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Algeria -



-H. L. MENCKEN.

"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 unintelli-

gent. Indeed it would not be

far wrong to describe the best

as the common enemy of all

Vol. 17, No. 16

April 21st, 1956

Threepence

CLARIDGE'S FORT

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 reconnaisance patrol-cumprologue. 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 bloodstained 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 anticommunist 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 fellowworker, 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 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-

AN INVITATION TO

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

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 hardhitting 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.

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.

Fort Claridge's

decent citizens."

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.

Continued on p. 4

CYPRUS

NE of the main anarchist contentions is that no Government could function successfully without the active cooperation 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 Cypriots 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

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

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

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)

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

altered in many cases. The swastika must be removed from them and will be replaced by a standard "iron cross". The black, white, and red "national" colours of medal ribbons will almost certainly not be worn in future and will probably be replaced with the black, red and gold colours of the Federal Republic. There will be some controversy over the wearing of the S.S. badge and the "war cross", which was often awarded to Nazi gauleiters.

The Government has decided to abolish the Nazi "utility" medals, for membership of Army, Naval, and Air Force units and for various supplementary services. Their award was often due to loyalty to the party rather than to conspicuous services to Germany. Nazi peacetime medals which can be worn again will include those for the Olympic Games, the fire service, and air raid precautions, as well as the badge of national loyalty.

Medals for the occupations of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Memel may not be worn again.

(Manchester Guardian) | combat."

THE last time, many years ago, that I felt really nauscated 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 excruciatingly 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 incidentan 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 erruption 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

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sible, but if not, we can find it. Scarce

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 everpresent 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 vindiction. Now I have always held that A Kind Word for Hollywood 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,'] 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-drawnout 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 lampticularly well loaded. G.

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 unreeling, 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 Kartharsis 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.

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-peration. His demand for tiveness against the purveyors of corrup- posts of Fleet Street and elsewhere par- re-examination of your position "in the light of recent research" in this field New York, April 9.

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. INFIELD.

THE TRADITION OF WORKERS' CONTROL

clarify and to assess the significance of the con- labour. cept; and thirdly, to advance a number of possible explanations of why, both in theory and in prac-

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Obtainable from

tice, the idea has met with such little success.

nothing but his labour power which, in order to of production. tion to appreciate the significance of the change there had arisen a number of 'union' shops spon- tempt and destitution." in terms of the lives of ordinary workers. From sored by Owenite trade unionists. In these The dramatic collapse of the Grand National being, within limits, an independent craftsman or 'union' shops, groups of workers, usually in the later in the same year scotched for a time the peasant with an assured place in his local com- same trade and prompted by strikes or lock-outs, notion of a revolutionary transformation of society munity, the worker became, in the eyes of the had in effect established a system of co-operative and in the years that followed the energies of the masters of the new economic system, a mere com- self-employment. By a natural process, these workers were largely diverted into three channels: modity—a unit of labour, subject, as were all com- activities gave rise to a number of Exchange (i) the Chartist movement, aiming at political remodities, to the inexorable laws of the market. In Bazaars of which the one opened by Owen in form; (ii) the 'new model' trade union movement, a word, the worker became alienated not only Gray's Inn Road, 1832, was only the most famous. Which sought to organise and to improve the lot from the means of production and the products Using labour notes expressed in hours of labour of skilled workers within the existing capitalist

find that the new socialist theories proposed an of others. alternative to the capitalist system which would avoid this alienation of the vast majority of the 'A Different State of Things' people. This alternative was the autonomous, These first halting attempts to establish a rudi- shops and thereby securing the full fruits of their In each of these villages, which were to be feder- among trade unionists. Inspired by the relative forming the National Association of United Trades

of his labour but also from the community. time, the Bazaars sought to arrange the exchange framework; and (iii) the distributive co-operative In these circumstances, it is not surprising to of the products of one particular trade for those movement, which sought to benefit its members

ated for purposes of mutual aid, it was proposed success of the 'union' shops and the growing

IN this essay I shall attempt to do three things: that some 2,000 individuals on the same number strength of the Trade Unions, Owen became confirst to sketch in outline the development of of acres of land should combine the pursuits of vinced that his ideas could be applied in a new the concept of Workers' Control in this country; industry and agriculture, share all things in com- way. Let the workers, he said, unite in one great secondly, on the basis of this historical sketch, to mon, and reap collectively the full fruits of their union, divided into departments according to their various trades, and they can then take over the For a whole generation this community idea whole industry of the country. It was with this dominated the minds of socialists and co-opera- ultimate object that the famous Grand National tors—the terms were practically synonymous— Consolidated Trades Union of 1834 was formed. and several abortive attempts were made to imple- The two-fold purpose of syndicalist unions—the ment it. The reasons for the failure of the com- protection of the workers under the existing system The phrase, "Workers' Control of Industry", munity experiments and the virtual abandonment and the formation of the nuclei of the future was first coined by the Guild Socialists in the years of the idea after 1850 would lead us too far afield. society—is evident in Rule XLVI of the Grand immediately prior to the first World War but the Suffice it to say that one of the reasons for the National: "That, although the design of the idea behind it can be traced back to the origin eclipse of the idea, quite apart from the inevitable Union is, in the first instance, to raise the wages of the socialist movement in this country. The reaction to practical failure, was the growing feel- of the workmen, or prevent any further reduction socialist movement itself was a reaction on the ing on the part of many workers that it was no therein, and to diminish the hours of labour, the part of sections of the working class to conditions longer necessary to create a community outside great and ultimate object of it must be to establish created by the Industrial Revolution of the 18th the confines of existing society. The workers the paramount rights of Industry and Humanity, century. One of the central features of this revo- were capable of winning political and social by instituting such measures as shall effectually lution was the transformation of the productive rights within the existing social framework and prevent the ignorant, idle and useless part of system: the 'domestic system' of industry was re- could thus repair the breach wrought by their society from having undue control over the fruits placed by the 'factory system' and the independent alienation from the local community of the first of our toil, which, through the agency of the craftsman, owning his own tools and living by the generations of industrial proletarians. Hence- vicious money system, they at present possess; and sale of the products of his work, increasingly gave forth, socialists tended to concentrate their attent that, consequently, the Unionists should lose no way to the industrial proletarian, owning little or tion on the hub of the social system—the mode opportunity of mutually encouraging and assisting each other in bringing about A DIFFERENT subsist, he was compelled to sell, on whatever Even before the community movement had ex- STATE OF THINGS, in which the really useful terms he could get, to the capitalist owners of the hausted itself, there had been a move in this and intelligent part of society only shall have the new factories. To-day, we are so accustomed to direction. In the late 1820's, alongside the co-direction of its affairs, and in which well-directed this method of production and its concomitant, the operative stores which had been set up to accumu- industry and virtue shall meet their just distinction wage system, that it requires an effort of imagina- late the collective capital to start a community, and reward, and vicious idleness its merited con-

through a system of mutual trading in which the profits were returned to the customers. The notion of workers jointly owning their own workself-supporting communist community - what mentary co-operative economic system were, how- labour did not, however, die. In 1845 John Drury, Robert Owen called the Village of Co-operation. ever, soon overshadowed by a new movement a Sheffield trade unionist, was instrumental in

continued on p. 3

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Twisted Ideas

EVEN the word "ideas", like freedom, peace, democracy, socialism and so many other once meaningful words, is being re-defined, and passed through the politicians' and journalists' word-mincing-machine to emerge in a form undistinguishable from vulgar propaganda with which one would have thought the world had by now reached saturation point.

Speaking at a recent Foyle's literary luncheon (the accent is on the luncheon), General Sir John Glubb (formerly Glubb Pasha of Jordan fame) expressed the situation succinctly when he declared that Britain's troubles in the Middle East "were to some extent our own fault as we did nothing to tell the truth or to contradict lies" and if it were true that the world could be conquered by ideas Britain was treating the subject "with criminal negligence". "A Minister of State or a Cabinet Minister should be in charge of Britain's propaganda".

Later he said that

He could not help feeling that even our ideas on war were antiquated and had missed the point. We counted up the numbers of our atomic and hydrogen bombs, but from his own experience he was convinced that ideas were more powerful than weapons. "The world is being stolen from us by ideas." While it was possible that there would not be another world war, the world could be conquered by ideas instead of bombs and shells. Indeed, one of the Russian leaders had said that they did not need a world war because they were going to conquer the world without one. "If this is true, we are treating a vital subject with criminal negligence."

It would seem that the General was attempting to give us an up-todate interpretation of the proverb that the pen is mightier than the sword when he declares that "ideas were more powerful than weapons". What he has succeeded in doing however is to distort and emasculate the significance of the old saying. The pen and the sword are not only weapons but also symbols of ends which have nothing in common. For the General ideas and weapons are alternative means to a similar end: that of conquering the world. He is less concerned that we should live in a society built up through the free exchange of views and ideas than that we should be defeated in the struggle for world power by a weapon more powerful than bombs and shells: by ideas (by which he simply means, propaganda in the worst sense).

Accepting General Glubb's solemn warning, the News Chronicle adds another twist to the already mangled word "ideas".

Competitive co-existence means competition in all fields, but above all in the world of ideas. In the war of ideas, in the struggle to make ourselves understood, we are lamentably behind . .

One day we may be bombed out of existence. It could always happen. But it is far more likely, unless we radically change our ways, that we shall be talked out of our position among the world Powers. The danger is real, and immediate.

OUR interest in understanding what others mean, and in explaining what we mean, when certain words are used, is not an academic one. We find it needful only in order to avoid confusion in the minds of those who read us, for we too use the words propaganda, and ideas and freedom and organisation, but never in the way used by those whose approach is basically authoritarian.

We refer to ourselves as "propagandists" in that we seek to disseminate anarchist ideas as widely as possible as well as to counteract the ill-effects of mass-thinking and masscommunications by encouraging in-

LIBERTARIAN ACTIVITY IN ARGENTINA

THE fall of the Peron dictatorship left the bulk of the Argentine labour movement in the hands of his old henchmen, whose aim was no longer certain but whose grip was still powerful. The new government decided to leave them alone on the theory that labour must be appeased-labour being presumed to be pro-Peron. When the "labour leaders" eventually caught their breath and tried to restore Peron by means of an unsuccessful general strike, the government was compelled to move against the CGT.

Essentially reactionary, the government was unable to follow a consistent line of action in dealing with Peron's labour front which had proven itself an unsuitable vehicle for the new rulers. Thus, when the new régime sought to replace the old union officials, it often had the painful choice between die-hard Peronists and genuinely militant union men. In many cases it found the former preferable and retained them.

Along the periphery of the CGT a whole slew of political parties and splinter groups have been jockeying for position and staging incursions into the body of the semi-prostrate giant. Stalinists, Trotskyites and parliamentary socialists of various shades are doing what they can to capture the CGT's dues and voting strength which are still considerable. At least one of the socialist factions, the COASI, has been infiltrated by former Peronists. Prominent in its leadership is Jose Domenech who once dubbed Juan Peron "the first worker of the land".

In healthy contrast to the clumsy meddling of the government, the conniving of the political sects and the sullen undercurrents of loyalty to Big Brother Juan, stand the committees of militant workers which have sprung up within the CGT itself. It is the declared purpose of these committees to cleanse their unions of all despotism and corruption. They have had some spectacular successes even to the extent of talking some of the unions out of the CGT entirely. Thus for example, the Federation of Naval Construction Workers, at a mass meeting attended by over 5,000 members, recently voted to sever all ties with the CGT. It must be remembered that the CGT is a highly centralised body whose structure is supposed to protect it against just such upheavals of the rank and file.

For all its bloated size and government support, the CGT has never been able to dominate the field completely. There is an opposing anti-statist current which is traditional to the Argentine labour movement and which finds expression in

dependent thought. We are propagandists, not as participants in the present Power struggle between Nations and in the economic interests which keep the world divided and hostile, but because we believe that the growth and widespread discussion of ideas is the health of the peoples of the world and the first step towards world community.

the anarcho-syndicalist unions federated as the Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina (FORA). This movement is particularly strong among the dock and shipyard workers, the laundry workers and the plumbers.

How deeply rooted this movement is can be demonstrated by the fact that, through all the long years of official suppression by Peron and his predecessors, locals of the FORA continued to function not merely as clandestine propaganda groups, but as genuine labour unions in industrial disputes. We quote, in part, a statement recently published by the "Sociedad de Resistencia Plomeros, Cloaquistas, Hidraulicos y Afines". These are the plumbers and workers in related trades, affiliated with the FORA.

. . . it is our duty to give an accounting of our actions during the years of the recent dictatorship to entrap and deceive the workers . . .

The accounting is a long one and the list of gains won by this union through its policy of direct action is a list which the so-called legitimate unions may well

Space allows us to give but a few examples: Substantial and progressive wage increases—the biggest in that industry, a minimum vacation of 15 days with proportional pay in case of year-long unemployment, old age benefits paid by the employer and the 6 hour day won by 60% of the members of this union. In 1949 they tried to extend the 6 hour day to cover the remaining 40% of the membership. They went out on strike but after a battle of 73 days the strike was broken by frantic government pressure and the Peronist police.

It Happened in America not Russia

WASHINGTON, APRIL 9. Marine search parties in the swamplands of South Carolina to-day found the bodies of five recruits who died during

a forced "punishment" march. The Marine Corps reported here to-day that light aircraft, helicopters, and ground patrols were trying to find another man still missing from the party of 75 recruits who set off on the march from Parris Island Training Base last night.

The recruits were marched about a mile from the training base into a tidal swamp area as a disciplinary measure ordered by a staff sergeant. He has been placed in custody pending the results of a formal court of inquiry now taking place.

A marine Corps spokesman said the staff sergeant marched the recruits into the swamp to punish them for unspecified infractions of the rules and intended to march them back again to camp. Confusion ensued in the darkness and after the sergeant had extricated his men from the swamp the six recruits were missing.

Originally eleven recruits failed to answer a count conducted by the sergeant, but several drifted back into camp during the night, one of them taking two hours to cover the short distance.

(Reuter)

It is a measure of the revolutionary profundity and social vision of the Argentine anarcho-syndicalist movement that it does not accept economic gains (however hard it may fight for them) as a final goal. Nor does it limit its arena of operations to the point of production or the field of union activity. The FORA is re-opening its many cultural centres which were shut down by Peron. It is breathing new life into others, such as the Emile Zola library in the city of Santa Fe. This particular library managed to maintain itself as an anarchist reading room throughout the black years of the recent past.

Further illustration of the Argentine comrades' point of view is provided by the following editorial which we translate from La Protesta of Buenos Aires. (No. 8008, Vol. LVII) Dec., 1955:

"The right to strike is inalienable. It must not be circumscribed by any limitations other than those arising out of its own causes and needs. The strike is as fully justified when its purpose is to limit the abuse of power or when it is inspired by creative solidarity, as when its motive is the betterment of living conditions. We see the strike as the expression of justified rebellion. We go far beyond the petty and narrow concept which would limit the use of this weapon to disputes over wages and working condi-

"There are craven spirits who hold that the labour movement must not concern itself with political matters, much less engage in strikes of a political nature. We use the term 'political' in its best sense, as referring to problems of society which extend beyond the field of economic problems, which are of vital importance to all, including the workers, and which therefore, may not be divorced from labour action. Let there be no misunderstanding of our position. We are unalterably opposed to the manual or intellectual workers delegating their own responsibilities to any political

"A correctly orientated working class movement should concern itself with all social problems and, particularly, with those problems having to do with freedom and culture. In place of the ideal of 'justicialismo' which, in the end, could be reduced to the servile formula, from the home to the job and from the job, back home', we proclaim the broader and deeper concept which finds expression in the phrase, 'from the shop to the union, from the union to society'.

"Totalitarianism, whatever its form or colour, opposes any true socio-political activity on the part of the labour movement-for it conceives of the working man as an economic animal with no understand of human problems. But this is also the premise of many who are supposed to be democrats. From this basic error stems all of the evils which have befallen the labour movement. Its ability to act effectively has been nullified in the name of a mistaken political neutrality.

"Finally, let us state that the very sympathy and support which we give to any strike which has for its objectives the increased dignity of the worker, his economic betterment, or the defence of human rights and liberties, leads us to denounce all political manœuvres designed to thwart these objectives—even when such manœvres take the form of a strike."

We take this opportunity to greet the public reappearance of La Protesta, organ of the FORA and Accion Libertaria, organ of the Libertarian Federation of Argentina. Both of these publications were outlawed by Peron and his predecessors but neither of them could be stopped. They have been printed and distributed in the underground for approximately twenty years. Other anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist periodicale are expected to resume open publication

(Views & Comments, New York).

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ERRICO MALATESTA: Anarchy Vote-What For?

M. BAKUNIN: Marxism, Freedom and the State.

PETER KROPOTKIN: The State: Its Historic Rôle The Wage System Revolutionary Government Organised Vengeance Called Justice

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Marie-Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications: Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949:

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27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.I.

The Tradition of Workers' Control

the N.A. of U.T. for the Protection of Labour. And, in the following year, a group of Owenites land settlements.

purposes of trade and industry'.

'Direct Association for Production'

of linking the associations with the Trade Unions. premises, animated by different motives, and

for the Employment of Labour with the object. In a circular to all trade unions, Neale urged them of raising capital with which to employ men who 'to substitute for a mere defensive organisation were on strikes approved by the sister organisation, the application of the principle of direct association for production, distribution and consumption' approach. and made certain concrete proposals: that in each and others started a number of Redemption trade a Model Association should be set up for Societies which proposed to seek 'the redemption employing out of work members and that in the of labour' by using the subscriptions of its mem- localities a number of different trade societies bers to establish self-governing workshops and should combine to establish Co-operative Stores to supply articles of domestic consumption, raw A more substantial expression of the same idea materials for the productive associations, and a was found in the activities of the Christian Social- market for these associations, the outlay being tical attempts to revive the ideal with only limited, ists between 1848 and 1854. J. M. Ludlow and met by special working class journals and in Sephis colleagues were originally inspired not by their tember 1851 the newly-formed Amalgamated Owenite predecessors but by the French disciples Society of Engineers announced a plan for taking of Saint-Simon, P. J. Buchez and Louis Blanc. over the Windsor Ironworks at Liverpool. Un-Condemning the wage-system as a 'sort of washed- fortunately, before sufficient capital could be out slavery', they saw producers' co-operation as raised, there occurred the famous lock-out of the 'the practical application of Christianity to the engineers in the Spring of 1852 which used up all the Union's surplus funds.

Socialist movement began to wane. One by one envisage the supersession of the wage-system. In The Society for Promoting Working Men's the associations broke up. Trouble frequently a passage which shocked his orthodox readers, he Associations—the Christian Socialist organisation arose between the managers, responsible to the predicted: -was responsible for initiating a number of self- Promoters, and the associates who wanted to be governing workshops in the tailoring, baking, completely self-governing at once; and disputes they sometimes found themselves competing Christian Socialist leaders turned their attention Neale proposed to unite all the associates in a new movement came to an end. In the light of particular trade into one Association. This pro- history, however, the movement is interesting not posal was rejected by the men themselves but the so much for its failure to achieve permanent direction of thought implied in it led to the idea results as for the fact that, starting from different

largely ignorant of what had happened in the early 1830's, the Christian Socialists had eventually arrived in their organisational ideas at something closely resembling that of the Owenite trade unionists—despite their rejection of the revolutionary

The one Christian Socialist who remained active in the working class movement was Neale. In the decades that followed, he and men like the old Owenite missionary, George Jacob Holyoake, kept alive the idea of producers' co-operation. In the 'sixties and 'seventies, mainly in the North of England and in Scotland, there were various pracshort-term success. By this time most of the trade unions, with the notable exception of those in the mining industry, had settled down to the job of working the wage-system and Co-operation and Trade Unionism tended to drift apart and to pursue their different courses independently. Ironically enough, it was left to the then fashionable liberal economist, John Stuart Mill, rather After the breakdown of this plan, the Christian than to the leaders of the trade union 'Junta' to

"The form of association . . . which if mankind building, and shoe-making trades. In themselves, over the method of apportioning the surplus were continue to improve, must be expected in the end to these short-lived associations could do little to long and, at times, bitter. Concluding that "work- predominate, is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief and work people without a voice in stem the tide of commercial competition. Indeed, ing men were not fit for association", most of the management, but the association of the labourers themselves on terms of equality, collectively owning the against each other. To obviate this, Vansittart to the cause of working class education, and the capital with which they carry on their operations, and working under managers elected and removable by themselves.'

(Principles of Political Economy-1909 ed. pp. 772-3).

GEOFFREY OSTERGAARD. (To be continued)

FULL SCALE WAR FOR ALGERIA

THE collective punishment measures adopted in Cyprus by the British against villagers refusing to give information, are being carried out on a grander scale in Algeria by the French. At least, according to our newspapers the French would appear to be much more ruthless, but it is always considered good politics to highlight the failings of Governments in other countries.

4

The French Government has gone a stage further than the British have any need to at home by ordering proceedings against those "plotting to undermine the morale of the army". This appears to imply anyone with influence in France openly criticising French colonial policy, and has so far involved M. Claude Bourdet, Editor of France Observateur, who has been indicted for this offence, an action which is considered by commentators to be of doubtful wisdom even from the point of view of the Government.

Last week M. Henri-Irenee Marrou, reported as one of France's most distinguished scholars, had his house searched by the police in connection with an article which had appeared in the Monde, in which he expressed concern about police methods in Algeria and held all Frenchmen responsible for the tortures, internments and collective

"Deterioration in Health Services", declare Socialist Doctors

Criticism of the National Health Service is expressed in a resolution to come before the annual conference of the Socialist Medical Association in London on May 12 and 13. Drafted by the North-west Metropolitan branch, the resolution complains that the report of the Guillebaud Committee(on the Health Service) "contains no real recommendations for the progressive development of the service", and that it "accepts the present retrogressive administration of the service by the Government and fails to condemn the gradual deterioration in its standards and the steady disintegration of the conditions of employment and of the salaries of the Health workers."

The resolution says that the report's suggested figure of £30,000,000 for capital expenditure on the hospital services to meet immediate requirements is totally inadequate, and calls on "the whole Labour movement to intensify its campaign in and out of Parliament to force the present Government to reverse its policy of parsimony, of hostility, and of obstruction for one of progression and of co-operation with those engaged in the service."

Children's Holiday Camp

Annually I organize a seaside holiday camp for children and a number of people interested in the ideas put forward by FREEDOM have helped in the running of it. This year the camp will be for the whole of August, and we need some extra staff. I should like to hear from men and women who are seriously interested to come for one fortnight. The work is quite strenuous, but it is extremely interesting and a wonderful holiday. What is required is staff:

(a) Who know how to get on with children.

(b) Who are temperamentally capable

of co-operating with other adults. (c) Who have ordinary practical commonsense, so that they can help children in the material techniques of camping.

(d) Who are prepared to take full adult responsibility towards children and not, say, leave the camp if it rains.

The above points do not seem to require extraordinarily high qualities, but they are entirely necessary for those who propose to join a community of children and adults on a reasonably organized libertarian basis. There will be about 30 children of an age range 11-17. Although the camp is not until August, I would like to get the complete staff fixed up well in advance in order to ensure getting people who are really interested and competent.

Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

TONY GIBSON. 52 Elsworthy Road,

reprisales being carried out in their

It is pointed out that these actions have been carried out under a Socialist Government and part of the Socialist election campaign was to make negotiations in Africa an alternative to fighting. But the Prime Minister and the Minister Resident of Algeria have refused to admit "that even negotiations for a cease fire should be anything but on a local and purely military basis".

The French police, in taking away files which include many letters to Professor Marrou, are attempting implicate those who may be sympathetic to his views which in part have been repeatedly expressed by the Prime Minister, M. Mollet, who has said that the function of the French troops and police in Algeria is to prevent violence and restore freedom. Professor Marrou made a plea in his article for the necessity of seeing that police and troops were not used for blind vengeance and repression. If there is no essential contradiction between the two views we can only assume that when the Prime Minister expresses himself his pronouncements are not taken very seriously, but those of an independent Professor may be dangerous because of the weight they might carry with the public.

In the meantime the news that eighty thousand French Reservists are expected to receive their call-up papers, and an even larger number may "receive instructions to hold themselves in readiness" does not indicate that peaceful negotiations are intended by the French Government in Algeria.

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Colour-Bar Again SETTLED'

VOU may not be able to chop your poppa up in Massachusetts but you can certainly carve your neighbour up in Detroit-if he isn't pure white.

The News Chronicle for April 7 reported the hounding of a family from a Detroit suburb thus:

Rumours that a 70-year-old couple moving into a Detroit suburb were Negroes started a near race-riot and caused them to leave to-day.

As John Rouse and his wife, daughter and grandchildren went into the new £6,000 home in an all-white area, the moving-van attendant said to the neighbourhood children:

"There are niggers moving in, and your folks better do something about

They did. Five hundred of them assembled and began stoning the house.

Rouse, who is part Cherokee Indian, went before the Belmont Sub-Division Association and denied he was a Negro. His wife traced her ancestry through a French-Canadian mother back to Ireland and Scotland. But the association insisted he sell his house.

The Rouses gave up. Still denying they were Negroes, they sold their home to the association.

The association gave them an extra £1,000 on the price they paid, two months to leave, and free rent until then. Up went a sign on the front lawn: "Settled".

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 15

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*Indicates regular contributors.

No Recitations at Last Sunday's LAG Meeting

THE second lecture in the London Anarchist Group series Workers' Control in Practice was given on April 15 by Geoffrey Ostergaard, who spoke on The Tradition of Workers' Control in Britain. A long thesis by the lecturer on the same subject (of which the lecture was in fact a precis) is to appear in FREEDOM; so a detailed report of the lecture would be superfluous. It should be mentioned, however, that the talk was lively and well-informed enough to fulfil the most optimistic predictions.

Comrade Ostergaard began by giving a fairly detailed history of workers' control in this country, in practice and theory, from the Industrial Revolution onwards. He next went on to detail the various interpretations and misinterpretations which have been put on the term "Workers' Control" by different groups and parties, and then to discuss the tremendous question why neither the practice nor the doctrine of workers' control has established itself on any large scale.

Sunny Days Are Here Again

AST Sunday the sun was shining bright and warm on the righteous and the seditious at Hyde Park.

Unfortunately it wasn't shining on any happy band of FREEDOM sellers. Even so, our one faithful seller, Leah Feldman (who alternates with Lilian Wolfe) sold 63 copies of the paper all on her own.

Had there been one or two more comrades lending a hand, the figure could have topped 100. Is there nobody sufficiently enthusiastic to help us hit this target every week?

LETTER More Astrology

Twinkle, twinkle, little star How I wonder what you are. Tory? Labour? Fellow Traveller? It

all depends on the stars next door. I rather like S. R. Parker's Field Theory of Political Ideology. It is comforting to imagine oneself a member of some great nebula, letting everyone know what your attitudes are just by being in a particular spot. But, of course, most of us don't keep the same attitudes all our lives; change and development is not uncommon. And stars also don't stand still all the time. Then if you are on the move, say for the sake of argument towards conservatism, you-according to the theory-automatically intensify the conservative environment of your neighbours and, consequently, their conservative attitudes.

But isn't this too simple? Surely you are just as likely to set up a reaction against conservatism. Anyway I am not too clear on this movement businessfor the movement of one must force the movement of others and so all are in continuous movement. It makes one giddy to think of it.

However perhaps I misunderstand and we are not actually little stars but only among stars that represent our attitudes: though I am not sure how one can be separated from one's attitudes, which are a strictly personal possession. One man's militarism is another man's pacifism.

I think I will follow S. R. Parker's advice and take a dive. It is a little hard to breathe amongst those stars.

MICHAEL WACE.

Malatesta Club

SWARAJ HOUSE, 32 PERCY STREET, TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.1. (Tel.: MUSeum 7277).

ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. London Anarchist Group Meetings (see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. BONAR THOMPSON Speaks. APRIL 18: THE TRAGEDY OF JOHN RUSKIN APRIL 25: BOTTOMLEY

Every Thursday at 8 p.m. INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS will be arranged.

Every Saturday: SOCIAL EVENING.

He ended by outling a possible scheme for achieving freedom at work without forsaking the benefits of large-scale organisation in industry.

For some reason (perhaps the coincident meeting of another organisation) most of the reciters and filibusterers with whom the LAG is plagued were absent, with the result that discussion was unusually intelligent and to the point. It turned largely on the function of management and whether large-scale organisation and workers' control are compatible.

Altogether the newcomers present-of whom there were not a few-must have been favourably impressed. May this be the standard for future meetings.

35,000 Workers Left the Land in 1955

Mr. Collison, General Secretary of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, told the annual conference of Warwickshire branches of the union that last year some 35,000 agricultural workers left the land. The action of the Wages Board in refusing a further increase would persuade many more, who had been hanging on in the hope of an improvement, that they could wait no longer.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS Every Sunday at 7.30 at THE MALATESTA CLUB. 32 Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.1. WORKERS' CONTROL IN PRACTICE

APRIL 22-Speaker to be announced on The Community in Farmer & Son. APRIL 29-Tony Gibson on SOME PROBLEMS OF COMMUNAL ORGANISATION

MAY 6—Carlo Doglio on THE SYSTEM OF JOINT CONSULTATION AT OLIVETTI'S IN ITALY

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

At 200 BUCHANAN STREET, GLASGOW

OUTDOOR meetings at Maxwell Street, every Sunday , commencing April 1st at 7.30 p.m.

LIBERTARIAN FORUM 813 BROADWAY, (Bet. 11 & 12 Sts.) NEW YORK CITY

Round-Table Youth Discussions Friday Evenings at 8.30

Apr. 27. Lecture by Joseph Spivak-The Social Health Plans of Britain and the U.S. Compared.

SPECIAL NOTICE A MAY DAY MEETING WILL BE

HELD IN THE EVENING OF TUESDAY, MAY FIRST, AT THE LIBERTARIAN CENTRE, 813 BROADWAY.

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Continued A Well-Loved Pair from p.]

Bakunin 30/-

They have also taken the number of every car which has parked in those streets during the past seven days—and decreed that till the visit is over, there shall be no parking.

Eight policemen patrol the outside of the hotel and plain clothes men walk the corridors inside. All delivery vans arriving at the tradesmen's entrance are checked.

Every one of the hotel's first-floor windows, front and back, was tight shut and closely curtained and the order went out: No one will be allowed on surrounding roofs during the visit.

A Hate Campaign

One of the immediate reasons for the panic is that mysterious phone calls have been received by the police and by newspapers saying that a hate campaign is to be launched during the Russian leaders' stay here—presumably by East European and Russian exiles' organisations in this country. Already two incidents have occurred—the defacing of Marx's tomb in Highgate Cemetary and the starting of a small fire against the door of the Tass Agency, the official Russian newsagency, in Fleet Street. Marches and other demonstrations are planned.

It must be nice to be so wellloved. It must give K. & B. encouragement in their struggle for the under-privileged of the world to know that there are in this citadel of capitalism thousands of Ukrainians, Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Lithuanians and others whose countries have been liberated who hate their guts. And if they insist that these are all from the bourgeoisie, let them go to—say—Bradford, and talk with foreign mill-workers there, discovering their class origins, and how many of their families are left.

It is true that much of the organised protest will come from religious and nationalist sentiments, with which the anarchists will certainly not ally themselves (as Communists do when it suits them). But the Soviet Government has had, over the last thirty-nine years, a unique opportunity to offer the peoples of the world an alternative to religion and nationalism. If the people, especially of the Slav countries, have clung to the old, it is only because the new was no better. If the Soviet system has engendered hatred among so many ordinary people, it is only because it is so hateful.