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RUUM WEEKLY ANARCHIST

"I tell you folks, all politics is apple sauce."

-WILL ROGERS.

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Threepence

PERSONALITY PARADE

ALL ruling groups need a myth; all political parties need a personality. When a party can build a myth around a personality it stands the best chance of becoming a ruling group.

There are of course exceptions to this generalisation. The amazing defeat of Winston Churchill's party at the election of 1945—immediately after he had led the country to victory in war-springs to mind. But there were many unique factors at that time—not least being the fact that the British public had been organised and propagandised as never before to fight against a régime wherein the führer-prinzip went to ludicrous extremes.

Some of the anti-dictator propaganda of Churchill's Ministry of Information rebounded upon the Old Warhorse himself. His position as virtually the British Hitler was obvious enough, and hatred of the Tories who did not keep the people out of war and the memory of the pre-war years of depression and unemployment were fresh enough for the people to want a change. And no untried party could present a greater danger to the country than the war storm they had just weather-

But since the departure of Churchill from the stage of history (it is senile, re-appearance in 1951) the political scene has been starved of personality. And since the decline of the Labour Party's grip upon the nation's imagination, following, oddly enough, the nation's experience of the Labour Party in power, the people have been starved of a myth

Except of course for Bevan and the Bevanly chorus-now, also, sadly out of tune. It has never been our view that Bevan's disagreement with the 'Right-wing leadership' did the Labour Party any harm. There was no damage done to their election chances since 1951 since they had no chances to be damaged. Come hell and high water the pendulum had to swing its ponderous arc and the only problem facing the Labour Party was how to keep the faithful

happy during the period of apathetic disillusionment.

Tribune's Function

For this purpose the star-studded Tribune served the party well. It pretended to have a policy when it hadn't. The Bevanites organised mass meetings and beat their breasts and admitted past mistakes in firstclass Oxford Group fashion, and in this manner kept the party marking time briskly until the call came to march forward again.

But the party faithfuls are not enough to win elections. The people who effectively choose who shall govern this country are not the solid, consistent voters for either the Tories or Labour; they are the floating voters, those who provide the weight at the bottom of the pendulum. A small minority, mainly of the 'Don't Knows', who vote one way one year, the other way next.

By sheer mediocrity and class favouritism the Tories have lost the support of the floating voters, who have floated off into Limbo waiting for something to catch their fancy. Hence the antics of Aneurin, feeling secure of the party faithful, who, however he may somersault or zigzag, will still vote for the party against the hated Tories.

The floating voters must be most charitable to ignore his brief, wooed; the middle class won over, and to this end a new Bevan has appeared. A 'responsible' Bevan; a 'statesmanlike' Bevan; a 'courageous' Bevan*, who can persuade the uncommitted that they have naught to fear from the Welsh wizard after all. He will keep the H-bomb for their protection just like Khrushchev, Ike and Macmillan.

Personality Plus Myth

And not only that. Bevan is a personality. He has a myth behind him. There is more rejoicing in

*The Daily Express referred to Bevan's volte face on the H-Bomb as 'Courageous'. Isn't it interesting to note how a man becomes courageous when he lets down his comrades? The courageous blackleg. The courageous traitor (from the other side). The courageous politician who gives up principle-bravelyto serve the State.

Heaven over one Sinner that repenteth than over the virtue of the righteous, and every narrow-minded conventional little chancer who used to vote Tory when the Daily Express thundered against Bogeyman Bevan can now add the glow of Christian forgiveness to his hopes for the repeal of the Rent Act as he thinks more kindly of Statesman Nye.

Faced with this personality, the Tories have had to fish around for one of their own. And from the House of Lords, prematurely and reluctantly elevated by the demise of his father, they have brought back to the land of the living My Lord Hailsham, né Quintin Hogg, who is one of their few bright boys (if not the only one) and made him Chairman of the Party.

Bellman Hailsham

He too is a personality. His most spectacular act at the Tory Conference at Brighton last week (and we hope readers will forgive us for not dealing with that dreary business in full—there are limits to the sacrifices we will make for our cause) was to wave a bell around his head and misquote John Donne's famous lines about for whom the bell tolls.

Now it is not so many weeks since a shop steward at Dagenham was sacked for ringing a bell. But Lord Hailsham has dropped no clanger. Having been burdened with ineffectual Anthony and mediocre Macmillan and lost influence all along the line, the Tories are prepared to gamble on a showman. To show what is in store for you with regard to the bell-ringing peer, here are a few words about a speech by Hailsham spoken by the new Minister of Education, Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd:

"Why did we love that speech? It was a superb speech. I liked it because I felt that it had in it a touch of the moral purpose and idealism of a Stanley Baldwin combined with the dynamism and determination of a Churchill."

This can mean only one thing. The cult of the personality is going to work on Hailsham. They have found their personality; now they are going to create the myth.

You have been warned.

The Windscale Radio Active Dust

THERE can be no doubt whatsoever that the accident which occurred at Windscale atom explosive plant, where a quantity of radioactive dust escaped from one of the towers, was a serious one. It would seem to be purely fortuitous that the results to date have been far less serious than they might have been but for the fact that most of the dust not retained by the filters was carried out to sea.

Accidents of comparable magnitued have already taken place twice in the U.S. and once in Canada. No doubt these four accidents do not have the same causes, or at any rate not precisely the same causes, even though the effects are similar, but in any event it is alarming that there can be such a relatively high accident rate considering the fearful possibilities and dangers which may be forthcoming from such an accident.

It has been stated that the total amount of radio-activity released at Windscale might be estimated as less than a thousandth of the total radio-active content of the reactor, and it has been further deduced that the release of radio-activity over Cumberland is less than that released by the Hiroshima atomic bomb, but not a great deal less. The authority for these estimates being Mr. F. R. Farmer, chief safety officer of the industrial group of the Atomic Energy Authority itself. Which sounds extremely serious.

From the many and varied reports emanating from a number of sources there appear to be three possible (or probable) reasons why the accident occurred. Some think that it may simply have been forgetfulness on the part of somebody at the planta dial not observed, a switch not pulled. This kind of forgetfulness is unforgivable, and patiently the answer in this era of automata is to create a system which cannot forget. Alternatively it has been suggested that the mistake might have been in the use of enriched uranium fuel-

due allowance not being made for the fuel . . . in which case in terms which non-scientists like ourselves can understand, they (the authorities) should either not use that particular fuel, or they should take a great deal more care in making due allowance for something going wrong.

But the most likely explanation would seem to be (and it no doubt incorporates other errors also), that the accident was caused by the presence of free oxygen from the atmosphere in the reactor which, due to a rupture in one or more fuel cans caused spontaneous combustion and consequent overheating of the fuel. This seems highly probable in view of the statement by the A.E.A. that an accident of the Windscale type could not occur in a reactor of the kind now being built for civil purposes in the U.K. since carbon dioxide is used instead of air (i.e. free oxygen) as a cooling gas.

This naturally leads to the conclusion that all safety measures which can be used in factories of this kind should be used-even though they may be basic and expensive—and despite the fact that this particular factory is concerned with atomic explosives and not atomic power for peaceful purposes. (Needless to say we think the factory should be producing power and not explosives, but even explosives without radio- active dust would be an improvement in the present situation.)

It will be remembered that at the inception of atomic plants of this kind "the experts" insisted than an accident of his kind could not happen. It is aluways dangerous to accept the pronouncements of experts as if they were unalterable truths, and this is particularly the case where statements are made which concern scientific or mechanical contrivances as yet un-tried under the normal circumstances of their operation. Anarchists can re-

. Continued on p. 4

Britain Does NOT Need a Queen

TO criticise the monarchy is a sure way of getting additional publicity if the critic is already established as a respectable "public figure".

Malcolm Muggeridge, now retired from Punch, has not only drawn attention to himself in the world press but has earned to the tune of £830 from an article written for an American magazine on what he describes as a pedestrian piece analysing the monarchy.

Naturally the newspapers in this country have only quoted a few paragraphs from the 6,000 word article and generally these the most 'newsworthy'.

The Evening Standard (Oct. 14), reports that the B.B.C. have decided to withdraw their invitations to him to appear on the television programme "Panorama" on the grounds that no further publicity should be given to a matter which has already had enough!

Muggeridge has not suggested, as far as we know, that the monarchy should be abolished, but it is enough to merely criticise to engage the attention of the world and excite the wrath of millions.

We have no desire to see the present Queen hanging from a lamppost in the market square, which has been the kind of end meted out to sections of royalty throughout history. We do think, however, that the monarchy like many other useless institutions is unnecessary in a free healthy society.

In answer to the question headlining this much publicised article "Does England really need a Queen?" we take the liberty of saying-NO.

Wolfenden Proposals: Penalties, Not Progress, Likely

THE Wolfenden Report is likely to remain in the pigeon-holes as far as the Government is concerned-except for that part proposing heavier penalties for prostitutes.

In spite of the fact that the proposals made by the Wolfenden Committee provided solutions for the Government, faced with the 'problems' of homosexuality and prostitution, it looks as though the Cabinet is steering clear of any such 'controversial' measures at the moment.

It is thought that the programme of legislation for the new session of Parliament which the Queen is to open on November 5 will include no reference to the aspect of the Wolfenden Report dealing with homosexuality.

The inference must be that the law will not be changed before the next General Election. For the coming session will be the last but one before the election. And if there is no legislation next session, it could hardly come in the last of all-it would be regarded as too contentious just before the Government went to the country.

It might be possible, however, for a Private Members' Bill to be presented, and most probably the Government will allow a free vote for the Conservatives, confident that the Bill would be thrown

On the other hand, Government legislation is expected next year to bring heavier penalties for prostitutes. Isn't it odd how a Government can always find time for measures which increase its repressive powers, but not for those which extend the liberty of the indivi-

Norwegian Reception of Speidel One Head is Better than None

PERHAPS the Norwegian people petulantly protested his disapproval have more intimate reasons than the British*, since they had personal contact with the German invader, for protesting against Rommel's former Chief of Staff being placed at the head of NATO's central land forces. In any event it was left to them to stage a demonstration when the news got around that General Speidel was expected in Oslo for talks with other NATO military leaders.

Fortunately for Speidel his plane was diverted to another airport and "our own" General Sir Cecil Sugden scapegoated himself into receiving the full treatment from the demonstrators when he arrive in Oslo. Wearing a uniform has its hazards especially when these ignorant workers cannot tell the difference between a British or German General, and as luck would have it General Sugden's head, on being mistaken for General Speidel's, was at the receiving end of a well directed chucky when he landed in Oslo last Wednesday. He

and said he had never been received this way before!

Our newspapers claim the mistake was genuine. We hope not, because one general is as dangerous as another and entitled to the same treatment. When people organise a demonstration against one lunatic and are deprived of their target through the slick intervention of their government what is more reasonable than seizing on another?

Banners in German and English saying "Go Home Speidel", "Out with the Nazi General", were carried by the crowd.

In the Norwegian capital trams stopped for two minutes at noon as a protest against Speidel's arrival. At night a crowd of 5,000 gathered outside Oslo University with more banners.

*When General Speidel visited Britain not so long ago no public protest was recorded.

HEALTH IN A SANE SOCIETY

(Continued from previous issue)

The second method of biological control which would permit full physical health is more subtle and depends on controlling men's psychological environment, i.e. thought control. This replaces or converts man's natural and instinctive reactions, such as his desire for freedom and individual expression or his reluctance to kill, by more expedient attitudes such as subservience, the desire to conform and patriotism. The techniques operate at two levels. The first is the dramatic conversion, popularised in recent political exposés, but probably a transient phenomenon. In his book, "Battle for the Mind" William Sargant, a psychiatrist, analyses the technique of brain-washing and draws on a wide field of examples-religious conversions ranging from John Wesley to our own Billy Graham, political conversions from ancient times to Iron-curtain confessions, psychiatric conversions from shock treatments to abreactive psycho-analytical techniques. The patterns of mental breakdown or adaptation to severe stress were elucidated by Pavlov with his dogs and these still form the basis of the more intricate responses in human beings. The thesis is that the primary mechanism is the same in all these conversions. By severe or prolonged stress the mind becomes like a clean slate on which new beliefs can be chalked. The initial process is assisted by fear, tension, uncertainty and bodily weakness brought about by starvation, lack of sleep, torture or illness. The conversion is genuine and not feigned for the sake of expediency. Even the most strong willed and intellectual can have their beliefs and principles changed.

The second and more insidious level is however of far greater importance. It depends on implanting beliefs where none as yet really exist, i.e. where the mental slate is still clean, and this obviates the need for later conversion. The technique is to control the sources of man's thoughts and ideas and to select or censor what he hears or reads. The Jesuits appreciated the effectiveness of this technique when applied to children. It operates through schools, youth clubs and churches. It utilises all the mass media of communication-newspapers, popular magazines, radio and television. It presents debatable beliefs as facts and disguises crude propaganda

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as entertainment. The receptive state for these ideas is induced by a background of fear, anxiety and insecurity which is assiduously fostered by the authorities. A state of permanent crisis is maintained, its focus switching from cold war to economic collapse, from hydrogen bomb to dread disease, from crime wave to flood. A sense of individual guilt and worthlessness is cultivated and identity with power groups becomes a necessary psychological refuge.

The result is a psychologically repressed or warped individual with a firmlyimplanted set of ideas and practices highly acceptable to the authorities in power. These he will defend if necessary with his life. And the ideas are emotionally barricaded against reason.

We have now surveyed three distinct methods of authoritarian control by means of biological deprivation-firstly, subnutrition; secondly, restriction of activity; and thirdly, psychological methods. The detailed effects will obviously vary with the precise method used but it appears that deprivation of any major biological need may produce the required stultifying effect. In practice the methods are likely to be used in combination, one or other predominating. Particular combinations may vary from place to place, and also from time to time in the same place, due to altered circumstances. I believe that we in this country are now witnessing a transition from nutritional deprivation, prevalent until the last war, to the more effective psychological controls. Malnutrition is no longer a major problem but more than half the hospital beds in England are new occupied by patients with mental illnesses. In his book "Age of Anxiety", Isaacs has pointed out how even a slight amelioration of poverty serves to uncover a more far-reaching sense of insecurity extending beyond the economically repressed groups into all sectors

of society. Psychological control may prove the most effective method of preventing or overcoming resistance to the State.

*

LIOW does Medicine fit into the structure of authoritarian society? To a great extent present-day Medicine is an apology for the defects of authoritarian society. It attempts to repair some of its worst excesses. It could however, be argued that Medicine thereby actually helps to maintain a bad society by lowering the level at which the grosser effects of physical or mental deprivation became apparent. As an example of this we know that pellagra, a disease which causes a skin rash, inflammation of the bowel and dementia, occurs in states of malnutrition but is specifically due to inadequate intake of the Vitamin B complex. An outbreak of sixty-four cases occurred in a South African prison and I quote from the medical report issued at the time: "It was at first considered impracticable to improve the diet of the native prisoner, accustomed as he is to his meagre nourishment when at large, without to a very considerable extent removing the deterrent effect of prison life. But by greater supervision of the food it was found possible sufficiently to increase the pellagra-preventing factors in the diet and no further cases occurred."

Similarly in treatment of duodenal ulcers the immediate cause of the pain, the normal hydrochloric acid of the stomach acting on an abnormal bowel wall, may be removed by neutralisation with antacids. The basic causes of the weakened bowel wall, including psychological factors, remain unresolved.

It is not possible, even under the National Health Scheme, to prescribe three good meals a day or freedom from worry. It is obvious that Medicine regards these as "social" problems and beyond its scope even though they form the basic requirements for health.

Accepting this limitation, Medicine

has made great strides in the diagnosis and treatment of disease. The relief of individual pain and suffering has been tremendous and there is promise of even greater advances to come. Though have stressed the diseases favoured by poverty and psychological strain, since these would tend to disappear in a sane society, we must remember that the same diseases may occur in other states of lowered health, such as old age, or even in good health if the disease agent is overwhelming. And there are many other diseases which afflict Man which are quite unrelated to a hostile environment. Some may actually result from an excess of so-called "good-living". Well-known diseases of the heart and blood vessels, for example, are now thought to be due to an excess of dairy products and fat meat in the diet. Similarly poliomyelitis is largely a disease of economically favoured groups-probably due to poor neutral immunisation of overprotected children. These and many other physical diseases of varied origins, congenital or acquired, are now being effectively combatted.

The emphasis in Medicine to-day lies in Diagnosis and Treatment of disease and in this field advance has never been more rapid. Prevention of disease in the form of immunisation and public

health measures are playing a growing and important rôle. Diseases like diphtheria, whooping-cough and smallpox are on their way out and tuberculosis and poliomyelitis will soon be well under control. But Promotive Medicine which aims at producing healthy individuals, physically and mentally, by such means as good food, fresh air, rest, exercise, congenial work and social security is still in its infancy and struggling to remain alive. In a sane society this order would be reversed. Promotive Medicine would form the basis of the fight against disease and this would be closely supported by Preventive Medicine. Only where both these methods fail, certainly in less than 10% of disease as we know it today, would the current practice of Diagnosis and Treatment be required.

I believe that in our quest for full health we must accept the basic hypothesis that every man, woman and child has a natural right to satisfaction of all biological needs, as far as this is humanly possible. No-one has the right to deliberately deprive or limit the means of satisfaction. I also believe and have tried to show that authoritarian societies maintain control by various methods of biological deprivation which are antagonistic to full physical and mental health. Good social planning is simply a matter of following and nourishing man's natural tendencies and I am convinced that this can only be accomplished in a non-coercive libertarian environment.

SIMPLICITAS.

Meior with his sel

DISCUSSION

Anarchism and/or the Family

REVOLUTIONARIES tend to lose sight of the fact that while the problem of bringing about great social change is a mass problem, the individuals to whom they appeal for revolutionary action are faced daily with situations and problems that militate against such activity. Therefore, even though the appeals and suggestions of the revolutionary are desirable, to many individuals they must appear impractical for any but those who are unattached or at least without the responsibility of providing for a family.

Most of those anarchists who remained activists, Goldman, Berkman, Malatesta, Kropotkin, Bakunin, Reclus, etc. remained childless or had small families. Those individuals who raised a family soon found they had to make a choice between revolutionary activity with its attendant economic and social insecurity and compromise, the acceptance of position and work that might be contrary to their ideals but would afford them a modicum of security. In order to attain a semblance of economic security in this society, it is almost impossible not to compromise with revolutionary ideals. The minimum compromise is at the level of the worker who must allow himself to be exploited and numbed physically. mentally, morally while doing work that gives him no satisfaction under conditions which sap his vitality. The revolutionary worker, bound by familial responsibilities to his job, soon finds his energies sapped and his outspoken voice quieted. How many times in history have strikes been broken not by bosses' action, or lack of militancy, but by the suffering of cold and hunger by workers' families.

The problems that family life present are numerous and indeed almost overwhelming for those individuals who feel the need to work for revolutionary objectives. Let us consider the problem. If we decide to have children we will desire to give them all of the essential security and love necessary for their wholesome development. This means, of course, economic security and at the same time a maximum of time and attention. Further we must avoid shifting the responsibility for the family onto the mother, thereby infringing on her liberties and desires, and also, prevent the concentration of the childrens' feeling on one parent, which is psychologically harmful. To do this and do it well will take almost all the time we have.

Actually, there is little escape from the conflict between family responsibility and revolutionary activity. The real problem is to find ways and means of keeping the dissipation of our forces at a minimum. Some anarchists, like Emma Goldman, have chosen to remain childless even though this course of action is contrary to all natural laws. (The doctors who conducted the Peckham Health Centre in England insist that definite psychological and physiological harm

results from such a decision.) However, these anarchists point to the great psychological harm that comes to an idealistic, humane person who finds himself forced to stand aside from the struggle or because of participation in the revolutionary struggle, finds himself isolated from his family and forced to neglect it. Certainly many good comrades have been lost to the movement because of this great conflict. No one, however, would deny the necessity of enabling people to live in such a manner as to satisfy their natural demand and desires. Certainly the emotional peace resulting from such living will be a great asset, enabling these fortunate individuals to concentrate their powers more fully on working for social change. There must be alternatives to childlessness or slackening of revolutionary activity. Some people are seeking them in co-operative living, especially in rural communes.

Rural communes are not the only possible means of attaining sufficient freedom from economic woes and social pressures to engender revolutionary thought and activity. Though it undoubtedly is one avenue of action for those individuals who desire the integrated family life such communal experiments will offer. The problem must ultimately be faced by the urban workers who have no desire for rural life. It is highly dubious that they can find emancipation as individual families competing in the social body. Therefore some form of co-operative enterprise is indicated. Co-operative housing, co-op buying, and co-operative responsibility for children, would certainly afford more freedom and security than individualistic living can. This will also integrate the entire family into a socially secure unit. Establishment of local mutual aid societies and perhaps even producer co-ops would lift much of the economic pressure from a group of radicals and enable them to participate more freely in revolutionary activities. Historically, the precedents for such groups are many. It was the mutual aid societies in France and England which preceded and laid the groundwork for the development of the radical labour movements of the time. What form these co-operatives should take must be worked out by the individuals who get together to start them. The greatest danger facing such groups is lack of discretion in choosing co-operators and the danger of letting such groups become an end in themselves. Only the barest of principles can be laid down for such groups. Equality, mutuality and fraternity. However co-operative groups such as these seem at present to be the form of social organization most capable of mitigating the pressure of this society on us. Too, the very nature of such enterprises carries a revolutionary impact and exerts a deep power of persuasion. For, ultimately they can be working examples of the type of society

we are trying to attain. D.K. (From Resistance, Jan. 1948)

BOOK REVIEWS

Conscience in Revolt

CONSCIENCE IN REVOLT—

Sixty-Four Stories of Resistance in Germany 1933-1945.
Collected by Annedore Leber; assisted by Willy Brandt and Karl Dietrich Bracher. Valentine, Mitchell. 270 pp. 21s.

'One Tuesday afternoon his last hour was at hand. We saw him once more, from a distance, but were unable to get near him. He was standing by the gate, upright and quiet. A professional criminal had been ordered to hang him in the presence of the camp commandant. His neck was put in the noose. The hangman hesitated and the commandant forgot to give the order. Suddenly the boy asked: "Why do you hesitate? Bear witness for Jehovah and for Gideon!" These were his last words."

From an eye-witness account, by a fellow-believer, of the death of Jonathan Stark, an eighteen-year-old Jehovah's Witness, in the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen, 1944.

COME time ago I saw an excellent film called "The Last Bridge", starring Maria Schell. It was the story of a German woman doctor who was captured by a group of Yugoslav Partisans because their own doctor was dying. The film depicted the gradual awakening of the doctor to the fact that the partisan was a human being, not the savage of Nazi propaganda. Neither side in the film was whitewashed and the baseness and nobility of those involved was shown without any 'Our Side-Their Side" distortion. Above 'all loomed the horror and the stupidity of war, and as I left the cinema I thought how easily I had forgotten the years between 1939 and 1945. For the inhabitants of Germany the horror and stupidity really began in 1933, and "Conscience In Revolt" is the story of fifty-six men and eight women who said 'No' to those whom they believed to be responsible.

"Conscience In Revolt" is not a very good book. Its potted biographies do not enable one to form any comprehensive pictures of the people concerned, and the almost uniform length and phrasing of each story tends to a certain monotony of presentation. Its implied enrolment of the sixty-four on the side of the Western bloc in the cold war is out of place in what is essentially an account of common victimhood, and it would have been better balanced by the

inclusion of some stories of more radical resisters.

Criticism apart, however, it is good that we can now read of such people. The nun, the general, the student, the aristocrat, the workman-all contributed in their various ways to that gallant failure which was the resistance movement in Germany. In the letters, the diary-extracts and the photographs which are reproduced-particularly in the section on 'Youth'-it is possible to glimpse something of the potentialities which are inherent in man and of the dignity of the person. That even under a modern totalitarian state men and women are still prepared to stake their lives in acts of disobedience is a sign that everything is not completely hopeless. And in the willingness to disobey power, as Alex Comfort has so often pointed out, lies our hope for freedom. A fragile hope, perhaps, but one which we must cherish if we are to remain in possession of ourselves and conscious of our humanity.

S.E.P.

THE GREAT OAK by Jack Lindsay. Bodley Head, 18s.

TACK LINDSAY'S new novel is a lively reconstruction of the Norfolk rebellion in 1549. Robert Kett, an educated man and himself a landowner. became the leader of the revolt of the tenant farmers and peasants which was primarily aimed against the effects of the Enclosure acts. The failure of the revolt Lindsay partly attributes to Kett's idealism and lack of a proper concern with dialectical materialism, without which, presumably, no rebellion of the masses can be successful. This constant concern with the Marxist view is the major fault of this otherwise most readable novel; it makes the author show his characters in black and white terms of good people (on the side of the exploited in the class-struggle) or bad people (the

Lindsay introduces a great number of characters but skilfully manages to concentrate the reader's attention on the complex of factors—religious, economic, and personal—which is at the heart of the revolt's impetus, by his treatment of each individual's reactions to the situation. It is also refreshing to find an historical novel where the dialogue really sounds like speech and does not consist merely of words in suitably "period" language.

M.G.W.

Freedom

Vol. 18, No. 42. October 19, 1957

An Indigestion of Politics & Science

EVERYTHING in this world is moving at such a speedwhether we think of scientific and technological developments, political crises or economic booms and recessions—that it is not surprising if the public lives a kind of handto-mouth existence, of not having time to finish gobbling-up one plateful of international and domestic political stew when another, as unpalatable and depressing, is ladled onto its still half-full plate. (Pie-inthe-sky is a special dish reserved for party conferences and the weeks preceding general elections!).

We are suffering from no less of an indigestion in matters scientific and technological, which are served up on the same dish with the politiecal and financial stew. We are so absorbed in the task of trying to empty the plate that we neither have the wit to look up and see that the political chefs are ladling the stew from a cauldron large enough to keep us busy lapping it up for at least two lifetimes, nor the time to digest what we have so far eaten, nor the energy to ask ourselves what was the strange concoction which had been served-up!

Many of us have been swallowing this political stew for so long that it has become as much a part of life as breathing, sleeping and the noisy neighbours. And it produces some extraordinary results as we shall attempt to demonstrate.

POLITICS has become more "complicated" not because the basic problems of society have become more complex, but because there are so many more politicians to-day than there were say a century ago! There are more politicians because there are more vested interests (and vested interests are the corpses on which politicians thrive and grow). The growth of mass communications, mass education and mass production without necessarily depriving the former ruling élites of their wealth, privileges and power, per se, has replaced the vacuum, contrasted with which, these appeared as absolutes, by new wealth, new privileges, new power. In other words there has been an expansion in the ruling élite in society. That they all aspire to power is reason enough for conflict. The fact that their original power is based on such a variety of interests, as force and the Law (governments), unskilled or skilled labour (the Trades Unions), industrial (the large Trusts, oil, steel, chemicals, etc.) and financial (the Banks, Finance and Insurance), adds to the complications, the clash of interests on the maintenance of which depends their own status, security and power as individuals.

It is self-evident that in a society which is based on social and material inequalities there can be no harmony, and conflicts will arise the moment the underprivileged become collectively aware of their social and economic inferiority. This is not anarchist wishful thinking. It is fact which has manifested itself throughout the world in all recorded history. As we read social history popular movements have some into being and risings taken place not because the "masses" had "power complexes" or were intent on waging war on other nations or of subjecting peoples to their will. When the popular will has manifested itself in the past it has been for the purpose of providing a decent life for all, free from the uncertainties as well as the indignity of employment by

others; free from strife; free from war and material insecurity.

We have no reason to believe that in our nuclear—electronic—outer space age, these objectives have in fact been in any way modified. They have only been distorted on the surface by a new army of politicians who exploit the ever-growing discontent which a world war fostered, with all the wild promises made by the old politicians in return for cannon-fodder and increased production. (And now the same politicians denounce these people for having taken them seriously!)

*

OUR optimism in the fundamental rightness and decency of popular demands does not lead us to conclude automatically at every stage of the social struggle the issue is clear cut. Indeed, with the exception of minor details, we believe the struggles, national and international, such as they exist, have been for the wrong reasons.

MASS communications, while on the one hand making the exploited peoples of the world aware of a common cause have also been responsible for distracting their attention from the basic issues to the struggles of politicians in their pursuit of power as an end in itself. Mass communications are also "responsible" for the political confusion which has resulted in the public not being able to see the social wood for the political trees.

To-day thanks to the combined efforts of Press and politicians, the public is accepting, as a fact, that the issue of War or Peace has been created by the development of the H-bomb. Just as if two bloody world wars had not been waged during this century without the Hbomb! We suggest that this wishful thinking is encouraged both as a justification for ridiculous diplomatic time-wasting (which is nevertheless the bread and jam of the professional politician and for him as worthwhile as the unpublicised timewasting which for millions of people goes by the name of jobs!) as well as in an attempt to destroy what was at one time the strongest socialist argument against the capitalist system: that it could only resolve its inner contradictions through periodic wars.

We do not think the "nature" of capitalism has changed (the fact that in spite of a "crippling" war lasting six years the ensuing twelve years of peace have been maintained by a cold-war economy—apart from such hot incidents as the Korean warshould at least give those who do not share our old-fashioned views, food for thought!) The H-bomb will make a future war more bloody and more disastrous to mankind than any in the past. But let us be clear on this: it is an instrument, not a cause of war. If we want to abolish war we must tackle the problem elsewhere, at the root. The politicians' plan of progressive disarmament as a weapon for peace is so much nonsense (confirmed, incidentally, by six months sterile discussions around the conference table!) that it does not bear serious consideration.

*

MASS communications has also made the launching of the Russian satellite (the only satellite now beyond the control of the Russians!) an excuse to return to the subject of this country's lack of scientists and technologists in sufficient numbers to keep up with the Russians. Actually six months ago we were told that if we were to avoid bankruptcy we needed more scientists to ensure that our industrial development and research kept up with our trade rivals in the West. Here again, using the H-bomb logic, one is expected to believe that the economic situation hinges on the numbers of scientists this country is able to turn out. Surely "mankind for!

DESIGN AND SOCIAL NEEDS

A RECENT series of articles in the Council of Industrial Design journal Design considered consumer needs and the extent to which manufacturers meet or reject them. The lack of "social consciousness" on the part of many manufacturers and the need for consumer protection were stressed.

Now a series of articles by J. Christopher Jones of Metropolitan-Vickers Electrical Co. Ltd. is following up with a consideration of the possible future effects of automation. His observations are divided into the way in which the consumer needs are met at present and the changes which automation could bring about. The contrast he points is a startling one.

"At the present time, disparities between the quantities produced and those demanded are minimised by the techniques of advertising and salesmanship, and the qualities of manufactured goods are related to the needs of users by largely intuitive and commercially oriented design methods-"design for obsolescence". The inadequacies of the present methods of designing and selling (so often the subject of comment in this magazine and perhaps the reason for its existence) are hardly to be tolerated even with the semi-automatic production methods that now exist. Already there are signs that the relentlessness. precision, stability and orderliness of automatic production are imposing themselves on design and selling methods to such a degree that they change their nature. Selling is replaced by rental, marketing by service-marketing, market research by user research, styling by ergonomics, and intuitive design methods by logical analysis."

The implications of Peter Drucker's predictions (presumably referring to "The end of economic man") are of just such a switch from product-marketing to service-marketing.

"As fully automated production is more nearly approached, all aspects of both selling and design change together and become more exact. When produc-

tion is based on rental instead of sales. the demand becomes far more predictable and stable of its own accord. The manufacturer can plan further in advance and reduce his costs. The product remains his property and he will lose money rather than gain it if frequent servicing or replacements are required. The pressure to design for obsolescence is replaced by a vested interest in long life and reliability. The product will be of high quality and designed to give the customer the minimum trouble and the least incentive to change his supplier. Eye-catching design for the moment of purchase is replaced by inconspicuous design that will demand the minimum attention during a long period of ser-

The more intimate relation between the supplier of rented products and the user encourages and assists the discovery of the user's real needs. It is possible that as the products of such a system will not need the addition of eye-catching exteriors to ensure their distribution they will be less exciting to look at. The artistic effort that is now expended on styling, and on graphic design for advertising too, may no longer be applied to products and their distribution, but will tend more and more to be directed to purely decorative and symbolic objects. Then the rational and orderly forms of rented products would contrast with quite separate forms of personal and perhaps more irrational display."

(This is the approach which Lewis Mumford takes in "Art and Technics").

The telephone is quoted as one example for which such a system is already in operation: alone among the domestic appliances with which we are familiar, it is always rented to the user as part of the service that he buys, but it is not his property. This seems to be true in all countries where telephones exist. The shape of the instrument conforms very well to our predictions because it shares little of the styling and none of the obsolescence of other domestic applicances. It is seldom redesigned. It is unique in having a hint of the biotechnic look that comes of ergonomic design.

The exhaustive and painstaking way in which the American telephone was designed is referred to in "Designing for People" by the designer Henry Dreyfuss. The change from arbitrary design methods, hunches, guesswork and intuition to a more systematic and deliberate process of research and testing is the means by which the pre-production stage of manufacture can be made sufficiently reliable for automation.

"It is characteristic of automation that it provides its own answer to this problem: the digital computer, which is the most important of the information handling devices that make automation possible, can be used to shorten and cheapen the analytical methods which are essential to the process. Designing then would become sufficiently fast and reliable and exact a process to translate human requirements into the shapes that most naturally and correctly fulfil them, at a far greater speed and certainty than can be undertaken at present. Instead of products that only approximately meet our most easily discoverable needs, we might have products that were exactly matched to our most diverse and subtle requirements.

Such changes as these may not appear for a long time, but when they do we may find that design and industry will both have lost the interest that springs from their present imperfections and will revert to more subsidiary positions. The design and production of goods may have become as automatic and as uninteresting as is our present water supply. By then we may expect some other and less materialistic ideas of the purpose of life to have taken hold of people's minds and to have become the objects of their chief endeavours. And these also will be reflected in new forms and shapes far beyond our own dreaming. Generally, one feels that the stability and orderliness which seem to underlie every aspect of automatic processes will never, by their nature, lead us on and on to the ultimate pointlessness of a continually expanding economy and perpetually rising material standards. It seems much more likely that there is a final state of complete automation that will be reached when the things that now change become more stable and more normal."

In a postscript, it is announced that in Design for December, "Work and leisure", the fourth article in the series, "will show that perhaps the most obvious effect of automation is to alter our habits of work and leisure. There is little place for the routine bran worker in the automatic factory and we may find that most of the thinking that keeps the system in operation gets done at irregular times between the non-industrial activities of domestic life. The input/output devices make it unnecessary to go to the office; they could make the house a work place once again, after centuries of being a residence and latterly only a dormitory. It is suggested that the home might become again a centre of some creative, craft-based pursuits. The manual aspect of work, fundamental to a mechanised system, is dispensed with under automation, and could be redirected into domestic activities. This is already happening, at an incipient stage, in the "Do-it-yourself" movement.

BOOK REVIEW

Man in a Home-Made Chariot

SIGMUND FREUD: Life and Work. Vol. III by Ernest Jones. Chatto, 35s.

CONSIDERING how close Jones was to this powerful personality the biographer is to be congratulated on maintaining a remarkably cool head. Eulogies of great men by devoted disciples are odious affairs. Basking in the reflected glory the little men praise themselves every time they kneel to worship. Jones has largely avoided this error and he and Freud emerge the greater for it.

In places it requires a dedicated reader to relish the wealth of detail given over to what some might consider domestic trivia. On the other hand, there is plenty of wheat among the chaff for friend and foe alike. It is interesting to note, for instance, that criticism of Freudian theory on purely linguistic grounds goes back as far as 1919. A movement that can resist the pressure of logic for so long must, like Marxism, have something to say.

There are flashes of genuine humour too—largely unintended. Although Freud had no time for statistics in relation to

does not live by scientists alone"! But our thinking has become so warped that most people are convinced beyond discussion that our very lives depend on how much of what we produce is exported! And by this Alice-in-Wonderland logic (and we are not saying that it does not make capitalist "sense") it follows that everything depends on scientists since successful competition in world markets demands the latest technological know-how and all that applied science can think up in the way of something the others haven't got.

PERHAPS this moment of conquest of outer space is most opportune for some simple, downto-earth thinking on basic questions. Science and technology between them have discovered more than enough to allow man to adequately provide for his needs and withal ample leisure to think what it's all his own work he nevertheless thought that such objective tests would prove a good medicine for the correction of certain of Rank's heresies. Also writ large between the lines is the story of Freud's sensitivity to any criticism of his scientific pretensions. His touchiness in this direction obliged him to reject those who, like Havelock Ellis, admired him for the creative artist he undoubtedly was.

The book falls into two roughly equal parts. The first half deals with Freud's life chronologically from 1919 to his death 20 years later. The latter half consists of a series of historical reviews of important topics such a Metapsychology, Lay Analysis, Religion, Occultism and Art, bringing Freud's views together under the appropriate headings and showing how they developed or ossified. Obliquely we see how Freud's critical powers were mostly devoted to maintaining the internal consistency of his theories; an end which he usually achieved by adopting a system of closed logic. When it came to assessing the value of the evidence his standards are revealed as woefully inadequate. Hence his firm acceptance of telepathy as an established fact on the flimsiest of anecdotal evidence.

Against the man's courage, both physical and moral, there can be no carping. As a young man he was prepared to earn the scorn and derision of his medical colleagues for his strange ideas. As an old man he bore with amazing fortitude the numerous operations and 16 years of pain occasioned by the cancer of the mouth that eventually killed him.

He was a tough old bird. An indefatigable worker who deserved his success. Many have been praised more for doing less. That psychoanalysis both as a theory and a technique is of purely historical interest is beside the point. Aristotle's system of logic is now known to be as full of holes as an old sock, but the man remains an intellectual giant. That his logic should have held men's thought in chains for a thousand years is a measure of his greatness. Freud's system will not outlive this century, but from the still glowing ashes an effective technique of psychotherapy is already emerging. When the dust settles history will see the man who fashioned the chariot which enabled others to catch the bus. What better epitaph would the old warrior wish?

BOB GREEN.

Don't Forget that Deficit!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!
WEEK 40

Deficit on Freedom \$820
Contributions received \$582
DEFICIT \$238

October 4 to October 10

Parma: H.P. £2: Cleveland: D.H. £1/12/6: London: S.B.* 2/6: San Francisco: J.N. 11/6: London: W.E.D.* £1: Surbiton: F.N.F. 5/9: London: P.F.* 10/-: London: J.S.* 3/-: London: Hyde Park Sympathisers, 1/9: Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Manchester: P.H. 1/-: per Osmar—San Francisco: Proceeds of Picnic Plesanton £39/4/0.

Previously acknowledged ... 536 17 11

1957 TOTAL TO DATE ... £582 14 11

*Indicates regular contributor.

Fire Fund

San Mateo: J.O. £1/15/0: Los Angeles: P. £1/15/0.

Previously acknowledged ... 382 3 3

TOTAL TO DATE ... £385 13 3

GIFTS OF BOOKS: London: C.F.: London:

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The Tender Trap

IN two recent articles, C.W. has mentioned what he called the "tender trap" which threatened to engulf the children subjected to the educational theories behind the school at Crestwood Heights. It seems to me that this, and similar problems are among the most important that anarchists and general libertarian thinkers need to get down to.

There are so many tender traps lying around now that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish just who is setting them and who has fallen in. Despite hysterical autbursts from time to time, the oldfashioned type of reactionary is disappearing, or at least losing his grip. Even the bishops now accept Epstein sculptures in cathedrals and are prepared to relegate homosexuality to being only a 'sin'. However, certainly in the educational field, his place is being taken by an equally dangerous character. The modern reactionary has discarded his cane and formal robes of authority, and his stern visage has softened; instead, he appears smiling and informal, head buried in a vulgarised version of Freud and Dr. Chesser's books on sex education, and gently attempts to guide his victims towards his chosen ideal.

In other realms one finds Tory ministers agreeing that wage claims by certain groups of manual workers are justified, "but they must use the proper machinery of negotiation"; and this week Commander King Hall apparently gave

SITUATION VACANT

DEER of the Realm required to act as host . . . Modest initial salary, entertainment allowance plus share of profits for right Peer.-Advertisement in "The Times".

a lecture on non-violent defence to military officers at the Royal United Services Institute.

It seems that a large number of partially enlightened people, who might under some circumstances have given a kind of passive support to radical ideas and movements, now find it even easier to adhere to the corresponding version of the same ideas, deliberately devitalised, polished up, and labelled "for progressive consumption only" by well known experts.

What does one do when faced with well-meaning, well-educated people, who are verbally enthusiastic about freedom, think of psychology as a good thing, want higher living standards for everyone, cultural progress, world peace, etc., etc., but really, when brought down to specific issues, have the same attitudes to the vital matters of power, authority and freedom as have generals and Public School Headmasters.

The New Education Fellowship seems, at least according to its journal "The New Era" to be a good example of this. Yet many people prefer the well-built, coeducational, comprehensive school to the radical progressive school. The pacifist movement has now got to the stage of

only needing to refer to its hero as "Sir Stephen".

One can't support such half-baked movements as these, but to decry them seems to put the anarchist into such a tiny minority, gives him the appearance of pretending to have an "only hope" solution, and makes him the opponent of people he would rather be working side by side with.

I think it is through being careful to avoid falling, or leading anyone else into such tender traps (perhaps I have changed the meaning slightly) as these, of accepting a slice of bread and in doing so jeopardising his chance of seizing the loaf, and at the same time not wishing to appear iconoclastic and isolated from the general stream of intelligent thought on the topics which interest anarchists, that some of them fall into the easy solution of avoiding direct activity altogether. That is perhaps the way in which the welfare state hits at revolutionary move-

For these reasons I think that a really intense attack on the question of the relation between anarchism and nonanarchist progressive attitudes, trying to become really clear about what we want, what we are prepared to accept, and how we can get it, would be a very valuable undertaking. The result might be that many of the general libertarian thinkers became real anarchists.

Seven Years Jail for Djilas

THE case of Comrade Djilas went a step further last week when he was sentenced to a further seven years in prison (he is already serving a sentence

three years) on charges of 'hostile propaganda against the State'.

The charges against Djilas this time arose out of the publication of his book The New Class (reviewed in FREE-DOM 14/9/57) which, said the judge, 'was aimed at undermining the power of the working people, the economic and social basis of Yugoslavia and its defensive strength.'

This is quite a task for any book, but it seemed as though Comrade Djilas had some success, since the judge blamed it for the 'widespread, planned and organised campaign against our country abroad, against its organisations and against Yugoslavia as a Socialist coun-

Refused to Speak

Djilas refused to speak or to give public life of his country for that period.' evidence at his trial after the court decided to hold it in secret, and immediately the sentence was passed, he declared: 'I protest against the untrue statement in the Press that I answered any questions at the trial. Truth was imperilled by this, as well as the secrecy of the trial.' The Judge interrupted and said: 'The Press is responsible for itself.'

The three years sentence Djilas is already serving was passed on him following his criticisms of Yugoslavia's policy on the Hungarian revolution. Before that trial he had completed The New Class and got it out of the country and now that it has been published in this country and America, the wrath of the new class in Yugoslavia has descended upon his head.

In 1953 Djilas was president of Tito's parliament, having previously been in charge of the 'Agitprop' department of the Yugoslav Communist Party and as political commisar in Montenegro supervising large-scale liquidations of peasants. He has been a good friend of Tito's and a faithful servant to the

Now he has been stripped of his warwon decorations and after his sentence expires he will have no civil rights for five years because, said the judge, 'he does not deserve to take part in the

Poor Djilas. Still, he has been wise: in becoming disillusioned in the post-Stalin era. Had it happened before: 1948, at least, his head would be off by

Civil Defence

NO doubt everyone who reads this has seen the government's latest attempt to enlist people in its civil defence programme. One hardly picks up a paper or looks at a poster site in the street without reading the caption, "Civil Defence" and seeing the picture of heroic, patriotic and determined men and women

lending a hand when our country is in

Of course to Anarchists this is all nonsense! For we realise that when we join, if we join, a civil defence unit we are not protecting ourselves but the government. A large, well trained force in wartime clearing up the mess of bombing makes the government's task of bombing the other side so much easier. Civil Defence keeps the people, the ones that are alive, quiet and also strengthens the fond illusion that many have that the government is there to protect them. This, then, is the old idea of civil defence, the state's idea for protecting itself which like so many of its ideas for self protection is in the name of the people. But the people, though many of them are not gullible enough to join civil defence and protect the sacred flesh of the state and authority still for all that need civil defence. Not the old authoritarian, stirrup pump variety but a new entirely different sort.

In short, people must be warned! It's no good for us Anarchists to sit back and edit little magazines that are always in financial straits and circulate scholarly little articles among ourselves.

This policy on its own will lead nowhere for it is the policy of burying one's head

in the sands of illusion! .

The majority of the people in this country still regard Anarchists as the lunatic fringe of society and this is partly due to the great silence coming from the Anarchist movement. At a time when all churches, all political parties, even nudists, are struggling for humanity's support, Anarchists are silent. Except, of course, for the ones who lecture in Hyde Park and Maxwell Street and who, incidentally, do a very good job of it.

The trouble with this, though, is, that people do not always want to go to Hyde Park or to Maxwell Street. Therefore, if we Anarchists are to succeed and want to be heard we must take our message to the people.

Just as industrialist A plans a great publicity campaign to put his packet of tripe on Mr. and Mrs. Everybody's table so must we Anarchists put something of value into the minds and hearts of Mr. and Mrs. Everybody. This is what I mean by Civil Defence. The individual must be warned of the state's intentions and the individual must be taught to protect himself or herself from the influences of the state.

Though many channels of approach are shut to Anarchists there are still many open and if we are ever to achieve a state of Anarchy this difficult task must be faced. In short, Anarchists must organise a campaign if they want to see a freer spirit and a greater intellectual virility in Britain. If there are few Anarchists then at first the campaign must be small and we must rely upon a snowballing effect. In this way lies salvation for without a word from the converted how can the non-converted know or support us?

As to the methods of propaganda open to the Anarchist movement and appropriate to our cause I think this should be left open to discussion and suggestion and perhaps if space permits a review of these could be published in FREEDOM.

For instance, should we at first rely on personal contact? Or should we bombard people with pamphlets and handbills?

Whatever you think about methods of propaganda write to FREEDOM so that this important question affecting the whole future of the Anarchist movement not only in this country but everywhere may be thrashed out. At a time when the forces of authority seem stronger and their practices more hideous than ever it is important that we make a stand,

M. KEITH.

Anarchism in this Year!

society. Why do you think of a farm when you think of an anarchist society? Do you imagine that anarchism means abolition of cities? London anarchists can make a start by owning their own living quarters. They could abolish the use of money among themselves, work directly for each other rather than for private employers (to the extent made possible by their numbers) and institute any other anarchist principles among themselves that they desire. If they do not do it, they are anarchists for the fun of it-only. If they do, and welcome to membership everyone who will accept the anarchist way of life (but not necessarily the name Anarchist) scores, then hundreds and thousands of people will jump at this opportunity to abandon the life of domination and submission and adopt the way of control and responsibility.

FREEDOM has been publishing for seventy years, but anarchists are still an insignificant percentage of the population. Why? For one thing, as long as anarchists preach but do not practice, their very propaganda implies that the anarchists themselves do not believe anarchism ought to be practised. As a matter of fact, it really looks like they don't! Everyone knows that there are enough anarchists in London to form a commune; but they don't! Apparently, then anarchism to them is just something to talk about. But I say anarchism is not just a theory to attack or defend, but a way of life; and the continued publication of FREEDOM unaccompanied by the formation of small groups for the practice of anarchism among themselves (I did not say, For the propaganda of anarchism among others) is evidence that anarchism is not considered by its adherents as something to do, but only as a theory with which to identify oneself.

I am sure that anarchism would be such a delightful way of life that thousands of non-anarchists would join an anarchist commune, providing only that it were not called such.

In my opinion, an anarchist society would be organized into self-governing, independent units of five to ten people each, to facilitate pure rather than representative democracy, political and economic decentralization, face-to-face discussion of all issues, unanimous decisions, and feelings of fellowship and solidarity. There would certainly be no money, money-substitutes, or barter among the members, but rather each would produce according to his abilities and receive according to his needs, with no one else to judge his abilities or his needs. As

THERE are enough anarchists reading many members as possible would work these lines to form an anarchist "for the commune"; there is no reason why their working conditions cannot be idyllic from the start. The rest would continue at their present lines of work to earn the cash to buy whatever cannot as yet be produced within the commune. Specifically, it might be fun if in each

> communal household there were an ornate box marked IF YOU NEED, TAKE. IF YOU HAVE, PUT. Those who work for cash would deposit 100% of it in this box, which would of course never be locked. Daily, all would remove from it what he wants for that day, and write down in a notebook in the box, what he thinks ought to be bought for the commune. As often as necessary, all would participate in a conference to decide how to spend the money. Banks would not be used. For one thing, they are proud of the part they play in building capitalism and the armed forces. (They do that by lending your money to big business and to war plants.) For another, their armed guards are prepared to kill to prevent your money from being stolen. Finally, anarchist communes could easily invest all their money themselves, buying the means of production for their own use, purchasing living-quarters for newlyestablished groups, etc.

Everything produced by members of the commune, or bought with communal money, must be absolutely free. This would eventually eliminate that terrible hunger for luxury and ever more luxury, so prevalent throughout the "civilised" world. When people finally realize, deep down, that their needs will be met in spite of everything, they will at last be able to put their minds on art, music, philosophy, etc. The insecurity of the capitalistic way of life does not permit this. Instead, it drives people to keep on working after they have more than met their needs; after all, who can tell what may happen to one's job, savings, or investments?

All who agree with the basic economic policy should be welcome to membership, but it would be nice if at least some people in each group took their recreation together, operated a business together, etc.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that there could be a lot less talk of anarchism and a lot more anarchism.

All those interested please write directly to me; I'll put you in touch with each other and send additional suggestions. There is space in my flat for at least two more people.

> RICHARD KERN. 79 Douglass Street, Brooklyn 31, N.Y.

Atomic Hazards

Continued from p. 1

spect those who break new ground in the direction of progress, but temper their enthusiastic acceptance of something new with a cynicism, born of experience, that infallibility ill becomes a man, even though one does not understand his argument.

We would not suggest that the lesson to be learned from the Windscale accident is that atomic development is too dangerous for mankind to risk its continuance. To ban the atomic bomb is not to ban atomic development, although the two stand at opposite ends of the scale. The former pointing the path to ultimate destruction in the hands of lunatics, the latter opening up enormous horizons for the enrichment of life on (and off) this planet. But the accident—one of a series should act as a clear indication of the obvious dangers which are present where men seek too fast, and often for doubtful motives, to obtain a power which they do not fully understand. If the motives were better there could be more time for understanding, and greater safety for those involved whether they wish it or not.

Meanwhile there is a ban on milk supplies from 100 farms in Cumberland for at least three weeks, and at least one man has a radio-active hand. How much more harm has been caused by radio-activity from Windscale is not yet known, or not yet admitted, but its unseen results could be considerable—and permanent.

FRANCO TRIBUTE TO RUSSIANS

In a speech at the inauguration of Spain's largest thermal power plant at Cartagena, Gen. Franco paid an unexpected tribute to Soviet efficiency. 'We cannot deny the political importance,' he haid, 'of the fact that a nation has succeeded in launching the first artificial satellite.

'This could not have happened in the old Russia. Whether we like it or not, such a feat could not be realised in a country disunited or where disorder reigned.'

Daily Telegraph.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Every Sunday at 7.30 at

THE MALATESTA CLUB. 32 Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

LECTURE - DISCUSSIONS OCT. 13-Donald Rooum on FREEDOM & OWNDOM.

OCT. 20-Reg. Wright on GROUP WORK IN INDUSTRY NOV. 3-Giovanni Baldelli on ANARCHIST ACTION.

NOV. 10-F. A. Ridley on THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF SOCIETY

NOV. 17-Francis Tonks on VOLUNTARY WORK CAMPS NOV. 24-Arthur Uloth on

THE ANARCHIST UTOPIA DEC. 1-Axel Hoch on AM I MY BROTHER'S EATER?

DEC. 8-Bob Green on SOME SHIBBOLETHS OF ANARCHISM.

Questions, Discussion and Admission all free.

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

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CENTRE MEETINGS

Discussion Meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m. at the Malatesta Club 32 Percy Street, W.1 OCT 24.—David Levy on THE KIBBUTZIM IN ISRAEL

* Malatesta Club *

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

ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

London Anarchist Group Meetings (see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. BONAR THOMSON speaks

Every Friday and Saturday: SOCIAL EVENINGS

FREEDOM

The Anarchist Weekly Postal Subscription Rates : 12 months 19/- (U.S.A. \$3.00) 6 months 9/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50) 3 months 5/- (U.S.A. \$0.75) Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies 12 months 29/- (U.S.A. \$4.50) 6 months 14/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25)

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