

THE ELECTRICIANS' STRIKE

A TRIAL OF STRENGTH

It is an indication of the decadence of the trade union movement to-day that the electricians' strike should have unusual qualities. It is after all a straightforward trial of strength between workers and bosses of a nature that is traditional and upon which working-class organisation and solidarity has been built.

The most unusual feature of the strike is that it is official. Since 1939, the need to defend freedom of democracy meant getting your foot to the grindstone and keeping there, official support for direct action has been a very rare phenomenon indeed. And on the occasions when official sanction has been given, the action has been on such a modicum and weak-kneed scale that no advantage over unofficial action has been noticeable.

Communist Led

The handling of the D. C. Thomson dispute by NATSOPA for example, was so indecisive that the old trade union despot is still laughing at its weakness. The fractionalisation by vehicle builders at Austin's is another example, and it does seem that there is rarely the dynamism behind an official strike that impresses the unofficial rebels.

The electricians' strike, however, has been well handled and well responded to by the membership. And it should not be forgotten that willingness to undertake strike action was expressed through rank and file voting. Although the Electrical Trades Union is Communist-led, the leaders have not led their members into a strike against their will.

The Press has been able to make great play with the fact of the ETU's Communist leadership, the *Sunday Express* devoting most of an editorial column to "the Sinister Mr. Stevens", and it is part of the price that workers must pay for having Stalinist leaders that when they decide on any action it can be so easily put before the public as another Kremlin plot.

When It Suits Them

Our readers know well enough our attitude to the Communist Party. We regard it as an organisation almost as dangerous to the working class out of power as in it. The Stalinists have done more to corrupt working class morale and solidarity than any other single organisation, and as the mouthpieces and tools of governments will always put the interests of the workers a very poor second to the interests of those governments.

When it suits the Communists they will denounce working-class action, as they did in this country during the war, when any worker

MASS TRIAL IN KENYA

WHAT is described as "the biggest trial ever held in the British Empire" has started in Nairobi.

Eighty-three Kikuyus are being tried on a charge of murdering former chief Luka during the Lari massacre. The trial is expected to last from three to six months.

The Crown's case is being presented by Kenya's first woman barrister, Miss Katherine Patricia Hurst, a member of Lincoln's Inn, who was admitted to the Kenya bar a year ago. To date, more than 50 Kikuyus have been sentenced to death for murders during the massacre.

We were always led to believe that "mass trials" were repugnant to the British conscience. Or are such high sounding moral judgments only reserved for when mass trials take place behind the Iron Curtain or in Communist China?

who dared to suggest striking in defence of workers' interests was dubbed 'Trotsky-fascist agent of Hitler', or the workers of East Germany who last June were all the tools of American agents. And when it suits them they will support direct action, as in France last month, or here in Britain to-day.

We know this, and do our best to make sure that as many workers as we can reach know it too. But nevertheless, we do not on those grounds refuse to support a strike because it is Communist led. If we see that the Stalinists are playing a political game in handling a particular strike, and are using the workers for their own slimy ends—we shall say so. But when we see a rank and file determined to act, we shall support them even if their leaders are Stalinists.

And we cannot deny that the ETU have acted intelligently and firmly in their present dispute. Last March the first claim for "a substantial increase"—no amount specified—was put before the employers and rejected completely. Last July the claim was put forward again and on the employers' refusal once more the union asked for the opinions of its members on strike action, and on August 3rd, gave the necessary three week's notice to strike.

Large Jobs Selected

On August 24th the ETU began to pull its members out of selected sites. Naturally places where the largest numbers of electricians were engaged were chosen and since the claim is on behalf of workers in the contracting side of the industry, those places were sites where large installations are being made—atomic research stations, new oil refineries, steel works and so forth.

The NFEA (National Federation of Electrical Associations—the bosses' organisation) as we reported last week pretended to be ready to talk and then showed that they were only playing for time, so men who were going back were brought out again. All work on the Radio

Show at Earl's Court was brought to a standstill, and then the Earl's Court Company seriously weakened the bosses' front by offering an increase of 3d. an hour to the strikers if they would go back and get the Radio Show open properly. This the electricians did, working all night (at double time at the new rate!) and the show opened.

Blacklegs

At Olympia, where the Marine Engineering Exhibition had been kept in darkness by the strike, no such move was made. Instead, by some means not yet clear, blacklegs were smuggled into the building in spite of the picketing, and the wiring was completed.

Meanwhile, in order to bring the strike home to them, all the members of the executive committee of the NFEA are having their workers called out from wherever they are working and at the time of writing the strike is steadily extending, with 5,000 workers in England and Wales already out and the possibility of Scottish workers coming out too.

The latest peace move has come from Walter Stevens, ETU secretary, who has intimated from the *Isle of Man*, where the TUC is gathering, that if the employers will make an interim offer (say 1d. an hour!) the union will be prepared to go to arbitration for more. Up to this point the ETU had refused arbitration because both sides have to agree in advance to accept the court's findings, and the electricians are not prepared to accept anything except what they want—a substantial increase.

That is the position then, as we go to press. By the time *FREEDOM* has appeared, however, the situation may be vastly different, although it seems that little short of capitulation by one side or the other can lead to an early settlement.

It is revealing to note that so far there has been no mention in the capitalist press of the blacklegs at Olympia. More important however is the question of how is the ETU going to combat this menace? There is one very good answer and it lies in the hands of the supply section of the industry. If no electric power reached Olympia, the scabs couldn't connect it, could they?

T.U.C. Council Opposes Workers' Control

THE different versions of what constitutes workers' control continue to multiply.

At the Trade Union Congress at the Isle of Man (with which we shall deal more fully next week) the National Union of Railwaymen has put forward a resolution described as "demanding a greater degree of workers' control of nationalised industries".

But what in fact have they asked for? The resolution asks that it should be laid down "as the declared policy of the TUC that 50 per cent. of executive positions in each nationalised industry should be held by people "drawn from the trade unions concerned in that industry".

Now we need hardly add that this would be a travesty of the idea of workers' control. To provide more jobs among the bosses for trade union officials is not going to give more control to the worker at the bench, or even—on the showing by present ex-TU officials on national boards—any greater sympathy with the workers' needs.

But anyway, even this idea is too much for the General Council, who, in discussing the agenda before the annual congress decided to oppose the NUR resolution. On what grounds? That it "was not only unworkable but alien to the tradition that trade unions should have an undivided allegiance to their own members."

How much of recent TUC policy has followed in that tradition?

One More Defeat?

We are writing before this resolution has been discussed by congress, but it is interesting to note that the *Manchester Guardian* regards the General Council's decision as "a severe defeat for attempts to revive syndicalist ideas and to press for direct control of industry by those who work in it."

The number of "severe defeats" syndicalist ideas have had is legion—but still they keep cropping up. The actual movement has been squeezed out by the reformist unions, but the idea persists and will eventually rise again.

Colour Bar in S. Africa

THE white population of South Africa is steadily extending its struggle on the racial plane against the rights of the vastly more numerous coloured population. In last week's *FREEDOM* the appeal of Father Huddleston to the conscience of Europeans was printed in full, as showing that even in official Church circles (except of course for the Nationalistic Dutch Reformed Church of which Dr. Malan is a minister with its unashamed *herrenvolk* ideas) were dismayed at the progress of events. It cannot be denied however that the steady progress which Nationalistic pressure is making towards complete racial segregation represents virtual support for Malan's policies from the European community.

The Franchise

The elections showed that European opinion in South Africa was behind Dr. Malan's drive for racial discrimination. He had attempted to disfranchise the Cape Coloured voters and had secured a parliamentary majority for his Bill to bring this into effect. The Bill however was declared illegal by the Supreme Court. It does seem however as if the judiciary were acting without any real support from the white population as a whole. Dr. Malan was quick to point this out, implying that the law should bow to "the will of the people".

Such a contention is merely that of a demagogue, but it should make democrats pause. No humane person could feel other than relief that the law showed itself more moral and ethical than Dr. Malan's majority party, and did not just kow-tow to fascist demands as did the judiciary in Germany in 1933. Clearly on such issues judgment must be based on moral and ethical principles and not on counting votes. And this holds good even after one has recalled that the votes for segregation come from the Europeans, while the coloured population which would certainly have supported the Supreme Court's action are in an enormous numerical majority. There may come a time when the African majority

may make demands which themselves ought to be resisted on moral grounds, and anarchists will then oppose just as vigorously as now the idea that counting heads leads to the right course of action.

The attempt to disfranchise the Cape coloured voter has now been renewed. Dr. Malan's Bill has now passed its first and second reading, but the third reading has been twice postponed because the government does not think it will get the two-thirds majority necessary to make a change in the Constitution. Many members of the opposition do in fact agree with Malan's racial policy, and Malan has therefore appealed for a free vote. But the United Party still draws support from coloured votes and therefore is unwilling to reduce its declining strength still further by openly supporting disfranchisement.

The magnitude of the racial problem is enormous and so the roots of the present struggle go far back in time. Discrimination against the coloured voter is no new thing for the Cape Natives have been on a separate roll since 1936, and, furthermore, to be in the roll at all he has been required to write his name and occupation and earn a minimum wage. A European over 21 has automatic voting rights with no such property or other qualifications. Such a system already disfranchises huge numbers of Africans.

Nor is the attempt to change the Constitution a new thing brought into the limelight solely by Dr. Malan. A Special Correspondent of the *Times* points this out (25/8/53):

"The entrenchment Clause of the South Africa Act did not prevent laws being passed by simple majorities to extend the franchise within the white community only; for example, those laws which gave the vote to European women 21 years old and removed economic qualifications previously required of European men in the Cape and also Natal. These changes were made in 1930 and 1931, and a Correspondent then wrote in *The Times* that

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THE CHURCH & BIRTH CONTROL

DR. GARBETT, the Archbishop of York, addressed the British Association for The Advancement of Science, in Liverpool Cathedral last Sunday. His sermon was one of those uneasy accounts of the relationship between orthodox church religion and science, and he touched on the question of the moral responsibility of science for its own discoveries. Such problems as are set by the atomic bomb, and indeed the whole application of science to warfare, are obviously a challenge to the outlook of society on the questions of right and wrong. Judging by the reported accounts of Dr. Garbett's sermon however, the contribution of the Church to these problems is altogether too uncertain to provide any lead. This is what would have been expected.

Dr. Garbett did however come out with some pronouncements on birth control which are interesting. (Reported by the *Manchester Guardian*, they were wholly ignored by the *Times*). The Church apparently recognizes the Malthusian problem of increasing population and inadequate food supply, and therefore is forced to regard birth control as a means of mitigating the problem involved.

However this very support of the Church illustrates the gulf which separates radical thinking on these matters from that of men of affairs. The problem of food shortage ought to be tackled by seeking to increase the food supply. If near-starving populations do not want birth control or do not regard large families as a disadvantage despite starvation,

then it will not be possible to make them accept birth control and recommending it becomes impractical as a social measure.

If on the other hand a population desires the means to limit conceptions, birth control should be made available to it even if there is no question of starvation or limitation of food supply.

It is quite wrong and illogical to make the spread of birth control dependant on such "practical" considerations as hunger and famine. Its potentialities lie in the power of birth control to give human happiness and free sexuality from unnecessary and crippling anxiety. It should be regarded as a gateway to sexual happiness, and a means whereby the solution of difficulties in sexual activity enable men and women to develop freely into responsible adults. The social possibilities of birth control in this direction are enormous, and ought therefore to be gladly advocated for their own sake by all those who work for human advancement.

But simply to state the matter in these terms is to show straight away the gulf that lies between advocates of human happiness, and the practical men, including practical churchmen, who grudgingly and tardily admit it as a means of mitigating a quite different world problem. Seen as a means of deterring a more radical approach to the problem of increasing world food resources; birth control is a very limited and uninspiring technical advance. Yet this is how the Church regards it.

THE TOOLS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

THE TOOLS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, by John Madge. (Longmans, 25s. net.)

BY far the most satisfactory of all studies in social science are those from the pen of some anthropologists, first of all because what they study is an actual society with its own culture and not a fragment of society fragmentarily affected by fragments of cultures, and secondly because, following the example of Malinowski, the anthropologist has learnt not to be merely an observer, but a participant in the daily life, festivals and ceremonies in the socio-culture he studies. Unless we are so devitalized as to accept ourselves as a system of variables, only direct experience, participation or imaginative self-identification can tell us what is human and authentic in other men.

Expressing her dissatisfaction with psychology as it existed in her youth, Beatrice Webb wrote in *My Apprenticeship* (p.138): "For any detailed description of the complexity of human nature, of the variety and mixture in human motive, of the insurgence of instinct in the garb of reason, of the multifarious play of the social environment on the individual ego and of the individual ego on the social environment, I had to turn to novelists and poets, to Fielding and Flaubert, to Balzac and Browning, to Thackeray and Goethe." Dissatisfied because the facts of truth-telling fiction could not be verified she became a social scientist, and as manager of a benevolent tenement block, she started experimenting. She could "with the consent of the directors, raise or lower rents, permit arrears or ruthlessly put in the broker". Answering the reader that could be shocked at her cold-bloodedness, she wrote: "It is necessary to explain that such 'experimenting' cannot be avoided; that all administration . . . necessarily amounts to nothing less than 'experimenting in the lives of other people'" (op. cit. pp.340-1).

We may be thankful for the explanation. If we didn't know what administration means we are now illuminated, and we are illuminated also on the nature and rôle of social science in most of its modern aspects. In case we might be impressed by the bewildering array of its manifold techniques, we should bear in mind John Madge's warning that "in no science is the pursuit of objective knowledge more futile than in social science" (p.2), and then look for the sponsors and beneficiaries of all these new techniques. It will be found that they are people who control the lives of other people, and who want to know

and experiment with other people in order to be able to control them better. John Dewey may not have thought of including himself among such people, but he wrote explicitly: "If we want something to which the name 'social science' may be given, there is only one way to go about it, namely by entering upon the path of social planning and social control" (quoted by Madge, p.257). The scientist who, like G. A. Lundberg, at the other extreme, holds that "as a scientist his only ethical responsibility lies in seeing that the rules of scientific procedure have been complied with" (*Social Research*, p.36) delivers his work irresponsibly as a man to the powers that be.

John Madge's remarks on the limitations and inadequacies of each of the tools of social science he examines in turn, are so many and so pointed that one wonders whether the main practical purpose they serve is not after all to provide scientists, bureaucrats and social workers with a salary and something to do. If that were the case, social science would be relatively harmless, but although still in its infancy and likely to remain in it a long time, it already supplies a halo to social engineering and experimenting with other people's lives, and by helping to make science a God it makes society a *corpus vile*.

Talking to people who make use of the tools of social science it soon becomes apparent that they have more love and faith in their tools than in human beings. Social science usually dehumanizes the scientist and, when it does not, it gives him a sense of superiority that has a hateful quality in it even and especially when this quality is believed to be a profounder humanity. Except in cases of participation and to the extent the participation is not a means to an end to be shed off as soon as the end is attained, humanity is offended and impaired by being objectified. Moreover, as K. Lewin puts it (quoted by Madge, p.256): "The reality of that to which the concept refers is established by 'doing something with' rather than 'looking at';" which means that modern science, in its fondness for operational definitions, tends to turn an object of study into an object of manipulation.

In his present inability to stop this trend in social science, the anarchist, however, should not neglect its study, not only in order to know what is being done to men through it as through any piece of administration, but also to know what men are becoming as a result and in anticipation of what is done to them. The publishing and popularization of

(the concepts and results of social science lead men to make theirs the classifications and explanations of the social scientist, and finally to accept their nature as that of mere objects to be measured and manipulated. With a handy survey as that presented by John Madge the anarchist can complete or brush up his critical equipment, and be in a position to reduce to their right proportions the sometimes extravagant claims of results obtained by statistics, industrial sociology, mass-observation, non-directive or focussed interviews, scalograms, latent structure analysis, and all the other tools of the science.

It is not my purpose to vindicate ignorance, but rather to try and clear the ground for what in an anarchist's opinion should take the place of modern social science. John Madge himself writes: "Can it be that a radically different approach is required in social

NATIONALISM AND THE FREE SOCIETY

MARX stated that the working-man had no country and left-wing thinkers accepted that even though the Soviet-style Communists disregarded the idea when it suited their purpose. In practice working-men have not acted according to this maxim because of a confusion between nationalism, which implied following blindly the ruling-class of one's country, and the deep feeling of affection for the people and places of one's environment. (So debased has our language been by politicians and journalists that I can find no single word that expresses this satisfactorily). In part the latter springs from a sense of belonging to a local community, a feeling of unity with one's surroundings, which is found most strongly in the love of the soil, felt by peasant and farmer. Vernon Bartlett expresses this admirably in his *Autobiography*:—

"When a Frenchman talks of 'mon pays' (my country) he may mean France, but the chances are that he means the very small section of it where his ancestors lie buried, his village, the copse where he did his wooing, the river where he goes fishing, the café where he plays cards or billiards when the day's work is over. For that he would fight. For the English equivalent of that I would fight; but this local patriotism, this love of simple existence in unpretentious places, encourages a respect for the other man's 'pays'. It is only when people begin to be proud of areas painted red, yellow, green or whatever it may be on a map that they become aggressive and acquisitive."

science? Can the human beings who constitute the subject-matter of social science be regarded, not as objects for experimental manipulations, but as participants in what is being planned? If this can be so, it requires a transformed attitude towards social experiment. Traditionally, attention is concentrated on the precautions needed to objectify results, and this entails treating the participants as lay figures to be observed before and after subjection to a series of external stimuli. In contrast, the new approach entails the acceptance and encouragement of conscious co-operation by all concerned" (p.282).

If experiments are to be undertaken let them be undertaken, but with the lives of those who want to undertake them, and not with other people's. Let them be undertaken in an anarchist spirit of equality in enthusiasm, and communion of wills and aspirations. Meanwhile we remind those attached to the present trends in social science that man is unique in a higher degree than any other

animal, and that all his activities and relationships are historical, meaning by that they are not repetitive, and that two social situations are never fully alike. To strive for rigid laws that would teach us what men are like as social beings is not only futile but involves the danger of taming them in their natural freedom, and of jamming the flow of their creativity. It is not what men are that matters as much as what men want to be. Even cultures are of interest not as curios or museum pieces but because of their example and of what they may contribute to living ideals. It is not social science or a social technique that is wanted, but a social art to be cultivated by each man in his relationships with others, and by the whole of a community desirous to be alone responsible for its distinctive features. In its present form social science is to be judged not on the precision and efficiency of its tools, but according to the purposes and results to which it lends itself as a technique. GIOVANNI BALDELLI

preach racial discrimination as in Africa and the Southern states of U.S.A.

Having disposed of racialism scientifically in theory and inhuman in practice and bearing in mind the distance between the two nationalisms, the social concept derived from government and nation-state and the local patriotism based on feelings of community comradeship, it is necessary to consider the attitude one should adopt towards the various nationalist movements, especially those in the colonies and dominions. Should one support movements for national independence indiscriminately should one take up the position of worldly-wise, who say 'why should I to put in power a native government? Are these people any better off than exploited by native rather than foreign capitalists?'

Imperialism was the offspring of expanding capitalism. Its worst manifestations were the slave-trade, the stamping out of local culture and the economic enslavement of colonial peoples. It produced untold suffering and misery and has meant a complete negation of freedom. Violence has bred violence until the 'police-methods' of burning villages and shooting natives have been opposed by a corresponding savagery from Mau-Mau and the terrorists of Malaya, men driven to despair. Colonialism and racialism must end before there can be peace in Africa and the East. The process can be speeded by agitation against police brutalities and co-operation with those working for independence. Such activity in this country has great value since the central government in Westminster, responsible for colonial administration, claims to operate in our name. It is up to us to show that we repudiate its actions and demand that British youths should not be used to serve the interests of the industrialists and the white settlers.

Our aim is the free society. It cannot be achieved by political means. Aiding in the struggle for colonial independence is helping the coloured worker take a step towards freedom. His struggle is our struggle also. But abroad as in this country we must continue to point out that parliamentary government is not a goal but just another chain to be discarded before freedom is gained. F.T.

THE *Yorkshire Observer*, on August 17, published an article by Windsor Davies on "Bradford's 'Hyde Park Speakers' Corner'." The subject of the article was the assembly of orators on Broadway Car Park, Bradford, on Sunday evenings, but a good two-thirds of it (not surprisingly perhaps) consisted of references to the anarchist speaker there. This comrade, "a long youth with hollow but benevolent eyes", who is alleged to have shouted, among other things: "You're all sheep! Slaves of the governments!" and "Now are there any more questions, stupid or otherwise?"

The tub-thumper is one of England's traditional comic characters, and no speaker, whatever his message, can honestly object if a humorous journalist distorts his words slightly for the sake of a smile. An attitude of amused tolerance towards anarchism is surely preferable to the complete ignorance usually affected by the Press. But in case any reader of the *Yorkshire Observer* should see this, it ought to be pointed out that our speaker in Bradford does not necessarily agree with all Mr. Davies says he said.

It is also worth noting that civic pride, or something, has moved Mr. Davies to idealize the speaking conditions on Broadway Car Park, and to omit mention of the peculiar circumstances which make it probably the most difficult speakers' site in Britain. One of these is that the space is surrounded by tall buildings from which every sound made within the space is thrown back and magnified. The other circumstance is that, although used by seven or eight speakers, Broadway Car Park on Sunday evenings is not chiefly a speakers' corner, or even a car park, but chiefly a place where young people congregate to indulge in a hilarious and extremely noisy kind of gang courtship.

From any point on Broadway Car Park (and indeed from several nearby streets), it is possible to hear, loudly and simultaneously, the voices of eight orators, and a few dozen shouting, shrieking and laughing voices too. The local hecklers are no more fatuous, offensive or irrelevant than those in Hyde Park; perhaps even less so. But every speaker must expect frequent noisy disturbances in his audience which have nothing to do with him or his message (exploding fireworks and delighted squeals of "Oh, no, no, stopp!" are among the favourites) and must prepare for occasional playful attempts to knock him off his platform, remove his shoes or stick a pin in his rear.

A delightful place, no doubt, for the happy boys and girls who congregate

there; a pleasant and loveable place for the tolerant spectator; but for the poor mutt on a platform, something of a struggle, in which the strength of his voice and the thickness of his skin are indispensable.

In spite of everything, an anarchist platform has been there on Sundays for about a year. The organisation which runs it consists of one speaker and one literature seller, but though we are small in numbers, our audiences are usually larger than those of competing organisations. This is evidence rather of our entertainment value than of marked interest in our ideas. We have had two quarrels with uniformed policemen (from the platform!), one official warning about contravening a bye-law, and now, one write-up in the *Yorkshire Observer*. Our speaker has also acquired a certain fan following among the young people who make most of the noise.

Evidence of people taking an interest in our ideas, as distinct from our personalities, has usually been the literature bought, and the points raised in the audience at each meeting. Our experience is probably common with propagandists elsewhere; that we rarely get to know the people who have shown interest, and rarely discover whether our ideas have influenced theirs. But on rare occasions members of the audience have met us on the street (and more recently before and after meetings), and revealed in conversation that our efforts are not devoid of result, especially among the kids. We cannot be complacent about our propaganda, but we do not think it completely pointless.

Will comrades within caling distance of Bradford please note that we are not a two-man organisation from choice? Speakers, would-be speakers, literature sellers and platform supporters are urgently needed and will be equally welcomed. Meetings close promptly at half past nine; those wishing to help can either turn up at a meeting or write to us c/o Freedom Press. D.R. & A.L.

Political Shifts in Canada Continued from p. 3

election the Social Credit enthusiasts were confined to a tiny group of chronic forlorn hoppers; afterwards most of the hard-headed tradesmen were recruited with great publicity. One of the Vancouver dailies came out openly for the party, and many conservatives in constituencies where they had no hope of getting back to power switched their support to Social Credit to keep out the C.C.F. Even the Chambers of Commerce recommended people to vote either for the old parties or for Social Credit, so long as they somehow supported "free enterprise".

A parliamentary defeat was adroitly used to call a timely election early this summer (this is always a prosperous time in British Columbia because the salmon are running and logging activity is at its height). Many town constituencies joined the mountain valleys and the dry inland plateaus that had been the first Social Credit strongholds, and the Government was returned with a full working majority. Significantly, while Liberal and C.C.F. votes remained stable, the diminution of the Tory vote was almost equal to the increase in the Social Credit vote. The reactionary elements had seen, through the radical verbiage, the true nature of Social Credit as a retrogressive movement, and had voted accordingly. So far as one can tell from present in-

dications, Social Credit in British Columbia, though it answers a genuine populist discontent on the part of many less perceptive voters, is as unlikely as its Albertan counterpart to introduce a radical departure from what other parties have or would have done. Doubtless it will smell out a little corruption, prune the overgrown civil service and trim the taxes. But in administrative matters it will inevitably work in with a bureaucracy formed in decades of Liberal patronage. Whether it will be able to reproduce the spectacular achievements of its Albertan neighbour in tax and debt reduction depends, as it did in Alberta, on oil, and so far, though drilling has been going on assiduously west of the Rockies, the results have been slight and disappointing.

Meanwhile, as the campaigns for this year's Federal election draw to a close, a little more of the true face of Social Credit is shown. In Canada as a whole the party cannot hope to gain a majority, but they do hope to be in a position to form a coalition with the *Conservatives*. And a sinisterly familiar echo has appeared in the hysterical accusations of one Social Credit campaigner in Victoria, who asserted that Communism was being taught in the University of British Columbia! GEORGE WOODHEAD

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THE UNKNOWN WORKER

THERE is something almost ludicrous about some of the "practical sociology" that goes on to-day in academic and governmental circles. Conferences are convened to study "Human Relations in Industry": minute studies are made of such matters as the journey to work and the part it plays in people's economy and lives; every aspect of the worker's life is studied just like studies of bird behaviour or the activities of ants—and with about as much attempt to get inside the feelings of the subjects studied—the individual workers involved! One feels it is almost necessary to tell earnest students "these creatures whom you study are really very much like yourself, are even of the species, *homo sapiens*—did you know?"

Thus the *Times* portentously announces (31/8/53), "The idea is slowly gaining ground that one way to get higher production at lower cost may be (sic) to concentrate less on the work and more on the worker."

Such an idea is really rather revolutionary in an age which has travelled from the era of the liberals of the nineteenth century into that of socialism and planning dominated by the shadow of Marx in which we are living. The *Times*' discovery, like the exception and the rule, reminds one how great is the gulf between the socialist with his fellow politician, the conservative, and the anarchists and humanists. The difference is illustrated in the aphorism "Socialism is interested in production, anarchism in the producers", and the prevalence of the socialist-conservative outlook is illustrated by the *Times*' subsequent remarks:

"In March of last year, the Ministry of Labour organized a conference on 'Human Relations in Industry.' But some of the subtler aspects of the subject were left aside during long discussions of cash incentives and consultative machinery. The ignorance of employers and trade union leaders about the deeper causes of suspicion and unrest among workers is often apparent. There has been, for example, no entirely convincing explanation of why some coal miners refused to allow Italians to work with them or why there are more colliery strikes in, say, Scotland and Yorkshire than in the Midlands and Durham. Nobody can say definitely why engine drivers on King's Cross services will sometimes strike rather than stay additional nights away from home while those on Euston services make no complaint.

"Several research bodies, some of them sponsored by the Government, are studying the human aspects of industry in great detail. Their findings will be of the utmost practical value in improving standards of industrial management, eliminating causes of stress and grievance and, in due course, raising productivity

"Yet what the *Times* said is true. Industrialists and union leaders are profoundly ignorant of what workers think and feel. A correspondent wrote recently in *FREEDOM* about the relations between different classes of workers in the engineering industry and urged the desirability of putting on record such experience. In practice however, the only people who do so are these earnest, but so often ignorant, social scientists. Not even has any *FREEDOM* reader responded to the article.

The *Times* has recently published a long article by its Labour Correspondent on worker's share in the control of industry (27/8/53) and remarks that:

The demand for industrial demo-

cracy—the cry of the workers for greater control over their economic destiny," as one Congress speaker put it, has been heard in various forms almost since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, and still finds a place on the agenda of most union conferences, though it is seldom defined closely. It is intended to mean something more than voluntary joint consultation."

But it adds, truthfully enough, that though both the T.U.C. and the Labour Party Conference last year passed resolutions calling for "industrial democracy", the Labour Party's policy statement, "Challenge to Britain" does not even mention it. The article criticizes joint consultation in industry, but plainly has no other grasp of the idea that workers' control means what it says, that everyone who contributes by hand or brain—and it is usually both—to any work activity should have a share in controlling that activity. The "cry of the workers for control over their economic destiny" is no more than the demand of everyone with a responsible attitude for full participation in whatever they do. Yet this simple demand is incomprehensible to the practical folk of to-day, and the worker remains the unknown entity of the twentieth century. J.H.

The Witch-hunt Some Resist

IT is encouraging to see that some American colleges are refusing to be browbeaten by the authorities into employing only politically "reliable" people on their staffs. According to reports last month, 16 major universities out of 46 campuses affiliated to the U.S. Armed Forces Institute (UAFI), which provides college courses for G.I.'s, have refused to sign the 1954 contract which they felt was an invitation to federal control of American education. The clause which offended states that "The contractor will not employ or retain for the performance of services under his contract such persons as are disapproved by the Government". Among the Universities that have refused to sign are Michigan, California, Illinois, N. Carolina, Minnesota and Wisconsin. On the other hand, according to *Time*, "on its own initiative, Wayne University's top faculty council drew up a precedent-shattering ruling: any teacher, it said, who refuses to answer the questions of a congressional investigating committee will be promptly suspended or fired. Said President Clarence Hilberry: "If this policy statement had come from the administrators of Wayne University, it would mean little. But since it comes from the faculty's own council, it has tremendous importance."

"Full Blooded" Workers' Control in Yugoslavia?

WHILE we hesitate on the brink, fumbling experimentally in our nationalised industries with various forms of boards, permitting ever so cautiously, rank and file pit committees and factory committees of a castrated kind, Tito has plunged right into full blooded workers' control." Jennie Lee writes in *Tribune* after a visit to Yugoslavia.

Leaving aside the political reasons for the British-Yugoslav line up at the moment, there is a certain section of the left wing element in this country who would have us believe that Tito is a democratic socialist whose break with the Soviet Union was based on differing ethics rather than who should be the boss of Yugoslavia.

There is however, sufficient evidence to show that Tito deems it expedient at the moment to slightly lessen state control in the industrial field as well as on the land, although still retaining rigid control of political expression.

The workers' control practised in Yugoslavia, as interpreted by visitors to that country, has little relationship to that advocated by anarchists. For example, "each workplace is given a norm which it is expected to reach. [The State of course lays down what the norm should be.—R.M.] If it falls below this, then an investigation is held to find out the cause. If it exceeds the norm, then the producers themselves dispose of the surplus. Some of it is used to increase their standard of life, some may be set aside to buy new machinery, a pro-

portion goes to the State. Tito insists that industry can function well only when run, not by State officials, but by the workers themselves. Officials should intervene only when something is seriously wrong". At first glance, Jennie Lee warns us, this sounds like "gay anarchy of an impossible kind", but let us assure her that this form of workers' control has as little in common with anarchism as has Peron's syndicalism.

We are told that one of Tito's bitterest complaints against the Soviet Union is, in his own words, the fact that "a man is a number, and the people a colourless mass which must docilely obey and fulfill all the orders of its leaders", but up until quite recently Tito found the Soviet pattern highly remunerative as can be shown by his reference to the similarities in production between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia; "... as regards production, we have quite a number of similarities with the system of work in the Soviet Union. This has already given great results".

It has to be admitted that if one considers industry as a separate issue from political activity it is possible for governments to grant some measure of workers' control. Providing the reins of power are well and truly held by the government concerned, it is a wise move on the part of rulers to encourage workers to believe that they have a large part in running affairs.

In this country a similar idea is operated by some industries, whereby a joint

Political Shifts in Western Canada

THE Western Canadian rebellion against the old-line political parties, which in 1935 produced in Alberta the world's first Social Credit government and later brought the socialist Co-operative Commonwealth party into power in Saskatchewan, has now, in the June elections of British Columbia, consolidated itself west of the Rockies. If one takes into account the Nationalist government in Quebec, the provincial administration of more than a third of the area of Canada and more than a half of its population has passed out of the hands of the traditional liberal and conservative parties during recent decades.

In the east the rebellion has been openly reactionary, so far to the right that many Roman Catholic bishops seem radical in comparison with Quebec's Duplessis and his farmer supporters. But in the west it has contained populist and revivalist elements strongly reminiscent of the American movements which almost swept William Jennings Bryan to the White House and which survived in Wisconsin and the Dakotas until the last of the La Follette's was defeated by Senator McCarthy in ironic alliance with the local Communists.

In British Columbia and Alberta the parallel with the American past is particularly close. The Populists were always involved in some scheme, like the Greenback campaign or Bimetallism, to increase currency, while the Social Credit movements in the two westernmost Canadian provinces have offered their economic panaceas based on monetary manipulation. The Middle Western Populists set out to combat the great vested interests which threatened the farmers, like the railroads; their Canadian successors appear as champions of the small operator and trader, and in British Columbia talk of restricting the large logging combines. Finally, like the Populists, the Albertan and British Columbian movements have gained their fighting core of devoted supporters from the agricultural population and have drawn their leaders to a great extent from revivalist sects whose influence lends an air of campaigning enthusiasm to their campaigns.

Up to 1935 Social Credit has seemed the creed of a negligible minority with little chance of success anywhere in Canada. But in that year the enthusiastic campaign of Bible Bill Aberhart seemed to offer a last desperate chance to the Albertan wheat farmers, impoverished by the Depression and embittered by the ineptitude with which the older parties had dealt with the economic crisis, and the Social Creditors were carried to power. Aberhart immediately proposed an orthodox Social Credit reform in the currency system by introducing a basic dividend of twenty-five dollars a month for each citizen, payable in non-negotiable certificates deposited with a special bank. With this went a group of subsidiary measures, such as price control, special taxation to recover expenditure on dividends, and, most sinister, a press control bill which might

have laid a stifling hand on criticism of government action. All these bills were declared *ultra vires* by the Canadian Supreme Court, and the Social Credit government was forced into a policy of orthodox finance. Its subsequent career was probably more unfortunate than that of any other government in history. As one cynical old native of the province remarked to me: "Hitler and Providence fought for Social Credit." The war brought a demand for grain which consumed the accumulated crops of the prairie farmers and in a few years raised many of them from poverty to Cadillac-borne prosperity, while the opening of the great oilfields of Northern Alberta brought a condition of booming wealth into the towns and cities. Most of the mineral rights were provincially owned, and with the royalties that accrued the government was able to follow a popular policy of wiping out the provincial debt and reducing taxation. It was the kind of policy that had been the unfulfillable dream of many a conservative politician. When I visited Alberta in 1950 and ferreted out the reactions of business men, it was ironical, remembering how the founders of Social Credit had thundered against the banks, to find these institutions complacently approving of the first Social Credit administration. Clearly, they saw it as no threat to their power.

Social Credit leaders through Canada did not hesitate to take all the kudos for achievements which a singular combination of fortunate circumstances had enabled their policy to make in Alberta. And, while their progress in British Columbia was at first relatively slow, events on the other side of the Great Divide certainly aroused a great deal of interest among the mass of floating voters. They watched with envy the lowering taxation and the booming economy, and this fact gave the Social Creditors an advantage when discontent with the older parties came to a head between 1950 and the provincial election year of 1952.

The reasons for this discontent were fairly clear. Ever since Confederation the Conservatives and Liberals had between them controlled British Columbia. Both parties had followed the traditional North American patronage system, rewarding active party members with positions of various kinds in government service or with less direct but equally gratifying "spoils". Graft had been widespread. Both parties had played into the hands of the large transport and industrial corporations, such as Canadian Pacific, B.C. Electric and the Consolidated Mining Corporation. They had favoured the large logging combines against the small operators, they had made little effort to stop the exploitation of the fishermen by the packing companies, they had bungled the Doukhobor problem for fifty years, and had more or less washed their hands of the Indians by leaving them to the inadequate care of the Federal authorities. Finally, they

had founded and operated, with the support of the doctrinaire socialist C.C.F., an unpopular compulsory hospitalisation scheme which was perpetually bankrupted by inefficient management and a patronage-swollen bureaucracy.

All parties prepared with unusual energy for the crucial election of 1952. A complicated system of second and third preference balloting had been introduced by the older parties in the hope of preventing the minorities from gaining power. This did not save them from an unpredictably wide swing of popular feeling; the majority of the constituencies turned against them, the towns and industrial districts to the C.C.F., the rural areas to the Social Creditors. The Tories were almost wiped out, the pitiful remnant of the late liberal majority was important only because it held the balance of power between the Social Creditors and the C.C.F., neither of whom gained half the seats in the Legislative Assembly. The Social Credit party formed a minority administration under a Vicar-of-Bray premier who had already striven vainly for ascendancy in both the Conservative party and the C.C.F. The new legislators and ministers came largely from the farmer, storekeeper and petty bourgeois class to which Social Credit makes its special appeal, while the presence of at least one professional hot gospeller underlined the atmosphere of religious fundamentalism which dominated this political avalanche.

Like all new rulers, the Social Creditors began by cutting away at the administrative deadwood left by their predecessors, though, since they relied on liberal support for their majority, they were careful not to thrust too many probing fingers into the past. In a year they did almost nothing except to shake up the hospitalisation scheme, but they built a great sentiment among the floating voters that they should be given "a real chance". The malcontents of the older parties, the professional bandwagons, began to join up. In my own village before the

Continued on p. 2

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There is one great danger for a revolutionary movement in supporting any activity which can be rightly called reformist. That is that the movement may become bogged down in fighting day-to-day issues and eventually think in terms of nothing else.

There seems to be a tendency in most social organisations to slip backwards. Reformist parties become reactionary, revolutionary bodies become reformist, and there seem to be few means of preventing this happening. The dangers of a mass movement show themselves here, for the smaller an organisation is, the easier is it for it to remain intransigent, whereas the larger and hence more influential it becomes, the more it is expected to be "realistic" in terms of things as they are.

Nevertheless this is obviously a problem which has to be faced up to, since the Anarchistic movement must become a large and widespread movement if it is ever to be effective. We may not want a mass movement in the sense that fascist and communist parties have been mass organisations, but we shall have sooner or later to match them and indeed exceed them in size if we are to be as effective in putting our ideas into practice as they have been in putting theirs.

In fact, Anarchist and Syndicalist influence must be larger than that of any political group needs to be, since a political party, can be elected or seized and hold the reins of power with a minority.

How To Remain Revolutionary?

How, then, are we to build up an organisation which will be constantly revolutionary while building up great strength and experience through waging the class struggle here and now? How do we resist the tendency to become reformist while trying to get the best out of this society?

With one answer I have already dealt with: that our means must always be revolutionary, i.e. the means of direct action. Out of that grows what I consider to be

*FREEDOM 29/8/53.

an important second point: that we should never for one moment consider collaboration on a movement level with any political parties and particularly with the party in power. Neither should we ever take any part in the administration of government, nor try to get our members into a position of power.

Thirdly we come to the crux of the matter on which everything depends: the revolutionary consciousness of every member of the movement. We must build up a movement in which there is no such thing as a leadership and a rank and file, but in which all members are equal in their determination to work for Anarchism and nothing less—and are determined that no leadership will emerge.

Anarcho-Syndicalist

This makes necessary that our syndicalist organisation must be anarcho-syndicalist. It must not be merely another form of industrial unionism—it must be consciously decentralist, based on the workshop with control kept all the time at workshop level. It must aim constantly at workers' control of every workshop throughout every industry by the workers in that industry. It should fight against the temptation to set up headquarters and accumulate vast funds, it should wage its struggle for better conditions, or higher wages, conscious of the fact that such gains are of a temporary nature and only valuable as a means of gaining experience and of making life as tolerable as possible while preparing for the revolution which will abolish the wages system entirely.

Undoubtedly, as such a movement grows it will attract towards it numbers of people who will not fully understand the anarcho-syndicalist position. Already we are frequently approached by people who want to join us when we can see perfectly well that they are not fully convinced or aware of all the implications of anarchism.

Obviously we cannot brush these people aside, but neither can we allow the movement to become flooded (although that's not likely just yet!) with

members who might water down our revolutionary ideas. The pity of it is that frequently these persons appear the most militant and the most eager to act. But ignorant action can be as harmful to the movement as informed inaction. We have to build up an organisation of workers who know what they are doing—and why. And that means a long and patient process of education, propaganda, discussion, clearing up our ideas and spreading them wherever possible while at the same time seizing every opportunity to put them into action.

There are short cuts to reformist ends, when all that is necessary is the ability to read a candidate's name on a ballot paper and make the sign of the cross, but there are no short cuts to Anarchy.

Collaboration

On the second point, that of no collaboration with political and power-seeking groups, I must point out that for comrades in industry it is clearly impossible not to co-operate with others of different views and approaches when united action demands it.

At the moment of writing we have comrades involved in the electricians' strike. This is a Communist-led action and among the electricians there are many Communist rank-and-filers. In order to take part in the strike at all our comrades must act with their fellow-workers, whatever their politics. This cannot be avoided, for one of the first fundamentals of working-class action is solidarity, and anarcho-syndicalists will simply isolate themselves if they discriminate among strikers on political grounds.

What we must never do is to collaborate as a movement with the Communist Party. Among workers on the job solidarity must be the aim and we shall always have plenty of opportunities for criticising, attacking and exposing the political trickery of the Stalinists and showing in fact that their tactics do more to divide the workers than anything else.

And what applies to the Stalinists applies to all political groups to greater or lesser degree. But our activities during strikes or other actions must be directed towards ensuring their success—and pointing out that such action is anarchist and syndicalist working-class action and is more effective than political action.

P.S.

(To be continued)

Colour Bar in S. Africa *Continued from p. 1*

the franchise equality of the Cape, which the Constitution had been at special pains to preserve, had been finally undermined by the bare majority at the disposal of a party machine. Therefore, even if the clause entrenching franchise is not repealed, some future Government might presumably be free to establish by simple majority a franchise for all on a common roll, but differently weighted for the different communities."

The hopelessness of the problem however is also seen by reading between the lines of this writer's account, for he goes on to say that "some way of safeguarding European rights and at the same time of recognizing and meeting the rights of Africans has to be found. The Nationalist has chosen segregation

The existence of incompatible interests between white and African populations is here taken for granted and the solution sought is one of compromise between these conflicting interests. Anarchists would naturally repudiate such a method of looking at the problem, and would seek solutions which themselves remove the causes and basis of the conflict of interests between Europeans and Africans.

Colour Bar in Education

The franchise is not the only issue however on which segregation policy is progressing. Mr. J. H. Viljoen, South African Minister of Education, discussed in the House of Assembly on 31st August, the question of racial segregation in education. The Nationalists have attacked those universities (the so-called "English" universities) which allow academic equality to non-European students. According to the *Times* (1/9/53):

"The 'Afrikaans Universities' of Stellenbosch, Pretoria, Potchefstroom, and the Free State are strictly all-white. Natal University has separate lecture rooms and other facilities for non-European students. Rhodes University, Grahamstown, admits only such few African students as cannot take the courses they want at Fort Haré native college, which is a constituent college of the University.

"Cape Town and Witwatersrand admit any students of any race capable of benefiting from a university education. This is obligatory on them according to

their charters, which cannot be changed except by Act of Parliament. According to Mr. Viljoen, Cape Town University has 192 full-time and 27 part-time non-European students and Witwatersrand 240 full-time and five part-time.

"Mr. Viljoen said he hoped the Government would receive the co-operation of these universities in this matter. The country had given proof it did not favour racial equality, and the universities, as an integral part of the nation, would be expected not to act in conflict with that point of view. He emphasized, however, that it was a difficult and delicate matter which could not be rectified immediately. He also emphasized that neither he nor the Cabinet had any intention of interfering in the academic freedom of the universities."

The Separate Amenities Bill

Yet another piece of Colour Bar legislation is the Separate Amenities Bill, which empowers railway and other authorities to provide separate amenities in buildings, vehicles, aircraft, and so on, for different races even if the separate amenities provided are not equal. This bill which has received its second reading, is yet another example of the struggle between the racialists and the legal upholders of the Constitutional rights of Africans. In the course of the passive resistance campaign, Africans were charged with using amenities reserved for Europeans. Some however were acquitted by the courts on the ground that the law as it stands demands equal amenities where these are separate. The new bill places the emphasis on separateness rather than on equality.

"The United Party voted with the Government, having said during the debate that they would support the principle of the Bill, which enshrines the customary South African practice, but they would propose amendments in the committee stage to ensure that the resulting apartheid will not be gratuitously unfair. Unless the Government accepted these amendments they would oppose the third reading." —(*Times*, 25/8/53).

This attitude of the Opposition makes it abundantly clear that it is merely wishful to hope for parliamentary opposition to Malan's racial policy.

Morris's Utopia

WILLIAM MORRIS'S utopian England appears like an oasis where we would like to stay, if not for ever, at least for a long time. Here we can work without having a foreman at our elbow, we can sleep without having to set the alarm clock, eat what we like and not what the experts have decided to be best suited to our constitution, we can love without having to consider tyrannical laws or a no less tyrannical public opinion; here we can dress as we like, read what we like and, above all, think what we like. Here we can live, because we have not been catalogued and directed, but left to arrange our lives as we think fit.

One is also grateful to Morris for not claiming that his society was the only perfect, the only desirable one. As G. D. H. Cole has pointed out, "News from Nowhere was neither a prophecy nor a promise, but the expression of a personal preference. Morris was saying 'Here is the sort of society I feel I should like to live in. Now tell me yours.'" All utopias are, of course, the expression of personal preferences, but their authors usually have the conceit to assume that their personal tastes should be enacted into laws; if they are early-risers the whole of their imaginary community will have to get up at four o'clock in the morning; if they dislike women's make-up, to use it is made a crime; if they are jealous husbands infidelity will be punished by death. Morris freely confesses his likes and dislikes, but no one is obliged to accept them and there are no punishments for those who have dissimilar tastes. He realised that the manner of life of a community cannot be artificially arranged in the mind of an individual, but must be spontaneously created by all the members of that community. He could dream and work for his ideal but he could not achieve it for others. That could only be achieved by the people themselves.

MARIE LOUISE BERNERI IN
—JOURNEY THROUGH UTOPIA

A Plea for Self-Help--Paper Salvage on the "Flying Enterprise"

A LETTER from the Hon. Secretary of the Norwich and District Food Production Council, a Mr. Noel Armstrong published in the *Observer* (Aug. 31) reads as follows:

"Sir,—A manual worker in Norwich with six hens kept in a small chicken-run gets over 1,100 eggs a year; his food for the birds, using household waste, at old prices, cost 7s. 9d. a month, exclusive of grit and cod liver oil. Similar results could be obtained by nearly everyone in the gardens of outlying housing estates all over Britain if people were encouraged to do something for themselves and if there were adequate educational facilities to teach how to obtain the best results.

"There is an unanswerable case for a new domestic food production movement to encourage self-help. If such a movement were taken from the dead hand of the Ministry of Agriculture, whose only interest appears to be commercial agriculture, and put into the hands of a movement similar to the savings movement, which makes use of local initiative, local talent and local enthusiasm, there would, over the course of years, be more and cheaper food, such as vegetables, eggs, poultry and rabbits. With self-help instead of State aid would come also a new sense of physical, moral and even spiritual betterment, which would have its effect on every aspect of national life."

It is an interesting document from a number of points of view. It shows to what good use household waste can be put, thereby revealing how much is wasted in fact in the towns and cities where no provision is made to utilise this potential feeding material which is thrown away with the ordinary refuse.

But what is perhaps of especial interest to anarchists is the realisation by the writer of the letter of the psychological importance of encouraging people "to do something for themselves" rather than always waiting for instructions from some central body which then determines what and how everything should be done. "Local initiative" says Mr. Armstrong and not the "dead hand" of a Ministry. "Self-help" and not "State Aid".

The "self-help" advocated by the *Observer's* correspondent is not envisaged in its narrow sense. He clearly sees such self-help as part of a movement of mutual-aid in which knowledge and experience will be pooled for the general good—both "physical" and "moral".

Phoney Values

COMPARE the values of the self-help movement with those behind the recent salvage operations on the *Flying Enterprise*, the ship whose skipper, Captain Carlson made headlines for nearly two weeks through refusing to abandon her until a few hours before she sank off the English coast.

Last week the Italian salvage ship *Rostro* landed its first haul from the *Flying Enterprise* consisting of some \$85,000 in notes and \$5,000 in bills. It now transpires that there were, unbeknown to the owners and the captain, some \$250,000 on board during the fateful journey.

The salvaged dollar notes have been dried in the kitchen of a Brussels bank, and the public has been provided with pictures of bank officials laying out these notes on a kitchen hot plate.

The comments of Mr. Jakob Isbrandtsen, president of the company owning the *Flying Enterprise* are worth noting. In saying that he was convinced that the finding of the currency was no accident he pointed out that: "It is no joke to

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dive in 240 feet of water. You don't do it for coffee beans, waterlogged typewriters, cars and the other cargo listed in the manifest. The whole thing just doesn't make sense to me."

In other words, that our curious sense of values makes thousands of printed pieces of paper of much greater value than a cargo of coffee, or motor-cars or even of the ship itself, for Mr. Isbrandtsen also said:

"The people who started this salvage project knew something we did not know

"We were not paid for hauling all the money. It was not listed in the manifest. If I had known it was down there we would have taken a different view of the salvage proposition." (Our italics)

That is to say, the knowledge that a board was a bundle of paper which had added so much to the value of the ship and its cargo that perhaps it might have been worthwhile to the owners to do something about salvaging it.

Is there not something "phoney" about values which place a greater price on a bundle of printed paper—which can be easily replaced just by running the money printing machines say for an extra hour one evening—than on a ship and its cargo which represent real wealth, the toil of thousands of skilled workers over a period of months. But to send down divers 240 ft. is "no joke" when it is a case of salvaging a ship and its cargo, but a very profitable operation when it is a question of hauling up masses of sea-sodden "greenbacks".

And they even go to the trouble of drying out each one individually as the press photographs show us. R.

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