

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"If only people wanted, instead of liberating humanity, to liberate themselves, they would do a very great deal for human freedom."

—ALEXANDER HERZEN.

## WELSH PITS REPRIEVED

### THE PRICE IS FEAR

THE threatened closure last Saturday of the East and Steer pits at Gwaun-cae-Gurwen, South Wales, was averted at the last minute by the acceptance by a special mine-workers' conference at Porthcawl of the National Coal Board's plan to keep the pits open after the original plan had been rejected by the miners' executive committee on Thursday. As a result of discussions between the board and union officials late on Thursday night and early Friday morning the proposals submitted by the divisional board were modified.

The Coal Board's first plan was to open one face in each pit on Monday, providing work for 134 miners at East pit and 151 at Steer pit. If good results were reported, two more faces would be opened in a fortnight's time, and all the men would be back at work within six weeks.

Last Friday's conference agreed that the period of full re-employment of the 1,065 men at the two pits should be reduced from six weeks to four weeks.

The notices given to 1,065 men, against whom restrictive practices and go-slow methods have been alleged, were to expire at 2.30 p.m. Saturday. The notices of the 285 who started work on Thursday have been withdrawn, but the notices of the others remain operative. Their re-employment will be a matter of negotiation between the management and the union as each district is restarted.

The area president of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr. Will Paynter, said after last Friday's conference, attended by 300 delegates representing 100,000 South Wales miners:

"I am appealing to all the workmen employed at the two pits—whether they will continue in employment for the first period or whether they will be rendered temporarily idle—to accept the policy recommended by this area conference and to facilitate the final and permanent operation of the two pits."

He visited Gwaun-cae-Gurwen to

### French Workers Strike Against Recall of Reservists

WORKERS in the great naval shipyards at St. Nazaire went on strike to-day and stopped the recall of nearly 200 French Army reservists.

A mob of about 5,000 stormed the railway station, where the reservists were waiting to start the first stage of the journey to Algeria.

Some of the mob broke through the police barriers and lay across the rail tracks.

Others seized most of the reservists and carried them away shoulder-high in triumph. The train left three hours late with only two of them.

The 1,500 police and Republican Security Guards charged the mob, who replied with a hail of ballast from the tracks.

Seven demonstrators were arrested but had to be released because of the menacing attitude of the mob. Twelve police and 12 demonstrators were injured.

The French Government blames the Communists for demonstrations against the recall of reservists. But most of the demonstrations are spontaneous public protests against the bungling in Algeria.

News Chronicle, 29/5/56.

When are we going to see a similar attitude on the part of British workers to the sending of young conscripts to Cyprus?

explain the modified plan to the men. "It is a choice of either the pits going to the wall or keeping them open," he declared.

But surely the important issue, on which the union should have made a stand, is on what terms the pits should remain open? The men have now accepted to go back to work on the terms of the Coal Board. Nothing is going to be any different; there is no indication that relations between the men and the management are going to be any better.

In fact, after all this fuss, the bitterness and suspicion will be deeper. The miners are going back like whipped dogs, to be ruled from now on by fear. They will be afraid to defend themselves against the demands of the management, afraid to stick up for their rights for fear that they will be sacked, the pit closed, their village to die.

The NCB will have the whip hand and the miners of Gwaun-cae-Gurwen will be condemned to servility in their arduous, dust-laden work.

What is quite fantastic about this whole business, however, has been the attitude of those who claim to have policies for the working class. The miners' own union, for example, have had absolutely nothing to offer them except capitulation. The Labour Party could not propose any constructive solution for of course it is wedded to nationalisation and is the creator of the National Coal Board. If anything serious appears to be wrong, then, it cannot be the fault of the NCB, but of the miners.

True, *Tribune* carried a front-

page splash on the issue, claiming the miners were not guilty. But we looked in vain for anything more than rhetoric. The interesting thing about most 'socialist' comment on Gwaun-cae-Gurwen is the free use that has been made of that socialist swear-word 'anarchist'. Laurence Thompson in the *News Chronicle* headed an article 'The New Anarchists', saying 'There are no Communists at Gwaun-cae-Gurwen, only anarchists, rebelling against all authority'. And in *Tribune*, Raymond Fletcher, denouncing the miners as 'guilty', wrote against the near-anarchy at East and Steer, proudly quoting Will Paynter on the same theme.

For our part, we don't kid ourselves that the miners of East and Steer are consciously anarchists. But we are proud to call ourselves by the same name that is chosen by apologists for authority as a swear-word against men who are prepared to fight for what they consider to be their rights as these Welsh miners have done.

For Communists like Will Paynter, for 'socialists' like Raymond Fletcher, for sold-out journalists like Laurence Thompson, rebellion against the centralised authority, bumbledom and bureaucracy of a nationalised industry is 'irresponsible'. They haven't yet begun to understand that responsibility begins with rebellion against authority; that the aim of socialists should be the socialisation of industry—and that means that the man on the job should be listened to and respected—not treated like adolescent serfs.

One good thing should come out of this miserable business. At least the miners of Gwaun-cae-Gurwen know where they stand.

## Death of a Party Hack

AMONGST the more depressing features of the advent of totalitarian systems is the immediate and rigid control which they automatically apply to writers; particularly those who produce works of progressive and social value. In the last forty years, throughout Europe and elsewhere, the writer has become the target of repressive measures which could never have been imagined by Dickens in his day, nor even have been supposed to be necessary to the causes for which they were instigated. Nineteenth century writers would not have assumed that their work could have sufficient impact to be worth the trouble of setting up the machinery by which to repress it.

But times have changed, and so has the importance of the written word in its capacity for the spread of ideas and propaganda. This century has seen the enormous growth of newspaper circulations which provide the basis of all propaganda machinery, and simultaneously there has been a vast increase in the sale of books of every description. Whilst it cannot be said that books have the same immediate impact upon public opinion as newspapers, it is certain that in the long run they can create a more lasting impression; it therefore becomes necessary for a totalitarian government, not only to ban or control writers who are critical of their régime, but also to encourage those who are prepared to extoll its virtues and write to the "party line".

The lengths to which recent totalitarian states have been prepared to go in their censorship of the written word have been amply demonstrated in the last few years. Writers and journalists have been imprisoned, executed, exiled and brainwashed. Their writings have been banned, and burned; and on occasion they have been forced to write under duress that which ordinarily they would never have written. Many writers have committed suicide, escaped to other countries, gone underground to continue their work or have simply disappeared. It is perhaps true to say that in Europe, since the early nineteenth thirties, the greater part of a generation of talented

and inspired writers has not been permitted to exist. Fortunately however, this has not prevented the "existing few" from producing works of lasting value—many of which stand as significant indictments of the totalitarian systems which would have destroyed them.

A short time ago in Russia, a certain writer, Alexander Fadayeve shot himself. He had been for many years the head of an organisation, the Union of Soviet Writers. He had taken over this position from Maxim Gorky in 1934, who died suddenly two years later. The ideas of Gorky were not sufficient in accord with those of Stalin, and Fadayeve was to prove himself far more adept at treading the path which was set for him by that almost irresistible dictator.

At about that time questions were being asked as to why the works of distinguished writers were no longer being published. Of the less distinguished writers there was no mystery; they had been arrested as "enemies of the people". By 1939 the Union of Soviet Writers was a well drilled literary clique which supported all those things which it was expected to support, praised Stalin and all his works and produced practically nothing of literary value. It applauded the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, and was enthusiastic about Stalin's "military genius" when the Germans were at the gates of Moscow. In fact the Union became a vigorous and valuable element in support of the Stalinist line.

Fadayeve himself wrote a long, turgid novel called *Young Guard* about underground operation in the Ukraine, it sold 3,000,000 copies. The Union writers grew rich during the war, though when it was over even they were the victims of a new Stalin purge, and were forced to eat humble pie. Fadayeve was told to rewrite *Young Guard* and said: "I quite agree." And then was sent to a congress in Wroclaw and delivered himself of his attack upon the works of T. S. Eliot, André Malraux, Eugene O'Neill, John Dos Passos, Jean Paul Sartre: "If hyenas could type and jackals could use fountain pens, they would produce such works."

And then Stalin died. For two years almost nothing was heard of the Union of Soviet Writers, but at last Ilya Ehrenburg's *The Thaw* was published. At the 20th Party Congress last February, Mikhail Sholokhov, who, by way of protest, had written almost nothing of note since *And Quiet Flows the Don* in 1929, made an outright attack on Fadayeve, calling him a power-loving bureaucrat. He also praised Maxim Gorky in high terms and revived the mystery of Fadayeve's succession. *New World*, the organ of the Union commenced publishing Bruno Yasienki's long-suppressed novel *The Plot of the Indifferent*, with a preface by his widow referring to his "arrest based on the slander of provocateurs."

So Alexander Fadayeve shot himself; but joined the suicide-ranks too late. His fellow-writers Yessenin and Mayakovsky had gone to a self-imposed death a quarter of a century sooner; Kuprin and Bunin went into voluntary exile; Babel, Pilnaik, Kirshov and Pasternak disappeared almost without trace. None of them wrote the Stalin-line and none of them sold themselves or their integrity for roubles and power. H.F.W.

## Feeding the Growing Millions of the World Brawn, Brains or Just Needs?

"THERE is no technological reason why shortage of food should limit the population growth of the earth. This is true despite the fact that more than one half of the present world population receives barely enough food to maintain life at a minimum level and that another one-fourth of the population is undernourished."

These are neither the utopian dream of an anarchist or sweeping statements of the anarchist propagandist. They are the conclusion of a study on "The World's Food: Need and Potential" made by Dr. James F. Bonner, Professor of Biology at the California Institute of Technology quite recently. Indeed, the professor points out that each year plants on land and in water produce enough food for 500 times the current world population!

The fact that modern man eats only cultivated plants reduces the amount available to one quarter, and of this quarter about one half is fed to animals, which not only eat but a part of the plant, but what they do eat, is returned to us as animal food with a calorific yield of only about 10 per cent. Add to this that man eats about 20 per cent. of the cultivated plant (he eats the wheat seed but not the stems or the leaves); that insects, fungi, rats and (where they still flourish) rabbits, consume one third of the food grown in the world to-day, and one is made aware of the immense waste

of potential food that takes place in the cultivated areas. But, says Dr. Bonner, there are a thousand million acres of new cultivated land that could become available to agriculture if the warm and cold wet areas now neglected were farmed. This land can be farmed by planting new crops and by irrigating with distilled sea water and other improvements that are feasible now.

If this were done, and the productivity of all the world's cultivated lands raised to the levels prevalent in Europe, 3,700 million people could be fed a diet "healthful, adequate, but not exciting". The world's population (at present 2,600 million) is expected to reach this figure in the next twenty-five years, during which time man's eating habits would have to be changed, among other things. Animals will be used less as food (a hollow victory for our vegetarian friends!); grain crops will be replaced by crops in which more of the plant will be used; woody stalks and leaves may be converted to edible sugars by methods now known; steppes and deserts, which now cover twice as much of the earth as cultivated land, could be irrigated by treated sea water; cultivation of sea algae and the production of vitamins and essential meat proteins by chemical synthesis.

But the big BUT is, according to the Californian scientists, the *brain power available*. For if it is avail-

able, then there is no important limitation on the amount of food the world can produce.

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SOME of our readers may have reacted as we did on reading this reference to "brain power": that a world in which there would be an abundance of food for everybody could only come about by a revolution in our thinking processes. In other words that the scientists were not only telling us what *could* be done through scientific knowledge, but were emerging from their laboratories and abandoning their electronic brains just for one moment to speak to us as man to man. But that was asking too much of them (or perhaps they may consider it too little?). Brain power for the California Institute of Technology is a commodity, just as steel, lead and cement are commodities the production of which can be expressed in terms of graphs, availability and possibilities. Thus their Report on brain-power is given the title "Technical Manpower, Requirements, Supplies and Limits" and deals with the problem of supplying the brains (numbers of) to put into operation a project as outlined above, granted a very necessary consideration, but as utopian as the scheme itself when, in the society in which we live, world food production, according to official United Nations sources, has

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### PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 21

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<b>SURPLUS</b>	<b>£37</b>

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\*Indicates regular contributors.



## 'FROM THE OTHER SHORE'

IN 1850, after the collapse of the European revolutions of the two previous years, Alexander Herzen wrote his 'political testament', a collection of essays with the title *From the Other Shore*. This was the book which Kropotkin called "a cry of despair—the cry of a prophetic politician in the voice of a great poet". But it is something more than Herzen's expression of his disillusionment with the unfulfilled hopes of the revolutions of 1848; it is an affirmation of human values as against the political abstractions common to his day and ours. *From the Other Shore* has never been published in English, and we have taken the passages which follow from Isaiah Berlin's remarkable lecture *Herzen & the Grand Inquisitors* which is published in the current (May) number of the magazine *Encounter*. Mr. Berlin's four lectures on *A Marvellous Decade* will be published in the Autumn by Collins, and his translation of *From the Other Shore*, and of Herzen's essay *The Russian People and Socialism* are to be published sooner or later by Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Next week's FREEDOM will include an article on Herzen and his ideas.

IF progress is the goal, for whom then are we working? Who is this Moloch who, as the toilers approach him, instead of rewarding them, draws back, and as a consolation to the exhausted and doomed multitudes shouting, 'We, who are about to die, salute thee!', can only give the mocking answer that after their death all will be beautiful on earth. Do you really wish to condemn human beings alive to-day to the mere sad rôle of caryatids supporting a floor for others one day to dance upon? Of wretched galley slaves who, up to their knees in mud, drag a barge with the humble words 'Future Progress' on its flag? A goal which is infinitely remote is not a goal at all, it is a deception. A goal must be closer—at the very least the labourer's wage or pleasure in work performed. Each epoch, each generation, each life has had, has, its own experience, and en route new demands grow, new methods. The end of each generation must be itself. Nature not only never

makes one generation the means for the attainment of some future goal; she does not concern herself with the future at all. Like Cleopatra, she is ready to dissolve the pearl in wine for a second's pleasure. If humanity marched straight towards some result, there would be no history, only logic. One has to arrange life as best one can because there is no libretto. If history followed a set libretto, it would lose all interest, it would become unnecessary, boring, ludicrous. Great men would be simply so many heroes strutting on a stage. History is all improvisation, all will, all extemporised. There are no frontiers, there are no time-tables, no itineraries. All that exists is specific conditions, and sacred discontent, the flow of life and its endless challenge to the fighters to try their strength, to go where they will, where there is a road; and where there is no road, there genius will blast a path.

IN nature, as in the souls of men, there slumber endless possibilities and forces, and in suitable conditions they develop, they develop furiously. They may fill a world, or they may fall by the roadside. They may take a new direction. They may stop. They may collapse. Nature is perfectly indifferent to what happens. But then, you may ask, what is all this for? The life of people becomes a pointless game. Men build something with pebbles and grass and sand only to see it all collapse again; and human creatures crawl out from underneath the ruins and again start clearing spaces and build huts of moss and planks and broken capitals, and, after centuries of endless labour, it all collapses again. Not in vain did

Shakespeare say that history was a tale told by an idiot.

To this I reply that you are like those very sensitive people who shed a tear whenever they recollect that man is born but to die. To look at the end and not at the action itself is a cardinal error. Of what use to the flower is its bright magnificent bloom? Or this intoxicating scent, since it will only pass away? None at all. But nature is not so miserly. She does not disdain what is transient, what is only in the present. At every point she achieves all she can achieve. Who will find fault with nature because flowers bloom in the morning and die at night, because she has not given the rose or the lily the hardness of flint? And this miserable pedestrian principle we wish to transfer to the world of history. Life has no obligation to realise the fantasies and ideas of civilisation. Life loves novelty. She seldom repeats herself. She uses every accident, simultaneously knocks at a thousand doors, some of which may open—who can tell?

HUMAN beings have an instinctive passion to preserve anything they like. Man is born and therefore wishes to live for ever. Man falls in love and wishes to be loved, and loved for ever as in the very first moment of his avowal. But life gives no guarantees. Life does not ensure existence, nor pleasure; she does not answer for their continuance. Every historical moment is full and is beautiful, is self-contained in its own fashion. Every year has its own spring and its own summer, its own winter and autumn, its own storms and fair weather. Every period is new, fresh, filled with its own hopes and carries with

in itself its own joys and sorrows. The present belongs to it. But human beings are not content with this, they must needs own the future too.

What is the purpose of the song the singer sings? If you look beyond your pleasure in it for something else, for some other goal, the moment will come when the singer stops and then you will only have memories and vain regrets because, instead of listening, you were waiting for something else. You must not be misled by categories that are not fitted to catch the flow of life. What is this goal for which you are seeking, this permanent goal? A programme? An order? Who conceived it? To whom was the order given? Is it something inevitable? If it is, we are simply puppets. Are we morally free or are we wheels within a machine? I would rather think of life, and therefore of history, as a goal attained, not as a means to something else.

IS it really the purpose of a child to grow up simply because it does grow up? No. The purpose of a child is to play, to enjoy itself, to be a child; because if we follow the other line of reasoning, then the purpose of all life is death.

WHY is liberty valuable? Because it is what it is. To bring it as a sacrifice to something else is simply to perform an act of human sacrifice.

LET us encourage egoism instead of trying to suppress it, which is anyhow impossible. Egoism is not a vice. Egoism gleams in the eye of an animal. It is wild, self-centred and salutary. Moralists bravely thunder against it, instead of building on it. What moralists try and deny is the great inner cita-

del of human dignity. They want to make men tearful, sentimental, feeble, kindly creatures asking to be made slaves. But to tear egoism from a man's heart is to rob him of his living principles, of the yeast and the salt of his whole personality. Fortunately this is impossible. Of course it is sometimes suicidal to try to assert oneself. One cannot try and go up a staircase down which an army is trying to march. That is done by tyrants, conservatives, fools and criminals. Without altruism we are orang-outangs, but without egoism we are nothing but tame monkeys.

### Patriotic Idiots

As Father Huddleston, who recently returned from South Africa, began addressing a meeting of 1,500 people in the Central Hall, Coventry, last night a group of men displayed a banner demanding "Defend white supremacy."

Members of the audience ejected them. Police were called, but no one was arrested, although some of the demonstrators attempted to re-enter the hall.

The uproar began when a man wearing dark glasses stood up in the gallery as Father Huddleston started to speak and shouted: "Stop. This man is an imposter. His creed is not Christianity. His creed is the perversion of Christianity." About eight men with open-necked shirts then ran to the front of the hall, lined up at attention across the front of the platform, and unrolled a yellow banner with black lettering which read: "Defend White Supremacy, Britain, South Africa, and U.S.A.—stand by the South African Government. White defence force."

Men from the audience hustled the demonstrators out and the banner was torn to shreds. Outside the hall the demonstrators said they did not belong to any organisation. "We are a few patriotic Englishmen," said one.

Resuming his speech, Father Huddleston said it was the first time in England he had had that experience. *Manchester Guardian*, 29/5/56. Let us hope it is the last!

### The Tradition of Workers' Control—6

## Disintegration of the Syndicalist Movement

THE differences evident at the Fifth Rank and File Conference of the amalgamation movement were, however, the prelude to the disintegration of syndicalism. Already political agitation was undermining the non-political character of the movement with its single-minded emphasis on economic action and organisation. The March Revolution in Russia had already occurred and the subsequent October Revolution gave an added impetus to the political tendencies. In the excitement occasioned by the events in Russia, many syndicalists forgot the text they had preached and hitherto acted upon: that no new system can supersede another until it has become fully matured within the womb of the old. Convinced that a revolution was nearer than they had dared to hope, they abandoned their faith in purely industrial action and began to realign themselves with those groups and parties which aimed at a revolutionary capture of political power. Many of them, especially those connected with the S.L.P., and including Tom Mann, joined the Communist Party of Great Britain after its foundation in August, 1920. Once within the party their anti-parliamentarianism rapidly dissolved before the criticisms of Lenin.

Other elements found temporary refuge within the Guild Socialist movement which had taken up and transmuted many of the older movement's ideas. The anarchist version of syndicalism still claimed a few supporters who clung all the more determinedly to their faith when they saw the way the revolution was developing in Russia. In 1922 at a conference in Berlin the anarchist wing refused to enter the Red Trade Union International (The Profintern) and put forward a theory of anarcho-syndicalism. The development of this movement belongs more to foreign—especially Spanish—than to British history, but it is significant to note that it was the anarchists with their long tradition of hostility towards political action who, despite their differences with the movement, remained true to the militant aspirations of syndicalism. In this country pure syndicalism has been bequeathed as a legacy to the anarchists who, since the Spanish Civil War, have placed increasing emphasis on its ideas.

### "Consolidation & Control"

For the main body of Syndicalist thought a suitable obituary notice is to be found in the publication in 1921 of a pamphlet by the National Workers' Committee Movement entitled *Consolidation and Control*. The pamphlet emphasised much of what had already been stated in Murphy's

earlier pamphlet; the class consciousness so characteristic of syndicalism was no less evident; and the elimination of the capitalists from industry was pronounced as the goal. But it went on to subject the notion of workers' control to critical scrutiny. It noted its ambiguity now that it had been taken up by many elements in the Labour Party and by the Guild Socialists. It criticised the then current proposals for State ownership combined with joint State-Union management. It decried the uncritical acceptance of the notion that the State was the representative of the community. The State, it insisted, was and always had been an engine of the ruling class and could not therefore represent both contending classes in society.

So far nothing had been subtracted from and little added to the syndicalist case. But then came the sting in the tail. "The problem that is facing the working class, it said,

"is the problem of power... If the workers' organisations are victorious in the struggle, then they will become the foundations of the new working class State. The unions will share with the State the control and management of the large-scale industries, and from this a system of workers' control will be developed. The exact amount of industrial control that the average worker will get following a working class victory will depend upon the circumstances. We do not believe that it is possible to jump from a system, where the mass of workers who have lived most of their lives under the control of the functionaries of capitalism will suddenly be able to select those who are competent to carry on the management of industry from the workshop upwards. Such ability will only come as the result of education and opportunity, but it is the end we are striving for. There may be a period short or long according to the circumstances when control and management will be from above. That is to say, when those who direct industry shall be appointed not by the workers in industry, but by the workers' state, the voice of the unions in the matter being comparatively slight."

### Syndicalism and the Communists

Despite the insistence that workers' control was still the ultimate aim, it is clear that the movement was to be subordinated to the political party which aimed at a revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist State and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The idea of encroaching control by means of the collective contract which had expressed most clearly the syndicalist contention that the revolution must begin in the workshop if it was to begin at all, was rudely dismissed. Its remaining author<sup>30</sup> now regarded it as embarrassing evidence of his "infantile leftism". The workshop organisation should be pre-eminently one designed for fighting and should not saddle itself with responsibilities. Its function was to break up workshop discipline and make the system as

unworkable as possible. The most damning word in the new vocabulary was hurled at it: it was "utopian". Finally, in conclusion, it might be admitted that "a limited amount of self-government in the workshops will be one of the things achieved by the workers' state in the course of time."<sup>31</sup> That it can be achieved under capitalism is simply a delusion of those who imagine that the control of industry can be gradually wrested from the employers without their power being first broken.

The syndicalists who took this path and joined the Communist Party did not, I think, feel that they were betraying their past. On the contrary, they probably felt that they were making an advance towards reality when they put the conquest of political power first. Many of them may indeed have thought that a dictatorship of the proletariat would really lead to workers' control in the full-blooded sense and to the establishment of the industrial commonwealth in which the trade unions would come into their own. If so, they were either cruelly deluded or bitterly disillusioned by subsequent events.

So ended the syndicalist movement. I have dealt with it at some length because so far no objective account of it has been published—although a full-scale history of the movement, written, be it noted, by an American not a British student, lies in the inaccessible archives of Oxford's Bodleian Library. In most, if not all, available histories of the British working class movement the contribution of the British syndicalists to the popularising of the notion of workers' control in this period has been seriously underestimated. The British syndicalists produced no great library of theoretical works and the development of the movement and its ideas must be traced in dusty files scattered in many libraries. But what they did write and, more important, what they uttered by the spoken word—Tom Mann was perhaps the last of the line of working class orators in this country—reached a not inconsiderable section of rank and file industrial workers. Moreover, the movement remains of more than historical interest. The controversies within it over the organisation of the future society and the strategy to be pursued to achieve workers' control are still very much alive—and contain lessons which still have to be learned if industrial freedom is ever to be won.

<sup>30</sup> i.e. W. Gallacher—John Paton, who had joined the Guild Socialists, had died in 1920.

<sup>31</sup> My italics.

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## BRAWN, BRAINS OR JUST NEEDS?

Continued from p. 1

for political and economic reasons, actually shown a decrease during the past year! "Technology—declares the Californian scientists—can ease but it cannot solve political and economic problems". It seems to us that even where the scientists venture outside their specialist field, they utter nonsensical clichés which, had they applied the scientific method, not only to their scientific conundrums, but also to the social problems, they could easily have avoided. They reveal that with all their brain-power they have not discovered what was obvious to even an illiterate Aragonese peasant during the Spanish Revolution: that the land will be used to its best advantage only when "the artificial economic and political" considerations have been replaced by *real needs*—that is mouths that have to be filled.

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"NECESSITY is the mother of invention". How many, we wonder, realise that this, at least once popular, proverb, is in fact pure anarchism and the watchword of the leisure society—or what the automation-era-might-be?

It could be argued that the Californian scientists base their proposals on necessity: that is they argue that the world's population may more than double in the course of the next hundred years and they rightly assume that these five thousand million people will require the necessities of life. But it seems to us there are two ways of viewing such a problem. One is as an intellectual exercise in technology, the other as a human problem. This is no play on words. Present techniques of production both in industry and agriculture could, as the scientists recognise in their report, greatly increase world supplies. The fact that acreages of cultivatable land are being reduced, in the United States, for instance, while needs (capitalism uses the term "demand" which is not synonymous with needs but with "the ability to pay") are every day increasing, makes the development of new techniques either a theoretical question or one that subserves financial interests, and competition for markets.

As things are in the world to-day, it's not technological brain power that is required to ensure that the world's teeming millions or those that come after them shall have the necessities of life. What is needed is that we should have brains enough to realise that a system which produces more and more cars and less and less food when the real need is for less cars and more food, should be scrapped and replaced by one in which what is produced is not measured in terms of profits or money but in terms of need.

(Curiously enough governments use the anarchist argument when it suits their convenience. We need coal but pits can be closed down by the State on the grounds that they are uneconomical—though they produce coal, and there is a shortage of coal. But when the government needs pilots for the R.A.F. it matters little that in economic terms it costs £55,000 to train a pilot since the need is over-riding!)

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CRITICAL as we may have appeared of the Californian scientists who seem to us to convert intensely human problems into technological speculations, their findings, in fact, cannot but interest us. They confirm what we anarchists have been saying for a very long time\*: that the problem of society is not how to produce enough food, clothing and shelter so that all may have the necessities of life but of how to prevent a minority in society

NOW that hot days are upon us and the gas and electricity companies less necessary than they seemed, a shade of melancholy settles upon New York, a dissatisfaction with concrete, and one day you open the *Herald-Tribune* and find that the Camping season is here again.

Though not publicly augmenting the funds from its own earnings the *Herald-Tribune* solicits money so that underprivileged children may leave the city for a couple of months in Camp, experiencing unfiltered sunlight, some swimming and so forth.

An excellent idea, though undoubtedly one serving patriotic teaching. A rather different scheme seems to be that of the Private Camp, private to the sum of 150 to 1,000 dollars, where for the Summer affluent parents may be freed from their children and *vice versa*. It is a fairly big business for a camp must be profitable enough to keep its "directors" in pocket for the next ten months, and there are hundreds of such camps in New York State, all advertising prolifically and competitively in the Sunday papers.

I sent off to Camp Robinson Crusoe for a brochure. I found that like pastry mix Camp Robinson Crusoe is an enriching and rewarding experience. Children growing up in our complex civilisation have to be ready for many social adjustments. They need to be sturdy personalities with a sense of self worth and capacity for self direction, judgment and resourcefulness. And they need to know how to get on with their fellows in varied groups and situations. Good camping can provide the experiences that will cultivate these qualities, because of the opportunities it offers for self-direction, for vital interests, achievement, friendships and good group relations. This, briefly, is the point of view underlying the work of Camp Robinson Crusoe.

Have we heard something like this before somewhere?

Each camper's personality is respected. His views help to determine his group's plans and his own activity. He is helped to become an active participant in the

# THE CAMPING BUSINESS

life of the camp community. Group relationships are made vital social experiences to meet the child's needs for a group to belong to, for friendship and for group approval. All the children participate not only in determining the plans for their own groups but in the management of the entire camp through committee memberships and camp community meetings.

What is this, anarchism? No, a socialist's verbal doodling.

The ratio of our staff to campers is approximately one to three. They are mature men and women over 21 years of age with a good background in the Progressive Education movement.

Camp Robinson Crusoe is co-educational because we have found it is good for boys and girls to grow up in the same surroundings. We have also found that association between the sexes in the early adolescent years is essential to normal and wholesome development. An all male or female environment is an unnatural situation and one that is unrelated to the children's future needs as adults. The boys and girls are in the same camp. They live in separate cabins and determine their activities as cabin groups. The interests and activities of boys and girls differ considerably. They are, however, free to share activities in which they are equally interested, if they wish to. They sit in the same dining room and swim at the same time. This is our 30th year of gratifying experience with co-educational camping.

Mothers, you should be gratified that we are gratified that the boys and girls have been so gratified in their swimming and eating.

A few pages further on I read that Primitive Camp (illustrated by a couple of adolescent gazing at frying pans set in a well-appointed stove) is the culminating point of our camping plan and meets the needs of adolescence for challenge and adventure. It is conducted as a democratic living and working situation (boiled Reich coming up in those frying pans) and the boys and girls participate in all decisions and are given as much responsibility as they are able to carry. At the same time they have

the benefit of mature counsel and sensitive adult guidance. This type of camping stirs their imagination, offers them adventure, work and responsibility and provides a very vital experience.

Now Johnny I don't understand, what do you mean you don't think I'm sensitive? Really I assure you I'm extremely sensitive.

(For the mature guidance of readers not too well up on sociological orientation who may think I am quoting from an Essay on Freedom a few definitions may be helpful. It will be seen that many of these words can be summated in the key word Positive, a term used nowadays for the person who is in varying degrees conservative, religious, patriotic, financially honest and sensible about love affairs. Besides positive and its opposite negative, the basic Robinson Crusoe words are Approval, Mature, Adjust, Relate and Group.

Approval, the unquestioned goal of all human actions.

Group, the aggregate of individuals from whom one seeks approval.

Relate (to a group), be no longer alone, not have to act irrespective of approval. Relate (to a person), in a narrower sense, become a friend of, sometimes used beyond adolescence to denote go to bed with.

Adjust, behave in such a way that people you dislike will approve of you, requirement before relating to a group.

Mature, quality of taking all this without a grain of salt. Mature person, one the group can depend on.

Admiring the dexterity of the author of this brochure I applied for a job at Camp Robinson Crusoe and was summoned for an interview at the New York office. There I found the Director, an older man, theoretician of communal life and doubtless author, with his younger protégé clad in gym vest. After discussing adjustment I asked, "What happens to the children who don't do too well in the group?"

## Anarchism, Sex and Society—2

GORER'S figures positively approving pre-marital relations coupled with the Church of Scotland's report which covers the "type described as Church members or adherents" are significant. But so are the cases quoted of the unmarried mothers who were not shocked by the idea of sex but were outraged at the idea of birth control. Significant too are the clear cases of sexual misery which find their way into the doctor's consulting room and the police courts.

Weighed against this is the disparity between public morality and actual behaviour, and the discreet acceptance that usually male "weakness" needs an outlet. The fact that it is necessary that some women are needed to indulge the male divergence is illogically overlooked. But can we conclude that the silent acceptance of the difference between the myth, as put forward by orthodox morality, and the reality constitutes a change in the moral standards of our society? In the view of this writer standards are worthless which are not accepted out of conviction with a clear recognition that no set moral codes can be applied to sexual behaviour when we consider the variety of sexual needs, not only in different cultures but within the same culture.

It is hypocritical, and very often damaging to the individual personality because of the guilt feelings involved, and creates a debasement of values generally, to claim that it is morally wrong to indulge sexually outside the recognised boundaries, and at the same time silently condoning the male proneness to sexual variety. It is part of the distorted values of our time that the female who indulges her need for sexual variety is not treated

from monopolising the sources of production and the channels of distribution, for their narrow, class interests, at the expense of the majority, who, in the midst of surpluses go hungry, who in the era of industrial "know how" lack the elementary comforts of life.

\*Readers of Tony Gibson's pamphlet "Food Production and Population", (Freedom Press, 3d.) will find little that is new to them in the Californian scientists report. Those who have not read this pamphlet (published in 1952) are urged to do so.

either silently or openly with such discretion. And because of the importance placed upon female virtue it is very often the prostitute and her amateur equivalent who are openly the sole purveyors of "sexual freedom".

A disregard for moral standards does not necessarily mean a new era of enlightenment as another converse pointer quoted in FREEDOM (March 24th, *Youth & Sex*) shows. A typical case which came up at the Old Bailey involving a youth of twenty-one, and two of fifteen and sixteen respectively, resulted in Judge Aarvold sentencing them to five and three years imprisonment "for criminally assaulting a fourteen-year-old girl". Allowing for the provocation by the girl, which is a common occurrence among adolescent working-class girls (often less inhibited than their middle-class counterparts) the action of the youths shows a contempt for the female and ignorance of the purpose of sex.

This contempt very often derives from an early environment in poor homes where the mother and father, through years of frustration and poverty are constantly at loggerheads. Large families cramped together through inadequate housing; the mother losing interest in herself, and the father's only outlet in drink results in endless squabbling, and is hardly conducive towards the development of a tender attitude towards the other sex. Any reference to sex is very often of the crudest kind, coupled with an inverse puritanism which adds to the confusion of the child brought up in such an atmosphere.

An understanding of these conditions on the part of people dealing with youths who come before the courts could help these young people. Judge Aarvold's views however are far more common in official circles, and when one considers the background of some of these young people, the words of this Judge sound ludicrous, and completely lacking in understanding:—

"Judge Aarvold gave these boys a little lecture about the 'natural virtues' of girls and young women: 'innocence, clean living and honour' and hoped that their experience in the dock would have taught them a lesson. He went on:

"All three of you are in need of strong discipline. It may be that the proper way of dealing with you is to order you a good whipping with the promise that if you lapse again you will receive another, but I cannot order that."

Does he really believe that their atti-

tude will be more chivalrous towards the other sex when they will have served their sentence?"

(FREEDOM, March 24th.)

Dr. Alfred Thomas, Leicester Education Director, speaking at the National Union of Teachers' conference on April 3rd in Blackpool, had something to say which might tell Judge Aarvold something about innocence and the natural virtues of young women. Basing his observation on his own schools Dr. Thomas said that teenage girls who parade their knowledge of sex and sneer at their unmarried teachers are the menace of many secondary modern schools. They hold their teachers in contempt, demoralise their less adventurous classmates by boasting about their sexual successes. Dr. Thomas added that they undermine school discipline.

We are not concerned here with the maintenance of school discipline as a necessary condition for better education or towards making happy pupils, but these cases quoted by Dr. Thomas seem to be yet another pointer to the breakdown in morality which does not mean a considered rejection of conventional morality. What is often contradictory in girls of this type is their cynical approach to sex and to boys brought up in the same environment, while at the same time showing a romantic attachment to film stars, who surely represent to them mythical figures untouched by their own squalid background. This background is at least recognised by Dr. Thomas as having played a part in the moulding of these teenage girls. He maintained that bad home background made them "restless, frustrated and lacking in any sense of security."

While recognising the frustrations caused by economic conditions, ignorance and very often indifference on the part of parents to the needs of young people is a more important factor. Much could be done by welfare workers and youth organisations to combat the effects, but their attitude to sex is generally no more enlightened than the teenagers who mock their unmarried teachers. There is no point in terms of happy results in condemning young people for their behaviour because it is wrong without offering a reasonable alternative. Frustrated, restless and cynical youth often do what is considered 'wrong' because it is wrong. If they were encouraged to take pleasure in their sexual activities because it is a natural and satisfying

"Well, we don't knowingly accept children with gross personality disorders," said the Director, and the younger man added, "We just don't get ones who are aggressive."

"We," said the Director, "are to the usual camp what the progressive school is to the usual school. We teach experience not facts. Our programme is intensively suited to the needs of the child."

"I would say," said the younger man, "they are mostly passive."

The Director turned up his hearing aid to catch a remark of mine, but exclaimed, "Robinson Crusoe is decentralised and group centred. The group leader and his assistants attached to each group are usually leaders or group workers and our form of organization leaves the group counsellors free to help the children relate to their groups. And beside the group staff we have specialists for those wishing to take up canoeing, boating, nature lore, hiking, camp craft, drama, folk dance, music, handicrafts, archery and riflery."

Despite the prospect of whispering a word to a passive child specializing in riflery I decided the job was not for me and had regretfully to turn my back on this anarchist haven after rendering due thanks to my hosts for a most illuminating conversation.

## Valuable Christian Relic

Hitler's order of the day promoting Rommel to field marshal rank on June 22, 1942, was sold at Sotheby's to-day to an English dealer for only £58.

Though other dealers, notably the French, crowded forward to inspect the document, there was no warmth in the bidding. Two other documents signed by Hitler went for £17.

A member of the Irak Embassy paid £82 for eight documents signed in 1918-19 by the Emir Faisal, later King of Irak. Eleven lots of letters, documents and manuscripts by T. E. Lawrence were sold for £673.

Top price of the sale was £640 for a letter by Pope Gregory to Charles IX of France congratulating him on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. It was bought on behalf of an American dealer.

Evening Standard, 28/5/56.

function their attitude to one another and to the rest of society would be different.

The educated youths who have reasonable economic conditions at home, and who rarely come before the courts (in this country at any rate), find outlets in other ways for their sexual frustrations; they become the bosses, the managers, the bureaucrats and the military officers exercising discipline in varying degrees. Sexual ignorance is by no means the monopoly of the lesser educated, but belongs to all strata of society. R.M.

(To be continued)

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# Liberty and the Trade Unions

THE trade unions of Britain have never claimed to be revolutionary organisations. Since any concept of expanding liberty for the individual—especially the working individual—must have revolutionary implications, therefore, it is logical that there should be no such concept in British trade unionism.

This is not to say that the development of the tremendous power which exists to-day in the unions has not brought with it some expansion of liberty for their members. It could hardly be otherwise. Even a dictatorship offers some liberties for those who support it, even though it may deprive almost totally those who do not.

But it may be truer to say that an authoritarian organisation can offer only license, not liberty, to its members, for it must keep as tight a grip on its supporters as on its opponents, while at the same time providing some kind of bribe or bait to keep the former satisfied.

The crux of the matter probably is that those who voluntarily support an authoritarian organisation do not want liberty. They want security within a certain restricted set-up, and beyond that they are afraid even to think.

## The Tradition of Workers' Control

The present series of articles by Geoffrey Ostergaard on the tradition of the idea of workers' control in Britain, has reminded us that the earliest industrial organisations in this country did have an ideological basis with a libertarian orientation. They did not set out merely to stabilise the position of the wage-earner in an economic system which deprives him of responsibility; they clearly aimed at a 'different order of things' in which workers would take over control of their places of work, to operate them co-operatively and freely.

Any concept of liberty applied to industry must have some recognition of the need for workers to administer their own workplaces. Similarly any demand for workers' control, to be anything more real than a politician's trick, must have a libertarian ideology behind it.

The early pioneers of industrial organisation, however, failed to find a permanent popular support for their ideas. It would be interesting and rewarding to

try to uncover the reasons why the organisations which have taken root are authoritarian and limited in their function, rather than libertarian and revolutionary. Presumably it is in part because in an authoritarian society it seems more 'practical' for all organisms to follow the same pattern. Having been conditioned to leadership in the home, school and church, it is not after all surprising if workers think in terms of leadership in their own organisations.

## Conformity

When, therefore, the trade unions are criticised by the employers or their spokesmen in the Press, by politicians or churchmen, for their restrictive practices, it is sheer hypocrisy. Employers, Press and Church all existed before trade unions and set the pattern for the restrictions on individuals and the leadership structures which the unions have initiated.

But in fact the authoritarian nature of the unions does not show itself in restrictive practices is defence of jobs so much as in disciplinary action over their members. And about this we hear very little from the employers, the Press or the Church.

A libertarian organisation created within capitalism might have to practise all sorts of restrictions with regard to work done for employers, or in defence of its members' well-being. What it could never do, however, is to practise the dictatorship over its own members which demand conformity and obedience before responsibility and militancy.

The trade unions are not concerned with the liberty of the worker. They are concerned, as all authoritarian organisations tend to be, with maintaining their power. And the power of a bargaining institution (which is all they are) depends fundamentally upon its ability to control its members. Employers can have no faith in the ability of unions to honour their agreements if they do not believe in the ability of the unions to extract obedience from their members.

## The Union Official's Job

This is why there is as much panic (perhaps more) in the union office when workers go on unofficial strike as there is in the employer's office—the union

official's job is at stake. Whatever may be the causes of the strike, therefore, the trade union's job is to get the men back to work while negotiation is opened with the boss, thereby justifying the union official's existence.

In this kind of set-up, liberty is a luxury which the worker at the bench cannot be allowed. Add to that the lack of any revolutionary aim on the part of the unions as a whole—which eliminates the need for any concept of a free society, any *ethos* of personal freedom, any respect for the individual, even, and we can see that it is quite unrealistic to seek for any libertarian tendency in the British trade unions.

Liberty is something which simply does not concern them. In times of 'prosperity', of full employment, there is some extension of material independence on the part of the worker who has security of job (another waiting round

the corner), who has accumulated a few pounds in the bank, who is buying his own house. But this is not liberty. On the contrary, it may mean that in fact it is all a millstone, a liability which ties him to his labour for as far as he can see ahead.

## No Progressive Attitude

And it is in any case incidental to his being organised in a trade union—for such conditions of prosperity to-day depend purely upon the condition of world trade. When there was depression in the thirties, the unions were helpless to defend the little bits of property of its members which stand for security. They had to be pawned or sold to supplement the dole. And it could happen again—although capitalism seems to have learned a few lessons in the last twenty years. But the trade unions haven't. From their side there has been no sign of a progressive outlook—of a realisation that to remain alive and vital and perform a historically significant rôle the aim of a workers' organisation should be ex-

## International Anarchist News

**Argentina.** The anarchist periodical *La Protesta* has stabilised its fortnightly appearance, with eight 16 x 12 inch pages in each number. Most of its contents are closely connected with the day-to-day struggles of the workers, particularly those of the syndicalist unions of the F.O.R.A. At the same time as giving full support to all the gains of the anti-fascist movement, *La Protesta* is pointing out that the full fruits of a workers' uprising can only be reaped by a definite libertarian course of action, as the following extract shows:

"... thus during the libertarian act of revolt, we follow our own path, decentralizing and putting into the people's hands the things it is capable of taking for itself, and fighting against the power of the State, so during the governmental acts which follow it in the case of disturbances, risings and bourgeois revolutions we continue to defend the right to greater freedom, and the need to avoid falling into the rigid formulas of regulations and laws. And being natural enemies of authority, the new government will find us opposed to it.

"But do not pretend that we anarchists are accepting a new form of domination, or are finding ourselves forced to use methods contrary to our tactics and ideals in order to prevent a restoration!

"To deviate—even in exceptional circumstances and for a short period—from the lines of conduct to which our principles have led us, is to make a dangerous mistake. The future is tied up with the immediate gains which the anarchists are able to bring about. If the future of freedom that we are helping to create, extend and strengthen, then only the anarchists can bring about the development of society towards freedom.

"To create a current of ideas that will influence all sections of cultural life, to free the workers' movement from legalistic leaders, to help in the creation of definite nuclei of people rejecting the claims of the State, is to prepare the way for Social Revolution.

To help in the creation of a new power, more republican, democratic, liberal or federalist though it may be, is to impose the dead hand of authority, and hinder the development of forms and institutions more favourable to freedom and integral justice."

## THE AUTOMATION STRUGGLE

# Behind the Standard Strike

STANDARD workers at Coventry have spent months putting forward proposals for sharing out the car work available during the prospective shut down of the Ferguson Tractor plant but the managers have repeatedly turned each down as "impractical". For over 20 years formal and informal agreement has operated on such matters but this time the managers evidently thought themselves to be in an impregnable position to refuse agreement. This deliberate reversion to an outmoded attitude caused the workers to decide to force the issue—hence, the strike, which caught the managers by surprise.

During recent weeks Standard shares have been heavily bought and the company may become U.S.A. owned. This may take 12 months to bring about and if achieved the new owners may appoint their own directors and managers. From a purely practical viewpoint this demonstrates: 1, That shareholders are not necessary—they can be anyone; 2, That the top people can be replaced; 3, That solidarity of the workers does really count.

At the moment all are at work and overtime is being asked for—and flatly refused. Every TR3 and Vanguard that can be made is sold—any hitch now could, it seems, unbalance the firm's budget. The strike was not over automation—it was solely due to the present manager's neurotic obsession with mechanical systems, causing them to really believe that the human element can be ignored.

## Rapping the Bosses

They know exactly how many workers will be required and therefore the possible redundancy, but deliberately withhold the information—this is a gross breach of faith.

For 35 years The Standard has been "a good shop"—the management reasonable, tolerant and progressive and willing to put the cards on the table. When they did, occasionally, attempt dictatorial methods they were promptly rapped severely by the workers—"just to show 'em!" Such rapping of the bosses has been a Coventry sport ever since the national lock-out of engineers in 1922. Guerilla warfare has been the norm—"Teaching the boss to be civilised". (The

Standard Co. under Capt. Black learned the lesson early and turned it to their advantage. He went just over two years ago).

Everything from tea breaks to "a say in management" has been wrested from the bosses and then "granted" with gestures of "goodwill" from middle-class types who, rather late in the day, discovered a social conscience. We owe them nothing. There are few illusions on either side—"collaboration" from us is purely practical—to get money, to make the job easier, to get more leisure.

The Standard fight is still against managerial functions (and therefore against capitalism), against the right to hire and fire as they think fit. (I stress managers because it is they plus accountants plus Keynesian type economists who run the show to-day).

## Automation Sales Talk

Don't be misled on automation. Much of it is sales talk—stuff out of pseudo-science mags, newspapers and trade circulars. It will take a lifetime to become general, and even then skill and craftsmanship will count.

The Standard dispute has, indirectly, focussed attention on the real question—"Who will share the benefits?" Shareholders plus managers—or they plus the workers at the particular factory—or all these, plus the general public? In any case those workers who have demonstrated the advantages of co-operation and mutual aid (even under capitalism), feel loth to allow the fruits to be gathered by miserable, parasitic, whining creatures who cannot and will not make any effort to control capitalism or be rid of it.

Firms like Standard Motors are increasingly run by the workers, who form groups and gangs around the various jobs, and mutual aid is normal. Being a closed-shop hostile elements are largely excluded, but where wreckers have crept in they are quickly smelt out and dealt with. You will be hearing of such a case soon (!). Thus, although factory work is often detestable a great community sense has developed. Over and over again a new crop of bosses (like Alick Dick) springs up with the idea of de-personalising the whole job, eliminating skill, substituting "organisation"

from above and trying to reduce people to things. They don't succeed—and will not! Middle-class people love to sneer at the mass production worker—his lack of "culture", his car, his TV set. Well—he lives his own life, has his own ideas, often lives in small towns and villages where he has endless hobbies, sidelines and special skills apart from work. He is determined to get his "proper share" of to-day's benefits, and above all sees to it that his children get a fairer deal than he had. Press propaganda leaves him cold. Coventry has the filthiest local rag extant.

## Few Illusions

On Thursday the Standard management climbed down quite a bit, but the outcome is still uncertain. Guerilla warfare will still go on and even if active shop stewards get picked off a new crop grows—like spuds! The old 'uns are in the background watching, advising, teaching. The workers learn from experience and are in the main, loyal. They know most of the wangles and swindles and have few illusions.

The technician in the office is the same—keeping up a middle-class pose on, often, less pay than the factory worker. In daily practice all grades of workers assert themselves increasingly—to the alarm of the die-hards—conservative and labour.

Re-organisation, developments in skill and technique, plus automation, will inevitably make hours shorter and "social responsibility" will be forced upon the reluctant people "in charge". Politicians try hopelessly to catch up, fluctuating between Keynesian economics and *laissez faire*. When they eventually get into a complete mess the economic back-room boys will again be brought in to "right" things. At the moment they wish Keynes was still alive—there is not a genius among them!

Of course eventually it will dawn upon (nearly) everybody just how damn silly the whole complicated mess is—and they will find that Mutual Aid, open-minded honesty and freedom are the very things they have been consciously and unconsciously striving for—and here and there achieving.

MIDLANDER.

panding in proportion to its strength and influence.

A simple test of a progressive movement is whether it offers widening horizons of responsibility and freedom to its members; whether its aim is a liberating one or not. By this test the trade unions fall down, and it is quite pointless to expect otherwise. Those comrades of ours who have believed that the unions can be 'used' for libertarian ends—can be transformed into revolutionary bodies—misunderstand the nature of the 20th century unionism as completely as the Marxists do the nature of the State.

Anarchists have always differed from the Marxists on this question of the use of the State. We maintain that authoritarian institutions cannot be used for libertarian ends—and this applies as much to industrial organisations as to political. Just as libertarians must reject the power concept in political government, so must they reject it in the state-within-a-state which is the official trade union movement.

One does not look for concepts of liberty in the Catholic Church, the Communist Party or the British Empire. These organisms depend upon the government of their subjects for their continuance. So does the British trade union empire, for which its own perpetuation is so much more important than the freedom of its members.

So far the liberty of trade unionists (even to change their union!) has been defended more by High Court Judges than by the unions themselves. Anarchists need no further proof that a genuine, organic and human freedom is absent from the unions.

P.S.

## 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.

JUNE 3—Jim Tully on LANGUAGE & SOCIETY

JUNE 10—John Bishop on Subject to be announced

JUNE 17—Alfred Reynolds on THE BRIDGE: A WAY TO ANARCHISM?

#### 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.

#### LECTURE

S. E. Parker on GODWIN'S 'POLITICAL JUSTICE' Sunday, June 3, at 3.30 p.m. at King's Weigh House Church, Binney Street, London, W.1.

### LIBERTARIAN FORUM

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## Letter MUTUAL AID FOR READERS

DEAR COMRADES,

In reading the article "Mutual Aid for readers, booksellers and publishers" by J.R. in FREEDOM, 28.4.56, I have been urged to submit a contribution on the same theme.

In the North British Locomotive Co., Queens Park Works, Polmadic, Glasgow, about four months ago a group of workers myself included, inaugurated a small library. Each member contributes 3d. per week for the purchase of new books and the library is run on a similar basis to the ordinary public libraries, i.e. a book is on loan for a given time and at the expiry of that time a fine is imposed for further delay as agreed upon by members. At the inception of the library most members contributed one or more books they had read and finished with in order to give it a boost. Now, we have in the neighbourhood of 200 books catalogued. In fiction we range from cheap Penguin and other cheap books to a variety of novels of good calibre. In non-fiction we boast of Thinker's Library series, Thrift Books, Freedom Press pamphlets and booklets on various trends of thought and larger works on biology, sociology, psychology, economics, physics, eugenics, botany, chemistry, philosophy, history, physiology and sexology. We still have to fill the gap created by the absence of works on the other sciences but I'm sure that will be done in the near future as members still contribute books they are finished with periodically.

I know that this is not any magnificent achievement but it is, in my opinion, a fair one in the space of four months. I hope this may help to stimulate other readers to form groups for a similar pursuit. In my opinion a library in the workshop can be superior to the ordinary public library particularly if it is extended throughout the various departments in the workshop extending the practice of mutual aid by interchanging books which have been exhausted between one department and another for this creates closer intellectual contact between fellow workers and therefore better understanding although I do not think the public library should be neglected.

Fraternally yours,

Glasgow, May 1. R. LYNN.