

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

In general the art of government consists in taking as much money as possible from one part of the citizens to give it to another.

VOLTAIRE

WILL IT BE DEPRESSION ?

WHAT a house of cards capitalist prosperity is! With what suddenness a well-being seemingly built upon a rock can crumble before the chill wind of 'recession'.

For many of us there had been several signs over the past two years that the post-war boom was beginning to run out; that the full-employment policy declared by both the Labour and Tory Governments was going to show itself to be impossible to stabilise in an uncontrolled labour economy.

It has in any case always been the point of view expressed in this paper that the full employment which the workers of Britain have enjoyed since the war has had little to do with the Labour Party's policy, or the good behaviour promises of the Tories. The post-war world, starved during six years of a most destructive war of all goods beyond the sheerest necessities—and in many cases of those too—offered such markets for the goods that Britain can produce so well that full employment was more difficult to prevent than to provide.

Add to this the destruction, dismantling and restrictions which reduced the competitive abilities of Germany and Japan, and the accumulation of cash during the war years when there was nothing to buy, and it is obvious that a boom period could be enjoyed by all.

Foreign Competition

It was not until 1951 that the first crack appeared in Britain's post-war prosperity, when the textile industries of Lancashire and Yorkshire first felt the pinch of shrinking markets and rising foreign competition. By that time, however, the Korean War was in progress, the rearmament programme had been launched by the Labour Party and the classical capitalist solution for economic trouble was working its magic again.

It was just before this that our more realistic politicians and economists began to realise that the tremendous recovery that German industry had made since 1945 was going to present Britain with a most serious competitor in the world's markets, and that the only way in which that competition could be cured was to saddle Germany with the same burdens of re-armament as this country was carrying. This, as we have frequently pointed out, is the real reason why Britain wants Germany re-armed. It has little to do with the threat from the East, although it's always useful to have such a threat to provide the excuses for the flagrant disregard of wartime promises.

So far, however, the German industrialists have managed to dodge the burden. They are doing very well thank you in the export field and are in no hurry to engage in costly change-overs to armament production. With the result that they are edging British cars and other products out of several foreign markets where since the war Britain held sway.

Now the French, too, are beginning to push their way into the international salerooms with their Renaults in particular, produced in what is probably the most modern factory (almost fully automated) in Europe. While in textiles, toys, sewing machines, pottery and many such-like trades, Japan is making her raids on British-held markets.

Saturated Markets

All this adds up to the first of several factors which bode ill for the British worker: the saturation of markets. In this country the car industry has been the goose that lays the golden eggs in the export drive. Output has been pushed and pushed and pushed in the frantic

scramble to sell more and more cars abroad.

But now it's the golden eggs that are getting scrambled. In America, the best customer for British cars (although itself the biggest car producing country in the world), the car market is just drying up. U.S. car firms 'over-produced' one million new vehicles last year. Since January 185,000 motor workers have been laid-off—with their families about 1 million people are directly hit by the car 'recession'.

To meet this situation, the car industry is curtailing production by 38 per cent. this year. Add the reduction of agricultural production by 30 per cent., recently announced to counteract the embarrassing surplus of food stockpiled by the U.S. Government and we see a trend in two major industries which can have a startling effect upon the buying powers of the American people—and thus an adverse effect upon British exports to America.

While Australia has just announced restrictions of up to 50 per cent. upon the import of British cars.

Automation

The second factor which is now making itself felt upon the employment situation in Britain is the drive towards more intensive automation. We are not so sanguine as, for example, our comrade 'Midlander' (FREEDOM 30/6/56), who has no fears for the employment of workers displaced by machines.

Possibly in an expansive period, hardship could be avoided. But British manufacturers are stepping up automation precisely in order to deal more effectively with contracting markets by cutting labour costs. Those textile firms which are competing best with the Japanese are those most fully automatic—with the result that there are many thousands less workers in the textile industries to-day than in 1950.

The dismissals at the Standard works were only a beginning. Now the British Motor Corporation at Birmingham has followed with sudden and unexpected dismissals of 6,000 workers—1 in 8 of the BMC total employment. So far other car firms haven't made a move—but we know that Ford's are planning a great new plant at a cost of £80 million, and Vauxhall's (General Motors) are similarly investing £60 million. These can only be for new automated plants—and then what will happen to the tens of thousands already employed at their existing factories?

If the struggle for markets leads to more and more automation in order to keep down costs, the workers are bound to suffer.

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Nasser's Moneylenders

THE Egyptian elections have proved again the advantages to be had for politicians who stand unopposed! (See FREEDOM last week). Gamal Nasser was returned as President of the Republic with a majority of 99.9 per cent. and the new constitution was approved. This provides for a National Assembly with full powers to legislate—but no candidate may run for the Assembly unless personally picked and approved by Nasser's own National Union Party. It is therefore difficult to see in what way the situation has radically changed.

Important visitor in Egypt has been Dmitry Shepilov, the man who has stepped into the position recently occupied by Molotov—Foreign Secretary of the U.S.S.R. Shepilov is the man who organised the Czechoslovak arms deal, which so successfully stirred up a hornet's nest for the Western Powers in their dealings with the Middle East in general, and Egypt in particular.

Nasser's popularity is as much due to the arms deal and the consequences of it, as to his other major triumph—throwing the British out of Egypt. Now he faces the next problem—the High Dam at Aswan.

The Dam is indeed a striking project, and could enable 2,000,000 acres of arid desert to be irrigated. The estimated cost over a period of ten years is \$1.3 billion. Nasser is in the process of carrying out two sets of negotiations in connection with the dam—one with Russia, the other with the West.

Whilst Shepilov was in Cairo he had many hours of discussion with Nasser,

despite the Premier's already full programme of celebrations and speech-making. During the course of these talks, Western embassies received carefully planted "leakages" of information as to the generosity of Russian offers of financial assistance.

Meanwhile the arrangements with the West, which had already been agreed were the subject of many delays, blamed by Nasser on the United States. The substance of the agreement is as follows: the U.S. has promised \$56 million outright, and Britain a further \$14 million. Further grants are promised but cannot be guaranteed by America because Congress cannot be committed for more than a year in advance. The World Bank has promised \$200 million in loans at 5 per cent.

Against this Russia is prepared to supply the whole amount on terms variously reported as 3 per cent., 2 per cent. and no interest at all. The final communiqué on the Russian-Egyptian talks however, made no mention of the dam or the money, but merely issued the usual meaningless nonsense about mutual regard.

It may well be that Nasser finds himself in an awkward position over the loan of funds for the dam. Undoubtedly he would retain his best diplomatic position by borrowing the money from an international consortium with the bulk of it from the World Bank. But it is difficult for him to turn down almost interest-free loans in favour of loans at 5 per cent., even though he would be left in a better position to con-

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THE POZNAN RIOTS

SO far as one can judge at this stage, there appears to be more or less general agreement as to what happened last week in the Polish town of Poznan. It is on the question of responsibility for the armed clash with the authorities, in which probably many more than the 48 victims who were buried last Saturday died, that East and West see the facts from their own politically biased viewpoint. For the Communists the fact that there would appear to be a "great similarity of technique between the East German disturbances of 1953 and those in Poznan", is another way of saying to the faithful followers that the Poznan affair was organised by enemies of the people. To our minds, on the other hand, if such similarities exist, that Poznan is another East Berlin, then there is still hope for mankind!

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THE enthusiastic reactions of the Press to the East Berlins and the Poznans could be described as surprising in view of their normal hysteria when non-violent strikes occur on their doorsteps. But of course they are no more surprising than the editorial comment in last week's *Daily Worker* on "Poznan and After" which begins:

Quite a number of people appear to be in favour of strikes provided they happen in foreign countries.

Let a tiny strike threaten in Britain and the *News Chronicle* raises its hands in holy horror and sends out its reporters to detect Communist influence.

But let a strike take place in Poland, let it be accompanied by riots and shooting, and the *Chronicle* could not be more enthusiastic.

In Poznan yes. In Birmingham, no.

The *Daily Worker's* exposé of the Capitalist Press' double-think is fully justified but who, more than the *D.W.*, suffers from this complaint? Only last Saturday the *Daily Worker* told us that "What's Really Happening in Poland" was that "armed secret agents set up

machine guns and fired on police and soldiers" and caused many of the casualties at Poznan, and their reporter on the spot "phoned" to say that "the armed men were not workers, but were imported from outside the city" (on this argument the *Daily Worker* hierarchy should condemn the bolshevik revolution because Lenin was "imported" from the other side of Europe!) But of course as good 1956-Leninists they don't, whereas Stalin who was on the spot from the beginning—in the heart-of-Georgia—is now being denounced. There ain't no justice!

The denunciations and the enthusiasm for the demonstrations in Poznan coming from Governments and their stooges are bound to be suspect. The Americans, with that lack of tact which is typical of all budding herrenvolk have offered to send food to the starving people of Poznan attaching only one condition to this humanitarian offer; that the food, to be distributed by the International Red Cross, shall be marked so that the people of Poznan may know that it comes from the United States. Mr. Herbert Hoover, Acting Secretary of State, explained that "the people of the United States, many of whom are of Polish descent, have a sympathetic concern for the welfare of the Polish people". In which case it is a little difficult to understand why Mr. Hoover should attach such conditions to his offer which will almost certainly be refused by the Polish government!

★

POZNAN may have been premature as a rebellion to overthrow the existing régime. But it is such gestures, against overwhelming odds of tanks and machine guns, which convince us that no modern or rigid system of slavery of the mind has been devised that succeeds in destroying every human being. At some time or other something happens which confirms and feeds our optimism. Poznan is a case in point.

Stay Here Strydom!

NINE heads of States have been visiting Britain for the ninth Commonwealth conference since the war.

These conferences rate little publicity. It is only the lives of some 600 million people being affected by these nine Prime Ministers, after all. But one of them did get the freedom of the BBC air to state his government's case: Hans Strydom, Nationalist Premier of South Africa, for long one of the fiercest advocates of the racial superiority of the whites and the need to preserve white domination in South Africa at whatever cost.

Strydom showed in his speech, broadcast (from the side of Mr. R. A. Butler), at a dinner given in his honour by the South Africa Club, that he had nothing to learn from Hitler in how to present slimy pleading for a disreputable cause.

His speech attempted two functions: to justify *baaskap* and apartheid, and to show the British investor just what a rich field for investment South Africa is.

In the second case, he succeeded; in the first he failed miserably. But only, one suspects, with those acquainted with some of the facts of life in South Africa to-day.

Strydom began by complaining that it was unfair to judge a whole country and its system by one incident. One example of police brutality does not make a police state. But then he went on to argue the width of the gap between black and white and quoted the riots at East London (S.A.) in 1952 when a nun was murdered by rioting Africans. One incident, by which he sought to show the inborn barbarity of the blacks.

He was careful not to mention the educational and cultural achievements of those Africans who have managed to

escape from the thralldom the whites place upon them, nor of the determined efforts of his own administration to prevent them escaping.

Surely, Mr. Hans Strydom, if you keep people in a condition of fear and ignorance all the time, you cannot be surprised if they act fearfully and ignorantly *sometimes*. Most observers of the South African native, however, seem to be most impressed by his cheerfulness and patience under the most adverse conditions.

Strydom used a lot of emotional phrases about 'racial suicide', the 'democratic, Christian, Western way of life' and ended his white-washing of his own régime by appealing to whites elsewhere not to criticise the South African Nationalists, but to allow them to settle their own problems in accord with their own long experience and their Christian conscience.

Well, we know that the Christian conscience is an infinitely flexible thing. And the sound economic arguments that Strydom put forward showing the common interests between South Africa and Britain (her increased imports of British cars; her contribution to the gold reserves of the sterling group); these will persuade Christian Britons and practical politicians like Nehru to wink their eyes at South Africa's fascistic excesses.

Our first impulse on hearing Strydom was coming to Britain was to say 'we don't want that so-and-so here'. On second thoughts, however, to cry 'Go Home Strydom' would be a disservice to the Africans we would like to help.

Strydom would do less harm in this country. Let our cry then be 'Stay here, Strydom'. We are sure the Africans will get on quite well without him.

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

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1956 TOTAL TO DATE ... £497 15 10

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ROBERT LINDNER THE FIERY PESSIMIST

MUST YOU CONFORM? by Robert Lindner. Rinehart & Co. Inc. \$3.

THE late Robert Lindner was a practicing psychologist whose books were always outspoken; in *Rebel Without a Cause*, *Stone Walls and Men*, and *Prescription for Rebellion* he used his knowledge of human motives and behaviour to criticise our present society with an honesty too often lacking in other writers of his profession. *Must You Conform?* is no exception.

It contains six essays of which four were originally delivered as lectures. Lindner does not effect the attitude adopted by many popular scientific-writers of a so-called scientific detachment where no opinions are expressed, no pleas are made and whose conceptions are as intoxicating as *Coco-Cola*. The place for detachment is in a scientific paper: popular writing should be enthusiastic and partial, though not dogmatic. Lindner is nothing if not enthusiastic and on occasion his pen tends to run away with him, so that he is almost verbose and his ideas lose some of their edge. He did however convey his ideas sufficiently well when giving one of the lectures reproduced here to provoke an eminent jurist to shout at him "Sir, I have committed many men to our public institutions for saying less dangerous things than you did to-night!"

The theme that runs through the whole book is that the ills of civilisation and of both East and West—are due to a conflict between what Lindner calls "the instinct of rebellion" and our society's pressure on the individual to conform. It is this conflict which is responsible for what the author describes as an "epidemic of psychopathy", manifest in our delinquent youth, our delinquent leaders and their sheep-like followers. This psychopathic condition is brought about either by the prevention of the proper emotional development of the child so that he never matures—"an infant in the body of an adult"; or by damage to the ego resulting in a return to the infantilism latent in us all. And our present age has "provided stimuli for ego-weakening in abundance. In the huge power presses that mask as political parties, through the vast processes that characterize what may be the final convulsions of a society, the integrity of each individual has been ground to dust".

Lindner holds that these "final convulsions" are part of a cycle through which all civilisations pass—Toynbee's birth, life-course, decay, and death.

"I am convinced" he says "that the end stages of any civilisation are marked by the appearance of a 'new' breed of men, whose genesis may be discovered among the conditions that conspire to

petrify the forms by which the given civilisation or society has chosen to express itself. These men, I think, are always psychopathic, dedicated to action and violence rather than contemplation and compassion. They prepare the way for the elevation of a Leader, and on his assumption, and thereafter in his name, rule. He, in turn, carries the conscious drama one step further by getting himself killed and immolated. By his death he brings about the blood-bath in which the civilization dissolves; while elsewhere another society is being born—to follow the same unconsciously motivated timeless cycle."

And elsewhere he elaborates further on this period of decay:

"In the time of their demise, it has been characteristic of all peoples that they have surrendered to pressures put upon them by their power-mad leaders, by their insane religions, and by their misguided philosophies to conform. Protest becomes outlawed, submission the chief of the virtues, and the expression of individuality by word or act a cardinal sin. But because it is not in the nature of man to submit, because it violates his instinct to forego protest, an intolerable tension arises within him. Forced from without to conform, and from within to rebel, he makes a compromise: he rebels within the confines of conformity, he discharges his protest within the limits set by the social order he has by now permitted to be erected around him. Just so does he become transformed into storm-trooper, black-shirt, NKVD inquisitor, guard on the long march from Corregidor, or burner of the fiery cross."

Lindner does not maintain that such cycles are pre-determined but that they occurred in the past because of man's insufficient knowledge of his own motives. Psychology has now given us the knowledge to prevent psychopathy and so avoid disaster.

IN this book's first essay, "the Mutiny of the Young" the author shows how widespread psychopathy is becoming among adolescents. He discusses its causes, deals scathingly with the feeble palliatives offered by our society (usually based on a mistaken view of the causes),

and writes with pessimism on what this augurs for the future. He sees these sick adolescents as

"but one step forward from us along the road to Mass Manhood. Into them we have bred our fears and insecurities, upon them we have foisted our mistakes and misconceptions. In our stead they are expressing the unrelieved rage, the constricting tension and the terrible frustration of the world they were born into. Their revolt, as much as the world they face, is not of their making. They are hopeless and helpless, imprisoned by the blunders and delusions of their predecessors; and like all prisoners they are mute in their hearts."

In "Homosexuality and the Contemporary Scene" the author relates this problem to the basic issue of individualism v. conformity. He attacks the view that western society is experiencing a revolution in sexual matters, that the open sale of contraceptives and manuals of sex-instruction, and sex education in schools, is evidence of a healthier attitude. These he regards as mere defences against the conflict between the erotic instincts and "the imperatives of a sex-denying culture".

It is accepted by many as a truism that Communism and Fascism are basically similar creeds. Lindner disagrees with this: he maintains that Communism fulfills all the requirements of a religion and that it attracts the neurotic and religion-starved, whereas Fascism attracts the rejected, displaced and psychopathic and these latter "are, to all intents and purposes, egotists. Bursting with tensions they can no longer control nor convert into symptoms, they find in the given Fascist party an extraordinarily suitable vehicle for the expression of their internal stress . . . The hostility and aggressiveness that form the mental climate of the psychopathic are given licence without end, so the lust for violence that is a condition of life for such persons is gratified as it could be under no other imaginable set of circumstances."

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The Supremely American Un-American

WE do not feel very sympathetic towards the Communist fellow-travellers who have seen the light since Stalin's death, and now deplore the horrors laid at his door, when this information has always been available for those who took the trouble to find out, and were not blinded by faith.

It is also true however that many people in the past, sickened with the state of Western civilization and ignorant of the true nature of Soviet Communism, saw in the Russian experiment the beginnings of the millennium.

Whichever categories the ex-Communists fall into, they must take the responsibility for helping to support a system of terror and repression.

But equally do we deplore the methods adopted in the United States to intimidate people who have been, even in the remotest way, connected with the Communist Party. The most recent example of this which has been given wide publicity is of Arthur Miller, the American playwright (author of *Death of a Salesman*) who has to be congratulated on two accounts—his marriage to Marilyn Monroe and his refusal to implicate old friends before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Two years ago Mr. Miller was refused a passport by the State Department as a potential security risk. Now, applying for a passport to come to England with Marilyn, he has been hauled before the Un-American Activities Committee, who voted unanimously that unless he disclosed the names of old Communist associates he would risk citation for contempt of Congress.

He admitted that he had been a supporter of the Communists, and Alistair Cooke in the *Manchester Guardian* points out that had he refused to answer questions at all by invoking the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution he might have stood a better chance of getting permission to leave the country. This means he could have refused to answer on the grounds that he might be acting as a witness against himself. Last year the Supreme Court reversed three con-

victions for contempt of Congress which had been made on this account.

Miller saw no point in denying his sympathy for the party in the past. He was never an actual member but had praised the Soviet Union and had supported "a number of things that I would not support now". He was willing to give information about himself but said he could not take responsibility for another human being.

What does the stand taken by Miller mean in legal terms?

"Between the citation and the prison wall lies a long and rocky road. The House of Representatives must vote to uphold the citation before it then goes to the Justice Department, which submits the supporting evidence to a grand jury. If the grand jury brings in a bill of indictment there would then have to be a trial. If Mr. Miller were found guilty he could be fined \$1,000 and sentenced to one year in prison. After that there would be the slow recourse to the appellate courts and at last to the Supreme Court. All this could take years."

There is another possibility that he may be allowed his passport on the understanding "that he can be recalled for grand jury hearings if the House goes ahead to vote him in contempt".

The case will certainly get more publicity in America and in other countries because of his recent marriage, and on this may rest the decision of the various departments involved.

Marilyn is an internationally known figure of considerable prominence, and she and her fortunate husband are likely to have more sympathy abroad than the State Department. Perhaps the general feeling has been expressed by Alistair Cooke when summing up the American newspaper response to the charge:

"An air of stealthy sympathy hangs over the morning papers, a suggestion of regret that a man should be plagued by an un-American past at the moment that he is about to do the supremely American thing of marrying Marilyn Monroe." M.

The Tradition of Workers' Control — II

The Contribution of Guild Socialism

The Guild Socialist movement in its progress from the still-born Gilds Restoration League, with its demand for the emancipation of the craftsman, to the full-blown "functional democracy" of *Guild Socialism Re-Stated* was above all a moral revolt: a moral revolt, on the one hand, against a system of society which seemed to the guildsmen to treat the mass of people as something less than human, and, on the other hand, against an ideal—Collectivist State Socialism—which placed the amelioration of the physical condition of the people and the efficiency of the social machine above the age-long demand for freedom. In retrospect, much might be said in criticism of their passion for constitution-making, their theorizing, and their "utopianism". But it is this element of moral revolt which remains most impressive and most enduring. The important differences that the guildsmen had with State Socialists over the organisation of industry and services in a socialist society were not so much differences about the structure of the machine as about the purposes for which it was intended. The great quarrels of mankind are not about technicalities or about the virtues of this or that form of administration, but about social values. The guildsmen left one in no doubt as to what came first in their scale of values: freedom was placed high above physical well-being and social efficiency. As Cole put it in a memorable phrase: "Poverty is the symptom: slavery is the disease . . . The many are not enslaved because they are poor, they are poor because they are enslaved."⁵⁶ Men, he argued, have a right to freedom whatever they may make of it, for "the one thing that supremely matters is the free exercise of human will."⁵⁷ As for Hobson, "if it came to a choice," he said, "between industrial democracy and efficiency—an alternative I do not for one moment admit—my unequivocal choice is for democracy."⁵⁸ To Ivor Brown it appeared that the State Socialists had made the great mistake of putting socialism on a *business* instead of on a *working* basis. What he valued in the guild idea was that it had forced men to undertake a reevaluation of their ideals and to ask themselves whether what they wanted was the collectivist-efficiency-leisure State dear to the followers of Webb and Wells, or the work State of William Morris.⁵⁹ Granted the Guild Socialist scale of values, it becomes clear that industrial organisation, as Cole pointed out, must be regarded as an art rather than as a science and an art whose object is not simply the production of commodities but "the production of good commodities by free men under democratic conditions."⁶⁰

Industrial Freedom

Historically, the movement played a large part in destroying the model of the Collectivist State fashioned by the pre-1914 Fabians and, in so doing, helped to pave the way, ironically enough, for a new type of industrial organisation—the Public Corporation. But its most lasting achievement lay, as may be expected, not in the field of practice but in the realm of ideas. The Guild Socialist movement helped to popularise the idea of industrial democracy, sought to clarify its nature and provided men with an ideology of industrial freedom. Long after the details of the guild socialist blue-prints have faded in men's minds, the concept of industrial freedom which they championed—the idea of free men participating freely and fraternally in the ordering of their working lives—remains. The movement itself might die but henceforth no socialist could afford to neglect paying tribute—or, alas, more frequently, lip-service—to the ideal of industrial democracy.

Guild Socialism & Syndicalism

One last comment may be vouchsafed the historian. Guild Socialism was not merely the British equivalent—or what amounts to much the same thing, the middle-class version—of syndicalism. It was more than that and it was this "more" which gave it much of its charm and attracted to the movement many who would otherwise have passed it by. But it was the syndicalist content in guild doctrines which appealed most strongly to the rank and file socialists and trade unionists who joined the movement. Syndicalism proper, in this country at least, was exclusively a working class movement. Its theories, in comparison, were crude and over-simplified; its appeal limited to the small majority of class-conscious proletarians. The Guild Socialists in taking over "the syndicalist idea"—Workers' Control of Industry—developed it, refined it and gave it a less class-conscious and a more humanitarian character. Concepts which had been only implicit in syndicalist thought and action became explicit in the hands of the guildsmen. For example, the idea that ownership was becoming divorced from control and management and that what really mattered was not who owned but who controlled and managed is much more clearly perceived by the Guild Socialists than by the Syndicalists. This deeper insight into the nature of industrial development led directly to what is perhaps the most significant distinction between the two movements.

To many guildsmen, the virtue of Guild Socialism lay in the fact that it was a compromise between Syndicalism and Collectivism, that it sought to reconcile the differences between producers and consumers not by eliminating one or other of the two categories but by establishing a just balance or division of function between producers and consumers. Not exclusive producers' control, not exclusive consumers' control, but joint control (though not joint management) of the industrial process by both producers and consumers. It may be doubted, however, whether the syndicalists did entirely overlook the claim of the consumers or whether the guild socialist compromise would have achieved a "just balance" between the two interests.

Of deeper significance is the difference between the syndicalist and the guild socialist attitude to "the managerial class". Broadly speaking, the syndicalists either ignored this "class" or considered them to be no more than the lackeys of their capitalist masters. The guild socialists, on the other hand, were among the first to point out the importance of the recent social developments which had given rise to "a class of managers, under-managers, experts and technicians, who do an ever-increasing part of the scientific and constructive work of industry, but who are salaried servants, having normally no voice in its ultimate control and no direct interest in its profits."⁶¹ And they were the first to make a conscious effort to win the allegiance of this class to socialism. In their manifestos to "the salariat" they cried: "It's your brains we want!"⁶² and they assured them that their position would be better under workers' than under capitalist control. They were convinced that socialists needed to make an alliance with this new "intellectual proletariat" if socialism was to be achieved at all. If the prognostications of James Burnham turn out to be correct and the managers become the new ruling class, the vital difference between the syndicalists and the guild socialists may have to be put in this way: Syndicalism was the revolutionary movement of the proletariat which sought to achieve the emancipation of the working class by its own unaided exertions; Guild Socialism was the movement of social revolutionaries which sought to win over to the cause of the proletariat the new ruling class of managers before they had consolidated their power.

(To be continued)

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⁵⁶ *Self-Government in Industry*, p. 110.

⁵⁷ *Labour and the Commonwealth*, p. 219.

⁵⁸ *National Guilds and the State*, p. 12.

⁵⁹ *The New Age*, 6/5/1915.

⁶⁰ *Labour and the Commonwealth*, p. 32.

⁶¹ R. H. Tawney in *The Guildman*, June, 1921.

⁶² *The Guild Socialist*, Aug. 1921.

PASSPORTS

Rejecting a suggestion that "indefinite validity" passports should be issued, Lord Reading (Minister of State, Foreign Office) said in the House of Lords yesterday that passport renewal, among other advantages, afforded an opportunity for a check on undesirables.

The Government, he said, had examined the matter this year, as part of the economy drive, and decided that the small saving in cost and manpower would not justify any change in the procedure.

Lord Faringdon, who raised the matter, considered renewals wasted time and expense for the public and the officials in "mechanical" work, but Lord Reading pointed out that this was not an automatic process.

Some 250,000 passports were renewed every year.

(Manchester Guardian).

★

PERHAPS it is unnecessary for us to state that we wish to see the abolition of the passport which is one more symbol of a divided world and yet another humiliating reminder to the individual that he is not even free to move without the official approval of the State. Compared with most countries in the world today, it is probably true to say that the issuing of passports in this country is simply a formality (which as from last Monday costs us an extra 10/-), since no one can be refused a passport (unlike the United States where its issue is viewed as a privilege to be withheld from those whose ideas are considered by the authorities to be inimical to the interests of the country).

Indeed, a British citizen does not need a passport to leave this country, nor even for returning, so long as he has some means of identification (and is prepared, if necessary, to spend the night at Dover police station while the police check-up on his identity!) The purpose of the passport is as a means of identification when entering other countries. What has happened since the war however is that the regulations regarding the export of currency have been operated through the passport, so that it now has a page in which the bank can enter the amount of foreign currency which it has issued to the traveller. And the passport has now to be produced in connection with matters of foreign currency. Just as, of course, identity cards were linked to food ration books and National Insurance cards, during and after the war, and these reasons were used as a justification for their retention (among others, incidentally, by Aneurin Bevan, when he was Minister of Health!)

★

BUT if the issuing of passports in this country is no more than a thirty-bob formality it is clear from the reply given by Lord Reading for the Foreign Office, that the authorities here find that the passport is a useful instrument for keeping tabs on the comings and goings of "undesirables", not only those who pad themselves with smuggled watches, the dope peddlars or the white-slavers, but also the "political" undesirables of the Left.

When next you find yourself herded into the pen reserved for "British Subjects" as distinct from "foreigners" at Dover or Newhaven and patiently wait your turn to present yourself at the barrier to have your passport examined by the gentleman in the sports-jacket (as if the Special-Branch man's face can be disguised by his attire!) who may, if he has a hunch about you (assuming that there are no distinguishing signs on the passports of "undesirables"), pass it on to his colleague in the background who has the black-book of undesirables under his arm which he impassively flicks through to check up on the hunch... think for just one moment that

The Re-habilitation of 'Criminals'

THE first sight of Dartmoor from the outside, the severest of British prisons, evokes a sense of horror at the thought that men have to serve long term sentences—some for life—in such a place.

No crime seems great enough to justify shutting a human being up for the remainder of his life with only other prisoners and warders for company.

In this country little attempt has been made to rehabilitate "abnormal criminals", and one can only hope that with the abolition of capital punishment and the example of experiments in other countries, the problem will be faced more intelligently.

In a limited way in this country, some attempts are already being made to treat prisoners as patients rather than criminals. Writing in the *News Chronicle*, (Thursday, June 28th), Derick Sington cites an example of this kind of in Leyhill, an open prison in Gloucestershire.

From Leyhill a hundred murderers have been discharged back into normal life after serving sentences averaging 7½ years. He writes: "These men are astonishingly like you and me to see and talk to. They are people whose crime had some redeeming feature, 'once in a lifetime' criminals."

As for the other type of murderer, those who murder for gain or to satisfy a sadistic or perverted impulse, he remarks that the general view may be that they should be kept under lock and key for life.

Counter to this view is the one taken in some other countries, particularly Holland where at this moment an outstanding experiment is being made at Utrecht under the supervision of Professor Peter Baan, a psychiatrist and jurist. Derick Sington, also writing in the *Manchester Guardian* a few weeks ago ("A Clinic for Criminals—The Utrecht Experiment") tells us some astonishing facts about this clinic, which

was founded a few years ago for the treatment of "Abnormal criminals". It was built in the middle of Utrecht, a highly populated city, and has 80 inmates including men who have committed "perverted and bestial murders". There are no bars to the windows and the garden wall is only 8 feet high.

The main reason for setting the clinic up in the middle of a populated town was to make it easier to get a sufficient number of trained doctors and psychiatrists. And also, in the words of Professor Baan: "We believe we can hold our patients without barbed wire. By diligence and effort all of them may be curable."

Every inmate has treatment on five or six days of each week, and it is a tribute to the patience and understanding of the men and women who work there that they can be quoted as saying: "It is astonishing what strange distortions of personality and mind have to be gradually removed before what is usually a sensitive and vulnerable individual emerges."

Thirty of the inmates, including murderers, are at present employed in Utrecht in a variety of occupations, moving freely to and from work. At one stage in their treatment they are allowed leave and visits to theatres and concerts. They are not made to feel different by being attired in prison clothes. This applies to men and women.

So far there have been a number of escapes from the clinic but "no serious offence has been attributed to the escapers." There have been several voluntary returns, and five out of six released as cured have settled down to normal life.

An important observation is made by Derick Sington in his *Manchester Guardian* article when he writes: "The commonsense way of evoking a sense of responsibility is to confer it."

Thus one form of mental therapy at Utrecht is to elect inmates to a council,

together with two members of the staff for the purpose of discussing practical affairs of the clinic.

"A similar 'mixed' body acts as a kind of court. From being cruelly censorious at first, the inmates who serve on it have, in a year, become tolerant and judicial in their attitude."

Experiments of this kind are carried out in Sweden, Norway and Denmark but so far, the Utrecht clinic is the most remarkable of its kind.

Such experiments, apart from the enormous help in human terms it gives to the misfits in society, encourages a

A New Problem in Apartheid?

AN American manufacturer of cosmetics is, I hear, developing a pill that turns people brown. For some time doctors have been using a drug extracted from citrus peel oil, 8-methoxy-psoralen, to protect patients with skins that are particularly sensitive to sunlight. Now certain limited tests seem to show that an offshoot of this drug will even produce a protective tan on people who shun the sun.

If white people can be made brown, can black people be made white? Dr. F. R. Bettley, the editor of the *British Journal of Dermatology*, tells me that there is no chemical reason why such a step should not be possible within the foreseeable future. A great deal of basic research on the nature of pigmentation is being done in America, which has a near monopoly on money—if not brains—for projects in this field.

It is possible, it seems, that within the next twenty years men will be able to change the colour of their skin *ad lib.* by swallowing the right pills. Colour may yet be easier to eliminate than the colour bar.

—"Atticus" in *Sunday Times*, June 17, 1956.

sense of responsibility in the population as a whole towards 'criminals'.

In the words of Dr. D. Soper (quoting from memory) 'A civilization can be gauged by its attitude to those who are apparently worthless in terms of economics and usefulness.'

Yet another argument in favour of clinics of this kind is the one put forward by Professor Baan when asked about the cost of keeping these criminals:

"The cost to the State is £2 10s. a day. That is only the financial balance-sheet. It leaves out of account the sorrow and damage which these disordered people cause to others and which it is in our power, in many cases, to prevent."

Such experiments as this deserve the widest possible help and publicity.

There will, of course, be no end of strong emotional arguments, that innocent people will be in danger if criminals are allowed comparative freedom of movement. But it is only by courageous experiment that the arguments used by anarchists and social reformers stand a chance of being proved sound, namely that the individual act of murder is rarely repeated by the murderer because the state of mind and the conditions which caused it have altered. Granting the rare cases of repetitive murder, greater care will obviously be taken in such instances, and the argument that this type has to be treated not as a criminal but as a sick human being in need of delicate care applies even more.

M.

We need more Readers...
Are you introducing the paper to potential Readers?

PEOPLE AND IDEAS

Please Don't Touch My Turn-table

Lieut.-Colonel Lipton asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department what complaints he had received about the sale of gramophone records of an indecent character; and what action he is taking.

Major Lloyd-George: None, Sir. Lieut.-Col. Lipton: Has the right hon. and gallant Gentleman taken the trouble to listen to the two records of which I have sent him details? Is he aware that no paper in the country would dare to print the words used on one of them, and is it in the public interest that these wretched things should continue to be publicly sold?

Major Lloyd-George: The hon. and gallant Gentleman was good enough to send me details, but unfortunately he forgot to send the records. I am sure he will be surprised to hear that I have not got a gramophone in my office at the Home Office. I have never heard the records. One was called "John and Marsha", and another one was called "Don't touch me nylon". I have not had a chance to hear either of them. In any case, it is not my responsibility to prosecute; it is a matter for the police.

—HANSARD, 21/6/56.

★

WE have never liked Major Lloyd-George—"Gormless Gwilym" as they call him in the Conservative Central Office, but we feel that in this issue he is really on our side. And we are sure that hon. members were grateful to him for giving the titles of the offending discs which Col. Lipton had prudently left unnamed. Can't you imagine them scampering down Whitehall or over the bridge into Lambeth to the nearest record shop to get their copies? "Sorry, sir, we've had quite a run on them since the Colonel bought his. But we've got a nice long-player here called *That Bad Eartha*. She'd make anything sound suggestive".

Why does Colonel Lipton think that no paper in this country would dare print the words of these songs. We would, if they weren't copyright. As a matter of fact we can print the words of *John and Marsha*, for they are simply 'John' and 'Marsha'. Which of the two is indecent we don't know, but the happy couple repeat each other's names throughout the disc with various degrees of affection, from excited anticipation to satisfied fulfilment. Their names, in fact, become abstract sounds—the *musique concrète* of the boudoir, so to speak; and this being so, our only objection can be that Brahms does the thing so much better, with the full resources of the orchestra. One might say that if Beethoven's Ninth is the symphony with the revolution in the last movement,

Brahms's First is the one with the orgasm in the third movement. On the other hand a song may be as profound as a symphony, and the gentleman who thought up *John and Marsha* has given, in his terms, just as valid an expression of a fundamental human experience. Does Col. Lipton want to ban Brahms too?

In the Colonel's other record Miss Mara Bryant asks us to keep our hands off a whole catalogue of her nylon garments, until there is nothing left, and she plaintively requests, *Please don't touch me nylon*. What is he getting worked up about here? It can hardly be the recital of underwear, for if so he must close his eyes to the advertisements in every tube station and suffer agonies when he goes to Marks and Spencer's. It must be the ultimate euphemism that needles him. In which case I wouldn't like to hear his reaction to this song's rather better companion-piece, sung by the same singer, *Please, Mister, Don't You Touch My Tomato* (Lyragon J.701). Here Miss Bryant invites us to handle her collection of fruits and vegetables, all except one. But if Col. Lipton wants to deprive us of this charming Calypso, he had better ban the *Song of Songs* (which is also on record), where Solomon uses similar exquisite metaphors about his beloved. So does Shakespeare and every poet from John Donne to George Barker. As a matter of fact if Col. Lipton hadn't been asking his question in the House that Thursday night, he could have sat at home and listened to some amorous anatomical fantasies of the same kind in the broadcast readings from William Dunbar, the fifteenth century Scots poet and cleric.

Here of course (apart from the colossal impudence of all these guardians of public morality), is the crux of the censorship business. Who is to be the judge and by what standards? What is decent on the Third programme is decent in Tin Pan Alley. There is no double standard of morality, one for us and one for them. If Col. Lipton objected on moral grounds to the innuendoes in the *secco* recitatives in Mozart's *Così fan Tutte* or the *Marriage of Figaro*, or if he protested about the bawdy songs of Purcell, his words would be drowned in laughter, and he would appear as ridiculous as the magistrates of Swindon who two years ago banned Boccaccio's *Decameron*. But Col. Lipton is one of the guardians. He knows best what is good for us. He knows what isn't in the public interest. And though one of the records he mentioned has been on sale since

1941 and the other since 1952 without the public interest being noticeably affected one way or the other he thinks it's time they were off the market. (Their relative longevity seems to indicate that the public are interested!). There are, unfortunately, always those among us who say, "I don't enjoy what you enjoy, and I'm going to do my best to stop you enjoying it either".

Suppose we had a panel of record censors. The Master of the Queen's Musick could run it, in between composing fanfares. All records to be played at all three speeds; also backwards. (*John and Marsha* might reveal a quite new significance when played at 33½ r.p.m.). All duets to be disentangled for double meanings. Nursery rhymes to be pruned. But what problems would arise! Are folk songs allowable? The Colonel would die of apoplexy if he heard H.M.V. B.10260, the Scottish ballad *Eppie Morrie* which leaves nothing to the imagination. What would he do about the *Foggy Foggy Dew*? Is it salacious in the Burl Ives version, but permissible in the Britten-Pears one, which is listed in the Catalogue of Educational Recordings? What about lovely, but improper Elizabethan songs like Rosseter's *It fell on a summer day*? And one must guard against deception on the labels. The panel will have to sit through the symphonies of Bruckner in case Miss Eartha Kitt should slip in between movements, like the squire's edition of Petronius bound up in his prayer-book to read during the sermon.

But, as we have seen from Brahms, it isn't only vocal works which must be screened. Music is more eloquent than language. What depths are revealed in Richard Strauss and Scriabin, not to mention Stravinsky? What perversions are hidden in Prokofiev's *Love of Three Oranges*? Three, mark you. I had almost forgotten tape-recordings which will circulate like blue films, while the *Threepenny Opera* will be three guineas on the black market. A pick-up in every groove.

No Colonel. It's better not to start. Why not give up? Publishers and booksellers are at the mercy of police sergeants and magistrates; playwrights tailor their scripts to suit the Lord Chamberlain; film producers trim theirs for the censor; the BBC works with its eye (except on the Third) on the lowest common factor of ignorance and prudery; but the gramophone, one of the only inventions which has never harmed anyone and gives unalloyed pleasure, is free...

C.W.

COURT CIRCULAR

The Pacifist Queen

IN this country we are accustomed to think of Holland as the Protestant country *par excellence*. When James the Second was thrown out in the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 because of his Catholic tendencies, the English, to ensure the Protestant succession, brought over the Dutch Stadholder William of Orange to occupy the throne. He distinguished himself in his fervent atrocities against the Catholic Irish and ever since then, in this country and in Glasgow and Liverpool, the word Orangeman has been the accepted nickname for a Protestant.

All this makes it surprising for us that the struggle for social ascendancy in Holland between the Catholics and the rest should be a vital issue to-day. But in fact to-day 40% of the Dutch population are Catholics, and their numbers are rising. (No Dutch Caps for Dutch Catholics!). The face of the Catholic church is different in each country according to its relative strength, and in Holland where political Catholicism can command a very large vote, it militantly demands separate secular institutions for its adherents—Catholic Trade Unions, Catholic villages in the newly-drained polders, and, needless to say, Catholic schools.

I remember visiting some years ago, the 'work-boat' operated by the society for promoting new methods in education in Holland. (The equivalent to the New Education Fellowship. The idea was that on this boat, a trim and attractive barge, should be provided facilities for children to come to paint and draw, make models and print, act and dance and make music; either during the school hours if the local education authorities were co-operative, or in their own time. The boat, which was managed by the painter Ad Pieters and his wife, would travel through the country's innumerable canals and tie up in the towns and villages it passed through, staying in each for a few weeks or months. This happy idea was the success it deserved to be, but Catholic parents were told by their ecclesiastical authorities to boycott it, and to wait until there was a Catholic work-boat.

In discussing this and other incidents, an apprehensive friend asked, "What will happen when the Catholics get a clear majority in the country?", which they seem likely to do since their families are larger and since they are always attracting converts. "Ah," someone else replied, "Holland will never become a Catholic country until the House of Orange, which since the days of William the Silent has been the very symbol of Protestantism, gets converted."

All these recollections came to my mind on reading an 'unconfirmed' press report that the Queen of Holland was, in fact, turning Catholic. It was one of the many speculations circulated, presumably to gratify the public's appetite for scraps of gossip about royalty, following the reports of a rift in the cosy domesticity of the Dutch royal house. It all began with a story in the German sensational magazine *Der Spiegel*, after which the European press began searching for a co-respondent. Unable to pick on any particular recipient for this honour, it turned the story round and built up poor Miss Hoffmann the faith-healer into a sort of Rasputina wielding a sinister influence over Queen Juliana. And as a *bonne-bouche* the suggestion was thrown in that the head of the House of Orange-Nassau was going over to Rome.

But the simple fact is (and FREEDOM, which has no royal axes to grind, might as well be the paper to reveal it), that the Queen, reared (poor thing) to a stern sense of public duty by her mother, has become more and more interested in theological, and social questions, in the responsibilities of the West to the underdeveloped countries, and in pacifism. She is accustomed to have a weekly meeting with people concerned in these fields. (The heart of C.W. will no doubt rejoice to hear that a recent visitor was Dr. Martin Buber, the philosopher from Jerusalem).

These tendencies are not altogether surprising in a country with the anti-militarist tradition of Holland, the country of de Jong, de Lig, Domela Nieuwenhuis; the Queen's daughters were educated at the Werkplaats school of Kees Boeke, an uncompromising pacifist.

But they are not to the taste of Prince Bernhard, whose interests lie in other fields more typical of European royalty—the usual round of fashionable amusements, equine sports (he is a good judge of a shapely filly), military exercises, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Hence the rift in the royal household, which has been built by the newspapers into something quite different—for who would be interested in ideological differences in a palace?

ZAMPANO.

NASSER'S MONEYLENDERS

tinue his tactics of playing the West off against the East. By far his greatest strength lies in his ability to remain under no clear obligation to either side.

If he is sufficiently fortunate, and it seems not improbable, he will succeed in arranging a loan from the World Bank in conjunction with a considerable contribution from the U.S.S.R. This would leave him untarnished in his present admirable position as Leader in the Middle East, hero of the fight against Imperialism and champion of Arab independence!

Israeli Politics

On the other side of the uncertain peace between Jew and Arab, lies Israel in a state of uneasy tension. Prime Minister David Ben Gurion has just sacked his colleague and fellow Cabinet Minister of many years, Moshe Sharrett. In his place Ben Gurion has put Russian-born, American-bred Golda Myerson.

She is expected to be efficient, and her views will probably fit in better with the Prime Minister's than did Sharrett's. It certainly seems that the foreign policy of past months, which has been one of moderation, has by no means succeeded.

Israel has not been able to persuade so much as one jet aircraft out of the United States, nor has she gained any effective support from the United

Nations Security Council. The change in the Foreign Ministry may be the prelude to a change of policy, perhaps inspired to a greater extent by the always volatile and vigorous Premier himself, and it may well pay off improved dividends.

Either way we have always regarded it as unlikely that in the event of serious trouble in the Middle East between Israel and one or more of the Arab states, Israel will be left without support from the Western powers.

Ben Gurion might reasonably be comforted by the certainty that neither America nor Britain will wish their precious oil interests to be in any danger through the accidents of war. The motives of the two governments will be questionable as usual, but the effects should prove worthwhile for Israel—which is surely the important point for Ben Gurion.

Probably Dmitry Shepilov did as much for Israel as has been done in recent months. In signing identical joint communiqués with Egypt, Syria and the Lebanon, proclaiming adherence to the spirit of the United Nations and Bandung, he made no mention of Israel whatsoever. This disservice to that major part of the Arab cause—namely the anti-Israel position—will surely be regarded as a flagrant breach of friendship!

The Middle East cauldron continues to bubble, but the heat appears to be turned down a little for the present. The initiative rests with Nasser at the moment, and of course his two subsidiaries—East and West!

Cut in Civil Estimates for Prisons

IN drawing attention elsewhere in this issue to the "Clinic for Criminals", in Holland, we expressed the hope that with the abolition of capital punishment in this country more attention would be paid to the problem of 'criminal' rehabilitation. But as far as financing such possible schemes is concerned, it seems that the Government has no intention of increasing spending even for ordinary prisons.

Instead, last week, the Government announced a cut of £199,000 in the 1956-57 Civil Estimates for prisons, which is well over double the modest net increase of £82,000 over last year's Civil Estimates for prisons.

what their prohibitive attentions to permit instinct and its executive organs to be utilised according to their design, they are still allowed only a modicum of employment—and that merely along highly specific lines. Sex, in short, throughout the life of an individual born into the society which you and I inhabit, is under a virtual ban, except for a brief period when, if we manage to satisfy certain requirements of time, place, person, condition, method, manner, intention and frequency—as well as the additional ceremonial duties imposed by law, religion, and custom—our erotic potential may be executed."

And on conformity:
"The answer to the question 'Must we Conform?' is a resounding No! No... not only because, in the end we are creatures who cannot conform and who are destined to triumph over the forces of conformity; but *no* because there is an alternative way of life available to us here and now. It is the way of positive rebellion, the path of creative protest, the road of productive revolt. This is the way natural to man, the way he must and will take to achieve the values he aspires to just because he is human."
M.G.W.

The Fiery Pessimist

Continued from p. 2

Lindner provides an intriguing footnote to his proposition that Communism fulfills the needs of the neurotic, and Fascism of the psychopathic by contending that many of the victims of Communist treason trials were in fact guilty. Not necessarily the fantastic crimes they were accused of but certainly of some form of treason. Although the appeal of Communism is to the neurotic, when the Party achieves power it is the power-hungry, the psychopaths, who take the reins; the neurotic, whose sickness drives him to constant opposition, is out of place. Since he must oppose them he is capable of treason. Q.E.D. The author puts forward this ingenious notion in an essay called "Political Creed and Character" which contains an excellent analysis of the appeal of Communism.

The remaining essays include a justification for Lindner's theory of an instinct of rebellion, the requirements of an "education for maturity", and the title essay indicating conformity.

Lindner writes with much power, as I hope the quotations given above have indicated, and I would like to end with two further quotations to show the quality of the book.

Firstly, on sex to-day:
"The drive that underwrites almost the whole of behaviour and the continuation of the species is, from cradle to grave, the object of every conceivable repressive force. Although it naturally becomes manifest shortly after birth with pleasurable sensations in the organs of generation and allied erotogenic zones, any attempt to respond to such sensations is subject to censorship. During the years of bodily growth and sexual maturation, shame and guilt are attached to all forms of erotic play, while illogical, mythical fears, anxieties and punishments are made to attend the slightest exercise of the functions involved. When, at last, at a relatively advanced age, social, religious and legal institutions relax some-

Will it be Depression?

Continued from p. 1

Disarmament

The third circumstance which is going to hit employment—particularly in the engineering and aircraft industries—is disarmament.

For the last six years this country has been spending an amount increasing from £900 million to £1,500 million a year on re-armament. The relaxing of international tension and the thawing of the cold war makes nonsense, even from a Tory Government's viewpoint, of continuing re-arming at this pace. The burden of re-armament on Britain's export industries can now be eased—but it will be coming too late to be able to maintain full employment. Some workers—perhaps many—will be made redundant.

By 'having to' re-arm during a world boom period, Britain was unable to take full advantage of it. By being able to disarm only when markets are contracting she is running into difficulties which are normally solved by re-arming! It is quite obvious that Khrushchev and Company, being much subtler politicians than Stalin, know their economic onions better than he, also. They know that they create as many if not more problems for Western capitalism by easing off the tension—and put themselves in a better light before the peoples of the world at the same time.

Government Policy

Add to these factors the not unimportant one that what is being done to the workers is very much in line with typical Conservative policy, and we see that the Government 'surprise' and 'consternation' at the

arbitrary sackings of workers at the BMC works is just so much hypocrisy.

The Conservatives very much want to curtail the power of the workers, and the best way to do that is to have a sizeable number of unemployed. Instead, Macmillan introduces 'credit squeezes', removes subsidies from basic foods, and increases purchase tax and hire purchase rates—all measures calculated to cut the buying power of the poorer sections of the community. This cuts the demand for goods on the home market and makes workers work harder for necessities.

The Conservative Government and the Trade Union Congress are at one in their reaction to the Coventry and Birmingham sackings—they both recognise the inevitability of the sackings as such—what they are 'objecting' to is the arbitrary nature of sackings without consultation.

The trade unions will be quite content to see their members unemployed—as long as they are notified of the fact in advance. And the Tories, for long buddies with the TUC, feel the same way. They are mindful of the fact that they are going to need the backing of the friendly union bosses to keep the workers quiet when things get really rough.

And the workers themselves? Well, they have been content enough to leave things to their leaders when things are going well. If their leaders leave them in the lurch when things go badly—they have only themselves to blame.

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Summer School

To be held at the Malatesta Club, London, August Bank Holiday week-end (August 4-6).

This year's theme:

IS HISTORY ON OUR SIDE?

PROGRAMME

The following programme of events is still subject to confirmation, but little change is expected. Times are approximate.

Saturday, August 4.

2.00 p.m. Informal gathering.
2.30 p.m. Lecture: F. A. RIDLEY
5.30 p.m. High tea
Social evening
8.00 p.m. Lunitas presents:
The Tuppenny Ha'penny Opera

Sunday, August 5.

11.00 a.m. Lecture:
ALEX COMFORT

1.30 p.m. Lunch

3.00 Open-air meeting in Hyde Park

7.30 p.m. Lecture:
JACK ROBINSON

Monday, August 6.

11.00 a.m. Lecture:
PHILIP SANSOM

1.30 p.m. Lunch

COSTS

LECTURES: Admission 1s. per lecture, four for 2s. 6d.

MEALS: Must be ordered in advance. 2s. 6d. per meal.

Refreshments available at club prices on Saturday and Sunday evenings.

ACCOMMODATION: Free, unless hotels have to be used. Must be booked in advance.

All enquiries to Joan Sculthorpe, c/o Freedom Press.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at

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32 Percy Street,
Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

JULY 8—QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

JULY 15—S. E. Parker on
REFLECTIONS ON GODWIN'S
'POLITICAL JUSTICE'

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

Every Thursday at 8.15.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

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MANETTE STREET
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