and conditions can be got in other jobs, miners will continue to drift from the industry and keep their sons from entering. And while there are not enough miners there won't be enough coal—even if it's there to be got.

So Britain's economy will creep from crisis to crisis until alternative sources of energy are developed. And here it looks as though the good old British method of 'muddling through' is going to work once again.

For it looks as though the now possible development of atomic power will ring the bell to save British industry from the knock-out unconsciously planned by the greedy coal-owners of the past.

(To be continued).

CINEMA

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

THE English actor Francis L. Sullivan, who was recently chosen by the American magazine *Variety* as "the best supporting actor of the year" is reported to have said "Since I'm not offstage once from beginning to end of the play, who am I supporting?"

What *Variety* means by "supporting actor", of course, is not a secondary or second-rate actor, but an actor of marked individuality and un-actor-like physique, whose personality is unsuitable for leading parts in the more conventional type of play. Some such actors, those of unusual ability like Alastair Sim and Orson Welles, play worthwhile parts most of the time; but the majority (especially in Hollywood) have to play minor parts in support of actors who, though more glamorous, are often much less talented than themselves. Occasionally, one is gratified to see one of these "type" actors cast in a good part, and playing it with skill and feeling beyond the abilities of most "lead" players.

Orson Welles' new film, "Confidential Report," is very gratifying indeed, for it gives opportunities for skill and feeling to some half dozen "supporting" actors, all of them very talented. Akim Tamiroff plays an old cynic released from prison when he is dying, Mischa Auer the proprietor of a flea circus, Michael Redgrave an ex-criminal running a curio shop, Suzanne Flon an elegant and charming, but subtly mercenary, aristocrat, and Katina Paxinou the head of a white-slaving gang, who is not quite so hard-bitten as she appears.

The story of the film concerns a fabulous chase all over the world, to discover the origin of a fabulous millionaire who cannot, apparently, remember where he came from. A small nucleus of characters—the millionaire, his daughter, his battalion of secretaries,

the crook he hires to dig out his past, his girl-friend—give continuity to the film. As for the other characters, including those whose players I have named, each of them dominates one short sequence and is seen no more.

The film was actually made in Spain, France, Germany, Italy and Mexico but also mentions Argentina, Chile, Lichtenstein, Monte Carlo, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Denmark. The characters purport to be English, Polish, or American. There are shots of a religious procession in Spain, a fairground in Copenhagen, a hideous masquerade, an aircraft flying empty, and two ancient castles.

An eccentric curio dealer waxes enthusiastic over a broken "telescope" with no lenses, while a stuffed alligator falls on his customer; the goalkeeper of a flea football team refuses to kick the ball; an old man forgets his trousers. A man with a wooden leg has a gun battle with the police in Naples; an organiser of smuggling in Tangiers scribbles the name of a mysterious Pole in Amsterdam; corpses with knives in their backs abound.

And in the most unexpected places we hear remarks like "since the war, the Polish government has given its subjects ample incentive for being elsewhere," and "criminals are always poor; those who make real money aren't classed as criminals. This is a class distinction, not an ethical question."

Orson Welles, as writer and director, tries to keep up a furious pace for one and a half hours, and at the same time to give good hard parts to "supporting" actors; he tries to produce a film which is at once a comedy, a tragedy, a thriller, a social document, and a romance; he tries to do what would appear impossible. And, most incredible of all, he succeeds. D.R.

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THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

Continued from p. 1

Permanent War Economy†) it is periodically faced with problems, crises, which hitherto have been temporarily resolved by wars. War, it now appears is no longer a solution. Has capitalism found a new way? If we are to believe the economists the new magic word in the capitalist vocabulary is "productivity". But productivity, as we understand it, is a seeking after super-efficiency, which in capitalist terms means the ability to compete in the world's markets. And such a solution presupposes, however, that (a) there is an expanding world market, (b) super-efficiency will not be followed by increasing wage demands by the workers.

Now, according to the G.A.T.T. Secretariat in Geneva the value of international trade has risen steadily from \$55,730 million in 1950 to \$76,020 million in 1954. On the other hand the price of raw materials and manufactures rose by 16 per cent. and food prices by as much as 38 per cent. in the corresponding period. It seems unlikely that there is in fact an expanding world market which can absorb the ever-increasing output of the industrial nations. Added to which there is a new phenomenon:

There has been a marked growth of trade within and among the industrial areas, and a corresponding relative decline in trade between industrial and non-industrial areas.

Thus assuming that Mr. Butler solves the impending British economic crisis by cutting down home consumption and increasing exports, these exports presumably will be affected at the expense of the economy of other nations. A crisis in those nations will in turn affect their ability to import, and at whose expense? Here is vicious circle one. The second vicious circle is that of wages, and in America this is being experienced no less than in this country at the present time.

We believe that capitalism has not the answer, but that it limps along from one crisis to the next (at the workers' expense) and survives simply because the producers, that is the workers, have the mentalities of little capitalists. The worker today sees as his goal in life, not leisure but the T.V. set and the "frig". He demands a shorter working week in order to work more overtime. In many cases it is because the rising cost of living makes it imperative. But in many others it is, as one observer points out, because

the British worker is becoming more like the American in his attitude to working and spending; that the anxiety to "keep up with the Joneses" from across the Atlantic has taken root in working-class minds here; and that the British workman is racking up his standard of living on the basis of hire purchase and has to work overtime to keep up with the weekly payments.

Capitalism survives not because it is either efficient or equitable, but through the connivance of its victims who have been lulled into believing that co-existence is possible between capital and labour, between exploiter and exploited.

Capitalism may eventually solve its problems through some form of world government. For the workers there can be no doubt that their problems would be solved tomorrow if they only realised that throughout the world the labouring people are their fellow victims . . . potential brothers against both politicians and masters.

†FREEDOM, Feb. 9, 1952, *Freedom Selections*, Vol. 2, p. 16.

Taxation, Wage Claims and the Welfare State

THE recent controversy in FREEDOM on the question of taxation and the alleged revisionism of anarchist ideas on the subject, is the result of the impact of mid-20th century capitalism on anarchist theory. One of the principle signs of the vitality of the capitalist system at the present time is the way in which the State appears to steal the thunder of the revolutionaries and leave them beating the air and each other.

First let us get a few facts clear about contemporary attitudes to taxation, as made plain by people's actions. We can disregard their declared principles when they are refuted by their actions. We agree (anarchists included) that a man is a damned fool if he pays any taxes that he can safely avoid paying. We would rather spend the money ourselves than hand it over to the State. This applies equally to progressive income-tax, excise duty, purchase tax and the regressive poll tax called "National Insurance". This attitude is displayed in practice by wage earners, owners of small businesses, big business men, professional men, rentiers, gamblers and pensioners. All of us pay our taxes in sorrow and our rates in anger, and if, due to the complexities of bureaucracy, there are two ways of making out a tax return we gleefully adopt the method by which we pay least tax. When we smuggle brandy in from France we know perfectly well that the effect of our action on the national economy is precisely the same as if we were lucky enough to get our fingers in the till at the Bank of England—and we do not give a damn.

We all seek to maximise our earnings in the trade we have chosen or had thrust on us. Moneymaking may not have been the main incentive for taking up our trade, but nevertheless we seek to maximise our income and minimize our taxes as a matter of pure commonsense. This is capitalism, and even the least grasping among us takes part in it. We may contrast it with other systems, say, feudalism where people did not seek to maximise their incomes in the same way but acted within a framework of psychological stimuli of a quite different order which is difficult for us to visualize to-day.

Contemporary capitalist morality makes us tend to regard those who deliberately organize to evade taxation as different ethically from those who organize to enforce wage increases. The anarchist view of society reveals such an outlook to be groundless although it has had significant historical origins. One of the tenets of early capitalism was that it was equally immoral for employers of

workers to band themselves together in bargaining associations "in restraint of trade". Thus at the beginning of the 19th century employers' associations were equally illegal as workers' trade unions. In practice, the law winked at the former and persecuted the latter. In the later development of capitalism it became the acknowledged right of both employers and workers to organize with the object of maximizing their earnings. Interestingly enough, it is the extreme forms of employers' organizations which are now held to be only quasi-legal; the Monopolies Commission exists to investigate "unfair" monopolistic trade rings.

With the development of such a complex integrated economy and such a high degree of public enterprise nowadays, few people are naive enough to imagine that rises in wages are accomplished simply at the expense of "the boss". We know that when workers in any of the major industries, nationalized or not, achieve a rise in wages it is achieved at the expense of the community as a whole. Some propagandists like to represent wage increases as being achieved at the expense of the pockets of "the boss class", without defining exactly who comprise this "boss class". In a time of steadily mounting wage rates and consequent inflation capitalists who are entrepreneurs, stock exchange financiers and middlemen make especially fat profits, while rentiers, pensioners and others on contractual incomes are steadily impoverished along with the less successful categories of wage-earners. The "boss class" is not a simple entity. If building workers achieve a rise in wage rates at the present time "the boss" i.e. the private builder, has no difficulty in passing on the increase to the consumer and continuing to draw the same rate of profit from his enterprise.

If railwaymen, for instance, achieve a higher wage rate and therefore a higher standard of living, this increase is achieved at the expense of the standard of living of the workers (and parasites) in every other walk of life. Before long of course, other classes of workers will also press for and achieve wage increases, professional men will demand higher fees, public servants will get increased cost of living bonuses and M.P.s will again vote themselves higher salaries. If the standard of living for the whole community is rising, so the fall due to the railwaymen's increase may be relative rather than absolute as long as the differential persists, but this does not alter the plain fact that a wage increase for any section of the community is achieved at the expense of the community as a whole.

I do not suggest that there is anything in the least reprehensible in each and every section of organized labour seeking to achieve such increases within the present setup. Indeed, if any trade slackens its pressure its workers will be left behind in the general scramble and their standard of living will decrease compared to the rest of the community. This is capitalism, and the appeals of certain Trade Union leaders for wage restraint, are simply appeals to the rank and file to make mugs of themselves. Whether social justice is or is not served by any particular forced wage increase is another matter entirely; when a grossly overpaid body like medical practitioners force a wage increase for themselves, such action is not on a par with railwaymen forcing a bit extra for themselves at the expense of the community.

Having looked at the economics of wage demands, now let us return to the subject of taxation. Income-tax is not a "cost" on industry or trade in that it cannot be passed on to the consumer as can purchase-tax, excise duty, "National Insurance" and wage increases. The business man has to pay income-tax out of his final profits which could otherwise be ploughed back into the business or spent on personal consumption. He therefore seeks to minimise his income-tax, legally or illegally, and when he does so he increases his standard of living at the expense of the whole community—just as if he were a worker achieving a wage increase. It is farcical to pretend that there is any moral difference between organizing to force wage increases and organizing to resist taxation; they are simply expressions of the same struggle within capitalism. The Marxist says that the actions of the "proletariat" are right and those of the "petite bourgeoisie" are wrong because the former are on the side of history. But anarchism has never endorsed so mystical a value judgment nor so crude an interpretation of the class struggle. Now in the mid-20th century there are powerful groups of the "proletariat" like compositors and electrical engineers who can command a better standard of living than sections of the "petite bourgeoisie". The former organize to demand higher wages, the latter are beginning to organize to resist taxation. Are we to condemn the selfishness of one group and not the other, and praise the solidarity of one group and not the other? Within the Marxist mystique with its a priori assumptions there is no problem, but anarchists need to do some hard thinking if they are to avoid a blind partisanship in the class struggle. If anything is immoral it is not the struggles of either

group, but the system itself which makes necessary such a waste of human effort in struggle rather than co-operation. And the system depends for its continuation on the State which demands obedient citizens, obedient taxpayers.

R.M. in an earlier issue of FREEDOM tried to draw a distinction between those who refused to pay taxes for idealistic reasons and those who wished to avoid taxation for the selfish reason of wishing to devote the money to their own purposes. As I am of the latter variety of tax-dodgers rather than the former, I am perhaps qualified to expand the theme a little. Such selfishness is not, I think, anti-social nor is it inconsiderable in its total effect in combatting the logical growth of the modern State. It was out of a selfish concern for my own freedom, my own enjoyment of life and my own skin that I evaded conscription, and I have reason to believe that a great many other war resisters were similarly motivated by personal selfishness. If we are to wait until people oppose the many demands of the State on the individual out of motives of pure disinterestedness then indeed it is for pie in the sky that we wait. I prefer to place some reliance on elementary self-interest as an anti-totalitarian force.

All this has very little relevance to the Welfare Services. Those who talk of tax-dodgers as though they were in a special category who refused to pay for the Welfare Services are under a great misapprehension. They are the victims of the barrage of bluff which politicians like Lord Beveridge pour out to distort reality. If the State decides to build a hospital, a battleship, or to double the old age pension, it does not have to look into the mythical treasury chest to see if there is enough money there to pay for the scheme. The modern State is in fact the creator of all money and credit. If some citizens fail to pay their legal taxes it will not in any way affect State projects—it will simply come out of the pockets (horrid thought!) of all other citizens through a rise in prices—just as if the tax dodgers had voted themselves a wage increase.

The State runs on bluff. The heavy poll-tax which is paid by (almost) everybody is labelled a "National Insurance Contribution", and was originally devised as a means of taxing the poor whatever their income without appearing to do so. During the war local savings groups were organized to "Buy a Bomber", "Save for a Spitfire", as though the number of bombers and Spitfires could be increased by buying savings stamps. Now we are being urged to pay our taxes and restrain our wages demands in the interest of the Welfare Services. It seems to me that it was a pity that FREEDOM was in any way equivocal on this matter and dragged in the red herring of the Welfare Services apropos of tax-resistance. The writer A.M. was somewhat ungenerous in labelling as "O.H.M.S. anarchists" those who see the issue less clearly than himself, but his two letters are a welcome advance in the clarification of ideas.

Sophisticated Peasants

Continued from p. 2

administrator of that subsidisation of the American export industry at the expense of the American taxpayer which became later known as the Marshall Plan . . .

When his invective reaches this Swiftian level the reader may turn to the author's apology to him at the beginning of the book:

"O pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth,
That I am meek and gentle with these butchers."

and ponder on the deeply felt compassion and indignation that provokes his display of furious irony. These feelings emerge ever more strongly in an earlier book *Not in Our Stars*, for it is not a satire and it is written with a deadly restraint. We are back in East Kent where Silas and Miriam Gage, former advertising agents who have made a new life for themselves as fruit-farmers, find that a neighbouring holding has been taken over for research into virus diseases of plants, carried out by Appleton, the clever young biologist. A tragic accident results in a terrifying discovery which brings in the smooth-tongued Ministry man who specialises in bacteriological warfare. What should Appleton do? What should Silas do?

William Medium, the earliest of Mr. Hyams' books which I have read, is written in the manner of Fielding or Smollett, and tells the story of the life and adventures of William who learned the principles of commercial probity from his father, a failed shopkeeper, and sensibly disregarded them in a successful career of chicanery in the worlds of advertising and company promotion. He and Mary used their ill-gotten fortune to buy an island off the Cornish coast near Mevagissey, and establish their self-sufficient community which sounds like a working model from Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories and Workshops*. In an epilogue William explains:

"Machinery as an emancipator means machinery in the hands of a freeholding peasantry of educated farmers in direct

contact with the material of their continued being; and debased neither by owning fellowmen nor by being owned by them. The one condition essential to the establishment of such bucolic anarchism is the availability of cheap power. And the source of this power must, of course, be beyond the control of the tyrant, the power-maniac, whether he be a monopoly capitalist or a civil servant. How did we manage? We erected windmills and made them drive generators . . ."

MR. HYAMS has written six other novels which I haven't read, but I certainly intend to. In whetting your appetite for those which I have mentioned, I have failed to do justice to several of his qualities, his sense of landscape and atmosphere, especially the atmosphere of work, his feeling for human relationships, and, paradoxically, in so astringent a writer, his gentleness and compassion. In this he differs from those writers whom one supposes were his masters, the picaresque novelists and Voltaire (though that prince of satirists exclaimed "O God, reveal to us that we must be human and tolerant"). Hyams must love *Animal Farm*, the finest of modern satires. Though he is himself too clever to have written such a book, he shares with its author, among other things, a Robinson Crusoe spirit which can be seen not only in the gusto with which William Medium describes his island, but in Hyams' own remark that he once made notes for a story in which a young man endeavours, like a self-dependent savage to live apart from the community and to be indebted to it for nothing. And might not Defoe himself have written the final words of *From the Waste Land*?

"There is fruit in our racks, wine in the casks, some of the things we meant to do have been done; in ourselves we have built up a regret more poignant than ever that such seasons as that which has just passed are numbered, and that another vintage enjoyed has been sub-

tracted from the number we have yet to enjoy."

IN my notes on these novels I have worked backwards, beginning with the most recent and working back to the earliest I have seen (though there is only eight years between them), and you may have noticed an apparent chronological diminution of theme, from germ warfare to newspaper scandals, as though the author could no longer bear to expend his devastating wit on apocalyptic horror and must turn to the less lethal aspects of human folly. This is not really so: the theme of 'Should we tell what we know?' continually recurs, like the figure of the scientist with a conscience who knows too much and is put away in an asylum. For there is another, infinitely sadder theme, 'If we tell, who will listen?'

Here I feel that Hyams' answer is like Herbert Read's *I had no power, therefore had patience*. Or like Candide's, who after listening to the catalogue of catastrophes, declared 'That's true enough, but we must go and work in the garden'. Or like his own William Medium he might say:

"As for us, our life goes peacefully on, as before. What are we doing about the atomic bomb? Nothing—unless it be setting the example of how well the world could manage without those States and Governments the existence of which alone makes such devils not only possible, but inevitable."

C.W.

- THE BOOKS REFERRED TO IN THIS ARTICLE ARE:—
From the Waste Land (Turnstile Press, 1950).
The Grape Vine in England (Bodley Head, 1949).
Vineyards in England (Faber, 1953).
Strawberry Cultivation, etc. (Faber & Faber).
Soil and Civilization (Thames & Hudson, 1952).
Prophecy of Famine (with H. J. Massingham), (Thames & Hudson, 1953).
The Slaughterhouse Informer (Longmans, 1955).
Gentian Violet (Longmans, 1953).
The Astrologer (Longmans, 1950).
Not in Our Stars (Longmans, 1949).
William Medium (Bodley Head, 1947).
Other novels by Edward Hyams are:—
The Wings of the Morning; *A Time to Cast Away*; *To Sea in a Bowl*; *Bloodmoney*; *Sylvester*; *Stories & Cream*.

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Are We Going (or shall we go) All Literary?

DEAR SIR,

A small paragraph at the bottom of the front page of FREEDOM last week decided me to comment on some recent observations of its contents.

The paragraph in question was the one explaining the lack of comment on topical news, a tendency I had noticed for some time before the holidays. An increasing amount of space is being devoted to persons wishing to expound their personal views and a great amount to book and theatre reviews.

This widening of the pages of FREEDOM into the arts I have wished to see as I have said on many occasions. Having witnessed the change it now poses the question:—Is it a paper propagating anarchist thought and means of action directed to and trying to reach the workers?—Or is it to be a weekly literary magazine—so far devoid of poetry and short stories—but aiming at filling the vacuum caused by the disintegration of so many post-war magazines?

Is its 'Perspective' to be a counter to 'Encounter'?

The answer to the first question is partly given by its pages, very little being directed to the worker as such. As no census has been taken of FREEDOM readers I can only guess at its composition—here I am open to correction. Am I correct in believing the minority to be workers—using the term in its popular conception—and the greater number to be members of professions, students, minor intellectuals and frustrated creative writers and artists? As I believe this to be so this leads me to put forward the idea that *Freedom Press* might venture on the publication of a monthly or quarterly literary magazine. Not an ambitious one of good quality paper and glossy reproduction, but one aiming at the cheapest production and the widest

distribution. This might be possible if paid advertising was taken and it was run, as far as the conscience would allow, on commercial lines. In answer to the purist, who wishes to 'keep the party clean', and free of the fear of money-making, may I point to the fact that in their living they make these concessions to make their personal lives pay—conscience and criticism does and will decide how far. It could help to ease the financial strain on FREEDOM which if it so wished could then carry on its struggle to reach the workers, who on the whole seem unwilling to receive it, their conscience philosophy having been for the present successfully capitalized.

Libertarian ideas will, it is hoped, seep down and be seized when they are needed—so the magazine I have in mind is for the 'floating thinker' and the would-be creative young writer. I say 'would-be' for I believe that a great amount written to-day is *toned down* so that there is more likelihood of it getting published, the revolutionary ideas being left for pages such as FREEDOM—local discussion—or smothered by conformism.

How except through such a magazine could there be an adequate reply to such articles appearing in *Encounter* as 'The Bomb That Didn't Go Off', by Denis Healy and the letter of support by Sir John Slessor, where both writers 'agree that if pushed far enough by events they would decide on the insane solution of total annihilation in defence of freedom, a decision in which the people will take no part.

Although the views expressed are only those of the writers, and not I hope its policy and that there are professed anarchists among its contributors—I doubt very much if *Encounter* will publish refutation of their way of thinking.

Yours sincerely,

Newport, Aug. 9. MILWARD CASEY.

[We think our correspondent has allowed his particular interest in a literary journal to influence his judgment in assessing the "recent trends" in FREEDOM's contents! Book reviewing and an interest in the Arts are certainly not new features in FREEDOM, and we see no reason why such features should appeal only to "intellectuals". We would like to think that our paper is read by all kinds of people. We do not aim to appeal to a particular "class" in society; we aim at the abolition of classes.

We think on the whole FREEDOM comments on a large number of the more important topics of the day. Some issues are neglected partly because we do not feel competent to deal with them and sometimes because the limited time at our disposal (this is one of the disadvantages of trying to publish a weekly in one's "spare time"!) prevents us from reading up all the material on a particular subject without which it is impossible to write except in a superficial manner. Too much is left to too few people! If one looks through the files of FREEDOM one will be struck by the fact that there are a large number of able contributors to our columns. Unfortunately their contributions are sporadic, whereas what is needed is a much larger group of anarchists than at present who are prepared to undertake to specialise in particular topics.

As to the literary journal it may be that all our correspondent writes on the need for such a publication is quite true. The fact is that all who read NOW were of the opinion that it was a magazine of a very high standard, yet it did not survive. We cannot help feeling that the problem to-day is not that there is no place where the "creative young writer" can express himself but that there are very few creative young writers!—EDITORS.]

Viewpoint on the Free Society

SIR,

In reply to my letter (FREEDOM Aug. 13), you say:—

"Because we believe that such social experiments (a free society) will have small beginnings we cannot be sure that it will be possible to abolish money as a first step."

In the first place I do not hold the view that money will be *abolished*; although it cannot exist in a propertyless society. In my view money will disappear with the disappearance of private property relationships.

Without property; without the concept of 'mine and thine' or the idea of private gain, exchange or a means of exchange is impossible.

In your editorial reply you also accept the possibility that a "free" society—if self-sufficient—could exist in one part of the world to the exclusion of the rest. To you such a society is an "experiment". To me it must be an entirely different way of life from the present capitalist one.

It must be universal in character.

Most of the small "free" communities (usually authoritarian, and therefore not "free"—classless), have been short-lived and doomed to failure. If they do not fail of their own accord they are suppressed by the State. Anyway, communities embracing, as they do, only a handful of people can not solve the major problems of humanity; the evils

of poverty, war, general insecurity and a lack of individual freedom.

These "experiments" can have no real social significance. (By saying this I do not mean to suggest that those desiring social equality should not attempt, within the limited horizons of present-day society, to practice what they preach. Changed ideas can lead to changed attitudes; changed attitudes can lead to changed institutions in certain circumstances).

But as our present capitalist society is world-wide in character (including Soviet State Capitalism), so must be the society that will take its place.

Private property, exploitation of man by man, privilege and power, authority and coercion are all universal in character. Free access, equality, harmony, and co-operation running as a thread through all human associations, must also be universal.

London, Aug. 13. PETER E. NEWELL.

Arthur Deakin's Will

Mr. Arthur Deakin, who was general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union from 1945 until his death on May 1, left £8,382 (duty £305). He had been a full-time trade union official since 1919.

In his will he left his decoration of Companion of Honour to his son George, and his decoration of Commander of the Order of the British Empire and presentation gold watch and chain to his son Arthur.

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COMMENT

The Anarchist Summer School

FOUR aspects concerning anarchism emerged from the 9th Annual Summer School. That is, not entirely new aspects, but rather that each lecture, apart from reiterating old and established knowledge, seemed to pin-point a problem which neither the lecture nor the discussion seemed to clarify. It is hoped, perhaps, that further comment may be forthcoming from FREEDOM readers.

The lecture on Violence, ably presented, threw into relief the dilemma of the pacifist to-day, though the lecturer made a point of emphasising that pacifism was active resistance on a different level. It nevertheless became clear that pacifist reaction to the violation of personal rights may be in accord with some people's reaction but cannot encompass everyone. The lecturer's suggestion that pacifism became a method of revolution and social change remained unconvincing and though pacifist resistance à la Ghandi had its success in South Africa at the turn of the century, or the passive resistance in India during the British Raj, it does not alter the fact that in history most changes and revolutions occurred through the use of violence. True the end cannot justify the means, and the revolutionary who created a change via the use of force must maintain the change with considerable force.

Yet considering that man's natural reaction to danger or abuse is either to run away or fight, to take the punishment as the pacifist must, suggests perhaps a disturbance in the capacity for "natural reaction". It has more to do with the person as a personality, rather than the principle which is being upheld. If the use of non-violence remains as a principal guide to action and not as a principle as such, intelligent appraisal becomes necessary for each situation as it arises.

To maintain a rigid and irrevocable principle requires a rigid and irrevocable personality, hardly the best material for social change of the desirable type. So if passive resistance based on the principle of non-violence fits in with the character structure of some people it has really little to do with the principle. The principle becomes the social rationalisation for this kind of resistance. It does not imply that the rational human being should not use passive resistance only perhaps if it represents the best method under a given situation. This idea may undermine the whole principle of a principle, but then to maintain a rigid principle under all circumstances no matter what, is really not much different in concept from "My country right or wrong."

In the second lecture, on 'Sex and Sin', I'm attempting to discuss what I consider the most pertinent point raised without elaborating on the lecture as a whole.

After tracing the origin of Western Christian morality (especially that pertaining to sex), to the Mosaic code, the lecturer went on to point out that it was the moral aspect in religion which was the most dangerous rather than the religiosity itself. He made a great deal of the contemporary tendency to divorce morality from religion, a pertinent observation to be sure. But as this tendency is still obviously in its infancy, it appeared overstressed. Perhaps the most illuminating aspect which the speaker unfortunately failed to elaborate upon was the function of sex suppression via sex morality.

He suggested that primitive man living in constant fear of his environment and as a result in constant need of protection from his gods, suppressed his own pleasure as he considered pleasure the prerogative of gods only. To suppress his own pleasure was to supplicate himself to the Almighty in return for his protection. A plausible explanation but does it go far enough? Why this form of supplication?

The answer it appears lay in the fact that the representatives of organised religion and their primitive counterparts found that to suppress sexuality and pleasure enabled those very representatives to extract a more exacting and fuller control over the masses. Still unfortunately true to-day the forms and mediums of influence may have changed but the effect remains. Here perhaps the most vital point was missed.

To suppress the spontaneous, the sexual and the pleasurable in the human being is to denude him of all self-reliance and to produce the docility that enables society to mould him into the hundred-and-one regimentations of everyday life, in fact the greatest aspect of the 'opium of the people'. Reich in this respect adds tremendously in *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* to the understanding of this modern dilemma of Sex and Sin (guilt) and all the ramifications thereof.

Here is a vital aspect of social conditioning which, if properly understood, can displace many time-worn ideas about social change, their possibilities and limitations.

The third lecture at the Anarchist Summer School entitled 'Anarchism and Education' was neither a lecture nor had it very much to do with either Anarchy or Education as such. It turned out to be a most interesting and amusing account of the speaker's personal contact, trials and tribulations in a modern State school, and a modern progressive school, Summerhill.

The speaker was courageous enough to state some Anarchist dogmatism shared by so many Anarchists with not enough courage to state it themselves. Statements like 'the only good school is an Anarchist one' or that 'all children are born Anarchists', needed a lot more explanation than the lecturer provided. The speaker markedly pointed out that Summerhill was more of a community than a school but shared the opinion that was raised in the discussion that Summerhill fails as far as Anarchism is concerned. The children who leave still enter the army, don't turn out to be Pacifists, Anarchists or even Communists, an objection raised without fail whenever Neill is discussed.

Everyone was only interested in purpose, and everyday living which seems to be mostly function is conveniently forgotten. If there is any purpose to the school it is perhaps to provide a free environment for the children to regulate their own lives at a time most vital to their future if they are to become rational and adjusted individuals.

The speaker though intellectually acknowledging freedom and self-regulation found the reality of it a little bewildering. He sadly lamented the lack of actual 'learning facilities' but drove the point home that in his opinion Summerhill contributed more towards Anarchism than much of the speech-making and propagandising carried on now. The speaker's most basic contribution was that Anarchists should abandon the talk of a future society and concentrate on real and vital issues now. An Anarchist school—there seemed to be quite a few Anarchist teachers—sex education for adolescents, or a communal workshop feasible now, would contribute more vitally to the theory and practice of Anarchism.

A constructive policy of everyday activity in tackling the problems of the moment can go a long way towards eliminating the revolutionary fatigue that so many despondent Anarchists are suffering from.

The last lecture was a problem in itself. 'The rôle of the Revolutionary Today' was perhaps the most difficult one of all four. What constitutes a revolutionary or rebel to-day? The free society not being round the corner, what category does the active reformer belong to if he works towards say the abolition of capital punishment or greater freedom in schools and prisons?

Is a revolutionary one who actively works towards a change 'in social conditions and personal relationships' as the speaker defined him or is it the man who here and now withdraws his support

from existent irrational institutions and of necessity creates new and better ones for himself?

As was pointed out by the speaker, no doubt helped by Koestler, there is at the moment no political structure one could identify oneself with without a conscience. The triumph of Nazi fascism and Stalinist sovietism put paid to any revolutionary fervour in Europe. No new social upsurge has become evident in either Europe or any other part of the world that could not snugly fit into Neo-Nazism or Soviet Communism, neither of which have anything new to offer except added regimentation. The former minus the more blatant aspects of anti-semitism and the latter authoritarianism with a slight but not dangerous leeway in freedom of thought and outlook.

The sensitive revolutionary is after all left to his own devices. What then is his rôle?

If all this does mean that one can only make a contribution to progress as an individual then one must acknowledge that this permeates all classes and must count in its ranks progressive teachers like Neill and Bloom, social workers, people who live in communities, old ladies who agitate against inadequate facilities for sick animals and even M.P.s who tirade against lousy bread or tell Parliament and via the press the rest of the country that Christian Morality and fidelity helps to create much of the chaos in marriage and the numerous cases of anti-social activity.

No person can agitate for the total revolution to-day without remaining for the most part a verbal protester, whereas anyone agitating for the removal of a distinct undesirable aspect may see it come to fruition in his own lifetime and hence of functional benefit to the future generation, his own children.

The total revolutionary finding little scope for action within the framework of party or class must either swell the ranks of revolutionary dependents or become an evangelist and make the propagation of his ideas the end in itself. Minus the music, a new Salvation Army with a touch of Marx and a dash of Kropotkin. As the rational approach of the speaker's platform or writer's article touches the 'head and not the heart', the conditioned heart of the average man remains for the most part the most effective barrier against social change. It appears that personal example on an individual level or the intelligent upbringing of the new generation remains the only rational avenues left for those vitally concerned with 'total revolution'.

S.F.

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