

Freedom

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Threepence

"A good politician under democracy is quite as unthinkable as an honest burglar."

—H. L. MENCKEN

Party Issues in the Elections are a Question of MONEY MANIPULATION

THE affairs of Mr. Jasper and Co., far from turning out to be an embarrassment to the Tories, are being used by Lord Hailsham to draw an analogy between slick city operators who make wild take-over bids, without first ascertaining that the cash to conclude the deals is in the bank, with Labour politicians who are promising more money for old-age pensioners, education, leisure and services without increasing taxation. "In many ways," said Mr. Macmillan to his radio audience last Saturday, "the Socialists outbid us."

They seem to have a lot of money to spend—your money, of course. If you would take a word of advice from me it is this: apply the same test to these election promises as you would if you were investing your savings. Don't be misled by the slick operator who offers you a chance to get rich quick. It is really better to stick to the old-established firms which are sound and can produce a balance-sheet as well as a prospectus."

As a matter of fact we were looking at the balance sheet of one of those "old-established firms"—to wit I.C.I.—and it was interesting to see that though the turnover for the first half of this year was £250 millions, that is only £18 millions more than for the corresponding period last year, net profits before taxation had increased from £24.4 millions in 1958 to £34.8 millions this year, which means to say that for an increased turnover of £18 millions, profits have increased by £10.4 millions! Average profit margin rose from 10.5 per cent. to 13.9 per cent. and in the past six months the mar-

ket price of I.C.I. shares has risen from 34s. to 42s. 6d., an increase of 8s. 6d. per share.

Now the State Building Society, which figures prominently in the Jasper affair, lures its "get rich quickly" investors with a modest 6 per cent. on their deposits (even the government nowadays offers 5 per cent.) so that even if it cannot be said that I.C.I. offers you the chance of getting "rich quick", you're not doing too badly if you own shares which can appreciate by 25 per cent. in a matter of six months!

★

MR. MACMILLAN did well to remind the public that the money governments spend is *your* money, unlike the money which is paid to shareholders in the way of dividends and bonuses which has been earned by the workers in the industry but is paid to the shareholders. Mr. Macmillan, we imagine, would find nothing to object to there. After all both Tory, Liberal and Labour politicians and economists stress the fact that prosperity depends on increased production and/or productivity, which in its turn depends on capital investment in industry to modernise and streamline production.

Manpower, skill and ingenuity, raw materials and need are meaning-

less without money. This is the crazy fact which neither Mr. Macmillan—who has coined the election slogan "Stick to the facts"—nor the Labour leaders, have exposed and denounced. They obviously cannot afford to, for it dominates their election promises, and the issues on which the people are expected to make their choice between one set of politicians or another are purely financial. Lord Hailsham justified his "Labour's take-over bid for Britain"—which provoked Mr. Morgan Phillips' demand for an apology (all part of the game of politics this mock indignation!)—by declaring that all he was doing was

seeking to draw a parallel between the predicament of those who make take-over bids which they cannot honour and the leaders of your party, who appear to me to have pledged themselves to a policy for which they will be unable to pay.

Far from the Labour Party replying that as socialists they would re-organise production to satisfy needs, and not for profit, that production for them was a means not an end, and waste a crime and not a virtue, they fall over backwards to show that they would finance their programme by saving a few millions here and by wringing a few millions there from tax evaders. Furthermore, Labour's plans are to increase

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Industrial Notes

Engineers and 40 hour Week

LAST week a wage claim was presented by the AEU. It asks for a rise of £1 per week for all adult workers in the industry, and a reduction of the basic working week to 40 hours.

The difference which has been most clearly noted has been the fact that this is the first time such a wage claim has not been based on a rise in the cost of living. In presenting the claim, Mr. Carron, president of the AEU said that his members were expecting to register a real advance in their standards of living.

Among the points raised by his statement, and that of the bosses representative Sir Kenneth Hague, two are of particular interest: attitudes to hours of work, and the question of non-productive staff.

On the first Mr. Carron commented on the "broad hint" that demands for reductions in hours of work were part of a plot to increase wages, by keeping up the same average working time and claiming overtime bonuses. He stated that:

"This is misleading and untrue. You know very well that it is the management side of industry and not the unions which controls the number of hours worked. The unions have offered to co-operate in reducing overtime. But it is obvious that the managements have chosen to use it as a means of achieving production targets not attainable within 44 hours."

The truth of this assertion is borne out by a calculation of Sir Kenneth's, who estimated the effect of a reduction in the basic period by working out how much extra it would cost to pay the workers to stay on for 44 hours. Is there a feeling that workers are more interested in cash than in leisure, and are merely putting up a wage claim in disguised form? This suggestion is given some substance by the implication that the union leaders would have preferred to put all their claims this year in terms of

shorter hours. However, the way to solve the problem is to make it possible for workers to keep themselves and their families, to have enough money left to be able to exploit free time, and to be sufficiently free from tiredness and exhaustion of factory work to want to enjoy a lot of leisure. This will hardly be achieved by means of wage increases alone.

A second point mentioned by Mr. Carron was the uneven distribution of wages. Large numbers of workers, skilled and unskilled, were getting the national minimum and little more. This means £9 6s. 8d. for skilled men and £7 17s. 4d. for unskilled. These figures show the hollowness of Government claims about the general high standard of living enjoyed by the people of Conservative Britain. At the same time, it makes just as much nonsense of the AEU's claim to have been serving its members well in the field of reformist pay bargaining. The wages noted above are the result of ten years or so of annual negotiated compromise increases. Since the Tory boasts of a high living standard find some acceptance, and the national average wage is over £11, how can this be reconciled with Mr. Carron's facts that a high proportion of engineering workers get the national minimum or little more? Part of the answer lies in the uneven distribution, and another part in non-productive workers. To quote the *Guardian's* Labour correspondent:

"Mr. Carron also quotes figures from the census of production to show that there had been a big increase in the number of non-producers in the industry since 1949. The number of operatives in the engineering sections had risen by 18 per cent. between that year and 1957, but the increase in the administrative, technical and clerical staff was 48 per cent. In vehicles the comparative figures were 15 and 63.

The trend might be inevitable as the technical level of industry rose, but

'Guyed' to the Election Circus

FACED with a formidable pile of the week's newspapers whose pages are filled with dreary speculations on which party will be elected to guide us through the next five years of chaos, familiar pre-election speeches made up of empty promises and self-praise, the antics of Krushchev and his schizophrenic hosts and the exploits of the rich, it was with relief that one FREEDOM writer turned to the fresh and lively contents of *Election Guyed*, published by the London Anarchist Group, and now in the hands of FREEDOM readers who are asked to distribute as many copies as they can.

We cannot hope for a mass conversion to 'Joe Soap' because the majority of people are already committed to one party or another according to their interests and are persuaded that the issues which are being "thrashed out" on the pre-election platforms are vital (assuming they have bothered to consider them). But there will be others who have shaken off the effects of the political drug and who are ready to embrace an idea as yet untried because people are afraid of responsibility.

There will be those who recognise the sense in the words contained in the editorial note in *Election Guyed*:

"If we are asked why we take such a flippant attitude to the General Election the short answer is that we simply cannot take this shadow boxing seriously. The long answer would involve us in showing the difference between *political* and *social* importance. Clearly the election is of great concern to the political parties seeking power, and to the politicians whose ambitions are in the balance. But its social effects will be negligible... Our relationships between adult and child, man and woman, man and man, will still be dominated by fears, religious taboos or social pressures. In a word we shall still be living in an authoritarian society which differs from communist or fascist states in the degree of open coercion used against individuals but not in kind. This then is our point in not voting... it is not that we don't care. We care too much, we feel too responsible to give our assent to being used in the shabby games of politicians."

* * *

IT is reported from the United States that Mr. Krushchev and President Eisenhower spent the night together in a rustic cottage in Maryland, and sat before a blazing log fire. We are touched by the report that:—

"The two most important men in the world are sleeping under the same roof, using the same bathroom. In the morning they will have breakfast together."

If we keep this domestic scene before us, the crazy preparation for war on both sides will seem remote, and even if H-bombs are dropped after this cosy get-together no-one can say that they didn't try to persuade each other over breakfast not to wage war!

* * *

WHEN the Prime Minister addressed a political meeting at Belle Vue, Manchester, Sir Stanley Bell, the chairman, said at the start:

"I feel sure that it is the wish of this great audience that the Prime Minister... should not be interrupted... If any member of the audience persistently interrupts I shall ask that person to be silent or to leave. If the interrupter does not comply... I shall ask the stewards to escort the offender from the hall using the minimum of force."

There was not a single interruption during Mr. Macmillan's speech, the deep silence being broken only by frequent applause. At the end the audience stood and cheered for several minutes.

The *Guardian*, 23/8/59.

"This election is about things that matter. You can tell that by the row we have been having."

MR. GAITSKELL.



there was a widespread belief among the workers that many of the non-producers were unnecessary. Investigations showed that technicians formed a minor part of the increase: the greater part of it was an extension of the general office staff and additions to senior management staff."

There are the problems. In a libertarian direction, there are a few suggestions that can be made towards their solution. Firstly that all workers, or as many as possible should clearly formulate an opinion as to their own relation with industry. How do they want the time they spend at work controlled? To what extent is increased production and productivity important if it means giving up so much time, and under more pleasant conditions? Is the wage system useful, or does the unevenness prove it to be unfair even accepting the premises of a money society? Regarding the increase in administrative workers, it would be interesting to get to the bottom of the reason, for this. There is a great

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PUNISHMENT "UNSUCCESSFUL"

A society in which only dangerous criminals were jailed was envisaged by Professor Morris Ginsberg, Professor Emeritus of Sociology at London University, when he spoke at Nottingham University on Saturday. He had a strong feeling that the punishment of criminals in institutions was not successful and could not be made so. He said:

"It seems to me that one ought to get away from the purely penal aspect of the treatment of criminals and concentrate on the remedial side. Society should concentrate on removing conditions which favour crime and build up a system of education that will instill in people a sense of moral and legal responsibility independent of punishment."

Professor Ginsberg was speaking at the summer school of the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency on the subject, "The Morality of Punishment."

Guardian 21/9/59.

LET'S JOIN THE HUMAN RACE

Mr. Arthur Exton, clerk to Derby magistrates, spent forty minutes yesterday giving the first of a series of reading lessons to David Hibbert (19), of St. John's Road, Belper, who told the court on Tuesday that he was illiterate. Mr. Exton offered half an hour of his time each day to help the boy.

Yesterday Hibbert borrowed a cycle to make the twenty-mile journey from his home to Mr. Exton's office in Derby borough police headquarters. Together they went through a copy of a newspaper and afterwards Hibbert said: "I had to get up early to ride into Derby but it was worth it. At this rate I don't think it will take me six months to learn to read properly."

Guardian 24/9/59.

ANARCHISM: Effective Propaganda & Movement Organisation

(Continued from previous issue)

THE reason why the label 'anarchist' demands more social responsibility than 'socialist' is simply because anarchism starts from the individual as the source of power in Society and bases its concept of social cohesion upon the responsibility of the individual, without relying on an authority to 'make men good'.

The socialists on the other hand, while, I am sure, strenuously denying that they set out to 'make men good', nevertheless do seek to get into positions of power where they are able to say what is good and what is not, what is right and what is wrong.

It is in this sense that 'might is right' is a simple statement of truth. Socialists indignantly denounce such a concept when it is used as a justification for individualistic economic exploitation. But in any authoritarian system, whoever has the might, says what is right—and controls the rights of all living under that system.

This explains why concepts of right and wrong have varied so much at different times in different places: because different authorities have had the power to say what is right. And although socialists claim to reject the idea of might is right, yet what is it that they seek except the power to control others according to their own concept of what is right, what is good?

This is what the conquest of political power means. The authoritarian answer to the authoritarianism of the boss or the landlord is to get into a position of authority in order to wield it according to a different concept of right and wrong. The only justification for a change in a social system such as socialists seek is that the socialist concept of right and wrong is a better one than the capitalists'.

And so it might be, in its purest conception. But the contradiction comes in the irreconcilable nature of the concept of social justice, equality and freedom with that of authority, a misconception which has resulted in the production of that abortion which is socialism today.

For as the socialists moved further and further away from libertarianism, so they dug deeper and deeper their own grave. Whatever it was that Marx said about something or other being the grave-digger of capitalism, the actual reverse has happened. It is socialism which is

steadily being buried in a grave of its own digging, while capitalism remains flowering on top, gaining strength and colour from the rotting corpse beneath its roots.

The contradictions within capitalism have not been destroyed. They have been softened, their roughest edges smoothed away, because the capitalists have thoroughly understood their system and have adjusted it in order to survive. This they have done with little real cost to themselves because productivity has increased so much that there can in fact be plenty for everyone with the power to grab. The socialists have in general concentrated their attention upon the wider distribution of material wealth—and capitalism has been able to provide that in those countries where it is most fully developed.

Here again the reverse of Marx's prophecy has taken place. Or at least half of it. The rich have certainly got richer, but the poor have not got poorer. We still have many poor—the weak and unorganised without the power to grab—but the working class as a whole is not poor compared to the workers of Marx's day. Relative to the rich they may be in the same position, but in absolute comparison they are better off.

Therefore Marx's hopes that the impoverishment of the working class would lead it into revolution has been forestalled by the clever, wicked rich, who have organised the workers to keep themselves quiet—with the help of trade unions and political parties.

This is why I say that the capitalists have understood their system better than the socialists have understood theirs. For while capitalism has adjusted some of its more glaring contradictions, the contradictions within socialism have destroyed it.

The most destructive contradiction of all has been on the issue of authority. You simply cannot move towards a classless society, towards freedom and equality, through the use of authority—yet the belief that you can is basic to socialism.

However much the various socialist parties may fight among themselves, however much they may differ in their approach, their tactics or their size, they all base their ideology upon concepts of the organisation of society from above. Their ideas are concerned, not with the freedom and happiness of individuals,

but with the administration of society.

All socialist parties seek to gain political power. They may differ in their means to power and their chances of gaining it, but they all see changes in society coming through action from above—through their mediation. They are to be the authority leading society into a condition where authority no longer exists.

It is in this authoritarian approach and in this basic concept that there lies the contradiction which has made socialism so unrealistic, and which has destroyed it. And this applies to all socialist parties, large or small. The large parties have forgotten their socialist principles in the struggle for power—settling for authority and not moving in the direction of its withering away, being happy to administer society from above and finding that the readymade capitalist institutions and methods are ideal for the purpose. The small parties are non-starters. If they cling to socialist principles they don't get going on the road to authority—although they want to! They remain pathetic exponents of their own impotent purity.

Now because every party seeks to become the authority effecting change, it is easy to adopt the label 'socialist'. It demands little of the individual. One can be a socialist and do little more than vote every five years, leaving the rest to the leaders. Perhaps if the party member is a militant, the voting will be backed up by working to get the leaders into power to operate the policies they have decided. But there is no incumbency upon the individual to live or work in a socialist manner because the changes have to come from above when the party has the authority to make them.

It is because of this sort of thing that every socialist party has an authoritarian inner structure. From the Russian Communist Party, master over millions, down to the Socialist Party of Great Britain, purest of the impotents, the inner party structure is authoritarian, reflecting truly the basic authoritarianism of socialism and its denial of the individual.

Now this, sad as it may be, is just as

it should be. An organisation should reflect in its structure the ideas it is seeking to propagate and put into action. The fact that in the socialist case the party organisation reflects authoritarianism instead of equality or freedom is a just and proper reflection of its true nature and an indication of the causes of its failure to grow in the direction originally intended.

The same thing is also true for anarchism. Because the anarchist approach is libertarian, the structure of any anarchist group or movement must also be libertarian, resisting any centralist or authoritarian tendencies. This is not as difficult as it might be, since the membership of an anarchist movement consists of people who are aware of the dangers of these tendencies and are consciously opposed to them. They do not deceive themselves that an anarchist authority can lead them into the free society.

Because anarchism is in opposition to the concept or use of authority, it follows that much more responsibility is thrown on to the individual accepting the anarchist label. The anarchist cannot express his anarchism by passing the buck on to some authority, by voting or any other means. His behaviour, his life, his attempts to influence society remain his responsibility and cannot be passed on to somebody else.

An anarchist may, I suppose, in a moment of mental aberration, decide to vote in an election. But he cannot vote for anarchist reasons nor for anarchist aims. He can decide that he prefers that the taxes he is forced to pay be used in one direction rather than another he can believe that one party may make his life a little more comfortable under capitalism he may think that no candidate is a particular menace and the easiest (and laziest) way to keep him out of power may be to put his opponent in. I know of one anarchist who jocularly offered his vote to the first candidate who would buy him a pint of beer—which was his (fair, I think) assessment of what it was worth.

But no anarchist that I know has ever pretended that he could achieve any anarchist aim by voting nor that he could bring about a free society through the use of the ballot box. All that one can do that way is to change the individuals in power not abolish the power structure altogether.

(To be continued)

Film Review

Is Ingmar Bergman 'In'?

FILM fashions go in cycles. We have got over the French flu; the Italian exported Magnani Mangano, Loren and Lollobrigida, the Japanese are 'out'; the Indians are 'out', but now the Swedes, and by the Swedes of course, we mean Bergman, are 'in'.

His latest film "The Face" is now showing in London at the Academy. Other Bergman films "Port of Call" and "Lesson in Love" are going the rounds but these belong to his earlier period and do not possess the qualities we now associate with the later Bergman.

There have been two films: "The Seventh Seal", "Wild Strawberries", which have given Bergman his reputation. The common factors in a Bergman film are a historical background, a dash of symbolism, some supernaturalism which can be interpreted in a rational way and social realism of a strictly non-political kind.

In America, such is the dearth of conversation, that shops now supply 'notions' or knick-knocks for table decoration, etc., which they call "conversation pieces", that is, that the object will provoke conversation or discussion by reason of its associations or novelty.

In the cinema today such is the dearth of subjects (and audiences) that the film of ideas is coming into its own. What those ideas are seems to be unimportant. Once upon a time a producer told a writer "If you have a message send it Western Union". Bergman has apparently a message but he sends it scrambled.

Such is the symbolism of this new film, that I am reminded of Kafka now 'out', there is a final twist, worthy of the "Castle" and a theatre troupe reminiscent of "Amerika". However, the greatest overtones are of the UFA films of the 'twenties. "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari" with its hypnotist, "The Student of Prague", "Warning Shadows" with its private theatrical performance. It may be that since the 'twenties are 'in', that this is extremely fashionable.

In any case, it is a film worth seeing.

J.R.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP OPEN DAILY

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New Books . . .

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Book Review Borstal Boy

THE LONELINESS OF THE LONG DISTANCE RUNNER by Alan Sillitoe. W. H. Allen, 12s. 6d.

THIS is one of the most remarkable books I have read recently. The "Long Distance Runner" is a Borstal boy; and in the context of one particular activity his view of the whole of society is brought out with amazing clarity. Being the best runner in the district, the principal and governors pin their hopes on his winning the annual race against the two neighbouring Borsstals. The Runner is determined to throw the race at the last minute to disappoint them. In so doing, he is of course crystalizing his outlook on life, a determination to disappoint at all cost the hated respectable society which has denied him fulfilment of his basic needs as a person.

The episode and the thoughts which lead unrelentingly to the climax as the runner, with an unchallengeable lead, slows down and waits to be overtaken, are presented in the first person, and the language seemed at times to be a little forced in its avoidance of grammar. Nevertheless, a short story like this often has more effect in the afterthoughts and reflexions which it raises, rather than the immediate impact.

The main piece is followed by half-a-dozen shorter stories. The common thread is that they each deal with an experience, or aspect of a person's character, which would be frowned on or even condemned by respectable people. Alan Sillitoe's knowledge and imagination, and his ability to get inside the minds of people when such experiences are affecting them, enables him to portray them realistically and in its literal sense sympathetically. He is not an exponent, or even I should think in agreement with any of the schools of psycho-analysis, a fact which gives added clarity and comprehensibility to his portraits.

P.H.

VIEWPOINT

Teenage Suffrage

A FEW weeks ago FREEDOM administered a well-deserved smack at the authoritarian statements the two Parties made about the so-called problem of leisure. The Labour Party's pamphlet *The Younger Generation* deserves rather better treatment, though it has its authoritarian moments too; the general tendency is always to see what the authoritarian movements can do about the so-called problem of youth. Its superiority is probably due to the fact that it is the report of an independent (though presumably left-wing) commission, including popular figures such as Humphrey Lyttelton and Sylvia Sims. And no doubt the personality of the commission's Secretary, Peter Shore (who wrote the biting article on industry in *Conviction*), has something to do with it.

Thus the pamphlet is actually about people rather than problems. Its language suggests that the commission likes young people and cares what happens to them. Its indictment of the present educational situation, of the Youth Service and the Youth Employment Service, of the position of young people who want to get married or do decent jobs—in fact of the whole attitude of official (and, dare we say, adult in general) society—is so crushing that it is small wonder that most teenagers think most politicians are crooks. Nor is there much reason to believe that the Labour Party—let alone the Conservative Party—will do anything more than it absolutely has to to improve all this mess.

So what can young people hope to get out of an indifferent and sometimes frankly hostile society? As things are, nothing—except a lot of paternalistic and probably either bullying or phoney measures. So what chance have they got? Their best chance, I think, is to have the vote. This may sound blasphemous in the columns of FREEDOM, so I will apologise and explain. I have no particular love for Parliamentary government as it exists today. But it is better than a lot of other sorts of government, and in the meantime I take pleasure and satisfaction in using my

vote to make it better. By voting against a Conservative (as in Hampstead I can with a clear conscience) I will not tip Macmillan and his tawdry crew into the Thames as I would like, but I add a drop to the flood that I hope will eventually sweep them that way. And so I think the best chance young people have of being treated decently by older people is if they can vote, and no doubt provide leaders.

All this may sound absurd, but I should like to point out that the commission itself proposes that the voting age should be reduced to 18. Surely the fallacy that people achieve sanity and sense at 21 is no longer believed. Speaking personally, I think that the people I was at school with and then taught myself at a different sort of school were just as sensible politically as they will be when they are 30 or 40. The same goes for the people I met in the Forces and then at University. The attitudes of young people may lack sophistication and polish, but that seems to me to be all to the good. The views of the writers in *Perspective* often irritate me personally, but they strike me as being as valid as those expressed in *Time and Tide* (more so, indeed).

Bringing all this down to earth, I suggest that everyone should get the vote at the age of 16—yes, 16. The commission and Lord Altrincham say 18, for very good reasons (conscription, hanging, drinking, national insurance, etc.), but I think that if someone is old enough to leave school and get a job and leave home and marry, then he or she is old enough to choose political representatives. It's a pity anyone has to make that choice, but while we have Parliaments and Governments we might as well allow adolescents to moderate the dishonesty and idiocy of their elders. But if you won't let me have 16, I certainly insist on 18; like a good trade unionist, I claim more than I expect to get, in the hope that I shall get what I need. In reply to the predictable objections to my proposal, I should like to point out that every one of them was almost certainly made against the middle-

classes, the urban workers, the rural workers and women having the vote, and is still being made against American negroes, Kenyans, Rhodesians, South Africans and heaven knows who else having the vote. No one is fit to vote until he is given the vote; it is like self-government.

At least this blow for teenage suffrage should win me some teenage votes when, at the age of 98, I come at the bottom of the poll in the first election after the idea becomes law. Even then, I shall be luckier than Mary Wollstonecraft, who died 120 years before women over 30 got the vote. Perhaps it would be better to have a teenage revolution. . . .

N.W.

Ideal Cities

Continued from p. 3

ship due to unemployment which depresses us, employment being for the sake of income. He therefore proposes to break the connection between income and production, not like the Goodmans by separating subsistence from the rest, but by introducing what he calls Cyclically Graduated Compensation—unemployment compensation which, as employment increases is itself increased to approach the level of the weekly wage, and diminishes as full employment is approached.

Each of these authors would regard the proposals of the others as a cumbersome way of achieving the same object, each would regard the Kropotkinesque solution of making everything "free"—"all is for all" as an unrealistic ideal, and no doubt there are other interim solutions, like making subsistence items "free" and reserving a money economy for luxuries.

Thus an enquiry which begins as a search for ideal town plans ends as an economic argument and a re-assessment of the ends of life.

C.W.

Money Manipulation

Continued from p. 1

production for the increased earnings and profits that would result will provide the Exchequer with more revenue from taxes without the need to increase the existing rate of tax. That is the logic of these latter-day "socialists": by producing more cars and more gadgets we shall be able to afford a better health service and bread, butter and happiness for the old folk. What these actuarial socialists don't seem to understand is that all the money in the world will not produce a health service, a loaf of bread, least of all happiness. It is true that money because it is recognised in "Communist" Russia no less than in capitalist America, as the essential link between subsistence and starvation, is the incentive for the doctors and the nurses to tend the sick and the farm worker to grow the wheat. Such an incentive, however, ensures neither a good service nor productivity. Money provides a job; only a feeling of "belonging", of sharing in the life of a community as an equal, are the incentives which will bring out the best in Man.

★

THE Labour leadership in its eagerness to enjoy the fruits of government and power has destroyed the bases of socialism. In the day-to-day struggle between the haves and the have-nots, what "progress" has been made in the past sixty years is the result not of the Labour Party (which after all has been in "power" only once, between 1945 and 1951) but of the organisation of the workers in their unions, the meteoric development of science and technology, and the crises of capitalism which resulted in two world wars. So far as ideas are concerned, the Labour Party has, in fact, represented a retrograde step, in that it has diverted the working-class from the goals outlined for it by the pioneers of the 19th century. Yes, socialism then was the emanation of the revolutionary anarchist-socialist abolition of the labouring classes from the slavery of employment by an employer; from the grinding spiritual and material poverty which was the lot of the majority. Socialism was co-operation, internationalism, anti-militarism, was love-of-one's-neighbour, was freedom and the enjoyment of leisure. Socialism was the abolition of the profit-money-system and the encouragement of solidarity and production for need; its goal was life not luxury, mind not money.

Education was the key to the fuller, richer life, not to a more remunerative career. For such a socialist there was no question of recognising capitalism as being here to stay or that the lot of a worker was to remain in the employ of a master (any more than it was to become a master oneself!). Socialism aimed at the abolition of money and with it the right of some individuals to exploit the labour of others. It aimed at the abolition of authority (hence of government) and the fostering of voluntary organisations and co-operation as the basis of social organisation.

The Labour Party programme in fact perpetuates, through the aegis of the State, all those things which socialists have always condemned. They may well win next week's election. But let no one mistake the victory of Bevan and Gaitskell as a victory for Socialism!

IN the first of their "ideal types" or models, the Goodman brothers* produced a plan for the luxury city of consumption, in their second, a plan based on syndicalist production for use; their third they describe as an interim plan for "maximum security with minimum regulation."

Up to about fifty years ago, they say, more than half the productive capacity of the United States was devoted to subsistence: "subsistence could be regarded as the chief end of the economy and, although their motives were personal wealth and power, most enterprises were concerned with the subsistence market". But nowadays less than a tenth of the economy is concerned with subsistence goods (the exact figure depending on where the minimum is set, which as they point out, is a cultural rather than a medical question), and "the centre of economic interest has gradually shifted from either providing goods or gaining wealth to keeping the capital machines at work and running at full capacity, to increase further; and the social arrangements have become so complicated and interdependent that, unless the machines are running at full capacity, investment is withdrawn; and all wealth and subsistence are jeopardized". Since to neglect subsistence and security is "to breed social war and revolution", governments intervene to assure the elementary security which is no longer the first concern of the economy.

"But, since the forms and aims of these governments are given by the economy rather than by the elementary needs, the tack which they take is the following: to guarantee social security by subsidizing the full productivity of the economy. Or to put it financially, security is provided by insurance paid in the money that comes from the operation of the whole economy. The amazing indirectness of this mode of proceeding is brilliantly exposed by the discovery of a new human 'right'... this is the 'right'—no! not to life and liberty—but to employment! Full employment is the device by which the whole economy can flourish and yet subsistence not be jeopardised—and, therefore, the curse of Adam becomes a benefit to be struggled for, just because we have the means to produce a surplus, cause of all our woes.

"But the immediate result of such a solution is to tighten even closer the economic net. Whatever freedom used to come from free enterprise and free market—and it is a freedom that at one time fought on the side of human rights—is caught in regulation and taxes. In a word the union of government and economy becomes more and more complete; soon we are in the full tide of statism. This is not a question of evil intention but follows from the connection of the basic political need of subsistence with the totality of an integrated economy. Such is the indirect solution."

The direct solution which they propose is to divide the economy into two, separating whatever provides life and security for all from the rest of the economy which provides variety, interest, convenience, emulation, luxury, wealth and power. The principle is to assure subsistence by direct production of subsistence goods and services rather than by insurance taxed from the general economy. This involves a system of double money: the "money" of the subsistence production and consumption and the money of the general market. (Coming back to the same theme in a recent essay in *Liberation*, Jan. '59, Paul Goodman calls them hard and soft money). The hard money of the subsistence economy is more like ration coupons, not negotiable, since "a man's right to life is not subject to trade."

To the individual, they claim, the separation of his subsistence (employing a small fraction of his labour time) from the demands and values of the general economy (employing most of his labour time) "should give a breath of freedom, a new possibility of choice, and a sense of security combined with perfect independence for he has worked directly for what he gets and need never feel the pressure of being a drain on the general society and of thinking that soon the payments will cease."

Comparing the systems of social security offered (1947) in Britain and America with the plan they suggest, they find that the governmental plans offer:

1. Security of subsistence.
2. A tax on the general economy.
3. The necessity to maintain the economy at full production to pay the tax, therefore, governmental planning of all production pump-priming, made work, and subsidies; a still further tax

*COMMUNITAS: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life by Percival Goodman & Paul Goodman (University of Chicago Press, 1947).

Ideal Cities - 4

PRODUCTION & SECURITY

and, possibly, a falling rate of profit.

4. The insistence on the unemployed worker's accepting the third or fourth job available, in order to prevent a continuing drain on the tax fund.

5. The protection of the workers thus coerced by regulation of the conditions of industry and investment.

As against these, their plan offers.

1. Security of subsistence.
2. The loss to the industrialist of the subsistence market and of a small fraction of the social labour.
3. The coercion of a small fraction of the social labour to produce the subsistence goods and services.
4. Economic freedom in all other respects.

★

THE Goodmans admit, with a twinge of conscience, that their plan in effect requires a form of industrial conscription for the "universal labour service" even though it is for a short period or for short periods of an individual's working life. ("We are touching," they remark, "on a political principle, of vast importance, far beyond our scope of analysis here, namely, the principle of purity of means in the exercise of the different powers of society. Government, founded essentially on authority, uses mainly the means of personal service economy, founded essentially on exchange, uses mainly the means of money.")

They claim in fact that

"This plan is coercive, but, in fact, if not in law, it is less coercive than the situation we are used to. For the great mass of wage earners it fixes a limit to

the coercion to which, between capital and trade-union, they are unavoidably and increasingly subjected for the wealthy enterpriser, who would buy substitutes, it is no more coercive than any other tax. On constitutional grounds the crucial objections to forced labour have always been either that it subjects the individual to a private enterpriser without contract (a form of slavery) or that it broadens the power of the state in abrogation of the rights against tyranny; but neither of these objections is here valid."

The minimum subsistence economy (they note that if freedom is the aim, everything beyond the minimum must be excluded) provides and distributes food, clothing and shelter, mass produced in enormous quantities and without variation of style, while medicine and transportation are provided by a financial arrangement between the subsistence and the general economies.

"Now supposing that such a system, of assured subsistence and of almost complete freedom of economic ties, were put into effect: there is no doubt that for millions of people, no matter how much they might resist the idea in prospect, the first effect would be a feeling of immense relief—relief from that pressure of a daily grind and relief from the anxiety of failure—in short, the feeling expressed by so many persons that they wish their vacations could last on and on.

"But, after this first commonplace effect had worn off, then, it seems to us, the moral attitude of a people like the Americans would be profoundly disturbed. They would be afraid not only of freedom (which releases the desires

both creative and destructive which are so nicely repressed by routine) but especially of boredom for they would imagine themselves completely without cultural or creative resources. For in our times all entertainments and even the personal excitements of romance seem to be bound up with having ready money to spend: all emotional satisfaction has been intricately into keeping the entire productive machine in motion: it is bound up with the 'standard of living', it is created by, and gets its economic rôle through, advertising."

After the period of salutary boredom which makes people discover what they want to do with their time rather than succumb to a widely advertised suggestion, they envisage the growth of schools, teaching avocations—jobs adopted for their own satisfaction rather than by economic necessity.

★

THE authors enjoy themselves working out the architectural implications of their double economy—minimal economy settlements, and the "production centre" of the subsistence economy. But they have been forced, by the nature of their approach to stray out of the field of town-planning into that of economics, and it is with the views of a celebrated economist, J. K. Galbraith, that their scheme invites comparison. In *The Affluent Society* (discussed in *FREEDOM* for 25/10/58), Galbraith argues, with the same reasoning about the small percentage of the American economy devoted to subsistence, for the divorce of production from security. In this respect he goes further than the Goodmans, but by the use of a mechanism which they reject as the indirect method.

No-one could argue that we "miss" the goods which are not produced in a depression, says Galbraith, it is the hard-

Continued on p. 2

EYEWITNESS

PARTY PIECE

IT was a working-class area of London, there was no doubt about that. The only exotic note en route was from a soap works which filled the bus with the small of perfume. The Town Hall seemed new, no doubt its predecessor was bombed. The local theatre had literally and figuratively succumbed to television, it was only open now for relaying ITV programmes. The Salvation Army was having its band practice and it was a Monday night about three weeks to go for the election.

The myth of anarchist unpunctuality dies hard. It is not only the anarchists who are in revolt against the centralised tyranny of the clock, I have known a Labour League of Youth branch to be late and it is a well-known technique of Fascist leaders to keep everybody waiting to get them worked up to a pitch of hysteria. There wasn't any hysteria on this occasion, not then, or all evening. At 7.30, the time of the meeting, we were all (about ten of us) waiting at the side door. It is always an anti-climax to be shown to the side door. Particularly since the front was so imposing and the mayor's car was outside. I had wild visions of the mayor presiding—stranger things have happened—I remember being involved in a reception to a CND demonstration by the Mayor of Isleworth which took place in a park in the pouring rain.

However, it was the side-door. There is something furtive and mean about a town hall's side-door, like an entrance for illegitimate tradesmen. The hall was a dance-hall whose polished floor was covered by a canvas which had seen better days. There was a rather mysterious notice which proclaimed "No Smoking over the Dance-Floor", this was duplicated and gave a subject for meditation during the dull moments of the meeting.

The seating was for 600 but the audience at its maximum was about sixty and the enormous length of the hall and the dance-floor acoustics made every entry of a potential voter dramatic as they all had to go towards the front of the hall.

At one time the array of chairs upon the platform made it possible that the whole of the audience could have been accommodated thereon.

The small left-wing party which was running the meeting seemed eminently respectable, no beards, no bohemians, the main body of the audience was composed, it would seem, of party stalwarts and in the main, older people with very few young men except that rather curious kind one meets who seem to have side-stepped their childhood.

The meeting started at about eight o'clock, after the chairman had cajoled everybody into sitting in the front section.

To the accompaniment of a humming as of distant vacuum cleaners and the distinct strains of the Salvation Army band at rehearsal, the chairman told of his dream that the whole of the world was engaged in erecting houses and that there was, to quote his own words, "a mobilization of productive forces".

The chairman suffered, and we with him, from a tendency to Latinization, he never used a short word where a long one would do. In its fullest flower this, as George Orwell points out emerges as 'double-think': in this case it was a mere hangover of the Victorian muddled-think. The chairman's reverie being over he ushered on the first speaker.

The connections between politicians and actors are obvious, but like acting, the style of political oratory has changed. But our 'hams' are still with us. The opening speaker belonged to the Ramsay MacDonald Thespian school but he was not well schooled. He occasionally 'fluffed' his lines. He 'fluffed' his opening by saying, "It is twenty years since the end of the last war", and made it worse by correcting it.

He had developed an oratorical trick with his spectacles, which are almost as good as a pipe for playing with. They convey a message that the user is a scholar, that he has his human frailties and there is a hint too that he can change (at a whipping off) from a scholar to a man of action. A good brisk or slow cleansing of the lenses gives detachment and precision to any statement and shows the speaker to be a man who Cares and gives attention to detail. Very often spectacle-play can be used in conjunction with the lighting to blind or dazzle the audience, however, this is a higher form of the art. The present speaker was not a master of the whole art of spectacle-play but had several flourishes.

The speaker's constant 'fluffing' made the poor form of his speech more obvious. He cited the party point that 'War can solve no working-class problems', he pointed out the lack of difference between all the other parties (oddly enough the Communists got no reference in his speech), he claimed that if one folded back the top of party manifestos one could not guess the name of the party from the manifesto. The present talks and impending Summit conferences were merely a discussion as to how the swag shall be distributed. Krushchev, for his part, was worried about the excessive outlay by his government on armaments. This was all fairly good stuff, but never aroused a clap. He denounced the humbug of 10/- on the pension when pensions themselves were an insult. He commented on the perennial problem of slums which

every party in every election promised to abolish but which were with us still.

He said, "We promise you that we shan't promise anything" and finished with a quotation from that anti-socialist Tolstoy to the effect that the rich will do anything for the poor man except get off his back. It was up to the poor to throw the rich off their backs.

The main speaker, the Candidate, was more of the Method school of acting, he had the hand in trousers-pocket school of speaking and had a habit of pulling down his pullover (which really hadn't risen) from time to time.

He was a much better speaker and spoke fluently without notes. He had no tricks of oratory, he seemed to be delivering a lecture.

He pointed out that the workers never had it so good because of the workers' constant wage-struggle. He longed for the day when workers would not be forced to waste their labour making 'tinny mouth-organs' (I could think of much better examples). His party stood for the education and organization of the common man and for that propaganda purpose they were contesting the election.

After a collection which realized £4 1s. (unless I misheard the chairman) the meeting passed on to questions and discussion.

The first questioner asked was it not a fact that the Bible said that there would be wars and rumours of wars until the coming of Christ. The speaker said at some length that the Bible may say it but it was not a fact.

Another questioner asked that on the assumption that your candidate is returned, will he have freedom of conscience on moral issues. The older speaker put to scorn the assumption that the candidate would be returned but if by some mathematical miracle it did happen, the voice, actions (and conscience presumably) of the member would be those of his constituents.

A question was asked whether the hypothetical M.P. would take the oath when he entered Parliament. The rather grim answer was that they would take any oath to get political power.

There was another wrangle on religion with a side-struggle on the Catholic Church and its attitude to capitalism. The thesis was put forward by the candidate that the Ten Commandments existed to bolster up private property.

A political innocent said he thought that Anarchism and Socialism were the same thing. Surely they could work together. The speaker said that Socialism stood for systematic production and implied that everyone knew that Anarchism stood for chaotic production.

So the political education of the masses goes on. J.R.

For How much longer?

Dangerous Work

THE loss of 45 lives in a Scottish mine recently reminds us of the hazards and the threat of death which daily accompany the miner in the coal pits.

Most other workers have nothing to fear in their jobs except perhaps the possibility of too little work (or too much), but the miner still works with the threat of fire, fumes or falls.

This recent tragedy is particularly acute since the bogies carrying the men were halted only 300 yards from safety after the winding-engine man was overcome by the smoke fumes from the fire which is believed to have begun with a short circuit in an underground booster fan.

Rescue squads were unable to reach the men because the fire had damaged pit-props causing several falls. Without knowing anything about the mechanics of mining one would have thought that wooden props could today be replaced by safer methods which might at least minimise some of the danger.

A few months ago when miners were trapped in a Yorkshire pit the accident coincided with talks about replacing coal with oil as a cheaper form of power. Many miners are resisting this change, and although their reasons are understandable since many pits and eventually all would doubtless be closed, there are other means to ensure their livelihood which could be adopted rather than continue working in dangerous mines which at this stage will not be modernised because of the expense involved.

Even so, until new methods of power are adopted (and it is doubt-

ful if "economic progress" will be halted by the wishes of the miners), men still have to eat, and it is likely that they will continue to die digging under the earth to bring power to a nation which is generally unsympathetic to their claims for higher wages and better conditions.

The families of the 45 men in Scotland will not feel today that their husbands and sons were "molly-coddled".

Ghana Press Laws

ACCORDING to Ghana's Minister of Education and Information, no prosecutions under Ghana's False Reports Act will be made against any staff correspondent or any newspaper or news agency. But he said that in

the case of a staff correspondent who repeatedly sent false reports, action would be taken to withdraw his residence permit if he was not a Ghanaian and to withdraw press facilities if he was a Ghanaian.

No proceedings would be taken against other correspondents for reporting matters of public interest whether favourable or unfavourable to the Government.

Anyone convicted under the False Reports Act can receive fifteen years in prison for the communication of false information to the discredit of Ghana. (N.Y. Times)

What interests us to know who will decide what is a false report? Are we expected to believe that governments are so weak and without resources that they need to arm themselves with powers to imprison people for 15 years? It stinks, like so much of the legislation with which Mr. Nkrumah is protecting himself from those who might threaten his power.

Land of his Fathers

Frederick Allen, an Alabama Negro who came to Ghana to find traces of his ancestors has begun a six month prison sentence for entering Ghana without a valid passport. The court recommended yesterday that Mr. Allen be deported after serving the prison term.

The Wrong Urn

Faced with a shortage of polling stations Eastwood Urban Council (Nottinghamshire) has decided to use the office of the local cemetery as a polling booth. An official said the office did not seem "quite the proper place" and the council still hoped to find something "more suitable".

Industrial Notes

Continued from p. 1

pressure coming from the middle class, and particularly from people who like to think that they have pulled themselves into a position where they can evade the unfortunate necessity to work. It is possible that the mere presence of these people demanding office jobs is the most potent factor in causing the appearance of large numbers of office jobs. If clear answers to these questions were forthcoming the workers would perhaps be in a position to "dump the bosses off their backs", together with the administrators, rate fixers, timekeepers, capitalists, shareholders, management, union leaders and all.

After discussing engineering workers, it seems almost ludicrous to notice that that oppressed and down-trodden section of the working class, the bank clerks, are also acting in a most militant fashion. However, their immediate object is to enforce the existing working week, rather than demand a reduction: These non-producers find little sympathy for their case, being ignored by the workers, despised by the bohemians and treated as servants by businessmen. They probably regard their work as being vitally necessary to society, as indeed it is if society is going to remain eternally as it is today. Perhaps when they gather the courage to put down their pens at knocking-off time and go home they will earn more respect, but since under no conceivable theory of social change can they play an important rôle (sorry, I forgot Social Credit), their case will probably remain unsung.

SYNDICALIST.

'S.F.' Calls it a 'Storm in the Lockshen Soup'!

A FEW weeks ago I asked what I thought was a simple question. Is there anything an Anarchist does or thinks that is specific to Anarchists and is not shared by any other group or party? For some time now I'd leaned towards the idea that Anarchists to-day were a small and insignificant section of a world liberal opinion and the only real difference was in the label one chose to wear. True, there were some ideas that needed clarification and I had hoped that my simple question might provoke discussion on some of these points. Had any such discussion ensued, we might have had a reasonable exchange of views. In fact this almost threatened to happen when one reader took me up on the issue of "government" whether necessary or not. This I know is an old chestnut in Anarchist discussion but one which has never been cleared up in my mind as far as it goes on a practical level in contemporary times. Unfortunately this was not the vein that followed.

Better, But Still not Enough!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 39

Deficit on Freedom	£780
Contributions received	£650
DEFICIT	£130

September 18 to September 24

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GIFT OF BOOKS: London: C.W.

*Indicates regular contributor.

One particular "goy" brought in a whole "tizes" of irrelevant opinion which upon first reading sounded like something out of "Katy Cohen's Kosher Cookery", but upon second reading, one got the impression that the whole background belonged to the repertoire of some cultured anti-semitic. To verify such a feeling about the article, I asked four different Jews to read the article and give me an opinion. All felt it was somewhat derisive while two expressed the opinion that in any other newspaper it could quite easily be anti-semitic. Having known this particular "goy" for some time, I cannot help feeling that Tony Gibson's comment was perhaps a little strong meat, but I do concur with him that as a method of destroying an argument, the one "Goy" employed was most unfortunate.

This is a practice quite often employed in politics and has even at times crept into FREEDOM. Personally I've had cause to complain in the past about irrelevant and derisive comments about Freud and Reich which were simply used in an attempt to discredit their points of view by making them appear ridiculous, paranoic, etc., which of course has nothing to do with the issues involved. Parnell, the Irish patriot, was politically destroyed by having his intimate life dragged into his political argument. Casement, whose ghost has just been revived, was another victim of this type of method. The revelation that he was homosexual was one of the main obstacles that blocked his reprieve. Politically he had to die, and his alleged homosexual practice helped to tie his noose.

What I personally object to is the characterisation which lumps everyone into a whole indistinguishable mass. For an Anarchist to have such disregard for individuality as suggested in that little comedy, is in my opinion its worst characteristic. Of course, as the "goy" points out, there are good Anarchists like Alex and Emma and Rudolf, who all like "gefultefish" and "lockshen" and don't ask ridiculous questions. It appears that Jack Robinson has been "exasperated" by my failure to under-

stand even the "basic concepts of Anarchism". This surprises me somewhat, not that I claim to know all there is to know, not that I would like to know all there is to know, but of all the occasions that I have met this particular comrade, I cannot recall one when we ever had a discussion on Anarchism. Perhaps he has mistaken me for some other "lockshen" eater.

Perhaps I should not have posed the question in FREEDOM at all, but gone straight to Tony Gibson who is at the moment conducting an inquiry into just such a problem. I have been informed that the response to his requests for Anarchists to come for interviews has had mediocre success. In this respect I'm perhaps just as guilty as I had made my appointment but could not keep it. This I hope to rectify shortly. Are Anarchists afraid to find out what makes them carry their particular label? I got that impression at the summer school. The reasons given for not going to the interviews by some prominent Anarchists were rationally irrelevant and most revealing. Things like, was Tony competent to make such an enquiry? What was the use of it at all? And a damn long discussion on what we were ultimately going to do with the findings if anything. In spite of the fact that most people knew that Tony is trained to make such an enquiry and what was ultimately to be done with the findings, depended so much upon what they were, this was completely disregarded, while the mood remained hostile. It appears that rather than face one's real self, it was better to make all sorts of rationalisations to avoid it. Are Anarchists really authoritarians, hiding behind an outward show of hatred of power and the symbol of its expression "government"? Are Anarchists just as bigoted as any other national conscious patriot but hiding it behind a universal internationalism? Are we basically sexually suppressed and compensate by an ideology of sexual freedom, etc., often misrepresented? (Note "A Whoremonger's Complaint") Do we champion freedom, because we fear it and hate responsibility? Are we really Anarchistically regimented in our thinking and therefore intolerant of other points of view? One would have thought that Anarchists would be seekers of the truth whether pleasant or otherwise.

Fear often immobilizes bodies but can also immobilize minds and if we must protect ourselves from our own dishonesty, with what validity do we hold our ideas? These comments are not made to insult anyone but one has seen so many subtle and open contradictions in such full-blooded Anarchists that one can't help wondering.

S.F.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Africa's Future

DEAR FRIEND,

During a somewhat chaotic and sudden return from Northern Rhodesia, I have left FREEDOM's scattered around, sadly I cannot find Arthur Uloth's original article on Africa or my letter on the subject. However, a memory of sorts I have, and I really must offer this note.

Mr. Uloth presents a very interesting and not wholly improbable view of what the future holds for Africa in FREEDOM (26/9/59), and he rather makes me feel I should creep silently away and read history books with breathless vigour. Before I do this let me say this.

In my earlier letter I complained of gross over-simplification on Mr. Uloth's part and I really think he slips up over a war in Africa preceding an imperialistic totalitarianism. He talks of a war between the "Negro-controlled West and the White-controlled East and South" of Africa. Yet the East of Africa is not wholly white-controlled and by 1965 will be practically all newly independent states. Very soon Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and the Belgian Congo will be joining Ethiopia and Somaliland (due for independence in 1960) in independence. Kenya may well follow suit as may Northern Rhodesia.

The real question is the length of time before Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Southern Africa fall to African invasion. My guess is that white people who want to help Africans and not rule them will be accepted as friends and that those who do not mind 'mixed' marriages will remain, the majority of the Europeans will go after a short struggle. If you believe the Whites will not leave so easily you should see the way Europeans in parts of Northern Rhodesia who would "never leave the country" have gone and bloody quick. Thus, before 1970, Africa will be a black and brown country of Africans, Indians, Arabs and "mixtures" with perhaps a few white liberals.

By this time, according to the prophet Uloth, America and Russia will be fighting China and Europe will be devastated by nuclear war. If Africa does become an imperialist power—which will most probably happen after internal wars—China is fighting Russia and America

what could be more obvious than an Afro-Asian alliance? Thus we could expect in the 1970's a tremendous war between men with coloured skins and those with "white".

You may wonder at the speed of these changes in the world situation I have indicated, but the engine of African power is just getting up steam and soon it may get practically out of control.

Yours fraternally,
R.J.W.

PROTEST

The Editor,
FREEDOM.

DEAR FRIEND,

At the end of October an international team proposes to make a non-violent protest against the manufacture and testing of atomic weapons by France.

The team will congregate in Ghana, and travel by Land Rover from Ghana, through Upper Volta, the French Sudan and the Sahara region to Algeria to El Hammoudia, just south of Reggan, where the French Atomic Bomb is to be tested.

If they manage to reach their destination, the team will do all they can to dissuade the scientific and military personnel on the spot from carrying out the tests. If unsuccessful, they will remain in the area themselves when the test is made.

By running the risk of imprisonment, injury or death, the protesters hope to remind the world of the extreme danger and folly of testing nuclear weapons, and of allowing the ownership of such armaments to spread to yet another country.

Very heavy expenses will be incurred carrying out such a project. We therefore appeal to all those who believe in the necessity of such a protest to make a generous contribution towards the cost of planning it.

Yours sincerely,

MICHAEL RANDLE,
Chairman, Direct Action
Committee Against Nuclear War.

Other signatories:— Lord Boyd Orr, Dr. Alex Comfort, Earl Russell, Rev. Michael Scott, Dr. Donald Soper.

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OCT. 11.—Tony Gibson on

NARCOTICS: THEIR USE AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

OCT. 18.—Albert Meltzer on

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