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THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Government is, in its essence, always a force working in violation of justice."

—LEO TOLSTOY

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The New President Takes Over NEW DEAL OR MORE ILLUSIONS?

MUCH has been written about Senator John Kennedy both before and since his election to the Presidency of the United States of America. His personality, politics and pledges have been scrutinised and analysed by knowledgeable and not so knowledgeable pundits on both sides of the Atlantic.

The picture which has emerged, in this country at any rate, is of a young, aloof, intelligent, ambitious politician who has brought dignity and dedication into American political life.

The fact that he is rich has curiously enough acted in his favour. It has not been argued even by his opponents that his political ambitions are tied up with his economic interests, and his choice of administrators on the basis of ability rather than on a "jobs for the boys" quota has led many people to believe that a new era in American politics has begun.

Many American intellectuals hitherto disgusted with politics in their own country, now see in the new administration the beginnings of good and just government.

One British political commentator

who has just returned from the U.S. and himself a Kennedy supporter, confirms this view, and suggests that the despised intellectual is now decidedly "U" in America because of Kennedy's Presidential success.

Faced with this wave of enthusiasm for a youthful intelligent man dedicated to changing the face of America, it may seem churlish to dampen the zeal by expressing doubt, but the man cannot be separated from his political party, and we can find no signs within the Democratic Party with which to herald the beginnings of a revolutionary era.

If it is argued that degrees of government matter, and that an administration, attempting to govern honestly is preferable to one which allows a certain amount of graft, then the Democratic Party is the obvious choice.

But the issue in the world today which affects us all is not exclusively domestic; it is not only a question of choosing a party which will help the poor rather than one which will further the interests of the rich; of choosing a party with a nationalisation programme or supporting one

which believes in private enterprise. The question we have to ask is, can we find wise men free from party and national interests who are sufficiently concerned with the survival of the human race that they will relinquish power to achieve it and have the necessary influence to get the people behind them?

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IN his inaugural address President Kennedy was eloquent in his defence of human rights; we believe he meant what he said, and that he is as anxious as anyone to avoid war—but not at any price—as the following paragraph implies:

Let every nation know, whether it wish us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend or oppose any foe in order to assure the survival and success of liberty.

There was nothing else he could say in the circumstances.

The weakness of the political "lesser evil" argument is that whether the politicians be young and dedicated or old and cynical ultimately they are all bound by party and national interests.

In practical terms today this means that however much any politician abhors war or the manufacture of nuclear weapons or the threat of using them, he is in danger of political suicide if he says so and means to act on it. Any politician, particularly in America, who hints that he would rather see the Russians taking over than go to war, even if he has a political history of anti-communism, would be shunned by all political parties.

Certainly Kennedy would not have been elected on a pacifist ticket. He can talk of peace while his own party plans to spend more money on armaments, but the image which attracted America, and got him into the White House, is one of youthful strength and the willingness to "oppose any foe" at any price.

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IT is argued forcibly that it is possible to be a patriot and at the same time peacefully "co-exist" with other nations who may have very different political systems. This is not denied. Throughout the history of the "nation states" there have been long and short periods of co-

existence between different countries but eventually, when their interests clash, co-existence is immediately forgotten. The "lesser evil" advocate further argues that if we elect reasonable and just men who are willing to negotiate with other nations harmony is assured, thus it is imperative that we make the right choice between . . . Democrat and Republican, Labourite and Tory, Communist and Capitalist . . . or whatever.

The simple lesson of history is that whatever government we support within a country, none has seriously attempted to outlaw war beyond the stages of political slogans. The very existence of the nation state is by its nature a threat to any permanent co-operation between countries, but we know of no politician who has ever suggested abolishing the state!

The best "lawful government" can do is to work hard at "peaceful negotiations" but sooner or later, whether imaginary or real, one state will feel its interests are threatened by another and the people will be asked to unite "against the common enemy" by forgetting all party differences and remembering our "ancient heritage".

The choice we have to make is between survival through world co-operation or extinction through government.

SUMMERHILL SCHOOL 40th ANNIVERSARY

40 years at the head of any school would be something of an achievement; to have steered a school as original, as revolutionary, as controversial and as subject to attack as Summerhill through such a period, including the war, to have survived the social and economic vicissitudes of the post-war era and to be still going strong now is something indeed remarkable and worthy to be celebrated. This all the more needs saying because the modesty and, I think, shyness of the man A. S. Neill tend to obscure his very real achievement.

To those who are better acquainted with the more bohemian aspects of Summerhill a formal dinner in town might seem a strange form for the celebration to take. In the event, the Summerhill School 40th Anniversary dinner, which took place on Friday, January 13th, at the Connaught Rooms, was an enormous success, not least because the comfort and spaciousness of the venue made it so easy to circulate and meet old friends. It was a very

varied assembly of friends of Summerhill, from grandparents down to present pupils. How easy and relaxed those present and past pupils of Summerhill looked, and what a genuine deep warmth of affection was in the air for Neill and the other members of staff, past and present, who were able to come. Neill's own evident delight in the proceedings was, anyway, justification enough for the decision to honour him this way.

Dr. W. Lindesay Neustatter, Neill's stepson and the President of the Summerhill Society, perhaps exaggerated in his speech the extent to which Neill's teachings have in fact been incorporated into the corpus of orthodox educational thought, but was quite correct in stressing the wide dissemination of these ideas through Neill's genius for writing eminently readable books which have been translated into many languages and are known throughout the world, so that even were the school physically to close, Summerhill in a sense cannot now die. Replying to the toast to the guests, Mr. Otto Shaw, Secretary of the Association of Teachers of Maladjusted Children, started by acknowledging his own great debt to Neill whose ideas he follows in his own work at Redhill School. He pointed out the change in the atmosphere since Neill started Summerhill: then he had been a rebel but now his was a name commanding respect even from those who most strongly disagree with him.

The evening was remarkable for one more achievement: Neill had been allowed to say on BBC TV, in a filmed interview, the one thing that has hitherto been the subject of the most stringent taboo of all in all the organs of the establishment: open advocacy of a free sex life for adolescents.

I.L.



A Deserving Cause

The Plight of the Surtaxed Classes

THE National Union of Manufacturers issued last month a booklet with the title "A Tax on Progress", copies of which were sent out to, among other influential people, all Members of Parliament. The purpose of the booklet is to persuade the government to raise the starting level of income at which surtax is payable, from the present £2,000 a year to £6,000. Naturally the grounds on which the N.U.M. (not to be confused with the National Union of Mineworkers, who are not concerned with the problems of surtax but with odd ten-bob-a-week increases in pay to keep up with the increased cost of living) put their case to the government, is that of national productivity! At present for some married couples of the professional classes either the woman finds it uneconomic to continue in her profession after marriage, or if she did, then in extreme cases the husband's income would be virtually wiped out by surtax, or so drastical-

ly whittled down that the "net reward was not worth striving for". Something had to be done for these "hard-working and ambitious men and women" who were being unfairly penalised.

Surtax is a "tax on merit and almost an incentive to immorality". (Is it suggested that professional women are being driven into the oldest profession, the rewards from which need not be disclosed to the greedy tax-collector?) What a heart-breaking picture is presented of these our "most valuable citizens" having to "work harder and harder" or in the end "being driven overseas". Think of it "our most valuable citizens" driven into exile by the tax collector! Compared with their fate that of the thousands of hungry unemployed throughout the world who gather up a few personal belongings and leave their villages in search of a job in any corner of the globe where there is a shortage

of men and women to do the dirty jobs, is a mere holiday. "Soaking the rich" was all very well in the '20's for it only affected 10,000 people. But to-day 319,000 are bearing this horrible burden, which goes to prove that the professional classes are much worse off now than they were in the '20's whereas of course it is well known that it's the workers who are now living off the fat of the land. After all they are not being driven into exile, are they?

And all said and done it wouldn't cost all that much to do justice to our professionals. It has been officially estimated that to raise the starting level of surtax to £6,000 would cost a mere £60 million in a complete year and this loss to the revenue declares the National Union of Manufacturers, would be offset "by the incentive to greater effort, by lessened costs of collection and by the all-round industrial expansion that would certainly follow".

Continued on p. 4

'ANYBODY WANT A NEW DESIGN FOR A MEAL TICKET?'



Review of a New Freedom Press Publication

TOWARDS A FREE SOCIETY

TOWARDS A FREE SOCIETY, by Charles Martin, Published for the Author by Freedom Press. 62pp. 2s. 6d.

THE purpose of "Towards a Free Society", as set out by the author in his foreword, is to examine the place of Marx in the history of socialism, why Marxism has failed to achieve its professed objects, and in what form socialism in practice would serve to uphold truth, to sustain human dignity and to advance political and economic freedom. In short, to advocate "the common-sense of socialism".

The first chapter consists of a retrospective survey of socialism. Mr. Martin begins with Plato's utopia the "Republic" and then considers the utopias of Thomas More, Campanella and Andreas. He goes on to give an outline of the teachings of such writers as Godwin, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Cabet, Louis Blanc and Proudhon. In more detail he describes the ideas of Marx, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Edward Bernstein and Jean Jaures.

The scrappy way in which, of necessity, he deals with these thinkers leads him to make some rather strange statements. It is stretching the term, to say the least, to call the doctrines of Saint-Simon and Cabet "libertarian", and it is something of an eye-opener to be told that Max Stirner was a pioneer of German socialism. Again, Robert Owen's conception of socialism, insofar as it emphasised free co-operation as opposed to state intervention, could be called "libertarian", but it ought to be pointed out that it was the authoritarianism of his community experiments in the U.S.A. that impelled Josiah Warren, at one time an ardent Owenite, to develop his anarchist ideas.

The author is on surer ground when, in his second chapter, he mounts an onslaught against Marxism. He quite ably summarises many of the criticisms of Marxism which began with Bakunin, if not earlier. He indicts the authoritarianism of Marx and the false idea of Engels that Marxist socialism was "scientific"

and the other schools of socialism "utopian". "The Marxian socialism", he writes, "is, as we all know, socialism turned aside from the libertarian and humanitarian path. It is state socialism plus Hegelian absolutism. And when the state, as is implied in the Marxist ideology, is absolute and has supreme authority and complete control over the whole field of economic life, it becomes state capitalism".

There is one reservation to Mr. Martin's case against Marxist Communism that must be made, however. He claims that "the evils of state capitalism are a hundred times greater than bourgeois capitalism." It is certainly preferable, at the moment, to live in a country like Britain than in a country like Russia, but this is not to say that "bourgeois capitalism" is not capable of practices very near to those of "State capitalism" and, as two world wars have shown, it can produce atrocities of equal magnitude to those of the katorga and of Hungary. Indeed, living as we do in a world in which daily the Pigs and the Humans become more and more indistinguishable, it is doubtful whether one side is all that much blacker than the other. "Neither East nor West" remains the only attitude for us.

The third chapter of "Towards a Free Society" urges the need for "political freedom and economic independence" on a decentralised basis. Up to the first world war, the author contends, governments, under the pressure of circumstances, were becoming less and less tyrannical and behaving "in a more enlightened and liberal way". But "unfortunately after the First World War and from the nineteen-twenties onwards, a reaction has set in." This reaction assumed the forms of Marxism, Fascism and Nazism. "Now that Fascism is overthrown, Nazism is dead, and the evils of Marxism laid bare, it is time to pick out the thread of political thought as it stands today."

It is at this point that the difference between Mr. Martin's "humanitarian socialism" and anarchism become clearer. He is in favour of democracy, not because he is a democrat, but because as

"Bertrand Russell once remarked, 'The merits of democracy are negative: it does not insure good government, but it prevents certain evils'. . . Democracy in its outward form may not endure, but democracy in essence and spirit is vital. It is the antidote to despotism." To the author "in what form power may be had and in what way it should be held is a serious question." To the anarchist, however, the serious question is not what form of power is preferable, but in what way power itself can be opposed and eliminated from human attitudes and relationships. The logic of anarchism is against all power of man over man—whatever form it may take—monarchic, oligarchic, democratic—and for the sovereignty of the individual.

Where the author comes closest to an anarchist position is in the following passage on economic freedom: "The freedom to choose one's work and to make his own living is the first requisite of the freedom of man. Once he is dependent on others for a living he is a subordinate, an inferior. When he has to debase himself and beg for a living, he is a beggar, and when he is chained and yoked he is a slave." While one could argue whether the "first requisite of the freedom of man" is as external as economics, in these words the author reaches out towards the conception outlined by J. A. Maryson in his "Principles of Anarchism" when he wrote: "Anarchism differs from the accepted basic principles of socialism in that socialism makes society the provider for the individual. . . Anarchism on the other hand strives towards that social life in which each individual, alone or in co-operation with others shall be enabled to provide for himself whatever he deems necessary." Unfortunately, Mr. Martin does not fulfil the promise of his words and shortly afterwards holds up the co-operative societies as an alternative to capitalism and an answer to the dangers of managerialism. Anyone who has worked for one of these societies, or who has any knowledge of their workings, knows that they are as bureaucratic and as profit-minded as any "free enterprise" or state corporation.

Ye are Many — They are Few (4)

SABOTAGE

"SABOTAGE" is a word that strikes terror into the heart of every non-violent resister. During the war Special Branch men visited the P.P.U. bookshop and confiscated for the duration copies of Bart de Ligt's *Conquest of Violence*, presumably because they contained an admirable appendix of ways one could sabotage a military machine. These methods were obviously used to some effect against the German occupation forces but there has always been some revulsion against such destructive methods (even if only of property) by progressives. De Ligt in his book severely criticises "bourgeois pacifism" for its inhibitions and it is possible that a misinterpretation of sabotage as a method of social action has taken place.

Pouget in his booklet *Sabotage* compares the sabotage of work with the lack of good conditions. Poor pay=poor work is his simple equation. The usual cry that such methods will alienate the consumer is rather unfounded in these days of capitalist sabotage of good workmanship in the interest of speedy obsolescence. Instances have occurred of sabotage occurring to the consumer's benefit. The IWW once sabotaged the salmon canning interests by packing low grade fish in high grade cans and vice versa. Extensions of this method are easy to see. The French syndicalists had a development of sabotage called *sabotage à bouche ouverte* (sabotage of the open mouth) which consisted in relating all the tricks and dodges of the manufacture of products with the skimming, adulteration, faking, cheating and lack of hygiene which are so prevalent in so many products. But with all the muck-

raking and consumer's research it seems that the public is still willing to be played for a sucker no matter how often the trickery and chicanery are pointed out.

The downright wrecking of machinery entailed in some aspects of sabotage is unfortunately a double-edged weapon. In precarious one-industry localities the flooding of a mine or the cooling of a blast furnace involves more hardship and more continuous hardship to the workers than it does to the employers. Cases have come about of temporary sabotage, for example in a confectionery factory where a worker embarrassed by the pace of the conveyor belt slid a piece of tinfoil into the belt which temporarily jammed it and gave him a needed breathing space. One of the greatest criticisms of the institution of piece-work or piece-work bonuses is that it has made sabotage and ca'canny rebound on the worker.

In the field of actual military conflict sabotage has a wider context in the crippling of military forces. There have long been discussions on the pros and cons and approved methods of unseating mounted soldiers (or policemen for that matter). During the Spanish War the "Molotov cocktail" (a petrol-filled bottle for flinging into tanks) was an improvisation to sabotage tanks. In Hungary the workers used metal plates and the tram wires as conductors of electricity in order to wreck tank tracks and cripple the machine. In actual armed conflict fresh issues are opened up beyond the scope of this study but in a sense the outbreak of open hostilities is itself a sign of the failure of the workers to contain and confine oppression within manageable bounds. The transition from strike to civil war is a change in quantity so great as to be a change in quality.

"Direct Action" was once the name that distinguished syndicalist or anarcho-syndicalist methods from reformist or parliamentary methods of politicians or unions. Its basic elements were mass propaganda, agitation and manifestos, demonstrations, all of which were anti-patriotic and anti-militaristic in content. By implication they excluded party politics and following electoral camps with the inevitable bargaining, compromise and collaboration which they entail.

In the complex field of Nuclear politics the name "direct action" with small or large letters tends to get involved, thus confusing an already confounded issue. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is a pressure group on a massive scale. It is not anti-patriotic. (We believe that Britain should give a lead to the world) it is not anti-militarist (Commander King-Hall believes that the bomb is a gloriously inept weapon). It is not anti-appealing, compromising or collaborating, its groups in the Labour Party are obviously unwilling to force Gaitskell's resignation.

The "Direct Action Campaign" believes in mass-propaganda in the form of publicity-seeking demonstrations which capture public imagination, but these acts are symbolic; and a desire for respectability, a respect for law-and-order and a failure to follow through the anarchist implications of their actions bedevil their efforts. The sorry failure of this group to back up a Voters' Veto in the 1959 election is a sign of their lingering belief in the effectiveness of political action. There has been some criticism of D.A.C.'s principle of giving full advance publicity to press and police, this arises from a neo-Gandhian mystique but it has the advantage of eliminating from activity all the dreadful suspicions and misgiving that the presence of an unknown police-informer would give.

The "Committee of 100" is it was the revolutionary elite of Nuclear Disarmament. Its picked cohorts are an attempt at an all-star cast which will get the maximum publicity and the symbolic squat down in Whitehall on a Saturday at the so-called seat of power.

The latter of these organisations is under suspicion of attracting the exhibitionist and the masochist who delight in "suffering for the cause", but the regularity with which the leaders have, and will go to prison does emphasise the dispensability of leaders and makes for a more responsible movement since (as in the Resistance) control of events may devolve upon the humblest of followers if the leaders are removed. Also there always exists the remote possibility that conflict with the police and experience in prison may lead to a greater awareness of the violence which is inherent in the acts and institutions of government.

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J.R.

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Around the Galleries

THE echoes of John Berger's shrill screams of horror must still be disturbing the sleep of the residents of Great Turnstile and one feels duty bound to find out who was hurting our New Bond Street Torquemada, for when John Berger is offended there is a naming of names and a beating of breasts that would not shame a Zola or a John Gordon. And the reason for Berger's keening cries of horror is simply that the Arts Council had shown a preference in the handling of the Whitney, Zadkine exhibitions in that they have given the best showing to the paintings in the John Hay Whitney Collection and, according to Berger, done the dirty by Ossip Zadkine in the way they have displayed his eighty sculptures at the Tate Gallery. For as Berger darkly suggests,

"Could it be that the treatment of such a great artist has something to do with the fact that until quite recently he has always refused to have a dealer? Or is it just that this exhibition happens to coincide with that of the American Ambassador's private collection—presented of course as prettily as a debutante? Zadkine—why weren't you a diplomat? Why didn't you buy instead of make?"

I would suggest that neither the Pentagon, the State Department, Wall Street or Madison Avenue was behind this business and only that those dim characters who hole up in our public galleries had succeeded as usual in pleasing the bored old ladies and the professional students and offending the sensitive minority whose masochistic pleasure it is to always be offended on these occasions.

Yet Zadkine was an artist who evaded greatness by chasing the whore of fashion for he was a magnificent worker in wood who chose to work in metal when every piece that he touched cried out for the blue steel of the wood carving chisel, for Zadkine's work belongs to the period of Lewis and Blast and far from applying "the dialectic of Cubism to the human condition" as Berger claims it is distortion for the sake of distortion and shock for the sake of shock, but when the initial jar has worn off we are left with work as modish and as dated as anything left us by the Vorticism

Group. Yet Berger well knows where Zadkine's true love is, for time and time again from amongst this mass of angled bronze a hand or a foot reaches out. In the "Return of the Prodigal Son" at the Molton Gallery, at 44, South Molton Street, W.1., a hand stretches out from the arty stylised carving that is as appealing as the hands of the wooden madonna that Zadkine saw carved when he laboured in the workshops in the early nineteen hundreds. Berger records that Zadkine "with an almost cunning smile" called these childlike hands and sturdy feet strings to catch the passer by. Zadkine caught no-one but himself, for the man who remembers with pride the apple-wood rose he carved as a youth became the ancient fighting to keep a place in fashion's rat race.

The John Hay Whitney Collection on show has drawn the Town, for it is one of those collections that can please and amuse almost everyone, with one notable abstention, for they are the jackdaw collection of a man who bought merely what pleased him and the styles range from Church Street Kensington Restoration to the highly priced, highly praised offerings of the plush esoteric galleries. There are the inevitable Picassos, two dim Rousseaus, a good and a bad Cézanne, a Braque that could pass for a Vlaminck and an excellent slummy, rain-swept Utrillo. Yet what is most interesting about the Whitney's are the four American painters on show. Wyeth with his feeling of an empty world beyond the desolate, cracking concrete wall that he has painted, Hopper, that third rate artist of the Saturday Evening Post School of painting who can yet arouse pity in the spectator, Perlin with his Jewish boys wandering like animals through desolate slums, and Bellows with his crude and slobbering males isolated by one fixed arc light in an empty eternity of night. For each and every one of these artists catches the loneliness of the American Dream, for when the whole of Madison Avenue screams out for togetherness these artists record the dispossessed, silent and alone in the greatest warehouse in the world. When the European artist boasts of his sweaty

contacts and hymns the pleasures of life the American artists record their lonely hell, but I would give the whole of this collection just to possess the magnificent scowling self-portrait by Degas, as from his yellowed canvas he glowers at generations yet unborn, for here is a portrait of a man who has tossed away the mask in the solitude of his studio.

But while we honour the dead we must salute the living by giving a raspberry to the Arthur Jeffress Gallery, of 28, Davies Street, W.1., for hawking off their backlog of Victoriana under the label of Pictures of Fantasy and Sentiment. This is the stuff you can buy by the frameful in the Kensington High Street, and galleries are too few to be wasted like this.

Gimpel Fils, of 50, South Molton Street, W.1. are showing a group of beautiful abstractions by Lin Show-Yu. The quietism of these carefully conceived geometrical forms provide a foil to the work of Austin Cooper in the same gallery, for Cooper builds his abstractions layer on layer until the finished result looks like a segment of rotting advertising hoarding, but like Wols who worked his art into the accidents of his brush, Cooper only uses this rotting mass of found rubbish as a background for his final painting.

Finally Shawn Morrissey, billed by the Portal Gallery of 16a, Grafton Street, W.1. as An Unknown Irish Painter offers us landscapes too much in the style of Yeats for my liking. The same bright ribbons of colour, the same turgid passionate brush-work, yet one must stand and murmur Yeats before Morrissey's paintings and that in itself is surely a bad thing, for when does influence end and copying, aping or parody take its place? Yet one cannot ignore Morrissey for though we may shrug off his landscapes we cannot dismiss his paintings of the Dublin tenements, for these Kafka buildings with colours crawling like rotting vegetation down the decaying houses and the whole merging into a crumbling sky show the man who has taken his palette from Yeats but his vision from his own inner eye.

The Congo Tragedy

The 'Political and Military Chicanery' Goes on

"After these six odd months in the Congo, I have the feeling that I have come nearly full circle". It is a depressing record—a record of near failure on every side, with the imminent danger of a return to something like the conditions of last August in a Congo even more divided than any of us would then have thought possible."

In these terms, Neil Bruce describes the present situation in the Congo, where he has spent the past six months as B.B.C. correspondent. In August of last year Mr. Lumumba "was at the height of his power", and the U.N. which had been invited by him the previous month "was reviled and threatened with expulsion". By the end of August "it was only the U.N. soldiers who maintained any order, only U.N. technicians who kept the wheels turning". In mid-September there was the Mobutu *coup d'etat* and the appointment of the College of Commissioners, and, declares Mr. Bruce—"it worked". Then the Belgians started to return and "the United Nations was being displaced by them at every point and there seemed at least to be a working government in Leopoldville".

At the end of the year "came the collapse". In spite of the fact that Col. Mobutu's authority seemed to be increasing, when he came to launch his "great offensive" against the dissident Congolese forces in Kivu Province, "it failed lamentably and completely". Now there are "four or perhaps five governments" in the Congo, and in spite of his ill-treatment and incarceration by Mobutu and Tshombe, Lumumba's star appears to be once again in the ascendant. And the Belgians, according to Mr. Bruce, are "worried". On the other hand, Mr. Dayal, who is Mr. Hammarskjöld's representative in the Congo, "is not exactly displeased with the turn of events, that the U.N. leadership is not disinterested in the collapse of Mobutu and

would not be unhappy to see Lumumba régime return to power."

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THE shift of what "power" the Congolese leaders could be said to have enjoyed since the declaration of so-called independence has hinged on the army; not the loyalty of the army to any leader or cause but by the old rule that who pays the piper calls the tune. Thus Lumumba's star waned when he had no money in the government coffers to pay the Army. The United Nations advanced one month's pay, through Mobutu, and since then it is generally assumed that America and Belgium have been providing him with the necessary funds. Now it is Mobutu's turn to be short of funds and a number of his troops have begun to revolt. The *New Statesman's* commonwealth correspondent suggests that the Americans are "having second thoughts about their protégés" Mobutu and Kasavubu, and that with other Western Powers and Mr. H. the drift to civil war in the Congo has convinced them of the need to "bring Mr. Lumumba back into play". The *New York Times* (15/1/61) on the other hand suggests that if Mr. Lumumba did attend the round table conference which is due to take place as we write these lines,

he is likely to dominate the conference—a development that would be viewed with considerable alarm by the Western powers in view of Mr. Lumumba's pro-Communist inclinations and because his own previous control over the Congo precipitated bitter factional strife.

To say that Lumumba was more responsible for provoking factional strife than was Tshombe (and his Belgian supporters) in taking over the leadership of an "independent" Katanga is hardly an example of objective or even reliable journalism. Surely it would have been surprising

if independence from Belgian rule had not resulted in factional strife. The question which the critics of FREEDOM (Letters, 14/1/61) do not face squarely is: should such strife be prevented on "humanitarian grounds", at all costs—even by outside intervention? If that is their position then not only must they condemn every uprising of the people against their rulers on the grounds that it threatens human lives, but they must also accept the *status quo* and pin all their hopes on the progressive-mindedness of politicians or in changes that might arise from semi-bloodless palace revolutions! On humanitarian grounds they should also have welcomed continued Belgian rule of the Congo for there can be no denying that health services and public services were more efficiently run when the Belgians were in occupation, and however menial was the status of the Congolese, so far as we know, there were not the starvation conditions

which now exist in the Kaisai province, and threaten other parts of the country too.

★

TO avoid being misunderstood, we should perhaps point out that we do not now, and did not at the time, suggest that the situation in the Congo last July was ripe for a far-reaching social revolution. Indeed we have all along maintained that the "Tragedy of Africa" is that the nationalist leaders have exploited the willingness of their people to agitate and die if necessary to throw off the colonial power, without doing very much to break down tribal antagonisms or to give them an understanding of the problems that would follow in the wake of liberation. In every respect the Congolese nationalist movement was the least militant in the African continent (in spite of the fact, incidentally, that there was more literacy in the Belgian Congo than in any other African colony). On the other hand the contenders for political power among the Congolese were numerous and they relied on tribal loyalties and allegiances to further their chances of success.

Now what we maintained was that if the U.N. had not come in to take over the material problems of running the Congo the politicians, instead of having their hands free to play at politics would have been obliged to tackle these material problems—or fall. We may be wrong but it is our belief that left to solve the problems of survival there

LETTERS

EAST LONDON SOCIALIST GROUP

DEAR FRIEND,

We are a group of people who are attempting to promote discussion and activity concerning the pressing problems of the modern world. We are not attempting to form a political party, nor are we political fanatics trying to "bore from within".

All that we are trying to do is to get ordinary people to concern themselves with the social questions of our day. We are trying, in our small way to find a way out of the apathy that chokes modern political life.

Towards this end, we have arranged a series of lectures on alternate Thursdays, at 8 p.m., at "The Duke of Clarence", Clarence Road, Hackney, E.5. (Buses 38, 38A, 106, 653), the first two of which are set out below. I hope that some of your members will be interested enough to come along.

February 2nd.

"Can the Left ever be United?"
Speaker:— F. A. RIDLEY.

Yours fraternally,
London, Jan. 5. F. R. IVIMEY.

WHAT WOULD WE DO WITHOUT THE POLICE?

TO THE EDITORS OF "FREEDOM",

Recently, articles have been published in this newspaper concerning the role of the police, and they seemed to be suffering from loose thinking. If the police force was abolished, who would restrain and investigate criminals? While in an anarchist society, a "people's militia" might take over most of their duties, yet a special body of men will have to organise such a "militia" and carry out criminal investigations. Surely a special body of men, such as a police force, is not, in principle, at variance with anarchist principles. Where the present police force is defective however, is that it has to maintain property laws which involve conflict with the people.

I have no sympathy for those anarchists who have a pathological hatred of anyone in a uniform. A special body of men, with uniforms to enable the public to recognise them, is a special instrument either for good or evil. The normal policeman and most of the public believe that the police force is doing a good job. In general, this is not an illusion foisted on them by the upper class. Most of the time, the police are doing a good job; but unlike anarchists, it and most of the general public fail to distinguish between most of the necessary laws, and those few, but vital laws, which protect property and capital, and lead to open or concealed conflict, as in the St. Pancras riots.

To state that the police force is necessary in the foreseeable future, but that there should be checks to prevent it intervening with crowds, or using other means of repression, is far more practical and likely to gain support, than vague talk of "abolishing the police force" for which practical proposals have to be made.

London, W.11 R. F. TITE.

(more letters printed on p.4)

VIEWPOINT

To the Respectable Citizen—a Warning

DO not hate!

For once you hate you are committed and once you are committed there is no turning back.

If you cherish your democratic way of life, your moral code, your comfort and security, then stay as you are—apathetic.

And if there should come into your life some foreign agitator, who has not one iota of respect for the things you hold dear, some anarchist who is bent on disrupting your peaceful existence—ignore him.

If he persists in his anti-social behaviour inform him politely that he is wasting his time, that your faith in your way of life is as strong and as immovable as the Rock of Gibraltar.

And should he persist further, then laugh in his face; turn up the television volume; dance a jig; hold a bottle party; anything as long as you don't allow yourself to be roused—anything that will put you in a good humour, that will stop you from being angry. . . .

Anything, in fact, that prevents you from feeling.

Allow yourself as much as one twinge of resentment and—all will be lost!

Even when this disagreeable character begins to poke his nose into your personal life—attempts to lure your sons and daughters away from the bosom of the family into promiscuity, into selling themselves to the devil, into behaving like beasts, into—sleeping together!—tread carefully!

He is out to ensnare you.

Whatever you do treat him civilly—antagonise him at your peril.

Offer him your hospitality.

Let him see that a friend of youth is a friend of yours.

Let him see that his immoral and obscene ideas affect you in much the same way as a cold cup of tea.

Stress the fact that you are so convinced of the incorruptibility of your offspring, so confident of their immunity to his immoral urgings, that you can

allow them to associate with him freely and bat not so much as an eyelid.

Once let him see that his ideas repel you; once let him see that you loathe the sight of him; once, in an unguarded moment, let it slip out that you could cheerfully watch him being hanged, drawn and quartered—and you have sown the seeds of your own downfall, for that was what he was waiting for.

The agitator can only exist as long as people allow themselves to be agitated.

If he does not arouse anger and hatred then he is not a real agitator and he will be forced to look for another job.

So, you see, your strongest weapons are apathy and indifference.

For it is certain that the one thing agitators are powerless against is apathy.

So cling, cling like grim death, to everything you value.

He must not find one little chink in your armour, nor spot one weakness in your defence.

Therefore, you are justified in going to the most elaborate lengths to protect yourself from the need of having to show your real feelings.

Remember—all is fair in love and war.

So keep the television going non-stop; and if that conks out then switch on the radio; and if that goes the same way, then buy a record player—or, better still, have them all going at once, GOOD AND LOUD!

And for the times in between—buy some cotton-wool earplugs.

Face the trouble-maker with a stone-wall of indifference and in the end he will be forced to admit defeat.

Keep it up, and security and comfort will still be yours—your democratic way of life will be unblemished, your precious moral code will remain intact, and your sons and daughters will still be virgins.

And when war with the enemy is eventually declared, you will have the great satisfaction of knowing that you will die—a respectable death!

P. BRITTEN.

would have been an awakening among the people of the Congo which would have done more to break down the tribal barriers than anything which the U.N. and its agencies have done in this direction so far. Of course they would have needed the technical experts from outside to supply the know-how the Belgians had always denied them. But is there any reason to suppose that if the people of the Congo had made their appeal direct to the people of the world there would not have been a corresponding response? The trouble so far has been that the real needs of the Congolese have been swamped by the mean, petty, struggles of the political upstarts aided and deserted by outside nations, according to what they considered were their immediate interests. As Andrew Wilson, *The Observer's* chief correspondent in Africa, put it last Sunday, there are in the Congo

tens of thousands of simple, pacific people like my little room boy, who begs me each morning to arrange for him a correspondence course in English. It is really remarkable how little their problems appear to be known in the West; or perhaps one should say, how woefully they have been submerged by the headline news of political and military chicanery.

★

WHEN the fate of the refugees in the Kasai province was given publicity in the British press, thousands of ordinary people responded with their contributions large and small. Compared with the overall problems of a Congo abandoned to its "independence" this example of solidarity may be said to prove nothing. We disagree, and will not be persuaded to think otherwise until it can be shown that where people speak direct to people response is not forthcoming. So far as the Congo is concerned the voice of the people "has not only been submerged by the headline news of the political and military chicanery" of the Lumumbas, Mobutus, Kasavubus, Tshombes, *et alia* but also drowned by the bedlam, politely referred to as the United Nations!

Know any Politically Reliable Midgets?

TALLAHASSEE, FLA., DEC. 3 (UPI).

A California firm needs a midget who can crawl through a 10-inch hole of a space missile nose cone and sand its insides.

The Florida employment offices here circulated the notice yesterday.

The midget must have security clearance and be able to work inside a space 54 inches high to operate a pneumatic sanding machine.

The job pays \$3 to \$4 an hour, plus transportation costs.

New York Sunday News 4/12/60.

FREEDOM PRESS

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17a Maxwell Road, Fulham,

London, S.W.6

Anarcho-Syndicalism & the Rank & File Movement

THIS week-end there is to be held in London the first Conference of the newly-formed Rank and File Movement.* Much work has been put into the preparation of this conference by liaison committees; discussion meetings have been going on in London, resolutions and amendments have been drawn up, and it may well be that this event will be a significant one for the militants among the industrial workers at least.

We say "militants" because, although the name "Rank and File" conjures up a vision of the general masses of the trade union movement, in fact those masses show little interest in the issues which are going to concern the Rank and File Conference.

The industrial workers in general show little enthusiasm for the sort of ideas which must sooner or later concern the militant in industry—ideas of revolutionary struggle, its goals and its methods. The average worker seems quite content to accept the inequalities, the cruelties, the indignities, the insecurities of the capitalist system along with its material benefits in times of affluence. He may join strikes when they blow up in his face, but when he is fiddled back to work by the alliance of boss and trade union leader, he may wonder for a short time what has hit him, but will soon forget that there are wider issues with which he must concern himself if he is ever to be more than simply a means to somebody else's ends.

Tendency to Leadership

Unlike the average worker the militant does concern himself all the time with these issues. His concern shows itself in his speech and in his actions, and because of this he quite easily moves into a position of leadership among the workers. From there, normally speaking, two channels are open to him. He can begin to move into the trade union hierarchy, or he can embrace the cause of a "revolutionary" political party which will give him support—prestige and backing.

Either way, however, he becomes

useless to the workers around him. Today, few workers are satisfied with the official trade union leadership. They may not be sufficiently interested to want to help to create any alternative, but there is little illusion left among the rank and file in general that the trade union leaders are anything more than careerists feathering their nests, playing the bosses' game and, in effect an arm of the State for the purpose of maintaining discipline over the workers.

Nor is there any illusion left about the true role of the "revolutionary" politico. The Communist Party is finished as far as any real support among the workers is concerned. It can still call upon a few deluded malcontents, but its cynical use of whatever influence it has ever had, and the record of Communists in power has been sufficient to sicken and alienate all worth-while elements. And the antics of the Stalinists in power has been sufficient a lesson to illuminate also the true nature of Trotskyism—as the still-birth of the "New Revolutionaries" has shown.

No, the militant in industry in 1961, if he is to retain the confidence of his fellow-workers, must steer completely clear of both careerism and politics. Much of the apathy of the workers at the present time stems directly from the fact that they have had a bellyful of panaceas, of politics and above all of leaders.

Little Alternative

Up to now, however, the militant has had little alternative but to follow one or other of the paths described, if he has been driven on by a desire to "do something". Thousands of good militants have become tired and disillusioned through seeing no alternative, and have been lost from any revolutionary activity.

The significance of this week-end's conference lies in the very fact that it could provide that alternative—as long as the form decided upon for the proposed Rank and File movement does break new ground and avoid the pitfalls of leadership and authoritarianism.

This, it seems to us, is where anarcho-syndicalism has something to offer. It presents a ready-made body of ideas which fits the situation perfectly. It always has, of course, but until the easy, authoritarian, ideologies had been tried and found wanting, the libertarian alternative has had to wait. In other words, until the rank and file were prepared to take responsibility, anarcho-syndicalism was not a practical possibility. If the militants have really learned the lessons of working class history, now is the time to make a significant break-through.

Let us state simply the basis of anarcho-syndicalism as we see it. First of all, though, sorry about the long name! But since there is syndicalism and syndicalism (In Franco Spain and Peron's Argentine there have been state syndicates, and the French word for the ordinary reformist trade union is *syndicat*) it is necessary for us to specify which kind of syndicalism we advocate. Anarcho-syndicalism means the coming together of workers under their own steam to form their own organisation for their own purposes, inspired by the ideas of anarchism.

A Clear Goal

This means that the organisation has a clearly defined goal: the achievement of a free society where all the institutions of authority, all the means by which man dominates and exploits man, have been done away with. Where everyone has free and equal access to the means of life, where the productive and distributive industries are controlled by those who work in them on behalf of the community as a whole.

Syndicalism provides the means

for achieving this goal and the organisational framework for this concept to be applied to modern industry, and broadly its principles are these:

The aim is workers' control of industry. Now since we believe that our aim conditions our means, it follows that our organisation must reflect and be an expression of that aim. In other words, that the workers must have control of their organisation, and, if their goal is freedom, that organisation must have a libertarian basis.

Therefore we suggest that any rank and file organisation which aims at workers' control must guard from the very beginning against the emergence of a leadership. It can do this as follows:

1. There should be no full-time paid officials.

2. Any individual chosen to speak or carry out any function on behalf of the membership should be a delegate and not a representative, i.e., he should speak or act as instructed by the rank and file and not be given powers to take decisions affecting them with full consultation.

3. If such activity does result in a loss of earnings by a delegate, he should be compensated by the organisation at the rate he would have earned at his job, no more.

4. It should be recognised that the workers' greatest influence exists at the point of production, not in Parliament or in trade union headquarters. Action should therefore always be direct action on the job. In this way the workers' responsibility at their place of work, and their importance there is always

stressed. These methods of direct action include the strike, but the simple walk-out strike is rarely the most effective. Variations upon it should be preferred, demonstrating the workers' importance and their right to the factory, the machinery, the materials and the goods they create from them.

5. Organisation should be by industry not by trade. The present ridiculous methods of craft unions do more to divide workers than unite them, and only provide opportunities for careerists. Within each industry and between industries, organisation should be established on a federal, decentralised basis, rooted in the Works Council.

6 It should be clearly understood that the State is the implacable enemy of the working class. The State consists of the combined institutions of government and can only exist in a class-divided society. It follows that where there is a State there must be a subject working class. The rank and file organisation therefore must never allow itself to be used for political purposes under Marxist-type arguments about 'workers getting control of Parliament and setting up a Workers' State'. Such fallacies lead to a change of master, nothing more.

Anarchism Essential

This is a very brief outline of the anarcho-syndicalist position, but it does provide a basis for an organic set-up on which a truly libertarian organisation can be built.

One thing is absolutely certain. If the Rank and File Movement is not established upon some such foundation, with an essentially anarchistic inspiration, it will fall prey to the machinations of political tricksters and either collapse or go the same way as the official trade union movement.

*A RANK AND FILE INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

To be held at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London S.W.1, on Sunday January 29th (morning and afternoon).

Meetings and Announcements

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

IMPORTANT

MEETINGS WILL BE HELD in basement, 5, Caledonian Road, N.1. (near King's Cross Station) Sundays at 7.30 p.m. All Welcome.

Jan. 29.—Philip Holgate on SYNDICALISM

Feb. 5th.—Arthur Uloth on SPARTACUS

Feb. 12.—Martin Grainger on LESSONS OF THE BELGIAN STRIKE All Welcome.

Refreshment available after meeting.

JAZZ GROUP

Friday, 10th February Ian Celnik on COLEMAN HAWKINS at 37, Old Compton Street, W.1.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS MENTAL ILLNESS

HOW easy it is to stick labels on to anything with which we do not agree, anything antithetical to our own opinions and mental systems. How swiftly and glibly and smugly we label thing unnatural, unhealthy, morbid, abnormal, without ever considering our own pathetic mental props and crutches.

If, by believing and saying: "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me" some poor forsaken tormented soul is lifted from a slough of despond, out of a living hell or freed from some accursed habit or vice and is able to smash the damned thing to smithereens, is then the religion and faith justified?

If the murmuring over and over again of "Jesus Loves Me" (remembered from childhood) keeps some wretched prostitute from flinging herself in the river; keeps some lonely person from turning on the gas; keeps some mortal at the end of his tether from the knotted scarf or razor blade, is that faith thereby not justified?

When the thought of Christ, the belief in Christ and the faith in Christ sustains a man, keeps him happy and gives him a purpose and fills him with joy, why only the most cruel among us would wish to take away from him that which makes life worth living for him.

But what the hell do we mean by "mental illness" anyway. There is a

tendency among psychologists to relieve us, not only of the manias and inhibitions and delusions that cause us suffering, but to remove also those abnormalities whereby we live!

Are not all our philosophies, ideas, systems and beliefs so many ointments, unguents and palliatives to ease the pain of reality, and our carefully worked out theories so many screens, patches and covers to hide the bleeding, gangrenous sore of our inmost being?

I am not religious, but I have my props and crutches just like everyone else, but at least I know them as such!

What damned pride and arrogance for one poor fool in this crazy asylum thing called life to refer to another as "suffering from a mental illness."

The man who destroys another's faith "Better a millstone be hung about his neck."

Mental illness nothing! Unless you wish to certify as insane the whole human race and the Gods as well!

GLYN HARRY HUGHES,

London, W.C.2.

DEMONSTRATION

COMRADES,

On February 18th, about the time that the depot ship for Polaris submarines is expected in the Clyde, Earl Russell, Rev. Michael Scott and Herbert Read will lead a radical demonstration outside the Ministry of Defence in London demanding the scrapping of the Polaris agreement and the abolition of all weapons of mass destruction. The demonstration is being organised by the Committee of 100 which was set up recently to organise non-violent resistance to preparations for nuclear war.

2,000 demonstrators are needed for this protest who will serve notice on the Government that they can no longer stand aside while preparations are being made for the destruction of mankind. The demonstration is seen as the first step in a new campaign of radical action aimed at ridding Britain of weapons of mass destruction.

Will those interested please contact me at the address below?

Yours sincerely,
 MICHAEL RANDLE, Secretary,
 Committee of 100,
 13, Goodwin Street,
 London, N.4.
 (Tel.: ARCHway 1239).

The Plight of the Surtaxed Classes

Continued from p. 1

In the meantime, while the incentive is being worked up, the government could, we presume, raise the £60m. by another penny on the public's vices. After all the public doesn't need incentives; indeed so long as we have a happy family of professionals the wheels of industry will merrily turn whether there are workers or not. I mean to say, what would happen to the building programme in this country if we drove the Clores and Cottons into exile; what will happen to our agriculture if we drive the large landowners to the Bahamas or Biarritz; what will happen to heavy industry if we drive the chairman and the executive managers to such lonely outposts as San Tropez or Bali? We shudder to think, and we were, therefore, relieved to see, last weekend, that at

least one Labour M.P. has taken up the challenge and is calling on the government to take steps to forestall such a calamity in our national life. Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, speaking in Leicester

urged the government to change the surtax level to £6,000 a year. It would cost £90 million a year, but a 25 per cent. capital gains tax would more than compensate for this.

Executive directors and professional men did not work hard enough because of the tax penalty. This was resulting in lethargy, and the nation would lose its competitive thrust.

We can imagine that the N.U. Manufacturers will not be altogether pleased with Mr. Wyatt's suggestion that the loss to the revenue by raising surtax levels should be compensated by a capital gains tax. After all capital gains like gambling at the race course and on the Stock Exchange are blessedly free from tax, so why pick on the poor shareholders and the gamblers. They too will then be able to point to the care-free '20's, and may well find themselves driven into exile, a disaster which should be prevented at all costs. No, if we recognise that the £5,000 a year man is having a raw deal when the rapacious tax-collector relieves him of nearly £2,000, thus leaving him with a pittance which works out at about £60 a week—then we must urge the government to put things right at any cost, at once, and then they can examine which is the best way to raise the equivalent in new taxation. We say, make the workers pay! After all you can be pretty sure that however much they will protest, they just won't be able to afford to resign from their jobs, nor choose the hard road to winter sunshine in exile!



Keeping the Deficit at Bay!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

WEEK 3	
Deficit on Freedom	£60
Contributions received	£59
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Caterham: F.B.* 5/-; Copenhagen: Anon. 13/1; California: S.S. 4/6; Rhu: J. & P.B. 21/-; London, S.W.19: C.S. 1/-; Audenshaw: A.R. 1/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W. 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L. 3/-; Gosport: F.G. 1/9; North Cooma, Australia: P.C. 24/1/-; Newcastle, Australia: B.C. 11/3/-; Los Angeles: J.S. 17/4/7; Ilford: C.S. 10/-	
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