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Threepence

THE BRIGHTON CONFERENCE Cult of Personality in TUC?

OUEER things are going on at Brighton. Some may say that queer things are always going on at Brighton, but they are rarely so public as the doings of the representatives of Britain's workers. At the sunny (?) south coast resort this week, the Trades Union Congress has been meeting to decide policy and practicalities for another year. And the queer things that have taken place seem to justify the opinion that some of us have had for a long time that the TUC is a very unhealthy organism indeed. **Austerity and Restraint** Ever since the war the TUC has been noted for the 'soundness' of its national policies, by the daily Press. This means that the TUC has on every occasion backed up the government of the day in its demands for greater sacrifice from the workers. Under the Labour Governmen, the term 'wage freeze' was first heard, and Sir Stafford Cripps, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, made himself famous as the agent of austerity-with TUC blessing. The leaders of Britain's organised workers accepted the wage freeze policy of Cripps and did their best to keep their followers in a condition of austerity. But the followers wouldn't put up with it and resorted to direct action, to the great embarrassment of their leaders. The same thing happened when the Tories came back. In spite of their promises of plenty of everything at prices we could all afford, it was not long before the new Chancellor, Mr. R. A. Butler found

himself re-introducing Crippsian austerity—only he called it 'restraint'. And the TUC swallowed that, and once again accepted a policy of 'wage freeze' for its members. Only, once again, to be ignored by the said members, who went ahead with their wage claims as if the TUC didn't exist.

theoretical, but it is no use leadership being so far away from the general approval and reactions of the people whom it is supposed to lead that its voice cannot be heard. It is a practical approach. We don't talk about pie in the sky . . . It (the TUC) is not some super body but is designed as the servant of the unions and not as a sort of headmaster to tell them what they should do and also do it for them." Now this sounds all very fine. Parliament also serves the people; the Queen likewise. But our memories go back just a few years to the spectacle of the late Arthur Deakin shaking his fist at the assembled delegates and bellowing: 'You don't tell us-we're telling you!' And Sir Vincent Tewson was sitting approvingly beside him.

IN BRIEF The Path of Righteousness

THE responsibility of the scientist towards the community must be realised before any control is possible in the development of nuclear weapons. But control is not enough. If Governments are to be restrained in the lunatic struggle for supremacy, scientists must refuse to co-operate by not allowing their knowledge to be used for destructive purposes. Unfortunately, the majority of scientists are also patriots, and loyal to their respective countries. In recent years those who have been condemned as traitors in one country, have given their loyalty to another. But how many have been loyal to the whole of mankind by refusing to allow their talents to be used destructively? We cannot think of one Scientists, to quote Oppenheimer, "have known sin," but after a brief struggle with their conscience most of them in the West have come to the conclusion that the only way to avoid the fate of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is for the West to be equal in nuclear strength to the Soviet Union. Such a view was expressed by Britain's leading scientist, Sir William Penny, in a broadcast in Sydney. Convinced of the righteousness of the path he had chosen, Sir William said: "To claim I have never been worried about my action would be very far from the truth." The devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasagi, made him wonder if a similar fate would some day fall on British cities.

"The grim uncompromising behaviour of the Iron Curtain countries eventually drove the United Kingdom Government to their decision. I was asked to lead in weapons work.

"Since then I have repeatedly asked myself if I was right to do what I have

Change of Leaders

During all this period, the largest union in the TUC, the Transport & General Workers, was labouring under the leadership of Arthur Deakin, a good Methodist who was a government man if ever there was one. But last year Deakin died, and was quickly followed into oblivion by his successor. Now, the TGWU has a new gen. sec., Frank Cousins, who is described as 'left of centre'. And, miraculously, the policy of the TUC on restraint has changed this year, also.

Since Cousins has been top man in the Transport & General, the union has led its first official strike for years—last month in the motor industry. And this year at Brighton, for the first time, the TUC has officially rejected the Chancellor of the Exchequer's plea for wage restraint.

There has been another strange change of front as well. In a Press interview which he gave the day before Congress opened, Sir Vincent Tewson, TUC general secretary and hitherto a staunch supporter of the 'right' policies, told a reporter that the TUC was the servant, not the master, of the unions. Asked by a reporter why the TUC did not appear to be giving the unions a lead on economic policy, Tewson replied: "When these allegations are made about timidity and lack of leadership they are made by people who do not understand that the TUC is operating not as the master of the unions but as the servant of Congress, representing 136 affiliated bodies. It is all right being

De-Stalinisation?

What are we witnessing in the TUC? Is it a kind of de-Stalinisation among the anti-Stalinists? Are we going to see a return to collective leadership, liberalisation and democracy now that the old dictator is dead? Was Deakin terrorising his comrades on the TUC? Were they afraid to look at him the wrong way? Did he make Tewson dance the Gopak after a dinner for Sir Winston Churchill?

We await with interest the final denunciation of their dead master. Perhaps we shall wait in vain. Perhaps it isn't like that at all. But isn't it an odd parallel? And just as anyone can see just how undemocratic the Communist Party is, and how transparent their new liberality —so too does Tewson's new line show just how undemocratic the TUC is.

Winston Churchill? We await with interest the final nunciation of their dead master. Perhaps we shall wait in vain. Thaps it isn't like that at all But

done.

"In all humility I can say that I have never wavered in the belief that I was right."

It might be argued that at least in the Western countries conscience is involved, whereas in the Soviet Union the scientists are mere puppets who dance to the crazy jerking of strings manipulated by the Government.

An H-Bomb with a conscience label on it however, will cause just as much damage as one without.

Tradesmen Encourage Colour-Bar

MANY publicans, café owners and dance hall managers in East Anglia are, in the interests of trade, encouraging a colour bar put up by white Americans stationed in the area.

Large number of Jamacians have joined the R.A.F., and those who are on air stations near American bases are the chief sufferers.

According to a correspondent writing in The People, American servicemen picket some of the places of entertainment, and because the bulk of trade comes from white Americans the proprietors, even if unprejudiced themselves, make no protest. It appears that only one town in the whole area is free of the colour bar-Norwich. But no doubt if American whites started frequenting the place, the owners of the amusement places would not hesitate to give them preference. Are the coloured servicemen trouble makers? The contrary seems to be true. "Every commanding officer interviewed by The People spoke highly of their conduct." This is the time for Jamaicans who have (however misguidedly), given their allegiance to the British serving forces, to make an intelligent protest against the behaviour of Americans who are in full military occupation in East Anglia.

Stevedores Slapped Down

THE concern of the TUC for the liberty of trade unionists was well demonstrated at Brighton when the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers brought before Congress their long-standing dispute over membership with the TGWU.

The NASD delegate, W. P. Hegarty, moved the following resolution:

"Congress recognises that the NASD, having carried out to the full the decision of the TUC disputes committee, nevertheless finds itself by the judgment in law in the position of having membership in various ports in the country. Congress urges the general council to assist this union to reach agreement with the TGWU to formulate working arrangements in the various ports where members of both unions operate." Readers will remember the bitter dispute and strike of June and July last year, and the Court decision that NASD was acting illegally in expelling members on the instructions of the TUC. One would have thought, therefore, that the above resolution was moderately worded, in the circumstances. But it brought only an angry rebuke from Frank Cousins, new boss of TGWU, and Congress abruptly refused to discuss it. Thousands of dockers, therefore, are left in a very invidious position in the Northern ports. Obviously the TUC is trying to force it out of existence, which would leave the dockers with the choice of going back to the union they have already voluntarily left or not having a union at all. The assembled delegates at Brighton must have seen this. But what did they care? The power of Cousins and the TGWU on the General Council counts more than the freedom of choice of thousands of working trade unionists. Well, the dockers on the Mersey have a third choice: form a industrial organisation of their own and to hell with the TUC!

It is clear that the TUC is a power organisation, controlled by the people at the top of a few big unions. As these leaders change—so might policy change, but at no time is there any control from below. The block vote in the hands of the fulltime careerists takes care of that.

The Herrenvolk Riot

A STATE of emergency has been declared in the town of Clinton, Tennessee, as a result of rioting by whites over the admission of Negro children to the high school.

25-ton tanks and six hundred guardsmen were sent in by the State Governor to relieve 450 patrolmen who held off the rioting mobs at the week-end with tear-gas and guns.

The offending negroes number 12 among the 500 white pupils.

Reflections on Shaking Hands 'Dripping With Blood' GOVERNMENT IS VIOLENCE

A COUPLE of years ago, a former Minister of State in the Labour government, the late Hector McNeil, attacked those of his colleagues who had accepted to go on a trip to Red China with these words: "You don't dine with murderers". A month ago the British Premier told his T.V. audience that "our quarrel is not with Egypt. It is with Colonel Nasser" who had shown that he was not a man who can be trusted to keep an agreement and the pattern of whose actions "is familiar to many of us. We all know how Fascist governments behave and we all remember only too well what the cost can be in giving in to fascism". More recently the British government has discovered (?) that Archbishop Makarios who was exiled for being "deeply and personally implicated in the terrorist organisation" was in fact the leader of the terrorist movement in Cyprus. The Colonial Secretary who made this revelation at a specially convened Press conierence added that in the circumstances it was "obvious how impossible it would be" to agree to Eoka's demand that a conference should be held on the "archbishop's terms" As some sections of the press and public put it, "We" could not shake

hands with terrorists whose hands were "dripping with blood".

The fact of the matter is that history teaches us that politicians do "dine with murderers", † do "give in to fascism" and do, at the opportune moment, offer their 'bloody) hand to the terrorists! Indeed, but for consideration of America's (political) feelings Red China would have long ago been welcomed into Britain's bosom: France and Tito are now one of us and, as we write, the front pages of the evening Press carry pictures of a smiling Menzies shaking hands with an equally radiant Colonel Nasser and reporting on the "amicable spirit" exhibited at his first meeting with the "Egyptian Hitler" (whose historic first words were: "How do you do?" followed my "I am very glad to see you"). And the Colonial Secretary, only twenty-four hours after his indictment of the terrorist leader Makarios said in an interview broadcast on the B.B.C.'s radio newsreel: "We do not regard the Archbishop as indispensable to a negotiated settlement. We have a positive policy in this field and we do not intend to be deflected

from it by ghastly disclosures of this kind. It would still help if he (Archbishop Makarios) ordered a cessation of violence, but this undoubtedly discloses a new situation."

which might be taken to mean that negotiations with Makarios have been broken off not because his hands are dripping with blood but because the government hopes it can drive a better bargain with other elements in Cyprus. Of course we do not know what Mr. Lennox Boyd has up his sleeve though judging by reactions in Cyprus and in some "authoritative" organs of the Press here, one suspects that the Colonial Secretary is hiding no trump cards but has in readiness only an outsize rag to wipe his own hands as well as the Archbishop's prior to shaking hands and letting bygones be bygones! It's all a question of time.

determined by selections every so many years. To say that in this country we are, because of our form of government, more civilised than Spain, Cyprus, Algeria or Kenya, to quote only a few of the countries which are torn asunder by violence, is surely to assume that acquiescence and consent to the authority of government is the hallmark of civilisation. It may be objected that the degree of civilisation is measures not by government per se but by whether that government is "democratic" or "authoritarian", that is, by whether it recognises those variations or denies them. But this must fail as a yardstick when one takes into account the fact that the "authoritarian" government is what it is because it is maintained in power by the use of brute force, that is against the will of the people. Progress or civilisation cannot be measured by the nature of government (to say that we get the government we deserve is a meaningless cliché invented by politicians). After all, Britain, Cyprus and Kenya have the same government, yet the reactions to it in these three countries are, to put it mildly, not the same. We have no illusions so far as the Continued on p. 3

[†]See "All are Murderers" (FREEDOM, Sept. 4, 1954 or in Freedom Selections Volume 4, p. 173). **THE** organisation of society is based on force. Government is violence, naked or potential. Stability of government is no proof of social progress or civilisation. At most it is the acceptance by the maiority of the population of an authoritarian organisation of the nation or community with variations

EVERY year nearly 20,000 books are published in Britain. If the thought appals you, don't worry, most of them are not worth reading. This year the publishers can at least be congratulated on churning out fewer books about the royal family than for many years past. Each publishing season seems to have its characteristic subjects; one year it is books about population and food supplies, and another it is mountaineering and the bull ring. This year it seems to be reminiscences, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Africa.

Alexander Herzen (whose long-awaited From the Other Shore actually shows signs of turning up this month from Weidenfeld & Nicolson at 16s.), asked the guestion, "Who is entitled to write his reminiscences?" and gave the comforting answer "Everyone. Because no one is obliged to read them." The ones which we are most anxious to read are those of Rudolf Rocker, whose Autobiography is to be published sooner or later by Robert Anscombe & Co.

Reginald Reynolds tells of his strug-

AND FORTHCOMING BOOKS AUTUMN READING

back over a long and eventful life to his boyhood and youth in Siberia where his parents were political exiles. A Lost Paradise by Samuel Chotzinoff (Hamish Hamilton, 18s.), recalls life in a Russian Jewish village, then in the East End of London at the turn of the century and finally among the tenements of New York. Dying We Live (Harvill Press, 18s.) is a collection of last letters of 'Germans of all faiths and classes and political opinions who died because they would not march with Hitler'. Another similar book is Conscience in Revolt by Annedore Leber (Vallentine, Mitchell, 21s.). Five Fags a Day by John Petty (Secker & Warburg, 18s.) is the autobiography of a scrap-picker.

Of the many new books which have as their common denominator the African continent, Drum by Anthony Sampson (Collins, 16s.) is one of the most interesting, giving an enthralling account of urban African life. It is simply the story (mentioned in FREEDOM at the time of its inception) of the starting of the Johannesburg magazine "Drum", written and illustrated by Africans and backed with white capital. Epitaph to Indirect Rule by Ntieyong U. Akpan is an essay on problems of local administration in Nigeria (Cassell, 12s. 6d.) and Advance in Africa by I. C. Jackson is a study of community development in Eastern Nigeria (O.U.P., 7s. 6d.). Professor Leo Kuper has written Passive Resistance in South Africa (Cape, 21s.) which describes the emergent techniques of passive resistance by different African organisations, and the South African government's repressive measures against them.

Kabi, is published by Allen & Unwin at 21s. Khushivant Singh has written Train to Pakistan, a novel of Indian village life at the sime of the 1947 partition (Chatto & Windus, 13s. 6d.).

Two books by Henrik Infield previously published in America, are to be published here by Atlantic Press at 21s. each. They are Utopia and Experiment and People in Ejidos. Secker & Warburg. have published a new collection of essays by Lewis Mumford, The Human Prospect (21s.). The same firm is to publish at the same price The Opium of the Intellectuals by the French sociologist Raymond Aron, whose German Sociology is to appear from Heinemann at about 10s. 6d. L. S. Florence's Progress Report on Birth Control (Heinemann, 21s.) is based on the findings of the Birmingham Family Planning Association. Peter Wildeblood in A Way of

John Seymour is another account of canal journeys (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 25s.) and Life in Britain by the novelist J. D. Scott, from the same publisher at 30s., is an attemut to describe life "as it really is lived". John Marlowe has written about The Puritan Tradition in English Life (Cresset Press, 16s.). The Post-War Condition of Britain by G. D. H. Cole, a survey with many statistical tables, is to be published by Routledge & Kegan Paul at about 35s.

Among the new Penguin and Pelican Books are Traven's Treasure of the Sierra Madre (2s. 6d.), Joyce Cary's A Fearful Joy (3s. 6d.), Selections from Doughty's Arabia Deserta (3s. 6d.), Virgil's Aeneid (3s. 6d.), The Dead Sea Scrolls by J. M. Allegro (3s. 6d.) and the Penguin Book of Spanish Verse with parallel texts in Spanish and English, edited by J. M. Cohen, at 5s. 6d. Some other new books on Spanish literature are J. B. Trend's Lorca and the Spanish Poetic Tradition (Basil Blackwell, 25s.), and An Anthology of Spanish Literature

TT appears that at one time there was a

ated about forty miles from the coast,

bathed in sunshine and inhabited by a

happy, independent people of fishermen

and farmers. They worked hard and en-

joyed life, they had their times of trouble

which is only natural, and they had their

moments of joy. Their lives were the

ordinary, humbrum lives of simple folk.

many soldiers of a great power, who said

that they had come in order to protect

the people of Modeerf from the soldiers

of another great power. The islanders

did not fully understand at first, but the

soldiers said that they must stay for a

few weeks anyway, until the danger was

to years and still the soldiers stayed.

The longer they stayed the more laws

they made, and the islanders became un-

happy and bad-tempered. They came to

distrust one another, and some of them

The weeks grew into months, and then

past.

One day the island was visited by

beautiful island called Modeerf, situ-

FREEDOM

to be published by John Calder at 30s. Finally, would-be smallholders will enjoy The Pensioner and the Land, a book on part-time market-gardening by H. R. Watkins (Benn, 7s. 6d.), would-be capitalists will profit by L. von Mises' The Anti-Capitalist Mentality (Macmillan) and would-be salesmen will no doubt study How to Overcome Objections in Selling by Walter Horvath (Thomas, 30s.). If that one isn't a best seller, at least we shall know that it isn't worth buying!

Order your Books from FREEDOM BOOKSHOP and so indirectly

gles as 'poet, idealist and crusader for unusual causes' in My Life and Crimes (Jarrolds, 18s.). His troubles all started when as a child he heard people talking about 'original sin' and he thought for years that what they were saying was 'Reginald's sin'. Portraits from Memory (Allen & Unwin, 18s.) consists of memoirs of some of his friends by Bertrand Russell. Low's Autobiography (Michael Joseph, 30s.) will be the reminiscences of the famous cartoonist. Recollections from Childhood by Ion Greanga (Lawrence & Wishart, 9s. 6d.) is the first translation to be published in this country of a Rumanian novelist of peasant life. The Atom of Delight (Faber, 15s.) is an autobiography of his Scottish equivalent. Another writer with a surprising story of his own to tell is A. E. Coppard, whose book is called It's Me, O Lord (Methuen, 18s.). Christopher Hollis has written A Study of George Orwell (Hollis & Carter, 18s.). The life of Keir Hardie is described in his centenary year by John Cockburn in The Hungry Heart (Jarrolds, 18s.). The recollections of another old socialist, from the Welsh mining villages, appear in From the Valley I Came by W. J. Edwards (Angus & Robertson, 16s.).

In My Siberian Life (Max Parrish, 25s.), M. A. Novomeysky, 'the man who put Palestine potash on the map' looks

About the difficulties facing Africans and West Indians in this country there are two novels, The Newcomer by John Sykes (Hurst & Blackett, 10s. 6d.), The Lonely Londoners by Samuel Selvon (Wingate, 13s. 6d.), and yet another sociological study, about students this time, Colonial Students in London by A. T. Carey (Secker & Warburg, 25s.).

Prospero and Caliban by Prof. O. Mannoni is a study of the psychology of colonialism (Methuen, 22s. 6d.), Maurice Zinkin's The Development of Free Asia discusses changing attitudes to wealth and poverty (Chatto & Windus, probably 21s.). The Theory of Social Structure by S. F. Nadel analyses the 'rôle system' of primitive and advanced societies (Cohen & West, 18s.). The Direction of Human Development by Ashley Montagu, a writer with a point of view we usually find sympathetic, is to be published by Watts at about 25s. Lanza del Vasto accompanied Vinoba Bhave on some of his journeys from village to village on foot in India, and has written Gandhi to Vinoba, the new pilgrimage (Rider, 21s., October). Education in the New India by Humayan

Life has written a one-man report on homosexuality in Britain (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 18s.).

Among the various books on what is wrong with the United States are Freedom is as Freedom Does by Corliss Lamont, a study of encroachments on the rights of individuals (Calder, 25s.), and The Torture of Secrecy by Prof. E. A. Shils (Heinemann, about 15s.) which analyses what is happening to American society under the new pressures brought to bear on it by the needs of military security. Pelican in the Wilderness (Unwin, 25s.) is an absorbing book about the ecologist Fraser Darling's reflective journey round America. R. O. Boyer and H. M. Morans have written a History of the American Labour Movement (Calder, 30s.). If a different aspect of America interests you more, there is Marilyn Monroe by Peter Martin (Frederick Muller, 10s. 6d.).

This brings us to Arthur Miller whose play, The Crucible is to come from Cresset Press at 12s. 6d. Four Plays by Tennessee Williams have been published by Secker & Warburg at 25s., and Sartre's Nekrassov, by Hamish Hamilton at 12s. 6d. Other theatre books are Theatre in the East, an illustrated survey of Asian dance and drama by Faubion Bowers (Nelson, 42s.), and Classical Theatre of China by A. C. Scott (Allen & Unwin, 30s.). Cartier-Bresson's photographs of China are collected in China in Transition (Thames & Hudson, 42s.), Josef Herman's drawings in Josef Herman, with an introduction by Basil Taylor (Cape, 12s. 6d.), while the music book of the season is Songs of the Irish edited by Donal O'Sullivan, a collection of 65 folksongs with music, Gaelic texts and literal and metrical English translations (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 15s.). England is Rich by Harry Hopkins is a description of journeys through the industrial Midlands and North (Harrap, 21s.), and Sailing through England by

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A FABLE

they stayed the more sad and unhappy became the islanders. They had less to eat, and many of them had no houses. The soldiers built great big houses of concrete with guns inside them, but the islanders were not allowed near. Many houses were knocked down so that a long, flat, strip could be used for aeroplanes to land and fly away again.

The people of the island were horrified when it happened that some years later, there appeared so many areoplanes as to turn the sky from blue to black, for there was just time for them to be told that they were the aeroplanes of the other great power.

Modeerf was a volcanic island, but for centuries the volcano had seemed to be extinct. The bombs from the aeroplanes set off the volcano and the whole island was covered with molten lava. Everyone was killed and the aeroplanes had gone.

But the island was now quite useless. No people, no trees or vegetation of any sort, just a black heap of slag. So the island gave one last tremor and disappeared beneath the surface of the sea. The great power which had sent all the aeroplanes, dropped a small buoy with its flag upon it. The other great power sank the buoy and dropped one of its own with its own flag upon it. And for some years both great powers sank the flag of the enemy. But then they had a pact and were at peace, and Modeerf was forgotten completely, for both the great powers had to fight another even greater power. PAXIMINES.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP OPEN DAILY New Books . . .

The Caucasian Chalk Circle Bertolt Brecht 6/6 Parables for the Theatre Bertolt Brecht 28/-A Study of George Orwell Christopher Hollis 18/-New Outline of Modern Knowledge (ed.) Allen Pryce-Jones 18/-

Mentor and

Other Reprints . . . Mythology 3/6; Uses of the Past: H. J. Muller 4/-; Cultural Patterns: Margaret Meade 4/-; Leaves of Grass: Walt Whitman 3/6; Dialogues of Plato 4/-: Reconstruction of Philosophy: John Dewey 3/6; Meaning of Evolution 2/6; Understanding Science 2/6; The Prince: Macchiavelli 2/6; Heredity, Race and Society 2/6; Walden: Thoreau 2/6; Theory of Leisure Class: Veblen 3/6; Greek Civilization and Character 3/6; Sayings of Confucius 3/6; Gandhi 2/-; Greek Historical Thought 3/6; Analysis of Kinsey Report 3/6; Freud: his theories 3/6; Famous Operas 3/6; Whitman Reader 3/6; Jefferson on Democracy 2/6.

Handbook on Hanging Charles Duff 2/-

even took sides with the soldiers against men with whom they had been friends all their lives. The carefree ways of life gradually disappeared, gloom and despondency descended upon the island.

And then a terrible time came to the island. Many guns were fired and many bombs destroyed the houses of Modeerf. Eventually the soldiers of the other great power killed all the soldiers who had first come, and they stayed on the island.

They said that they must remain to protect the island from more soldiers of the first great power. And the longer

THE WELFARE STATE AND I (5) Making the Poor Keep the Poor

It was ushered in under the guise of "insurance", tion from working class politicians, professional a masterstroke of promotion. The working class or part-time, for the better-paid ranks of the disingenuous statement coming from Beveridge. were familiar with the principle of insurance working class, who are the most politically vocal He must know perfectly well that the so-called through their own mutual aid societies, and the section, are less hard hit by the poll-tax than National Insurance Reserve is a convenient fiction, coffin clubs which many unions ran. It was re- the poorest paid sections.

presented to them that they could be insured against Such was the success of the "insurance princi- accumulation of securities held against itself. sickness and unemployment by paying only one- ple" that later on the Old Age Pension was in- The benefits which citizens get under the National third of the premium. It was necessary to pull the corporated in the scheme, and the present writer Insurance Scheme have, in fact, no direct connecwool over the eyes not only of the workers but of has been solemnly warned that in his old age he tion with the contributions which they pay. Their the great bulk of the middle class who greatly will have his pension cut down because he has rate of benefit is decided in relation to the govresented the idea that the working class might be not paid any contribution for some years. getting something for nothing-and paying them Beveridge became a devotee of the psychological to be sick and idle seemed a very doubtful policy. benefits of the "insurance principle". In his But "insurance" was respectable. famous Report he delivered himself of the follow- partly successful, yet when people have been led ing gems of wisdom : --The idea was represented as the worker paying "(i) The insured persons themselves can pay and like one-third of the premium, the employer paying one-third, and the State paying the remaining one- to pay, and would rather pay than not do so. It is felt and old age by the payment of their contributions, and rightly felt that contribution irrespective of means it comes as a shock to find that they are depenthird. Business men were of course smart enough is the strongest grounds for repudiating a means test. to appreciate that the majority of employers would (ii) It is desirable to keep the Social Insurance Fund not in effect have to pay one halfpenny into the self-contained with defined responsibilities and defined fund, for the cost of it to them would be auto- sources of income. The citizens as insured persons should realize that they cannot get more than certain benefit were dependent on the N.A.B. for a submatically met by lower wages to workers and benefits for certain contributions, should have a motive sistence income, and were of course subjected to higher prices to consumers-their profits were to support measures for economic administration, should untouched. The State contribution was of course not be taught to regard the State as the dispenser of

it contains-the family man pays less than the man with no dependents. But the anomaly of the insurance principle is that a canteen hand earning £5 10s. 0d. a week pays the same poll-tax as Sir Bernard Docker (before they gave him his cards). Regarding paragraph (ii), here is an equally and that the State creates no reserves at all by the ernment's economic policy as a whole, and the "Reserve" is adjusted accordingly. This effort to bamboozle the public is of course to believe that they are "insured" against destitution from sickness, unemployment, widowhood dent on "poor relief" (now renamed) for their subsistence income in certain circumstances. In 1952 one-fifth of the "insured" persons drawing the usual form of personal means test. Both of the major political parties are bound to preserve this fiction of "insurance" in their rivalry for political power. Their anxiety to benefits and not any internal actuarial logic. As the Economist acidly commented on the new rates

Second-Hand . . . A. E. Rout 6/-Sex and Exercise The Great French Revolution Peter Kropotkin 25/-Retreat from Glory R. H. Bruce Lockhart, 3/-Memoirs of a Booklegger Jack Kahane 3/6 Knight and Devil Stefan Schimanski 3/-Conspiracy of Silence Alex Weissberg 5/6 Against the Law Peter Wildeblood 7/6 The Fascist Experiment Luigi Villari 4/-Russian Purge F. Beck & W. Godin 5/6 Testament of Youth Vera Brittain 2/6 The Old Man and the Sea Ernest Hemingway 3/6 East of Eden John Steinbeck 4/6 George Orwell Laurence Brander 4/6 Periodicals . . . 1/9 Liberation, August 1956 Postage free on all items **Obtainable from** 27, RED LION STREET, LONDON, W.C.I

a snag; that had to be met out of taxation. But gifts for which no-one needs to pay."4

on the whole the existing class of income tax The above is humbug. One cannot live in payers had cause to rejoice, for a totally new contemporary society without knowing that people capture floating votes decides the adjustment of class in the community was being roped in to tax do not like to pay their taxes, and evading them paying-the poor. The rich paid income tax is a national sport. The payment of the "insurwhich was progressive, for the more they earned ance" contribution is no exception, hence the for pensions: the more they paid. But the poor were to pay a elaborate bureaucratic machinery for compelling poll-tax on work which was retrogressive, for no the payment of this poll-tax. Beveridge cleverly matter how little they earned they still had to pay confuses the issue by mentioning the means test the same amount. And so by the scheme of -all the sordid associations of the P.A.C. investi- times as many voters in the former class as in the health and unemployment "insurance" the lowest gators of the 1930's who chiselled the benefit paypaid class of workers became the most heavily ments of the destitute, are called up by this word. taxed class in the nation, and they still are. This Actually the comparative merit of direct income 4. Social Insurance and Allied Services, H.M.S.O. Cmd. 6404, thumping great anomaly has received little atten- tax depends upon the element of means test which 5. The Economist, "Pensions in Perspective", 11th Dec., 1954.

"The better-off pensioners get an extra 7/6d. a week, while the poorest of them, those who are in real need, get an increase of only 2/6d. a week. There are three latter."5

(To be continued)

Freedom

Vol. 17, No. 36. September 8, 1956

GOVERNMENT IS VIOLENCE

Continued from p.)

colonial and ex-colonial countries are concerned (they will eventually be ensnared in their nationalism by their own native politicians). But compared with the apathy and acquiescence of the workers and "intellectuals" in the West, resistance, in what remains of the British and French colonial empires, is our hope for the future. The following B.U.P. report from New Delhi (Aug. 23) may provide these optimists with food for thought as well as underline many of the arguments we have submitted to the reader's consideration.

Mr. Kreisheng Keishang, a Naga M.P. from the Manipur district, alleged in the Indian Parliament to-day that Indian soldiers had committed rape and pillage —"an orgy of murder let loose"—in the campaign against the Naga tribesmen who are fighting for the establishment of an independent state in North-east India.

Mr. Keishang accused Mr. Nehru, the Premier, of negotiating from a position of strength in dealing with the tribesmen, and appealed to him "to use patience and the spirit of peaceful negotiation for which he is famous in the field of international relations."

As a result of military operations, Mr. Keishang said, 2,000 people were forced to stay in the jungles. Most of the villages of the Mokukchang area had been burnt by the army, betwen 30 and 50 villages had been burnt in the Megkukchange area, and four-fifths of the villages in other areas had been burnt. He said that 397 Nagas had been killed, and troops had also killed Dr. N. Haralu, a respected doctor of Kohima, who, had been "hunted in the streets of Kohima and shot down."

THEATRE THE BERLINER ENSEMBLE

(Mother Courage, Trumpets & Drums, and The Caucasian Chalk Circle by Bertolt Brecht, presented by the Berliner Ensemble at the Palace Theatre, London).

THE first impression left by these performances is one of perfect teamwork and timing, the fruit, one supposes, of long and careful rehearsal and a common dramatic intention. The second is that Brecht's theories of the theatre must be more subtle and supple, or less rigidly applied, than the enthusiasm of his admirers would lead us to believe.

Mother Courage suffers as a play in that every scene relentlessly rams home the same lesson, epitomised in a couplet by the sergeant at the end of the first scene: "If from the war you'd like to borrow/Remember the debt must be paid to-morrow!" We feel that if the old woman had more than three children, the play would be longer by as many scenes as it would take to get them. killed off too. But of course it is a frankly didactic play and in a programme-note Brecht writes: "It never occurs to her that in a war one needs outsize scissors in order to get one's cut. Lookers-on at catastrophes quite wrongly expect those involved to learn from them. So long as the masses are the (passive) object of politics they cannot look upon each experience as an experiment, only as Fate; they understand a catastrophe just as much as a guinea-pig understands biology. The author does not have to make Courage open her eyes at the end . . . his concern is with the eyes of the audience". The production is brilliant. The vast empty revolving stage, bathed in cold light, on which the waggon trundles its way through the Thirty Years War (which halved the population of Germany in the seventeenth century), getting more battered as the war drags on, is dominated by the wonderful performance of Helene Weigel. But the other characters are equally well interpreted-Ernst Busch as the cook, and Angelika Hurwicz as the dumb and tender-hearted daughter Kattrin, a part which she invests with an infinite pathos. If you saw the film ha Strada, you will see her as a sort of hefty Gelsomina, compassionately observed, from the scene where, while the action is continuing on the other side of the stage, our eyes stray to her corner where she is wistfully trying on the flowered hat and pretty red shoes of the prostitute Yvette, which she can't stretch on to her big peasant feet, to the end where she is killed on the roof of the barn, banging ineffectually on the drum with dumb defiance to awaken the sleeping town below. The same interpretation of character by the accumulation of detail fills out the parts of the cook, the chaplain, and, unforgettably, that of the old woman herself.

By comparison Trumpets and Drums is cool and sardonic. If you know the English original, The Recruiting Officer you will be all too aware of the way in which the plot has been manipulated, and the reasons for the changes. Perhaps we resent being deprived of the roistering comedy of Farquhar's play in order that the 'real' nature of his characters, their calculating selfishness and greed, may be exposed. The author is laughing at us, and the sort of theatre we expect. In the scene by the river Severn there is a swan which ruffles its feathers, stretches its neck to take the bread it is offered, and girates on the surface of the imaginary river so that we are teased into wondering how on earth it is done. In another scene, Justice Balance's library, there is a suspended, paper-thin representation of a book-case and we all gape in astonishment as the judge takes a real book out of it. You've been had, says Brecht, it was really an imperialist war, and these people are worthless. The Caucasian Chalk Circle is a play which has everything. There are two stories, that of Grusha, the maid who when the Ironshirts depose the Governor Abashvili and his selfish wife, rescues their child and brings him up as hers; and that of Azdak the cunning peasant, elevated precariously into the seat of justice by the Ironshirts. The two stories are brought together when Azdak, after the child has been claimed by the governor's widow as heir to his property, awards him to Grusha by the test of the Chalk Circle, confirming the moral:

That what there is shall go to those who are good for it,

- Thus: the children to the motherly, that they prosper.
- The carts to good drivers, that they are well driven.
- And the valley to the waterers, that it bring forth fruit.

The scenes at the Governor's palace are played with stylised gestures, masks and elaborate clothes, like the Chinese theatre. The peasant scenes are crowded, and full of incident like a Breugel picture; and in the final scene in Azdak's court, the two modes are brought together in a brilliant and beautifully staged ensemble. The scene of the wedding where dozens of people are crowded into a tiny hut in the middle of the vast stage where the priest is drunk and mixes the wedding with the funeral service, understandably since the bridegroom is on his deathbed, is funnier than the Marx Brothers and reaches a climax of hilarity when the corpse emerges happily on hearing that the war is over and he no longer has to sham to avoid military service. On the other hand, the scene where Grusha is fleeing to the Northern mountains achieves a cinematic realism as she trudges along on the revolving stage and snow appears to fall, and the whole scene seems to move before our eyes in a wide panning camera shot. What other playwright would combine Chinese theatre with Cinemascope? In Grusha, played by Angelika Hurwicz, and Azdak, vividly given life in only two scenes by Ernst Busch, Brecht has added to the great characters of the theatre.

GOVERNMENTS rely on force for asserting their authority yet are the first to protest when violence is used to shake it. In Cyprus and the colonial empire government cannot even pretend to "represent" the majority since not even the ritual of voting is allowed. A people are only fit to have a vote when they have achieved that degree of "responsibility" which will ensure that there will be no fundamental change in the power structure of the country. It is not surprising therefore that violence has appeared as a effective weapon in the more struggle for liberation than the vote (the more so since the example of British Guiana where when the voting went against the interests of the British government a communist plot was "discovered" and the leaders of the victorious party were literally removed from office by the British navy). Yet whilst every government champions those nations that labour under foreign domination and struggle for their independence, no government views the struggles of the people under their own rule in the same light. Just as "terrorism" is the evil practice of those who seek to free themselves from an authority they resent, and never that of authority which seeks to subjugate a people against their will! It is time we in Britain recognised that the rise of the Malayan "bandits", of Mau Mau in Kenya and Eoka in Cyprus are not the reason for the military campaigns in those territories but the result of maintaining by force a régime which politically and economically disserves what the people of these countries consider to be their interests and status.

"More than five hundred Nagas are in prison, including students and children aged between 1 and 13. The Army tries to terrorise the Nagas by carrying a naked corpse, bound hand and foot, through the streets of Kohima, and bodies are burnt in spite of the fact that the Nagas never burn bodies. Is this behaviour of the Government better than that shown by the Nagas? . . . The spirit of revenge will persist for generations, even if the Nagas are defeated."

Mr. Keishang said the Government's policy would have to change unless it wanted the annihiliation of the Naga population. He accused the Government of not honouring an agreement with the Naga National Council, signed by the Governor of Assam in June, 1948. The Prime Minister, he said, had carried the "five principles of coexistence" to distant lands. "Let us apply them in our own land," he added.

Mr. Keishang, who was supported by other M.P.s from tribal areas, said that there had been no organised violence until the middle of last year, and that up to that time repeated attempts had been made by the Naga National Council to meet Mr. Nehru; but Mr. Nehru had always insisted on conditions before a meeting, and a meeting was never held. He agreed with the Government that independence for the Nagas was not feasible, but there should not be any reluctance to start talks. The Government's mood should change from destruction to construction. Mr. Nehru, winding up the debate, admitted that some mistakes had been made, but said that the attitude towards the Nagas had been human and not completely a military one. He repeated that the Government could not talk with the Nagas until they gave up their demand for an independent state. "There is no question of prestige. India is far too big for her prestige to suffer in such dealings. We are not prepared to talk independence, and we demand that the Nagas must give up violence." He rejected a proposal for sending a parliamentary mission into the Naga hill country. "We would have to send a batallion to protect it," he said.

All three plays are enhanced by the subtle and subdued greys, blues and browns of the costumes, the sparingly used props and sets, and the astringent lightly-scored music of Paul Dessau. Obviously we are in for a Brecht boom in the English theatre, and to judge from these authoritative performances of his own plays which bear the stamp of his own techniques as a producer, his influence on the English stage cannot but be welcome and invigorating.

NATIONALIST movements

which seek simply to replace one form of government by another, a foreign government by one of their own, may expect in the long run to improve the physical lot of their people, in spite of the fact that at the same time they burden themselves with a new class of parasites and masters. But politically, for the mass of the people, there is no change, and struggle is their only weapon of defence and advancement. For the leaders of Nationalist movements, in spite of their sufferings at the hands of the Imperialist power and for the cause of human freedom, once in power act, cannot but act, as any government which has a plan which it is determined to put into operation. In India, for instance, Nehru, in pursuit of his policy of a united India, has resorted to measures which must surely embarrass his uncritical supporters in the anti-colonialist and pacifist movements in this country, as well as shock those who still believe that such a white blackbird as good government is possible if only the right men are in control.

-British United Press.

Note Mr. Keishang's reference to Mr. Nehru's advocacy of the "five principlas of coexistence" to distant lands and his suggestion that he might start applying these principles at home. And note also Mr. Nehru's refusal to discuss with the Nagas until they "give up their demand for an independent state" and give up "violence". In view of what Mr. Keishang had to say about the violence used against the Nagas, Mr. Nehru's demands are as hypocritical as those of the British government in maintaining that the violence in Cyprus is an Eoka monopoly!

SHAWCROSS THE CHANCER

THE national press worked up great indignation a few years back about electric meter-readers who spent some of their working day drinking tea in cafés. 'How can the nation flourish' they thundered 'if workers don't give a fair day's work for a fair day's pay?'

More recently a great deal of heat was generated following a broadcast by a bus conductress in which she exposed some of the tricks by which her fellowworkers evaded some of their tedious duties. The Press lifted her almost to the level of a heroine and sharply castigated the hary, dishonest, immoral workers who run the buses.

It seems, however, that this plea for honesty is only applicable to the working

and the home-made-bomb were synonymous! Yet the logic of our opposition to government, which is that it is based on coercion and violence, leads us automatically to reject violence as a means for the achievement of the free society. Anarchists are divided on the question of the use of violence as a defence against government violence. We feel that whereas we can oppose the use of violence as a means on principle, as a weapon of defence* it is difficult to be so dogmatic without assuming the rôle of the Christian martyr. For governments, however, violence is a weapon of policy, and human lives mere incidentals for its realisation. We think it would be a waste of time for resistance movements to seek to convert governments by example! But we think that much could be achieved by them at rank-and-file level, by the abandonment of the indiscriminate use of violence and refusing to use the methods of their persecutors. Equally, in Cyprus, for instance, the supporters of Enosis should make themselves clear on their intentions so far as the Turkish minority is concerned. Any movement of "liberation" may fail in spite of applying its principles. But without these principles it must inevitably suffer defeat.

people. For representatives of the people it is a very different matter.

Take that outstanding socialist, Sir Hartley Shawcross, for example. When Labour swept to power in 1945, he proudly told the defeated Conservatives: 'We are the masters now!' and during his period of office as Attorney-General he ably represented his constituents as a prosecutor at the Nuremberg Trials and crowned his socialist achievements by prosecuting seven dockers at the Old Bailey for daring to advocate strike action.

There is no doubt that Sir Hartley worked very hard in the cause of the Labour Government (and Sir Hartley) as long as he had his seat on the Government front bench. When, however, Labour went out of office, 'Pretty Boy' Shawcross, as the dockers nick-named him, seemed to lose interest in the struggle for socialism.

He went back to his law practice, where he earns sums that make Cabinet Ministers' salaries look like peanuts. And he was seen no more in the Mother of Parliaments-although he remained a Member of Parliament, receiving his £1,000 a year plus expenses of £1 for every day that Parliament sat. We have not heard that Sir Hartley donated this unearned income to Party funds, or to charity. Nor have we seen in the national Press any denunciation of such dishonesty. No Tory paper, quick to denounce tea-drinking meter-readers (who have done their day's stint before they repair to the café, where they do their bookwork whilst they sip their tea) no guardian of the public good has, to our knowledge, brought to the attention of Sir Hartley's constituents the fact that they are unrepresented in Parliamentthat the man they voted in to guard their interests is piling up the loot for himself in his private business in the law courts. Why do we draw attention to Shawcross at this moment? Because of the following item of news in Cross-Bencher's column in last Sunday's Express:

For, of course, in the past three years Westminister has seen Sir Hartley little. His work at the Bar has kept him a busy absentee.

His division record in the Commons has been poor. It has earned him much criticism from the party faithful.

And some of them have been sorrowfully calling him a has-been.

But will my tidings now cause all the faithful to rejoice? Will every Socialist jump for joy over the return of Sir Hartley?

I fear not.

To two eager place-seekers on their Front Bench it will bring dismay and utter misery.

Who are these jostling fellows I refer to?

Well, there are two subjects in which Sir Hartley proposes to taken a particularly vigorous interest.

One is foreign affairs.

Which will send icy shivers down the back of Mr. Alfred Robens, Socialist Shadow Foreign Secretary.

The other is economics.

Which will do nothing to sweeten the dreams of Mr. Harold Wilson, Socialist Shadow Chancellor.

For here are some facts of which both Mr. Robens and Mr. Wilson are wretchedly aware.

Neither is in the same class as Sir Hartley as a speaker.

Neither compares with him as a parliamentarian.

Neither touches him for glamour. So you may be sure both Mr. Robens and Mr. Wilson know very well that, if Sir Hartley sets his mind to it, either the Foreign Office or the Treasury could be his for the asking when the Socialist regain power.

*To avoid misunderstanding we would point out that we do not equate selfdefence, or even self-defence in a revolutionary struggle, with "defensive wars" on a national or international scale. On the other hand we would suggest that in the Spanish revolution, for instance, the orgy of killing was on both sides; that from the revolutionaries' point of view much of the killing was

TO the uninformed, it may seem curious that anarchists should be opposed to violence when they had always assumed that anarchism

not defensive (how could captured "enemies" be any longer dangerous?) and that even recognising the need to immobilise them so long as the struggle proceeded, if their lives had not only been spared but their treatment had been informed by tolerance and humanity, perhaps the situation in Spain today would be quite different. Sir Hartley Shawcross is planning a political come-back.

In future expect to see him regularly in his place in the Commons.

And full of zeal to join in its debates. Here is news to set all Socialists talking.

It will excite a buzz of speculation right through their ranks.

×

It's a pretty game that our glamorous parliamentarian plays, isn't it? When there are top-line jobs to be had, Sir Hartley is there; when his Party loses power—thanks, to a large extent, to rank-and-file disillusionment with his antics—he withdraws to more lucrative employment. Then, when it becomes clear that the Tories are losing support and the chances for a Labour return to office improve—back comes 'Pretty Boy' "full of zeal to join the debates".

How opportunistic can you get? Yet it is clear that Shawcross does not seek jobs for money. He earns so much more at the Bar. But he is fairly clearly attracted by *power*. ('We are the masters, now').

There is, however, one economic gimmick that serves Sir Hartley well. When a barrister gives up his practice to take

Continued on p. 4

FREEDOM

What is the Cairo Mission About?

WHEN Mr. Menzies flew into

Cairo on Sunday his reception was cool; protocol demands that a visiting Premier should be met by a Cabinet Minister, but Nasser sent the military governor of Cairo. We find ourselves indifferent to the requirements of protocol, but it may be that this initial discourtesy represents the actual keynote of the Egyptian attitude towards the Menzies' mission. Add to this the fact that Nasser is reported as having said to the U.S. Ambassador, Henry Byroade: "I expect Mr. Menzes to take two days explaining the point of view of the 17 London conference nations on controlling the Suez Canal. I will need no more than an hour." Perhaps it is a gesture not without irony that it was the military governor who greeted Menzies. One might be more impressed with the mission if a statement had been issued as to its exact terms of reference Nasser can hardly be blamed for either treating it as a messenger service to which he is prepared to listen, or a soundingboard to try and form some conclusions as to the West's intentions under certain given circumstances. What indeed are the West's intentions? This is the \$64,000 question. Just exactly how far are Britain and France prepared to go-how far dare they go-to ensure international control of the Canal? How much reliance can be put upon America -one way or the other? Perhaps Mr. Menzies knows some of the answers and has gone to Cairo to see if he can extract from Nasser more answers to similar questions the other way round. What are Egypt's intentions? How far is Egypt prepared to go to retain what she considers to be her sacred and inviolable sovereignty? How much reliance can be put upon the other Arab nations-one way or the other?

And then there are the secondstage problems. To whom is the Menzies' committee going to report? If it reports back to the 18 nation conference (as it presumably will), there is no especial reason for supposing that Nasser will take any notice. If, eventually, the whole affair is referred to the United Nations and a decision is reached which Nasser finds unacceptablewhat then? The U.N. (one likes to think), is hardly in a position to recommend forceful action on the basis of Nasser's actions to date. As long as the Canal remains open under anything like reasonable conditions, there is very little to complain of. This perhaps is Egypt's strength-whilst she maintains the present arrangements, and all countries are permitted to use the Canal, she is effectively in a position to refuse to compromise. Meanwhile we have the current situation. Britain and France busily stocking up Cyprus with troops, and mobilising armed strength as fast as possible. It can mean any combination of three things: 1. Force will be used if necessary; 2. Negotiations should be carried out from strength and the threatening position; 3. The whole mobilisation effort was a miscalculation, but it's too late to change now. We favour a mixture of the last two propositions, not on the assumption that Britain and France would want to attack Egypt, but in the belief that they are scared of the possible consequences of such an action and are aware of the lack of support from the U.S.A. for such a venture. In addition ominous rumblings have been emanating from the Kremlin in the form of doubts as to what might happen if Egypt is attacked, and fears that any such attack would be bound to spread; these can scarcely be ignored even by so out-of-touch-with-reality a politician as Anthony Eden. H.F.W.

Scientists & Moral Responsibility

DEAR FRIENDS,

The New Chronicle Dispatch recently used the clever analogy of leapfrogging to disaster in one of its editorials to point out the obvious dangers of deliberately exploding further H-bombs on an experimental scale, in spite of the danger known to be imminent for all mankind, if only 40 more such tests are carried out. The newspaper concerned seemed to be conscious of governmental blindness to actual danger, but it should be clearly pointed out that such blindness would be of little or no consequence if the brains responsible for conducting and directing the death-dealing tests were not placed willingly at the disposal of the governmental authority. The great decisive factor in the H-test menace is fundamentally the individual moral responsibility of the scientist. Let there be no academic quibble about the term moral responsibility. Interpret it each as he will, man of religion, agnostic or atheist. Shall we not say that, in fact, scientists-and especially highly-gifted, highly-placed ones-are not infrequently lacking in sensitive concern for the outcome of their work? Are they not in fact endowed with callous indifference to mankind as men? Writing as I do with a deep personal attachment to the scientific approach to life. I nevertheless see that "let's drop another one" attitude, in the face of known risks, as a neat test-case on which Alex Comfort's optimism about the rôle of science (as expounded at the Anarchist Summer School 1956) may well rise or fall. It was Comfort's case (if I am not

mistaken) that science would reveal facts and trends, which, by their very nature, would cause individual and governmental despots to hesitate, lest they themselves should come to grief through failing to take into account the facts of psychology, sociology, etc., etc. . . .

Here, in this very matter of testing atomic weapons we have governments *knowingly* consenting to dangerous tests. The brakes of conscience have failed, and the men *i.e.* the scientific advisers, who might well apply what emergency halting devices they possess, namely, their own refusal to act, are meekly acquiescent to the call of authority.

It was noticeable that Alex Comfort made no mention of Wilhelm Reich in his account of the function of science. Reich perhaps cuts a poor figure in the eyes of many otherwise enlightened people, simply because they have permitted their orthodox scientific training to put a special species of blinkers on them. I must intervene here in my own train of thought to stress that I am not attacking Alex Comfort, who has, in fact, my respect and admiration; nor am arguing for or against Reich. What] am worrying about is this crass stupidity of men with a wealth of logic at their disposal for technical purposes, who nonetheless seem incapable of making the most elementary deductions once it is the moral sphere in which these have to be made. Reich has at any rate realisedand it deserves to be a truism-that man cannot be something apart from his science. It will not necessarily be his guide, since it will, of necessity, bear the imprint of man on it. Man's machines reflect man's physiology, and man's inner disintegration is in danger of being reflected in the disintegration of his material world.

If I write with feeling, it is because, living as I do in one of the great centres of applied chemistry (Billingham-the "home" of I.C.I.), I observe so little moral responsibility in so many scientists. The day-to-day talk among aspiring laboratory personnel is of the wonderful salary scales in the Scientific Civil Sorvice (i.e. mainly atomic research) and never yet have I heard any one even whisper that atomic research may mean atomic bomb research. Never yet have I heard any young fathers of families say: "Not for me; I think of my kids and the responsibilities of the work on a world scale, that is, of other people's kids."

So beware, friends all, who read this, Don't swallow this facile argument that the scientist knows he has Big Brother in his pocket when it comes to a push. It seems that the scientist doesn't know this, even if it is true. But be assured, the scientist, moral moron though he may be, is not more so than so many others in the world around us. If as anarchists we think we should be doing something, then at least those of us in scientific occupations may be able to create an awareness of "moral" (i.e. human) responsibilities in those who are privileged to "know" so much-for that is what Science means. Sincerely yours, JACK GOUNDRY.

Co. Durham, Sept. 1.

FUNDAMENTAL 'CLICHES'

DEAR SIRS.

I hope that Mr. Gelstein's decision to part from anarchism does not mean his parting from a belief in humanism: in other words, a belief in the necessity of anarchy as a result of people sickening of the present state of 'man's inhumanity to man', a cliché from the 18th century, that one.

I agree that FREEDOM and all believers in anarchy echo and re-echo clichés but they are not 19th century. They are spoken after examining a particular aspect of social change, etc., on the grounds of their effect upon the dignity of humanity at large and that basis of examination was operating before the 19th century and we as human beings, must go on echoing clichés so long as human beings are being mis-used. Once believers in anarchy sicken of these clichés then they are sickening of Truth and once they do that they are allying themselves with religions, etc., which for centuries have obscured the truth in a fantasy of half-truth.

Mr. Gelstein's list of names was quite impressive but what of people such as Burns, Blake, Van Gogh and even Christ as a man of his time? They were never called anarchists but they wished to do something for man—to change his wretched existence—as many people are doing now and most continue to do until anarchy, or whatever you call it,

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. THE London Anarchist Group Sunday evening meetings, which have been

AFRICAN FORUM MEETINGS AT THE MALATESTA CLUB

A SERIES of meetings which might interest readers of FREEDOM are being held at the Malatest Club, London, by the African Forum, on the last Tuesday of every month.

Last Tuesday a stimulating lecture was given by Doris Lessing, writer on African problems, who has been refused permission to enter South Africa.

On Tuesday, September 25, (at 7.30) GEORGE PADMORE will be speaking on NATIONALISM & TRIBALISM IN AFRICA.

Mr. Padmore is well-known for his writing and speaking on African affairs and his lectures are always well known hearing.

Bonar Thompson on Wednesdays.

Bonar Thompson still appears in the flesh every Wednesday evening at 8 p.m.

Better, But Still Over £100

£700

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PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 35

Deficit on Freedom Contributions received DEFICIT

August 24 to August 30

Woodstock: A.L.K. 6/-; London: H.M.* 2/3; Whiteway: T.K.W. 10/-; Little Barrington: L.O. 10/-; Warrington: J.H. 5/-; Lakewood: S.M. £3/10/0; London: J.S.* 3/-; London: Hyde Park Sympathisers 1/7; London: A.M. 10/-; Bournemouth: P.H.S. 5/6; Huddersfield: A.L. 11/-; Cheltenham: J.B. £2/2/0; Northwood: E.H. £1; Stroud: S.L.R.* 5/6; Mead, Wash.: T.H. & R.F.W. 14/-; San Francisco: Comrades L'Incaricato £14; W. Somerville: D.C. 7/-; Miami: B. 7/-.

Total ... 25 9 10 Previously acknowledged ... 559 15 9 1956 TOTAL TO DATE ... £585 5 7

Indicates regula: contributors.

BERTOLT BRECHT

I would just like to add a brief footnote to C.W.'s interesting article on Brecht. He states that none of Brecht's work has been published in this country: in fact the Oxford University Press has published The Caucasian Chalk Circle (translated by Eric and Maja Bentley), at 6s. 6d. Also Parables for the Theatre which he mentions is distributed in this country by the same Press, price 28s. A number of English translations have been published in the United States, notably by New Directions. Full details of these will be found in The Times Literary Supplement for April 13 of this vear.

Nazeing, Aug. 31. MICHAEL WACE.

has been reached.

Only then will man begin to live instead of exist.

Mr. Gelstein has probably no weekly Freedom now to read my letter unless he is an egotist who wishes to see what kind of a stir his letter has created, or perhaps he is not sure of what he has stated and is seeking justification either way. However, my sole reason in writing was to give my view which is that people need not ally themselves with a movement, its newspaper, etc., but can still share a common, basic belief. Yours sincerely,

R.H.D.

Gateshead-on-Tyne, Aug. 29.

JUST NUTS!

A^N extract from a Government Amending Order, which has just come into my hands, is a masterpiece of clarifying phraseology. For that reason, and for its far-reaching importance, I should be very grateful if you could help me to give this matter the publicity it deserves.

The Order reads:

In the Nuts (Unground) (Other than groundnuts) Order, the expression nuts shall have reference to such nuts, other than groundnuts, as would, but for this Amending Order, not qualify as nuts (Unground) (Other than Groundnuts) by reason of their being nuts (Unground)." Do you know, they took the words right out of my mouth? I have been meaning to explain this for some time, for the information of all libertarians. but now this has been done admirably for me. If I may add a little further to this, for the benefit of potential wholesale nut-buyers, it is not generally understood by the general public, that when nonwholesale retailers are purchasing small nuts from non-retail wholesalers, the aforementioned small nuts are often cheaper than the larger nuts, which cost more. This is because the larger ones not being so small as the cheaper ones, are quite dear in comparison to smaller nuts. But it is only fair to add that these, the larger or smaller nuts (whichever way you are now holding the paper) are often dearer or cheaper (as the case

may be) than smaller or larger nuts,

up can obtain further information from

Readers who would like to follow this

Yours fraternally,

D.S.

which often cost more or less.

me c/o The Nuthouse. Whitehall.

suspended since the Summer School, begin a new series on September 23. The first four lectures are as follows:

SEPT. 23-DEBATE MARXISM vs. ANARCHISM Speakers: Monty Johnson Editor, Challenge (Y.C.L.). Donald Rooum, L.A.G.

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Shawcross the Chancer

Continued from p. 3

up another position (in politics, or on the Bench), all fees outstanding at the time of his withdrawal are then allowed to be received tax free.

Sir Hartley is in the super-tax class. A large slice of his income must reach him after 19s. 6d. in the £ has been deducted. An man in his position would be able to delay the sending out of bills in order to allow many thousands of pounds to accumulate in outstanding accounts before he withdrew from the Bar to take a Cabinet post. He would then get the whole amount tax-free,

Perhaps Sir Hartley wouldn't do such a thing. But his parliamentary history shows him to be a chancer who is not in the racket in order to serve his constituents. The tax 'adjustment' would be quite legal—as is his contemptuous absence from Parliament.

The fact that it is dishonest is, after all, no more than we expect from a politician. Especially a politician who is a lawyer. P.S.

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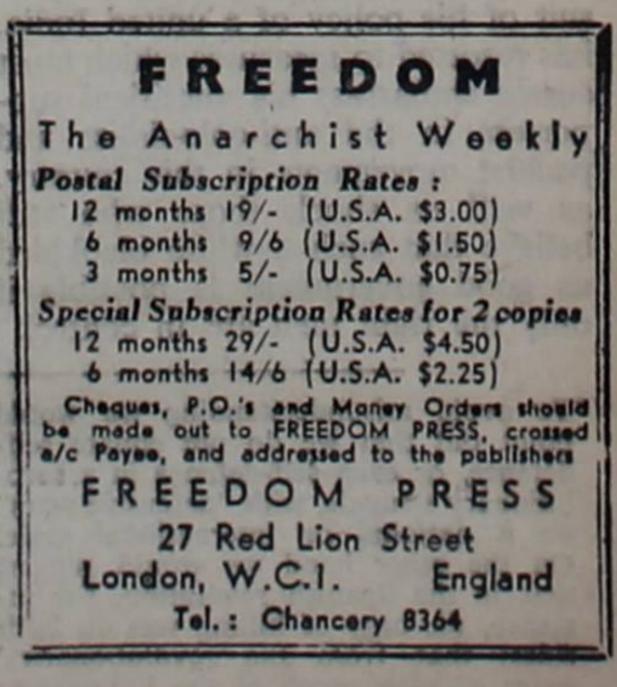
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