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WHITTIER

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Threepence

#### THE A.E.U. MERGER PLAN

## Another Union Monstrosity?

going ahead for a conference to be held on February 29 (this being leap year), to discuss the merger of all engineering workers into one big union.

This is being pushed by the Amalgamated Engineering Union, already, with 950,000 members, one of the biggest in the country. 31 unions have been invited to the conference and so far it is reported that 20 have accepted.

The merger would bring the membership of the AEU—which is itself an amalgamation of 10 unions—up to nearly 1,500,000, bigger than the monstrous Transport & General Workers' Union.

Mr. Robert Openshaw, president of the AEU, said when announcing the conference that 'We feel that there are far too many unions catering for the same class of workpeople.' Which is of course always the attitude of big organisations towards smaller ones.

#### Small Unions Swamped

Many of the small craft unions in the engineering industries fear being swamped in such a huge conglomeration as the merge will create, but at the same time it is being increasingly recognised that the splitting up of workers into a multitude of small, unconnected unions is outmoded.

This is what anarcho-syndicalists have been saying for many years, but that does not mean we unreservedly welcome the AEU proposals, for what will be created will not be live industrial organisations based upon workshop committees, but will be a huge centralised bureaucracy with monopolistic powers over all the workers in engineering crafts throughout the country—and even

#### First Successes in Birth Control Campaign in Italy

The Rome correspondent of the Manchester Guardian reports (22/1/56) that:

A consulting office to inform citizens on modern scientific methods of contraception or on methods to facilitate conception will open in Rome on Tuesday. The first of its kind to exist in Italy, it is sponsored by the Italian Association for Demographic Education, a nonpolitical body, supported by many intellectuals, which for two years has been fighting a tough battle against religious and political prejudice in the matter of birth control.

The association foresees possible difficulties, for an article of the fascist penal code still in force punishes with imprisonment anyone propagating information on contraception. Two years ago the association sponsored a bill to abrogate this decree, but though it carried more signatures than any other bill before Parliament, it has so far been successfully obstructed by the Christian Democrats. There is, however, a sign that the times are changing; recently the courts absolved the author of a scientific work on contraception on the grounds that scientific information is not propaganda within the meaning of the act.

Apart from the interest this news has per se, for anarchists, it has the added interest that this "sign that the times are changing" was sparked off by our anarchist comrades Giovanna Berneri and Cesare Zaccaria who, as far as we know, were the first to openly publish a pamphlet advocating, and giving instructions on the methods of, birth control, to appear in Italy after the fall of the Fascist régime. For this they were denounced to the police by a priest and were prosecuted. Since then however, their pamphlet has been reprinted outside the anarchist movement in Italy and distributed on a wide scale.

bers in Australia, S. Africa, Malta indeed. and Gibraltar.

When anarcho-syndicalists urge industrial organisation as opposed to craft, we do so in order to bring together all the workers in an industry irrespective of their trade. But this is not for the purpose of getting them all together under one administrative umbrella, the better to use and control them; it is in order to supply the strength whereby they can apply themselves to the task of coming into control of their industry themselves.

It is in order that all the workers in, say, the car industry shall cease to think of themselves as craftworkers who just happen to be making parts of motor-cars, but shall become integrated with all the workers in the industry the better to fight their battles at the point of production and to organise themselves to take over the running of the car industry.

There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the new AEU would not develop into another dictatorial monolith like the T&GWU. Already there are 2,200 branches in Britain and Ireland; the new merger would bring in many more. It will be the aim of the leadership to control all these branches from head office, and whoever gets into the jobs

beyond, for there are AEU mem- at head office will be very powerful

#### Move to Control

That is precisely why there is considerable fear at the moment that the Communists may get more influence at the top, and why the Party is urging its members to support amalgamation (and use it for their own ends). In this they are helped as usual by the apathy of the mem-

At the last ballot for the executive only 10 per cent. of the members voted, with the result that the Commies captured another seat on the executive of seven-making two in the bag. There is another battle outstanding which may give then a third seat. A merger would strengthen this situation for the C.P. by adding the ETU, the Foundry Workers and the Constructional Engineers to their strength, for these three unions, one large and two small are already Commie-domina-

Whether bossed by the Communists or Labour fakirs, however, the engineering workers in the workshops will not be strengthening themselves by coming under this amalgamation. They will be strengthening their bosses, and making of their unions a happy hunting ground for careerists and a ripe plum for political tricksters to pluck.

THE 'SURPLUS'

WITH large numbers of the world's population living below subsistence level one would have thought that the surplus farm produce reported from the U.S.A. would have been welcomed joyously as a means of alleviating the misery of millions. But no, the needs of capitalism-profit and high prices-have to be met whatever the cost in human privation.

Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, before the Senate Committee on Agriculture last week declared that surpluses lay at the heart of the farm prob-

"Our surpluses must be reduced as the essential pro-condition for the success of a sound farm programme . . . "

"Storage costs run about a million dollars a day." Worse, the surpluses, which were larely created by high price supports, depress the market; the high supports thus have the opposite effect to that intended. Benson told the Senators: "The huge surpluses reduced farm income in 1955 by the staggering sum of more than \$2 billion. What the President proposed is a direct and effective attack on the surpluses themselves."

The heart of the President's programme, Benson testified, is the "soilbank" plan, designed to cut plantings of wheat and cotton by perhaps 20%. The bank would consist of an "acreage reserve" and a "conservation reserve", which would cost the taxpayers \$1 billion over the next three years. Farmers choosing to join the acreage reserve would take specific acres temporarily out of production, receiving compensation based on a percentage of the normal yield. Compensation would be paid, Benson testified, in a novel way: the farmers would get certificates redeemable by the Commodity Credit Corp. in cash or in surplus." Farmers who joined the conservation reserve would get compensation for taking acres out of production for five to ten years and for planting grass or trees; these farmers would have to guarantee not to graze livestock on their conservation reserve for a specified period, so as not to add to the surplus of livestock."

Surpluses already held must be disposed of somehow, "even by selling or

bartering in the grain-short Communist colonies of Eastern Europe". So the hungry peoples of Eastern Europe will be able to eat if their Governments are in a strong bargaining position. No ideological differences will interfere in this deal if the conditions of the U.S. Government can be met. If the Communist authorities don't consider it worth while, however, the people of Eastern Europe will continue to be deprived.

PROBLEM

Benson's programme also includes a proposal to help 1.5 million low-income farmers to improve their farming efficiency, or failing that to aid them in their transition to non-farm employment. Those who are unable to get a living from the land will now be thrown on the labour market and thus increase the competition between workers for jobs.

But it is the support of the prosperous farmers that is important for the politicians. Asked whether any of the new benefits would get through to the farmers before the presidential election, Benson said that the programme if put into force would provide "immediate buoyancy".

#### PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 3

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#### SYNDICALIST NOTEBOOK MIXED BAG OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

THIS was the title which the Manchester Guardian gave to its summary of half-a-dozen cases where workers were either taking direct action to defend their interests or were threatening to do so. This, together with the matter-offact way in which strikes are reported in the national press, and sometimes, unfortunately even in the left-wing press, presents an industrial dispute as if it were quite an impersonal affair, either calling for the application of economic measures, or illustrating tendencies among "the workers".

Each dispute, in fact, involves a larger or smaller group of individuals whose standards of economic life are unsatisfactory, or being threatened, and who after usually a prolonged attempt to solve their problems through constitutional channels, resort to a withdrawal of labour, involving acute temporary hardship.

#### MINERS

At Townley Rift colliery in County Durham, coal face workers have imposed a ban on overtime as a protest against the quality of coal supplied to the men at the pit. The supply of cheap coal to miners has become a well-established custom, and the money saved thereby is an effective addition to the wage packet, and a decrease in its quality represents a reduction in this. The Division of the N.C.B. has declined to intervene in the dispute, on the grounds that it is a matter to be settled at pit level. Since the miners also seem to be of that opinion, we may see their case succeeding.

#### AMBULANCE DRIVERS

A very difficult type of dispute has arisen between the Middlesex County Council and members of the National Ambulance Services Association working under it. They claim that extra duties and overtime are being imposed on them contrary to conditions of work. This is quite a common occurrence in the type of work where "vocational sense of duty" is used as a catchphrase to persuade people to accept poor conditions, and a stand against it often has to be taken by a minority union organisation. A complete strike is hardly a good way of backing up action of this type, and at first the N.A.S.A. drivers simply refused to transport out-patients to hospitals, but have now extended their action by not returning discharged patients to their homes.

#### WOODWORKERS

The Amalgamated Society of Woodcutting Machinists are planning a series of strikes to begin on May 1st if wage negotiations were unsuccessful. Although it is not made quite clear in the report, it seems likely that the kind of action involved will be of the guerrilla type, where vital skilled workers disrupt production for short periods in various selected places; a method of struggle used very effectively by the E.T.U.

#### RAILWAYMEN

Railway men are concerned over the practice of employing private contractors on permanent way repairs. The reasons for this are mixed, and are probably due to the zeal of Labour supporters to prevent the Conservative government from encroaching on the monopoly of nationalization. A direct grievance is that private contractors are paying more than the railway authorities, which would indicate that to take action in defence of a nationalized authority is hardly worth the trouble.

#### **ENGINEERS**

A proposal has been made by the Amalgamated Engineering Union to extend the unity of workers in the engineering industry by a further series of amalgamations. Thirteen other unions are sending delegates to a preliminary conference; the total membership of those concerned being a million and a half. Although the A.E.U. sometimes claims to be an industrial union, and the principles behind its desire to form a new and larger organization are the elimination of a situation of inter-union competition, craft organization and disunity, it will still confine itself to skilled workers. If such a merger is carried through it will increase the reformist efficiency of the engineers in matters of bargaining, but it will not come very close to the anarchist idea of an industrial syndicate.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST.

## Reflections on Big Three Economic Plans Production: A Political Weapon

MR. IAN MIKARDO, M.P. in his column in Tribune last week observes that "To an everincreasing extent the relative strengths of nations and power-blocs are measured by their economic, and especially their industrial, resources". A somewhat naive remark we thought, especially coming from an old hand in the political game! By what other yard-stick do nations in fact measure strength? By their armed forces, did someone suggest? But armies in the twentieth century are ornaments if they are not backed by complicated equipment which only nations with heavy industries can produce. Much more up-todate is the New York Times which opens its editorial comment on Russia's approaches to Latin America with the following: "The question to be asked about the Soviet bid for closer economic (and hence political) ties in Latin America is . . . For the N.Y. Times "economics" and "politics" are inseparable, twin brothers, a view with which any open-minded observer of the socioeconomic system under which the world in general at present labours must surely agree. And this is the real tragedy which tends to nullify the giant strides that have been made in the past fifty years by science and its application to industry and agriculture.

WITH Man's present knowledge of the uses of raw materials which are available to him; the techniques which he has developed for the mass production of the necessities of life (which for the vast majority of mankind are still food, clothing and shelter—only a very small minority as yet consider that life would be intolerable without an ice-box, Coca-Cola or T.V.); his growing mastery over the problems of communications, both in the exchange of ideas as well as in the means of transporting the raw materials and finished products of his labour . . . with our present knowledge, we say, mankind already possesses all the ingredients for ensuring a world of plenty in which no human being need starve, nor millions perish when, through no fault of their own, normally self-sufficient communities are faced with crop failures as a result of exceptional droughts, floods, or earthquakes. Instead we are told by the official statisticians of the United Nations that something like half of the world's people are still living in conditions of near- or actual-starvation.

It is with the knowledge of these facts that we must consider the announcements by the leaders of the

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#### THE RELEVANCE OF MAX WEBER

## A STUDY IN CLASS, STATUS & POWER

The Forerunners

THE concept of the struggle between classes which dominates all Marxist theory has strongly influenced all forms of socialism and anarchism. The concept was not originated by Marx, but the elaboration of it which he made in the latter half of the 19th century has received little fundamental revision within the field of active politics and mass propaganda. The simple picture of all the ills of society, national and international, being due to the ownership of the means of production being vested in one class which thereby dominates and exploits the "proletariat", is one which easily appeals to and captures the imagination of simple people. This simplified picture can seem to square with all the problems which simple people come across, so that Marxist parties have captured mass followings.

It would not be fair to suggest that Marx himself supported so crude a theory of class struggle; his extensive writings show that he was well aware of the great complexity of the problems of social interaction, and that a portmanteau term like the "proletariat" was shorthand for a complexity of social and economic groupings. Bakunin declared himself to be a "Marxist" by which he meant that he was in agreement with Marx's general interpretation of economic tensions supplying the major reasons for social change. But Bakunin was a Positivist by the time he developed his anarchism; that is to say he derived his intellectual methodology via Comte from the scientific revolution in thought which characterised the 18th/19th century era of enlightenment. Marx, whose basis was metaphysical, repudiated Positivism.

Bakunin is generally spoken of as a wildly romantic revolutionary. His personal qualities certainly inclined him to a romantic panache, but although not a great scholar he had a remarkably shrewd intellect. Alone of all the revolutionary thinkers of his time he appears to have forseen the nature of modern totalitarianism which he expected to develop even earlier than it did. Marx's analysis did not allow for the concept of the Totalitarian State. Anarchists today tend to reject any association with sonal eccentricities and his apparent

naivity in seeing "the revolution" on the barricades of every petty insurrection, but it is important to see him in perspective. A man before his time can often make a fool of himself. However, events since the time of Marx and Bakunin have tended to show that on their main points of theoretical disagreement it was Marx who was wrong.

#### Weber The Inheritor

THE figure of Max Weber is not well known in revolutionary circles. He was a German liberal whose influence was little felt outside the academic sphere, and who died when his intellectual progress had reached its most interesting point. After his death in 1920 he was pigeonholed as just one more professor who had made a contribution to social and political theory. But his contribution was such that he developed the theory of class struggle to a point where we can understand the reason why history has not worked out according to Marxist rules in this century.

Marx defined a class in terms of the economic rôle which a group of people perform in society. It is true that in his less polemical writings he admitted that a psychological attitude was a part determinant of class e.g. in his 18th Brumaire he explained that the French peasantry, although forming a distinct class by objective standards, could not be considered as a class by reason of their psychological orientation towards one another-they lacked awareness of their identity of interest. Weber defined a class in terms of people's objectively determined life-chances, and showed that what determines the way in which people must live as largely that position which they occupy vis-a-vis both the commodity market and the labour market. In the Weberian analysis, therefore, classstruggle in the Marxist sense is still a very meaningful term. But Weber saw that the class division of society was not the only important or significant one; he saw that what impelled individual or social action was not just the influence of the productive process, but that another division of society had a most powerful effect on all human action, and motive as Marx did:

"Economically conditioned power is not of course identical with power as such. On the contrary, the emergence of economic power may be the consequence of power existing on other grounds. Man does not strive for power only to enrich himself economically. Power, including economic power, may be valued for its own sake. very frequently the striving for power is also conditioned by the 'social honour' it entails."

[Max Weber, Class, Status and Party].

#### The Force Of Status

CTATUS is defined in terms of the social honour which is accorded to a man or to a group. Status is not equivalent to income group although the two are generally connected. The same social honour is not given to a rich bookmaker who runs a Rolls-Royce and lives in St. John's Wood as to a famous spendthrift artist, a popular dramatist, an astronomer, a bishop, an hereditary earl, or the poet of the day. Different individuals may have vastly different private scales by which they acknowledge honour to other people (one man may honour the poet and despise the bishop, another may honour the bishop and treat the artist with contempt), but by and large certain categories of people can expect to receive more social honour than others, quite irrespective of their wealth. Apart from the extremes, we find that society is stratified into a status order which is very subtly powerful in its effect on the way people behave towards one another. Accent of speech, taste in clothes, degree of education, occupation, leisure pursuits, district of residence, circle of friends-all these are determinants of status. As far as economic criteria are concerned level of income does not determine the status ranking of occupations, although they are connected. University lecturers rank higher than dentists, rabbis than pawnbrokers, typists than mill girls, shop assistants than navvies. In every community of more or less permanent social structure we may even detect a sort of "pecking order" like that which exists among fowls. Individuals may be fairly contented in their status and conscious that they would be less happy if they that was the division of status. He did moved out of it, yet there is the general Bakunin, because of his many silly per- not overvalue the sheerly economic tendency to seek to achieve upgrading in status, especially as concerning

people's ambitions for their children.

Weber has emphasised the importance of the struggle for increased status, both for individuals and for groups. The son of a fishmonger may aspire to become a bank-clerk not because he hopes to better his father's income but because he hopes to achieve higher status. Barbers are trying to organize themselves into a profession of "hair stylists" (with professional rules of conduct and all), not simply to make more money, which is doubtful, but because they hope to improve their social status.

#### The Classless Society?

COMPARING Weber's concept of class with his concept of status, we see that by the logic of the class struggle on its own there could come about the emergence of a new dominant class à la Marx and perhaps the disappearance of the class system altogether with the transformation of the basis of production. But the status system might remain; being in fact a "pecking order" it has need of some having less social honour in order that others may have more. I have had a first-hand report of a certain Kibbutz in Israel where economic equality is quite perfect—it is classless in the Marxist sense. But in spite of this economic equality, or as my informant implied because of it, a most elaborate status system had developed. Quite novel criteria of status had grown up in this economically equalitarian

Bakunin's appreciation of the reality of power in society was shrewder than that of Marx, perhaps because he came of an aristocratic family whereas Marx came from the bourgeosie to whom money was all-powerful in their concept of life. Weber also came from a ruling-class family and had this more realistic knowledge that power is not simply a function of property. Weber's analysis certainly presents us with a more complex view of social dynamics, and one in which the class struggle cannot work out to so comfortably definite a solution as implied by Marx. If some people and groups are always going to strive for increased social status even when economic equality is established, can we hope for a truly egalitarian

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Are you finding readers for FREEDOM?

#### THIS time Tom outsprinted Dick and Harry to their favourite crook in the cramped interstice vouchsafed the forty-nine male workers of Uplifting Bras, Inc., in which to lunch. It was a photo-finish, to be sure, for which exactly thirty minutes allotted them in which to gobble a sandwich and have a smoke, the devil and the Cerberean timekeeper would take the hindmost. Especially the timekeeper, what with his pocketbook

and dogma to subserve. Dick flipped open their favourite tabloid and leaned it against his lunch box so that the three of them could read it simultaneously without once breaking the urgent cadence of their gormandizing; Draconian necessity, and a Cerberean timekeeper, are indeed common-law

"I see," Tom garbled despite a mouthful of bread and bologna, "we're now members in good standing of the largest labour union in the world-oops! pardon, boys-the largest labour union in the free world."

progenitors of invention.

"Yeah," Dick conceded between lusty chews of his hero sandwich, "sixteen million of us, all in one big union now. Hurrah for the AFL-CIO! 'At long last the family of labour is reunited under one roof'. Look! That's what it says, right there."

Harry was too busy dispatching a hamand-cheese sandwich to do anything more than nod indifferently; his appetite was bigger than thirty-minutes' worth.

"I guess I oughta be grateful," Tom went on in mock apology, "but I still gotta ask: 'What's in it for me?' Sixteen million or sixty million-it's all the same to me unless a few more bucks show up in my pay to take home to the old lady."

"Gee, you are ungrateful, Tom," chided Dick. "Here it says the merger 'is the fruit of years of planning and hundreds of hours of hard bargaining around the conference table', and you gotta ask what's in it for you! Shame, Tom. shame."

"Yeah, shame. I've got a helluva lousy nerve thinking about myself while them negotiators're knocking themselves out for us-and incidentally figgering bow to slice the pie. What I wanna know is whose pie is it in the first place. theirs or ours?" His sandwich tucked in. Tom wiped a sleeve across his mouth

and lit his pipe.

## The Thirty-Minute Lunch Hour

Tom," Dick exuded patience. "Here, like it says here, 'With American labour united under one roof after twenty years of strife and schism, it is confidently expected that its weight will be increasingly felt in high political circles.' Now isn't that something to be proud

"Okay, I'm proud of it-damn proud. But when the old lady needs a couple of pairs of stockings, or when I wanna take in a ball game with the kids, are they gonna let me pay it off in pride? Let Meany and Reuther and those other birds strut around like peacocks on parade-they can afford to-but me, ] can't afford to be too proud to think of the old lady and the kids first."

"So that's your answer to the call for workers' solidarity," said Dick, assuming a mark of disappointment. "The first time in twenty years, and ---"

"Here, you've finished eating, Dick, haven't you? Have some tobacco." Dick filled his seven-minute pipe. "First time in twenty years. Fine. Swell. Sounds great. You know Tony Griffiths?"

"President of our local?"

"Yeah."

"Sure I know him." "How many times've you seen him in

the past year?" "I dunno-once, twice maybe."

"Maybe. And only because you went to the Christmas blow-out you and I and the rest of us stiffs footed in the first place. How long has Griffiths been local president?"

"I dunno-ever since I can remember, anyway."

"Ever since anyone can remember. He doesn't run for office-he walks 'cause he's always unopposed. And that's the way it goes all the way up the line. If we working stiffs had precious little to say about things before, what do you think of our chances now that there's a super-duper directorate running

things?" Dick puffed away unconcernedly; Harry, exploring his lunch box, came up with his third sandwich and attacked it mercilessly.

"Christ! There's not only the top brass now, but under Meany and Reuther there's a regular battalion of vice-presi-"You don't see the picture whole, dents-more than in a lotta locals

scattered around," Tom muttered disgustedly. "It's like this world government business. The guys on top of the heap will set up guys even higher up who'd be so far removed from the rest of us that God'll be able to deal with them better than we would. I still say the more they merge the less show we have. Me, I don't feel merged as much as hoodwinked."

"Maybe you've got something there, Tom," Dick granted.

"You bet your rising union dues I do. That's why I gotta know what's in it for me before I sing hallelujah. Don't you think Meany and Reuther and the other union bosses asked themselves the same question before they agreed to this love-feast? Pshaw! You don't see any of them out of a job, or taking a cut, do you? The fat cats get fatter and the lean ones make do with thirty-minute lunch hours. That must be a law of nature or something. Christ! Meany and Reuther probably couldn't even get through their first pre-dinner cocktail in thirty minutes, let alone eat, smoke and settle the political situation, like we

"Look!" exclaimed Dick, "it says here Meany addressed the National Association of Manufacturers convention."

"Swell," Tom muttered wryly, "why not? The prodigal son returns. Now I'll ask you one. Where do you s'pose Meany has put in more hours, at the Union Club or on an assembly-line?"

"Don't make me laugh, Tom. The only sweating Meany ever did was in the Turkish bath."

"Now you're talking, Dick."

Dick read on: "'Meany drew applause from the NAM audience when he declared that there is more that binds labour and management than separates them. "Our common enemy is communism," the head of the newly-merged AFL-CIO asserted, "and we must not stint one iota in our common effort to destroy our common enemy."'"

"Now that's sure to land me a few more bucks in my pay envelope, isn't it?" sneered Tom. "But I guess I'm just being selfish and ungrateful in the face of all that these altruistic big-wigs are doing for me. After all, Meany is top-dog in my union now, and I oughta

feel proud that he can hobnob with the captains of industry, like they used to be called."

"And look, Tom. There's a picture of Meany and Sligh."

"Who the hell is Sligh?" "He's head of the NAM."

"Lemme see it-I've never seen pictures of either of 'em as I can remember." Dick held up the paper but purposely concealed the caption with his palm. "Christ! Just lookit that Sligh," Tom exploded. "Fat and jowly, just like I expected. And lookit the mean little pig-eyes. Looks like the sort who'd caress a Cadillac and kick a man any time. I wouldn't trust him ---"

"Tom, you're looking at Meany, not

"Well, they look like brothers under the high-income bracket anyway. How much time we got left, Dick?"

"A coupla minutes. How ya doing,

Harry?" Harry was rummaging through his lunch box for some fruit. "Okay, I'll make it in time, don't worry."

"Reuther always used to get hot under the gavel about old-line AFL unions that discriminated against Negroes," Tom recalled with a snort, "but that doesn't seem to faze him any more. All of a sudden he can be palsy-walsy with the worst of them AFL'ers who wouldn't let a Negro come within ten feet of their lily-pure craft unions. To say nothing of AFL racketeering-and Reuther's saying nothing too. How do you figger that, Dick?"

"You don't think he wants to be tramping the streets looking for work, Tom, do you?"

"But the CIO came into being as a protest, among other things, against Jim Crow in the AFL, remember?"

"Yeah, but that was a long time ago." "That's the trouble with these guys," Tom summed up acidly. "The same blokes who ran the show twenty years ago are still running it to-day with only some front-men stooges and disciples to take over for those who kicked off the gravy train through the years. All of them got fat in their jobs. Yesterday's militants are to-day's conservatives, and worse. With them unionism's become a career where it started out as a creed.

Like career Catholics, for example. They're the ones who become popes and crusaders. They're the ones who cash in on the One and Only Faith."

"It's better'n punching a time-clock." "Yeah."

"Elections must be coming up," commented Dick as he hurriedly thumbed through the pages, "what with everybody worrying so much about the people's welfare all of a sudden. This year you're gonna hear a lotta gob about reducing taxes, helping the farmer, cutting the high cost of living, civil rights, and so on. And I see where 'First West German Army Recruits Sworn In, To Be Trained by U.S. Officers', and Spain is officially ordained 'Keystone of the Free World Defence System', and 'Convicted Nazi Torturers Released', and 'Spellman Sees East and West In Mortal Conflict', and 'Ike Recovering, Drives Golf Balls', and — Yknow what gets me, Tom? How come all our former enemies are now our bosom allies, and all our former allies are already, or are fast becoming, our mortal enemies? How come, huh?"

"Progress, Dick, Progress-everything's Progress."

A warning buzzer growled, and fortynine men catapulted into activity. Tom and Dick glanced as one towards Harry, who was grinning broadly as he clamped shut his exhausted lunch box. "Finished just in time," Harry boasted.

Tom shook his head admiringly. "As usual. How you do it beats me, Harry. Perfect timing if ever I saw it."

"Thirteen years on the job, fellers, that's all there is to it. C'mon, we'd better get back before we're docked."

"You timing wouldn't be worth a damn if Meany ever gets around to winning us an extension to our lunch hour, Harry," Dick dryly observed.

"Not a chance, not a chance. Meany's too busy fighting Reds, Dick, remem-'ber?" Tom interposed.

"C'mon, fellers, last one back's a rotten egg-and out a buck in the bar-

Whereupon, hunch boxes in hand, they sprinted back to their posts and flipped the toggle-switch of their respective machines even as the starting bell tolled the knell of still another thirty-minute lunch hour.

Uplifting Bras, Inc., was in business

SEYMOUR GREENBERG.

# Freedom

January 28, 1956 Vol. 17, No. 4.

### **Production:** A Political Weapon

Continued from p. 1

Big Three as to their governments' programmes for industrial development. For though they have not solved the problem of how to dispose of what is produced in the factories and from the land, they put forward five-year plans (and their equivalents in the West), which aim at more and more production! It is important to bear in mind that the failure of capitalist distribution must not only be measured by its unsaleable surpluses but by its unsaleable production! Vast resources of raw materials, man-power and industrial equipment are at present swallowed-up in the production of war-material and the maintenance of millions of men in unproductive armies (the United States alone, according to Mr. Eisenhower's recent budget speech will spend more than \$39,000 million i.e. £14,000 million—on "major national security" in 1956, or 61% of the national revenue). To these must be added the armies of civilians who are to-day employed in unproductive jobs — unproductive not because they do not actually produce something which can be consumed but because the work they do does not even indirectly benefit the community (unless one believes that the capitalist system is the saviour and benefactor of mankind!)

Is it not obvious that what is needed now is not more scientists, industrial experts with their timeand-motion stopwatches, industrial psychologists who can marry the worker to his job with boisterous music and smooth talk BUT a revolution of thinking, a revolt of the slaves, a tearing away of the cobwebs of tradition which have clothed with respectability that skeleton of a system based on privilege (hence, power), inequality and injustice?

THE New York Times in equating economics with politics-"the Soviet bid for closer economic (and hence political) ties . . . "-will not, we are sure, cause many raised eyebrows among its readers for these two "sciences" are mutually dependent outside Russia as well! It is only for people with a questioning mind and who do not lap up editorial comments with their morning porridge who may question that par-

enthetic "and hence political"! Economics is defined in the dictionary as the "practical science of the production and distribution of wealth"; Politics as the "science and art of government, political affairs or life". By definition Economics can operate without Politics, but can Politics exist, or exist without vitiating ("influencing" would be a much too polite and positive term), Economics? The answer of course is that it cannot. It must follow therefore that economic programmes put forward by politicians are not concerned primarily with economics but with politics. This was made patently clear by Eden in his television broadcast last Saturday in which he portrayed himself as the champion of scientific discovery as applied to the development of industry. "New machines, new methods, automation" is the watchword with more "men, scientists and technicians with wide varieties of knowledge to carry forward that work". For what purpose? Not because all this would result in more leisure, more happiness, equity or equality, but in an attempt to be "in the forefront" so far as the other nations of the world are concerned; because it had recently been revealed that Russia had more scientists and technicians than the Western

## THE EISENHOWER HEART

NEW YORK, JANUARY.

DWIGHT EISENHOWER, the bashful bride of American politics, is expected any day now to announce his decision. If the man has any sense he has made it already but the point is he has not announced it. This comedy played against the gloomy background of a heart attack has been running since the day four months ago that ended the era known in the characteristically unpleasant manner of political journalists as Before Coronary. Eisenhower's heart attack was managed not with considerations of his personal wellbeing but of publicity and political manœuvring, and the whole country was involved in it.

The day after the news came out the first services were held in the New York Stock Exchange where a record number of securities were sold and no doubt a few tidy fortunes made. Music was provided by the government declaring (in case the word had not accurred to anyone), that there was no "emergency" and that the reins of government would continue to be held as before.

Then came the battle of the doctors. Certain people criticized the doctor on the spot for having allowed his patient to walk with assistance down to his waiting car. The President, it was said in defence, preferred it that way, and one can't but wonder if his preference was not established by the possibility of photographs appearing of the President of the U.S. resting on a stretcher. Dr. Paul White then took over command and issued the famous bulletins describing the President's daily progress. The easier breathing, the soup he had for supper,

the music he listened to and the state of his bowels. "The President had a good bowel movement this morning", though not if you got your news from television or radio.

Bit by bit it became alright to wonder whether he would perhaps be retiring from active political work. We read how the onerous duties-and certainly they must be-had made a little vein pulsate on his temple, a danger signal to those who knew his temper. He had himself said that no one should think of doing the job unless he was absolutely physically fit. Long before his attack it was thought that his health would determine his plans. Now here he was with a severe illness. What should he do?

Advice was free. From Republican party sources it came with encouragement. Several party officials including

one state governor were there at hand to prove what could be done by people who had suffered the same disease but had gone right on working. Mr. Hall, the Party Chairman, knew Eisenhower of old to be too good a soldier not to want to "die in harness" and he advanced the theory that it was actually safer for the patient to work in the White House than to do dangerous farming work on the farm he might retire to in Gettysburg.

The Democrats gave advice with sympathy. Very unfortunate, but make the best of it and retire to your well-deserved rest. For a while it was taken for granted that Eisenhower would retire. He had always been so insistent on good health. But supposing Mr. Hall's crowd managed to be convincing enough? Now the Democrats excelled in sympathy. Poor Eisenhower in the hands of those selfish party politicians. Besides . . .

A Besides had to be added for weight. What if Eisenhower should be tricked into running? Who would be his running mate for the Vice Presidency? Nixon. Nixon the smoothie who told the dog story over television. Nixon the poor dope who had tried to get along with everybody including Mc-Carthy. If Eisenhower runs for election he is bound to choose Nixon because he is always so faithful to his friends. The Perils of Nixon thrived for a month or two but have faded out now because Nixon himself has taken peculiar pains to make himself unseen, unheard and unsought.

Meanwhile Dr. White went on issuing his bulletins, and was in turn criticised. His reply was short, "The country is so damn bowel-conscious anyway." He however took the chance to encourage donations to the American Heart Foundation for research on coronary heart disease, a laudable aim no one would dispute, but all the same expressed in an opportunist fashion not calculated to allay the general anxiety. It became mandatory for large circulation magazines to switch from the romance of Princess Margaret to the romance of the arteries that can suddenly block up inside your heart.

One day the President was able to be photographed and a poor sick-looking man bearing the obligatory grin was used to illustrate the front pages. Eisenhower was paying for the popularity he had walked into. The other day he went to Florida for a holiday. The photograph showed twenty reporters and photographers trailing behind him, all taking a stroll in the sun.

What has happened to the parties now? Every day passed is one more wasted in the so far abortive fight for the November. Eisenhower's doctors were under pressure to say when it would be possible to tell "whether he is well enough to run if he wants to". At first it was going to be the middle of January, then the end of January, then not until February that he would be able to make up his mind. Many factions had something to gain; some did not. The Democrats have lost because they are not yet able to use Eisenhower to build up a campaign against.

Eisenhower may have lost too. His latest statement was that Duty would determine his course, though he did not say who or what his duty was to.

## "INDIA IS UNIQUE"

The following are excerpts from a talk given by Francis Watson, printed in The Listener for Jan. 12th.

THE India of to-day, and whatever is Indian and unique about it, is presented to us in terms that are largely political, and political with a new sort of urgency . . . It is true that Indian politics have been impressing themselves upon us during a whole generation: but there has been an important change. India may have been a problem: she is now a force.

. . . It was never accurate to imagine India as a land peopled mainly by sages, delivering from beneath the shade of great trees pronouncements as important as they were obscure. Nor is it wise now to go to the other extreme and ignore the religious and philosophical elements in the Indian cast of mind.

Let me try to illustrate this by talking about . . . [Jiddu Krishnamurti].

. . . he demolishes the law and the prophets. His teaching is not that all religions are paths to God, but rather that they are all, if we adhere to them, paths away from the supreme goal of self-knowledge and that attainable spontaneity of existence which he calls 'creative reality'. He will not quote the Bhagavad Gita, or appeal to any established Hindu idea. Yet of Krishnamurti, and of the circle of hearers sitting round him at any time, I can use the phrase which is so often heard about one pheno-

bloc combined, and this might affect the balance in the struggle for power.

TET there be no illusions, among the victims, as to the intentions of the politicians. Politics is the "science of government". Health Services, full employment and all the trappings of the Welfare State are only by-products, means to the end which is to maintain the principle of government, power, privilege, and Orwell's proles in perpetuity. We are not purists who denounce any ameliorations of workers' conditions because they are the result of legislation (in any case often forced by agitation). Indeed we should welcome it if under the existing system no one in the world went hungry, but it would not convert us into becoming supporters of the capitalist system (State-controlled or free-forall varieties). For we believe that the prerequisites for happiness are not only a full belly but a free mind functioning in an environment of freedom. (In writing this we neither under-estimate the importance of material security, without which the things of the mind have little meaning, nor do we confuse a free mind with the concept that in a free society we shall all be intellectuals. (Save us from such a calamity!) Governments cannot function, however, in a world in which the people are free, spiritually and materially. For this reason are anarchists opposed to all authoritarian systems, democratic or dictatorial, wombto-the-tomb, tooth and nail, or the sublimation and emulation varieties, for no government can uphold the freedom of the individual and not

be overthrown!

menon or another, and so seldom examined: 'It could only happen in India'.

There is the other example of the celebrated movement for voluntary land reform led by Vinoba Bhave . . . It is happening in India and India is peculiar. In the case of Vinoba Bhave, as of his master, Mahatma Gandhi, it will be said that one such peculiarity is the popular reverence for the holy man, the saint. This is not just a picturesque village superstition. It has its application at many different levels, even among the sophisticated, the secularised, the "westernised", if you like. They, too, are open to conviction that sainthood 'works' -at least in their own country . . .

Those who pay attention to Krishnamurti in Europe or America . . . are not regarded either as an intellectual élite or, on the other hand, as a representative cross-section of the community. We tolerate the whole business as we tolerate other eccentricities. It is one of our conventions to associate any overt interest in transcendental matters with other small quaintnesses of behaviour . . The audience that Krishnamurti has in India may not be numerically large in proportion to that vast population. But it is representative; and the mere fact that he should be talking and people should be listening is not something odd, but something ordinary and accepted . . .

I am not at all concerned to enlarge upon doctrine or to give a testimonial to any one exponent, only to emphasise that these human power-houses exist and are taken for granted and are used.

But what sort of power? If there is a common factor to be found, I think I should call it the tendency to identify the outside questions with the inside questions. To say that all such teachers in their different ways turn the seeker in upon himself might be misleading, because it suggests a separation, a retirement from the temporal world: whereas the object is not separation but integration. It begins with the individual but it does not end with the individual: it enables him, or should enable him, to

from his own resources. Such teaching deals naturally in universal concepts, and it is unfortunately true that the universal is first cousin to the platitude. It is perhaps only too easy, with a few steps, to catch up with those monks pacing the cloister. 'But I am holier than thou!'

meet the demands of the world at large

But let me tell you, instead, of a man who, to the best of my belief, know what Krishnamurti is talking about and has profited by it. I will call him Anand. Fifteen years ago he was a left-wing politician, a former members of the Congress Working Committee . . . left India in 1946, and when I went back this year I found Anand again . . .

Like so many others to-day, he was doing village work. The days of excitement and violent action were over. Politics itself was put aside. Why? He made a chopping gesture with his hand. The day when that first atom bomb fell on Japan he had said to himself: 'This is the political approach and it offers no solution'. India was not yet independent when that happened. But even Anand's intense patriotism did not interfere with that broad conclusion, right or wrong, about politics as a human activity. 'I was out,' he said. 'Finished! And he seemed content to be finished; deeply content in himself, having at last found an individual instead of a mass approach; but not intellectually content with what he had to deal with. He said to me: 'We all talk of spiritual values and India's heritage, but can I find enough spiritual value to make one decent man?' Evidently this cliché about India's spiritual values cannot be excluded from practical conversation: evidently, also, in someone like this man I have called Anand it is very much more than a cliché.

To-day, with hundreds of village development programmes and projects, official and unofficial, there are new opportunities for able people to fulfil themselves by effacing themselves. went to see Jayaprakash Narayan, who has given up real political prospects to work for Vinoba Bhave's ideas-he was at one time spoken of as the obvious successor to Nehru. He was quite sure of himself, too.

### A Study in Class, Status & Power Continued from p. 2

society even in a condition of rationally organized anarchy? Will there not al- society. Happiness and contentment is ways be elites? Even though this may not necessarily a function of high status. be so, it does not follow however, that differences in status must necessarily make for social ill-health or the neurotic striving after increased status which is a characteristic of contemporary society.

To those who have a healthy revulsion from snobbery, it is rather a bitter pill to have to swallow the fact that as far as we can see status stratification may persist even when class stratification has disappeared. But perhaps what is so obnoxious about contemporary snobbery is that it is allied to power and not to real merit. Where social honour is accorded to those whose contribution to society is of a genuinely high order we do not begrudge it; the snob accords social honour to those whose status derives from the institutions of coercive power. Among some primitive people status is accorded in proportion to a man's social virtues—the way in which he provides music, or good concil, or food, or stories, or dancing for the enrichment of the lives of all. In such a system the striving for status is a striving to give of one's best to the community. and it can hardly be considered as other than a healthy impulse. It may be thought that such a status system has its possible misery for the weak, stupid and ungifted people, but such a judgment is

biassed by the standards of our own

#### Political Parties

HAVING defined stratification in terms of class which is concerned with the economic order, and status which is concerned with the social order, Weber then turned to the study of political parties which, in his phrase, "live in the house of power". The main characteristic of political parties, according to Weber, is that their action is consciously planned, in contrast to the actions of classes and status groups which result from vaguer reactions to events. Political parties, in Weber's analysis, do not primarily represent the interest of either classes or status groups as such; their aim is simply the acquisition of power, and when they happen to champion the interests of a class or a status group this championship is simply a means to attain their goal. Weber recognized the greatly varied forms of procedure (from naked violence to vote-canvassing) which political parties adopt, and the different structures they might adopt according as to whether the community is stratified predominantly by class or by status, but he conceived of parties as being isolated social phenomena.

"By virtue of these structural differences of domination it is impossible

to say anything about the structure of parties without discussing the structural forms of social domination per se. Parties, which are always structures struggling for domination, are very frequently organised in a very strict authoritarian fashion . . . But their aim is not necessarily the establishment of new international political i.e. territorial dominion. In the main they seek to influence the existing dominion."

(Max Weber op. cit.)

Unfortunately the posthumously published text breaks off at this point. Weber might have carried the analysis further, although hardly to an anarchist conclusion. At most he was a liberal who had great insight into the workings of social structures, and in particular of power structures. In all his writings he showed deep understanding coupled with both hatred and reverence of political power. We are indebted to him for his analysis of class, status and political power which takes us a long way beyond that of Marx, from whom he derived his earliest theses. The conclusion implicit in his work is that the political party must evolve to take over both the economic power of the dominant economic class and the social honour of the uppermost status groups. Weber died before the development of the true totalitarian states which have so amply illustrated his concepts.

## Anarchism and Gradualism - 3

(Continued from last week.)

WHAT is usually thought of as gradualism is the sort of policy which is expounded piecemeal by the Labour Party. I say piecemeal because cannot remember ever seeing a statement coming from that party outlining any final aim or goal.

It is obvious that when an anarchist society is finally achieved, the anarchist movement as a distinct body of people within society will disappear, (a) because its task of propaganda and preparation will have been fulfilled, (b) because, since everybody else will be anarchists in practise, its members will be integrated into society at large and will have nothing to make them distinctive as a body from the rest of society. But there is nothing in the Labour Party's behaviour or pronouncements which can make us believe that it ever sees itself withering away.

Just as the trades unions clearly see themselves as a permanent feature of society-which means that capitalism is a permanent form of society-so also does the Labour Party (for all one can see to the contrary), seem to envisage a continual, gradual ironing out of the anomalies of capitalism so as to so improve it that all its contradictions are eliminated and class conflicts sublimated -with a managerial authority eternally guiding the affairs of the nation.

That this is in fact impossible to achieve outside a "1984" type of world is quite possibly the reason why the Labour Party has never put it in writing. It confines itself simply to issues of the day, seeking something in every election year which will provide an apparent difference from its opponents, the Tories. Unfortunately the Tories are gradualists to-day as well, and the result of the gradualism of both parties is that they have met in the middle of the road, each boasting that they are more gradual than the other.

With the result that, as far as the powerful political machines are concerned, social progress is coming to a stop in Gt. Britain. The trends of gradual improvement, in the way of governtal or political planning from above are getting so gradual as to make their progress almost impossible to record.

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Unfortunately, however, this remains the kind of gradualism which attracts many progressive-minded individuals. Not anarchists, I must hasten to add, but rather those socialists who grew to political consciousness in the small, more 'fundamentalist' socialist parties, but have now recognised the essential sterility of their position. Unfortunately, the grip which social

democracy and its political insistence has had upon their ideas has rendered them unreceptive to the anarchist position with its greater stress upon individual responsibility and the importance of organic growth within society as opposed to political. Which is a great pity, for there is very obviously a crisis among the socialists of Britain arising out of the very success of the Labour Party in achieving power in 1945 and putting its policies into operation, the ever-growing likeness between the Soviet Union and the capitalist, imperialist States, and the stolid refusal of the British electorate to think in terms of more than two political parties.

The fact is that socialism has had it, and the more progressive or revolutionary-minded socialists might have been expected to move in a libertarian, anarchist or anarcho-syndicalist direction were it not for the fact that political organisations tend to so corrupt their members that they become either embittered and apathetic, or move into safer channels to the Right, when they get out.

(It is interesting to see, incidentally, how those who have been the 'practical', all-out-for-action militants when in a party tend to become the apathetic, 'it's not worth trying' type when disillusionment sets in, while those who have been the purest and most scathing about the reformist, go directly into the reformist camp when their God finally fails).

It remains then to discuss how much gradualism has to do with anarchism. The kind which we have been considering so far-Fabianism, in effect-clearly has nothing in common with anarchism at all. I have however already said that the endeavours of those men and women who desire social progress will achieve success only gradually. If then I see the anarchist society coming about gradually, where does this differ from Fabian gradualism?

In the first place I do not see a movement towards a non-governmental society being given momentum, however slow, from above. This means that the moves which I see as significant in that they lead in an anarchist direction are those which come from below, among the people. Those which I call 'organic' rather than political.

It is clear that there is a great gulf between the present state of human society and world anarchy. To get from here to there a great many steps have to be taken and there are many pitfalls on the way. The first thing we should be sure about however is that we know the direction in which we want to travel, and then that every step we take is in that direction.

If we want a society without government, for example, then we are not moving in the right direction if we do anything to strengthen government. A society without centralised authority will consist of a multitude of functional groups made up of individuals capable of taking decisions and working them out

#### "Security" an Excuse for Suppression

NEW YORK, JANUARY 22.

Mr. Richard Slocum, President of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, said yesterday that United States Government officials had withheld, in the name of security, "all sorts of information having nothing to do with the country's security." The Senate Internal Security Sub-committee must be watched "very closely," he said, to determine its real objectives.

The question, he added, was whether know a growing number of things."

(After recent hearings involving New York journalists, Senator Eastland, head of the Internal Security Subcommittee. was accused by the New York Times of using the subcommittee in reprisal for press opposition to his pro-segregation and other policies.)-Reuter.

in the group. Anything we can do then to weaken government and strengthen ourselves, to prepare ourselves and those around us to be able to take decisions and work them out in a group, is stepping in the right direction. Every time we encourage a fellow human to lift himself out of the irresponsibility that authority demands of him and to become a socially responsible person, we have been instrumental in setting him in the right direction. A little bit of society has moved towards anarchy.

This will inevitably be a gradual process, and free education and character analysis can play their liberating parts. But so equally can a militancy in industry, with a consistent demand that the workers there should be more responsible for the decisions involved in running the production processes, with a recognition that social production can only function through groups and that hence forms of group organisation which develop co-operation and harmony should be encouraged.

In every field of human activity there is an anarchistic way of doing things and an authoritarian way. We are pushing in the right direction when we encourage the one and combat the other. Many workers are doing that without for one moment imagining it to be anarchistic, for so often the anarchist way is the best functional way of doing things even to-day. The anarchists working in those fields should stress the implications behind every libertarian trend, tying it up with similar trends in other occupations and showing how anarchism provides a comprehensive philosophy in accord with the practical findings of the field-workers.

In this way professional workers and technicians can play a vital part in the spread of libertarian ideas, but it should not be forgotten that in the realm of productive and distributive industries the right to establish ideas in practise is often very hard to win, entailing perhaps long and bitter industrial strife. For it is here that those on top can be hit where it hurts them most-in their pockets, and therefore stronger resistance is to be expected.

Hence it is my contention that the spread of anarchist ideas will be a gradual process but occasionally will and the aim. Let us not lose any battle lead to social explosions which will at

TEVER let it be said that the British

dent. The latest publicity stunts as per-

formed by the politician's circus prove

this fact once again. Recently we have

had the spectacle of those great Russian

clowns Krushchev and Bulganin, pranc-

ing their way round the Far East, spread-

ing consternation and glee wherever they

went. Last week the entertainment was

continued by Foster Dulles, doubling in

two rôles, as strong man and contor-

tionist (in that order). The newspapers

have certainly had a field-day with this

wealth of exciting entertainment, and to

add to all that there has been the restful

interlude as performed in absolute

silence by that great master of inaction,

It has been said that he is over-acting

his part, and for this reason has come

in for criticism from all quarters, but

this can now be ignored, for several of

his lieutenants have earnestly proclaimed

their unswerving loyalty to Sir Anthony,

who has consequently declared that his

term of office will continue for the full

five years in view of the undying sup-

port which he will receive from his col-

In attempting to observe the political

scene objectively, one is forced to the

conclusion that Eden has produced ex-

actly the correct effect, either by luck

or good judgment, in relation to the

coming Anglo-American talks in Wash-

ington. It is correct only by present

political standards of course, and it may

well be that his policy or lack of it, has

gained popularity by comparison with

the devastating unpopularity of the

Dulles affair, and the disclosures which

seem to indicate that American foreign

policy is horribly positive, whereas the

British brand is blatantly negative and

There was an interesting article in the

News Chronicle last week, by John

Arlott, which makes a good case for

supposing that the British prefer a safe,

negative sort of Prime Minister. Arlott

'Conservatives do not want a brilliant

or a strong Prime Minister. Disraeli

cured them of that: he was Machiavel-

makes the following remarks:

leagues in the Government.

Anthony Eden.

are not different-if only by acci-

DEAR COMRADES, Your reviewer M.G.W. says in the

course of his comments on the Report on the Work of the Children's Department that the Detention Centre at Kidlington is the only one of its kind and that no further ones have been opened. I wish that this were true. Unfortunately the policy of continuing with these places still continues. There is another Detention Centre for older boys at Goudhurst, Kent, and yet another is in the course of construction. The history of these places is curious.

The idea originated as a sop to the more vindictive of the magistrates and other powerful people who were enamoured of the institution of the judicial flogging of boys, when the power of the courts to order corporal punishment was abolished by the 1948 Criminal Justice Act. The more progressive-minded penologists felt that they had to make this concession to the feelings of their flagellant-minded colleagues.

The Detention Centre is a substitute for flogging. Unfortunately none of the safeguards which used to go with flogging (i.e. medical control of the process), go with subjection to the truly appalling process which boys are subjected to at these institutions. The magistrates can

times earn the title of revolution; that the educational and agitational process should be carried out at all levels by those able to do so; that no generation should be regarded as 'lost'; and that no field of activity should be considered unimportant. And that we should keep our ideas flexible enough to be able to see opportunities in all countries for the application of our ideas, which, after all, hold the solution for the peoples of all countries and can only flourish here with the help of people elsewhere.

Anarchism is too broad a philosophy, its implications too far-reaching, the horizons it opens too vast, to be narrowed down to any one aspect. At the same time its message for each individual is personal and immediate. For the one man in revolt or the hundred million, anarchism provides the methods by default.

sentence a boy to such a process without troubling to ascertain whether he is really fit to stand it physically or mentally. As far as I know only one boy has been removed from a Detention Centre screaming mad, but as there is no official system of compulsory aftercare it is anyone's guess what happens to the boys after they leave. Apparently the Prison Commissioners are not sufficiently interested in the fate of ex-Detention Centre victims to make a real effort to find out this vital information. In the circumstances we can only conclude that Detention Centres are entirely terrorist in character.

LETTER TO THE EDITORS

DETENTION CENTRES

The curious feature of them is that a boy can only be sentenced to them once in his lifetime. When he has had this shocking experience, he knows that it can never happen to him again. His future criminality will be rewarded with Borstal or Prison-both of which are a mere picnic compared to the rigours of the Detention Centre. In this way the Detention Centres do not even act as a deterrent from future criminal activity. So popular is the Detention Centre becoming with certain vindictive magistrates (e.g. the Stratford Bench), that quite a large queue of those waiting their turn for a place in the shocking-machine is accumulating. The boys on the waiting list are not on bail, but are prisoners in Wormwood Scrubbs, where they are initiated into the insalubrious mysteries of prison life.

M.G.W. mentions that the sentence at the Detention Centre is for three months. Actually it can be extended for as long long as six months. Not long ago, three seamen were jointly charged with a brutal assault. The two older seamen were lucky; they only got a sentence of imprisonment. The youngest of them had the misfortune to be only 17 years old—he was given a 6 months' sentence at a Detention Centre.

I know of no other country whose penal code includes so brutal and blindly stupid a system of punishing boys of 14 years old and over, as the system of Detention Centres in this country.

TONY GIBSON.

## 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)

JAN. 29-Arthur Uloth on THE INDIVIDUAL & REVOLUTION

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

INDOOR MEETINGS Friday evenings at 7 p.m. commencing Friday, October 14th at 200 Buchanan Street.

LIBERTARIAN FORUM

813 BROADWAY, (Bet. 11 & 12 Sts.)

NEW YORK CITY

Round-Table Youth Discussions Friday Evenings at 8.30

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it was "sincerely and solely interested in finding whether subversion exists in the press" or was "aiming at certain newspapers with the thought of reprisal or intimidation." The Government tendency was to "slam the door in the faces of inquiring reporters, not as a punitive action against the press, but in the belief that the public has no right to

lian enough not only to trick his opponents but to out-think his own backers. "Never again," said the masters of the Tory Party.

The Joys of Premiership

'So Disraeli was succeeded by Lord Salisbury, wordy, insipid and uninspired.

'Then came Balfour, student of doubt, master only of doing nothing; it was surprising that he cast a shadow. Bonar Law, flashy, but one whose apparent elegance and essential insensitivity cancelled one another out.

'Baldwin sucked his pipe and looked honest, but uttered revealingly "We mistrust logic".

'Upon the threshold of war, their leader was Chamberlain and, once he was faced with the challenge of actual hostilities, even the Tories could not pretend that he was fit to lead the country.'

The exception which proves the rule is Winston Churchill, but it was wartime when he came to power, and circumstances alter cases.

What about the Labour leaders? They could hardly be described as tough and convincing Prime Ministers. Ramsay MacDonald was out of his element and something of a bore-besides which he was never in a position of real power.

Clement Attlee retained his leadership, in and out of power, by undisguised middle-of-the-road-manship, and an ability never to upset the wrong man at the wrong time.

And now there is Gaitskell, who, like Eden, is a moderate, and unlikely to do anything brilliant. Both leaders come from the well-bred middle class, with public school and University backgrounds; neither one of them, in the words of John Arlott, would "do anything so dangerous as anticipate public opinion by fighting for an idea, however right, before everyone shares it".

Both the major parties are agreed on this matter, as in most others, that the best sort of leader to have is the one who will never do anything spectacular or out of the way, but is essentially safe. One who will toe the line and never act without taking counsel from advisers and henchmen. Needless to say it is the most effective way for those in power to stay in power. H.F.W.