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# Freedom

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Threepence

## What happened at the Famous Dinner-Party

### TABLE TALK

THE old ladies of Cheltenham have always suspected that the members of the Labour Party were not exactly gentlemen. Even though Mr. Attlee went to the same prep. school as Winston, and Hugh Dalton is an old Etonian, still there was something common about the Party and its members could not be trusted to behave properly.

This applied even more to the Communists. The only people who are really English and know how to behave in all circumstances with complete decorum are the Conservatives. When therefore we heard that dear Sir Anthony had invited the leaders of the Russian Communists to visit this country we had not doubt that, although it is terrible what one has to do nowadays, good manners and breeding would win the day and no embarrassment would arise through misbehaviour on our side.

#### Hospitality

And so it has turned out. The Queen at Windsor Castle, Sir Anthony at Chequers and Downing Street, the Lord Provost in Edinburgh and high society at Claridge's—everywhere the right people were affable, smooth and correct in making our guests feel at home. Only some beastly Labourites put their big feet in it by being so tactless as to ask questions about Social Democrats in the Communist states.

It happened at the now famous dinner party given by the Labour leaders in honour of Messrs. Bulganin and Khrushchev. Exactly what happened seems to be hard to ascertain; the nearest to a reliable account would appear to be that by the *Observer's* political correspondent last Sunday.

According to his report, the procedure for the dinner had been fairly carefully planned in advance by the Labour executive, but unfortunately the guests were not acquainted with the plans. With the result that as the wine began to flow, the party began to get out of hand.

There were fifty people present—the Labour 'shadow cabinet' and their guests—and for most of them it was their only chance to have first-hand contact with B. & K. Khrushchev had not been scheduled to speak, but after Bulganin had made his usual polite remarks, the

cry went up for Khrushchev, who made a speech off the cuff which has never been properly reported.

#### Hostility

What seems to have happened is that there were some interjections—fairly friendly to begin with, apparently—which Khrushchev, speaking (and hearing) only through an interpreter, misunderstood and resented. This is understandable if we remember that he is unused to being interrupted and took any remarks as hostile. For instance it is said that Aneurin Bevan was making such unnecessary remarks as 'That's right' or 'This is important', which Khrushchev regarded as heckling, lost his temper and started bellowing like a bull.

At this point Mr. George Brown, M.P. for Belper, who is renowned for tactlessness and speaking out of turn, began to get going. According to the *Observer's* correspondent, when Khrushchev made a reference to the Hitler-Mussolini pact, Mr. Brown called out, "Tell us about the Hitler-Stalin pact." "All right," Khrushchev shouted back, "you're grinning. Then I'll tell you." Whereupon he launched into a defence of Russian pre-war policy, a point of view that Mr. Bevan could not let pass. "Wait a moment," he is reported as saying, "that's a dangerous argument." "God forgive him!" Mr. Brown piously exclaimed, meaning Stalin and not Mr. Khrushchev. Another voice shouted, "Don't try to bully us, Comrade Khrushchev."

Mr. Khrushchev then made a remark that shattered many democratic hearts. He threatened to do another Hitler-Stalin pact with the West Germans if British policy continued on its present course. It was this passage rather than his refusal to help imprisoned Socialists that shocked many people in the room.

By this time there was pandemonium, yet the real question which the Labour executive had wanted to present to B. & K.—remember this was to be their only formal (!) contact with the Labour Party—had not been presented. This was concerning 150 Social Democrats known to be in prison in Russia and the satellite states.

When this question was put to Khrushchev by Hugh Gaitskell, complete with a list of names, Khrushchev would do

nothing but shake his head, saying "No, No, No," and denying that there are any Social Democrats in Russia!

Next morning Gaitskell went scurrying round to Claridge's to try and smooth things over. But Khrushchev was still as angry as ever. "Who is this George Brown?" he asked. "I never knew such people existed. We haven't seen them in Russia for thirty years."

He so furiously attacked Social Democrats that Gaitskell was forced to protest: "I thought, Mr. Khrushchev, you agreed that we could all reach Socialism in our own way." To this Khrushchev is alleged to have replied, "Not Social Democrats who are in prison."

#### Political Interests

The Conservatives have, of course, thoroughly enjoyed themselves over this business—not apparently realising what hypocrites it makes them look. Not from them any embarrassing questions for the visitors.

It is, in our opinion, to the credit of the Labour Party that they were not prepared to remain silent about the fate of their comrades in Communist countries, when they had the opportunity to challenge the two men who above all others have the power to do something about it.

Nobody need fear that this incident has in any way seriously affected whatever 'good relations' were established between the British and Russian governments as a result of the visit. Relations between governments are arranged according to their mutual interests and are not at all affected by the fate of 150 Social Democrats or anybody else.

The only people who are furious about the affair are the Communists and those Labourites who care more for the political game than the fate of their own comrades. The Communists because the line of the moment is to work for a popular front, the Labourites because they don't want to be denounced as "sabotaging peace" and do want to convince everyone of their ability to do the right thing, diplomatically speaking.

It is most interesting to hear that Khrushchev now prefers the Conservatives to the Social Democrats. Perhaps the C.P. line will now be for a popular front with the Tories?

## OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO SUBSCRIBERS 'FINAL'

A number of readers whose subscriptions to FREEDOM expired very many months ago received a reminder last month marked "FINAL", which as we pointed out in our circular letter indicated that if we did not hear from them we would feel justified in removing their names from our mailing lists. As we do this reluctantly, we take this opportunity to remind those who have not responded that this is the last issue of FREEDOM we shall be sending to them... until we hear from them. (For readers outside Europe we shall not take action for another month).

The response to our subscription reminders has been encouraging. More than a half have been renewed at the time of writing and if the steady flow continues as at present we hope to have an 80% response in due course.

A number of subscribers have taken advantage of our special offer of the first five volumes of the Selections from FREEDOM for £1 (U.S. \$4) post free for the set. (This offer goes also for regular readers of FREEDOM who order direct from us). To those who have ordered, we would point out that the fifth volume is in the hands of the binders and we cannot give any firm date as to when it will emerge, ready for distribution. The same fate applies to the first volume of which our initial stocks are now exhausted. But those readers who have ordered the set of volumes can rest assured that their orders have been noted and will be dealt with as soon as we obtain supplies from the binders.

## Reflections on

### State Lotteries

BUDGETS are no longer what they used to be; there are too many interim budgets for the Budget to rouse the gambling instinct of the general public to speculate on the direction in which the Chancellor will strike. What is more, the revenue needs of government and the "Welfare State" are so huge that it is no longer possible for any government to make "sensational" cuts in direct or indirect taxation, nor, because taxation is already so high, to add substantially to the burden. Budget concessions and increases are simply a game of robbing Peter to pay Paul. And last month the Chancellor made such few changes that not even the opposition could be roused to make even a show of the mock indignation, or table a motion of no confidence in the government proposals, which are customary on such occasions.

THE government and its financial advisers seek a solution to the present "crisis" by attempts at cutting down the nation's spending. Even assuming that it is a solution to the crisis, how to achieve it is not as simple as appears at first sight. To greatly increase prices by taxation to-day automatically invites an avalanche of demands for increases in wages and salaries from the professional classes as well as from the Trade Unions, not to mention the delegations from the Federation of British Industries. To do so, while at the same time increasing production, is to assume, against what we believe to be the evidence, that there is an ever expanding demand in world markets to absorb increased production in Britain (Germany, Italy, Japan, America, etc.).

In fact, as was seen in the case of cars, the credit squeeze of last year certainly succeeded in reducing home demand (at least temporarily since the dealers will by now have found ways and means of getting round the new hire-purchase regulations) but the surplus that resulted was not absorbed by foreign markets but was laid out in orderly rows on waste land or any available space to rust or bust. And in the meantime thousands of workers in the car industry have been paid off.

It is equally doubtful whether in an industry based on mass production, increased production will in fact result in a lowering of prices, though it does involve an increased consumption of raw materials which for a country such as Britain, means

"The State is founded upon exploitation and to expect politicians who live by a war economy to do away with war was like expecting a butcher to put a vegetarian sign in his window."

—AMMON HENNACY.

an increase in imports. But we are told, this is just what the government is seeking to cut down!

THE solution plumped for by the government is to restrict spending by inducements to saving. The lottery, on the details of which its experts are at present busily engaged, will offer apparently the chances of something for nothing, since "there will be no losers". As we are certain that no one at the Treasury has yet discovered how the miracle of the loaves and the fishes is worked, we can assume that someone will have to provide the "something" which the fortunate few will get for nothing, as well as pay the salaries of the army of civil servants needed to administer the lottery—(Littlewoods, we believe employ some 20,000 girls, and we assume that the scale on which the government lottery is planned is much greater).

(Incidentally, we wonder whether students of government and legislation have noticed the curious coincidence that after years of stubborn resistance to any modification of the Law on gambling, the government has only in the past months suddenly seen the light and is introducing legislation for the creation of betting shops so that gambling can be carried on over the counter instead of under—or rather, at the street corner or in the barber's shop or pub. Gambling is to be made respectable, and easier. It will now be possible to call at the butcher, the baker and the bookmaker! This sudden government enlightenment is a little suspect when it occurs just at the time when it intends itself to enter the field as the super Joe Bloggs, the firm with which you can invest with confidence since "you can never lose" but sometimes you can "get something for nothing"!)

IT is to be observed that the government's new scheme for saving, appeals to the very sentiments and attitudes which it deplores and warns us against in other fields. We are told that the workers are continually demanding more wages and shorter working hours without offering in return an increase in production; that some employers are

Continued on p. 3

## The Bus Boycott in Alabama

THE case of Mrs. Flemming, who refused to give up her bus seat to a white passenger in Montgomery, Alabama, and who was fined five pounds on the spot, resulted in an effective boycott of transport by fifty thousands Negroes which lasted over five months.

Last week, the United States Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in buses is an offence against the constitution. This ruling will affect 13 States in the South where Negroes were compelled to enter buses at the rear and sit in segregated seats at the back.

A bus company's letter to employees stated that: "The company had no choice except to discontinue the practise of segregation of passengers on account of races, and drivers will no longer assign seats to passengers by reason of their race". The bus companies have been hit financially by the boycott, dependent as they are on Negro passengers, and since their profits are threatened, presumably care less for the racial issues involved than the local white inhabitants.

The municipal authority of Montgomery has declared its intention to defy the State ruling, and intends to operate under the State law as before.

If the Negro population start using the buses again under the conditions laid down by the Supreme

Court and accepted by the bus companies, more violence and trouble is likely.

The Negroes have held out too long however to be bullied now into an acceptance of the old conditions. Their united determination during the past few months has been an example to people everywhere fighting for elementary rights.

If the State laws continue to operate in defiance of the Supreme Court ruling this will presumably constitute a legal offence, unless, as in the case of the ruling on segregated schools, there is an appearance of a "move towards" desegregation.

The South has many powerful racists in positions of power who, backed by the majority of the white population, will continue to maintain segregation.

The Negroes will need all the strength and wisdom they can muster to counteract the fury of the believers in white supremacy.

There are small but definite signs that the racial superiority theory is cracking all over the world where it has a hold (with the exception of South Africa). But it will be a long time before reason will force people to reject the discredited idea that one race (especially the white race) is superior to another.

Our sympathy and our support is given to those people throughout the world who are carrying on a struggle for human rights.

## Honour Among Policemen

THE fantastic "leakages" trial continues in Paris. Fantastic as only French trials seem to be: a reporter is barred from the court for smiling, police chiefs, narks and officials abuse each other. During a recent cross-examination, a former Vichy secret agent showed the workings of the French police in an interesting light:

"The arresting of an informer belonging to a rival [police] service is a regular practice of the police war. The French police are so badly organised that often three different services are tracking down the same man at the same time... You can imagine the result! This war between the police is a war of police chiefs, for our police system is dominated by personal ambitions."

It seems that thieves have the edge on policemen in the matter of honour.

## The Same Old Brooms Sweep Just as Clean!

READERS of FREEDOM will no doubt remember (as Lancashire County Council seems to have forgotten), that last year the inhabitants of Whalley, Lancs, organized street-sweeping parties to sweep the streets after Saturday visitors in default of the Council doing so.

This year again the society of the Broom has organised the street-sweeping. They have also provided litter baskets to keep down the amount of litter in the streets.

Even the local M.P. was enrolled to take part in the work. Surely he had subject for meditation on the workings of wonderful Westminster when he was faced by the hard reality of a broom at six a.m.! The County Council is presumably unable to act speedily since expenditure on 'street sweeping' is a special item and the only way to get the work done in a hurry is for the inhabitants to get out and do it themselves.

The causes of litter are very complex. One would be guilty of the sin of facilism if one said in a free society there would be no litter. But it is obvious that without litter and all that it stands for—there can be no free society.

J.R.



## PEOPLE AND IDEAS

## HENRY MORRIS &amp; WALTER GROPIUS

"The older I get the more I see life in terms of persons and ideas, and the less I like institutions... But it is a part of the natural contrariness of life that we hasten to embody ideas in a corpus of dogma and at any one time the world is strewn with such an assortment of myths, creeds, philosophies, faiths and beliefs, built into churches, institutions, judiciaries, universities, police forces, councils and groups, that only the hardiest young minds survive the educational system with the ability to see on idea for what it is worth.—MAXWELL FRY (in a tribute to Walter Gropius).

★

IN the menacing spring of 1940, cycling around Cambridgeshire, I visited the county's four village colleges, as interesting as a pioneering educational idea as for the way they exemplify the changing architectural attitudes of the decade in which they were built. The first, at Sawston, opened in 1930 is an informal neo-Georgian building; those at Bottisham (1937) and Linton (1938), designed by S. E. Urwin, are freely planned, well-sited, and free of stylistic reminiscences apart from a few *moderne* trimmings. The fourth, Impington Village College, by Walter Gropius and Maxwell Fry, opened in 1939, is in Nikolaus Pevsner's words 'one of the best buildings of its date in England, if not the best'. That is not the kind of statement you expect to hear about a village school and you might guess that the building resulted from the combination of an unusual client with a remarkable idea of education, and an exceptional architect. If in the succeeding years education authorities, school architecture, and educational ideas have become more enlightened, it is partly due to them.

When Henry Morris was a student he found himself asking, 'Why should only privileged undergraduates be educated in lovely surroundings? Why should it be assumed that the advantages of college life and the companionship of scholars should be theirs alone?' In 1925 as Secretary for Education to the Cambridgeshire County Council, he sent a memorandum to the Education Committee in which he analysed the decay in the quality of rural life, the stagnation caused by rural depopulation and the limitation of modern social amenities to the towns. The problem, he said, should be approached not in terms of the past but in terms of the future of the village. The self-sufficient small village as a social unit had gone because it could not provide the fuller life, both culturally and socially that increased leisure and facilities make possible, and which the young are determined to have:

"The only alternative to the complete subordination of the countryside to the town is the adoption of the rural region as a cultural and social unit, parallel to that of the town. The choice is no longer between village and town, but between the rural region and the town.

Unless we can interpose the rural region between the village and the town, the village is doomed".

There was already one accepted type of rural region, the small town with its adjacent villages, but another type existed, 'hitherto overlooked and consequently undeveloped: the group of villages centreing round the larger village'. This was the unit Morris hoped to develop:

"Our communities, whether urban or rural, must be organised around their educational institutions. In the countryside we must start with the conception of a community centre serving the population of a rural region at all points and all ages. If we wish to build up a vigorous rural civilisation, the first essential is that the countryside should have a localised and indigenous system of education in its own right".

★

HIS chance came in 1927 when something had to be done about the village school at Sawston which was falling down. Morris, as Director of Education, persuaded his committee that here was the opportunity for an experimental Village College to serve nine villages. But at that time, he recalls, 'the Board of Education would give money only for the barest minimum of what was called elementary education', and what Sawston wanted was a hall equipped for use as a theatre and cinema and many other amenities which by now have become familiar, but which then 'seemed something of a dream in the countryside', and as well as the school premises there was to be a lecture room, library and reading room, a common room with canteen and space for clubs and games of all sorts:

"So the whole building could be thrown open for use at evenings and week-ends to the community of nine villages for a generous programme of adult education, both serious and gay, not forgetting agriculture and horticulture, and for all sorts of recreations". To make this possible the site was given, and the special rooms paid for, by local people and with a grant from the Carnegie trustees. Sawston was a success and it was planned to cover the whole rural area of Cambridgeshire with a total of eleven village colleges. The other three built before the war were also made possible by substantial gifts in money and in kind. In all four, Morris emphasised with pride, 'architecture and landscape, the artist and colour, have been used to create places of beauty without and within'. The fifth college, at Bassingbourn, opened eighteen months ago, was built wholly out of public funds.

To-day Henry Morris concludes from the success of his vision in Cambridge-shire:

"The locality or neighbourhood in which we spend our daily lives and the local community to which we belong form the cell of society. It is of supreme importance that the neighbourhood should be full of life and vitality and have significance and meaning for all those who live in it... How is this vitality to be realised—this activity of body and mind, of emotion and feeling, both personally and in groups... It comes about when teacher and student, and student and student, young and old meet face to face in lecture and debate, for instance, or in song and dance; again in orchestras, choirs and plays. I

Walter Gropius and Maxwell Fry, in the few years that Gropius spent in this country after arriving as a refugee from Nazi Germany and before departing for America to become professor of architecture at Harvard. Last month Gropius and Henry Morris met again at the celebrations in London to honour Gropius on his receipt of the RIBA's gold medal.

Of the 'big three' living pioneers of the modern movement in architecture, Gropius seems to me the most sympathetic. Not a prima donna of a self-conscious 'genius', he is something more valuable, the instigator of an idea and an approach to design. His buildings are remarkable principally for their date,



Impington

have seen groups absorbed in workshops, laboratories, studios, libraries. And there are the virtues of eating and drinking together and conversation and all that happens in games... A community that has these things enjoys the deepest satisfactions, which nothing can replace...

Seeing the extent of the school building programme throughout the country, he suggests that the new secondary schools should, out of school hours, not just be used for evening classes, but should have community wings attached to them 'so that, with their wealth of facilities, their accommodation and equipment, they can become part of the community pattern and centres of community life'. And this should be done, he says, 'not merely to avoid frustration, loneliness and boredom, but with the positive intention of creating civilised communities able to live the good life'.

★

IMPINGTON Village College, does not look unusual to-day, apart from its special function, for it has set a standard in design and equipment for hundreds of post-war schools. It was one of the three or four buildings designed by

\*Miss Lucy Crocker, who was one of the Peckham biologists, goes further. She says, 'There is only incidentally any continuity of membership between day and evening activities. What is needed is membership based on a common factor (as in the case of the Peckham Health Centre), so that the child or adult is drawn to the building in the ordinary concerns of everyday life.'

he was doing years earlier what many architects have done since, some of them better. They are not stamped with his individuality (most of his work has been in collaboration with others), but are distinguished for the impersonal qualities of simplicity and clarity. Yet his influence has been enormous, and as Maxwell Fry says, 'I could arrange a tribute collected at random in Selfridge's household basement and he would accept, approve of and instantly recognise as his own, except that he would say that is Mies' old chair, or Marcel's lamp or somebody else's stuff...'

This influence came from the Bauhaus, the school of design at Dessau which Gropius had made out of the old Weimar School of Art to which he was appointed in 1919. He staffed the Bauhaus (which was closed by the Nazis in 1933) with a group of artists and designers including Paul Klee and Kandinsky, 'whose work and outlook excited the strongest expressions of outrage, abuse and detestation throughout Germany'. The object was, said Gropius:

"not to propagate any style, system, dogma, formula, or vogue, but simply to exert a revitalising influence on design..."

"The transformation from manual to machine production so preoccupied humanity for a century that instead of pressing forward to tackle the real problems of design, men were long content with borrowed styles and conventional decorations. This state of affairs is over at last... The Bauhaus accepted the

machine as the essentially modern vehicle of form, and sought to come to terms with it. Its workshops were really laboratories in which practical designs for present-day goods were conscientiously worked out as models for mass-production, and were continually being improved on... It is from the individual peculiarities of every type of machine that the new but still individual 'genuineness' and 'beauty' of its products are derived; whereas illogical machine imitation of hand-made goods infallibly bears the stamp of make-shift substitute...

"Our guiding principle was that artistic design is neither an intellectual nor a material affair, but simply an integral part of the very stuff of life... Our governing conception of the basic unity of all design in its relation to life, which informed all our work, was therefore in diametrical opposition to that of 'art for art's sake', and the even more dangerous philosophy it sprang from: business as an end in itself."

★

YOU will see that Gropius and Henry Morris really share the same aim, to destroy, what Herbert Read called the divorce between art and society. Nor was it by chance that among the friends that Gropius made during the few years he spent in this country was the late George Scott Williamson to whom he referred last month as 'the creator of the great Peckham experiment', for here was another man of ideas who sought what Gropius terms, 'the continuous mutual exchange', the 'collaboration among men, which would release the creative instincts of the individual instead of smothering them'. One of Gropius's pre-occupations to-day is the development of 'the new technique of collaboration', as he calls it:

"The essence of such technique should be to emphasise individual freedom of initiative, instead of authoritarian direction by a boss... synchronising individual efforts by a continuous give and take of its members..."

In his own profession he declares: "through this approach and attitude, we will find a common language of architecture and its individual variations, a humanised standard, fitting the whole of our community, but simultaneously satisfying also, by its modifications, the different desires of individuals, an achievement exemplified in former times by the anonymous harmony and organic growth of a Cotswold town or an Italian village. In short, I feel that the inspiration of the coming generation of architects will lead them in the direction of a common expression rather than to pretentious individualism."

★

WE are always hearing about the importance of the individual and of the conflict between the individual and society. Surely in Henry Morris and Walter Gropius are two of the great individuals of our day. Each equipped with a liberating idea, they have pursued their individual vision with tenacity and integrity for social ends.

C.W.

## THE TRADITION OF WORKERS' CONTROL-2

(continued from April 21st issue).

## Producers' versus Consumers' Co-operation

MEANWHILE, the distributive Co-operative Movement had been making steady progress and in 1867 was in a position to establish on a firm foundation a federal Wholesale Society. In 1872 the C.W.S. embarked on its first productive venture and in so doing touched off a fierce controversy in the movement. The issue was this: When Co-operation extends to production, who should control, the consumers or the producers? To most of the old Co-operative pioneers there was no doubt about the answer. In production, the producers should control anything else was a perpetuation of the wage-system. In the event, however, it was the protagonists of the consumer, the self-styled 'practical men' who controlled the wholesale and retail societies, who won the day. With the specious argument that the consumer represented a universal interest whereas the producer represented only a sectional interest, they enrolled themselves in the ranks of their ostensible opponents—the class which employed wage-labour. Nobody who to-day reads the debates which accompanied this fateful step can but sense the guilty conscience of the consumer advocates or fail to notice the evident sigh of relief when, in 1891, the respectable Miss Potter, shortly to become Mrs. Sidney Webb, published her famous book on the Co-operative Movement in which she, in effect, damned producer co-operatives as associations of little capitalists. Henceforth, the consumers could draw their dividends with a good heart, secure in the knowledge that consumer control was in conformity with the views of the pundits of Fabian socialism!

The champions of the producer within the Co-operative Movement did not, of course, quit the field. On the contrary, they redoubled their efforts and in the closing decades of the 19th century succeeded in establishing a permanent foothold. In the process, however, and partly in response to the challenge of the consumer advocates,

they modified their original ideas. For the purely self-governing workshop, they substituted the idea of a co-partnership between the providers of capital, the consumers and the workers. Henceforth, co-operative co-partnerships were to be composed of shareholding members, each with one vote, who might be either workers in the enterprise, retail or other productive societies, trade unions, or interested individuals, mainly ex-workers. Any surplus was to be divided between the three elements of the co-partnership in the forms of a fixed or maximum return to capital, a dividend to customers, and a bonus to workers in proportion to wages. Management was to be vested in a committee elected by the members but no society could qualify as a genuine co-partnership unless the workers in the enterprise participated directly in its control.

To-day, there are some 40 odd co-operative co-partnerships organised on these principles, most of them linked to a federal organisation, the Co-operative Productive Federation, founded in 1882. Confined mainly to the clothing, boot and shoe, printing and building trades—all of which require a relatively small amount of working capital—and trading almost exclusively with the retail co-operative movement, these societies have managed to survive in an economic climate which has become increasingly hostile to the fundamental principles. Whatever their defects, both in theory and practice, they remain the clearest examples of practical workers' control in this country. By their very existence they refute the wild generalisation that ordinary working men and women are incapable of controlling industrial undertakings.

## The Fore-runners of Syndicalism

In following the trend of thought which has led to Co-operative Co-partnerships, I have necessarily by-passed other manifestations of the idea of workers' control. For reasons which are partly to be explained by the peculiar insularity of the Co-operative Movement and partly by an unfor-

tunate association in earlier years with so-called capitalist co-partnership and profit-sharing, the protagonists of co-operative co-partnership have never had much impact on the thought of the rest of the socialist movement. The advocates of workers' control to whom I now turn have been, for the most part, either unaware of their existence and thus ignorant of the lessons it teaches or unconvinced by its claims that, by peaceful means, it could transform the capitalist system.

To pick up the thread of the story, it is necessary to recall that, until the 1880's with the minor exception of a few of the later Chartists, socialism in England meant essentially voluntary socialism as exemplified in the Co-operative Movement. The so-called 'socialist revival' of the 1880's was in fact an importation into this country of foreign, mainly Continental State Socialist, ideas—plus the alleged 'discovery' by the Fabians that State intervention was socialism in disguise! Of the three schools of socialist thought which had become established by the end of the 1880's—the Marxist, the Fabian-Labour, and the anti-State or Anarchist—only the latter, it need hardly be said, was at all favourably disposed to the idea of workers' control. Out-Marxing Marx himself, Hyndman and the S.D.F. stood for the simple 'nationalisation formula'—the nationalisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange—and facetiously argued that this was the solution to all problems. The Fabians, more cautiously, stood for 'the emancipation of Land and Industrial Capital from individual and class ownership'. More to the point, they persuaded themselves and most of their Labour listeners, that socialism implied consumer sovereignty and that the State was nothing but a glorified Consumer Co-op! Self-appointed apostles of the coming Collective State, they roundly denounced all who wished to abolish the wage-system. Not its abolition but its nationalisation was what they demanded.

In a particularly revealing essay on "The Illusions of Socialism" Shaw put the point thus.

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## Reflections on STATE LOTTERIES

Continued from p. 1

living on the fat of the land without giving anything in return. And of course on the one hand, we are urged to curb spending while on the other, to this end, the government thinks up a scheme which will provide a number of people with prizes of £1,000 and less out of the blue to blow! Surely, we are expected to practise double-think with a vengeance!

As to the effects of this official gamble, it seems to us that it simply puts off the "crisis", since at some time or other those who save will also want to spend what they have saved. And is there any reason to suppose that in five, ten or fifteen years time the economic situation will be so very different that the public will be free to have an orgy of spending without upsetting the delicate balance of payments or whatever it will be then called?

★

ASSUMING, for the sake of argument, that the future of this country depends on the curbing of spending through saving, the fact that the government has to resort to means which appeal to unethical "instincts" to achieve these ends does, we suggest, reveal how disunited, and fundamentally indifferent to the feeling of *nation* are the people of this island in spite of their flag waving and royalty-mongering. (We think it equally true of all countries). Few people feel responsible for themselves; it is not surprising that they should feel no responsibility towards the community.

At a meeting of the National Association for Mental Health held in Harrogate last month, an industrialist pointed out that of the people involved in industry

Short of the higher echelons, he found them an irresponsible lot. The operative, because he had no stake in it himself, lacked responsibility to the organisation which employed him; the foreman was undecided where his responsibilities lay; and, beyond putting up the money, as far as the industrial undertaking was concerned, the shareholder had no responsibility at all.

On the same theme a sociologist said that he thought

that such devices as nationalisation, co-operation, and co-partnership did little to inculcate responsibility in the industrial worker, whose first economic loyalty was to himself. The boy or girl who went somewhat unwillingly to school for compulsory education was no more eager to take up compulsory employment.

Just as the worker has no feeling of responsibility to the enterprise (privately owned or nationalised) in which he is employed because he feels that he "has no stake in it", so the citizen is deaf to warnings of imminent 'economic crises' because, quite apart from the fact that he is basically hostile to politicians and policemen, he feels remote from the "interests" of the nation as a whole since his rôle in it is to receive the orders and never to participate in its deliberations as an equal. He may not think consciously in these terms, but the feeling of inferiority, that "condition ouvrière" to which the French refer, is always present, and explains much of his hostility and apathy both to the existing system as well as to new ideas.

Is it not a curious twist of the truth, that in the popular mind *anarchists*, whose whole philosophy is based on the awakening of the sense of community, are considered the disrupters of society, whereas *governments*, which survive by a policy of "divide and rule", are looked upon as the necessary, even the inevitable authority for uniting and defending the people?

## Middle East Cauldron Simmering Down

THE possibilities of peace in the Middle East have been greatly strengthened in the past fortnight, and the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld is to be commended for his skilled diplomacy. His Palestine mission has met with far more success than was expected, though there have been good reasons for this.

Firstly, the unexpected announcement by the U.S.S.R. that it supported the American proposition that the great powers should try jointly to attain peace in the Middle East through the United Nations, and the unanimous backing of the Security Council for the mission. And secondly, the Anglo-Soviet statement issued after the London talks, which, however vague, confirmed in effect what had previously been said already. This double surprise has made a considerable impact on all the Middle East countries, and must have gone a long way towards 'persuading' them of their obligations to the United Nations in particular, and the world in general.

The official objects of Mr. Hammarskjöld's mission were mainly concerned with obtaining agreement in writing from both Egypt and Israel to cease fire across the border; and also the acquisition of similar pledges from Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. That is to say all these countries should observe the basic paragraph of the armistice agreements, forbidding any armed

action whatsoever, even in retaliation. These objects appear to have been accomplished for the moment, and a hopeful quietness has descended upon the Middle East.

### Uneasy Agreement

The next logical step would seem to be for the U.N. Security Council to set about tackling the actual problems which exist between Israel and the Arab countries, and attempt to get agreement on a long-term Palestine settlement. This will not be so easy, even for a man of Dag Hammarskjöld's ability, for there are many varieties of interests in the Middle East, both economic and strategic.

The chances of success for a lasting (if somewhat uneasy) peace in the area, largely depend upon the attitudes and actions of the three great powers. For the present all three are in agreement as to what the situation should be, but this is a very new condition, and could change as rapidly as it already has done in the last few days. The real reasons for Russia's change of heart are as yet comparatively unknown, and may rest on flimsy foundations. America's sudden increased interest in Middle East affairs are also based on motives which may prove questionable. Britain's interests have always been quite well known and are just as doubtful as both Russia's and America's.

The one common thread which links all three attitudes is the fear of a conflagration which may get out

of control, and lead to a war in which all may have to participate. This (happily) does not appear to be what any of the great powers want, and understandably so, for even Governments can be destroyed in nuclear wars.

### The Need for Tension

Nowadays it seems, trade in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence is to be the current paradise on earth. Trade delegations and goods of all kinds are to flow evenly across the borders, without hindrance from iron curtains, or the casting of doubts as to the use of strategic materials. So far this can be said to be the present Anglo-Soviet trend, but there is as yet no indication that the United States will join in; furthermore it is unlikely that they will do so.

From the point of view of capitalist countries (which means *all* countries), unless there is some sort of

international tension somewhere in the world, there is an inevitable decline in trade due to a decreased necessity for the manufacture of armaments, and an equally inevitable increase in unemployment. By this time there is a slump just around the corner. Therefore it is essential to maintain an area of tension where rumours of war may resound in the newspapers of the world.

Should Mr. Hammarskjöld and the United Nations succeed in negotiating a lasting peace in the Middle East, it will be because an alternative area for disagreement between East and West has developed. Whilst the Egyptian-Israeli cauldron bubbles gently but persistently, without danger of boiling over, so will the present situation be maintained to a greater or lesser degree. Meanwhile we must be thankful that in order to reduce the possibilities of a shooting war, the great powers recognised the necessity for a reduction in the intensity of the cold war.

H.F.W.

## Allies Fought the Wrong War

MAJOR-GENERAL FULLER a writer on military matters, said in the course of a talk given at the Authors' Club last week that the Allies were wrong to concentrate on a military victory in the last war. Instead they should have waged an ideological war; they should have gone into alliance with all Germans opposed to Hitler and, by helping them, have attacked Hitlerism internally and overthrown it by revolution. At the time there were millions of anti-Nazis in Germany, and they included many of the General Staff. Yet no sooner had an ideological war aim been agreed upon than the two allied Powers set out to win it solely by military means. This strategic contradiction was the greatest allied blunder of the war.

The general is probably right—but he doesn't give the Allies their due. After all it did require "ideological warfare" to muster support for the war in the first place. The propaganda machines were going full blast in support of "patriotism", which, backed by State powers of coercion, were quite sufficient to ensure an ideological victory for each State—a victory over its citizens.

The general also wished that our present leaders would take note of his strictures and fight the next war on the psychological front. The weapons are so much more effective.

"One wonders if the general has read '1984'."

The general is not alone in wanting to fight with a microphone and a dictionary. There is a very large and powerful organisation (probably not unknown to our readers), which also makes great play with the word ideology. Moral Re-Armament claims that it is neither Com-

munist nor anti-Communist, but stands for "the four absolutes"—honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love, and its leaders are constantly talking of the need for a new ideology based on these. MRA's belief in these "absolutes" is severely practical—one can live on the fruits of other men's labour, belong to the armed forces, without contravening these infinitely stretchable "absolutes". They are platitude peddlers of the Samuel Smiles variety—"There is enough in the world for everybody's need but not for everybody's greed. If everybody cares enough and everybody shares enough, wouldn't everybody have enough? Before a God-led unity every problem will be resolved. Empty hands will be filled with work, empty stomachs with food, and empty hearts with an idea that really satisfies". Needless to say these sentiments are confined to words.

The success of this revolutionary movement that never revolts is shown by the support it gets from the world's politicians. Both India and West Germany have officially invited Dr. Buchman, the founder, to perform in their countries; and so have a number of others. It is also supported by many business interest who provide some of the money to finance MRA's huge centre—an ex-luxury hotel in Switzerland. They put on plays, make films, distribute huge quantities of free literature, entertain likely converts: there is always plenty of money.

Recently they took a full page advertisement in *The Times* in which they reproduce a speech by Peter Howard, one of their main propagandists. He said, "The Truth is that no worker in MRA takes a cent of salary. We share what we have". We're sure they do—and its not peanuts either.

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★

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## The Tradition of Workers' Control-2

Continued  
from p. 2

Contrasting the enthusiasts, who conceive the idea of socialism and who win converts to their ideals by presenting civilisation as a popular melodrama, with the statesmen who in the 'raw reality' have to draw up concrete proposals, capable of being adopted by a real government and carried out by a real executive, Shaw stated: "Out of the illusion of 'the abolition of the wage-system', we shall get steady wages for everybody, and finally discredit all other sources of income as disreputable. By the illusion of the downfall of Capitalism we shall turn whole nations into Joint Stock Companies; and our determination to annihilate the bourgeoisie will end in making every workman a bourgeois gentleman. By the illusion of Democracy, or government by everybody, we shall establish the most powerful bureaucracy ever known on the face of the earth, and finally get rid of popular election, trial by jury, and all the other makeshifts of a system in which no man can be trusted with power..."

### The Socialist League

Not all Fabians were as frank or perhaps as prescient as Shaw but it is not difficult to understand why the freedom-loving William Morris reacted so violently against collectivist socialism. Roundly asserting that "individual men cannot shuffle off the business of life on to the shoulders of an abstraction called 'the State', but must deal with it in conscious association with each other", Morris and his colleagues in the Socialist League (1885-1894) looked forward to the establishment of socialism by means of free associations. At this time many in the libertarian socialist and

anarchist camps—notably Kropotkin—were sceptical of the possibility of winning over the trade unions to their cause, but a section were more hopeful. Two of the earliest publications of the League were in fact expressly addressed to trade unionists. One, by Belfort Bax, urged all unionists "to unite themselves with a view, at the earliest possible date, of laying hands on the means of production, distribution and exchange" and "to direct their energies towards consolidating and federating with the distinct end of constituting themselves the nucleus of the socialist commonwealth". The other, by Thomas Binning, in a similar vein, argued that the unions "contain within themselves all the elements essential for the constitution of a rational society; they are therefore pointed out as the natural pioneers of the New Era". A few years later the anarchists of the *Freedom* group expressed the same conviction that the trade unions could do much to lay the foundations of the free society. In an important article, "What's to be done?", in *Freedom*, February, 1892, a contributor argued that "Unions are free spontaneous associations of working men waiting to do anarchistic work". Their great fault, he continued, lay in their preoccupation with mere defence and their too narrow ideal. They must be made to realise that "if the worker is to be a free man he must be a joint owner with his fellows of the means of production, and that to obtain the control of these is the end and aim of the labour movement". When trade unionists have become inspired with the ideal of being their own employers, their own masters, then, he continued, the future social revolution will be an anarchist revolution and its

motto will be: 'The land to the labourer, the mine to the miner, the tool to the toiler, the produce to the producer'.

I have introduced these quotations not because the Socialist League and the *Freedom* group were influential—although their influence has been consistently underestimated by Fabian historians—but because they provide part of the evidence for the view that syndicalist aspirations, in one form or another, have formed a continuous tradition on the part of at least a minority of British workers. To many observers, the classical syndicalist movement of the period 1910-20 was as exotic in character as its name. In truth, however, most of the basic ideas of the movement can be found in the earlier publications of the Socialist League and in *Freedom*. By the 1890's the Fabian-Labour tide in British socialism was rising fast but there remained a current of thought hostile to the new collectivism. Even the Webbs in their *History of Trade Unionism* were forced to admit that 'there always remained, in the hearts of the manual working class of Great Britain, an instinctive faith in the... idea of Associations of Producers, owning as such both the instruments and the products of their labour'. Without this 'instinctive faith' and the propaganda of the anarchists and libertarian socialists, it is doubtful whether the later syndicalist movement would have flourished as it did.

GEOFFREY OSTERGAARD.

(To be continued)

<sup>1</sup>Forecasts of the Coming Century, ed. E. Carpenter, 1897, pp. 171-2.

<sup>2</sup>Address to Trades' Unionists, 1885.

<sup>3</sup>Organised Labour: the duty of Trades' Unions in relation to Socialism, 1886.

<sup>4</sup>Op. cit., 1920 edition, p. 653.



## RUSSIAN ANTI-SEMITISM

ONE of the most socially dangerous emotions based on fear and hate, which leads to persecution of a group of people because of their colour or race, has been exploited by ruling powers at various periods in history whereby the group discriminated against has been used as a scapegoat to cover up the defects of a political or economic system.

In modern times, extreme forms of racialism were expressed in Nazi Germany against the Jews, and in some parts of Colonial Britain and the Southern States of America against the coloured population, and although the concentration camps may be absent, racial discrimination in these areas is part of the social pattern which has created an atmosphere of hate and violence.

Soviet Communism, up to the time of the 'doctors' plot', had been comparatively free from the psychotic type of racialism so obvious in these other countries. While a distinction has to be made between deliberate discrimination for political reasons and purely irrational behaviour, the end results may well be the same. The deliberate working up of feelings of hate for political reasons could be regarded as more immoral than the behaviour of neurotics unable to control their emotions.

The purge of Jewish intellectuals in the thirties in the Soviet Union, the later purge (which coincided with the establishment of the State of Israel) and the Slansky trials in Czechoslovakia were undoubtedly for political reasons. The arrest last year of Jews in the Soviet Union (news of which has now reached this country), on the charge of possessing illegal Zionist literature may well have been specifically carried out to help pave the way for the arms supply to Egypt.

In the recent denunciation of Stalin by Khrushchev, among his many crimes has been placed the charge of anti-semitism, and although the latest trial of Jews took

place as recently as the end of March, certain features of the trial would indicate that the Soviet authorities want to give the impression that the 'guilty' men are given the kind of 'fair' trial which the "new look" demands.

The accused men were able to "engage the best Moscow lawyers" and recorded a plea of not guilty (an innovation in Soviet 'justice'), but the sentences nevertheless ranged from three to ten years imprisonment. It was argued by the defence that the accused had taken what they thought "was a perfectly legitimate interest in Jewish cultural affairs in the Soviet Union and outside".

Writing in the *Manchester Guardian*, "A Student of Soviet Affairs" points out that:—

At a time when many other nationalities and categories of people who had been oppressed for years by Stalin's deliberate policy were beginning to breathe more freely, the Soviet Jews evidently felt that they might again be allowed the same measure of freedom as is allowed to others, especially after the recent official Communist admissions that many representatives of Soviet Jewry had been executed on trumped-up charges.

The authorities, however, seem to have been guided in this case not by their newly professed regard for "legality" but by the desire to intimidate those Jews who are seeking opportunities for a greater degree of freedom in Jewish cultural and religious activity. This seems to be a hangover from the time of the campaigns against the "cosmopolitans" and "doctor assassins", which were closely linked.

Looking objectively at the possible threat to the State, one would have thought that the powerful Christian Church in the Soviet Union, which has as its aim world conversion to Christianity, would, ideologically speaking, be a greater danger than a handful of Jews possessing Zionist literature. The Church however is very adaptable and throughout its history has managed to come to terms with every form of political ideology. The Soviet rulers are confident that the

SPRINGTIME, Shakespeare assures us, is the only pretty ring-time. Later biologists, however, have demonstrated that man (including woman) is the only animal that is in season every season, ready, willing and able right round the calendar.

This, presumably, is because of man's greater control of his environment. He does not lose a third of his life through hibernation, he shelters himself more or less adequately against cold and damp and he plans his food supplies right through the year.

Nevertheless, the Spring does have a magic all of its own, whatever biologists or market planners might say or do. Just as the sap begins to rise in the apple tree, so the young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of the girl next door, who is now casting off her heavy winter coat and is somewhat more visible than for the last six months. Also, of course, the very important business of football is passing out of season, so something must be organised to take its place as a healthy exercise.

And we should not push too far the 'control of environment' argument, for it is a generalisation relating to man as an

animal species and does not strictly apply to many, many individuals. In fact the vast majority of men and women do not have the freedom to use their environment as they would wish. Their standards of living, their behaviour, even their patterns of thought, are arranged for them and they have little more control over their lives than the birds and bees. Having learned how to control their natural environment, men have created an unnatural environment which controls them more fiercely. Man-made conditioning and laws are far more frustrating and inhibiting of the human personality than ever hostile environments are of the animal.

In few aspects of life does this apply more than in love-making between the young. Not only is the general morality inhibiting in its effects—the guilt, the doubts, the fears—but the simple physical environment offering privacy is lacking. For working lads and lasses, love-making has to be carried on in doorways and cinemas, on commons and bomb-sites, in any dark hole or corner where they are free from prying eyes. A dingy alley-way becomes a 'Lovers' Lane'—the modern urban equivalent of the green acres of rye between which Shakespeare's lover and his lass did lie.

The facts of life, however, haven't changed fundamentally in 350 years. It was as uncomfortable for Shakespeare's lover to lie in a wet, sodden cornfield in winter as it is for his descendant to stand in a draughty doorway with smog smarting his eyes—and as unromantic and uncondusive to successful love-making.

For all our progress, then, we welcome the Spring much the same, and for the same atavistic and realistic reasons as our ancestors did. There is little public demonstration, certainly. An Easter Parade, at which the girls show off their new hats, some abortive attempts at re-viving the May Day spirit with self-conscious Morris dancers, a show of cart-horses with coloured ribbons in their manes... For the rest we are content with a recording of Stravinsky's *Rites of Spring* from the respectable BBC, wondering what the hell it's all about but intrigued by the vague stirrings in our subconscious.

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Readers may also by now be wondering what the hell this article is all about, so perhaps without further meandering we had better pass on to the news item which inspired it.

This was about a strike of 260 pit lads at a couple of Yorkshire collieries last week. The lads wanted more time for courting. They are the age (from 16 to 22) when Springtime really means something, and three weeks ago they told the mine managers: "Bring the afternoon shift forward by 90 minutes, or we strike."

Working from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m., they said, left them no time to go out with their girl friends. They wanted to be clear of the pit by nine.

The management refused. So the lads (who earn about £5 a week on the haulage system) are on strike. One hundred stopped work at Denaby Main, near Mexborough, Yorkshire, and 160 struck at nearby Cadeby, throwing 800 older men there idle.

At a pithead meeting they decided to stay off work each alternate week when they are on the afternoon shift. Some colliers also refused to go down, but others are working the haulage lines to keep the pit going.

Comment from 19-year-old Peter Coley, of Denaby:

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The pamphlet *Christian Principles in Industry: A Review of an experiment and a vision for its future*, published by Farmer and Sons Ltd., is available from Freedom Bookshop. Price 1s.

Mr. Farmer invited the audience to comment without thought for his feelings, but the discussion was on the whole as gentle, tolerant and thoughtful as the lecturer had shown himself to be. One member of the audience did suggest, apologetically, that the "balance of power between capital and labour" was as much a form of exploitation as any other administration of the wage system, and compared the firm to the USSR, where the Community owns everything but there are still rich bosses and poor labourers. Mr. Farmer replied that he hoped there was no exploitation in his firm.

D.R.

Mr. Farmer mentioned his belief that all Christ offers his followers is what He got Himself—the Cross. But it seems that there have been pleasanter rewards for all concerned in this application of Christianity to business.

The Community decides salaries (it discusses them at one meeting and votes in tranquility at another meeting a week later). And it has adopted as a general principle that the current standard rate for hand compositors, which is generally considered a "decent wage", should be the minimum rate payable in Farmer and Son Ltd., to the lowest category of workers. Higher categories—craftsmen, assistant overseers, overseers, travellers and so on upwards—get various percentages above the minimum, up to 175 per cent. And the Managing Director has recently been empowered to grant addi-

## SPRING IN THE AIR

# A Pit-lad would a Wooing Go

I hope to get engaged at Christmas, but when I'm working the afternoon shift we never see each other except at the week-ends. Her father gets a bit mad if I call on her after 10 o'clock.'

Judy Hampshire, his fiancée, also aged 19, said: 'I think they are right to strike to have the shift system changed. When Peter is at work I have to go to the pictures with my girl friends.'

Now as anybody knows it's not nearly as much fun going to the cinema with friends of your own sex, by the time you are 19. But as was to be expected, the older generation don't see it that way.

42-year-old Ernest Pears, who has been a miner for 28 years said: "We hadn't the money to take girls out when I was a lad. We had to work for our money. These lads can see their girls at the week-ends."

At 42, Mr. Pears seems to be defeated. For him, the Spring don't mean a thing. It's getting a little later each year until the year will come when it doesn't arrive at all. But what can you expect if a human being is shut away from the sun from the age of 14?

The youngsters, however, are not defeated yet. They are determined that life for them is not going to repeat the dark, unenlightened drudgery of their fathers. And who can blame them? Who cares for a few tons of coal when there's a girl to walk with on a Spring evening? P.S.

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## MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

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#### WORKERS' CONTROL IN PRACTICE

MAY 6—Carlo Doglio on  
THE SYSTEM OF JOINT  
CONSULTATION AT OLIVETTI'S  
IN ITALY

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

Every Thursday at 8.15.

#### OPEN AIR MEETINGS

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

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GLASGOW

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every Sunday, commencing April 1st at  
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### LIBERTARIAN FORUM

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### Round-Table Youth Discussions

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May 11—On The Need For A "Workers' State".

May 18—Be A Magistrate!—For Pleasure and Profit.

May 25—Trade Unionism and Syndicalism.

June 1—To Be Announced.

June 8—Civil Liberties and the Supreme Court.

June 15—The Middle Eastern Situation.

June 22—The Relationship of the Family to Society.

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