

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Government is actually the worst failure of civilized man. There has never been a really good one, and even those that are most tolerable and arbitrary, cruel, grasping and unintelligent. Indeed it would not be far wrong to describe the best as the common enemy of all decent citizens."

—H. L. MENCKEN.

## FORT CLARIDGE'S

# A WELL-LOVED PAIR

WHEN Georgi Malenkov visited this country, the *Daily Worker* bleated that the security measures that surrounded him were 'keeping him away from the people'.

This heart-cry from the comrades was unfortunately uttered with their usual bad timing, for at the time that they were complaining that there was really no need for the stringent security precautions of the British authorities, General Ivan Serov was on his way here to make arrangements, from the Russian side, for the most elaborate security measures this country has ever seen.

This is to ensure the safety, during their official visit, of Malenkov's (and Serov's) immediate bosses, Khrushchev and Bulganin. And we now see that the security curtain drawn around Malenkov was the flimsiest of mosquito nets compared with that organised for K. & B.

Malenkov obviously came here as a sort of reconnaissance patrol-cum-prologue. His task was to beam and smile and ingratiate himself with everyone so that the tolerant British would be softened up for the big boys. Now Malenkov's record in Russia is not, openly, so blood-stained as that of Khrushchev. Malenkov's jobs under Stalin were in the fields of economic and industrial planning, and it was never one of his functions to act directly as a hatchet-man for the old dictator.

### Still Useful

It may have been for this reason that his visit did not seem to arouse the passions in the hearts of anti-communist exiles in this country that are being inflamed by B. & K. But also there is probably the recognition that Malenkov has only narrowly escaped being a victim himself. When he was tumbled from his position in the post-Stalin triumvirate, few people rated his chances

very highly. That he has survived is an indication either of his influence within the party or that he is still useful to the top leadership.

It may well be that one of his useful functions is to be a 'front guy' for K. & B.—perhaps even yet a 'fall guy'. His visit to England may have been to perform the function of a clay pigeon: to be shot at. It was certainly to test the sort of reception a Communist leader from the Kremlin would get here after all the bitter years of cold war; perhaps also it was to see if there were in this country anybody seriously prepared to take a pot-shot at a Russian boss.

No wonder Malenkov kept smiling (perhaps he'd seen 'Davy Crockett'); no wonder he picked up any available children at every opportunity (for who could shoot a man with a child in his arms?). But in the event there was only one incident of hostility, when he first arrived, and for the rest of the time there was an all-pervading sense of astonishment that a Russian (especially one credited by Stalin with a 'card-index brain') could be so jolly.

### Serov not Coming Back

The hate was reserved, during Malenkov's visit, for his fellow-worker, Serov. Few visitors to this country have had such a rough handling from the Press. Few have deserved it so strongly. With the happy result that Serov has been excluded from the retinue attending Khrushchev and Bulganin. There is of course no need for him to come now, for he did his job with his customary efficiency and announced himself well satisfied with the arrangements made by Scotland Yard. The Special Branch and MI5 understood Serov's point of view perfectly. After all they tackle similar problems and we can well imagine that the only divergence of viewpoints

between our political police and the Russians' could arise from jealousy on the part of the British for the wider scope of action of the others and for their greater influence in national affairs. The British police are always frustrated by the restrictions placed upon them by British law. They must look with envy upon the less inhibited behaviour of police elsewhere.

However, the purpose of both Malenkov's and Serov's trips was to prepare the way for the present visitation. And once again a cry has gone up that our visitors are not to be allowed to mix with 'the People'. K. & B. have themselves criticised the programme arranged for them at this end, saying that "Apparently there still exist certain forces in Britain which do not want to permit a wider intercourse between Soviet leaders and the people of Britain."

### Programme Altered

They have based their complaint on the fact that an original pro-

gramme, planning more visits to factories and such has been altered. This arises out of the fact that the original plans for a visit were mooted at the Geneva Conference of last July, when all were smiling together. A proposed programme for the visit was laid down. Following the second Geneva meeting, however, when disagreements became apparent, it was proposed by the British representatives that during their visit to Britain, B. & K. should devote more of their time to serious, top-level discussions. This, apparently, was readily agreed to by the Russian representatives, without their realising it, it would seem, that more time for serious talks means less time for junketing and gallivanting around.

Now, following General Serov's activities, it looks as though it is by Russian request that the British people are to be kept at arm's length. Anybody who even catches a glimpse of K. & B. from anything less than elephant-gun range will be able to count himself most privileged.

## AN INVITATION TO B & K

THE London Anarchist Group issues an open invitation to K. & B. to visit Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon. There they will see a freedom of speech which, circumscribed and hemmed in by regulations as it is, is still infinitely more than exists in the Soviet Union.

Let K. & B. allow the anarchists in Russia the freedom to propagate by speech and press in the same way as they are in capitalist Britain—or are they afraid that in Russia the anarchists might have more effect than they have here?

We invite K. & B. especially to listen to the anarchist speakers. There they will hear some home truths about their own régime as well as just as hard-hitting criticism of the British tyranny in the colonies and hypocrisy at home.

But, alas, we know that K. & B. will be unable to accept our invitation. According to the published programme for Sunday, the Russian leaders are having lunch at Chequers with Sir Anthony Eden, and tea at Windsor Castle with the Queen.

They won't have time to mix with the people.

## Getting Back to Normal in Germany

# OUT COME THE WAR MEDALS

BONN, APRIL 12.

The Federal Government to-day approved the wearing of many decorations for gallantry in action and for service to the State which have been banned for the last eleven years because they were awarded by the Nazi Government.

The bill laying down which decorations may be worn will go to the Upper House of Parliament and to the Bundestag before it can become law. There is expected to be disapproval of some parts of the bill by the Social Democratic Opposition in the Bundestag.

The Federal Government has had a difficult task in deciding what to do about decorations. Pressure has been brought to bear by the German party, by many of the Free Democrats, and the Association of Returned Prisoners of War. All these groups felt that the honour of the old German Army should be re-established and that the banning of medals gained for gallantry, in particular, produced an unnecessary obstacle to the organisation of a German contribution to N.A.T.O.

Decorations will, however, have to be

## CYPRUS

ONE of the main anarchist contentions is that no Government could function successfully without the active co-operation of the people, and although many unpopular Government measures are apathetically accepted in this country (and others) instances of non co-operation, leading to frustration of Government policy, indicate how much the authorities need the support of the citizens.

A recent example is that of Cyprus where "fifty gunmen and a rabble of untrained young supporters" (the estimated strength of EOKA) are making life difficult for the occupying forces. Opposed to this small group of Cyriots are ranged nearly 20,000 servicemen and 3,000 police, under the direction of a Field-Marshal. It is pointed out by observers that only a small amount of supplies reach the "terrorists", and the question is asked why is it then that the British are making so little headway? One of the important reasons is that the people are simply withholding information from the Government on the whereabouts and identity of the EOKA leaders, either because they do not want to help the British (evidence would indicate that this is the main reason), or they are afraid to disclose any information for

### Fort Claridge's

The Russian leaders and their party are staying at that well-known centre of proletarian culture, Claridge's Hotel in Mayfair, where the entire first floor suite of 50 rooms has been turned into a closely guarded fortress, and the entire neighbourhood around the hotel has been turned into a miniature police state. Not only has every Claridge's employee been screened, but security chiefs have a dossier on everyone who lives, works or even visits premises for four streets around.

Every day for the past week Scotland Yard Special Branch officers, reinforced by C.I.D. men from West End Central, have been busy on a room-by-room comb-out of all Mayfair buildings with windows which overlook the hotel.

In addition they have taken names and addresses of thousands of employees and residents in Davies Street, Brook Street, Brooks Mews and Avery Row—from the workmen's café behind Claridge's to the exclusive milliners next door.

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fear of reprisal. Those who do not feel strongly in favour of either contestants in the struggle for Cyprus cannot be blamed, in patriotic terms, for at least giving their negative support to the group fighting against an unwanted foreign occupation. This is the kind of patriotism which was lauded by the British when Nazis occupying Europe were being harassed by the Resistance.

Many British soldiers in Cyprus are quoted as saying: "We won't get anywhere with these people until they fear us more than they fear EOKA". The *Observer* correspondent reports that this is said entirely without rancour, for the soldier bears no personal animosity towards the Cypriot. We are constantly pointing to the double standard of morality operated by those in power, when they righteously condemn the actions of "terrorists" and proceed to combat the actions by adopting similar methods themselves. To deliberately engender fear in a whole population in order to extract information, with the added fear on the part of the people that they are likely to suffer either way, seems to us typical of Government behaviour when pressed, and the fact that there may not be any personal animosity felt towards the Cypriot does not alter the position of the repressed people. Soldiers can be even more brutal when carrying out their unsavoury tasks in a cold-blooded manner than if they were doing so because of a personal grudge, which at least gives their actions a more human motive.

Some information reported from Cyprus on ill-treatment of detainees shows that it is not always possible to get the desired results by such methods, and again underlines how the authorities will ignore (and sometimes encourage) the brutal practices of their hirelings when they consider it necessary. Michael Faber in the *Observer* (Sunday, April 15th), writes:

"The number of detainees roughly treated while in detention has always been smaller than has been alleged by Athens Radio or than has been generally believed by the Cypriot public. But it is undeniable that until February some crude ill-treatment took place, and it is inconceivable that these proceedings were not to some extent condoned by certain commanding officers.

Operational commanders badly needed information, and as long as it was forthcoming they avoided asking embarrassing questions. Now the supply of information has materially decreased, and terrorism has become even harder to combat."

## WORKERS STRIKE IN SPAIN

BARCELONA, APRIL 12.

The Civil Governor of Barcelona has ordered a boiler factory to close because the workers struck this afternoon. He said that the workers responsible for this "anti-social and anti-economic development" action had been arrested. The factory is on the northern outskirts of Barcelona, and is reported to employ about two thousand workers.

Another attempt to strike was made at the Enasa automobile company but it failed, and the workers returned to work.

The civil governor also ordered the closing of a small private establishment called Morros when its 200 employees decided to strike.

The Governor's announcement, which will be published only in the Barcelona press, said that almost all the workers of the boiler factory left their jobs. He said that since this sudden stoppage of work was not founded on any "positive reason, nor on labour claims, unjust situations, or justified incidents" the strike was a senseless one.

He said the strike was caused by elements interested in "political speculation" and the creation of unrest inside the country to the "satisfaction of elements abroad who are closely watching."

(British United Press)

### Strikes in the North

MADRID, APRIL 12.

Nearly 40,000 strikers in Pamplona, Navarra, who are demanding higher wages to meet the rising cost of living, to-day defied the Franco Government's "back to work" orders.

Sympathisers downed tools in two

neighbouring places, Villaba and Andoain, near San Sabastian, but threats of swift reprisals prevented the strike from spreading to other industrial centres.

The transport service was back to normal in Pamplona to-day, and a good number of taxis were available, but factory workers and shop assistants have not returned to work.

Yesterday, strikes were reported in many factories in the neighbouring Province of Guipuzcoa. Reports from San Sebastian, the capital of Guipuzcoa, said that sit-down strikes took place in at least five factories, including a motor accessories plant at the Port of Pasajes. In Tolosa, with a population of 20,000, the general strike is continuing. No cases of violence or disorder are reported.

### Madrid Students Arrested

Four Madrid University students are reported to have been arrested for circulating leaflets against the Spanish Government and the Falange party. One student is said to be a nephew of the Monarchist deputy, José Calvo Sotelo, who was assassinated just before the Spanish Civil War. Another is said to be a nephew of the Republican poet, Garcia Lorca, who was executed shortly after the civil war started.

The four students are not believed to be the authors of the leaflets they were distributing. They are in a Madrid prison.

A threatened university walk-out from the university was prevented by a threat that any student not in class to-day would be instantly dismissed.

(British United Press and Associated Press)

## Claud Cockburn & Buddies

THE last time, many years ago, that I felt really nauseated almost to the point of retching was on reading part of a book called *Raffles*. It was about a gentleman burglar and his affectionate friend, Bunnie, who told the story. No one who has not dipped into this execrably sentimental, "buddyish" book can appreciate the extraordinary vulgarity of it—its weepy play on masculine loyalty, its Public School virtue gone rancid. I have just read something which is of the same kidney—Claud Cockburn writing in the *New Statesman* (7/4/56) on his experiences as a journalist on the *Daily Worker* at the time when the Nazis and Bolsheviks made their Pact of Friendship in September 1939. For Claud Cockburn it was a big "buddyish" adventure with the boys at King Street.

He writes:—  
"I had and have, a feeling about loyalty, about not leaving the regiment when it was under fire, which can be attacked as sentimental and absurd. Perhaps it is. We could argue about that, but the relevant point here is that I had it. If the Comintern had announced the necessity of invading the Moon I should have thought they were going a bit far, but I should have stuck by them."  
I am sure you would, Claud. But this was not a matter of a Peter Pannish adventure of invading the Moon, but of a particularly foul sell-out which was part of an international tragedy which cost the lives of millions of men. To the Communist journalist however, since truth does not exist, since any one monstrous *Daily Worker* lie is as good as any other lie, such issues are all part of the fun of the newspaper office. To the ordinary newspaper reader, calloused by the nonsense poured out daily by the capitalist press, the *Daily Worker* is a miracle of unblushing mendacity. No slush that the *Sketch* churns out, no rank inconsistency that the *Express* maintains, no hypocritical pomposity that the *Telegraph* proclaims can come up to the sheer crude dishonesty of the *Daily Worker*. Claud Cockburn wallows in it. Over sixteen years after the incident—an episode which most people would be only too glad to forget, he relates with gleeful exhibitionism the whole inside story, lovingly dwelling on the personal emotional details.

Having related his moments of doubt after the orders had come through from the Comintern that a complete and utter pro-Hitler somersault was to be accomplished, after a touching encounter with Harry Pollitt on the stairs, he brings us to the big moment.

"Readiness came with the eruption of my fierce dear friend William Rust, who immediately told all and said, characteristically—Can you take it on or not? You'll do it better than anyone we have in sight at the moment, but there'll be

no hard feelings if you don't think you can. Incidentally—he added, with that Elephant and Castle leer he had—we'll all probably be arrested in a couple of days. So if you want to go, brother, go while the going's not so bad.

So, naturally, I didn't go."  
That all this is the sentimental boasting of a man quite impervious to anything that could be thought or said against him goes without saying. The sheer brutality of mass war, conquest, police repression, deportation and all the human misery that has been carried out in the name of political ideology cannot touch the extreme varieties of journalists. Probably in their private world of intrigue, personal "buddyishness" and printers' ink, they really doubt whether reality exists at all. To them nothing has value except as "a story". The gutter journals of Fleet Street find the spice of life in simple crime, sex, violence and gossip. Communist journalism seeks spicier stuff: Communist politics always has the attractive rankness of betrayal, loyalty and counter-betrayal, the ever-present atmosphere of suspicion and fear, the unquestionable faith of to-day that becomes the black heresy of to-morrow. In Russia and the countries she has dominated, this neurotic game is being played with men's lives all the time, and psychopaths and monomaniacs rise to power. In Britain the game can be played vicariously in perfect safety, and Mr. Cockburn is an exponent of the art.

Journalists have sometimes been compared to prostitutes. To me the comparison is not quite apt; the prostitute works hard for her living at what must be a pretty dreary job, with no fun at all in its routine repetition. The journalist is more like the ponce who lives off this debasement, and in his futile, artificial life tries to get a vicarious thrill from the whole lickerish atmosphere of the world of 'vice'. In the uprising in Barcelona in 1936, the revolutionary workers are said to have suddenly butchered the not inconsiderable number of ponces who infested the city. Such a bloody vengeance wreaked upon this parasitic class seems hard to credit, yet Prunier, who was there, has vouched for the truth of this curious slaughter. Perhaps it was that men who had had this debasement of sex flaunted before them all their lives, at the time of sudden liberation gave way to a vicious vindictiveness against the purveyors of corruption. Now I have always held that

Los Angeles, March.  
THE movie version of Christopher Isherwood's "I Am A Camera" has just been shown in Hollywood, though I believe that it was premiered in New York some months ago.

As one who had first seen the play on the stage and then the Hollywood version, my initial reaction was inclined to be that of outraged virtue. 'Damn it, they've removed all the pornography,' I thought.

On mature reflection I'm not sure but what the movie version is superior entertainment, if a less enlightening study of the relationship between two exceptional people in Berlin between wars.

In the Isherwood-John Van Druten play the girl is an out-and-out whore, the camera-eye man a moody, introspective but strong character, and the ending tragedy. In the metamorphosis of the movie the girl becomes a gay young chippy who opens her legs to two men but only because she is attracted to them and not for money. The hero becomes a comic caricature, a weakling with strong hypochondriacal tendencies. Instead of tension and tragedy there is frivolity and light repartee, a long-drawn-out scene in a hotel room in which the hero is subjected to a dozen strenuous cures for a hangover, including everything from massage to electro-therapy, and finally a farcical ending.

The anti-Nazi theme, in which a gigolo friend of the hero finds the courage to reveal that he is Jewish, is not completely ignored. In fact Shelley Winters as the strait-laced heiress of a department store tycoon does a nice bit of characterization. But the Jewish persecution angle is under-played and lacks the impact it carried in the play.

With these differences in mind it would be easy to sit down and write a savage piece blasting Hollywood and all

lamp-posts should have one purpose only—to bear light. But if my dark and grisly Id prompts me to consider what other fruit they might bear if those who have sown the wind should reap the whirlwind, then it is not the ponces of Soho who would seem to be the most fitting burdens. I can imagine the lamp-posts of Fleet Street and elsewhere particularly well loaded. G.

## FILMS

### A Kind Word for Hollywood

its works. But the fact is, it's too easy. It wouldn't be entirely honest. For to tell the truth I found the picture amusing, laughed frequently during its un-reeling, and came away feeling that I'd spent 90 minutes with two entertaining and rather likable individuals. The play, if I can recall my emotions sharply after the lapse of time, had left me with the usual sense of relief and emptiness that follows a good Katharsis in the Aristotelian meaning. The leading man and woman of the stage version were portraying neurotics, a misogynist with homosexual tendencies and a prostitute with no discrimination. Their problems had been real and pressing and even in some respects related to the real world, as we know it from history, of Germany in the early 1930's.

I had suffered with them but the identification was slender and illusory and vanished as soon as the house lights went up. Hollywood is more adept at creating characters with whom we can identify. They may lead lives markedly different from those of the viewers, more luxurious, grandiose, exciting, richer and fuller on the material gratifications, but their motivations are easily understood and quickly grasped and shared.

The responsibilities inherent in this virtuosity are another matter, worthy of more profound examination. Suffice to say that at least in this one case the dream-makers have taken an intelligent play and fashioned from it a not entirely inferior bit of entertainment.

RIDGELEY CUMMINGS.

## Letter

### The Sociology of Co-operation

GENTLEMEN,

It was with a great deal of satisfaction that I read in your March 10 issue the review of my book "Utopia and Experiment". I wish to thank your reviewer for the serious and understanding treatment of my book. Since we are exchanging publications, I receive your paper regularly and find it a valuable source of the kind of information one rarely finds in other publications, to say nothing of the acute evaluation of world events from a point of view that is uniquely yours. Of special interest to me is the attention you pay to community developments and, of course, I read the discussions on this subject with special concern. However, you will not take it amiss, I hope, if I confess that at times I find in these discussions a deplorable lack of factual soundness. Mere speculation and opinion, it seems to me, should have no place in the serious treatment of a subject on which there exists already some accumulation of factual knowledge.

It is for this reason that I value so much G.N.O.'s reference to the Sociology of Co-operation. His demand for re-examination of your position "in the light of recent research" in this field

seems to me impressive enough to warrant the expectation that it may lead to some action. The first thing, I would assume, anybody interested in the subject would want to know is what this thing called the sociology of co-operation actually is. My monograph entitled "The Sociology of Co-operation and the International Council for Related Research" contains some relevant information and I take pleasure in sending you, under separate cover, a copy of it. At the same time I should like to call your attention to the fact that the Education Department of the Co-operative Union, Stanford Hall, Loughborough, is bringing out my essay on the "Sociological Study of Co-operation". This is the first systematic outline of the whole field and is intended to serve as a companion volume to *Utopia and Experiment*. It should be especially helpful to those who would like to study the matter seriously.

By the way, I shall be at the Co-operative College from June 16-30, during which time I shall hold again a seminar on the sociology of co-operation.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
HENRIK F. INFELD.

New York, April 9.

## THE TRADITION OF WORKERS' CONTROL

IN this essay I shall attempt to do three things: first to sketch in outline the development of the concept of Workers' Control in this country; secondly, on the basis of this historical sketch, to clarify and to assess the significance of the concept; and thirdly, to advance a number of possible explanations of why, both in theory and in practice, the idea has met with such little success.

I

The phrase, "Workers' Control of Industry", was first coined by the Guild Socialists in the years immediately prior to the first World War but the idea behind it can be traced back to the origin of the socialist movement in this country. The socialist movement itself was a reaction on the part of sections of the working class to conditions created by the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century. One of the central features of this revolution was the transformation of the productive system: the 'domestic system' of industry was replaced by the 'factory system' and the independent craftsman, owning his own tools and living by the sale of the products of his work, increasingly gave way to the industrial proletariat, owning little or nothing but his labour power which, in order to subsist, he was compelled to sell, on whatever terms he could get, to the capitalist owners of the new factories. To-day, we are so accustomed to this method of production and its concomitant, the wage system, that it requires an effort of imagination to appreciate the significance of the change in terms of the lives of ordinary workers. From being, within limits, an independent craftsman or peasant with an assured place in his local community, the worker became, in the eyes of the masters of the new economic system, a mere commodity—a unit of labour, subject, as were all commodities, to the inexorable laws of the market. In a word, the worker became alienated not only from the means of production and the products of his labour but also from the community.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising to find that the new socialist theories proposed an alternative to the capitalist system which would avoid this alienation of the vast majority of the people. This alternative was the autonomous, self-supporting communist community—what Robert Owen called the Village of Co-operation. In each of these villages, which were to be federated for purposes of mutual aid, it was proposed

that some 2,000 individuals on the same number of acres of land should combine the pursuits of industry and agriculture, share all things in common, and reap collectively the full fruits of their labour.

For a whole generation this community idea dominated the minds of socialists and co-operators—the terms were practically synonymous—and several abortive attempts were made to implement it. The reasons for the failure of the community experiments and the virtual abandonment of the idea after 1850 would lead us too far afield. Suffice it to say that one of the reasons for the eclipse of the idea, quite apart from the inevitable reaction to practical failure, was the growing feeling on the part of many workers that it was no longer necessary to create a community outside the confines of existing society. The workers were capable of winning political and social rights within the existing social framework and could thus repair the breach wrought by their alienation from the local community of the first generations of industrial proletarians. Henceforth, socialists tended to concentrate their attention on the hub of the social system—the mode of production.

Even before the community movement had exhausted itself, there had been a move in this direction. In the late 1820's, alongside the co-operative stores which had been set up to accumulate the collective capital to start a community, there had arisen a number of 'union' shops sponsored by Owenite trade unionists. In these 'union' shops, groups of workers, usually in the same trade and prompted by strikes or lock-outs, had in effect established a system of co-operative self-employment. By a natural process, these activities gave rise to a number of Exchange Bazaars of which the one opened by Owen in Gray's Inn Road, 1832, was only the most famous. Using labour notes expressed in hours of labour time, the Bazaars sought to arrange the exchange of the products of one particular trade for those of others.

'A Different State of Things'

These first halting attempts to establish a rudimentary co-operative economic system were, however, soon overshadowed by a new movement among trade unionists. Inspired by the relative success of the 'union' shops and the growing

strength of the Trade Unions, Owen became convinced that his ideas could be applied in a new way. Let the workers, he said, unite in one great union, divided into departments according to their various trades, and they can then take over the whole industry of the country. It was with this ultimate object that the famous Grand National Consolidated Trades Union of 1834 was formed. The two-fold purpose of syndicalist unions—the protection of the workers under the existing system and the formation of the nuclei of the future society—is evident in Rule XLVI of the Grand National: "That, although the design of the Union is, in the first instance, to raise the wages of the workmen, or prevent any further reduction therein, and to diminish the hours of labour, the great and ultimate object of it must be to establish the paramount rights of Industry and Humanity, by instituting such measures as shall effectually prevent the ignorant, idle and useless part of society from having undue control over the fruits of our toil, which, through the agency of the vicious money system, they at present possess; and that, consequently, the Unionists should lose no opportunity of mutually encouraging and assisting each other in bringing about A DIFFERENT STATE OF THINGS, in which the really useful and intelligent part of society only shall have the direction of its affairs, and in which well-directed industry and virtue shall meet their just distinction and reward, and vicious idleness its merited contempt and destitution."

The dramatic collapse of the Grand National later in the same year scotched for a time the notion of a revolutionary transformation of society and in the years that followed the energies of the workers were largely diverted into three channels: (i) the Chartist movement, aiming at political reform; (ii) the 'new model' trade union movement, which sought to organise and to improve the lot of skilled workers within the existing capitalist framework; and (iii) the distributive co-operative movement, which sought to benefit its members through a system of mutual trading in which the profits were returned to the customers. The notion of workers jointly owning their own work-shops and thereby securing the full fruits of their labour did not, however, die. In 1845 John Drury, a Sheffield trade unionist, was instrumental in forming the National Association of United Trades

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