

Vol. 18, No. 13

March 30th, 1957

### Threepence

### The Present is always with us-BUT WILL THERE BE A TOMORROW ? H-BOMB TESTS GO OR

YEAR after year for more than a decade, plans have been put forward and subsequently rejected, Meanwhile; as all of us know, for some kind of international control of atomic-weapon development. In the first place the suggestion, for abolition of atomic weapons, came from Russia-who did not possess an A-bomb at that time-this was turned down by America-who of course did. Since then at various times, during the course of which Russian development has largely caught up, ideas have been put forward for mutual agreements between East and West either to discontinue the manufacture of atomic weapons or control production or any other scheme which has come into the head of an important politician wishing to enhance his reputation for peaceful enterprise.

which was putting the idea forward. (And not without good reason). there have been great advances (if this is the right word) in the atomic weapons field; indeed the scientists have almost certainly succeeded in developing a sufficiently powerful bomb to blow the human race off the face of the earth in the time it takes to say abolition. One might think that this state of affairs would make all those concerned only too anxious to get together and, at the very least, agree to some plan for the avoidance of this possibility. However, the politicians do not seem to mind, and one must assume that they work on the principle: "If we go, they go too." This may satisfy them, but it brings us no comfort whatsoever.

have been world-wide complaints that atom bomb tests are a danger to mankind in themselves. A considerable weight of evidence is forthcoming as to the effects of atomic radiation, and in particular its longterm effects upon human beings. So far the men in control have found the arguments no more convincing in this matter than on previous occasions. Indeed we have two opinions of some importance, voiced within 24 hours of each other less than a fortnight ago: Khrushchev has said that for Russia to suspend nuclear tests unilaterally would be taken as "a sign of weakness on the part of the Soviet Union".

coming unilateral problems, as both have implied, they could simply act in unison (sic) and abandon tests at one and the same time. Patently this is not their object but only their subject-it sounds very fine (though unconvincing), to talk of enterprises directed for the good of mankind, "and if only the other man's motives were as good as one's own . . . " etc. The evidence points unerringly to the proposition that neither East nor West has any real desire to alter the present anxious atomic weapon situation.

The last sentence is supposed to soften the blow-and there is evidence:

"Studies by independent scientific organisations confirm our belief that this will not happen so long as testing is continued with due restraint." Furthermore: "We look to the Soviet Union to exercise a similar restraint."

All, it seems, is well, and restraint shall be the new order. Never let it be said that we perished slowly from excessive radiation, but rather that we were extinguished in no time at all by excessive explosion. Yet again have the brave new ideas for abolition of atomic tests dwindled into mere abstractions, to join the brave new ideas for the abolition of atomic weapons themselves. We are informed that in the absence of a comprehensive and effective agreement for disarmament -due to resistance by the Soviet Union to negotiations upon the matter-the security of the free world "must continue to depend to a marked degree upon the nuclear deterrent. To maintain this effectively, continued nuclear testing is required, certainly for the present. And so they all say-and the present is always with us. But unhappily for us the "free world" cannot be free whilst there remains the ever-present doubt that the future may last no longer than tomorrow.

Needless to say nothing has ever come of any proposals, for the other side has always had some compelling reason for suspecting the motives and honesty of intent of the side

Currently there has been talk of limitation. The question of abandoning production of atomic weapons is no longer under discussion, but for many months now there

Macmillan has said that "to abandon our tests would be to put ourselves in a position of inferiority even for the purpose of negotiations."

It follows only too obviously that if both these gentlemen (if that is the right word) were so keen to abandon atomic test explosions they would have got together long ago; if it were merely a question of over-

Since writing the foregoing we have suddenly been faced with the news from Bermuda of guided missiles and nuclear tests. (Monday, 25 March). We read-with no surprise whatsoever-"In a communiqué, President Eisenhower and Mr. Macmillan announce that Britain and the United States must (must?) continue nuclear tests. The tests to be carried out in a manner preventing radiation from rising to more than a small fraction of the levels that might be hazardous."

THE shipyard workers' strike has been as solid as was expected. Silence reigns over all the great yards along Britain's waterfronts where the huge wealth of the shipping companies is first created, as all the 200,000 workers in the industry refuse to lift a finger until their wage claim is met.

In the engineering industries, no less than one million workers ceased work last week-end in selected areas, to back up their claim for an equal increase—10 per cent.

The Press has tried hard to show that the men have no stomach for the fight-that they are being led into it against their will through misguided loyalty to the leaders. Just the opposite arguments are produced when there is an unofficial strikethat the men should be governed by their leaders!

A few wives have been produced, who think the men are 'silly'. As if working class wives are not affected by their husbands' wages being pegged while prices rise!

But in fact it is clear that among the rank and file there is every bit

### **Government Intervenes**

After the Strikes-What?

The "Queen Mary" had been in for repair and had not been released before the strike began. A storm broke when the Admiralty sent naval tugs (manned by civilians!) to get the Cunarder out, and for two days the whole port was paralyzed as the dockers struck in protest against this Government intervention.

The union leaders hurriedly got the men back to work as soon as they could, and when, a week later, the "Queen Elizabeth" arrived from America, union officials actually organised a gang of riggers who normally work on smaller Cunarders to break the strike of those who regularly tie up the Queens! And did it with half the number of men!

The official union leadership is very concerned to keep the strike well under their control. Indeed, they must do so in order to be able to send the men back to work as soon as the inevitable compromise is reached.

So far the strike pressure has pushed the employers quite a long way from their original intransigent stand of complete refusal to discuss an increase. First, as we mentioned last week, they shifted from their opposition to arbitration. As soon as the strike began they decided they had better arbitrate. As last week passed, however, with the unions still refusing to go to arbitration, the employers softened still further, and this week began with the announcement that they had offered a wage increase of 5 per cent.-half the union's claim. This the unions refused, although they said they were prepared to settle for seven-and-ahalf. Both sides have now agreed to a court of inquiry being set up by the Government.

## 15,000 F.P. Books Go Up in Smoke

MANY readers, mostly abroad, will be receiving this and last week's FREEDOM in the same wrapper. At the time of writing we are not even sure whether any readers will get their copies of this issue on time. It all depends whether the printing machines are in working order. For, behind the uncertainty, is a stark reality. Last Thursday week our printing works in Whitechapel were swept by fire, destroying quantities of paper, books and pamphlets as well as damaging machines and equipment. Fortunately the alarm was given early and fire damage was limited to one floor of the building. The basement however was flooded and the first floor, where all the type is kept, suffered smoke damage.

It is on Thursday nights that But the position is serious all the FREEDOM is dispatched. The comrades dealing with this had already folded and wrapped half the issue, and at about 7.45 p.m. went out for a meal. When they returned at 8.30 p.m. firemen were in charge of the dispatching room, shadowy figures working in the light of oil lamps, putting the finishing touches with their hoses to the smouldering shambles, while the Salvage Corps were unceremoniously shovelling Malatesta, Read, Kropotkin, Comfort, Sansom, Bakunin and FREEDOM into a mighty heap, little realising perhaps what a pyre of ideas they were making from otherwise charred and water-sodden printed paper! Perhaps not altogether if one is to judge from the occasional remarks "this looks jolly interesting stuff", as they paused in their remorseless shovelling of ideas onto the dump, to turn the pages of a charred copy of "The March to Death", or read a few sentences from "The Workers' Next Step", or a headline from a sad, water-heavy copy of FREEDOM.

same.

Geoffrey Ostergaard's 88 page booklet on the Tradition of Workers' Control, the printing of which had been completed all but for 16 pages is a soggy mass of paper somewhere in the dump. The type for this work has already been distributed. To reprint it therefore means resetting all the type. On the other hand, the 6th Volume of Freedom Reprints, the largest volume in the series so far (312 pages) was found only slightly damp in the basement, and the type for completing this book is intact. Last week's issue of FREEDOM did not escape. Some copies had already been sent to the Bookshop in the late afternoon of Thursday, and about a thousand copies were still stacked on the machine in the basement. But the rest, plus all the stamped addressed wrappers for subscribers were in the dispatch room and provided fuel for the fire. However, by Friday night a new set of wrappers had been run-off and stamped, and all the available papers dispatched by Saturday afternoon.

No stocks of FREEDOM PRESS titles escaped unscathed except for a parcel of 1,500 copies of Comfort's Delinquency, and, so far as we can judge, 1,000 copies of Kropotkin's Revolutionary Government. But stocks destroyed or irretrievably damaged include the following:

- 700 copies Selections Political Justice.
- 800 copies Ill Health, Poverty and the State.

200 copies Wilhelmshaven Revolt. 1150 copies The Wage System. Continued on p. 3

as much militancy as among the leaders-if not more. In Southampton, for example, the moorers have gone against union instructions in refusing to release or tie up the great Cunard "Queens"-Mary and Elizabeth.

### **PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!** WEEK 12

Deficit on Freedom	£240
Contributions received	£222
DEFICIT	£18

March 15 to March 21

Menlo Park: O.R. 14/-: Huddersfield: A.L. 10/-; London: G.O. 12/-; London: Anon. 6d.; London: J.S.\* 3/-: Sheffield: G.P.\* 5/-: London: J.A.N. 2/6; Belfast: H.C. £1; Falmouth: R.W. 3/-; Bletchley: R.S. 5/5; West New York: V. de M. 7/-; Castle Douglas: M.A. 10/-. Total ... 4 12 5 Previously acknowledged ... 217 17 2

1957 TOTAL TO DATE ... £222 9 7 GIFT OF BOOKS: Preston: W.D. Le M.

### **Conditions of Settlement**

Now this is all very satisfactory from the ordinary trade union point of view. The employers are on the run: some increase is in the bag. Trade union prestige will stand higher among the workers than for a long time if they go back to work fairly quickly with a victory won. Conting at a

OUR comrades and friends will want to know what is the position.

At the moment we cannot give an exact picture of the damage. Fortunately FREEDOM PRESS stocks were stored at Red Lion Street as well as at the Express Printers, so that we are not back to that night in May, 1941, when fire-bombs reduced bookshop and press to ashes, and we had to start all over again.



### FREEDOM

"By this means, a kind of virtuous materialism may ultimately be established in the world, which would not corrupt, but enervate the soul, and noiselessly unbend its springs of action."

#### -DE TOCQUEVILLE: "Democracy in America" (1835).

IN this country, during the last ten self-conscious years, there have been a number of studies of working-class life and attitudes—the best of them probably the several books of Dr. Ferdynand

### FREEDOM BOOKSHOP OPEN DAILY

(Open 10 a.m.-6.30 p.m., 5 p.m. Sats:) New Books . . . Russian Poetry 1917-1955 Trans. Jack Lindsay 15/-A View from the Bridge Arthur Miller 10/6

# FROM BLACK PUDDING TO CANDY FLOSS

Zweig; and there has also been a great deal of discussion of what Mr. J. B. Priestley calls 'Admass', the contemporary American-centred culture based on mass-communications-radio, television, films, and the big-circulation magazines and newspapers, and dominated by presslords and advertising agents. These two themes are brought together in a new book by Richard Hoggart The Uses of Literacy.\* In the first half of his book he builds up an evocative picture of traditional working-class life, drawn largely from his boyhood in the industrial quarter of a Northern industrial city -a "landscape with figures" in places like Hunslet in Leeds, the Attercliffe district of Sheffield, Ancoats, Manchester, or the Hessle Road area of Hull. "To a visitor they are understandably

"The strongest objection to the more trivial popular entertainments is not that they prevent their readers from becoming highbrow, but that they make it harder for people without an intellectual bent to become wise in their own way . . . They tend towards a view of the world in which progress is conceived as a seeking of material possessions, equality as a moral levelling and freedom as the ground for endless irresponsible pleasure. These productions belong to a vicarious, spectators' world; they offer nothing which can readily grip the brain or heart. They assist a gradual drying-up of the more positive, the fuller, the more cooperative kinds of enjoyment, in which one gains much by giving much."

The platitudinous traditional workingclass values, 'lending a helping hand', 'not being stuck-up or a getter-on', 'loyalty',-all these, he declares, "are a good deal more healthy than the commercial values-pride, ambition, outdoing your acquaintances, show for its own sake, conspicuous consumptionwhich working-class people are consistently invited to adopt nowadays". But the impact of mass-media is more than an attempt to subvert social values: "The mass-publications must try to ensure that their customers want no other reading, must constantly try to tighten their grip, or their great structures would be in danger of collapsing. Popular reading is now highly centralised; a very large body of people choose between only a small number of publications. This is a very small and crowded country; to-day almost everyone can be supplied at almost the same time with the same object. The price paid for this in popular reading is that a small group of imaginatively narrow and lamed publications are able to impose a considerable uniformity. These publications must aim to hold their readers at a level of passive acceptance, at which they never really ask a question, but happily take what is provided and think of no change. There must be no significant disturbing of assumptions, nothing more than a slight titillation. The popular press, for all its purported 'progressiveness' and 'independence', is one of the greatest conserving forces in public life to-day; its nature requires it to promote conservatism and conformity".

opposite effect. There are also great variations in the popular press itself. For instance, the *Daily Mirror* is a good deal more 'slick' and 'bitty' than its nearest circulation rival, the *Daily Express*, and therefore by the characteristics which Mr. Hoggart uses as standards, is more pernicious. But in fact it is a paper with a quite different tone. As a friend of mine once said, the *Mirror* is produced for intelligent illiterates and the *Express* for educated morons.

One of the worse social aspects of the popular press and the manipulators of opinion, which Mr. Hoggart emphasises, is that even when they go in for fighting talk, their battles are sham battles. Traditional hostility to authority is exploited, but it is blunted to the level "of the the whole pattern of people's experience than, in fact, they have". There is a danger, as he remarks, of "failing sufficiently to allow for the mitigations of older influences, of ignoring the less admirable aspects of the 'older' attitudes, and the more admirable of the new."

The general rise in the standard of living-better living conditions, better health, more consumer goods, fuller educational opportunities must, in considering working-class life, have opened more doors than the mass-media have closed. Then there is the 'earnest minority' which, he observes, can exercise an influence on their groups out of all proportion to their numbers. "One of the plain advantages of our present situation is that those working-class people who have this kind of interest are to-day able much more fully than formerly to develop and exercise it." Who are the earnest minority?-active trade-unionists, members of WEA classes (90,000), people who take part in the 'liberal nonvocational study of the humanities" organised by University extra-mural departments and voluntary bodies (they number 150,000-one in 200 adults), the buyers of cheap editions like Penguins, users of public libraries, and so on. Popular publicists "try to encourage most working-class people to underrate the 'earnest minority' because their very existence, their turning away from the common fare and their search for a more nourishing food, is an implicit judgment on the publicists themselves. The enquiring and serious working-class student is easy game for them; people who insist on getting knowledge against the odds, whether the odds are material or less tangible, can soon appear stodgy and over-earnest". But it is difficult to over-stress the importance in society of such people. C.W.

Reprints . . . The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism 7/6

Inside the Atom Isaac Asimov 12/6 Birth Control To-day

Marie Stopes 4/-Second-Hand . . . Spiridonova I. Steinberg 12/6

Jim Larkin R. M. Fox 10/-A Way of Life Peter Wildeblood 10/-Bolsheviks in the Tsarist Duma A. Badayev 10/-

History of Trade Unionism Sidney & Beatrice Webb 8/-Conquest of Peru William H. Prescott 4/-The Century of the Child

Ellen Key 4/-Jewish Labour Economy in Palestine G. Muenzer 2/6 Essays of Montaigne (O.U.P.) (2 vols.) the set 6/-The Opinions of William Cobbett (ed.) G. D. H. Cole 3/6 Tenement Town L. E. White 2/-On a Field Azure Alexei Remizov 2/6 Roaring Boys Edward Blishen 3/6 Cloud Howe Lewis Grassic Gibbon

(poor copy) 2/-

A Manual of Psychology

G. F. Stout 7/6 Prose Writings of Thomas Davis 2/6 Short Stories by Russian Authors 3/-

Periodicals . . .

Orgonomic Functionalism

Vol. 4, No. 2, March 2/6 Universities and Left Review Deutscher, Bourdet, Cole, etc. 3/6 N.B.—An order to the bookshop is a gift to the Press Fund. Postage free on all items Obtainable from depressing, these massed proletarian areas; street after street of shoddily uniform houses . . . mean, squalid and in a permanent half-fog . . . But to the insider, these are small worlds, each as homogeneous and well-defined as a village".

He discusses with a wealth of familiar detail the role of the home, of the mother and father, 'primary religion', reading matter, and oral tradition, such characteristics as clothing clubs, charabanc trips and club singing, noting the "strong natural ability to survive change by adapting or assimilating what they want in the new and ignoring the rest". This, he concludes, "is in many respects a good and comely life, one founded on care, affection, a sense of the small group if not of the individual. It is elaborate and disorderly and yet sober: it is not chintzy or kittenish or whimsical or 'feminised'."

The second part of Mr. Hoggart's book is about those forces in popular publications and entertainments which, in Alexis de Tocqueville's vivid phrase, "unbend the springs of action": the candy-floss world of the mass-circulation weekly magazines and commercial popular songs, and the continuous barrage of incessant advertising.

\*

WHEN he castigates this "great sea of undifferentiated porridge", the kind of thing that Orwell called 'prolefeed', it is not, he emphasises, because he imagines that everyone should read the intellectual weeklies:

That these characteristics have not had a worse effect than might be expected, he attributes to the capacity "to live easily in compartments, to separate the life of home from the life outside, 'real' life from the life of entertainment". It is also of course due to the fact that people are open to all sorts of other influences, and that a few popular radio and television programmes may have an

boy who makes faces, for his pals' amusement, at a policeman's back, and from a safe distance":

"One would be happier if the dislike of authority were more often an active dislike, implying a wish to stand on one's own feet. But it can frequently be a sullen shaking-away of the idea of authority co-existing with an assumption that nevertheless something or somebody outside should provide. The joint effect of these two attitudes will be to increase the peculiar deadness and unresponsiveness of many people towards calls upon them from outside their personal and domestic lives. We are moving towards a world of what Alex Comfort has called 'irresponsible obedients'; it would be better if more were 'responsible disobedients'.

"So the claims of conformity increase. 'Only connect,' said E. M. Forster, thinking of the conflict between the claims of the inner and the outer life. 'Only conform', whispers the prevailing wind today. Nothing much matters anyway, but the majority are probably right, and you ought to go along with them. You need only believe what the rest believe; to do otherwise is a sort of sin against the laws of life. If there are no values anyway, no ground for deviating, the only duty is to keep to the middle of the crowded road. 'Ten million people-or thirteen million readers or listenerscan't be wrong'."

(To be concluded)

### Have You remembered to

27, RED LION STREET, LONDON, W.C.I

\*THE USES OF LITERACY by Richard Hoggart. (Chatto & Windus, 25s.). \*

THIS growing conformism is not, of course, a characteristic of industrial workers only, nor is it solely the result of mass-communication. Mr. Hoggart realises this. "As we study popular publications," he says, "we insensibly tend to give them, so great is their mere bulk, a larger prominence in

### renew your Subscription to FREEDOM ?

# Some Factors Affecting Emotional Development in Children-7

### (Continued from previous issue)

Unsympathetic handling can make adolescence the most unhappy period of an individual's life. The majority of the children in our society seem to suffer acute genital misery during this stage of development because of inadequate and erroneous sex education<sup>24</sup>.

It is, therefore, of extreme importance that the child be adequately prepared for the onset of puberty and (particularly in the case of the boy) be reassured about the naturalness and harmlessness of masturbation. (This is essential even if the child has grown up in a home which accepted infantile masturbation.)

The youngster should be told to disregard any stories to the contrary which he or she may hear from misguided friends or ignorant and malicious adults. The child should, of course, be warned that, since many regard the practice as wrong, it is probably best not to express opinions about it outside the family circle, particularly before adults. The boy or girl should not, however, be forbidden to discuss sex -every child will, if he or she is normal. If the child has had adequate and accurate sex instruction from his or her parents and if the parents have earned the youngster's respect as reliable and truthful guides no harm will come from the usual adolescent sex talk even if his or her companions are, as they very possibly will be, grossly misinformed and ignorant. Being fully informed, such a youngster will, in all probability, tend to indulge less in the conventional corner discussions-having no need to try to alleviate guilt complexes by sharing experiences-and he or she may, indeed, help to reassure his or her friends. The correctly informed and oriented youngster will also be far less likely to be influenced by some of the deliberately pornographic literature or pictorial matter aimed at adolescents and which is occasionally found circulating<sup>25</sup>. The hostility to infantile masturbation discussed above is, probably, nothing compared with the irrational censorious attitude of the conventional sex-armoured adult towards adolescent masturbation. Guilt-ridden parents seem to delight in making their children's lives hell during this period with punishments, old wives' tales about the practice impairing a boy's manhood or making a girl unfit for marriage, producing insanity and the like.

Such parents—and there are still many who believe in this way—are unlikely to stop their children masturbating. They merely drive the practice underground, produce severe guilt complexes and anxiety neuroses and in many cases are likely to actually increase the frequency of the practice by turning normal healthy adolescent masturbation into compulsive masturbation.

The enlightened parent recognises the need for masturbation in relieving sexual tension in the adolescent and will treat his child with the sympathy and tolerance needed during this difficult period of development. In practice, the child nurtured in the sex-enlightened home, who has been reassured about masturbation, is found to indulge rather less than does his or her less fortunate contemporary.

Even enlightened parents may sometimes worry about their children apparently indulging in excessive masturbation. They should be reassured that, as with infantile masturbation, the frequency varies considerably from child to child and from time to time with an individual youngster, being influenced by emotional stress. For example, some children may be found to increase the activity just before school examinations. treatment, particularly if the delayed development is leading to social difficulties. But such treatment should be approached with caution and with due consideration of any possible psychological after-effects.

One of the problems which arise from the variation in sexual development at adolescence is that of general education. The conventional school which is concerned primarily with the mass production of stereotyped citizens works on a rigid syllabus designed for a hypothetical norm. This difficulty is overcome in such schools as Summerhill where the emphasis is on the child as an individual and the principles of self-regulation pioneered by Wilhelm Reich and A. S. Neill are applied. (Parents seem to be realizing to a certain extent the limitation of the present educational system. Much criticism is at the moment being levelled against the present practice in England of holding an examination at 11 plus years to determine the nature of the child's future education. This age seems to have been quite arbitrarily adopted for administrative reasons rather than from any psychological consideration.) Adolescent masturbation should, then, be regarded with the same unemotional toleration as the earlier infantile masturbation. Wise parents who discover a child masturbating will ignore the incident. On no account should a child be punished for the practice<sup>28</sup>. More harm has been done to young people by attempts to prohibit masturbation than by, possibly, any other misguided attitude. (Even more cruel and inhumane than punishment for masturbation is the custom reported of certain institutions<sup>29</sup> wherein boys are punished for nocturnal emissions. There are some societies even more restrictive than ours where boys are punished if observed to have an erection<sup>30</sup>.) A.C.F.C.

Except in certain psychopathic cases, no adolescent can masturbate to excess. The nervous system provides natural regulation.

Some semi-enlightened parents, on the other hand, who have not fully understood what they have read or heard about masturbation in the adolescent, become concerned when their child does not apparently masturbate. (This parental phenomenon seems more prevalent in the United States than here.) Such parents seem unaware not only of the great range of frequencies of the practice among children but also of the vast differences in development of children at any particular age.

One child may be almost fully developed at 12 or 13 years of age, another still prepubescent at 15 years<sup>26</sup>. Neither early nor late development need give cause for alarm—except, of course, for such pathological conditions as sexual precocity due to, say, cerebral or glandular tumors or the other extreme which may arise from an endocrine deficiency<sup>27</sup>. Constitutional sexual precocity is sometimes a family trait.

Some physicians may suggest hastening development in the late maturing child who is quite normal by hormone

#### (To be continued)

- 24 See article by Jean Ritter in "Orgonomic Functionalism" (September 1955).
- <sup>25</sup> For a description of such literature in the USA see: Wertham: "Seduction of the Innocent" (Museum Press).

<sup>26</sup> See: Tanner: "Growth at Adolescence".

- 27 For a study of precocity see: Jolly: "Sexual Precocity"; also, R. W. B. Ellis (ed.): "Child Health and Development".
- 28 See: Olivem: "Sexual Hygiene and Pathology"; Beigel: "Encyclopedia of Sex Education".
- 29 See: Kinsey et al: "Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male".
  30 See: Ford & Beach: "Patterns of Sexual Behaviour".

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Preedom

### 15,000 F.P. Books go up in Smoke

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600? copies The State-Its Historic Role.

1000 copies Anarchy by Malatesta. 400 copies The March to Death. 500 copies Philosophy of Anarchism.

800 copies Poetry & Anarchism. 2700 copies Railways & Society. 400 copies Homes or Hovels.-400? copies Anarchy or Chaos. 100 copies The Basis of Communal Living.

### DILEMMA DOCTORS'

THE increasing extent of governmental authoritarianism during this century has been a matter of concern for progressive and humane people because in most countries it has been accompanied by open violence and police sadism. (Leninist Russia, Fascist Italy and Portugal, Nazi Germany, Spain, etc., before the war, and Central Europe and McCarthyist USA since). But this very overlay of violence has served to divert attention from the underlying process-the supercession of individual responsibility by centralizing government power. In brief, by an increased power of the State. With characteristic hypocrisy or characteristic humanitarianism (whichever way one likes to view the complex British way of doing things), the same process has gone on here without the violence and sadism, but with popular support instead, under the guise of the developing Welfare State. The sapping of individual initiative and the reduction of life to a uniform dull pattern remains the outcome of this process. The doctors' struggle against successive governments may be seen as a revolt against this process by a professional group accustomed to act on their own responsibility and intolerant of bureaucratic interference. It is unlikely that the doctors themselves see the problem in this light, any more than liberals horrified by imprisonment without trial, etc., understand the problem of Communism-Fascism, for it has only been the anarchists who have consistently concerned themselves with the question of the inevitable struggle between the individual and authority. Broadly speaking however, and ignoring details, one can say that if the doctors defeat the government again as they did in the preliminary Danckwerts skirmish of four years ago, they will have dealt a blow against enveloping authoritarianism.

The Spens recommendations were briefly that doctors should be paid an income which was one fifth higher than their calculated income for 1939, and that it should be reviewed from time to time with regard to changes in the cost of living and changes in the incomes of other professions.

A temporary scale was agreed in time to bring over 90% of doctors into the health scheme by July 1948, but the government agreed that the exact interpretation of the Spens recommendation should proceed as soon as possible. In fact, the Labour government with Bevan as Health Minister stalled for nearly 4 years and finally were forced by the threat of mass resignation from the NHS to submit the matter to arbitration. The result was the 1952 judgment of Mr. Justice Danckwerts, which fixed doctors' remuneration, and awarded the increase retrospectively to 1948. The judgment accepted the doctors' claim that this was not a wage increase but simply a belated carrying out of the promise of 1948 to replace a temporary scale by a reasoned interpretation of Spens which could serve as a basis for future remuneration.

health scheme. In a letter dated May 22, 1950, to the British Medical Association, the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Health affirmed: "The Minister agrees that the Spens Report remains the basis of the remuneration of general practitioners until such time as after the usual consultations some other basis is substituted." The Ministry's own handbook published in 1955 reiterates this assurance and the question of changes in the cost of living. "The central pool is now calculated on the basis of the estimated net remuneration appropriate for general practitioners in 1939 (as recommended by the Spens Committee of 1946) together with a betterment factor taking account of the changes in the value of money since that

"Responsible statesmanship in 1946 ought to have precluded the Attlee Government from promising to honour the fatally ambiguous and unrealistic recommendations of the Spens report. Responsible statesmanship among the doctors' leaders ought equally to have precluded them from demanding a pledge which, on their particular interpretation, was manifestly untenable, since it amounted to demanding a guarantee that family doctors' incomes before tax shall be maintained at a level of purchasing power nearly a fifth higher than before the war, insulated against the monetary depreciation that afflicts the incomes of other citizens."

The government, despite their pledge that Spens remains the basis, etc., until after the usual consultations some other basis is substituted, proceeded to try and dodge Spens and also gain time by appointing a Royal Commission. They limited its terms of reference in such a way that it cannot form the basis of a fruitful examination of the problem of the relationship of the medical profession to the State as employer.

- 2000 copies What is Anarchism. 900 copies Barbarism & Sexual Freedom.
- 500 copies Existentialism, Marxism & Anarchism.
- 500 dust jackets Marxism, Freedom & the State (sheets safe). 750 copies Organised Vengeance Called Justice.

### 1000 copies Youth for Freedom. 2000 copies Syndicalism — The Workers' Next Step.

This is an interim report of FREEDOM PRESS's losses. We know, for instance, that all the covers for the earlier volumes of FREEDOM Selections were destroyed, and we can well imagine that other losses will be discovered as and when we come to need certain titles and then find that they are not there! But even an interim report, involving 19 titles and 15,000 books and pamphlets is quite serious enough to be getting on with. To make good the losses would involve us in resetting some 800 pages of type at a cost of at least £350 (\$1,000). The paper, printing and binding costs would be more than double that amount, and it would be obviously unrealistic to think in these terms. On the other hand it would be a serious loss to anarchist thought and to our literature in the English language if all these titles were to disappear from our lists. It is therefore our intention in the coming weeks to carefully consider which of these titles shall be rescued from the ashes, and in this task the opinions and suggestions of our comrades and friends here and in America will be much appreciated.

At the beginning of 1956 the doctors claimed that they had exercised restraint in not until then asking for the change in the cost of living since 1952 (which was conservatively estimated as a 24% increase) to be reflected in their pay, but insisting that they could not go on waiting for ever. The government employed stalling manoeuvres until January 1957 and then turned the claim down flat.

### Government and Spens

Acceptance by the government of the Spens recommendations as the basis for doctors' pay was as we have seen the final assurance whereby the Spens, in a first leader on March 22, recommendations, and other workdoctors were willing to enter the it declares;

time" (Our italics).

The government failed to give a stated legal case for their refusal to meet the doctors' claim although the Minister had agreed to do this after receiving the detailed legal arguments of the BMA advisors. This suggests (together with the Danckwerts judgment of four years ago) that their legal case is unsound.

The trend in governmental attitude is reflected in the Times. Originally highly critical of the government's evasions, and supporting the doctors' case this newspaper seems to have realized recently the implications of the Spens formula. Surely the main point about their 1946 recommendation is that if it is just for doctors' pay to increase in line with the cost of living it is just for all workers' pay to be increased similarly? In fact the Spens recommendation, if applied generally, constitutes a criticism of the whole method of economy.

The Times has its own way of indicating this belated realization of the philosophical implications of

Finally the government (remembering Danckwerts) refused to go to arbitration at the very same moment as the Prime Minister was saying two weeks ago at Leicester in regard to the shipbuilding dispute, "Surely this is a time when we should accept some form of arbitration rather than to have recourse to self destructive struggles . . . the umpire is better than the duel". Anarchists might say that this was textbook government behaviour.

### General Implications

The writer has tried to lay less emphasis on the question of whether doctors are justified in their wage claim, than on the dishonest behaviour of the government. The greatest stress should be laid upon the essential justice of the Spens

THE financial loss to FREEDOM PRESS will not begin to be felt, apart from current work which, such as Ostergaard's booklet and the last issue of FREEDOM will have to be made good right away, until we run out of stocks held at the bookshop and are unable to draw on those which were stored at the printers. As we have pointed out at various times, our ability to print new pamphlets depends on the income we derive from the sale of existing pamphlets. Our chances of doing so in a year or 18 months' time are the poorer by the iucome-we-won'treceive from the sale of 15,000 pamphlets-we-haven't got! If the book publishing side of our activities-as distinct from that of issuing FREE-DOM each week-is not to suffer for some years to come we need the financial assistance of all those readers who share with us the view that our ideas cannot make their way in the world without the backing of a rich and varied body of literature. FREEDOM's purpose is essentially one of introducing people to our ideas, but it is only through our literature that we can hope for deeper understanding and acceptance of their validity.

### The Doctors' Case

As in most industrial struggles the initial cause is a demand for increased pay. For general practitioners, the introduction of a National Health Service, involved the loss of a major asset, the right to sell their practices, and with it the freedom of movement which such assets provide. They also viewed (as it turns out) with justifiable apprehension the prospect of placing their future income in the hands of the govern-The Attlee government ment. allayed the first of these fears by agreeing to pay a compensation sum on retirement based on an agreed value for a practice as it was in 1948. They allayed the second by pledging the government as employer to pay the doctors according to the recommendation of the Spens Committees. This pledge has been a source of embarrassment to successive governments ever since, and it lies at the root of the present dispute. It also has far wider implications for the employed population at large.

### Squalor & Frustration on Clydeside

ANYONE who has ever known the Clydeside must feel something of the squalor and gloom depicted by Duncan B. Forrester writing in the Manchester Guardian (20/3/57) on his experiences as an unskilled labourer in a Clyde shipyard.

At this time when workers are being exhorted in the press to subjugate their individual needs to the needs of the country, it is important that a true picture of industrial life is laid before the public in the hope that it will help to change conditions where they are bad. Mr. Forrester sets out to do this, and gives a coherent (and sometimes touching) glimpse of what goes on behind the scenes specifically in the Clyde yards. The shipbuilding industry is booming and:

Profits are quite substantial and rates of pay, when bonus and overtime are reckoned in, are quite comparable with those in many other industries. Yet among the workmen there is a deep frustration and a quite irrational feeling of insecurity and lack of confidence in the future of the industry-the root causes of much of the trouble in the shipyards to-day. Relations between management and men are fairly consistently bad and the working conditions and lack of amenities in the average shipyard would be considered antediluvian in almost any other industry. Wages for the unskilled labourer are certainly not high by normal industrial standards in spite of the boom. A 44-hr. five day week brings in £7, 2, 6., but  $12\frac{1}{2}$  hours of regular overtime makes the wage packet up to £10 or over. Skilled men earn more than this; a craftsman can earn up to £18 if he works overtime. . Overtime working is the "rule rather than the exception" throughout Clydeside since the war. It is not surprising that the pace of work is invariably slower during overtime,

partly, writes Forrester, because the men are simply physically tired. Apart from fatigue, it seems to us that there is little incentive for men to work at a wage rate of £7. 2. 6. for a five day week (how far will this go in a household where there is a wife and family to keep?) Can one blame workers then for slacking on their overtime stints, particularly when one also considers the conditions under which Clydeside ship workers have to spend most of their waking lives? Of these conditions Mr. Forrester says:

One comes to feel that the management regards one simply as a unit of labour and has no interest in one beyond getting the job done and guarding against costly lawsuits and fines. The boat in the fitting-out basin on which I worked had no lavatory accommodation on board for three hundred or so workers. As a result, huge fetid pools of urine gathered against the bulkheads and in the bilges, and these had normally to be baled out by hand. The yard had no canteen, and provided no facilities whatsoever for washing, so that it was normally necessary to eat with hands covered with greasy filth. No protective clothing was issued to the many men who had to work out of cover in all weathers. My mates and I spent on an average one-third of our "working" hours doing nothing-waiting for a crane to be free or a lorry to arrive, simply waiting for a job, or waiting for the weather to improve . . .

one of the squad was for ever complaining that he could not sleep because he was not physically weary when he went to bed! Idleness to this extent hardly makes one feel one is a vital worker in a crucial industry.

Mr. Forrester found that his mates were perpetually restless, and were always wishing that they had served their apprenticeship at some trade. Not only is the unskilled labourer at the bottom of the wage scale, but in shipbuilding and the craft industries generally "there is an absolute and impenetrable barrier between craftsmen and unskilled labourers". These unskilled men changed their jobs often always hoping to find a better place but knowing in their hearts that the new job would be just the same. Isn't it sad that in spite of the 20th century technical progress so many unhappy men have to spend the greater part of their lives in this way. Mr. Forrester's conclusions give the lie to the claim that workers get what they deserve and are only interested in the money which can be made out of work:

£500 (\$1,500) is a lot of money for the FREEDOM PRESS; it is not a great burden if shared by all of us

who wish to see anarchist ideas propress in the present world jungle. Yet it is all we need to make good some of the losses and to add new works to the literature of Anarchism. FREEDOM must not suffer in the process; the deficit must therefore be met each week as before. But we are asking you to make a special effort this year. Let us show that anarchists can meet every challenge; that the destructive fire of last Thursday week has also fired our enthusiasm and imagination to greater and more effective activity in the cause of the liberation of the human mind!

### FREEDOM PRESS GROUP.

P.S.—The fund is now open. Unless we receive better suggestions for its title we shall call it the FREEDOM PRESS FIRE FUND . . . . And please don't forget the Deficit Fund!

We spent most of our idle hours in an old funnel on the dockside. Roofed, and with a brazier installed, it made a very comfortable hide-out-or "howff" in the Clydeside jargon-in which we passed many hours talking and gossiping and holding quizzes, or simply sitting silent and vacant-minded, staring at the fire like cats and smoking one Woodbine after another as the rain pelted down outside. I never knew before that I could sit for such long periods doing nothing, awake, yet without a single thought in my head! We went home bored rather than physically tired, and

Their greatest needs were self-respect and hope, but an industry which refuses to realise that the firm is as much a social as a productive organism and that effective production depends largely on good industrial relations can offer them neither.

Management retains considerably greater freedom in "hiring and firing" than is usual elsewhere, feels no responsibility to organise work so as to provide regular employment for a stable labour force, and disdains to provide amenities for workers who are likely to stay long with the firm. Yet under the present boom conditions in the industry it would, I believe, be quite possible for most yards to organise work in such a way that steady employment could be provided for most of the employees.

\*A Job in the Shipyard, Duncan B. Forrester, 20/3/57.

# THROUGH THE RUSSIAN PRESS Producing Great Literature

SPEAKING at Wroclaw in Poland or Breslau in Germany in August 1948, the Grand Hack Ilya Ehrenburg (no Tower of Honour, his name in despite) pontifically told the World Congress of Intellectuals that "Russian culture is beyond the intellectual comprehension of Western Europe. He must have meant "Soviet", not "Russian culture". For had he cared to jump on to a Boulevard Circle tramcar and got off at the Ostozhenka he could have walked to the Tolstoy Museum and seen English editions of Tolstoy's works published in London over half a century ago. A little thought on his part would have shown him that both France and England knew "and deeply appreciated cultural giants of Russia of other days-Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, Gorki, Turgyenyev, and Pushkin among the writers; and Tchaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov among the composers, for example". He probably felt it was best to follow the Party's instructions.

"Ukrainian literature is one of the foremost sections of our many-tongued Soviet literature. Anxiety for the further enhancement of its ideological and artistic level marked the proceedings of the meeting for reports and elections of the primary Party organization of the Writers' Union of the Ukraine. In his report the secretary of the Party Bureau Jury Zbanatzky emphasized that the historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress had called forth a new and mighty upsurge of creative energy among the intellectuals of the Ukraine and opened up the broadest perspectives of a further blossoming of Ukrainian art and literature."

#### **Basic Principle of Literature** In their speeches the delegates were

purity of Soviet literature, exposure of the hostile gropings of a decadent bourgeois ideology and more particularly of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. The meeting noted with satisfaction that the Party organization had determinedly rebuffed its unhealthy moods among certain writers, assisted them to recognize their errors, and determinedly condemned the error-laden speeches of certain individual litterateurs.

"The writer Mikita Shumilo who had formerly allowed various unsound attitudes to creep into his work now recognized completely their erroneous nature. In his speech he called on all writers always to strengthen the friendship of the nations and to remain true to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Viktor Kondratenko spoke next. "One of our militant tasks as writers is to nurture Soviet patriotism, love for the Soviet Fatherland." He closed by saying that "until recently too little attention had been paid to war themes in literature, while subjects showing forth the glory of the military traditions of the Soviet Army and the heroism of our soldiers had been too feebly handled."

tionary development. Indeed, if we were to hold more firmly by the postulations of socialist realism there would be fewer poor books written, the mightier and more powerful would be our literature.

"Writer Basil Kozachenko spoke also of the need to repel all attacks on socialist realism. He was of the view that those who opposed this method were profoundly mistaken."

### Soviet Literary Magazines Out of Step

"Much attention was given to the activities of our Soviet literary magazines. Serious mistakes have been committed by the editorial board of the magazine Novy Mir (New World). It had been publishing works which were unsound ideologically, immature, lacking in full artistic value, and sometimes even downright trashy. Several of the writers present strongly attacked in particular the novel Not by Bread Alone from the pen of V. Dudintsev because it presented distorted picture of the realities of Soviet daily life.

### FREEDOM

liven and to render more effective the inner-Party work of the Writers' Union.

### Absolutely Complete Unanimity

"Unanimously a resolution was passed declaring that all Communist writers signified their readiness to carry into effect in their daily life the wise decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the Party and swore they were solidly behind the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Government."

So there is the report submitted to you unadorned in translation and with no comments. These the reader may make for himself. It will at once strike one that where any Western literary critic would speak of greater influence the Soviet journalist writes "of the necessity to make our literature more powerful than it is, ever mightier yet". Their vocabulary reeks of the lust for power and of military terms, the tones of organized warfare. Every Party member is affected. Every careerist is bitten with the bug of domination over others. I.P.

#### Thaw but no Spring

Be that as it may, Ehrenburg's "Thaw" has been followed by no Instead, under Khrush-Spring chev Russia is drifting steadily back to Stalinism. Hungarian developments being dealt with by other hands, we here turn our attention to the Communist Party's ideas on literature. Pravda (350/14013) carried under the rubric of "Party Doings" a joint report by A. Chernichenko and A. Ryaboklyach entitled "The Basic Principle of Soviet Literature". We quote as much as we can and have no comments to offer. The quotations reveal Kremlin views on literature as it should be. Well, here we go:

careful to stress their belief that "the basic principle of Soviet literature has been and remains the principle of identification with the Communist Party, loyalty to the high ideas of Marxism-Leninism." Revealing deep enthusiasm as she said so Wanda Wasiliewskaja declared that "in the guidance of the Communist Party we have the source of the powerful vital forces of Soviet literature."

She went on to add: "Long since Soviet writers decided for themselves that in the land of socialism literature is a weapon in the struggle and an instrument, a tool, in the work of construction. Soviet writers have always been in the vanguard, always actively helped our Party and the State. Our road has been a hard one, but it is a clear road, straight, and one which has been splendidly mapped ahead by our Party, the party at whose side we march."

"Loud applause greeted her words when she told those present that it is the duty of the writer to be loyal to the great cause of the Party, to spend themselves in a spirit of self-sacrifice in the service of the people as had been done at all stages in the building of socialism.

### Socialist Realism

"Considerable attention was devoted to questions concerning the further development of the method of socialist realism. It was shown that this is the vivifying method of Soviet literature which ensures its many-faceted development, its supreme ideological content, and its artistic power. And no matter whence they emanated any and all efforts to decry the method of socialist realism were to be roundly and soundly condemned. So, too, with any calumnies against the literature created by the many nations of the Soviet Union. Likewise efforts to lower its significance both as a moulder of ideas and as an art form and also its transformative rôle in the life of society were utterly rejected.

"As Lyubomir Dmiterko said: One must not run away with the idea that "It was shown at the meeting that one socialist realism is a pure invention of of the chief tasks of the Soviet writer the imagination. It teaches one to see

"... Petro Panch, the Ukraine's oldest living writer, appealed to his colleagues to spend more time in the factories, on the collective farms, the machine and tractor stations, and in the scientific and research institutes of the country.

"Ukrainia has still too little literature dealing with the heroic struggle of the working classes. Concrete suggestions were put forward by speakers to this point . . . and in connexion herewith the need was shown for activizing the creative life of the local writers' organizations.

"Pavel Avtomonov dwelt on the strengthening of friendlier ties between the young, up-and-coming writers and those of the older generation.

"Literary criticism is in a backward state. Far too little is being done to study the process of the creation of literature . . . ; too little attention is being paid to the generalization of their experience.

"Delegates attending expressed the wish that there should be an activization of the work which was supposed to be done by the executive of the Writers' Union . . . Grave defects in the running of such papers as Vitchizna and Literaturna Gazeta were noted. It was essential to provide more Marxist-Leninist education for all litterateurs; also to

### 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.

Questions, Discussion and Admission

all free. **OPEN AIR MEETINGS** Weather Permitting HYDE PARK Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

MANETTE STREET (Charing X Road) Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

### Doctors' Dilemma

#### Continued from p. 3

ers should demand that the same formula should apply in their industries. It should be realized however that such insistence is, so to say, ideological only, for the Times is quite right to call Spens impracticable and unrealistic-so it is in the context of a profit economy and increasingly central 'control of industry. So it is when the greatest percentage of the wealth produced by the country's workers is used (abused) for armaments and essentially unproductive schemes of staggering costs. But it contains a just conception, nevertheless.

There is another aspect which is demarcation disputes and unofficial important. Doctors are human and strikes that have affected shipbuildfallible like other men. But they ing for so long. With many of these are exceptional in our society in disputes it is easy to become impahaving work which is a useful sertient. The foolish wood-and-metalvice to others, a professional ethics hole-boring dispute of last year, for descended from Hippocrates which is sound, and a responsibility for their own actions such as few other workers possess. These factors make **ERRICO MALATESTA:** them jealous of their freedom of 455 Anarchy action and hence natural antagonists Vote-What For? of bureaucratic control. Their real-**VOLINE** 1 **GEORGE WOODCOCK :** ization of their position has made Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian New Life to the Land the World Health Organization re-Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12s. 6d. Homes or Hovels? draft the old Hippocratic oath in The Unknown Revolution Railways and Society recent years at Geneva to stress the (Kronstandt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21) What is Anarchism? The Basis of Communal Living transcendence of medical ethics over cloth 12s. 6d. considerations of race or of politics **PHILIP SANSOM :** E. A. GUTKIND : aimed directly at the attempt to The Expanding Environment 8s. 6d. Syndicalism-The Workers' make doctors conform to ideas of Next Step V. RICHARDS : apartheid or political doctrine. Lessons of the Spanish Marie-Louise Berneri Memorial Whatever the failings of doctors Revolution 6s. **Committee publications :** these conceptions are ones which **RUDOLF ROCKER:** Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: revolutionary societies ought to Nationalism and Culture A Tribute cloth 21s. accept. **HERBERT READ** : Journey Through Utopia Finally the doctors, in their self Art and the Evolution of Man 4s. Existentialism, Marxism and regulated profession, remain very K. J. KENAFICK Anarchism 38. 6d. much more of a guild than a trade Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx Poetry and Anarchism union and provide a pattern for cloth 5s., paper 2s. 6d. working associations which perhaps The Philosophy of Anarchism 27, Red Lion Street, holds more fruitful prospects for the boards 2s. 6d., paper 1s. London, W.C.I. The Education of Free Men 18. future than does the TUC. J.H.

#### lies in the struggle for the ideological the truth of life, to see it in its revolu-

SWARAJ HOUSE, 32 PERCY STREET, TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.1. (Tel.: MUSeum 7277).

★ Malatesta Club ★

#### ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. London Anarchist Group Meetings (see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. BONAR THOMPSON Speaks.

Every Friday and Saturday: SOCIAL EVENINGS

### FUND-RAISING PARTY

You are invited to a party at the Malatesta Club on SATURDAY APRIL 7, 7.30 — 11.30 p.m. Aim: to augment the FREEDOM PRESS FIRE FUND Dancing ★ Entertainments ★ Raffles

### After the Strikes - What ? Gontinued to bom p. ]

It looks as if, in order to settle for an acceptable increase, the unions will agree not to press for a further rise for at least a year. This means that-as we pointed out last weekthe men's wages will approximate now to what they should have been a year ago when the present claims were first raised, and they will have to face another twelve months carrying the burden of all the recent price increases and all those of the coming year as well. It will be a great victory indeed!

As well as promising no more demands, the unions will most likely agree to work with the employers to eliminate the restrictive practices,

example, made everyone concerned look foolish. It must never be forgotten, however, that all these socalled restrictive practices have been evolved for the precise purpose of protesting some workers' livelihood. They may appear archaic in time of full employment, but if they are written off now and conditions return to the days of insecurity which gave them birth, many workers will suffer. The employers have never shown themselves unwilling to take advantage of any changed circumstances if they can.

### The Grey Vista Ahead

But with all this in mind, as anarchists we must ask: What now? A wage increase will be won, 'peace' will return to the shipyards and the factories. So what?

Has anything happened to bring any fundamental change in industrial

relationships? Has any forward step been achieved towards greater security, leisure, dignity, liberty, emancipation, equality, freedom from anxiety and fear, by this tremendous show of strength?

Of course not. The retort will be that workers are not interested in such things. They want their 10 per cent. and that's all.

Well then, so much the worse for them. For by lowering their sights to that kind of level they ensure their continued servitude. Through this attitude one sees stretching ahead nothing more than the grey vista of wage slavery, tenantry and indignity. A constant struggle to keep head above water, to maintain hard won but inadequate standards of life. Narrow horizons, stunted aspirations, insecurity and ignorance.

The producers of fabulous wealth Admission 2/6d. see it constantly withheld from inc. refreshments them—because they make no claim to it. To limit themselves to an annual struggle for an extra crumb **AFRICAN FORUM** or two is futility. The organised MEETINGS strength of the workers (of which 6d. DR. CHEDDI JAGAN we get only a glimpse when it is so 1d. circumscribed and controlled by on reformist leaders) is sufficient for IMPRESSIONS ON GHANA 6d. them to make a bid for responsible Friday, March 29, at 7 p.m. 6d. control of industry, if they so desire. 3d. They seem not to so desire, and the Followed by Socials. 1d. last people to want to teach them 18. are their leaders. FREEDOM The anarchists want to see work-18. The Anarchist Weekly ers everywhere freed from the bondage of employment, so that they can **Postal Subscription Rates** : 12 months 19/- (U.S.A. \$3.00) enter productive activity as respon-6 months 9/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50) sible human beings, not as cogs in 3 months 5/- (U.S.A. \$0.75) machines. We want to see workers cloth 5s. Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies claiming the right to take decisions 12 months 39/- (U.S.A. \$4.50) cloth 16s. (U.S.A. \$2.50) about their industry-about their 6 months 14/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25) Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers places of work and their homes. We want to see them controlling industry on behalf of society, enjoying the FREEDOM PRESS paper 6s. fruits of their own labour equally 27 Red Lion Street and freely with everybody else. London, W.C.I. England Not ten per cent. on the wage Tel.: Chancery 8364 packet, but 100 per cent. humanity.

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