

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Patriotism now means advocating plunder in the interest of the privileged classes of the particular State system into which we have happened to be born.  
 E. BELFORT BAX

ANOTHER CRISIS TO GET ON WITH

## THE DIGHENIS DIARIES

WHILE we wait for President Nasser's decision to hit the headlines in answer to the invitation issued to him to meet the five London Conference delegates, "new disclosures" which reveal the true rôle played by Archbishop Makarios in E.O.K.A. conveniently came to light reminding us as we opened our newspapers on Monday morning that there is no respite from crisis.

Diaries, reputed to have been written by 'Dighenis', the E.O.K.A. Commander, have been 'discovered' by the Government which claim that they establish the guilt of Makarios as having personally directed the terrorist campaign in Cyprus.

If we accept the reasons which the Government put forward for exiling the Archbishop, the new revelations merely endorse the original claim that Makarios "was deeply and personally implicated in the terrorist organisation".

We can assume that the publication of the documents at this stage, assuming them to be authentic, is not in order to reveal any new significant evidence against Makarios, but for political purposes designed to discredit him further and to attempt to force E.O.K.A. to accept the British terms before any discussions are held to settle the future of Cyprus.

We drew attention last week in FREEDOM to E.O.K.A.'s suspension of activities as a gesture to enable Makarios to be brought from exile and discussions to proceed on his terms. Had the British Government however, agreed to negotiate on Makarios's terms their position would have been weakened, and although we suggested that the Government at this stage would like to make a deal with the Archbishop, to 'negotiate from strength'—that is on conditions laid down by the British Government—is in their view the best way of ensuring that Britain maintains a firm hold on the island.

Had E.O.K.A., weakened, we feel for some of the reasons we mentioned last week, accepted the surrender terms (printed elsewhere in this

issue) offered to them by the Government after the suspension of activities, we may well still be in ignorance of the Dighenis Diaries, and the Government would not be too squeamish about coming to terms with the 'terrorists'. Because, as the *Manchester Guardian* pointed out editorially:

"We encouraged terroristic resistance movements on the Continent: we negotiated a peace with Irish revolutionaries who had used terrorism against us... In Ireland we had to deal with Michael Collins because he had just enough weight to carry Ireland with him and was also prepared to negotiate with us."

Makarios, strengthened by his martyrdom imposed by the British Government, carries a lot of weight with the population in Cyprus, and had E.O.K.A. decided to have its members exiled to Greece, brought to trial or rendered helpless in some way covered by the surrender terms, we can be sure that the Government would have made another discovery that Makarios was a moderate and a reasonable man after all.

Whatever the strength of E.O.K.A., its members have been outraged by the British offer and their reply—"No, come and take it"—may mean a fresh outburst of violent resistance.

What is the position of Makarios after the latest move to draw attention to his activities? In the view of this writer he will not be brought to trial, but brought to heel. As a popular political and religious leader, it would be unwise for the Government at the moment to impose further punishment.

Also, Makarios is an ambitious man, and although martyrdom is useful in terms of popularity (and even comfortable on occasions), the Archbishop does not strike us as being the dedicated, uncompromising spirit his robes might have us believe.

At the same time we have to remember that the Government has made quite a number of blunders lately, and in an atmosphere of political hysteria anything is possible.  
 R.M.

After the London Suez Conference

## Big Business Takes Over?

THE canal crisis is now a month old, and as more weeks pass by (and the ships of the world go on feeling their way through it unmoored) this "greatest crisis since Korea" will, we suggest, be looked upon as the greatest hoax since that of the Formosa straits at the beginning of last year.

As we write, the London conference has ended its deliberations, and a committee of five pall-bearers has been nominated to transport the coffin containing its remains for burial in Egypt. (It is not yet certain whether Nasser will agree to a decent burial in the land of the Pharaohs!) The London conference was soon over, not because there were none of the normal delays over procedure which generally occupy more time than the deliberations, but because even before the delegates met the conference was dying. And death was hastened by the bad faith of the delegates themselves, with those who preach internationalism defending Arab nationalism and Egypt's sovereignty, whilst those with colonial and nationalist and racial "records" became the impassioned exponents of internationalism!

Such somersaults are not surprising if one accepts the view that no nation was prepared to discuss the Suez Canal as a problem affecting the lives of millions of people but was instead only interested to use that problem for the advancement of its own national political and/or economic interests. One such nation was India which has a growing interest in the canal as a short cut to many of the sources of industrial equipment she is needing for her own industrial expansion. Yet India was interested in the London Conference for other reasons which in part explain her alignment with Russia when the vote was taken. The *Manchester Guardian's* New Delhi correspondent makes no bones about these interests:

If the Suez Canal is vital to Britain so is the propping up of President Nasser to India. British tankers may flow through the canal with their precious cargo and British prestige may be at

stake. But, for India, if Nasser's nose is rubbed in his temerity like that of an untidy pup flop goes the whole elaborate scaffolding India has built around its antagonism to the Bagdad Pact, and that would not only cost India prestige but would be directly opposed to India's interest, which is to neutralise Pakistan as much as possible.

We have selected India as our example because in progressive circles to-day it is suggested that under the leadership of Mr. Nehru, India is bringing "honesty and a New Look" to world politics and diplomacy. If India's motives at the London conference were as opportunistic as is suggested by the *M.G.'s* correspondent, and India is bringing a new morality to politics, what must have been the motives of the other participants who follow the traditionally tortuous and muddy paths of politics?

★

IF at the beginning of the "crisis" there had been any intention on the part of the British government to use force (and it is clear that in certain politically influential circles, including the *Times*, armed force against Egypt and for the overthrow of Nasser is considered as the only solution to the problem), the psychological moment has now passed for such action, apart from the fact that the government must realise that, with the exception of France, it would have either a hostile or an unco-operative world to contend with. As time passes the "crisis" is assuming its proper proportions. The Suez Canal is less "vital" than it was made out to be a month ago. Nasser's "threats" to freedom of navigation through the Canal is now less of a threat than the defections of the Canal's pilots. This in its turn has lost its news value with the later news that a large number of German pilots are being recruited for these most lucrative jobs. The pilot scare will be in due course dispersed. Already in last Sunday's *Observer* we are informed that

In view of some naval experts the belief that shortage of pilots will force Egypt to see that she cannot run the

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## The Surrender Terms in Cyprus EXILE OR TRIAL?

The following terms were offered to E.O.K.A. after it suspended activities to enable talks to take place on the future of Cyprus:—

In the new conditions created by the decision of the terrorists to call off their campaign of violence, the Government of Cyprus, with the full approval of Her Majesty's Government, have decided that it would now be in the public interest to give the terrorists who are still at large in the island the opportunity of extricating themselves from the position into which their action in taking up arms against the established Government of the country has led them.

These terrorists will therefore now be given the opportunity of surrendering with their arms. The offer will remain open for three weeks from midnight tonight. Details of the manner in which the terrorists should surrender themselves and their arms will be announced during the course of to-morrow.

A terrorist who surrenders during this period in accordance with the procedure to be announced will have the choice of being dealt with in one of two ways. Either:

(a) He may opt to leave Cyprus for Greece as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made and subject to certain conditions which are explained in paragraph 4 of this announcement; or

(b) He may opt to remain in Cyprus in which case the terms of paragraph 5 will apply.

Once he has opted for one or other of these courses his decision will be final.

If he decides to leave Cyprus for Greece the following terms will apply:

(a) He will be kept in detention pending his departure.

(b) he will not be prosecuted for any crime he may have committed before this announcement, even involving violence against the person.

(c) His option will be conditional upon

proof that Greece is willing to admit him.

(d) If a British subject, he will be required to give an undertaking that on arrival in Greece he will apply for Greek nationality and will renounce his British nationality as soon as possible, and that he will not in future claim protection and privileges as a British subject.

(e) On his departure he will be declared a prohibited immigrant, and will not be allowed to re-enter Cyprus. If in the event he is not admitted to Greece then he will be treated as though he had opted to remain in Cyprus.

If he decides to remain in Cyprus the following terms will apply:

(a) If there is evidence against him of the commission of a specific offence involving violence against the person, he will be brought to trial.

(b) He will not be brought to trial for any terrorist offence not involving violence against the person committed before this announcement.

(c) Unless brought to trial and sentenced he will remain in detention until released either by the ending of the state of emergency or by virtue of an order of the Governor, whichever is the earlier.

At a later stage, when the Governor is satisfied that stable conditions of peace and order have been re-created, he will be prepared to declare an amnesty for certain offences committed by the terrorists and their supporters now in prison or under detention. This amnesty will include those who surrender under the terms of this announcement.

It must be remembered that the carrying of arms and the possession of arms and explosives without lawful authority continues to be illegal and are an offence punishable with death and life imprisonment respectively. There will be no relaxation in the efforts of the security forces to enforce the law.

## Stevedores-Shipbuilders-Miners-Draughtsmen Disputes Bustin' Out All Over

REDUNDANCY, pay, dirty work, fear of disease—these were just four of the motives for industrial disputes this week.

In every industry, relations between workers and employers are deteriorating, as attacks are made upon living standards and conditions of work. The employers, faced with credit squeezes, rising bank rates, reduced facilities for overdraft and rising costs of materials, turn in the only direction they can to effect economies—their workers.

So far there have been few if any actual cuts in wage-rates, but the general attitude of the employers is to resist any further increases—to let the workers bear the steady rise in living costs without any additional income. But for thousands of workers there have been actual reductions in income, as overtime earnings have dropped, while in some industries where short-time is now the practise, incomes have been badly sliced, and there is real hardship.

### Stevedores

THE motor industry has been getting most publicity lately, but in other industries the grievances of the workers, if less spectacular, are no less real. For instance at Garston Dock, Liverpool, the stevedores have just won a three-day strike over a demand for 'dirty money' for the handling of bauxite residue.

The strike was originally unofficial, but speedily won official support when 800 stevedores joined the original group who made the demand. Along the Mersey the struggle between the Transport & General Workers' Union and the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers is still going on. Both sets of officials, therefore, are anxious to show the men how ready they are to take up any issue on their behalf.

The TGWU acted at Garston with a speed which would have left London dockers gasping—and on an issue which quite probably would not have won

official support down South. The men claimed that the bauxite residue not only stains their clothes and bedding but gets under their skin. "Although we go to a dance perfectly clean," they say, "by the time we have become overheated, the stuff comes out and we look like Red Indians."

To which the bosses could have replied that if they dressed like Red Indians in the first place they wouldn't get so overheated. However, that probably would not go down so well in Liverpool's dance halls.

Anyway, this was a battle the Redskins won. They forced the Palefaces to cough up an extra 5s. a ton for handling the cargo of 230 tons of the residue—which on top of the 4s. per ton ordinary cargo rate, makes an acceptable figure for the dirty cargo. The Redskins might be biting the dust, but at least they're getting paid for it.

Also at Liverpool a dispute involving 200 men took place at Victoria Dock. The dispute centred around only 56, who were told to service the coaster "Glen-gariff", which docked at Liverpool three weeks ago with a case of poliomyelitis abroad. The vessel has made other visits to Liverpool since then, but yesterday the dockers complained that they risked catching the disease and demanded compensation if that should happen. The port medical authorities have twice assured them that the ship is clear of infection, and the Transport and General Workers' Union is satisfied, too.

In which case one would imagine that the authorities should feel confident that they have nothing to lose by agreeing to pay compensation. But perhaps they feel it would create a precedent?

### Shipbuilders

IT seems there must be something in the river air at this season, for on the Clyde there is, at the time of writing, a threat of a major stoppage in the ship-

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## PEOPLE AND IDEAS

# MORE ABOUT BRECHT

BRECHT is one of those jackdaw writers who seize an idea here and a situation there, and reshape them into something of their own. The subjects of this selection and regurgitation indicate the themes which attract him most. Take, as an example, the play *Trumpets and Drums* in the present London season of the Berliner Ensemble, which is an adaptation of an English Restoration comedy *The Recruiting Officer* by George Farquhar. (I saw an amateur performance of Farquhar's play last year which was reviewed in a local paper under the headline 'Dirt doesn't Date') Corrupt, philandering officers, an eloquent rogue of a sergeant, yokels recruited after being befuddled with drink, and a court scene with three pompous and idiotic magistrates; all these are the kind of raw material which attracts Brecht, and in his version he gives it a political point by transferring the period to that of the American War of Independence.

The war theme permeates his work, war seen from the bottom. It dominates *Mother Courage*, it appears in a different key in the *Chalk Circle*; it is even introduced in the *Threepenny Opera* with the song, "Let's all go barmy, let's join the army..." Linked to the war theme is the mother theme. There is *Mother Courage* singing, "Cheer up boys, the rose is fading/When victory comes you may be dead/A war is just the same as trading/But not with cheese—with steel instead". She profits from the war, but it takes her children one my one.

In *The Mother*, an adaptation of Gorki's novel, the mother is drawn almost against her will into the revolutionary struggle, in order to feed her son; just as Shen Te in the *Good Woman of Setzuan* declares, when she becomes pregnant, "I shall defend my own even if I have to be a tigress to do it!" In *The Gans of Mother Carrar*, the Spanish fisherwoman defeated in her efforts to protect her sons from the war, takes up arms to avenge them. The themes of war and of motherhood are joined in *The Trial of Lucullus* by the third of Brecht's recurring motifs, that of justice, or rather, of judicial interrogation. The Roman general, dying, appears before the supreme tribunal in the kingdom of shadows. He recites a catalogue of his glorious victories, but is faced by the old fishwife whose sons have died in his battles. Did anything that had been gained by his conquests compensate for the loss of 80,000 men? Lucullus is condemned, together (in the 'uncorrected' version) with all wars. The process of 'justice', gayed in the *Threepenny Opera*, turned upside down by the peasant Azdak in the *Chalk Circle*, softened

by the compassion of the gods in *The Good Woman of Setzuan*, becomes a sort of Moscow Trial in *The Measure*, where the victim assents in his own liquidation.

★ BUT the central subject which this didactic playwright hammers away at without finding an acceptable solution is that of good and evil. Perhaps we can understand him better if we think of his attitudes and emotions as a series of strata or layers into which he delves at different levels. At the bottom is the simple piety of his Bavarian Christian upbringing, which was also reflected in the austerity of his personal life. His early book of poems about decomposition and corruption is called, of all things *Die Hauspostille*, variously translated as *Domestic Sermons* or *The Book of Prayers*, and his work is full of parodies of German hymns. In the finale of the *Threepenny Opera*, Peachum invites all to join in the singing of the 'choral anthem' which turns out to be a solemn strong and beautiful melody like one of Bach's chorales:

"Do not defend the Right with too much boldness/For Wrong is cold: its death is sure though slow."

Brecht's continual parody of religious liturgy has sometimes what Herbert Lüthy notes, "the vulgarity of an angry street urchin, but often a real almost childlike inconsolability for the lost faith of childhood". This bottom level of his thought contains also the stoical pantheism of the *Great Thanksgiving Chorale*:

"Praise the grass and the beasts who live and die near you!/See/how the grass and the beast live like you and must also die like you./Praise the tree that from carrion grows up rejoicing to the sky!/Praise the carrion, praise the tree that devoured it, but praise the sky too!"

Implicit in his religious attitude is a belief in human goodness. "Why are you so bad?" asks Shen Te, "You tread on your fellow men. Isn't it a strain?" He develops this thought in a poem:

"On the walls hangs a Japanese sculpture, the mask of a wicked demon, lacquered with gold./I look with consideration at the swollen veins of the face, which prove/how difficult it is to be wicked."

★ ABOVE this layer is one of Brecht's most characteristic thoughts, the recognition that if you are just good you get trodden on, that whoever helps the lost gets lost himself. It is the leitmotiv of the *Threepenny Opera* from Peachum's song:

"It'll be the same forever/A man is never bright enough/Bright enough to uncover/all the tricks and bluff./It'll be the same forever/Man is never meek and

mild enough/Spiritual endeavours/Just another bluff."

To Macheath's terrifying creed. "What does a man live by? By grinding, sweating/Defeating, beating, cheating, eating, some other man/For he can only live by sheer forgetting/Forgetting that he ever was a man."

★ Thus comes the next layer which concludes that to be good and tell the truth you have to be cunning. In the *Chalk Circle*, Grusha's good action, (Terrible is the temptation of goodness, commented the story-teller) led her into trouble after trouble, but Azdak the tough and wily peasant is able to dispense justice by ignoring the law. "Statute and rule he broke like a loaf to feed the folk". Galileo has to deny the truth before the Inquisition in order to survive to pursue it in secret. Shen Te tells the gods that their injunction to be good

"Tore me like lightning in halves, To be good to others and to myself, I couldn't do both at the same time. Alas your world is too difficult!" And it did literally tear her in half, be-

cause she had continually to impersonate an imaginary cousin who would turn up in her supposed absence to drive away the spongers who battered on her. To survive she had to be a split personality, like Herr Puntilla, the Finnish landowner who believed in the goodness of human nature but that capitalism had made men bad. He had to get drunk as often as possible in order to be a human being until he sobered up into his capitalist second self.

★ HOW do we cure this necessary schizophrenia of goodness? Change human nature or the world?

"Why don't the gods have mines and canon, battleships, bombers and tanks? Bring down the bad and save the good? Shouldn't we all give thanks?"

For the gods, read the Party. For on the topmost, the most rarified layer of Brecht's dialogue on good and evil we are back in religious mysticism and self-abandonment of a different sort. Instead of abandoning yourself to floating, passive, thankful and receptive, on the stream of being, abandon yourself to the march of the Party:

THE EDUCATED CHORUS: Changing the world, change yourselves, Abandon yourselves!

## Dr. ALFRED KINSEY

THE death of Dr. Alfred Kinsey seems to have caught "official" obituarists on the left leg, for what they say about him only reveals their own lack of understanding of his achievement. In the limited world of zoology Kinsey was "one of the greatest authorities on the gall-wasp" (thus the *Times*; nor did Geoffrey Gorer in the *Observer* fail to remind the non-zoological laity of this achievement), but the work which made his name a household word since the publication in 1948 of "Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male" is perhaps of even greater significance.

Kinsey's two works ("Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female" appeared in 1953) compel recognition of the magnitude of his work, but in the sniggering world of to-day it is doubtless difficult to assess just how great that magnitude is and in what it consists. Each of these huge books is based on analysis of interviews with about 6,000 men and 6,000 women. Criticism has been directed at the statistical validity of the sample, but the fact is that Kinsey and his associates succeeded in making the interviews and getting the information—a mass of information such as no sexologists had succeeded in securing before in all the 60 odd years since Havelock Ellis began to seed in securing before in all the 60

air of discussion and treat it with a proper conception of its importance. Havelock Ellis was a man of much integrity and wisdom that he was able to weather the slanders and hostility with which he was met and end his days respected and revered. Kinsey inherited the fruit of Ellis' life work—the ability to study sexual problems without at least the intelligentsia and the scientific world accusing him of perversion and puerility. But he succeeded in turning this advantage to magnificent account, for on the basis of a preliminary investigation which he financed himself, he persuaded his own university—Indiana—and then the Rockefeller Foundation and the National Research Council to sponsor the enquiry which led to the founding of the Institute for Sex Research and the publication of his two Reports.

This official sponsoring of his work argues quite exceptional qualities in Kinsey: qualities which stand out even more when one reflects that the presentation of his material makes no concession to established institutions. For his comments are all the more devastating to the law, education, and religion by reason of the measured matter-of-fact manner in which they are couched.

It has been said that Kinsey was a great propagandist. In the sense that he

THE LEADER OF THE EDUCATED CHORUS: March!

(Das Badener Lehrstück vom Einverständnis).

In his play *The Measure*, four Communist agitators, "all of them without names or mothers, empty pages on which the Revolution writes its instructions", are on trial before the 'Control Chorus' to explain why they have killed a fifth. The dead man's crime was to have given way to human feelings, pity and anger, thus endangering the Party. He had tried to help the coolies instead of just inciting them; he had refused to form an alliance with the fat capitalist, which Party policy demanded; and he had declined to call off the Party's instructions to call off the revolt.

"There is nothing left to do but to liquidate this danger to the Party, and throw him into the lime-pit. He himself, a hopeless idealist but a true revolutionary, gave his consent." He still said: in the interests of Communism and the advance of the proletarian masses of all countries, saying yes to the revolutionaries of the world . . ."

★ COULD Brecht really have believed in self-annihilation as the solution to the problem of human responsibility for

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opened the eyes of millions of readers to facts of sexual behaviour which they had probably hardly dared to think about before, in this sense the epithet propagandist may fit. But the qualities required to achieve this are about as far as could be from those usually displayed by propagandists in other fields.

But still rarer qualities lie behind Kinsey's achievement. Anyone who has ever engaged in the work of trying to draw from men and women an account of their sexual activities will know how much tact, sympathy and mutual respect and trust are required. The collection of the material presented in the two Reports can only have been done by men of quite exceptional abilities in these respects. It would be very interesting to hear from Kinsey's collaborators an account of how he set about the task of interviewing his subjects, and how he passed on his method to those whom he taught.

Looked at in this fashion we see a very great man indeed. Those who faintly praise him as an authority on the gall-wasp provoke the suspicion that the uncloaking of the actual facts of sexual behaviour is somehow upsetting to them. Be that as it may it seems likely that Kinsey's work has inaugurated a new epoch in the attitude of the western world to sexual behaviour and problems comparable to that which Ellis' sex volume "Psychology of Sex" did half a century ago. J.H.

## THE WELFARE STATE AND I (4)

# KEYNSIAN ECONOMICS

### 5. Keynesian Economics.

Every age has its religion and its priestcraft who influence a great range of human activity. In Max Weber's analysis of the history of the development of modern capitalism in Europe, he emphasised how medieval catholicism, by its strictures on usury and its teaching of economic quietism hindered the development of capitalism even when the technical potential was at hand—a point disputed by Marx. In our own century the economists have been elevated to the position of a peculiar sort of priestcraft. Their prophecies, their curses and their blessings are no more accurate than the enunciations of any other priestcraft who use the entrails of fowls, star-gazing or prayer and fasting to achieve their purposes. That is not the point. The point is that they are influential. Man does not live by bread alone, but takes it seasoned with a considerable amount of baloney.

If the prophets of Baal had by their machinations, caused vast fertile fields to go uncultivated, millions to starve with idle hands and others to perish by fire and violence, we would tend to think that the people who supported them were very superstitious dolts indeed. Yet in this century prophets who have studied the Sacred Books in Harvard and the London School of Economics, have had a similar sort of influence in America, Britain and their dependencies. Yet somehow they have contrived not to 'lose face'.

The rôle of Keynes was somewhat remotely comparable to that of Martin Luther and Calvin who broke the system of ideas which bound Medieval man. It may be said that the religious assumptions of the Protestants contain as much baloney as do those of the Medieval Catholic Church, but a new sort of baloney releases many creative forces which have previously been held in check. Protestantism made modern capitalism and an industrial civilization possible after centuries of stagnation. Keynes, by questioning a great

deal of the dogma of economists, accomplished the beginnings of a revolution in ideas in the 1930's.

It is true that society is not governed by professional economists. Its governors are those who rise to the key positions of power in the oligarchies of the business world, the higher civil service, the church, trade union movement, army, judiciary—oligarchies which frequently overlap in our pluralistic government. But the economists provide the theory by which a good deal of policy may be justified as if it were the outcome of rational planning rather than the resultant irrational compromise between the conflicting claims of different oligarchies. Up to 1940 economies mainly had the rôle of retarding the development of the growing Welfare State. Hard-headed business men who affected to despise the dogmas of the theorists would nevertheless use the esoteric jargon of the theorists to defend what they foolishly imagined to be their interests—hence the great slump in Britain and America at the end of the 1920's which ruined business men as well as working men.

The effect of the writings of Keynes was simply to counteract the nonsense which had guided governments and business men for too long. To the ordinary man it seems plain that to keep men idle instead of working must tend to promote economic disaster rather than prosperity: it also seems evident that it is reasonably 'good business' to keep the working class in health rather than sickness and with wages to spend rather than skint: so too does it seem a commonsense policy for the State, which has unlimited control over all credit to use that control to promote productive industry by all the devices at its disposal, than simply to act as a wet blanket. Ordinary people had been saying this for a long time, but their inarticulate grumbles were no match for the skilled reasoning of the classical economists who could easily prove the contrary. It was the genius of Keynes that he could argue common sense in brilliantly technical terms, and so within the limitations of govern-

mental capitalist society effected a profound change in the "science" of economics.

Maynard Keynes was undoubtedly a brilliant and remarkable man and it is therefore convenient to refer to him as the cornerstone of the new development which permitted further progress in the Welfare State. I have compared him to both Luther and Calvin, who played somewhat different rôles in the changing of religious ideology. It is important to bear in mind that what is important is not the absolute truth of Keynes' assumptions, but the influence which has been exerted in the formation of practical policies.

### The Means of Welfare

Having considered the various causative factors for the development of the Welfare State, it remains to study the means by which it is achieved. How is it that had my grandfather chosen not to work he would have been slowly done to death in a workhouse, yet if I choose not to work I will preserve the full liberty of British citizenship and continue to enjoy three meals a day? How do 'they' manage it?

In my grandfather's day, he had been born and lived in a parish at Land's End, that parish would be responsible for dealing with him if he became destitute. If, for instance, he lost all sources of income while living in John O' Groats, the poor law authorities would have had the job of transporting him bodily back to Land's End, where he would have been housed in a workhouse at the expense of the local ratepayers. As the local ratepayers were responsible for the destitute by a direct levy on their pockets, there was a continual howl against all possible increases in welfare payments. Obviously the Welfare State could not develop on finance from this source. When they brought in the old age pensions (for the *deserving* poor only) in 1908, it was by a direct payment from the Treasury. The problem remained however, who was going to pay to support the sick and the unemployed? The local ratepayers would not accept such a burden, nor would the taxpayers stand for a substantial increase in what they paid to the Treasury. Who should support the poor in their distress? Why—the poor! G.

(To be continued)

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## BIG BUSINESS TAKES OVER IN SUEZ?

Continued from p. 1

Canal without an international staff is misplaced. Pilots on any great international waterway or port tend to exaggerate their importance and qualification in their own interests.

(Who knows but that in six months' time we shall be told that the use of pilots is an unnecessary luxury. In any case we have never been able to understand why, since the ships using the canal travel in convoy, it should be necessary to have a pilot on every ship rather than just one on the leading vessel).

We were saying that as time passes so the canal becomes less a matter of "life and death" for the industrial nations of Europe than was suggested by Sir Anthony in his melodramatic T.V. appearance, and the "crisis", if such it is, is political and narrowly economic (that is it cannot in fact seriously affect the economic life of Europe however much it may upset the narrow financial interests of shareholders, directors and other beneficiaries of the old Suez Canal Company). And as we see it the "crisis" can be boiled down to a question of shillings and pence.

The fact that Britain continues to go through the motions of preparing for war (more troops and equipment have been dispatched to the Mediterranean since the London Conference), does not shake us into believing that Eden and Pineau mean business, but rather confirms our view ("No Honour among Thieves" FREEDOM 11/8/56), that in spite of outward appearances the government has no intentions of using force to resolve the Suez problem: that the first move was bluff which failed to deter Nasser and the fact that Britain persists in its movement of troops at this stage is simply a face-saving gesture, which later can always be twisted into a justification as "a precautionary measure".

★

THE real threats to Nasser are of a different nature. As the *Observer* pointed out last Sunday:

But it is felt [by the British and French Governments] that the real test of the solidarity of the 18 nations who backed the Western plan is not whether they will support Britain and France in the use of force, but whether they and their public opinions are prepared to support the economic consequences of standing firm, which would almost certainly mean developing alternative routes to Suez. The Americans have indicated that they are preparing to assist Britain and Europe in financing and transporting and increasing production of Western hemisphere oil. Even so, a breakdown of Suez would soon impose petrol rationing and industrial slow-downs in many European countries.

As we pointed out weeks ago, Nasser is interested in the Suez Canal as an asset not as a liability, and he can only do this by attracting shipping to use it, not by driving it away or by provoking the construction of super-tankers which will be too big for the canal anyway.

To what extent do questions of personalities override those of economics? To what extent is Egyptian policy determined by Nasser's personal feelings or past humiliations at the hands of the British; or British policy by Eden's concern for national and political prestige (and his own political future)? These are questions to which the people should give more consideration and seek to answer objectively. Our impression is that the political leaders may influence issues in their opening stages but that ultimately more fundamental forces take over which are unconcerned with such ephemeral matters as prestige, "face" and "teaching the wogs a lesson". The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company is much more interested in profits than in Jenkin's Ear!

## Soviet's 14-Hour Workday

SHORTER working weeks have been promised by the frightened "B. & K. collective leadership" and noisily proclaimed by the *Daily Worker*. Under direct Soviet rule, however, a fourteen-hour day is being worked not so very far east of Berlin. This important fact—important, that is, for the ordinary man of the working class, of the producing group in society—has come to light as the result of the campaign of criticism launched by the Communist Party of East Germany against Party and State officials governing the rural areas. After slacking off a bit the campaign picked up again on Wednesday, 15th August, in *Neues Deutschland* (New Germany).

Left to himself and not interfered with by the State, the German peasant and small-holder are as good food producers as any in Europe. Yet East Germany has had to endure chronic shortages ever since the ending of hostilities over ten years ago. (There is even a firm here in London which specializes in handling food and gift parcels for the Soviet Zone of Germany).

### Farming Overplanned

Planning on the Bolshevik model by a horde of Communist officials who can't fix a coulter to a plough or harness a horse has brought chaos to East Germany's farming industry. Only a combination of intensively cultivated smallholdings and anarcho-syndicalist communes in the countryside could rapidly improve the situation. As it is State control can by its very nature effect any measure of improvement by slow degrees. The State's handicap here lies in having to use an army of civil servants and inspectors, a ponderously slow bureaucracy as always and everywhere.

Hostile to freedom and therefore to freedom of thought, your soviet-satellite Communist and your foreign C.P.er

clings to the discarded orthodoxy of Moscow with pathetic obstinacy. Their Russian comrades have Machine and Tractor Stations, so they must have them, too. Likewise they must orthodoxly repeat all their Russian comrades' mistakes in organizing these MTS (whose teething troubles have already lasted a quarter of a century). And goodness knows whole rivers of printer's ink have been wasted under Stalin in "self-criticism" regarding these same MTS. Yet the more things change the more they remain the same and these State-organized collections of farm machinery and tractors have still failed to create a land flowing with milk and honey. Twenty-five years have gone since their organization was undertaken to solve the problem of bread, yet "We want bread!" was the call on the streets of Poznan exactly as it had been on the streets of Berlin.

FREEDOM is able to tap official sources to state that in the Pirna area in East Germany unrest has been simmering for some time and threatening to break into revolt. If it did it would be disaster, for the German peasants could stand no chance against the weight of armour which Ulbrich would be able to throw against them.

Comrades on the C.P. executive are holding the representatives of the chairman of the rural district council of Nauen responsible for the failure of the harvesting operations. To be exact up to the sixth of this month a mere 17.3% of the crops in that area had been harvested. What a failure of Communist farming policy!

The Party comrade in charge of the division dealing with all MTS organization has also come under fire. Under his control tractor drivers have been compelled to work anything up to twelve and fourteen hours a day. (So much for the Soviet seven-hour day!) This has been due mainly to neglecting to provide take-over shifts. It is just as simple as that. The Party paper is forced to admit that this merciless driving of the men has in many instances "seriously impaired their health". Evidently the men managed to find means to get their complaints through to headquarters. To strike is of course a crime against the workers' State. *New Germany* demands that all MTS introduce a properly organized shift system as the principal method of making up leeway in securing the harvest.

Inside the U.S.S.R. itself similar difficulties are being encountered in bringing in the harvest. All the troubles are laid at the door of the bureaucrats employed by the State who are watched over, be it noted, by Communists on the spot acting as Party watch-dogs.

### Unemployment in Poland?

Officially admitted in Bulgaria by *Rabotnichesko Delo*, organ of the C.P. there, unemployment is assumed to be unthinkable in Soviet Poland. But a correspondent of what the *Daily Worker* calls the enemy press writes from Warsaw that the Polish Soviet wishes to win more popular support among "workers it has squeezed out of the economy". More plainly put, does this mean they are unemployed?

### Soviet Coal Output Down

Worried by the effects among the miners of his own debunking of Stalinism, Khrushchev has been frantically stumping the coal-fields in a personal

effort to boost both morale and production. Throughout the Soviet Union coal output is declining. And it has the leaders badly worried. Last Sunday's *Observer* covers his visit to Stalino in the Donetz Basin. According to Khrushchev housing for the miners was thoroughly bad. This was one of the main causes of the great fluidity of mine labour. Mine builders were wasting money and materials and not concentrating on new pits. Engineers and technicians had increased in number but were running the offices instead of being down in the mines with the colliers.

But the men at the face, the actual coal-hewers, remain unimpressed. What they do see is Khrushchev as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. accompanied like a visiting monarch by Comrade A. I. Kirichenko, First Secretary of the C.P. of the Ukraine. And although these two extremely important persons did go down one pit to see a new kind of roof-propping method in the form of reinforced concrete pillars, on the surface they were followed by a regular suite of big functionaries. Present were Comrade A. N. Zademidko, Minister of the Coal Industry of the U.S.S.R.; Comrade L. G. Melnikov, Minister for Coalmine Building throughout the Soviet Union; Comrade A. Th. Zasyad'ko, Minister of the Ukrainian Coal Industry; Comrade G. V. Krasnikov who is Melnikov's opposite number in the Ukraine. Lastly, but by no means least, stalked Comrade I. P. Kazanetz who is First Secretary of the Stalino District Committee of the C.P. of the Ukraine. And of course each has his own chauffeur-driven limousine and of course the common men and women of the drab mining villages of old Donbass see all and miss nothing. It is with tired apathy that they listen to the shouted appeals for more and more coal. What the miner and his family want is more consumer goods and better hous-

ing. Curtains, too, they would like for their windows. At present they make do with old newspapers.

More coal means more power for the Bolsheviks; it means nothing to the workers without coal.

### Bolsheviks Panicking Over Coal

Just under half of *Pravda* No. 231/13894 is given over to the problem of falling coal production, though it is difficult to see how leading articles in the Party organ and very full reports of the conference of engineers in the mining industry can do much to close the gap between reality and the Communists' dream of more and more power. Shot-firers and qualified hewers were at the conference and given their head by Khrushchev, who meant business. Few Russian names are among those mentioned as speaking on the causes of dwindling output in the mines. Almost all were such Ukrainian names as: Haponenko, Drozdenko, Butenko, Bodnya, Tsapuk, Hrapal. And the Ukrainians were blunt enough in revealing a truly shocking state of affairs in one of the richest and most easily worked coal basins in Europe. Far from dangerous by any standards, these pits, the men complain, are visited by the swarms of trust chiefs and their underlings only to the extent that they get as far as the wheel shed. They are always staggering under such an excessive load of urgent Party business that they simply dare not go down to the face to see for themselves what is doing there. No sooner have they arrived than they are off again, glad to be away from the grime and the dust, the sweat and the swearing.

### Poznan Trials

September 6th is said to be the date of the opening trial of the workers imprisoned for investigation after the Poznan revolt, says the *Hamburger Abendblatt* of 17th August. According to political observers in Warsaw the work of investigation was one of extreme difficulty for the State police. I.P.

## LYSISTRATA BLUE-PENCILLED

THE news that the Greek classic, *Lysistrata* will be broadcast on the Third Programme and also produced by the Oxford Playhouse is blighted by the blue pencil of the Lord Chamberlain, and the announcement that although the B.B.C. is not subject to his censorship they may be making a few cuts of their own.

Only twelve lines have been cut from a total of 2,000 which strikes the Oxford Playhouse producer as being "generous", and one wonders why the Lord Chamberlain has troubled at all. But the principle of censorship must be maintained even though the play was written over two thousand years ago.

*Lysistrata* has an interesting (if drastic) message for our time, and tells how the women of Athens withdrew their favours from their husbands to stop them making war against Sparta.

In a spirit of self-sacrifice one might advocate such a policy to-day to those women who are opposed to war, but as always there would be a few blacklegs willing to take things lying down. If some of the reports from the doctor's consulting room are correct however, quite a number of husbands would accept the news with relief.

The curious thing about our censorship laws is that some plays cut for the stage are readily available in the full text in book form.

## More about Brecht

good and evil? Was *The Measure* a satire? Well he sent a telegram of congratulation to the East German government on the suppression of the Berlin revolt of June 17th, 1953. But who sent it, the believer who believed to the point of extinction, or the cynic who declared *Ich weiss nicht was ein Mensch ist. Ich kenne nur seinen Preis.* "I don't know what a man is. I only know his price?"

When Mr. Henry Adler, talking to Brecht, described Grusha's decision to sacrifice her happiness for the abandoned child as a moral decision, the author corrected him, "It is more than morality. It is an act of love. She takes on the burden first as a duty. Then it becomes part of her. She grows through it. She cannot give it up. It is an act of love". But for an act of love the Chinese Communist of *The Measure* was buried in the lime-pit.

A contemporary of Brecht in the German experimental theatre of the twenties, Ernst Toller, wrote a play *Masse Mensch* in which the question is asked, "Who taught us the death sentence? Who armed us? Who hallowed violence?" and the answer comes "Schools. Barracks. War... I swore allegiance to the State". One of Brecht's twin selves

echoes Toller's accusing questions. The other stands accused by them. Committed to an ideology, his humanity has been overlaid by double-think.

What an extraordinary character! His plays are a fantastic mixture of bawdiness and piety, tenderness and brutal cynicism, and his ideas combined a Schweik-like deflation of the pretences of the powerful with a sycophantic sanctification of the party that he didn't belong to, and behind it all a chilly pessimism, or perhaps resignation, which declares:

"So I too say: let go!  
Watch the grey smoke float  
Ever into colder coldness: so  
Sails your boat."

C.W.

(The Berliner Ensemble are presenting *Mother Courage, The Caucasian Chalk Circle and Trumpets and Drums*, in German, at the Palace Theatre, London, until September 15th.

The *Good Woman of Setzuan* will be given in English at the Royal Court Theatre, London, from October 31st to December 8th.

*Puntilla* is being broadcast to-night (September 1st) on the BBC Third Programme).

## Industrial Unrest

Continued from p. 1

building yards, to begin on Friday.

This arises out of the refusal by the employers to meet a claim for a minimum weekly wage put in by the "black squad"—the platers, caulkers and burners.

These workers have, by long tradition, worked on piece-work, their earnings based directly on output. The same has applied to other trades in the yards—the riveters and welders for example.

Now, however, the "black squad" have decided that they want a guaranteed minimum wage of £15 5s. 6d. for platers and £14 7s. 6d. for caulkers.

The employers are resisting the change from piece-rates to time-rates, saying: "To guarantee a high weekly wage to every man without any regard to his efforts or capabilities would seriously diminish the incentive to output and would undermine the whole piece-work system through which the platers, caulkers, and burners, along with the other members of the Boilermakers' Society—the welders and riveters—have become the highest-paid men in the shipbuilding industry.

"Throughout the negotiations with the union, the employers have emphasised the view that the claims are now completely without justification in relation to the opportunities which the men already have for maintaining a high level of earnings, but also that concession of these demands would lead to consequences which would jeopardise the competitive position of shipbuilding and ship repairing firms on the Clyde."

To the best of our knowledge the men are not demanding the end of all 'incentive' schemes. They are still prepared to boost their earnings through piece-work and overtime—they just want the security of a guaranteed wage to ensure a living income. And quite right too.

The employers are worried about their ability to compete. The workers, however, are giving up competition among themselves—for that is what piece-work means—in favour of using their organised strength to ensure more security for all. If the employers want competition, though, let them have it, we say. Let the workers begin to compete with the bosses for control of their industry. We know who will eventually win.

### Miners

AT the New Stubbin Colliery, near Rotherham, 1,400 miners have struck against the quality of their home coal, which, they rightly consider, should be of the best quality.

The miners here have an allocation of ten tons of coal per year and due to reorganisation at the pit their allocations were being delivered unscreened. We wonder if the coal being sold from the New Stubbin at full rates was also going out unscreened? Or did the management simply think that it was good enough for the men that way?

If so, they are now being taught differently.

### Draughtsmen

IT is not often that workers as near the 'professional' level as draughtsmen resort to strike action.

At the Standard Motor Works at Coventry, however, where on the production lines the workers have been hit for six, redundancy has now reached the upper levels, and last week, among a hundred staff employees to be sacked as redundant, twenty-five were draughtsmen.

Immediately the lists were made known, the full complement of 150 draughtsmen stopped work and as we go to press are remaining out pending a decision by their union, the Association of Engineering & Shipbuilding Draughtsmen. This union probably doesn't know what has hit it, finding a strike on its hands and not knowing what to do about it.

It should, however, have got used to the idea by now, for, also in Coventry, 30 draughtsmen at the Massey-Harris-Ferguson tractor works are on strike in support of fellow draughtsmen at the firm's factory in Kilmarnock. There they are in dispute over a union demand for 3 weeks' annual holiday instead of two.

It's a pity there isn't more solidarity between production workers and staff, so that they could join forces in their common struggle instead of each section going it alone.

Down on the factory floor, there is more trouble. Mr. Alick Dick's management have just brushed off 1,000 more 'redundant' workers. The remaining 7,500 are soon beginning a three-day week.

★

Every day, in more and more trades and industries, the workers are being faced with toughening attitudes by employers. Where they strike hard and quickly they stand a chance of winning. But the shilly-shallying methods of the unions rarely achieve more than a compromise at the best.

# The Forest Worker—What Does the Union Offer him?

WE have received the following correspondence from a forest worker, working for the Forestry Commission on the scheme for development and re-population of the Scottish Highlands.

We feel that the questions he raises are of real importance, having a direct bearing on the whole organisation of life in isolated rural communities—not in a free society of the future but here and now. Before commenting ourselves on this correspondence, therefore, we ask all those readers who are similarly placed, or who have had similar experience, to write to us of their reactions and/or solutions. What is our reader to do, with his ideas and feelings in this situation?—EDS.

But I had reservations, which troubled me so much that I had to express them to the sectional secretary of the Union. Besides, you can't blame the T.U. for not knowing what its members think if they refuse to be articulate.

So I sent off my letter and received a reply. Now I am depressed, as well as troubled. I feel as if I had died with Keir Hardie and John McLean, instead of being born as they were on their way out. I am sending you a copy of the letter, and the reply, beseeching you, that you will comfort me with comment, and stay me with advice; and also that you may use it as a warning to any of your readers who might think of doing what I have done.

Yours sincerely,  
GEORGE GILFILLAN.

Cardrona, Peebles.

This is the letter our reader wrote to his union official:

DEAR —

I am not addressing you in your official capacity, but writing as one man to another. This is a letter that has been in my mind since the Cardrona branch was formed. It may be that no good

will come of writing it—except that it will be off my conscience, and I will have done something in the face of the problem.

The problem for me is this:— does the Trade Union stop short at agreements on wages and conditions of service, or does it also concern itself with the conditions of living of its members?

Consider the lot of the forest worker. He lives in semi-isolation, usually without electricity or telephone, and with a bus service once or twice weekly. There are no facilities for social or community life. He has an extra outlay on every journey, for shopping, for a drink or a visit to a cinema or football match. For every emergency requiring medical help a taxi has to be hired. There are no perquisites, such as cheap-rate, or free firewood. And yet his wages are about £3 below the national average.

He lives in a tied-house, subject to a month's notice. When he retires, being no longer fit enough to work, he must vacate it—and somehow, anywhere, find another house to end his days in.

These are the actual conditions which the Forestry Commission describes as re-populating the isolated parts, and settling people on the land. Could anything be more unsettling? The Commission makes no attempt to foster social life. By en-

gaging private contractors, instead of employing more men, it keeps down the number of workers and prevents a settlement from growing into a community. Indeed, the facts are a contradiction of the picture that the Commission presents to the general public.

Now trees are grown for men. There is no wealth but what comes from the earth, and there is no stigma attached to the men who produce that wealth. They should not feel inferior to, or suffer a lower standard of living than other men, further along the chain of production, who manipulate figures or direct operations. Without men to plant trees and work with them there would be no timber, and no need for statistics, pay-sheets, forms to sign in triplicate, or directions. But without the statistics and flim-flam, there could still be timber, produced by men.

Well, you ask, if I don't like it, why lump it?

But I do like it. I want to live in the country. And I like social justice and equality, and I think the workers have been 'lumping it' for long enough and it's no longer necessary. I believe that the work I am doing is useful to the community—more useful than, for instance, Sir Bernard Docker's. I believe that a man doing useful work is entitled to a reasonable and secure living. So I want to stay on the job, and help to change this 'do as you're told—or get out!' system, that reduces us to wage-slaves, being loud-mouthed in the forest but afraid to speak up to the forester; making us desperate for piece-work or overtime, or evening, week-end, or even holiday work on farms, when we should be enjoying our leisure.

It's a national industry. Men are more important than trees, and it's time they were treated like human beings. I don't want 5/- a week more, or £5 a week more—I want to stop wondering when I'm going to afford a new pair of working boots. I want to grow a beech-hedge round my garden—and be here in 10 years when the hedge is just right. I want to put down roots here, and feel settled, instead of periodically thinking of moving to another job and starting from scratch again. I want a recognition, not of money values, but of human values, which are much greater.

I left school determined not to be exploited by any private employer, and I have always been a producer of public goods or services.

## ATTENTION U.S.A. READERS

Members and sympathisers of the Libertarian League which publishes *Views and Comments*, are trying to get discussion groups started in several localities of the United States, and would appreciate being contacted by any readers of FREEDOM living in any of the following areas: Boston, Mass.; Twin Cities, Minn.; Newark, N.J.; Albany, N.Y.; Portland, Ore.; S.F. Bay Area, Calif.; Bethlehem-Allentown Area, Penna.; Seattle, Wash. Contact can be made through the Libertarian League, 813 Broadway, New York 3.

## Self-Help by Students

IN a recent issue of FREEDOM we reproduced a news item that told of parents building, with their own money and labour, a school swimming pool.

And now from St. Joseph's College, Blackheath we hear of students taking the matter of inadequate equipment into their own hands.

It all started with a group of fifth formers who wished to fill in some time between the end of examinations and the end of term. One suggested that they could make use of a neglected corner of the grounds to build themselves some of the athletics equipment that the school needed.

They decided that the first need was for a long-jump pit. Nor far away some houses were being pulled down and the boys soon made friends with the contractor. Soon they had all the timber, stones and rubble they needed; half-way through the job they realised that a long-jump pit could be adapted to a high-jump pit as well. So the pit was widened and a high-jump take-off made.

Other additions were a pole-vault run-up and pit, shot and discus circles, and a steeplechase water jump. The only item that has cost any money was the sand for the pits. This was paid for by a waste-paper collection.

(From *The Times Educational Supplement*).

Now I maintain that the forest workers are being exploited by the State. They are subsidising the standard of living of other people—people who can afford motor cars and holidays.

I would be very interested to know if you share any of these beliefs, and if they are held by any of your colleagues in the Trade Union movement. That is why I am writing this letter to you at such length.

From Argyllshire comes a call for an enquiry into the workings of the Forestry Commission. Is the Trade Union interested?

If the Trade Union is only interested in negotiating agreements on wages and conditions of service, then it will have no interest in what I have written. But if it is conscious of true human values, if it is concerned to end the dehumanising exploitation of the individual by the State, then I would most warmly welcome any information you can give me on this point.

Yours sincerely,  
GEORGE GILFILLAN.

The reply George Gilfillan received from the sectional secretary was a masterpiece of prevarication. Assuring G.G. that the Trade Union was interested in any matter affecting the welfare of members both at work and at play, the secretary told him that in some communities the unions had been able to get village halls built and, on occasion, managed to get public telephones installed. In short, he said, the Union stops at nothing (!).

Then he referred to the lack of interest in the Union on the part of a considerable number of forestry workers, many of whom are simply 'birds of passage' filling in time before going on to something else.

The secretary then told our reader that the Union has 'fairly happy relations' with the Forestry Commission and that there is no need for being 'loud-mouthed in the forest' and leaving it at that—that should there be a local problem, the proper procedure is for the branch to appoint a deputation of two or three to discuss the matter in a friendly way with the forester and if nothing can be solved locally, any such dispute should be reported to the sectional office to be dealt with 'at a higher level'.

The signature of the sectional secretary (who probably hadn't got the foggiest notion of what our reader was driving at), was applied by rubber stamp. The Union concerned is our old friend the Transport & General Workers', Scottish Forestry Workers' Section.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

# Science and Society

DEAR COMRADES,

The recent article in FREEDOM called "Science and Society" is a suggestion that we throw out the baby with the bath water. The writer is confusing scientific research with the use that is often made of it in a state economy. In our economy scientific research in particular fields may be stimulated and in others restricted by control of the purse strings, but the work itself is done in an atmosphere of freedom that is rare outside the laboratory, for indeed without this freedom the work soon becomes sterile and unreliable, as the Lysenko controversy in Russia has shown. The article is rather vague for detailed criticism but certainly there is nothing in it to substantiate the charge that a large body of scientific work has been built up on insufficient data and from false premises, except in the sense that new facts are constantly being sought, and the whole basis of the scientific method demands that basic premises are frequently re-examined. There are as many people trying to disprove the work that has been done as there are covering new ground.

To assume as the writer does that disease is an upset in the natural balance of life is to suggest that if we lived with our parasites whether internal like malaria or external like lice the resulting condition would be actually healthier because we would be maintaining a natural balance between parasite and host. This approach to disease may possibly be fruitful in certain circumstances but in the bacteriological medicine it conflicts with an approach which has successfully freed the community in many parts of the world from a long list of diseases, including plague, smallpox, malaria and hydrophobia and it is in those countries which are most scientifically developed that the population is most free from parasitic infections.

The writer also completely misunderstands the evolutionary process as expressed in the phrase the struggle for existence. This merely means that both within the species and between species those who are best adapted to their environment will tend to live longer and have a higher net reproduction rate and

so gradually replace less well-adapted individuals or species. Mutual aid as described by Kropotkin is to be seen as operating within this framework in that members of a species which successfully co-operate are thereby greatly helped in the struggle for survival. It is partly the result of man's ability to practise mutual aid that he has evolved as the dominant species, can largely control his own environment, and make statements suggesting that all progress depends on unreasonable men.

It is this anti-scientific attitude that to some extent justifies Bernard Gelstein's belief that there have been no developments in anarchist theory for almost half a century for anarchists so often fail to

## SCIENCE AND PROGRESS

I AM glad someone has criticised the lecture given by Alex Comfort at the Anarchist Summer School. Alan Albon (FREEDOM, Aug. 18) goes to the heart of the matter when he says that what is needed is more knowledge about the relation of man to his environment—and consequently less emphasis on specialisation in science.

The manipulation of science by capitalism that Alan Albon mentions, can largely be attributed to the failure of scientists to relate their work to contingent fields of enquiry. The scientific method may ensure that their results are statistically justifiable but it does not exercise any control over the subsequent uses to which the results are put unless those results be shown in a wider context.

Recent history is full of examples of the misuses to which scientific knowledge has been put, from agriculture to atomic physics, often due to neglecting the probable effect on the environment because of the preference given to some immediately realisable goal. For this the scientist and his scientific method must bear some responsibility.

It seems to me a little risky to believe that the activities of scientists will inevitably lead us to a healthier society. *Nazeing*, Aug. 20. MICHAEL WACE.

take into account the developments that have taken place in science, preferring to cling to discredited theories in health, nutrition, psychology, sociology, and economics, and so hinder the spread of anarchist ideas by an inability to distinguish between authority and authority.

Yours fraternally,  
London. HAROLD H. SCULTHORPE.

## Anarchism a Dead-End?

DEAR SIR,

Poor Mr. Gelstein. "Anarchism is at a dead end"—and to help to prove his point, he hammers his own little tin-tack into his coffin and . . . withdraws his subscription.

He reminds me of those well-meaning persons, who, at the beginning of the last war, used to protest to me: "Surely now you'll realize the futility of your convictions, and will report to the nearest recruiting-station?"

My answer? Long live Futility!  
Yours sincerely,

Hartfield, Aug. 19. DAVID MARKHAM.

P.S.—I enclose a year's subscription—in exchange for the tin-tack.

## Correction

DEAR FRIENDS,

In my letter which you published last week the sentence appearing at the bottom of the second column and at the top of the third reads:

"One can bring forward weighty reasons for one's position from the sciences and from history; it lies in one's concept of what is right and what is wrong, in that sphere from which comes one's love for a particular woman or a particular man."

This should read:  
"One can bring forward weighty reasons for one's position from the sciences and from history, but its root lies in neither of these much-invoked spheres of knowledge; it lies in one's concept of what is right and what is wrong, in that sphere from which comes one's love for a particular woman or a particular man."

Fraternally,  
S. E. PARKER.

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FREEDOM PRESS  
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London, W.C.1. England  
Tel.: Chancery 8364