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# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"If humanity marched straight towards some result, there would be no history, only logic. There are no frontiers, no timetables, no itineraries. All that exists is the flow of life and its endless challenge."

—ALEXANDER HERZEN.

REFLECTIONS ON 1888 AND ALL THAT

## THERE'S NO HONOUR AMONG THIEVES!

THE first reactions to the Nasser bombshell, in government circles and in certain sections of the Press, remind us of the antics of those machines on the piers at our coastal resorts which highly entertained us in our youth. You put a penny in the slot which set a wheezy motor going; a house lighted up as if in flames; then the doors of the fire station opened and an ancient engine trundled out. Up went the ladder and the solitary fireman; the "fire" was put out, down come the fireman and the ladder and the engine moved backwards into the fire station. The doors closed, the lights went out; the motor was silenced and the machine patiently waited for the next penny. Such are the ways of government. Nasser in declaring the Suez Canal nationalised put in the penny which set the whole machine of press and governmental indignation working.

It has happened so often before (without going back very far one has only to recall the Persian "crisis") that we find it incredible that the public can still be so stupid as to be concerned when the government (aided on this occasion by the responsible "opposition" and the lunatic fringe of the press) sounds the alarm and sets in motion, among other things, the machinery of mobilisation, which will uproot some thousands of young men from their normal lives.

some two weeks to get moving and there is in any case no intention that they should put out the fire. Perhaps this remark needs to be qualified. Since the alarm was sounded one is no longer quite sure as to the nature of the conflagration; if there is a fire it should be located in the Suez Canal, but it was set-off somewhere in a public square in Alexandria, and it is hoped to extinguish it at a meeting of the firemen of 24 nations to be held in London on August 16 (assuming that all the firemen turn up and that some nations don't send incendiaries instead!)

THE refusal by Anglo-American finance agencies to supply the funds for the construction of the Aswan Dam probably influenced the timing of Nasser's proclamation (the nationalisation of the Canal has been referred to by many commentators as "the expropriation". But the President is no revolutionary, the more so when he knows he can use the Law to his advantage). But past actions have made it clear that the Egyptian government had no intention of waiting until 1968 (when the Suez Canal concession expired and Egypt would take over the Company). As long ago as November 1952, the Egyptian government established a new department for the purpose of taking over the administration of the Canal . . . in 1968!

Could intentions be more clearly revealed than that?

So, however ignorant the public may have been of these moves, these pointers as to Egypt's intentions, one must assume that our Civil Service (that is, the permanent government of the land) was acquainted with them and their implications. And in the circumstances, the question we would put (assuming that we believed Eden meant business when he issued his mobilisation order and dispatched the warships to the scene of the "crisis"—which of course we don't!) is why the British withdrew 10,000 troops and war material in the Canal zone under the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1954 if they knew in 1953 that the Egyptians were already getting ready to scrap the Suez Canal agreement of 1949?

NASSER is reported as having declared to "300,000 wildly cheering Egyptians" in Alexandria that the Suez Canal Company was an Egyptian company and that with the income from the canal traffic, Egypt would herself build the High Dam. In British official circles three arguments have been put forward, none of which, if we may say so, hold water. In the first place it is suggested that Egypt might discriminate against the shipping of any country against which she wished to bring pressure. Secondly that there is nothing to prevent her from in-

creasing the canal dues. The third view is that if the revenues of the Canal are diverted to the building of the High Dam no funds will be available to develop, to widen and to deepen, the canal to cope with the new demands placed on it by a growing volume of traffic as well as the larger tonnage of individual vessels that will be used in the future.

Of these arguments only the first warrants any serious examination, because in fact there is evidence to substantiate it: the Canal has been barred to Israeli shipping. But what did the British government, now so concerned with international status of the Suez waterway, do about Egypt's discriminatory action against Israel? In spite of United Nations resolutions no action has been taken; the fire engines were not called out (and be it noted, in calling the international meeting of firemen, Britain has not included Israel!).

But even the first argument can hardly cause much alarm in British or French circles whatever one may

assume as to the state of mind of Nasser. Let us even equate Nasser with Hitler or Mussolini, as has been done in the national press. His sway on the Egyptian "masses" is dependent on sensational successes. As Bevan points out in last week's *Tribune*:

Nasser made it [the Dam] a symbol of his success. When I met him a few years ago in Cairo he could speak of little else, apart from getting the British out of the Canal zone.

If therefore he intends to finance the Aswan Dam with the revenues from the Suez Canal, then clearly he must encourage international shipping to use the Canal, and realises that if he makes it either uneconomical or unnavigable for the largest tankers now under construction he is cutting off his nose to spite his face. For in capitalist society the Suez Canal has importance only so long as it provides a cheaper way (in terms of money not human effort) of transporting oil and goods from the Middle East and the Far East to Europe, than via the Cape. It is true that at the present moment Nasser holds the trump cards since Europe's oil requirements, which are now largely satisfied by the countries of the Middle East, could not be transported by the existing

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(Note: The Queen is not subjected to such inconveniences: her stay at Arundel Castle was not interrupted by the "crisis". The Cabinet simply called on her and made her sign the proclamation. And whilst the aircraft carriers "Theseus" and "Bulwark" were getting ready to sail from Portsmouth for the Mediterranean the Prime Minister was on his way to spend a week-end at Chequers, his official country residence).

But the machinery of government works rather more slowly as well as more ridiculously than the slot-machine on Southend pier. The latter never answers false alarms, the fire-engine never arrives after the fire has gone out, and it always puts out the fire before it makes its somewhat undignified return in reverse to the fire-station. Whereas it has taken the fire-engines of government

### WILHELM REICH SENTENCED

WILHELM REICH, author of *The Sexual Revolution* and *The Function of the Orgasm*, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment and his colleague Michael Silvert to one year for contempt of court. The Orgone Institute has also been fined \$10,000.

Reich and Silvert had refused to attend the original hearing of the case brought by the U.S. government against the Orgone Institute for alleged misbranding. In the main charge the government maintained that the claims made for Reich's "orgone accumulators" that they were of "an outstanding therapeutic value", were false.

In a letter to the court Reich denied the government's right to interfere with his scientific work.

As a result of the first hearing the Institute was forbidden to distribute Reich's books or apparatus. The stocks have apparently been seized and no further supplies can be obtained from the Institute. The periodical *Orgonomic Medicine*, however, appears to be unaffected.

Reich and Silvert are on suspended sentence pending an appeal.

### The Anarchist Summer School

THIS year marked up the tenth anniversary of the first Anarchist Summer School of 1946, and in the opinion of some of those who have survived those ten years, this year's Summer School was one of the best.

Certainly there seemed to be a larger gathering of comrades from the provinces than we have been able to entertain in London for several years—presumably because the arrangements and programme were announced in good time this year. And the London group were particularly pleased to see that the provincial comrades were young and keen—which augurs well for the future. Two of our young comrades had recently served prison sentences for resisting conscription; one for refusing to take a medical examination, the other for refusing to serve after he had been ensnared into the militarist net.

The programme of lectures was as good as we had anticipated, and the theme 'Is History on our Side?' provided enough scope for lively discussion and wide interpretation.

The first lecture, given by F. A. Ridley, demonstrated the historical development of revolutionary ideas, in particular over the last 200 years, showing how a slogan such as 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity' could be interpreted in different ways—and indeed was by the different classes, the working masses and the bourgeoisie, who made the French Revolution.

Comrade Ridley maintained that Kropotkin's assessment of revolutionary 'waves' lasting 130 years had in fact been an accurate one, and suggested there might be a further ninety years of Russian-type revolution, leading to one-party dictatorships, before its wave exhausted itself and died out.

He showed that there was no evidence that totalitarianism was more permanent than any other form of authority, and maintained that in spite of apparent evidence to the contrary, the present age is more favourable for social revolution than any other. In the past, material development moved slowly, but to-day the basis of knowledge was constantly altering so that society must also rapidly develop in order to survive. Even counter-revolutionaries (like Hitler and

the Tories) have to pretend to be revolutionary to-day, in order to find popular support.

The 19th century had produced an anti-social economy which was yet favourable for the outstanding individual. The 20th century was most unfavourable for individuals, crushing them in the so-called interests of the collective. Most truly outstanding figures of to-day were 'hangovers' from the 19th century, and those who were achieving prominence in the contemporary set-up were collective mediocrities—men of the machine. We could however look forward to a swing of the pendulum away from the oppressive collectivism of the present to an era where the individual will once again emerge, but not in the ruthless context of 19th century *laissez-faire*.

The false dawn of liberalism in the jungle of 19th century capitalism gave

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### Soviet Black Market News

CONSUMER goods being so scarce in the Soviet Empire there simply has to be a black market to supply the needs of the new upper classes and the technocracy of the managerial group. The customers cannot be jailed, but from time to time something goes wrong and the suppliers are juggled. Here is one case.

Manageress of No. 2 Town Traders shop in Belgorod T. S. Semichova was unlucky and has gone to jail for eight years.

This lady, meeting an urgent need of the times, had her own trading system. Goods delivered to her shop used to be put under the counter until the coast was clear and then sent to her own home. She used to sell the stuff at top prices to those who were in the know and who could buy.

At the time of her arrest she had in her house various pieces of silk lengths, wool, and other textile goods to the amount of 1,160 yards; three sewing machines; 16 blankets; 21 pillows; 2,700

buttons; seven "Zarya" (Dawn make) wrist watches; and a quality of other goods.

Plainly, if goods were available in reasonable amounts for the general public this sort of thing could not go on. The customers for high-priced wares would not be there. Meanwhile *Izvestia* No. 173/12171 gives prominence to that appeal made by Khrushchev in person to the workers of Sverdlovsk to put forth every effort to push through the Sixth Five-year Plan. Socialism on a monetary basis with the workers being handed out wage packets at the end of the week having been established in Russia, this current five-year plan will rush the country right to the very portals of Communism. Over 200,000 working men and women were marched to an open-air meeting after a hard day's work to stand on their weary feet and listen to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party (no other parties allowed). But will this or any seventh or eighth five-year plan give the Russian workers any goods? I.P.

### Desegregation and Political Headaches

THE postponement of the decision taken by the Archbishop of New Orleans, in February to end segregation in Catholic Schools in his diocese, has again focussed attention on the desegregation issue in Southern State schools.

In a pastoral letter read at all masses in his diocese, the Archbishop said that integration would be put back until September 1957, and "then it would be moderate and gradual affecting the elementary schools one class at a time. Although the Archbishop has denounced segregation of white and coloured pupils as "morally wrong and sinful", difficulties are such that Catholic schools are not prepared to introduce integration generally. The difficulties are not cited, but presumably pressure from Catholic and non-Catholic whites is such that the Church dare not risk loss of support by pressing the issue.

In some states resistance to segregation is steadily mounting. Last week a survey was published by the Southern Education Reporting Ser-

vice which found that out of 4,540 school districts with Negro pupils, only 540 has desegregated or are in the process of doing so mainly in the border states. In Virginia, Georgia, North and South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama and Florida—"elementary and secondary schools remain as rigidly segregated as ever". *Time* (August 6th) reports that:—

"More than 70 pro-segregation bills or resolutions, ranging from outright nullification resolutions in Georgia and Alabama to a Mississippi bill authorizing special secret agents to spy on integrationists, have come before Southern legislatures. The number of private organizations formed to fight desegregation has climbed to 46, with the Citizens' Councils alone claiming 500,000 members . . . Virginia's Senator Harry Byrd had called for 'massive resistance' to all integration."

In the meantime in the north the four million Negro voters whose vote could prove decisive to the Democrats are causing headaches in the party. It is considered that a five per cent. switch could return a Republican controlled Congress.

The Negro percentage of population is larger than the winning candidates' margin of victory at the last election in 61 congressional districts and in 13 of these the Democrats hold only a five per cent. margin.

The result of all this is a schizophrenic Democratic party. The Northern politicians are desperately trying to counteract the effects of the Southern senators and the Southern politicians have to convince the herrenvolk in the South that the Negro will be kept to his lowly position.

Long may the Southern Negroes continue to give headaches to the whites who keep them in subjection. Unfortunately many of the Northern Negroes appear to be lacking in a sense of solidarity. It is reported that an extensive Northern survey by white and Negro interviewers showed that the Negroes to-day are going to vote solidly Democratic—"because when they think of their pocket book they think of what Roosevelt did for them."

PEOPLE AND IDEAS

THE HUMAN CONDITION

The ugly face of some beautiful soul, the handsome detested or despised face.  
The sacred faces of infants, the illuminated face of the mother of many children.  
The face of an amour, the face of veneration.  
The face as of a dream, the face of an immobile rock . . .

A vast similitude interlocks all,  
All nations, colours, barbarisms, civilisations, languages,  
All lives and deaths, all of the past, present, future,  
This vast multitude spans them, and always has spanned,  
And shall forever span them and compactly hold and enclose them.

—WALT WHITMAN.

WHAT is the special quality of photography and its impact on our sensibility? In his *Letter to a Young Painter* broadcast last week, Basil Taylor remarked that newsreel shots of Belsen are a more important influence upon our attitudes to cruelty and political force than Goya's *Disasters of War* or Picasso's *Guernica* because "we cannot, like the Byzantine worshipper, be persuaded any longer that the artist's image and the thing which inspired it are indivisible, identical". Nearly a hundred years ago a similar thought occurred to Oliver Wendell Holmes:

"The very things which an artist would leave out, or render imperfectly, the photographer takes infinite care with, and so renders its illusion perfect. What is the picture of a drum without the marks on its head where the beating of the sticks has darkened the parchment?"

The essence of photography is the pursuit of reality. There are a thousand tricks, of lighting, exposure, development and printing, and it is significant that the best of photographers from Paul Martin to Cartier-Bresson, use none of them. "Photography is my passion", declared Alfred Stieglitz. But the photographer, except when his subject is so powerful, unique or fleeting that it completely dominates the means of recording it, is not merely the chronicler of observed reality. He waits, eliminates, selects. He isolates and transfixes the visual image, the surface of the truth, so as to load what to the eye is familiar and commonplace, with the deeper significance that the mind perceives.

This is what gives photography its impact in the communication of emotions, an effectiveness which is heightened by juxtaposition and contrast, and by the repetition of a theme.

Exploiting these attributes of the camera, Edward Steichen (who was one of the group of photographers gathered around Stieglitz in New York fifty years ago), has assembled together 503 photographs to illustrate the idea of mankind as "one big family hugging close to the ball of Earth for its life and being".

THE pictures by 273 photographers, famous and unknown, in 68 countries were chosen from two million. They were exhibited last year at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, have been shown in many countries and are now on exhibition at the Festival Hall in London (until August 31st). They have also been published in the form of a book, *The Family of Man*, (Museum of Modern Art, 1 dollar; in Britain 10s. 6d.), which is probably more valuable than the exhibition itself because even though a photograph may not have the surface texture and colour which deserve detailed study in a painting, five hundred of them, especially when many of them are masterpieces, are too many to see at one time, standing in a crowd; and though in the exhibition they are arranged in a variety of sizes, at different levels and on different planes to give you the feeling of moving through a panorama of human life, some should be quickly absorbed and some pondered over.

The theme throughout is that there are many more things that unite us than separate us. Here is courtship, mating,

pregnancy, childbirth, parenthood, the family. Children play, fight, dance, crouch in terror, crave in hunger. They grow, learn, and emulate adults, who cultivate the earth, mine it, build on it, sail round it, work its ores and gather its produce. People eat and drink, dance and sing, launder and cook, make love and music, think and pray, grow old and die. They quarrel and are lonely, they are starved and oppressed, they cry out in indignation, they kill each other, they are suffused with love and compassion for one another. And all the while a new generation, fresh as flowers, is exploring and wondering at, and reshaping the human situation.

The groups of photographs are given as captions to underline their theme, quotations, largely from the Bible or folklore, some of which are superfluous or pompous, but some beautifully apt, like the exclamation of the ecstatic composer Scriabin which accompanies Wayne Miller's remarkable pictures of childbirth, "The universe resounds with the joyful cry I am". Or that of George Sand which is used below the photograph of people rounded-up by storm troopers in the smoking Warsaw ghetto, "Humanity is outraged in men and with me. We must not dissimulate nor try to forget the indignation which is one of the most passionate forms of love . . ."

OF a number of the individual photographs one would like to know more than the country and the photographer's name. What were the dates and the circumstances? Many of the most striking of the American pictures,

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like those of Dorothea Lange and the talented group who formed the Farm Security Administration's photographic project, people like Russell Lee, Ben Shawn, and Carl Mydans, who recorded the America of the dust-bowl and the share-cropper; seem to date from the nineteen-thirties. Did the selectors find that the America of the deep-freeze and the spending spree provided less photogenic illustration of its family resemblance to the people of Bechuanaland seen by Nat Farbman, or the Negro world of Roy de Carava and Consuelo Kanaga, the India of Gittel Steed, Robert Capa's Russian impressions, or the wonderful pictures from the Far East by Werner Bischof and Cartier-Bresson?

It is perhaps that we see the essence of mankind more clearly in the lives and the faces of the poor and the deprived and in those people whose mode of living is cast in a less complicated pattern than our own? That the African woman with superb bearing carrying her pitcher to the well, conveys more to us than would the turning of a tap, even though we do not envy her? That bread and wine on scrubbed boards has more significance than the Good Food Guide?

Correction: In the article in our last issue, *History and Improvisation* (which should have read *History is Improvisation*), the quotation from Kropotkin in the penultimate paragraph should have read: "All through the history of our civilisation two traditions have faced one another; the Roman tradition and the popular tradition; the imperialist tradition and the federalist tradition; the authoritarian and the libertarian."

No FREEDOM in Turkey . . .

A customer stopped at a Turkish newsstand and asked for a copy of a newspaper called *Freedom*. "We have no *Freedom*," said the news vendor. "Then," said the customer, "I'll take a copy of *LIFE*." "We have no *LIFE* either." "Ah, well, sighed the customer, "I might have known, for where there's no freedom, there can be no life."

This small story, appearing last week in *Bursa's* satirical weekly *Chivi*, was one of *Premier Adnan Menderes'* recent clamp-down on freedom of the press in Turkey (*TIME*, June 11). But though *Chivi* was only fooling, it soon found that Menderes was not. The ink was scarcely dry, when *Chivi's* editor was haled into court, fined 10,000 lire (\$3,600) and sentenced to a year in jail for "writing with malicious and tendentious intent."

Turkish newspapers made no mention of the trial. They valued life, even without freedom.

Time, 30/7/56.

. . . not much in South Carolina

"Our Southland," said John Howard O'Dowd to his fellow South Carolinians, "is becoming a place where nonconformity with the established orthodoxy is cause for rejection and social ostracism." As editor of the Florence, S.C. *Morning News* (circ. 14,219), young (29) O'Dowd knew whereof he spoke. Because he had broken "the established orthodoxy" by calling for moderation on the desegregation issue, O'Dowd was pressured into dropping the whole subject of racial integration from the *News's* editorial page.

Nevertheless, threats against O'Dowd and his family and pressure on the newspaper, which his father, 68, had published since 1912, only increased. Last week Jack O'Dowd resigned "for my own good and the good of the paper." Next month he will join the staff of the *Chicago Sun-Times* as a reporter. Said O'Dowd regretfully: "I'm certain that the *News* no longer will buck racial feeling."

Time, 30/7/56.

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THE WELFARE STATE AND I

HAVING written a long screed entitled *Anarchism and the Welfare State*, well documented and packed with tables and charts, I realized that although *FREEDOM* might publish so learned and lengthy a study, serializing it week by week, nobody might bother to read it, and that would be a sad fate for so scholarly an article. Although the writing of it was in a way exciting, the reading of it might be very dull. To lighten the worthy dullness of so important a topic upon which the pundits of anarchism have so bruised their horns in recent years, let me present it as a personal romance, and the critics can then use the method of the personal attack to cover their hardy misconceptions about the Welfare State.

For the Welfare State is a humbug, a means by which *knowers* continue to abuse the *know-nots*, (not that their knowledge is of a very high or enviable order). All my life I have been baffled by the enormous amount which I do not know, and the more knowledge I gain the greater the form of my mountainous ignorance appears; but more important seems the huge mountain range of nonsense which by luck I have by-passed. The merit of anarchists is their ignorance of so much false-truth. We have our own brand of nonsense, our myths, our dogmas, our well-worn fallacies; red is our hope of the dawn of the Free Society; black is our ignorance of political economy. Let us rejoice that we are too muddled about the meaning of the Welfare State to absorb its chilling greyness.

Who owns me? Do I belong to the Queen, the State, the Community? It is true that the community feeds, clothes, houses, warms, doctors, educates and entertains me—but if I belong to the community (or the Queen, or the State), then I am simply a slave, and must expect the arbitrary treatment which all slaves receive. To talk of being a "slave" in a modern parliamentary democracy is to recreate the late-19th century flavour of revolutionary politics. Herbert Spencer in his essay *The Coming Slavery* put just this point, and was well laughed at for his pains by all the Socialists. "The coming slavery my foot!" they jeered, "it is social liberation that we are engineering". Half a century later we begin to grasp what the old bore was driving at; his point has been too well demonstrated by the militant apostles of mass welfare. That we have not felt the boot in our ribs in this sceptred isle is thanks to our lagging behind in the race for mass welfare—we still ride the wave of our early industrial revolution. Russia, Italy, Germany, China *et al* paid heavily for their

Welfare States. Spencer's point is simply that the essence of slavery is not the whip or the poor food and backbreaking work, but the fact that the slave is *owned*. The slave might be owned by one master or by a corporation, such a question is immaterial to the servile condition. Now in Britain no man really owns another, though quite a few would be *Happy* if they could find a *Pozzo*\*, but does the Community which treats me so well claim to *own* me? They once demanded that I should deliver up my body for medical examination which rather points to such a misconception. They did not ask whether the work which they wanted me to do was to my inclination.

Yes—I know the anarchist answer—it was the *State* and not the *Community* which tried to conscript me for war. If we project all that is nasty on the State, then we can regard the Community with Kropotkinesque benevolence. But I insist, there are ideas current in the Community that I am a chattel, a well-fed, over-indulged possession who one day must be brought to recognise what it must render up to its long-suffering owner. Max Plowman, a Christian Pacifist pundit (in Middleton Murry's terms "a bloody lovely man") declared that our whole existence is sustained by the constant altruistic love of our fellow-members in the great community. I have been sustained by the love of a few, but more generally by the sheer self-interest of the many.

The Coming of Welfare

According to the post-war myth, the Welfare State started as a bright idea of Beveridge's in 1942. Another version of it is that the Berkshire magistrates started it at Speenhamland in 1795, and were it not for the knavish intervention of Edwin Chadwick and those shocking Utilitarians we should all have had its full blessings very much earlier. Indeed, such is the success of British thought on Britons, that we have practically convinced ourselves that it is a peculiarly British invention that foreigners are now beginning to copy in their ape-like fashion. We know of the sensational events connected with the launching of the Welfare State in Russia by Lenin, Hungary by Bela Kun, Italy by Mussolini, Germany by Hitler, Argentina by Peron—need I go on?—but we neglect the fact that for one reason and another there was a working Welfare State in at least 22 countries while Britain still kept young children in workhouses alongside idiots and tramps. Whether

\*See the play *Waiting for Godot*.

the Welfare State has been ushered in by black-jacks or by peaceful legislation it is a phenomenon which is world-wide in the 20th century. Where the country was backward, or the ruling elites rigid or incompetent, heads rolled; but where the country was rich and the elites far-sighted, welfare measures slid in quite smoothly.

Since it is my own relations with the Welfare State which I am considering, I must not be led away into considering how the Swedes evolved welfare measures on a local basis, or the French syndicates adopted them on an occupational basis. The British Welfare State must be my concern. To start with, let me put my head right in the lion's mouth and quote from Laski's *The State in Theory and Practice*:

"The thesis for which I am arguing here is that [changes in the State] are caused by changes in social relationships which, in their turn are caused by changes in the material forces of production. Men cease to regard slavery as 'natural' as it becomes difficult by its means adequately to exploit those forces. The rights of women are transformed from a philosopher's eccentricity into claims socially recognized by law when the relations of the productive process require that recognition. Education becomes a State matter instead of one of purely private concern as soon as industry requires a corps of workers who can read and write. The degree of State interference in industry depends on the degree to which that interference is held to promote a fuller productivity of the material forces on which society depends."

Here Laski is beating the Marxist drum, using the process of economic production as an independent variable determining all other social changes. The artificiality of this method of analysis has been too often demonstrated for me to give the usual critique; instead I will consider the evolution of the Welfare State in Britain using a Paretan refinement of the method, employing an arbitrary 5 items of interdependent variables, viz:—

1. The evolution of statistical research.
2. Industrial development.
3. Military development.
4. Political expediency.
5. Keynesian economic theory.

There are of course other important variables such as the spread of contraceptive technique, the changing nature of colonial markets, the sale of British capital investments abroad, and a host of other factors relevant to the evolution of the Welfare State in Britain—but I must prune the scheme to make it possible to present it. It would be nice to draw a diagram of inter-related forces, or better still a cartoon . . .

G.

(To be continued)

# Freedom

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## NO HONOUR AMONG THIEVES!

Continued from p. 1

fleet of tankers via the Cape. A glance at the map will make clear what is involved in time as well as "costs". But such a situation would be short-lived. Just as European economy functioned up till 1869 without a Suez Canal so will it find ways and means of surviving without it if necessary in 1958.

The shipyards of the world must be hoping that the Suez crisis is a real one which will enable them to get to work building tankers which will offset the political challenge of a Nasser. After all the Suez Canal, though it halves the time taken for tankers to travel from the oil fields to Europe, at the same time limits their size and performance. Even before the Nasser "crisis" the Greek millionaire shipowners had placed orders for 65,000 ton tankers for which, by reason of their size (the Suez Canal can only accommodate tankers of 47,000 tons dead weight so long as they are not fully loaded), the Canal literally does not exist! Unless Nasser wishes to commit hari-kari, which is the last thing a would-be leader of the Arab world would seek to do, his intention must be to make the Canal, if anything, more profitable than it has been in the past. And it has certainly been a profitable proposition so far.

Last year income from canal traffic was \$100 million (£36 million). We are told that of this amount £15 million went on running expenses "and just over £10 million on clear profit" (*Tribune* 3/8/56), which was paid to the shareholders (Britain holds 44 per cent. of the shares). We are not told however what happened to the remaining £11 million (it would of course also be interesting to know how the £15 million "went" on running expenses). But when we are told that Nasser's intention of compensating the Canal shareholders as well as financing the construction of the dam from the revenues of the Canal, is proof of his bad faith, we can only answer that the whole economics of the Canal is such a racket anyhow, that we could imagine that all this could be done and ex-King Farouk and his wives and heirs kept in perpetuity besides! The compensation to the Canal shareholders as well as the financing of the dam and the cost of improvements to the Canal are a question of time. When the railways in Britain were nationalised there was no question of raising the capital sum to compensate the shareholders. Why then should Nasser be expected to find the £70 odd-million to compensate the Canal shareholders on the spot? The dam is a £460 million project which will take many years to complete. Indeed the combined Anglo-American plus World Bank loans were for hardly more than a quarter of this amount. Eden in his House of Commons war-speech referred to the £20 millions Canal improvements scheme which has been started to provide two new by-passes and to deepen the Canal. But such schemes—for anyone less dishonest than a politician—are not matters of money only but of time. To keep the Canal open to normal traffic and carry out the improvements, limits the rate at which the work can be carried out and thus also of the rate at which funds will be required. For these reasons Nasser's intentions cannot be measured by his ability to cough-up £70m. plus £20m. plus £460m. as soon as he takes over. But it obviously suits the politicians' book to do so in order to "prove" that his intentions are "dishonourable" or that he is inevitably courting bankruptcy to the tune of more than £500 millions!

WE have dealt in detail with the arguments put forward by both sides, neither because we believe in capitalist economics nor, as it might appear to some readers, to defend Nasser's actions. We have examined the arguments and the facts in order to prove that there is no honour among thieves and politicians. Not as an intellectual exercise but partly in the hope that some miserable pawn-of-a-reservist might chance on our words and perhaps have second thoughts before allowing himself to be press-ganged into offering his person and his life in defence of the Suez Canal Company.

During these past ten years thousands of the world's youth have been literally *shovelled* into ventures which, when they did not defend power interests, were economic or racial. Cyprus is purely a matter of power and economics, Malaya, Kenya and British Guiana are primarily economics and race. Egypt is simply economics. And if one needs proof of the latter one has only to analyse the attitudes of the Western allies. France, which probably has the greatest economic interests in Egypt (more than £450 million), is all in favour of making the Egyptians look down the barrels of their machine guns; Britain, which is the most important user of the Suez Canal (some 40 per cent. of the tonnage passing through the Canal is British) rattles the sabre (but relies on negotiations to save what she can); the United States which, when her interests are at stake is prepared, in Mr. Dulles' words, "to go to the brink [of war]", in the case of the Suez (which is of no commercial or economic importance to her), deplores, but does not threaten, Nasser's actions.

Where in these varying attitudes does one discern a concern with international rights? In any case we shall be more convinced by governmental indignation and action over Israeli shipping being barred from the Canal than when it is stirred up by the prospect of £10 millions per annum going middle-east and the other £25 millions filtering through to Nasser's friends rather than those of Anglo-French big business or government. Until then, we shall say of the Suez Canal crisis as we said of the Persian and Formosan crises: "It's phoney". Anyone who spends a sleepless night over it is a mug or a shareholder; anyone who let's himself be mobilised is misguided and a dupe!

## THE SPANISH CONCORDAT

A SOLEMN Concordat was on August 27th, 1953 signed at Rome and Madrid between the Vatican and Franco, and it now governs the relations between the R.C. Church and the Spanish State. Contracting party for the former was Pope Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli, formerly Papal Secretary of State under Pius XI, and previously Papal Nuncio in Munich and Berlin, a professional diplomat), who appointed as his representative and signatory the pro-Secretary of State for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. For Spain the contracting party was Gen. Franco, formerly commander of the Spanish Legion in Morocco, who led a successful rebellion against the second Spanish Republic (1931-6) and was victor in the Civil War of 1936-9. He appointed as his signatories his Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Spanish Ambassador at the Vatican.

A previous Concordat between the Spanish Monarchy and the Vatican was signed in 1851 but was abrogated by the Republic in 1931.

The present Concordat may almost be styled medieval, so completely does it integrate the Spanish Nation with the Church, and so extensive are the privileges that it concedes to the R.C. Church. It is the highwater mark of the present Catholic offensive against modern secular civilisation. Cardinal Wolsey or Thomas à Becket would have thoroughly approved of it.

In Article 1 the R.C. Church is explicitly recognised as "the only religion of the Spanish nation", and is to be treated as such.

Articles 2, 3, 4 and 5 guarantee official recognition of the Church in Spain and recognise it as a "perfect society"; that is, one fully competent in its own sphere,

## "Stray Dogs, Report on (Smolensk)"

BORISOVSKY is, as was stated in FREEDOM last week, chief of the Chief Planning and Financial Board of the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Communal Economy of the RSFSR. Finance, accountancy and planning are his special field. But there are some things these senior bureaucrats don't know or don't want to know. Their job is to keep sitting pretty, no matter who the dictator is for the time being. Our informants, A. Alexandrov and M. Garin, went along with their Press cards to ask him one or two questions.

"Why do you need all this mass of information covering every little town in the Russian Federation?"

Loftily Comrade Borisovsky replied that "The information which you happen to mention is not needed; neither does it come to the Ministry."

Our special informants asked that the relative documents and files be brought out for the great man to see. It was only then that Borisovsky saw with his own eyes that nine-tenths of the reports from the regional communal bodies deal with each fiddling little detail in the daily life of each town and tiny township.

Garin asked: "Do you really believe, for instance, that it may be useful at any future time to calculate the cost of impounding stray dogs?"

"Why, you're just joking!" objected Borisovsky.

But there it was in black and white that his Ministry had acknowledged receipt of a report on how much it had cost to capture certain stray dogs in White Russia. The Smolensk authorities had asked for this important information.

It emerged that the Ministry does want to be given such items of invaluable worth as the average number of men making use of every single barber's shop in every town in the area. (There is an acute shortage of safety razor blades in the Soviet Empire). It looks as though the Ministry is even interested in getting to know how much exactly every square inch of soap lather costs. Precise returns are required from each shop of the amount expended on bay rum, shaving powder, and face powder. Fact!

As already reported by FREEDOM, six copies of every bit of paperwork handled by any factory or other working plant have to be made out. One of these copies goes to the municipal bank. So along to the bank in Smolensk tripped our informative pair, Garin and Alexandrov, to meet the bank manager. Comrade Matveyev was pressed to show the annual report of the municipal undertakers' bureau. The morticians had succeeded in inflating their own importance to the community by compiling an account of their year's activities which ran to 39 pages.

"Why do you as a bank need all this?"

its decrees to be enforced by the State and its feast days to be observed as public holidays.

Other Articles regulate the mutual relations between Church and State. The Spanish hierarchy is to be appointed after consultation between the Vatican and the Spanish Government. Divorce and civil marriage are forbidden. Catholic education is compulsory in all schools and colleges. All publications contrary to Catholic dogma and morals are forbidden. The clergy are exempt from military service and the criminal courts can only try clerics with the permission of the Bishop. Provision is made for religious teaching over the air. The State recognises Catholic Action.

Non-Catholic religions are governed by three clauses. In Addendum 7 to Article 6: "The profession and practice of the Catholic Religion, which is that of the Spanish State, shall enjoy official protection. No one shall be molested for his religious beliefs or in the private practice of his worship. No other external ceremonies or manifestations other than those of the Catholic Religion shall be permitted."

Article 27 contains this: "The children of non-Catholic parents shall be dispensed from such lessons [i.e. Catholic teaching] at the request of their parents or guardians." An amendment to Article 1 allows the legal toleration of the Muslim religion in Spanish Africa.

On October 26th, 1953, Franco addressed a special message to the Spanish Parliament on the Concordat, which concluded by stating that its fundamental purpose was "to ensure a fruitful collaboration for the greatest good of the religious and civil life of the Spanish nation". F.A.R.

(From "The Freethinker" June 22).

## SOVIET BUMBLEDOM ...

"We don't actually. Nor do we need the reports and returns of other small working plants. We don't even acknowledge their receipt. We don't provide them with credit."

### Bureaucrats Favour the Dictator

And of course it turns out that these mountains of paper are not needed by the other bureaucrats who collect them out of habit, as it would veritably seem. Yet there they are stored away in the filing rooms of the town hall office, town finance department, town statistical department, the bank, and the Regional Department of Communal Economy—window dressing for the common people, something to overawe the peasant who comes to town. Yes, and eye-wash for the Party people higher up.

Though it is dubiously claimed that there is none of this red tape to be found in such big cities as Leningrad and Moscow, yet we dare very much to doubt whether the vague general suggestions for improving municipal management set forth in *Izvestia* No. 153/12151 can be carried into effect. The new dictator must step warily for some time to come. He doesn't even know if he is going to stay long. And all these bureaucrats and parasites on the backs of the Russian workers are among his foremost allies. Their studied inertia will prevent change. For the masses nothing will, or can, improve under Bolshevik rule, which is the most governmental kind of rule of any government that ever was. Under them the State will *not* wither away.

IVAN POPOVICH.

## ... BRITISH BUMBLEDOM

IT is not only in the Soviet Union, or other countries where there is rigidly centralised political control, that bumble-dom or wasteful bureaucracy exists.

Wherever there is centralisation, wherever control is exercised from above and not at the point where the work is actually being carried out, there must be waste and inefficiency. The arguments of socialists and advocates of state control that centralisation is necessary for greater efficiency have been demonstrated by experience to be just not true.

And they are as untrue in nationalised industry in Britain as they are in the nationalised industry or bureaucracy of the Soviet Union. Last Sunday's *Express* (which exposes the bumble-dom in nationalised industry for its own political purposes: not to advocate workers' control like the anarchists, but to pretend that "free" enterprise is the only alternative), gave an example of the wasteful procedure that is inseparable from administration by bureaucrats. Can we believe that if the workers were in control they would give themselves as much unnecessary work as the office boys make for them?

This is the *Sunday Express* report:

Mr. Harold C. Jones of Walkden (Lancs) told the N.W. Electricity Board that he wished to instal a small geyser in his bakehouse.

A simple business, you might think. But not when a State monopoly gets on the job. For this is what happened.

First an official called to discuss the type of geyser desired and where it was to be fitted. Then an inspector came to write all the details down on the inevitable forms-in-triplicate.

In the next four weeks three men with more forms checked that all was as it should be. After them came another inspector to say that the original forms had not been filled in correctly.

Several days later a workman brought the geyser. Two days after a workman came with a spout for it. The day after that a man delivered the tap.

A few more days passed. Then a workman fitted the geyser to the bakehouse wall. He was followed by a man who fitted a pipe on top of it. He, in turn, was followed by the plumber.

Finally two officials and two workmen came with 18 inches of wire with a plug at one end.

Altogether, according to Mr. Jones, it took 15 men to do the job. And all of them, he says, came in cars or vans.

As the price of the geyser was only £17 (plus £2 for fitting) there couldn't be much profit in that little job. But what does cost or profit matter to a State monopoly?

## The Liberals Discuss THE SOCIAL SERVICES

THE first session of the Liberal Summer School, held at Girton College, was given over to discussion of the Social Services and the fact that nearly half the hospital beds in Britain are occupied by the mentally sick. In addition the Summer School was reminded that "the largest single cause of all illness in the western world was schizophrenia."

This discussion may appear to contrast favourably with our own theoretical Summer School lecture session (detailed report elsewhere), "Is History on our Side?", if we did bear in mind that the Liberal Party is in no better position than the anarchists to affect Government decisions on welfare, or that patching up people in an attempt to fit them into a neurotic society is no final solution to world-wide schizophrenia. However, we would be the last to say that within a governmental capitalist society, welfare should not be considered important.

If some misery can be eliminated by the existence of a National Health Service all to the good, but we must never lose sight when pressing for reforms of the main goal—the free equalitarian society.

The causes of mental illness are many, but two prime causes are fear of war and want, twin inevitabilities in our society. In our view, it is much more practical to remove the causes rather than to patch up the patient who will remain affected by the conditions created in an authoritarian society, even although it may change in degree, that is from less welfare to more welfare according to the prosperity of the national coffer.

Mr. Paul Bureau, *News Chronicle* deputy City Editor, suggested to the Liberal Summer School that "we

had gone too fast in the last ten years in allowing the rise in welfare expenditure to outstrip the rise in our national wealth. "Mr. Bureau thought it might be worth considering savings on housing subsidies and an extension of the means-test principle to pensions and hospital services."

We notice that there is no questioning of the policy which gives so much of the 'national wealth' to the improvement of war materials and air force, navy and military equipment, to mention only a few of the socially unnecessary ways in which money is spent.

Even the converse view on the value of the Social Services which came from Kenneth Robinson, M.P., did not contain a criticism of how money was being spent; his main argument in favour being that free medical treatment for all removed anxiety and encouraged people who were sick to seek early medical advice. And on the principle that well fed cows give more milk, he said that the health service benefited the nation by "reducing absenteeism and prolonging effective working life".

In a capitalist economy in times of stress welfare services are always the first to be curtailed. The process begins at the wage level and works its way through institutions which may be of some benefit to the people.

To discuss the possibility of increasing preventive medicine and setting up health centres while ignoring the main causes seems pointless. Under present day conditions it is not surprising that the largest single cause of all illness in the western world is schizophrenia, and the hospitals will continue to fill up as long as an atmosphere of fear is part of our daily lives.

# The Anarchist Summer School

Continued from p. 1  
way to 20th century Statism. This will in turn yield to a truer libertarianism. Although comrade Ridley claimed to be neither pessimist nor optimist, his conclusions certainly looked forward to a better future—even if not in our time!

The second lecture was given by Alex Comfort, who in fact came to similar conclusions to Ridley though approaching the issues from a different standpoint—that of the scientist. Like Ridley, Comfort was not impressed by the ability of present power institutions to survive, and similarly claimed that no society of the past had ever seen so much change and development as the present.

The conflict in the world to-day, as Alex Comfort saw it, lies in the ability of two ideologies—the liberal-social-democratic and the totalitarian Communist—to compete in terms of the successful application of science. And 'science is indivisible'. A State cannot have some science and ignore the rest without reducing its ability to compete. Just as in the 19th century building railways meant digging up fossils, so that the God-fearing bourgeoisie was forced to accept Darwinism, so to-day technological developments produce a climate of thought in which the scientific approach 'gets out of the bottle'.

Scientific disciplines are uncondemned to the acceptance of ideologies, and what has been described as an 'armoured culture' is less likely to succeed than one which allows spontaneity to its technicians. The reversal on Lysenkoism in Russia indicates that this lesson is being learnt there.

Alex Comfort spoke of his visit to Russia and of his contacts with Russian youth, whom he described as certainly strongly indoctrinated with collectivism, but of good quality in their objective and often strongly independent attitudes. The effects of indoctrination, as many anarchists demonstrate, can often have the opposite effects!

The next 100 years would be uncomfortable, and time would have to be allowed for social development to catch up with scientific development. Comfort dismissed World Government as a most alarming thought. The same psychopaths would be on top, either competing for power among themselves, or collud-

ing against us. He saw a way out of organisational difficulties in the wider application of machinery—which is impartial and not actively malicious.

Our immediate tasks Alex Comfort saw as 'making life hell for government' and working always for improvements in social fields—though it is difficult to know how much patching up to do before pulling down the whole house! Or in one example—how much penal reform do we support when we seek the abolition of punishment altogether?

The third and fourth lectures are impossible to summarise. Jack Robinson's lecture was a straight chronological history of the anarchist and allied movements, pointing to the early beginnings of the idea in the Greek Zeno and the Chinese Lao Tse, and then closely dated from the French Revolution and William Godwin.

Much amusement was caused by the regularity with which assassinations occurred in the anarchist calendar, although apparently some of the audience were somewhat affronted by the dry wit with which Jack Robinson dealt with our fore-runners in the revolutionary movements.

The London comrades, however, know the sincerity and seriousness with which comrade Robinson holds his anarchism (as he showed in his summing up), and find it only a healthy sign that we can laugh at ourselves in a way in which the stuffy ideologists of authoritarian parties cannot. We don't think less of Kropotkin because of the almost farcical circumstances of his escape from prison—with a balloon going up, a violinist playing, and himself running like a hare through the gates.

The great anarchists and the courageous bomb-throwers of the past were also human beings, and they will live longer in our hearts if we think of them as such than if we endow them with a mythology bordering on the religious.

The last lecture was given, not as announced by Philip Sansom, but by Giovanni Baldelli, who read an appendix from a book he has just completed. The book outlines the ideas and organisation of a free society, and in the appendix, comrade Baldelli discusses the relation of dialectical materialism to the development of libertarianism.

The closely reasoned and rather abstract nature of this lecture made it impossible to summarise adequately, but the discussion that followed showed that it was held by the audience to be a valuable work. It will, one hopes be eventually published.

The organisation of the week-end went very smoothly in our new Malatesta Club premises. The Saturday evening entertainment (aided by Bonar Thompson) and the Hyde Park meeting on Sunday seemed equally approved by the visitors, and our thanks are due to the comrades who worked so hard at the organising and catering.

BONAR THOMPSON at the Malatesta Club (Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m.)

At different times in the past, regular weekly lectures were given in London by Peter Kropotkin, Errico Malatesta, Louise Michele, Emma Goldman and several less well known anarchist speakers. It may indicate the state of mind of the anarchist movement to-day that while no anarchist speaker gives regular lectures in London these days, the anarchist Malatesta Club is let each Wednesday to a speaker who has said:

I believe Anarchism is the hope of the world, but I am a pessimist.  
Or alternatively, it may indicate only that the Malatesta Club members, like so many other people, consider the pleasant personality, the pessimistic humour, and the unique oratorical style of Bonar Thompson to be a worthwhile entertainment.

For while there is no doubt that Bonar is a scholar, a master of language, and an original thinker, it is as an entertainer rather than a preacher that he is significant. Sometimes his 'lectures' consist almost entirely of dramatic recitations. He has an astonishing memory for words, and knows so many snatches of poetry and prose that he once had a successful act on the London stage, reciting passages from different authors as their names were called out from the audience! And such is his dramatic sense that after merely watching him on his Hyde Park platform, Lewis Casson hired him to go on a European tour playing the sadistic priest in Shaw's *Saint Joan*. A favourite subject for a *locopo* is the

# THEATRE REVIEW SCHOOL FOR ORATORS

summary of a play, in which B. Thompson plays all the main rôles and recites most of the main passages, with critical comments from B. Thompson.

"To be, or not to be . . ." you know, this thought is set in the most beautiful language, but there's nothing unusual about the thought itself. Shakespeare's genius was to set everyday sentiments in beautiful words. Those who say he was a great thinker are crediting the greatest playwright who ever lived with a talent which he never had.

*Hamlet, Macbeth, Juno and the Paycock, A Doll's House and Cyrano de Bergerac* are among the many plays which have received such treatment. A number of latecomers to a lecture were once startled to find Bonar collapsed in a chair, gasping for breath, a very sick lecturer indeed; he was doing the death scene from *Cyrano*.

Not all his recitations are so long, or so interspersed with asides. Wilde's ponderous and repetitive *Ballad of Reading Gaol* blazes, in Bonar's interpretation, with revolutionary passion; and among the best of his wide repertoire are a couple of his own works, the *Speech of a Labour Leader* (a collection of platitudes unparalleled except in real life), and the *Mock Peroration*:

Consider the struggles of our forefathers and our fivefathers, our stepfathers and our stairfathers, our grandfathers and our shabbyfathers . . .

When he is ad-libbing, he spends much of his time in literary criticism, in telling funny stories (most of which are funny), and in the impish denunciation of "ideas", particularly the beliefs of his audience.

No self-respecting anarchist can afford to miss Bonar's remarks on Anarchy. Of course, he is not serious; he is never serious. "Seriousness," he tells us, "is a sign of shallowness."

When he reveals his own ideas, he reveals utter pessimism. His is not the cold, gleeful, "objective" pessimism of a misanthrope, but a pessimism so complete, so grievous, so aggravated by humour and pity and love, that it becomes itself part of the comic entertainment.

It doesn't seem a day since my wife was a young girl, and now she's a grey-haired old lady who walks with a stick. It occurs to me that we're growing old.

It's a very terrible thing, to grow old. And it's no consolation at all to know that everybody else, if they live long enough, will suffer the same thing. It's no consolation to a man who is starving to death, to know that others are in the same condition; or worse.

Nothing is any consolation.  
Only an ostrich, a man with his head in the sand, a self-deluded fool, can find consolation for his suffering in the fact that others are suffering as well.

And, one might add, only a person of very unusual emotional needs can find satisfaction in a belief of such hopelessness, incontestable though its logic may be. True pessimism cannot be taught; it must be endured.

What Bonar can teach, for those with the will to learn and the brains to learn by example, is oratory and the use of words. Every word he uses is chosen with care; he never uses a platitude or a conventional metaphor except as a joke.

## Natural Childbirth Clinic

A Natural Childbirth Association has been formed to promote the use and better understanding of Dr. Granly Dick Read's system. Most readers of FREEDOM will be familiar with Dr. Dick Read's teachings—the necessity for complete muscular relaxation by the mother and the minimum of interference by others during childbirth.

The object of the association, according to the founder and secretary, Mrs. Prunella Briance, is that women who were trained to this method should receive every facility and encouragement to use it and that the maternity services should "open their eyes and train their midwives to understand it properly". The association wanted to list all those doctors and midwives practising the method. They also wished to enrol women who had had experience of the system and were willing to help voluntarily. They would be asked to give their services at ante-natal clinics which the association hoped to form all over the country.

The clinics would show Dick Read's film *Childbirth Without Fear*. This, and a long-playing record of a natural birth, which would be available for hire, would help mothers to understand exactly what was expected of them during labour.

Members are asked to subscribe 5s. a year towards costs. The Treasurer is Mrs. Jean Cormack, Little Park Hill, Bletchingley, Surrey. Mrs. Briance's address is Whitehill, Bletchingley.

## Bureaucracy at Work The Atom-Bomb-Resistant Tag

A New York reader sends us a duplicated form issued by the City of New York Department of Welfare and distributed throughout the Welfare Offices of New York City some months ago. It is from Mr. Robert J. de Sanctis, the Deputy Commissioner, is addressed to "The Staff" and is on the subject of "Identification (I.D.) Tags". It reads: "The New York City Office of Civil Defense is conducting an all-out drive to have every civilian properly identified with a Civil Defense Identification Tag. The Emergency Welfare Division is co-operating in this effort.

Arrangements have been made to issue the finest quality stainless steel tag and chain, at the low cost of twenty cents (20c.) per person. The tag will carry your name, the name of the person to be notified in case of an emergency, his home address, city and state, your date of birth, and religious preference. The tag will not melt under 2,500 degrees, will not tarnish, discolor the skin, lose its shape nor wear out. It is the same I.D. tag now being used by the armed forces.

Directors and Administrative Supervisors shall designate a person in each location to be in charge of I.D. tag orders, forms for which are being forwarded to all locations.

Each location shall list the orders on the Identification Tag Order Form, in duplicate. Both copies of the completed forms and the cash should be delivered by messenger to Mrs. Rebekah R. Shepard, Emergency Welfare Division, 11th floor, Central Office, Extension 793, no later than November 30, 1955.

The reverse side of the Identification Tag Order Form is to be left blank. Staff members may purchase I.D. tags for themselves and members of their families.

An I.D. tag will help Civil Defense to help you."

The tag it will be noted will not melt under 2,500 degrees, which might be an asset if the same could be said of the body to which it is attached. But the bureaucratic mind is much more interested in the question of identifying the ashes that once might have been a man, a woman or a child to be horrified by the matter-of-fact, inhuman presentation of the document. And the last sentence, surely is the last straw: "An I.D. tag will help Civil Defense to help you". What a consolation to know beforehand that when they scoop up what's left of you your relatives and friends will be able to know that that was you!

## PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 31

Deficit on Freedom £620  
Contributions received £529  
DEFICIT £91

July 27 to August 2

London: E.P.\* £1; London: J.S.\* 3/-; Sheffield: H.W.\* 5/6; Cirencester: C. 3/-; London: D.M.\* 10/-; Parma: H.P. 19/9; London: D.M. 1/3.

Total	3	2	6
Previously acknowledged	526	13	7
1956 TOTAL TO DATE	£529	16	1

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### Marie-Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications :

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*Journey Through Utopia* cloth 16s. (U.S.A. \$2.50)

### K. J. KENAFICK :

*Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx* paper 6s.

27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

## 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.

Lectures Suspended During August

#### 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

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