

THE VULTURES DESCEND ON THE CONGO

AS was to be expected, the yellow press having exhausted the news value to be squeezed from the rapings and looting in the Belgian Congo (probably inventing part of the story to make their reports more spicy and disgusting), we are now being presented with a more accurate picture of what are the real problems behind the recent disturbances, and the pattern of these problems is always the same: of rivalry between the native political leaders, encouraged and exploited by the political and financial vultures of East and West whose hopes of deriving benefit and advantage in the new countries depends on maintaining, at least in the opening stages of these countries' newly won independence, such rivalry and strife. Then once the contracts have been sealed and signed it is "unity" and political apathy that these same people pray for. And so far African political leaders once in power have shown themselves very able in the art of stifling opposition: which is not surprising since it is one of the few things the colonial powers taught them during the long years of occupation.

IN the Belgian Congo the present stumbling block is the demand for an independent Katanga. Nobody can hide the fact that M. Tshombe's government in Katanga speaks for Belgian mining and financial interests and not for the people of Katanga who, if they were to be consulted on the matter, would probably not know what all the trouble was about! According to a *Guardian* report, the Belgian government would like to recognise the Tshombe government but is waiting to see if any "neutral government" will take the lead. If this happens then "it is believed here [in Brussels] Belgium would immediately recognise Tshombe's government and it is thought likely that recognition would be followed by the other five countries in the Common Market". But to recognise the secession of Katanga from the rest of the Congo is to make a farce of the "independence" recently granted to the country, for it would deprive it of its richest province and on which the development of the country as a whole will depend, in the immediate future, at least Katanga with only 12 per

cent. of the Congo's population produces more than 60 per cent. of the country's revenue. That is not to say that we think Katanga should be ruled from Leopoldville, but that an "independent" Katanga as at present envisaged would mean in effect rule from Brussels in spite of the facade of a native government and all the other outward signs of independence. And living standards for the other 9 million Congolese would be for some time to come lower than they are at present, for as the *Observer* put it last Sunday "The effect of stripping it [Katanga] away from the rest of the Congo would be like stripping the Ruhr out of Germany or the Midlands out of Britain."

BUT if Mr. Tshombe has his influential backers, Mr. Lumumba is not without his. In the middle of the disturbances in this country he set out for America. At first it was said by the somewhat puzzled political commentators that his mission was to put the Congo's case to the United Nations, a curious explanation since the U.N. would have already discussed the Congo "crisis" by the time he reached America! But then it was found that amongst the passengers in Mr. Lumumba's plane was a Mr. Edgar Detwiler, an American financier and head of the C.I.M.C.O.—or to the uninitiated, The Congo International Management Corporation—who had already signed a fifty year agreement with Mr. Lumumba involving invest

ments in the Congo totalling some £700 million! We are asked to believe, according to a writer in the *Observer*, that the "whole affair" arose

through a chance meeting between Mr. Detwiler and Mr. Sokony, private secretary to Mr. Patric Lumumba, the Congolese Prime Minister, in Conakry, Guinea. Mr. Detwiler had been in Guinea for more than a month waiting on the Guinea Government to sign a similar contract to the one now approved for the supply of capital, management and industrial training to the

Congo.

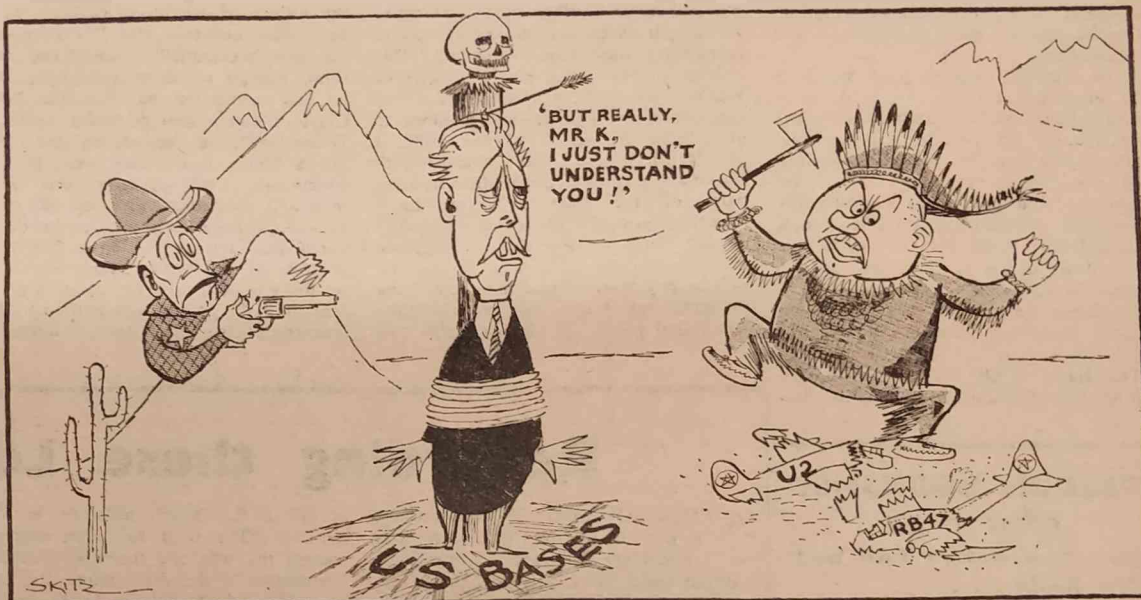
Mr. Sackony was on a pre-independence mission to Ghana, Guinea and Europe. Within two days of this meeting Mr. Detwiler had arranged a letter of introduction to Mr. Lumumba and a specimen contract, and was hurrying back to America to arrange for an advance party of industrialists to visit the Congo as soon as possible.

By July 11 Mr. Detwiler was in the Congo with a three-man delegation. His mission appears to have been the answer to Mr. Lumumba's prayers and he has insisted, it is said, on Mr. Detwiler

accompanying him on his journey to the United Nations Security Council meeting in New York. The United Nations is said to be apprehensive about Mr. Detwiler.

Which just goes to show that one should never despair that things will not turn out for the best in the end. Somewhere or other there is always a public benefactor, like a guardian angel waiting to step in at the right moment! As Mr. Detwiler put it at an airport interview:

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COMMENTS ON A REPORT

Artificial Insemination (Donor) and Society

IT could be argued that any official committee set up to investigate personal behaviour is improper in a society which claims to defend individual right of choice, even if the committee confines itself to recommendations (which may or may not change or establish a particular law) because it is falsely assumed that certain individual behaviour may have undesirable social consequences.

If the principle of public investigation into the criminal actions of political leaders, with their consequent effects on society, were adopted, a case could be made out for possible beneficial results, but on personal matters which only involve two or three people, it seems to us that no committee has the right or the necessary knowledge to draw conclusions about their private affairs.

This particularly applies to sexual behaviour and the conception of children, the latter being the subject of the Feversham Committee set up to report on the consequences of artificial insemination by donor.

Although the Committee regards the social significance of AID at present as comparatively unimportant, they nevertheless conclude that it is socially undesirable and its practice should be discouraged. A minority of two of the nine members consider that, "given a stable marriage, AID may properly be employed in small numbers of cases provided that both applicants and donors are carefully and expertly selected".

The majority give the following

main reasons for their conclusions:

(a) The reception by the wife of the seed of a man other than her husband may cause emotional difficulties in their relationship and runs counter to what has hitherto been regarded as the essential nature of marriage;

(b) AID leads to the birth of children who are exposed to a number of hazards, such as disclosure of their origins, uncertainty of their parentage, and subjection to a change of attitude by either parent in later life;

(c) A man who is prepared to accept the role of donor does not appear to have a proper sense of his responsibilities towards the child he is party to conceiving or towards society; and

(d) The use of AID goes beyond the proper responsibilities of a medical practitioner.

It seems to us that the objection in paragraph (a) shows little understanding of how people are likely to behave in a situation which of necessity calls for a great deal of thought, discussion and responsible action. If, as often happens, a couple have a strong desire for children but cannot for some reason conceive as a unit and are, therefore, prepared to go to the extreme of AID, they are likely to be more responsible in their behaviour towards each other and the child than if, for example, a child is legally conceived "by accident" and resented by parents. The possibility of "emotional difficulties" is one of the hazards of all marriages in all circumstances, and cannot be seriously accepted as a sound reason for not practising AID.

As for the implication that the "essential nature of marriage" is the

production of children this is a view unsubstantiated by the facts.

If the argument put forward in paragraph two that AID children may suffer if they ever discover their origins (why should they?), it applies also to adopted children. In the case of the AID child it will at least be sure of one of its natural parents, which is not always true of the adopted child.

If a child matures in a stable and loving atmosphere we cannot accept that its origins were not "normal". Attitudes are not inherent, they are developed as the result of environment, experience and education which first begins in the home. Parents who resort to AID after careful thought are just as capable of creating a good environment and a happy and reasonable child as any other parents.

Point (c) of the objections strikes us as being quite irrelevant to the main issue. Males may have a variety of motives in agreeing to submit themselves as donors, but how can this possibly affect the child or the parents? It may even be that a donor has a strong sense of responsibility towards society and indeed towards any children which he might have by another woman in the usual way.

The report is against prohibiting AID by law, but states that:

The time may come when the use of artificial insemination or other medical techniques which are at present only in the experimental stage assumes such proportions that the state can no longer leave the matter to the decision of individuals.

It seems to us a fantastic notion

that men and women will ever choose AID as a method of conception when there is a easier and more pleasant way of going about it, except in the circumstances we have been discussing. Therefore, under normal conditions a mass conversion to AID is an unlikely eventuality. It is easier to think of the State, for some devilish reason of its own, becoming the propagator of such a method.

We do not know (point (d)) whether AID goes beyond the proper responsibilities of a medical practitioner because we are not clear what is meant by "proper responsibilities", but we think it reasonable

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DAVID PRATT SENT FOR TRIAL

Pretoria, July 20.

David Bedford Pratt (53) was committed for trial here today on a charge of attempted murder arising from the shooting of Dr. Verwoerd, the South African Prime Minister, on April 9. He reserved his defence and accepted "short service", i.e. he is prepared to stand trial at any time.

Today Dr. Joseph Lannon said he attended Dr. Verwoerd soon after he was admitted to hospital. The Prime Minister was suffering from shock, loss of blood, and from two bullet wounds in his head. There was no immediate danger to his life, but in terms of time there could quite easily have been, he said.

A bullet wound in the right ear had ruptured the drum and an infection could have proceeded to the brain causing meningitis. A wound in the right cheek had shattered the bone, and infection could have developed in the bone and spread back into the brain.—*Reuter*.

Spare a Thought!

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*Indicates regular contributor.

WHEN I was a small boy, any lack of food or fun was excused by grown-ups saying, "There's a war on." So after 1945 it was natural for us to comment on any continued lack of food or fun by saying to each other, "There's a war off." We were nearer the truth than we knew. Since the August night when I saw people singing and dancing round bonfires in the streets of Bristol, there has been, as the title of this excellent book* declares, neither war nor peace in the world.

The end of the Second World War was perhaps the greatest victory ever won, and it was certainly one of the most fruitless. One of the very few lessons taught by history is that victors always fall out, but the Allies (remember the word?) were even quicker off the mark than usual. For fifteen years the world has been continually on the brink of the final war, but it has not yet quite toppled over. Not that the Iron Curtain and the Cold War are the only factors of post-war history. Seton-Watson's book is divided into two sections. Parts 1 and 5 give a brilliant synthesis of the course of events up to about a year ago (similar but superior to the survey in Connell-Smith's useful little Penguin Special, *Pattern of the Post-War World*); Parts 2, 3 and 4 give an even more brilliant analysis of the three factors the author considers to be dominant—Revolution, Totalitarianism, and Nationalism and Imperialism.

The synthesis is very good, but it is the analysis that makes this book really outstanding. As the author says, the time has not yet come for a proper history of the last fifteen years—we are too close to events, and anyway the documents and biographies are not available (it is, after all, still difficult enough to build up a really detailed and definitive picture of the years before the last war). So this book is more or less a provisional account of what will be history when the passage of time has

*NEITHER WAR NOR PEACE by Hugh Seton-Watson (Methuen, 36s.).

given us a truer perspective and uncovered the hidden facts. Until that history is written this sort of profound and original study is just what we need to be getting on with.

Hugh Seton-Watson, like his father Robert Seton-Watson, is a liberal, a Wykehamist, and a Professor at London University (Russian History and Central European History respectively); he also traces his descent from—and in Note 68 declares his pride in—soldiers and administrators in British India on his mother's side. He is thus a fine example of the best possible type of "bourgeois" intellectual produced in this country. He makes no pretence of being neutral in the story he tells and the comments he makes, but on every occasion he can be counted on to be absolutely fair. There is in his book none of the partisan ranting that marred G. D. H. Cole's series of rather similar studies—there are also fewer tables and lists of figures.

Not that he is dull. On the contrary, he has a nice, even acid, turn of phrase: "A sceptic might observe that the race between totalitarianism and democracy . . . is a race to see which competitor will first collapse from his own ill health"; in a totalitarian society, "persons who regularly meet for the purpose of chasing butterflies, without an official of the party or of the security police being present, may develop an independence of thought which may ultimately lead to specifically oppositional thought. This risk cannot be taken"; in the cases of Kashmir and the Naga tribes, "the outside observer would be more inclined to give India the benefit of the doubt if Mr. Nehru were a little less lavish with his condemnation of imperialism in other parts of the world"; "many Latin American governments which generously display their 'anti-imperialist' idealism in international gatherings would do well to pay more attention to remedying the sufferings of their own subjects"; the Rhodesian policy of *Partnership* is "an

abstract willingness to give rights to civilised Africans, combined with a practical conviction that very few will ever become civilised and a determination to see to it that very few get the chance". From time to time he quietly lobs a veritable depth-charge into the mind of the reader: "If there was any hope that Hungary might have been saved by Western political action, Suez killed it"; Russia's first Five Year Plan imposed collective farms "at the cost of several million human lives and of the destruction of half the livestock population of the Soviet Union"; of the English class system, "all that one can say with certainty is that the exploited class . . . consists of old age pensioners—particularly of the widows of those who gave a lifetime of service to the state".

Apart from such biting remarks—whose effect is all the greater because of the even tone of voice in which they are delivered—Seton-Watson makes some really interesting and stimulating comments and comparisons. He says that General MacArthur was just one more *Shogun* in Japan; Nkrumah's régime reminds him of Kemal Ataturk; he points out that the colour-bar is confined largely to Protestants from Northern Europe; he sees great danger in the role of the Expert in Western societies; he recalls the part played by the Volga Tartars in the history of Islam; he declares (as I have long believed) that "bourgeoisie" was and is essentially a social and cultural, not an economic category", and in this connection he calls the New Class of Communist countries a "State bourgeoisie"; he reminds us that "the Soviet Union is the only great empire which since 1945 has seized new territory and refused to give up old conquests", and calls its excuses "nothing but a quasi-Marxist version of Kipling's doctrine of the White Man's Burden". As for England, "the futility of a great deal of party politics and parliamentary proceedings, the continuance of inflation,

and the unending series of insults to British interests all over the world are producing an exasperation which sometimes alarmingly recalls the climate of Weimar Germany". This is surely the sort of thing that makes a book like this so much more than just a good textbook.

Not that there is nothing to quarrel with. He is so irritated by the Afro-Asians when they are unfair to the West that he tends to be more than a little unfair to them—but he does keep the tendency in check. One may also dislike his defence of the function of authority and the place of the élite in society, or his discussion of the Suez War solely in terms of *Realpolitik*. One may regret the omission of the role of jazz in the process of negro emancipation in the USA (surely Louis Armstrong is a more significant figure than Joe Louis), or the omission of Danilo Dolci when Vinoba Bhave is mentioned. Other more general complaints are that he is so much taken by his excellent account of Communist totalitarianism that he rather obscures the movement in the last

decade away from totalitarianism towards mere authoritarianism, and also rather neglects the phenomenon of McCarthyism; that he does not give enough prominence to the left-wing intellectual in the West in relation to his revealing description of their comrades in Asia and Africa; and that he does tend to fall into the trap presented by any book like this of seeing countries too much as units and too much in terms of their governments.

But this long book is really about as good as any one man could have made it. Expensive, yes, but it is packed with facts and ideas (there is also a useful reading-list—but the three indexes could well have been merged into one). Every school and public library should buy a copy, for no better introduction to the world we live in for sixth-formers and university students could be imagined, and the ordinary intelligent reader will get a great deal from it too. Buy it if you can afford it, and read it even if you can't. To your surprise, you will find that you actually can't put it down! N.W.

A.I.D. & Society Continued from p. 1

that the "family doctor" should be in a position to arrange for AID.

Having perhaps disturbed by their Findings many parents whose children have been conceived by artificial insemination, the Feversham Committee accept it as a fact and turn their attention to the legitimacy laws which, as they stand, decree that a child born of AID is illegitimate even although no doctor in Britain has been known to perform the operation "without the explicit consent of the husband".

Nevertheless, the committee would not like to have the law altered and would not even recommend that husband and wife of an AID child even though the

present Adoption Act permits adoption by a married couple, both of whom are the natural parents or of whom only one is a natural parent.

One wonders what these people are really afraid of. Are they influenced by some primitive irrational fear; is it disapproval of what they consider to be sexual immorality or do the weighty "property" arguments guide them, which make men want to be sure that *their own children* will legally and rightly inherit property and wealth?

Perhaps it's all three or just a plain stupid impulse to conserve existing matrimonial practises without thought for the individual cases which do not fall within the normal category.

Some of us who are capable of having children and who view sex as a natural and desirable function, prefer to have children by the partner (or partners) of our choice, caring little for legalities. We look at AID as a method of procreation which should be available (by consent of donor) to individuals who feel there is no other choice. We cannot accept that it is "socially undesirable" or that the few cases (about a hundred AID babies born annually over the last few years) may make it necessary in the future for the State to interfere in what is clearly a private affair.

READERS IN AMERICA, AUSTRALIA, etc. Please

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are trying to tell us in their various ways, and I sympathise with their dilemma. Their dilemma was expressed most poignantly by Nietzsche when he wrote:

"Catastrophe: what if falsehood is something divine? Whether the value of all things may not consist in the fact that they are false? Whether we should not believe in God not because he is true but because he is false? . . . What if it be not just the lying and falsifying, the reading in of meanings, which constitutes a value, a sense, a purpose?"

But I maintain that the truth about things is always more satisfying, more valuable and in the long run more wonderful, than the petty sensationalist fantasies that we can invent. Science may appear more mundane than magic, and rationalism bleaker than religion, but both the mind and the emotions are better served in the long run by exploring facts rather than fantasies.

I do appreciate what the irrationalists

G.

Regarding these Letters . . .

A POPULAR feature of most journals is the "Letters to the Editor", and no controversy, however footling, is without some value as a sidelight on the need which this feature meets in some of the journal's readers. It is not without its dangers, however, for the casual reader may get a totally false impression about the nature of a journal by a perusal of the letters, particularly if the Editors are reluctant to consign stuff to the wastepaper-basket.

Recently the *New Statesman* had a controversy about Moral Rearmament, sparked off by an article by Tom Driberg attacking that body. To date there has been published 5 letters anti- and 7 letters pro-Moral Rearmament; the casual reader might get the impression that really the *New Statesman* crowd were on the whole favourably disposed to Moral Rearmament—a conjecture which would be very far from the truth. What appears to have happened in fact is that following Driberg's article a sort of round-robin was sent to members of the Moral Rearth saying "Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the party". I applied to the office of the *New Statesman* to see if they could let me know how many M.R. letters had in fact arrived, and had been consigned to the Editorial "wastepaper-basket". While regretting that they could not let me have the exact figure, the office told me that the number of such letters had been "considerable". The Moral Rearth had shown the flag.

I quote this as relevant to the recent Reichian controversy in *FREEDOM* in this controversy there have been 4 letters critical of Reichianism and 13 letters anti-critical. 9 of the anti-critical letters have emanated from 3 individuals. It may also be of interest to note that there have been 8 letters from readers living in the region of Nottingham. Is this "showing the flag" or "scraping the barrel"?

What seems to have nettled the Reichians is that I referred to the fact that Reich appears to have been insane for the last years of his life and that his later books were quite worthless. I have not made mention of any fact that is not well known to the Reichians themselves—indeed they were the people who suffered from the insatiable paranoia of their Leader. In fact when Reich excommunicated a certain well-known Reichian and proclaimed that the term "orgonomic functionalism" did not apply

at all to the latter's activities in this country ("The term has been usurped against the will and the advice of the Foundation"), the excommunicated one replied in effect that as Reich was as mad as a hatter anyway, who was he to cast a stone against someone having the same sort of fun. (See *FREEDOM*, Vol. 16, Nos. 28 and 30). No, he did not use the term "mad as a hatter", he used the term "emotional plague", and went on to quote against Reich from Reich's own *Character Analysis*—"To me and close co-workers, the acute attack of the emotional plague is such a familiar phenomenon that we take it with calm and master it objectively . . . It happens of course that such an attack of the emotional plague is not mastered . . . We take such accidents in the same manner as one takes a serious physical disease."

Now I am terribly, terribly sorry that Reich went quite insane in the latter part of his life. Mental disorder is always sad, and particularly so when a man has been an interesting thinker in the earlier part of his life. But because I value Reich's earlier work, and have paid respect to it elsewhere, I am not going to join in the pretence that Reich was other than raving when he wrote the later nonsense. That he suffered from delusions of grandeur and delusions of persecution, these were his private tragedy; what is more important is that people fundamentally ignorant of the meaning or methods of science, and people of a somewhat paranoid temperament themselves, have been happy to persuade themselves that such ravings are meaningful "science". Indeed, in some quarters it is the blue bion stuff, the rain-making, the control of hurricanes, the miraculous cures of cancer, the "incredible experiment XX", the link with Flying Saucers and similar mumbo-jumbo which is really of interest. Reich's early sociological contribution to psychoanalytic theory is of little interest to the Reichians compared to this juicy stuff. One may see the analogy in the Christian religion: there are those like the Quakers who are attracted by the social implications of philosophical ideas attributed to Christ, and there are others like the Catholics who are more attracted by the miracle-working, the god-eating and the mumbo-jumbo of their brand of Christianity. Although I am no Christian, I think the former is a healthier manifestation than the

latter. Of course Reichians and Christians will pay lip-service to the whole of their religion, as though it were an integrated body of interdependent truths, whereas this is far from being the case.

The fact, say, that Oliver Lodge made solid contributions to physical science cannot be held to justify spiritualism, although he dabbled in the latter in his dotage. It is by no means unknown for men of great ability in one part of their lives to suffer from psychosis later. But there are those who revel in the barmy stuff of a man's writings and seek to develop it (like the Flying Saucer wing of the Reichians) because their emotional needs are being met by partaking in a *folie de groupe*. There are also those who are impressed by the prestige of a man's sane writings, but who lack any strength of independent critical judgment and therefore feel compelled to swallow all he writes, even if he later declares most monstrous nonsense.

Now I have no wish to wash the Reichian's dirty linen in public. Anyone who cares to look through the back files of *FREEDOM* over the past decade will see that a lot of ludicrous stuff has appeared in print, and I gather that the Editorial wastepaper-basket has had to be used at times. Reichianism, being a paranoid cult, thrives on an unreal sense of persecution. I am glad to see that the old bleat has died down in recent years, as the movement is dying away.

A writer to *FREEDOM* (25/6/60) quotes from something I wrote ten years ago about Reich and anarchism and I am glad to say that I still endorse every word of it. But she goes on to instruct me how I should now conduct my writing on such topics—"If not, let him keep quiet." But I do not intend to keep quiet as instructed. The Reichian business has a wider importance in my demonstration of the nature of what I have chosen to call "The Flat Earth Mentality". This demonstration has been ably assisted by writers from Nottingham, Tej Aviv, Canterbury and elsewhere. As I have stated earlier, I am a little unsure whether this experiment was justified; many readers may have found it boring, others have felt that I was making this journal ridiculous by provoking such outbursts. But my purpose was serious and this issue of rationalism is, I maintain, central to the question of anarchism.

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The Gang System and Worker Decision-Making

(Continued from previous issue)

TECHNICALLY the gang system is a method of payment for piecework—a form of collective contract. In practice it follows the natural tendency of men to group up around the work. Gangs can be any size from three to three thousand—the latter being the approximate size of the Ferguson tractor team. Half-a-million tractors have been turned out in ten years, with practically no supervision—one gang for the entire works and yet there was still the piecework urge—still the initiative from below, in addition to the technical progress from above. This is the essential difference between the Midlands attitude to the job and the uniform and fixed wage system elsewhere, especially in the South of England. In the Midlands the men have the initiative and are the driving force—the rest of the staff have to keep pace, to provide for and assist the production team. Everything is done to make the job easier, every hint and suggestion from whatever source is heeded and used if possible—especially if it takes strain from the job.

Thus men's energies are conserved for other things than work. But it is still work! Automation is a misnomer—there is just continuous production, some automatic, some semi-automatic, and much of it by hand. Greed is abolished because any increase in wages or betterment of conditions is due, and is known to be due, to the men's own effort and ideas. Clever engineers and thrustful shop-stewards seize on everything that is promising and see that it is tried out. Money is forgotten—except by the shop-stewards and their advisors. The result of continuous struggle and creative effort is seen in the finished product and enjoyed via the pay packet. People of lethargic temperament may loathe and dread the very idea of all this, but the workers concerned "don't die on the job". Neither do they worry or conjure up images of destruction. They are vigorous and healthy and are busy homemaking and rearing families.

In other factories small gangs may be grouped around a machine that is being built, or an aeroplane component. In a car factory it will be a production line, or a group of machines. When the product is very complex and costly and is produced in small numbers the gangs will be very clever in adapting their skills to a variety of jobs. Individual skill of a very high order will be applied to a prototype and to the first few production "jobs". The individual will be guaranteed his money by the gang while he undertakes exploratory work—others will follow him, each taking a portion of the work and becoming specialists in it, while others will improvise special tools and gadgets to make it into a "production job". The variety of work and gangs is infinite.

The gang system sets men's minds free from many worries and enables them to concentrate completely on the job. It provides a natural frame of security, it gives confidence, shares money equally, uses all degrees of skill without distinc-

rapings, or of hospitals in which the sick are dying from neglect because Congolese porters insist on replacing the white surgeons, of public services breaking down because the white managers have been driven out or murdered. However ready we should always be to defend and sympathise with the innocent victims of mob violence as well as of so-called "judicial violence", our impression is that so far the white settlers in Africa in general should be most thankful that the Africans are basically peaceful people. Whites subjected to the kind of violence, humiliation and torture to which the Africans have been subjected by the whites would have certainly reacted more violently. One has only to read of what happened in Europe after the German occupation, to get the Congo "riots" in proper perspective.

The dangers of Congolese "independence" are not "chaos", murder and the rest. The real dangers are that before the people have time to breathe the fresh air of freedom they will be enslaved by new leaders, themselves the pawns of international finance.

tion and enables jobs to be allocated to the man or woman best suited to them, the allocation frequently being made by the workers themselves. Change of job to avoid monotony is an easy matter. The "gaffer" is abolished and foremen are now technicians called in to advise, or to act in a breakdown or other emergency. In some firms a *ganger* will run, not the men, but the job. He will be paid out of gang earnings, and will work himself on a small gang. On a larger gang he will be fully occupied with organisation and supply of parts and materials. A larger gang may have a deputy ganger as a second string and also a *gang-steward* who, being a keen trade-unionist or workers' man, will act as a corrective should the gangers try to favour management unduly or interfere with the individual in undesirable ways. Gang meetings are called, as necessary, by the latter and all members of the gang are kept informed and may (and do) criticise everything and everybody. All three are subject to recall. Constructive ideas on the other hand are usually the result of one or two people thinking out and trying out new things—this is taking place continuously—to the general advantage of the whole gang.

The fact of taking responsibility in any of these capacities is educative in every sense, and I have often been amused to see someone who is a notorious "gaffer's man" being persuaded into taking the gang steward position which will bring him into contact with other stewards whose ideas he will unconsciously absorb. He will attend meetings with management representatives at all levels and usually completely changes his ideas and attitudes. Experienced stewards, with grim humour call this "educating the so-and-so's!" Some stewards have been known to use variants of this method in educating management representatives.

SIMILARLY in car factories. A gang of 100 or more will have a *charge-hand*, paid by the management. He will stand out from the gang, only working in the event of difficulty arising—any hold-up or break-down. The *gang-steward* will stand out with him and settle with him all points of difference on the gang's behalf. He also will work, as necessary. Sometimes they are idle (educating each other!) and at other

times they will work like fiends, to keep the flow of work going.

Gang stewards form a reservoir from which senior stewards are recruited. There are thousands of such men and they are quite often engineering experts, usually hold their own with any rater-fixer, cost expert or other managerial type. Occasionally fools are appointed—the blustering wordy windbag—the "rebel" who just fights—and the exponent of an ideology. Some ideologists are first-rate stewards but do not realise that their actions may be the reverse of their ideological aims.

There are many local variations of the scheme—some good, some indifferent. As in any other aspect of life, much depends on the quality of the people concerned, and on their experience. Ideas (that is, theories or ideological or political standpoints) do not enter into any of it—a person can think what he likes, say what he likes, *except* that he does not do anything against the gang or the trade union. He is expected to be a trade union member—even if only as an outward and visible sign of toughness. In terms of the old working class motto, "he is either with us or against us". There is no half-way. Incentives are three: to get as high a rate of pay as possible (depending on output), having achieved a certain stability in that, there is a general urge to speed up production gradually so that hours of work can be reduced. The final aim (a continuously successful process) is to make the job itself and the surroundings as good as possible.

All these urges are everyone's concern. In such a production set-up it is natural that people in full health and vigour are needed, and sickly people are strongly advised not to take a job there. In a temporary indisposition it is usual for the person to be given some help, or if that is not possible, a transfer to a light job that is not urgent.

Most of this has been forced upon employers, but one must give credit to those managers who have genuinely tried to help the urge to better conditions. On the other hand one frequently finds amongst managers a tendency to "swing to the right". This may be the result of a new director or manager coming in from the outside, usually from firms with American ideas; occasionally he will

have a strong political (Conservative) urge. Sooner or later he shows his hand—forthright and dictatorial. From that moment the "worker decision-making" apparatus works against him. His "education" commences. Once I finalised the process by warning the particular manager "You must always remember that a thousand men will wear you out quicker than you can wear them out". It worked. The moment something actually happens or is pending, there is a ferment right through the plant and the decision-making is carried out at shop-floor level, even to the point, if necessary, of contradicting or disowning the stewards' proposals.

IT is difficult to convey in writing a whole way of industrial life, a subtle, yet obvious development of capitalism, a different and better way of running large-scale industry. It is better—a vast improvement—a continuance of an age-old method in a modern setting. It has all the elements that could develop into a successor to capitalism. I can imagine some clever people dismissing all this as nonsense, mere sentimental drivel, etc., and going on to *prove* that it is only a temporary thing that could be wiped out when required, by a powerful managerial capitalist class, etc., or that when "the slump" comes and the workers are thrown out on to the streets, etc., etc. (all of which is outmoded thought). My answer is that if "disaster" comes to capitalism we have at least done some preliminary rehearsing for the new play we may be called upon to produce. If capitalism goes on for a long time without disaster, we shall have tried to make life as good as we can for as many people as we can. If there is some day a general desire to push capitalism over, we shall do our share. I think we are quite as clever as "the intellectuals", only we have applied ourselves to the daily task instead of to theoretical disputation. As engineers we have changed the world, as social engineers we have improved our part of it as much as we can. We feel that we are reasonably well-equipped to go very much further, and if we do we shall need the co-operation of all those technicians and organisers who are at present on "the other side", and we know that some of them are already with us.

REG. WRIGHT.

DISCUSSION

IF WE ALL WERE RATIONAL

SOME comments by one of FREEDOM's correspondents prompts me to add a few more ideas related to some of the issues aired in the last few numbers of the paper.

It is probably true to say were people rational about all issues that confront them in life, a lot of human misery might be avoided. But as experience amply illustrates, this is not the case. We may be rational about some things and irrational about others, and even be a bit of both on one and the same issue. To say that anarchists are purely rational about their anarchy or any other condition of life is to imply some kind of superhuman quality. No person is a complete original thinker and the ingredients that have gone to make him a thinking person have been culled from many sources. All this acquisition of ideas helps to establish a relationship between the individual and his world. In the process of creating this relationship, a variety of experiences, not always explained in rational terms, may come his way. To label all his experience as weird and dismiss it as nonsense, simply indicates a lack of vision, or at worst, a lack of tolerance. One can acknowledge that spiritualism may comfort some, while at the same time be quite convinced that there is no after-life. One can be a confirmed atheist while at the same time be inspired or moved by religious music, art or architecture. One need not be a Catholic to enjoy reading, or be provoked into thinking, by Graham Greene's novels.

It appears that no man holds an idea on purely rational grounds. Somehow there has to be a receptive emotional background, while the rationale of it is often the mere justification for social consumption. An ideology one accepts as one's own, only goes to bolster one's own outlook and in that respect is valid for the individual.

No social idea seems to be devoid of its own specific myths. Not even the most materialistic ideology of them all—Communism. Even anarchism has its articles of faith, the inherent goodness of man, or the disappearance of all problems with the disappearance of all government; the ability of man to live with man in social cordiality without training for that goal. One believes in these things because, as your correspondent put it: "It suits one's book to make such an assumption."

Nobody is devoid of a stand on this or that matter, but it is difficult to take one seriously if one claims a certainty for something that is impossible to be certain about. The real enquiring mind is a fluid mind, not tethered to any certainties that have become in fact rigid blocks to thinking and feeling. Not so long ago, we were certain that the earth was flat, then it became round, then it became slightly flattened at the poles. Now, to quote the information from the latest sputniks, it is somewhat pear-shaped.

It is difficult to know what readers expect from the paper, whether they expect to be shocked, "to feel their mental crutches creak," as your correspondent suggests, or whether they expect their pet ideas to be reiterated so that they do not feel so isolated by virtue of their unorthodox ideas. To believe that the strictly rational thinking approach to all problems is the only way to see them, seems to me to be only half the truth.

Can we honestly invalidate the poet's vision of a field, or the painter's conception of a face, when by all reason and logic the average individual seldom sees the yellow of a Van Gogh or two eyes on a profile?

If one finds one's flowers eaten in the morning, few people would jump to the conclusion that a unicorn had been at it, yet unless one witnessed the process,

any number of factors might be responsible—birds, beasts or little boys, and depending upon one's prejudice, the individual authorities with their individual prejudices would undoubtedly plump for their own solution. Whereas in fact the crime was committed by the little girl next door or even a combination of all these factors. One might even add the unicorn for good measure.

We all have our special reasons for believing what we do, even those anarchists who believe that "the fundamental postulates of anarchism are rational."

The person who is an anarchist because it is more "rewarding to his emotions" is basically more honest and holds his ideas because they are of direct meaning and consequence to him. He has not reached his outlook *via* abstraction or rational mental acrobatics. This does not invalidate the rationality of anarchy as such, if there is such a thing. But to place oneself on a pedestal, and to pass judgment upon which is better, to suggest that there is only one road to anarchy, is, in my opinion, taking a rather narrow view of things. It is easier to condemn than to understand, and it is even easier to call people weirdies if their realm of experience happens to differ from one's own. I suppose anarchists are the political weirdies today and it is a common observation that the underdog in different circumstances shows less tolerance than one would expect. S.F.

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Freedom

Vol. 21, No. 31.

July 30, 1960

Vultures descend on Congo

Continued from p. 1

What happened here is that the slaves took over from the masters and the masters fled. We had to fill the vacuum before the Russians did.

No-one apparently asked him whether the vacuum was to be filled or that the slaves will once more be slaves under new masters, though snaps one could draw the inference from another Detwiler *bon mot* reply to the question as to what would happen to the old Belgian companies that had been operating in the Congo:

I am embarrassed to say what will or happen to the existent companies. The climate might or might not be right work here any longer. After all, they left the country—they left the ship; can come back?

So, by the time Mr. Lumumba set foot on British soil (an "unexpected call en route to New York, which fortunately the government knew all about, and so he was officially met by Mr. Profumo, as well as by a large number of newspapermen), his mission to America was to call on the United Nations "to enlighten public opinion on Congo" and to seek capital. Mr. Detwiler in constant attendance it all seems like a typically American promotion scoop. Just as on the one hand the £700 million contract will become effective only when ratified by the Congolese Parliament so on the other will Mr. Detwiler's part of the contract become valid when he in fact succeeds in raising the capital! And the first step is to "sell" Mr. Lumumba to American financiers and the public with money to invest. According to Mr. Detwiler it is in America and Canada that he would look for the "original capital" for the start of operations, and presumably on the enthusiasm with which the American investor filled the vacuum and swept out the Russians, Mr. D. would cast his financial net among the other capital investing countries of the world.

Official circles in America have, according to reports, denied knowledge of his "mission" but bluff Mr. D insists that he had discussed with the State department the details of his 50-year plans before flying to see Mr. Lumumba in Leopoldville. It is difficult to believe that such a project would have been launched, to use Mr. D's term—in a vacuum, without official blessing. Politically as well as financially the United States have an interest in establishing a foothold in the Belgian Congo and what better moment than now, with Belgian capital on the run, to do so?

If Mr. Lumumba can return home with the contract in his pocket and the wherewithal to implement it, a large part of his internal political troubles and struggles will be over. As it was, by the time Mr. Lumumba and Mr. D set forth to conquer the heart of American capital, Mr. Lumumba was talking of a "United States of the Congo". By the time Mr. Lumumba returns he and Mr. Tshombe might well find a formula which satisfies their personal ambitions, though whether it will fit in with Belgian interests and aspirations is another matter.

Without a doubt, for some time to come, the former Belgian Congo will be the hunting ground for the vultures of international Capital. According to how things develop so will we hear more or less about riots,

• Our Art Critic

The Editor,
Dear Sir,

It is to be hoped that no reader has been deterred by the peculiar reviews of Arthur Moyle from visiting the recent exhibitions of painting and sculpture by John Bratby, Reg Butler, Roger Hilton and, in particular, from seeing the latest exhibition of paintings by Sidney Nolan which has just concluded at the Mathison Gallery in Bond Street.

The peculiarity of A.M. lies in his indifference to the need for an attempt at genuine criticism of an artist's work, while being much more engaged in writing snappy punch lines of little meaning and of a generally spiteful nature.

For example, the review of Sidney Nolan (FREEDOM 9th July) commences with this paragraph:

"The 'primitive' painter is the idiot child of the arts. Ignored by the art historian and rejected by the conservative galleries he finds his milieu in the collections of the tatty changing world of the *haut ton*. Not for him the high-priced, meticulously documented volumes of the international art publishers for he will have to make his appearance in those esoteric quarterlies given to the reproduction of guardsmen's uniforms, Victoriana, butterflies and ornate bed pots. Sidney Nolan is an Australian 'primitive' whose childlike interpretation of the Ned Kelly myth found an amused audience in this country. Badly drawn and crudely coloured they made a charming triviality to titillate the jaded palates of the London mob. Nolan's latest show, however, has been the occasion for the printing of more sycophantic rubbish than any minor painter should be asked to read. For not only is Nolan not a great painter, he is not even a good painter."

This statement is confused, inaccurate and self-contradictory—it is also gratuitously rude.

To refute the above assertions. The best-known modern primitive is Henri Rousseau who has been continually written about for over a quarter of a century by, among other notable critics, Douglas Cooper, Wilhelm Uhde, Caton Rich, etc. His paintings are in many modern collections of repute, too numerous to mention, and he was considered by his circle of friends, which included the *avant garde* of Paris, to be a serious and important painter.

Other primitives whose names are fairly common knowledge, and whose status as painters it would be silly to doubt, include Bombois, Vivan, and the Englishman, Alfred Wallis. That these could be said to be small painters is correct, but to call them "idiot children" and to say they are ignored, rejected and incompetent, etc., is simply not true. There are other painters, Christopher Wood, Maurice Utrillo, the inclusion of whose names however, would probably take us too far from the definition of

"primitive" as A.M. seems to understand it.

A.M.'s statement that the "childlike interpretation of the Ned Kelly myth by Sidney Nolan, finding an amused audience in this country"—his spiteful sentence beginning "Badly drawn and crudely coloured, etc.", and his use in this context of denigrating words like "sycophantic rubbish"—and "charming triviality to titillate the jaded palates of the London mob"—all seem to indicate a strange bias or kink in A.M.'s critical method.

The inaccuracies in the review are curiously tendentious. Ned Kelly was not a myth, he was a real person, and the account of him that Sidney Nolan gives us in his paintings are, generally speaking, factual and historically accurate. I found no "amused audience" at the Whitechapel Gallery on the occasion of that exhibition—on the contrary, there was much serious discussion. I personally found the paintings memorable, and I don't doubt that a great many other people did also. A painting by Sidney Nolan of the Ned Kelly period now hangs in the permanent exhibition of the Tate Gallery, and in my view, it is a good painting by any standards, primitive or non-primitive.

Now to come to what I have euphemistically called A.M.'s "critical method" Of what does it consist, and what is its purpose?

Apart from the above quotation, the remainder of the review of Sidney Nolan's paintings consists of an entirely fictitious account of how Sidney Nolan paints, his methods and his technique. Beyond A.M.'s assertions, which we are to presume are based upon a close study of the paintings, there is no proof, only probability, for it is obvious that A.M. has never seen Sidney Nolan paint, and therefore, all his sneering assertions are mere assumptions of small value in judging the merits of the pictures. But, of course, all this is besides the point. In fact, beyond the merest passing reference it is of little real interest to attempt to expound in a criticism dealing with the abstract qualities of paintings, the methods and technique of a modern painter. That is the field of the museum conservator, the picture restorer and the teacher. It has very little to do with the critical appreciation of pictures.

The purpose of art criticism as I see it is to assess as fairly as possible the degree to which a painter has been successful in his aims, and to judge whether these aims are worth while, and in this respect A.M. leaves us almost totally un-informed.

However, the hard facts remain. Sidney Nolan is a very successful, very young painter. A rare thing these days for a young artist to sell £20,000 of paintings at one show. His pictures

brim over with an abounding exuberance, his enthusiasm and vitality is obvious and infectious. His rich enjoyment of his medium and his determination to experiment in search of new forms are positive contributions to modern painting, and are well to the forefront of the best of the artistic endeavours of today.

Yours fraternally,
ROY SACKMAN.

• Cuba

DEAR EDITORS,

The front page contribution of R.M.—FREEDOM July 16th—is an admirable and concise exposition of the principles and activities of governments and politicians, particularly the paragraph containing the quotation—"the political world is made up of all kinds of governments, some of which have changed their methods of governing or are in the process of change, but the problems of conflict between nations and between individuals within nations remain as pressing as ever."

By way of contrast, we are asked to believe in the leading article "Hands off Cuba" that in some way, young revolutionaries are better than the "old boys". Need it be said in FREEDOM?—power corrupts—and the young idealists—if such they are—who succeed in wresting power from the old gangs, change nothing but themselves. "The more it changes (the conquest of power) the more it is the same". At best they are the expression (but not the cause) of economic unrest, which through the ages, irrespective of individuals, has been responsible for changed conditions, good or ill—the free worker becoming more valuable than the slave, the educated a better asset than the illiterate. Governments are a symbol of divided interests in Society, and "the problem of conflict between nations and between individuals within nations remain as pressing as ever"—only to be eradicated by common ownership.

One last quotation from S. E. Parker on the Kronstadt rebellion—"the worship of power is the psychological root of all types of government, and no government would refrain from using the same methods as did the Bolsheviks at Kronstadt if they were believed to be necessary".

Yours sincerely,
B.F. Leyton, July 21.

Yours fraternally,
R.J.W.

• Nature Cure

The Editors, FREEDOM.

Jack Goundry's criticism of nature cure as mumbo-jumbo, in your last issue, is not very convincing. In the first place nature cure is rather more than a do-it-yourself régime, and there is no means of knowing that Jack Goundry's complaint (whatever it was) could not have been disposed of by a properly supervised natural treatment in such a clinic as, say, Thomson's at Edinburgh. The fact that drugs "cured" his complaint is no surprise, but the quality of the "cure" in each case and the total balance of health in each case, would be the prime matter of interest for a nature cure practitioner.

Perhaps the weakness of such arguments from isolated cases can be shown in the related field of natural childbirth. My wife recently gave birth to a child, after a long and difficult labour. She was fortunate to have a midwife widely experienced in natural childbirth, in attendance.

There was a point in the labour when the possibility that hospitalisation and high forceps delivery might be necessary, had to be considered. Now if this had proved necessary, would it show that belief in natural childbirth was "mumbo-jumbo"? Of course not. The important point is that the attendant or practitioner must know their own limitations and those of the cases they handle; they must know when the conditions given in any situation require massive drugging, or surgical interference, and when these drastic measures can be avoided. Due to expert handling from an excellent midwife my child was born naturally without the need for hospitals or forceps, and there are many people whose recovery

from illness is owed to similar expert handling from excellent naturopaths.

I entirely agree with what Jack Goundry has to say about panaceas. The best exponents of "unorthodox" treatments and régimes are cautious in their claims of cure or success, and not necessarily uncompromising in their practice. Even the much-maligned orgone accumulator was recognised by Reich to be of little therapeutic value in advanced cases of cancer, and he recommended surgical treatment alongside the orgone therapy in some cases. Again the point is the condition of the patient when he presents himself for treatment.

I think Jack Goundry's use of the term "idealist" is misleading. Really convincing cases of natural treatment, or of painless childbirth, or of self-regulation in infancy do occur, and are very real. But they are rare. In most of us there occur various inner and outer obstacles. The obstacles may necessitate interference of one kind or another, just as it may prove necessary for one's peace of mind to punish a disobedient child, or for society to execute a criminal. The common denominator in all these cases is the resort to violence, and it is questionable (in spite of those who supported David Pratt) whether violence ever achieves much of lasting value.

It would be of more use to recognise the obstacles to what I prefer to see as a self-regulating process (using the term in the widest sense, to include such phenomena as the natural healing of wounds), and to study means by which they can be avoided, or at least prepared for in advance.

Nottingham, July 15. D.B.

• The 'New Refugees'

DEAR FRIENDS,

In FREEDOM (July 23rd, 1960) the editorial states with regard to the white settler refugees fleeing from the Congo: "For these 'refugees' we feel no sympathy." One hopes the "we" does not include all anarchists, it certainly does not include this writer who accepts the anarchist label.

I may well be wrong but I think the writer of the article concerned has never had experience of Africa, I am without doubt that he is not personally friendly with any European in Africa. If anarchists find no sympathy with those white settlers who flee from Army mutineers intent on rape, then they will find no sympathy with any white settlers as they flee from Central Africa or South Africa. I protest that values applied to people in every society should be applied to Africans. Not to do this is an insult to every African alive.

If the Army should mutiny in this country resulting in rape and misery, anarchists would be the first to point out the evil of these assaults on defenceless women. Yet if black people in the Congo mutiny and rape, any women who flee (whether in cars or not) receive no sympathy from anarchists. It sounds like politics to me.

I have two sisters in Kenya, both married and with very different views to my own, I know Europeans in Rhodesia with views very like my own, they are my best friends; there is one European anarchist in South Africa at least and many courageous European liberals, some now in prison for their views. Am I to feel no sympathy for these people if they flee from Africans? Is it impossible for one to assume that some of the white settlers fleeing from the Congo had gone to Africa to HELP Africans?

But what I find so disgraceful about this attitude to Africa, this indifference to suffering bred through ignorance of personal participation in African society, is that the writer may well have driven home from work after writing his article. We stand here and judge and feel no sympathy for people very like ourselves, and accept with open arms the very things we think the settlers so wrong to accept. What on earth is the difference between the man of European stock in Africa with his pleasures placed beside the poverty of Africans, between him and us a few thousand miles away? We are as guilty as he is, we could be fleeing as he is. It is a hard person who feels no sympathy, not an anarchist.

(1) We have no intention nor permission to speak for all anarchists. We speak for ourselves.

(2) We wrote that we felt no sympathy for these new 'refugees' who for generations have been living on the land and at the expense of the Congolese people. But we also referred to the "disgusting treatment of some women by some Congolese" "Disgusting" is not a word of approval in the editorial writer's vocabulary.

(3) R.J.W. is quite right when he says we have never had experience of Africa. But fortunately we have much more imagination and can visualise what it may be like to be an African slave, than most of the white settlers who have spent years there and who could go on living like like princes without their consciences being troubled.

(4) If R.J.W. must be personal then we correct his facts. We use our own car in connection with our work, we drive home from our work, and as a day's work we write our articles in FREEDOM. And we use our car, free charge, for work connected with getting out FREEDOM each week.—EDITORIAL WRITER.]

Meetings and Announcements

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

IMPORTANT

MEETINGS WILL BE HELD in basement, 5, Caledonian Road, N.1 (near King's Cross Station) during repairs at "Marquis of Granby" in July.

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)

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP SUMMER SCHOOLS LECTURES

SAT., JULY 30th, 4 p.m.: Francis Tonks on YOUTH ACTIVITIES
SUN., JULY 31st, 11 a.m.: Geoffrey Ostergaard on BEATS & BEAT GENERATION
MON., AUGUST 1st, 11 a.m.: Tony Gibson on "FREEDOM" QUESTIONNAIRE

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