

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Order is but a meaningless word without liberty. They are two connected and inseparable conditions."
—VICTOR CONSIDERANT

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Threepence

The Labour Party's Outside Rights and Outside Lefts Join Battle EVERYTHING BUT SOCIALISM

THE latest move in the top level struggle within the Labour movement is, as we write these lines, a declaration of war on Gaitskell's leadership issued by the executive Council of Victory for Socialism. It charges that during the last few years the Right has had its own way and that under Mr. Gaitskell's "infiltration" it has induced the party to "muffle the attack on capitalism, lay down the radical aims of the party, and choose bi-partisanship with the Conservatives on vital issues, such as the bomb". The impressive *J'accuse* ends with the traditional pat on the back immediately followed by the inevitable slap in the face. Mr. Gaitskell's "personal qualities" may continue for long to be of value to the Labour movement BUT

we believe that his leadership is a source of weakness, confusion and disunity in the party, and that, in the interests of the party, he ought to go.

Mr. Sidney Silverman, one of the seven Labour M.P.s to support the Victory for Socialism declaration, told the Press that he had "admiration" for many of Mr. Gaitskell's qualities

his great intelligence, great ability, great sincerity and very often his great courage. But you cannot be outside right and centre-forward of the same team at the same time.

What more generous advance obituary notice could a politician expect to receive from a fellow politician? The only trouble is that Mr. Gaitskell while recognising the dilemma as expressed by Mr. Silverman in football terms (and not cricket terms, which would not be understood by the real workers!) may have as little faith in the outside Lefts of the Party as they have of the outside Rights. As we have faith in neither, we can understand the frustration both factions must feel about each other. The Gaitskell outside-rights watch the sands of time running out and the chances of winning elections becoming more remote because of a bunch of agitators whose "image" of the Party, they say, is hopelessly behind the times. The Outside-Lefts on the other hand, think they have been a minority within the party long enough, and realise that they will continue to be so as long as the Party is run by the block votes of the Unions and remains under the influence of the old gang of Labour politicians. Whatever the outside-leftists may say to the contrary, the objectives of both factions is to win the next elections.

If the "Revisionists" succeed in imposing their plan on the Labour movement it is almost certain that those of the "purists" who don't

change sides will have to start a new Party and at most hope that they can become a minority force in Parliament with sufficient seats to harrass whatever government is in power when it comes to Divisions. If on the other hand the Leftists win the day (which will mean that they have succeeded in capturing the Union block votes, and we don't suppose they will have any scruples about accepting them!) then they will be the Party, and the old gang and the Revisionists will probably find themselves seeking to make common cause with a section of the Liberals, who in turn will probably split, with some leaving the Party to join the Tories. Who knows but

that within the Tories there may be a minority splitting off to join the Liberals!

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WHATEVER happens things will remain very much as they are now, for all we can expect to see happen is, at most, the emergence of new political figureheads, the hastening of a process which is taking place all the time on the football field as well as on the floor of the House! Underneath, at the level of the people—and the only level at which revolutions can take place—the real change, social- and not palace-revolution can take place—the situation will be as it always has been. To change that situation re-

quires something more radical than a change of Constitution or a change of Party Leaders. *Tribune* is being its usual demagogic self when it maintains through the pen of Michael (Marullus) Foot that the "real cause of the so-called crisis within the party" is not the "personal arguments and antagonisms which are merely incidental to it," but "the expressions of opinion both within the unions and the constituency parties" which are threatening to oust the hitherto well-established majority represented by the old gang. If this were true surely a socialist wind of change would have by now found expression somewhere, somehow, even in the columns of *Tribune*, for instance?

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WHAT is the militant socialism represented by *Tribune*? In the heat of the crisis "Marullus"

Continued on p. 3

Disarmament Conference at Geneva 'FLEXIBILITY' & 'DEADLOCK'

ON June 15th a newspaper headline read: *Signs of Flexibility at Geneva*; by June 18th another read: *Deadlock at Geneva*. These two headlines concisely sum up the purposeless exchanges going on between East and West on disarmament and nuclear test ban negotiations. Last week-end the British and United States delegates left Geneva "to consult their Governments" after which they will doubtless return to continue the farce at a later date.

Many of the issues on which there are no hopes of agreement have already been obscured by newly formulated conditions. It does not really matter what these are, the important thing is that at this stage neither side are prepared to give an inch.

The Soviet demand that the elimination of foreign bases and the withdrawal of all foreign troops must be linked "in the first disarmament stage with the elimination of all means of delivering nuclear weapons" obviously will never be met. The Soviet Union policy-makers know that neither Britain or America have any intentions of giving up their foreign bases; the suggestion, therefore, merely adds to the existing host of clauses compiled to keep "negotiations" going—the playing for time tactics skilfully played by both East and West.

America's invitation to the Soviet Union to send observers to Nevada next month to watch a five-hundred ton underground explosion for "peaceful purposes" is meaningless in terms of disarmament negotiations, although this "open house" policy may impress world observers with its friendliness.

Much more revealing are the views

expressed by Mr. Ormsby Gore, the chief British delegate at Geneva, that:

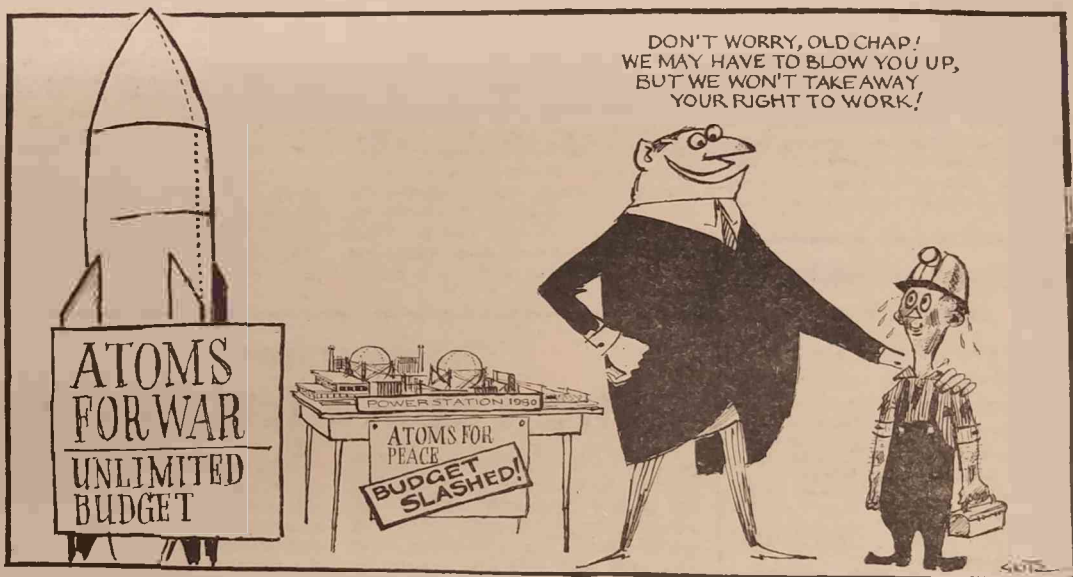
withdrawal from Western Europe of bases equipped with intermediate-range ballistic missiles would give increased military advantage to Russia since the existence of such bases tended to offset any inequality arising from the threat to Western Europe posed by numerous Soviet missile installations.

In passing Mr. Gore added that small countries had every right to have friendly bases or forces on their territory to ensure their freedom and independence! We are assured however, by Mr. Gore that the elimination of all military bases "would be entirely acceptable once fear of attack is eliminated through safeguarded disarmament", a pretty safe statement when we consider the results of the present disarmament talks.

The truth is that militarily speaking, East and West have much to fear from each other. Russia is threatened by bases surrounding her territory and in turn stands menacingly herself on the borders of Western Europe. Except for the threat of long range missiles, from a military standpoint the American continent is in a more secure position.

Politically, events in Asia suggest that the United States is weaker than it has ever been, but a change of administration and the mighty dollar may well strengthen American influence, lost through political ineptitude.

But no change of government anywhere is going to remove the threat of war and suffering. The problems of a competitive capitalist society will be with us until new forms of relationships replace the old.



Governments and the Eichmann Case

HERR EICHMANN in his glory as a Nazi official was not a criminal. Everything he did was in full accordance with laws properly ratified by a sovereign state. Although the concentration camps accounted for thousands and even millions of human lives, these were German subjects, including those of Jewish descent, and so, as a State officer, he was not a criminal but an arch-apostle of law and order. When the conquests of war enabled him to account for more and more victims, from occupied countries, he still acted as a law-abiding official. To say that he offended "international law" is absurd. None existed that could protect his victims, or they would have availed themselves of it. Laws are imposed by the conqueror. When the Nazi overlords decided that it was a crime to be of Jewish descent, it was the Jews who were the "criminals", who were taken to prison with heads shaven. What was "illegal" was to fight back.

It is no more a "crime" for scientists today to prepare to destroy the entire world. The law protects and encourages them. It is "illegal" to take any action against atom bomb manufacturers, though to be sure, if any survivors are left after its use, there will be talk about punishing those who broke international "law" by using it, provided that they are the defeated.

The survivors of the concentration camps naturally demanded vengeance against their persecutors. Where they caught them, on the spot, they took summary toll. A large number of these preferred to escape and give themselves up to the conquerors, relying on "law

and order", of which they themselves were exponents. Despite the rubbish sometimes talked about "violating international law", causing "international anarchy" (!) and so on, the Nazis in every case put forward as their defence "WE ACTED UNDER ORDERS". That slogan is the symbol of the law-makers and law-abiders, who are the true criminals.

It was impossible for the Israel Government to resist constant demands from Jews who had suffered under Eichmann that he should not be allowed to escape. This demand has been least difficult to resist since the murder of a responsible member of the Government following a libel suit in which it had been alleged that he had collaborated with Eichmann. Since then it has been imperative for Mapai, the Socialist Labour Party in power, to demonstrate the truth about that affair in no uncertain fashion to its own people. It is usually said that they wish to tell the world the truth about the concentration camps. As realists, however, they know only too well and from too bitter experience that the world only knows what it wants to know; and what one suffered in wars gone by is apt to become unfashionable.

As believers in "law and order" themselves, or they would not be a Government, they have determined to bring Eichmann to trial. It would give a considerable number of people great pleasure to see him suitably punished for what he did, if this were in a hundredth part possible; most certainly not to see him found "not guilty" which one must presume is a possibility.

The fuss about his being kidnapped on South American soil is another part of the humbug about "international law". No doubt the Israeli delegation at the United Nations has its own ideas on how to mollify the Argentinians; but as the only people who count at that august assembly are the Russians and the Americans, the Israelis might do worse than turn up humming "La cucaracha" to remind the Mexicans of Pershing's military invasion of that country to kidnap Pancho Villa, and twirling an ice-pick as a reminder to the Russians that Leon Trotsky, also on Mexican soil, got less than a minimum degree of courtesy from his fellow law-makers.

There are, however, three points that emerge from the kidnapping of Eichmann.

First: The demonstration once again that "law and order" does not protect man against the State of which Eichmann like Hitler has always been an arch-exponent. Abstract principles of juridical authority are the "sweetener" over the pill of the nation-State. Let Eichmann be condemned by all means; but let us reject the humbug that this is part of the process of justice, which has signally failed humanity in the twentieth century.

The second point is now of academic interest although it was once a burning issue: namely the camouflage by the Allies during the late war, to show that "we" were humanitarian (us and our present enemies) and "they" were not (some of our present Allies). Joel Brand has told the story (*Advocate for the Dead* by Alex Weissberg gives his side of the

Continued on p. 4

THE American study of the functioning of the Standard Motor Company at Coventry (*Decision-Making and Productivity* by Seymour Melman) which was discussed in last week's FREEDOM has several interesting aspects for those who seek evidence on whether ideas of workers' control are applicable to the scale and complexity of modern manufacturing industry. The first of these points is the mystique of management, on which Melman notes that:

"The proposition that more extensive managerial controls are needed by, or determine, productivity levels has become the basis for far-reaching efforts to elaborate the methods of management in the name of raising productivity. One result has been the frantic emulation of U.S. management methods in other industrial or industrialising countries. Inescapably, considerable parts of the gains in productivity obtained in the factory have been used up in the form of expanded administrative functions and man-hours in the office. Indeed, in England during the last decades the manpower cost of managing manufacturing firms has been rising more rapidly than the growth of productivity."

To counter the "widely accepted ideology" that the intensity of managerial control must rise parallel with mechanisation, he cites the experience of the Standard Company to show that "large, highly mechanised plants can be operated at a high level of productivity with management methods that are at once simple, inexpensive and effective". Standard is of course, in business to make a profit, the managerial structure is hierarchical. By comparison however, with many other firms, it is strongly "production oriented", its board of directors is a "working" board. In unique contrast to the rest of the motor industry, its "administrative overhead" declined over the period 1939 to 1950, while that of every other firm in the industry, and for manufacturing as a whole, increased. This was in spite of an expansion in the number of production workers of 191 per cent, as opposed to the industry's 66 per cent. The average tendency has been for "proliferating managerial controls, man-hours and money costs" and "towards extension of detailed control over the production of employees of the

firm." In contrast, the policies of the Standard Company have been "definitely unorthodox":

"In production, the management has been prepared to pay a high wage and to organise production via the gang system which requires management to deal with a grouped work force, rather than with single workers, or with small groups... the foremen are concerned with the detailed surveillance of things rather than with the detailed control over people... The operation of integrated plants employing 10,000 production workers did not require the elaborate and costly hallmark of business management."

It will be seen that these managerial policies are inseparable from the complementary policies of the workers. Indeed the crux of Melman's book is the existence of two inter-related decision-making systems, those of the workers and those of the management. These he contrasts with possible alternative policies to the "mutual decision-making process", an anti-union policy by management, like that pursued by Fords or the Austin-Morris combine, or "competition for managerial control" by the workers, which he sees as a political policy which "would lead to a weakening of the union as a decision-making body, despite overt and noisy evidence of 'struggle' against the employer." This competition for control, is the demand not for workers' control, but for nationalisation, which he regards as a unilateral decision system antipathetic to the interests of the worker, though doubtless he would make the same criticism of syndicalist policies as Hugh Clegg does in his new book *A New Approach to Industrial Democracy* (Blackwell, 18s. 6d.), namely that they "were so concerned to preserve the virginal purity of their independence that they advocated no agreement with employers", so that their organisation would be impotent while decision-making rested wholly in the hands of the employers.

BEFORE the war trade unionism at the Standard works was weak, as it was throughout the motor industry. Work was seasonal, labour was hired 'at the gate', there was no shop steward organisation. War conditions illustrated the truth of the old slogan that the boss's need is the worker's opportunity, and after the war a contract was negotiated

with the Standard management which Professor Melman regards as "an historic document in the history of British trade unionism" because it broke with tradition in several ways. It incorporated provision for periodic re-negotiation and gave explicit recognition to the gang system as a device for both work organisation and wage payment.

There are about 36 separate unions in the metal-working or engineering industry in Britain, and until the end of the second World War each of the unions was separately responsible for its particular members in a factory. The defects of this method of organisation have always been stressed by the advocates of industrial, as opposed to craft, unionism. Efforts were made after the war to overcome this fragmentation by the use of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions as a negotiating body. The chairman and secretary of the shop stewards' committee in each works represents the confederation, and the Standard contract is with the Coventry district of the confederation.

The gang system as worked at the Standard Motor Company has some similarities with the collective contract advocated by the guild socialists. One of the differences between the way it is worked there, compared with the use of it in other motor vehicle plants is in the size of the gangs. The tractor factory was organised as one gang and the motor car factory as 15 gangs ranging in size from 50 to 500 people. From the standpoint of the production workers "the gang system leads to keeping track of goods instead of keeping track of people." In relation to management,

"the grouped voice of a work force has greater impact than the pressure of single workers. This effect of the gang system, coupled with trade unionism, is well understood among many British managements. As a result, many managements have opposed the use of the gang system and have argued the value of single worker incentive payments."

For payment purposes the output that is measured is the output of the whole group. "A unit of output is given a time value called a 'bonus time'. The sum of the output is the total bonus time produced. The total bonus time produced is measured as a percentage of

actual hours worked by members of the gang. The resulting ratio is applied to the basic wage of each worker and gives the production bonus to be paid." In the motor industry generally, as David Butt notes ("Men and Motors", *New Left Review*, May-June 1960), the possibilities of dispute over payments are boundless. "The wages of a motor worker may be likened to an upturned pyramid; rising from the pin-point of the national minimum, his earnings—from the myriad of rates, bonuses and payments—are heaped together one on top of the other in a clumsy, precarious, uneven pile."

The new wage system negotiated in the Standard contract aimed at simplifying the incredibly complex system of wage rates. In one machine shop under the old system there were 68 separate job rates. Under the new wage system the workers were all grouped into eight classes of job rates.

"Statistical analyses, coupled with extensive consultation, finally resulted in agreement among the workers as to the basic groupings for purposes of job payment. Among the work force there have been various views as to the gain and deficiency of the new wage structure. The fact is that some of the highest paid workers under the old system took a wage reduction in the course of embodying their wage rates within a group job rate... From the union's side, however, the wage structure agreed to under the contract was eminently satisfactory in so far as it provided a high basic wage and a total wage increase for many occupations... Also, there was more uniformity of earnings among the work force and, as a result, less bad blood among the workers owing to wage differentials. Finally, from the union standpoint, the existence of large gangs for purposes of wage payment was advantageous for the exercise of worker decision-making."

Melman bases his enumeration of the fields in which Standard workers have effectively influenced decision-making, on the categories enumerated by Lawrence B. Cohen in *Workers and Decision-Making in Production*. They are "Worker Group, Work Time, Deployment, Performance, and Compensation". Worker Group means "the regulation of who may participate in the worker organisation of the plant" including not only the occupations involved but also the conditions of hiring and re-employment, or termination and discharge." Work Time "includes the regulation of the regular working day and week, time for shift operations, holidays, vacations,

leave of absence, the regulation of overtime work, as well as rules for shift lockouts and slowdowns." Deployment is the category "for the whole body rules controlling the movement of workers among jobs in the plant. This force, covers the procedures for promotion, demotion, transfer of jobs, lay-offs, recalls to work, and rules governing performance of contract work." Compensation includes "the classification of jobs to be performed in the plant, the regulation of work loads on all the jobs." Compensation "covers all aspects of payment by the employer, whether in wages or in the form of 'fringe' benefits. It also encompasses working conditions provided by the employer, and details of rules controlling compensation for overtime, shift working, and other types of special work." To his discussion under these headings Melman adds two categories of his own, those of Inter-Plant Relations, and activities of workers that involve their decision-making activities that include the work forces of other plants in the own and related industries" and Market for the Company's Products, meaning "worker concern and activity with respect to the disposition of the products which they produce."

IT is under the first of these headings that the most interesting part of the history occurs:

"On several occasions shop stewards of the Standard Company took the initiative in visiting the plants of supplier firms whose output was irregular because of industrial relations problems. This was done in order to get the facts of the case and to make recommendations (necessary) to the Standard management for ensuring a continuation of components supplies... In one case... the learned the details of the wage problem between the work force at the supplier plant and the management. The stewards from Standards advised the management of their findings. These findings we were advised, included the point that the management of the supplier firm could grant a wage increase only if the price paid by Standard for the products were increased. Following the investigation by the stewards discussion took place between the managements which resulted in a renewal of work schedules."

"An important instance of inter-plant contact by workers occurred in connection with negotiations for a plant-wide holiday period, the management indicated that it was prepared to agree to a two-week vacation provided that it was possible to handle the mass of compon-

Continued on p. 3

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DISCUSSION

The Paperback Boom

BIBLIOS is a bookseller, and therefore sees the paperback boom as a product of declining sales; a publisher (who is in more senses than one a bookmaker) sees it rather as one of declining profits—for total book sales have actually increased since the war, and the chief problem of booksellers and publishers alike is a lack of capital, not of business. The important point is that while a bookseller makes money on nearly every book he sells, a publisher must sell several thousand copies of each title before he breaks even; and because production costs have risen faster than retail prices, he must spend more money initially and then sell even more copies before a book begins to pay. Meanwhile the bookseller is taking a bigger cut—his profits are slow but high.

Thus a book that would have made a small profit in, say, 1935, will make a big loss in 1960. This is the simple explanation for the troubles of the hardcover book trade and the background for the advent of a large-scale paperback trade.

Two factors may be noted in the latter. The first is that it is simply one more way of exploiting the "property"—it's money for jam for the original publisher, who usually makes sure his own stocks are exhausted before letting a attempt to create a new reading-public, based on the 1944 Education Act rather than the 1871 one (in other words to exploit the untapped market of people to whom the word "book" means *Reveille* rather than *Lolita*), as well as taking in the railway readers and students from the middle- and high-brows respectively. Hence the use of new retail outlets, antagonising the old-fashioned booksellers and librarians, the low prices, made possible by inferior materials and/or very long runs, and the touting up, well described by Biblios.

Inevitably this touting up—along with the advertising campaigns and so on—is spreading to the hardcover trade too. Let me quote an example from a large accountant-minded firm more interested in magazines than books and more interested in money than either. A series

of rural guides (of the "follow-me-down-this-footpath-and-I'll-show-you-the-spirit-of-the-place" variety) was planned and announced. The first volume, with an unremarkable title and a nice drawing of a ploughed field on the jacket, was a predictable flop. What could be done about the second volume, which was already on the way?

The solution was simple. In one of the country houses it describes there is a statue of a delicious naked girl reclining on a couch. So put a photograph of her on the jacket, call the book *Who Slept Here?*, and wait for the orders to roll in. What the purchasers of this worthy but very dull book will say when they have read it is unimportant; they will already have paid. It is equally unimportant that they won't trust the jacket of the next book? Touting up brings quick profits, but its long-term effects on the book trade and the reading public will be appalling. Good books will have to shelter under the umbrella of snobbery or the universities to get published at all, and the new readers will be corrupted—or rather, numbed—permanently. Pavlov could have told us years ago that if you repeatedly stimulate an animal in the same way its response will become first automatic and then negligible, however strong the original sensation. Returns always diminish in the end.

So on the one hand books become rather disappointing drugs, and on the other they become status symbols—depending on whether they are bound in paper or cloth. The situation is a lot worse, both culturally and commercially, in the USA, but we are steadily catching up. I would rather live here, where I can buy *Dr. Zhivago*, than in Russia, where I couldn't (though I still have to cross the Channel to get *Tropic of Cancer*); but it is worth pondering on the fact that the standard of books sold in Moscow is on the whole far higher than in London—though I suppose it wouldn't be for long if the Russians had half a chance to buy the rubbish we are offered. Are poverty and prudery the only safeguards against triviality and vulgarity? A.F.

AROUND THE GALLERIES

IN 1953 Reg Butler had the good fortune to have his maquette for his "Political Prisoner" smashed by a Hungarian artist.

The protesting Hungarian went to prison and Butler found himself a national celebrity. Yet Butler was entitled to his place in the spotlight for at that time he was a creative artist who tried to offer us a fresh interpretation of the human agony. Unfortunately, for Reg Butler, he now tries to shrug off that period of his life and coyly claims that at heart he was always as one with the academic boys and that the "political prisoner" period was a passing aberration. We in this country were fortunate in that we possessed two fine sculptors.

A major artist in Epstein and a minor master in Henry Moore. Though all their working lives these two men faced public ridicule, they never deviated from their true creative role.

Epstein witnessed his figure of "Rima" despoiled by political scum, his magnificent and ageless "Genesis" hauled around the country for the jeers of fools and the offering of his "Ecce Homo" rejected by the residential philistines of Selby Abbey, while Moore became the butt of our witless middle class.

But these two men were always their own masters, answerable only to themselves and Butler, for shrugging off a proud period of his working life, becomes a lesser man. Reg Butler is showing his latest works at the Hanover Gallery at 32a, St. George Street, W.1, and no one will foam at the mouth with unrepresible, unreasonable rage for everything is now acceptable.

Everything is acceptable. Yet even among these thirty sculptured nudes there are echoes of the Butler of the nineteen fifties, for he has included one of the "Girl" sculptures he did in 1955.

Narrow waisted, broad hipped and high breasted, she offered us a pagan sensuality alien to these puritanical islands and she won the condemnation of various unimportant people in high places,

But for the rest it is pretty conventional stuff. Butler uses Marin's trick of using death-like rigidity to suggest inner tautness but at no time does he succeed in evoking the illusion of sub-surface tensions. His dolls limbs are either as stiff and as boneless as wooden table legs or as soft as mush, and time and again the weight of the body rests on non-existent supports, for these bodies exist in space above legs that have no relation to the mass above them. Butler's series of "Figures in space" are caught in too solid a web of metal spokes to suggest the winged spirit and *sans* hands and feet give them the appearance of barbecued chickens. The A.I.A. of 15 Lisle Street, W.C.2, are showing the abstract paintings of a trio of brush hands. This stuff is so banal that one wonders why it was ever hung in the first place and secondly if it is worth the cartage fee to collect it when the exhibition is ended. These huge sheets of hardboard casually covered with broad masses of matt colour or irritated by a motiveless dragging brush could have been painted by any painter's labourer in fifteen minutes.

When two or three visitors to the gallery pause to examine a grey painted sheet of hardboard acting as a temporary door panel and then consult their catalogue, then one must accept the fact that abstract painting is finding its nadir. The New Vision Gallery beneath 4 Seymour Place, W.1, manages to fluctuate between the plain crazy and the fairly good and the current work on show is pretty fair. Caloutsis was among the Greek abstractists who showed at the Redfern exhibition and his sad and sober documents are worth a second viewing.

Win de Haan is showing his rag-bag type of abstract work. He builds his raised surfaces by using various found objects and then welds the whole together by superimposing an open pattern of paint. It is not great stuff but it is de Haan's personal vision made manifest.

ARTHUR MOYSE

Everything but Socialism

Continued from p. 1

Foot reminds us (*Tribune*, 17/6/60)

Tribune is a strong upholder of Parliamentary Government, including the right and duty of M.P.s to exercise their individual judgment and conscience.

Why not the people as well. In theory today MPs are the representatives of their constituents; in other words they should represent the view point of the people on the issues under discussion, and this to our minds would be a more democratic expression of the public interest than Mr. Foot's pleading that MPs should speak and vote according to their individual consciences, points of view . . . or prejudices.

It is, of course, utter nonsense to suppose that 600-odd MPs can represent the interests of 50 million people; it is even more nonsensical, certainly not socialism to believe that by giving *carte blanche* to 600-odd MPs the interests of the people will either be forwarded or safeguarded. In any case if that were possible then there would be no justification for a party system since the selection of candidates would have to be determined by a public examination of their integrity and their superhuman capacity to be the custodians of the nation's interests and conscience! But "Victory for Socialism" dreams of the day when the Labour Party purged of the Revisionists and the old gang will defeat the wicked Tories, and Michael Foot will clean up the Home Office before moving to higher spheres; Ian Mikardo bringing his business experience to the Board of Trade as a start on the road to loftier heights. One can imagine Mr. Zilliacus as foreign Minister, Mervyn Jones as Minister of Education or Postmaster General and Sydney Silverman might well be rewarded for so many years in the political wilderness with the job of Solicitor General. And of course *Tribune* could become the Official Gazette edited by Richard Clements and assisted by the *New Left* boys. (The Premiership is much more difficult to forecast. What has happened to Bevan? Is he still a sick man or is he now suffering from a diplomatic illness?).

Our facetiousness is not out of place if it underlines the remoteness between the thinking of the so-called *Left elite*, within the Labour movement, and Socialism; between the pretensions of that body to represent true socialism as against the Revisionism of the Right wing. For these "Socialists" there is no contradiction, no antagonism between society and government so long as the government is composed of the right kind of people!

Nearly 200 years ago William Godwin expressed more clearly the distinction between society and government than any of the Socialist thinkers today even in their most enlightened moments could dream of doing when he wrote in his *Political Justice*

We should not forget that Government is, abstractedly taken, an evil, a usurpation upon the private judgment and individual conscience of mankind. A fundamental distinction exists between society and government. Men associated at first for the sake of mutual assistance. Society and Government are different in themselves, and have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and Government by our wickedness. Society is in every state a blessing; Government even in its best state but a necessary evil.

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FAR from progressing in ideas from the times in which Godwin lived, the "Socialist" thinkers of

today have converted the "necessary evil" of government into a "necessary virtue". The recent publication of Richard Crossman's pamphlet "Labour in the Affluent Society" was hailed by *Tribune* (June 3) as "so good, so relevant, so brilliantly written and so devastating a reply to the revisionists that not even a full-page review could do it justice"; and in a full-page review in the *New Statesman* last week, Mr. Bernard Crick describes it as "brilliant" and furnishing "food for thought, or fuel for the flames for many a day". It may well be all that these two journals say of it. But it is significant that neither of them mentions the word *Socialism* for in fact it discusses everything but socialism, however often it may refer to "fiscal socialism" "socialist government" and to the "socialists" of the Labour Party. Crossman's is not a pamphlet of ideas, nor is it "brilliant" or "devastating", and the "food for thought" consists of two scraps, and even then, the conclusions the author draws neutralise the food-for-thought value of his observations.

On page 5 he writes: A Left-Wing Government is required only where the change must be radical and involve a repudiation of orthodoxy; and the occasion for it will be a crisis in which the people, shaken out of its complacency, loses confidence in its traditional rulers and quite deliberately insists that what the country needs are new men and a big step forward.

If this, and not the swing of the pendulum, is the true rhythm of British political development, it follows that the prime function of the Labour Party is to provide an ideology for non-conformist critics of the Establishment, and a political instrument for interests and social groups which are denied justice under the *status quo*. So far from trying to show that its leaders can manage capitalism as competently as the Tories and reshaping itself in the image of the American Democratic Party, the Labour Party, if it is ever to return to power with a mandate from the people, must remain a Socialist challenge to the established order.

A Labour Party of this kind is likely to be out of office for much longer periods than the Tories.

To which we would reply that if the Labour Party did its job properly then it would be out of office for all time, for it could only achieve the repudiation of orthodoxy among the people by seeking to create a new sense of responsibility, the success of which could only be measured by the extent to which the people refused to have their lives run for them by a handful of their fellows whether they called themselves Socialists or Tories. Socialists cannot have it both ways. Either they want to foster individual responsibility, in which case they must expect the people they succeed in influencing to refuse to vote for them or anybody else; or they don't believe in the people having a will of their own, in which case let them stop talking about Socialism. Furthermore an enlightened people will create their own instruments to express and safeguard their interests. They do not need a political party to be their spokesman. Indeed the moment this happens, the initiative is taken away from the people and all the vices of the political machine will reassert themselves.

The other scrap offered to us by Mr. Crossman appears on page 21:

A Socialist Government, it is often argued, would be able to finance the huge extensions of welfare, education and other public services to which it is committed by encouraging a much faster rate of development in the private sector of industry and then taxing away a sufficient amount of the profits. This was the policy put forward by the Labour Party at the October election and in the short run any Labour Government would have to attempt it. But experience should have taught us that the run might be very short indeed. In the Affluent Society no government is able to give orders to Big Business. After one Budget a Labour Chancellor who tried to squeeze private industry too hard would soon discover that he was not master in his own house.

★
Published by the Fabian Society, London, 1960, 24 pp. 2s. 6d.

More Criticisms and Suggestions

VARIETIES OF APPROACH

"Anarchist theory becomes confusing when a new reader realises that many different theories are all accepted within the confines of FREEDOM."

"Would like to read more about the different schools of anarchist thought."

"As an individualist I would like to see more articles and book reviews on land and money matters."

"Less junk from individualists, if possible. Why not racing hints?"

"Serious attempts should be made to provide new readers with clear ideas of what anarchists think. When they 'become' anarchists, they can think for themselves."

"Would like a dose of Max Stirner now and again. His work is all too little known, even amongst the best anarchists."

"An individual philosophy is more important than an international policy. The rest will follow!"

"I would like a series of fairly simple articles on anarchist theory for beginners."

"More effort to enlighten new readers as to what anarchism is about."

"There should be less connection with socialist-communist thought and a more independent anti-political, anti-government line adopted."

"Fight for socialism first; after socialism, communism. When you get communism, fight for anarchism, it won't come in any other order."

"Sees too many communist bogeys under the bed."

"Explore the possibilities of the working-class movement and its relations with free economic structures, co-operatives,

communities, and, for example, the Spanish revolution."

"Is not fair in its treatment (or lack of it) regarding small socialist groups outside LP and CP."

"Be more informed about genuine Marxist theory—not so dogmatic about Marx and his ideas and labours."

"My main constructive criticism is that I don't see enough of the idea that I am trying to live by at the moment which is a realisation that psychology and biology and the study of nature and the universe are the interesting and important things, allied of course, with a mind that recognises the value of doubting and an open mind."

"I find FREEDOM amusing, and very often agree with it, but I feel that it is negative. Whilst I aim at perfection in politics as elsewhere, I would not hesitate to use any method to advance working-class interests including that of state power and bourgeois democratic institutions."

"I have now been a regular reader of FREEDOM for a number of years, and my chief criticism is that it does not present anarchism to an unconstructive public in sufficiently striking form. I suggest that you should declare (and repeat in your columns again and again) the fact that the State has no objective existence, that it is not a monster, but a myth. If the whole truth is told, this myth persists in men's minds not so much because of the craft and subtlety of politicians and other designing people, as because, broadly, the human race is stupid. I urge that you should press home to your readers the true social and economic nature of this world. To lay the foundation of

anarchism, you must convince your readers that they live by goods and services, in the production of which no State or politician plays a part. With that basic truth grasped, the other implications of anarchism, namely the artificiality of the 'nation' as a division of mankind, the iniquity of the claims of 'property' in production, and the total humbug of 'finance' could be readily assimilated."

"Nearly all discussion today takes place on a level of repair rather than one of rebuilding. You often question fundamentals which one is inclined to forget. Keep doing it. Go on questioning the premises which other newspapers take for granted in their discussions, i.e. they discuss the state of the stock exchange, you question whether its existence can be justified."

TOO UTOPIAN?

"I read FREEDOM mainly for its value as a source—e.g. its biographical sketches. Its ideas are on the whole very confused, reflecting the Utopian attitude of permanent protest."

"A more constructive approach needed—less utopianism."

"More empiricism—i.e. a tying of anarchist theory to actual facts, and less utopianism."

"Many contributions are ludicrous because they lack political realism."

"I think that FREEDOM (or anarchism through it) should press toward direct experiment with anarchist institutions and devices: otherwise there is a Byzantine odour in everything said."

(To be concluded)

Workers and Industrial Decision-Making

Continued from p. 2

ents scheduled to arrive at the plant on a daily basis through half of the two week holiday period. (A two week holiday involved one week more than the regular holiday of the supplier plants).

"The shop stewards in the Standard Company plants contacted their opposite numbers in the plants of all major supplier firms. A conference was arranged to negotiate an industry-wide two week holiday, which would handle the problem of the Standard workers as well as for the workers of the supplier plants. This conference and the arrangements involved were on a 'unofficial' basis since the Engineering and Allied Employers' Federation was not prepared to negotiate with the Confederation on such an agreement. At this conference worker representatives from nine firms were

represented. One shop steward said: The management thought they'd give us a problem that we couldn't solve.

"Inter-plant contacts of this type have enabled the shop stewards of the Standard Company to secure information of interest to them for negotiation with the Standard management with respect to sources of components and estimates of the cost of production of such components.

"Various conversations with shop stewards and other production workers of the Standard Company indicated that many of them knew, in exact detail, the quantities and the sources of supply on incoming components to their plant. In one conversation, a question arose as to the characteristics of the gear box on a certain make of automobile. One of the

stewards proceeded to recount a detailed history of all the types of gear boxes used on principal British automobiles, their inventors, manufacturers, holders of patent rights, and the effect of company mergers on their manufacture."

This passage, apart from presenting a picture of the shop steward which would be unrecognisable to the reader of the *Daily Telegraph* or the cinemagoer, provides evidence to support the claim of the believer in industrial democracy, that the worker is as capable as the management hierarchy in organising production. Indeed the whole picture of the scope of "worker decision-making" which Melman gives, echoes the views of the advocates of the "collective contract":

"There were 15 gangs in the motor vehicle plant in 1953, operating with very little managerial supervision. There were no supervisory foremen in plants of this firm in the accepted sense of the term. This meant that in order to obtain satisfactory conditions of plant operation it was not necessary for the management to police directly the performance of the production workers."

He contrasts the "predatory" decision system of management, with the "mutual" decision system of the workers:

"Within the management hierarchy the relationships among the subsidiary functionaries are characterised primarily by predatory competition. This means that position is gauged in relative terms and the effort to advance the position of one person must be a relative advance. Hence, one person's gain necessarily implies the relative loss of position by others. Within the workers' decision system the most characteristic feature of the decision-formulating process is that of mutuality in decision-making with final authority residing in the hands of the grouped workers themselves."

He notes too that the workers' decision-making system is *disalienated*, in that "the people who execute decisions make them":

"In the decision system of the employer, decision-formulating is specialized into separate occupations, separate from those that receive and carry out the decisions in the form of production operations. The decision system of the employer is 'alienated' because of this separation between decision-formulation and decision-execution. Decision-making by organized workers has operated to disalienate decision-making, in the workers' decision process the workers themselves have the final voice in decision-formulating."

The crisis in this method of operation at the Standard works was reached in the "automation" strike of 1956 which will be discussed in a concluding article next week. C.W.

Mr. Crossman's answer to this is that the balance of the economy must be reversed to ensure "that the public dominates over the private sector". By which he means that the State and the government must have more and more powers to plan, to regulate the economic life of the country. For Mr. Crossman, then, socialism means more government, more control from the centre. He recognises that such a system gives rise to a State bureaucracy which itself "is one of those concentrations of power which threaten our freedom". And he replies that this dilemma can only be resolved

"by ensuring that the necessary extensions of public ownership should be counterbalanced by expanding the constitutional and judicial safeguards of personal freedom; by reviving Parliament's traditional function of controlling and checking the Executive; and by curbing the oligarchic tendencies both in the trade unions and in the party machines.

But if he fears the threat to freedom of a State bureaucracy which has more and more power, how can he assume (a) that it will be possible to expand "constitutional and judicial safeguards" and (b) even if this were done on paper what means would be available to the people to see that these safeguards were respected in fact. By the judiciary? Well, South Africa is the answer to that illusion!

★
NO, it won't work. Socialism must be the means as well as the ends if it is ever to be achieved.

Mr. Crossman thinks as a politician and not as a Socialist. His pamphlet is concerned with the East-West power struggle. Economically he is dominated by the achievements of the East bloc; from the point of view of civil liberties he supports the West. And this in broad outline is also the attitude of the so-called Socialist Left, from the *New Statesman*, via *Tribune* to the *New Left*. These "socialist" intellectuals do not believe in the people. Social changes will come from above. All the people must do is to allow themselves to be used by one set of leaders against those in power. Thereafter their function ceases, except to obey the new rulers!

Socialism, anarchism, will only be achieved when enough people want it more than the gadgets and tit-bits of the "Affluent Society". This is not an impossible task unless one believes for oneself that the material things which are the hall-mark of the "Affluent Society" are more important than freedom, and the freedom that stems from the leisure society. Mr. Crossman and his political cronies are obsessed with productivity, finance, unemployment, ownership. These are the values of a capitalist society. Leisure, production for needs, co-operation, are the values of the free society, in which there will be room for everybody to expand and live as human beings!

THE appointment of Alfred Robens as successor to Sir James Bowman as chairman of the National Coal Board has been greeted with misgivings both in political and trade union circles. The political reasons are not very important. Apparently Robens was certain of high office in a future Labour government, and might even have been Prime Minister. The fact that he has thrown up his parliamentary position on Labour's Front Bench implies that he does not think too highly of Labour's chances of returning to power. In fact, the present wave of self-examination and personal abuse within the Labour Party is due to the fact that no one thinks very highly of its chance, so at least Robens is in step. The Parliamentary party is losing someone who, to quote the *Guardian's* political correspondent, "has been distinguished from some of his parliamentary colleagues by his robust common sense". This kind of phrase is usually applied to people who are far too sensible to allow "doctrinaire" ideas of socialism to interfere with the efficient running of "the nation". Incidentally, the removal of a pillar of moderation from parliament should be very much in the interests of left-wing political manoeuvrers within the Labour ranks.

Criticism from Trade Union leaders is more to the point. The South Wales Area president, Mr. Will Whitehead, expressed this view by saying that they could understand a Tory being appointed to the post, but that when it was given to a member of the Labour shadow cabinet, the only conclusion was that the government intended to use the popularity of a Labour man to make its distasteful policies more palatable. Nevertheless, the criticism of Robens' personal decision to accept the post, as expressed by Whitehead and by Arthur Horner, misses the point completely. The cult of the personality can be used in a negative as well as a positive way. Just as the myth that a strong leader is the source of all success is often used to give substance to Conservative activities and methods within the Labour movement, the equally fallacious idea that the workers suffer reverses due to betrayal by a few crafty leaders tends to obscure the real problem. The appointment of Labour leaders to positions in nationalised industry is not a new phenomenon, and it is very well in accordance with the philosophy of Labour and the Trade Unions. It was the Labour government that shaped the structure of nationalisation after 1945, and even fixed the salary of the Coal Board chairman at £10,000 per annum. If one accepts the idea of nationalisation in its present form, accepts the idea that the function of the socialist and trade union movement is to help run a capitalist society, and accepts the need for highly paid executive boards to tell the workers how to do their work, then there can hardly be anything amiss in one of one's own

supporters taking on the job. As one right-wing spokesman commented, "Would they rather work for a Tory?" Unfortunately, the attitude of the reformists does seem most consistent on these questions. (George Stone, the editor of the *Socialist Leader* pointed out in a letter to the press that Gaitskell's attitude to the H-bomb was more consistent than that of M.P.'s who had been elected on a policy of nuclear armament and now proposed to alter it for reasons of political opportunism. No doubt he wants to persuade dissident political socialists to stop being opportunist and support the policy of the I.L.P., which is consistent while it has no representatives in parliament). What is clearly needed is not a change of political party, or a series of declarations that in future political leaders must be honest and keep their promises, but a complete change in the attitudes which inspire socialist and working-class organisation. To borrow one of King-Hall's phrases, we need to "break through the thought barrier", the thought barrier which prevents people from conceiving any other kind of organisation than a hierarchical, authoritarian mass movement, created and built up in the image of the State, and with no more radical object than to take the State over and make a few alterations in it.

The Tilbury dockers recently took one step away from the old idea, when after a week of frustration over a small industrial dispute, after they had resumed work so that negotiations could take place, and then been ignored by their union's negotiators, they decided to stop paying subscriptions to headquarters. The distance that they still have to travel

is shown by the fact that they decided only to withhold subscriptions until someone from the union did take up their case, instead of making a clean break and setting up their own organisation at their place of work.

Even more important, is that a change in approach to organisational methods and objects can only come as a consequence of a different way of thinking about the position and value of a worker. How many miners somehow feel that the members of the Coal Board deserve more money and respect than the men at the coal face? How many of the Tilbury dockers believe that the officials of the T.G.W.U. are better at negotiating than the men who have to move the cargoes around? These attitudes are held by many workers despite the evidence of local disputes. Similar attitudes are of course held among all kinds of workers, although the professional classes use different kinds of rationalisations to justify them. Naturally enough, when a man finds that the only way to earn a living is to do something in which he may not be very interested, to make profits for other people at their command, it forces him to take a poor view of himself, and to seek refuge in substitutes. Drink, religion and television have all played the role of substitute during different decades. Yet the time does come when dissatisfaction breaks through. One of the trusted leaders finally steps right over the line into the bosses' camp, or the union officials prove not only useless but insulting, and a wave of anger shows itself, indicating that however much people are taken in by the docile reformist line, there are seeds of discontent in the breasts of quite a high proportion of them. All too often, the discontent blows itself out in anger against the immediate cause or individual responsible. If the minor feelings of discontent can be brought together in peoples' minds so that they can have a look at them, and be inspired to find a solution based on the value and integrity of themselves and other people, then we may begin to see the kind of movements and social changes which were in the minds of the pioneers of the socialist and trade union movements, before the present type of "leaders" appeared. P.H.

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

WEEK 25

Deficit on Freedom	£500
Contributions received	£452
DEFICIT	£48

June 10 to June 16

Canterbury: Anon. 15/-; London: S.B. 5/-; Los Gatos: per l'incaricato, part proceeds Picnic, May 29th £17/10/0; per O.M., P. £3/10/0; Tanganyika: C.S. 11/-; London: J.S.* 3/-; London: N.D. 2/-; Rhu: J.B. £1/1/0; Tring: M.F. £2/3/0; Sutton: Anon. £1/0/0; Moorends: B.S. £2/0/0; Philadelphia: L.G. £1/8/0; Castle Douglas: J.A. 11/-; London: I.C. 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.* 2/6; Sheffield: P.M.B. 5/-; Mexico: M.S.F. £1/1/0; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-; Hong Kong: M.S.* 10/-; London: W.H.T. 1/-; London: J.G. 1/6; London: J.P.* 11/3.	
Total	34 1 3
Previously acknowledged	418 1 5
1960 TOTAL TO DATE	£452 2 8

*Indicates regular contributor.

DEAR EDITORS,

The way G. writes creates an atmosphere where if you so much as mention Reich with approval you fear being labelled as a fanatical follower and your views discounted. S.F. certainly hit the nail on the head with "closed door mentality".

Let's get this into perspective. There is a great deal in Reich's writing that is extremely relevant to anarchism. Tony Gibson wrote in "Youth for Freedom" (1951): "We have strong affinities with Wilhelm Reich—the Reich of the 1930's, for the Orgone controversy is hardly relevant to this matter. He has undoubtedly rendered great service to the anarchist movement by focussing attention on the sociological implications of sexual misery. . . . The conclusions of Reich's sociological work inevitably lead one to anarchism, unless one has the character-structure of an authoritarian, and it is interesting to trace the development of the ideas which have led him to postulate the necessity for "work democracy" along channels independent from anarchist theory. Reich seems hardly conscious of the meaning of anarchism, yet he has heavily endorsed most of the fundamentals of anarchist theory by his own independent findings." (My italics).

Surely all that is as true as ever. As for the rest, if G. wants to quote parts of Reich's writings and show where they are wrong, that will be legitimate argument. If not, let him keep quiet. I would advise anyone to study Reich for a great deal of enlightenment which they won't get elsewhere. There's a lot I don't understand, and I think I can see mistakes; so what? That a cult exists, I don't doubt, but doesn't G. exaggerate its importance? The people I have met who value Reich's work have been level-headed and eclectic, certainly not Messiah-seeking types, but perhaps G. has been less lucky. Why is G. so worried by the few fanatics? Surely most of your readers can judge for themselves. Acton, June 14. (Mrs.) A. W.

To the Editors of FREEDOM.

The arguments of the Reichians seem to run as follows:

1. Orgonomy has been tried and

works;

2. Even if it hadn't and didn't shouldn't be rejected till there's conclusive evidence against it;
3. In the meantime, it should be accepted to the exclusion of other theories.

These arguments seem to be equally applicable to faith-healing, prayer, astrology, spiritualism, witchcraft, necromancy, palm-reading, entrail-reading, crystal-gazing, phrenology, psychometry, telepathy, psephology, weather-forecasting, kremlinology, et al.

To take a single case, it would be interesting to hear whether open-minded Reichians believe in the Miracle of Fatima (which took place on 13th Oct. 1917, in the presence of thousands of witnesses) or the Virgin Birth and Resurrection of Jesus (which are affirmed by all the relevant documents and denied by none). If not, why not?

Scientific method demands neither an absolutely closed mind that refuses to accept anything nor an absolutely open mind that refuses to reject anything, simply one that weighs probabilities. The process of reasoning leads us to accept wireless and hypnotism; but when it comes to us weigh orgonomy against experience, which side prevails?

Hampstead, June 11. N.W.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENT

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

IMPORTANT

MEETINGS are now held at CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS "The Marquis of Granby" Public House, London, W.C.2. (corner Charing Cross Road and Shaftesbury Avenue) at 7.30 p.m. ALL WELCOME

JUNE 26.—John Pilgrim on CRIME AND THE FREE SOCIETY

London Anarchist Group AN EXPERIMENT IN OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. At Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. At Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2.

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. At Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

2nd Tuesday of each month at 8 p.m. (International Libertarian Group) At David Bell's, 39 Bernard Street, W.C.1. (Local Readers Welcome)

L.A.G. SUMMER SCHOOL REMINDER

Don't forget when arranging your holidays, that the Summer School will take place during August Bank Holiday weekend. It will be held at Alan Albon's Farm at Hailsham, Sussex (under canvas), and those who wish to will be able to stay for a week. Further details of cost, lectures, etc. will appear later.

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The Eichmann Case

Continued from p. 1

negotiations) of how Eichmann approached the Jewish underground in Hungary with a view to trading lorries for Jews. Brand was sent as an emissary to arrange a deal by which, if the Allies promised to send lorries to the Germans, the concentration camps would be blown up and no more victims taken.

The Nazis, in their stupidity, imagined that the Jewish Agency had the power to make such a deal: Brand found to his bitter disappointment how little they counted in world diplomacy, for all the "sympathy" by Allied leaders. There was no question in Brand's mind of sending lorries: all that was necessary was to promise to do so, and not keep the promise. Since London and Washington were far too high-minded to commit such a terrible deed as break faith with the Nazis, he tried to get a phoney promise of this kind made by the Jewish Agency in Constantinople, which would have bluffed the Nazis. He was therefore lured to Palestine and—did one use the word "kidnapped"?—finished the war in prison in Egypt. There he learned the bitter truth from Lord Moyne—"what would we do with all these people if they sent them over here?"—and told him, bitterly, that if there was no room on earth for them, the best place for the Jews would seem to be the concentration camps. (As an almost direct result of this conversation, Lord Moyne was assassinated by Jewish nationalist students). At this time, however, certain propaganda still assured us that only by unquestioning support of the Allied war leaders could we help the concentration camp victims.

The third point that has already emerged from the questioning of Eichmann has been well played down for the sake of current diplomatic relations. The Communist Party, for want of anything else, has continued a hue-and-cry over the very minor Nazis who retain power under Adenauer. It must be admitted too that, thanks to them, a number of minor Nazis have been uncovered, permeating the whole of the West German Republic. In return, it is sometimes pointed out that there are a good many minor Nazis in the East German Republic.

But seldom do we hear a hue-and-cry after the surviving major Nazis. Where are the bulk of them today? A few have flown to the Argentine, to Spain and Ireland, chiefly those with aristocratic Catholic connections. Nothing pleases the Communists more than to uncover another one and show how the rival Pope is protecting the "ex-Nazis".

But the bulk of the major Nazis are not "ex", are still active, are sitting in luxurious offices in Cairo, on Russian money and in constant contact with Communist countries' diplomats, planning the "Tag", the great pogrom they hope to organise in Israel with the aid of Russian guns and Arab cannonfodder.

The "Communists" usually try to hide the role of the Russian imperialists in the Middle East (which is by no means new and is part of a process going on since the nineteenth century). Under catchphrases about "communism" and "zionism" (the Russian leaders are particular adepts at vitriolic attacks upon "cosmopolitan Zionism" when what they mean is anyone of Jewish descent), they would like to hide their present alliance with the Cairo Nazis who, although tolerated, are completely despised by the Arab Nationalists themselves. The alliance of generals, sheikhs, Nazis and Russian agents that is preparing for war against Israel does not bother the latter country, because few there fail to realise that the feudal Arab countries can no more stand up to war than could Tsarist Russia; all they are concerned with is that the Red Army does not march with them.

That should not prevent anyone from exposing the frauds of the Communist Party in claiming to be vigilant about the present activities of Hitler's Old Guard. It will be particularly interesting to learn more of Eichmann's relations with that curious Arab world in which American oil magnates make a bid for the friendship of millionaire sheikh slave-owners against the outstretched hands offered by the Soviet Union, while both use as emissaries the very dregs of Hitler's associates.

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