Housing- Hypocrisy and Deception - p. 3



"Toleration is not the opposite of Intolerance, but is the counterfeit of it. Both are despotisms. The one assumes to itself the right of withholding Liberty of Conscience, and the other of granting it."

—THOMAS PAINE
(The Rights of Man)

Vol. 13, No. 30

Threepence

GOVERNMENT PLANS FOR FARMING

N the to be expected and all too familiar warnings about economic crisis which the government have issued, and which—as we go to pressare to be debated this week, there is one slightly new note. This is the statement that to place the national economy on a more secure footing agricultural output has to be increased by as much as 60 per cent. over

Over the past year or so FREEDOM has noted a tendency among economists and politicians to pay more attention to farming as an economic tetrity. Of course this tendency is directly connected with the falling the falling that the falling that is the same of th of men employed in agriculture fell to less than half its former res. This decline becomes even per if one takes into account the nsiderable increase in the popula-

lug out of text books and reports. Before the war the average news-paper reader was encouraged to be-leve that vast food imports were essential for our population, that the soil of Britain could not support the the inability of the soil to support, etc., etc.). The calm way, in which the politicians now call for an increased agricultural output, however, will only surprise naive observers of the political scene.

Agricultural Stability

Anarchists have always regarded stability in the economy of food production as a necessary basis for a stable social system. It seems obvious that food production should be the primary economic activity of be the primary economic activity of

Marxists deride anarchism as a "peasant outlook", etc. But anarchists have never fallen for the idea of large-scale industry which leads to increasing regional specialization, and in this country by concentrating almost the whole of economy into industrial production, created a nat-ional economic specialization which almost strangled agriculture alto-

The Marxists in their uncritical belief in the "inevitable" superiority of large-scale enterprise carry it even further and believe that even agri-

culture should be carried on by large undertakings with the peasant proletarianized into a wage worker worker in collective agricultural collectives. In the post-war years in Russia, the smaller collectives have been progressively merged into larger and larger units.

Such a standpoint is essentially capitalistic and contains no revolutionary conceptions. The present proposals of the Conservative Government are in the same category Their desire to expand British agri culture does not spring from social needs, but from the exigencies of a capitalist economy whose overseas markets are shrinking.

Nevertheless, any measure which increases the output of agriculture, provided it improves the productivity of the soil, is to be regarded as a social advance. The ability of the land to produce food is a social asset of the first importance to a rational economy and a rational organization.

FOREIGN COMMENTARY The "Broad Basis of American Capital Distribution"-Fact & Fiction

A CCORDING to the New York Herald Tribune, the "broad base of capital distribution in the United States" is shown in a study made by the is shown in a study made by the Brookings Institution, a private research

The study reports that there are some 6,500,000 individual owners of publicly held stock issues. Furthermore, the study found, this ownership is distributed throughout all income groups with more than 200,000 families whose incomes are less than \$2,000 yearly holding shares.

Summarising the findings of the study, Summarising the findings of the study, Brookings Institution said: "The study shows that vast numbers of people have a direct stake in the ownership of business enterprise. In addition to ownership of stocks, the general public has a substantial interest in the operation of corporations by virtue of ownership of bonds and other credit instruments—both directly, and indirectly through holdings of life insurance and savings accounts."

The report shows that there are 30,300,000 shareholdings in stock issues traded on the organised stock exchanges and in over-the-counter transactions.

But let us examine a little more closely how "broad" is the base of capital dis-tribution in the United States. Firstly,

the term "shareholding" applies to individuals holding one share or a million shares in a particular issue, so that before being hypnotised by the 30,000,000 shareholdings, one must examine how the shares are distributed amongst them. We then learn that 46%—or 13,800,000 shareholdings are of only one share each and that 8%, or 2,400,000 shareholdings, are of ten or more shares. And since it is estimated that the total number of shares held publicly in the 16,655 stock issues is 5,000 million it will be seen that nearly 14 million shareholders possess nearly 14 million shares, whilst 2.4 million shareholders possess 4,900 million shares.

. not to mention the millions of Americans who possess no shares at all. So much for the "broad basis of capital distribution in America"!

FIGURES for the consumption of spirits in America tell a curious story, with a moral.

Apparent consumption last year was 194,000,000 gallons, which works out at an average of not more than 1.26 gallons per person. The average for the years 1939-1951 was 1.23 and for 1947-1951 at 1.22 gallons. During the years under examination the consumption of spirits was legal.

Now, according to Dr. Warburton's Economic Status of Prohibition, an authoritative work on liquor consumption during the prohibition years, the consumption of "hard-liquor" in 1929 was 226 million gallons or an average consumption of 1.86 gallons per head and for the whole period of prohibition the average consumption is given by Dr. Warburton as 1.71 gallons.

In other words, Americans drank more in prohibition days than they do now that drinking is legal.

FOR the defenders of capitalism as an efficient system here are two items of information which appeared on different pages of the same issue of an Economic Supplement of the New York Herald Tribune recently. From Singapore it was reported that imports of cement to Malaya from Japan have been cut by a half. No reason is given, though it is pointed out that builders prefer using Japanese cement because of its low cost and that there will nevertheless be no shortage as the deficit will be imported from other sources. The amount involved is 88,000 tons.

From Hanoi, in French Indo-China From Hanoi, in French Indo-China, the A.P. reports that the big French-controlled cement plant at the Port of Haiphong in the N.E. of the country, boosted its production to 204,000 tons in 1951 from 137,000 tons in 1950. A large part of the output was absorbed by the needs of the military but their was also "a considerable export to Japan."

We know this is nothing new, but there is no harm in pointing out these cases when the very business leaders who send coals to Newcastle spend their time excoals to Newcastle spend their time ex-horting the workers to produce more and more efficiently in the national interest and all that. But business goes on in its own sweet way, and the people foot the bill in higher costs for raw materials.

LIBERTARIAN.

Railwaymen Boat Miss the

WHEN the Railway Executive began to recruit new workers to counteract the "work-to-rule" of Western Region locomotive shed men last week, they underlined the definite change that has taken place in labour relations in the last few months.

The "pool of unemployed" which the workers have so long and so rightly feared returning is in fact here now, and the first definite use of it as a management weapon against employed workers sounds a warning of what is to come.

The locomotive shed men—who clean the fireboxes, fill the boilers and light the fires of engines in service—began a work-to-rule by cutting out overtime and piece-work. This they did as a protest against the fact that increases in pay for piece-work have not kept pace with that for time, and they are claiming back pay—amounting to as much as £145 a man—dating back to 1947.

Since then, national wages awards have amounted to 16s, on basic rates, but no increases have been given on piece rates. But it is surely logical that, since there is a recognised connection between basic pay and piece-work pay, if the basic is increased, so should the rates for the piece. Simply to benefit by an increase in basic means only that a man working on payment by results is given an increase representing a smaller per-

centage of his earnings than the man on day work.

That is the logic of the men's case, and it seems fair enough. But the Executive think otherwise, and its firm stand has uncovered the dependence which many workers now have upon piece-work and overtime to make a living ware. piece-work living wage.

These locomotive shed workers, for instance, have been earning from £7 10s, to £14 a week—but their basic rates are between £5 10s. 6d. and £5 19s. 6d.—which is well below the average wage for the country and even further below a decent living wage for a family man.

Thus, by working at piece rates the men have masked the low standard of their pay. The union, incidentally, have negotiated the increases on the basic but have not, for all the apparent results, done a thing about increasing piece rates. Hence the men's action now, and at depots throughout the Western Region, a work-to-rule resulted in a hold-up of trains at Paddington on main line holiday services and also on freight traffic.

The management's answer begin recruiting new men to take their place. Saying that work-to-rule could work both ways, and that if the men chose time-work they could stay on it, the management brought three men from London to the Banbury depot to learn the job and get the work done that was piling up. that was piling up.

This was only the beginning, but it was enough for the men to see they were not going to win. Although nine depots were working-to-rule and others were on the verge of joining, very little support was forthooming from railmen in other grades. Realising their weak position, the shed men gave in and re-

A POLICE JOB

THE rationing system was intended only to ensure that the holders of the card got the food to which they were entitled. But he has been shocked to find that the information required brought in other things than food. "A friend recently was lucky enough to find someone to come and cook for his family. She applied in the normal way for a ration card but, to my friend's amazement and the cook's fear and disgust, who should turn up but a cruel and sadistic husband, whom she was frightened of and had escaped from, to cash in on her job, tipped off so to do by none other than the polec."

—Report of speech by Lord

-Report of speech by Lord Sempill in the House of Lords debate on Lord Samuel's "Liberties of the Subject Bill." 16/7/52.

turned to normal working. All they have managed to do is to prod the N.U.R. to take up the case on their behalf, so protracted negotiations can now be expected.

Far more important, to our mind, than the issue of the wages, however, is the fact that the management were able to take the measures they did. Why did the men wait so long? Their grievance has been building up since 1947; to wait until the boss was in a position to beat them was not exactly good tactics.

But the whole thing is an indication of what is to come. The employers will be taking a tougher attitude and the workers will wake up to the fact that because they allowed themselves to be talked into apathy when they were in a strong position, they are in a very weak position when the real fight begins.

For there is a fight ahead. We were saying eighteen months ago that we should have to fight, not only to better our conditions, but even to maintain them. The railwaymen are beginning now to see the force of that.

Unfortunately, the locomotive shed men have missed their opportunity, and clearly the fragmentary strikes and small scale actions that have been sufficient over the past few years are no longer going to be effective. Stronger forces, more determination and more intelligent use of their strength are the workers' needs now.

P.S.

THE BLACK SHEEP OF THE WHITE MEN

MISS Euphemia Cowan, a 20-year-old Scots girl who was invited to spend a six months' holiday with a Coloured pen-friend, was declared a prohibited immigrant when she arrived in the Edinburgh Castle, and was transferred to another ship returning to Britain.

For the last six years she has been corresponding with Miss Winifred van der Ross, daughter of the principal of the Battswood Training College in Wynberg. The pen-friendship began when both girls were at school. They met for the first time last month.

The immigration authorities refused Miss Cowan permission to stay in South Africa because she had insufficient money to satisfy them that she could maintain herself. Mr. van der Ross said he had offered the necessary financial guarantees, but they had not been received. accepted.

A South African correspondent of FREEDOM writes: "It is, of course, all lies about not having sufficient funds. We South Africans have become the laughing-stock of the whole world—the black sheep of the white men."

Summer School 1952

THOSE requiring accommodation ha been circulated with forms. It wou help facilitate arrangements if they wou complete these forms whether they ha written previously or not, and rett immediately to the Summer Scho Committee.

If any comrades in the London a have accommodation to offer we sho be grateful if they would contact Summer School Committee, L.A.G.. Freedom Press, 27 Red Lion Str W.C.1.

pre-war levels.

rectly connected with the falling of industrial exports to the once der capitalized agricultural counters. In the past this country's instrial products were paid for ainly by agricultural imports—a ocess which has been gaining omentum for some seventy years d which caused the gradual desuction of British farming. In the arse of these seventy-odd years ore than half the country's arable and went out of cultivation (becompermanent grass) while the nums of men employed in agriculture

Political Somersault Figures such as these had to be

population, that "cheap food imports" were a major factor in raising the cost of living. Freedom derided this line of propaganda during the war when food production in Reitain was wastly increased (despite Britain was vastly increased (despite

OBJECTORS

THE June issue of The Objector, reports that of 286,635 young men registering for National Service in 1951, 722 registered as conscientious objectors. In 1950, there were 635 and in 1949, 595. There were 672 applications to the seven local tribunals.

National Servicemen were prosecuted during the year. The corresponding figures for 1950 and 1949 were 61 and 34 respectively.

Of 80 men who were prosecuted for refusing to submit to medical examination, 60 were imprisoned, 17 were fined and 3 submitted to examination. One man was prosecuted for failing to attend for examination, but no order was made for him to submit. Twelve of the 80 had been prosecuted once during 1950, and 20 more were prosecuted a second time during 1951, 14 being imprisoned and 6 fined. One man was prosecuted three times during 1951, and 2 others were prosecuted for the third time. Prison sentences ranged from one to twelve months, and fines from £5 to £50.

Four conditionally-registered C.O.s

for failing to comply with their conditions.

conditions.

7. MEN

Of Class Z Reservists recalled for training this year, at 12th June, 324 applicants had been before the local tribunals and exemption had been granted in 184 cases (56.8 per cent.). Sixty-eight appeals had been heard and thirty had been allowed.

Twenty-two Z Reservists who claimed conscientious objection have been prosecuted for failing to report for the training in 1951. There were five prison sentences: one of fourteen days, two of one month and one of two months. The remaining seventeen were fined amounts ranging from £1 to £20. Several who have been summoned again for training this year have been exempted by the tribunals.

SCHOOLBOY OBJECTOR

Paul Brown, a student at the City of London School, has refused to serve in the school Combined Cadet Corps and has been expelled in consequence. Membership of the Corps is compulsory for all boys from the age of fourteen.

The Objector is issued by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

LETTER FROM NEW YORK

YOU TOO CAN PRESIDENT BE

IN all the bluff, buncombe, bluster and braggadocio sluicing out of Chicago recently, one fact crystallises for even the United States is now blessed with two Republican Parties. However, the glib quack publicists for the crowds involved in the raw contention for party control, attempt to graft strong scar tissue over the scarlet wounds, they are doomed to failure, for the gashes are irremediable. These were not incisions made by honed scalnel in skilled hands these were the huge wedges excised desperate party-hackers lusting f after the patronage to devolve upon the survivors in this internecine carnage, and then after the spoils stored up crown the sweaty pates of whichever carpet-bagging cult succeeds in better hoodwinking the American electorate hoodwinking the American electorate come the Election Follies of 1952 next

Only incidentally was the tug-of-var between two ambition-ridden individuals—they were the haggling punchinellos of the carnival; in essence the struggle lay between the "Old" and "New" Guards within the Republican Party itself, winner-take-all and no holds barred. It is patent beyond seeking that the "New" is just the woman face to the same corroded coin as the "Old", but in order to transfuse fresh interest into a failing side-show, the string pullers had to float an illusion of fundamentalism-at-stake, and triumphant Eisenhower regiments can now be expected to exploit that illusion for all its limited worth. limited because the Democratic candidate will not be the straw man for Eisenhower that Taft proved to be. In the preliminaries, a boyish ignorance of things was a fetching pose for Eisenhower to strike, for certainly a general who has spent so much time abroad in the service of his county could scarcely be expected to be au courant on too many of the political, economic and social intricacies of a well-run capitalistic establishment like the United States. From now on though, pro-tested ignorance cannot but be a serious handicap to a politician who must diligently solicit the suffrage of an electorate at best indifferent, at worst The brand-new nominee will forced to make some positive declara-tions on his own behalf as he is groomed by the stable boys prior to his taking to the rotten hustings, and his Demo-cratic opponent-to-be can be counted upon to force the general into as many unpopular assertions as possible. The first order of business for the Democrats indeed, will be to taint the untainted

Under the campaign pressures which must develop, Eisenhower will veer more and more toward orthodox Republicanism, a course which will be tarnish enough as a start, for, for two decades now, the Republican Party has been wallowing in odoriferous disrepute. This initial derogation of the general might well take the form of the obvious observation that notwithstanding lke Eisenhower's virtues as an individual, general, or statesman (not, to be sure, that he is invulnerable on those scores he still is the candidate—signed, sealed, frozen and delivered—of his party whose symbol might better be the Bradymus than the poor maligned elephant which after all is quite an intelligent animal capable of rapid and constructive behaviour when the occasion demands. Not so the barnacled Republican Party. however.

Not the least treacherous of barnacles with which the Eisenhower crown will have to contend is the party platform. I have no intentions of detailing this woeful document, this specious jeremiad against the Democratic Party, this agglomeration of political placebos so adroitly clobbered with double-talk that

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in four thousand words it contrives to say little and pledge less. As usual, though, it does encompass all the chevaux de hataille on which the Republican Party, the last four times out, has ridden ventre å terre to defeat. Since it so happens that in those losing vaces the gap between them and the foot tenging. front-running Democrats progressively diminished, the Republicans appear to be reasoning that this time, if they just sit tight and jockey for riskless openings, some esoteric law of mathematics decrees that they must come in first. Bookies have flourished on more substantial hunches than this.

The best tip-off on the platform, authored in the main by the little gadfly John Foster Dulles, is that it was acceptable to all factions of the party; indeed, when the platform committee got around to putting their jaded carboncopy generalities to paper, they dis-covered a pleasant unanimity among the factions. That explains, for instance. the rather anomalous, situation in which the nominee now finds himself: one of platform planks declares for emphasis of air power and de-emphasis of ground power. This is a Hoover-Taft confection directly repugnant to every-thing Eisenhower had been saying and working towards up to the afternoon of his nomination, and directly contradictory to the position emphatically pronounced by Eisenhower's hand-picked successor. A contretemps of cut could embarrass non-politicized individuals, but then, if Eisenhower intends to qualify for the Professional Tumblers and Politicians Union, he will have to start some place to see the seed to seed to seed to see the seed to s have to start some place to arm himself with that slippery shiftiness of stride and tongue which distinguishes its flipflapping membership.

A point of interest in the pre convention skirmishing was that the selfstyled "liberal" (Eisenhower) juggernaut proved more anti-Negro in the South than did the "conservative" (Taft) steam-roller. The Eisenhower crowd was and is making strenuous overtures to the effective (i.e, Democratic) southern poli-

ticos, ergo its indorsement of the status quo; the Tast crowd, realising that it was too heavily redolent of the Republican stench to woo away any significant portion of the traditionally Democratic south, had instead toadied up to factions south, had instead to detect up to factions that have not been enjoying political preferencent, which is to say, the dissidents, the Negroes, labour, and so forth. It was this direct collision between well-heeled juggernaut and potboiling steam-roller, in fact, which proved a Titanomachy, which festered into the incradicable acrimony which rent the convention in Chicago, and which produced the issue of delegate-scating which eventually iet-propelled the Eisenhower. eventually jet-propelled the Eisenhower crowd to its Pyrrhic victory and catapulted Taft into disaster.

There would be little purpose in recapitulating a blow-by-blow sequence of the convention proceedings themselves Ironically enough, the actual nominating roll-call of the states was anticlimatic; the confident Taft camp became an immediate shambles the moment the convention voted to seat Eisenhower's henchmen from Georgia and to oust Taft's rubber-stamp cronies from the same state. That decisive vote reduced subsequent proceedings to mere for-malities. Taft forces were already de-moralised, if not actually decimated, by the time the fateful Friday toll was taken, and although Eisenhower could not muster a majority on the first runthrough of the states, what remained to be settled was not the end but the means—which independent group, in other words, would be the first to scurry to Eisenhower's camp and thus set off a general stampede of vote-switching before the results of the first ballot were indelibly recorded for all posterity. As developed, it was Harold Stassen's relict Minnesota delegation which usurped for itself a spot of glory by ramming the sievy buckling Taft dikes. With juicy appointments at stake, it would have been quite indiscreet for a Stassenite to remain loyal to his skipper. Why go down with nailsick ballahou, its distinguishing pennant furled, that

never had a chance to stay affoat, much less sail, once out of dry-dock? can easily imagine a farsighted ward heeler slithering up to Stassen in the cauldron of Chicago's convention auditorium to beg the latter's permission to bail out: "'Tis for my vocation. Hal; tis no sin for a man to labour in his vocation." The ambushed Minnesota votes, jettisoning Stassen for Eisenhower. were more than enough to scuttle Taft and steam the general into free waters, but a couple of hundred more patronage eyeing votes were tacked on for good measure. Even so, it is significant that no fewer than 280 votes, colours nailed to their mast, stuck with Taft even while their champion, his frantic telephone consultations with New York encamped MacArthur working to no avail, was treading the plank. They stuck it out until their fallen leader was fished out on his passe hatchments, and then they themselves were hustled off in irons to the debtor's brig whence there is no political returning.

After that there remained only the ritual of certifying whomever the Eisenhower crowd chose to sanctify as the general's running mate. Following a pocket palaver, the details of which are locked in the political hearts of a few silent king-makers suddenly grown fat with success. Senator Nixon of California was tapped for the post. Nixon's claim to fame is the epheremal one of having manifestly an ability to "ferret communists, ex-communists, wouldbe communists, potential communists, near communists, and assorted "un-Americans" who might dare to run counter to official Washington decretals, those extant and those to come. to his "hatchet-man" reputation earned by the rôle he played in the Alger Hiss affair, Nixon already has ominously vowed to smash communism "at home To most of us that might and abroad". seem to be rather an over-sized bite for any vice-presidential candidate, political party or even nation to chew, but for a youthful senator brimming with flame and vinegar that might appear to be

little more than a post-prandial chore. It is unfortunate that the boy might awaken next January to find headspinning power thrust into his itching fingers, which would mean the devil to

pay and no pitch hot.

Eisenhower, the mildest mannered man that ever scuttled ship or cut a throat, accepted the nomination with an informal sabre-rattling address to the informal sabre-rattling address to the convention on the evening of his triumph. While the general did obeisance to his new masters by loosing a veritable diarrhoea of pap and polite platitudes, one could not help recalling that from that very platform, only several rights before, Hoover and MacArthur, those worn Taftite Republican wheel-horses, had snewed to rents of words at the had spewed torrents of words at the assemblage. Hoover, the most recent Republican president and thus some sort of extinct species of rapture? escaped from its tumulus for one night to haunt the political jungles, was embarrassingly senile, lush and simplistic; MacArthur was his old demagogic self. Their shadows hung heavy over the rostram as a bewildered. Spanish-walking lke Eisenhower, already in the fussy clutches of nomenclators, chivvying advisers, television speech-experts and sundry political coutouriers commissioned to remould him to an algunode nondescriptremould him to an alamode nondescriptness, summoned his party and the nation to a crusade—a house-cleaning crusade, to be conducted, if you please, by the same old jaded, stercoraccous, impotent and repudiated Knights Templars setting tilt against a gale of words, words, words. Hoover, MacArthur and Eisenhower—"three misbegotten knave in Kendal green"—Hoover and MacArthur, their shades suffavious bysteric Arthur, their shades guffawing hysterically at the picture of a phlebotomize Eisenhower girding his abecedarian loin to slay the sticky gossamery spectro of old-guardism, an Eisenhower in new and strange areas an Eisenhower in ew and strange arena, an Eisenhow Fresh as a bridegrom; and his ch

new-reap'd. Showed like a stubble-land at harve home:

He was perfumed like a milliner, And 'twixt his finger and his than he held

pouncet-box, which ever and and He gave his nose and took 't an

Strangely enough, Eisenhower, no Continued on p.

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution-2

nvolved might easily overcome objections of principle. But this is not the case. Tactics are like the game of chess which demands that each move shall be viewed not only in the light of its immediate results but in all

made certain that the preparations for the military putsen would proceed unchecked. On the other hand a victory of the Right, which was almost certain if the C.N.T. this revolutionary and anarchist contribution, but to do abstained, would mean the end of the military consorming to power of a reactionary but spirit of the Congress. One of the "most significant ineffectual government which, like its predecessors, would results of the debates" according to Peirats—was the hold out for not more than a year or two. There is resolution on Revolutionary Alliances, which is also dogmatic statement of principles and objectives. This long document can de described as an undevelopment of a fascist movement in Spain along the resolution declared that:

The Right "During the period of the Primo de Rivera dictator—from the syndicalist to the Individual Anarchist points."

paign should have therefore taken into account the effect formist channels of democracy, which was made possible of a military uprising. Who would resist the Military?

And the question fundamental to the C.N.T.'s very 6 Santillan, who was an active supporter of the Popular existence as a revolutionary organisation: Can such a situation as will arise be converted to the advantage of the social revolution? To the first question it was clear to them that no effective resistance could be expected from the Government which would prefer to perish than arm the Spanish people. Therefore once more, all the sacrifices had to be made by the workers who were without weapons6 and needing time to co-ordinate and to re-organise their forces against a trained and well armed and financed force which had the advantage of initiative in attack on its side. Could the workers in the circumstances defeat the militarists' coup d'etat? For failure to do so would mean wholesale reprisals, and once more the prisons would be filled with political prisoners, quite apart from the internal disruption in the

revolutionary ranks that would result from the repression. Such, as we see it, are some of the considerations and consequences resulting from the acceptance by a revolutionary movement of political tactics at the expense of

и.

The Saragossa Congress: May, 1936

THE months before the Militarist uprising were characterised, as we have already pointed out, by wide-spread political unrest and armed provocation from the Right. So far as Peirats' account goes it would appear that the revolutionary movements took no steps to counteract the preparations being made by the Military for their putsch, and even at the National Congress of the C.N.T. held in Saragossa in May 1936 there appears to have been no discussion on this question.

This was one of the most important Congresses in

writes in Porque Perdimos la Guerra: "For the effective any discussion of the problems that might face the struggle in the streets, to use the weapons and win or die, clearly, our movement was practically the only one to rely on [he was of course referring to Catalonia where the C.N.T. were unchallenged by the U.G.T or the political parties—V.R.] A Committee for coordination with the Generalitat [the Catalan Government] was formed, in which I took part with other friends well known for their determination and heroism. Besides advocating possible collaboration, we thought that in view of our attitude and activity, arms and ammunition would not be denied us, since the best any discussion of the problems that might face the struggle in the struggle in the struggle in the struggle in the action on the morrow of the defeat of the Military putsch. The head of the revolutionary movement. Such a possibility could easily be envisaged in Catalonia, if not in the provinces under the Central Government. Perhaps for the rank and file the answer was a simple one: the social revolution. But in the light of subsequent actions, for the leadership of the C.N.T., it was not as simple as all that. Yet these problems and doubts were not faced at the and ammunition would not be denied us, since the best part of our reserves and small deposits of munitions had disappeared after december 1933 [in the uprising following the elections of November 1933], and during the biento negro of the Lerroux-Gil Robles dictatorship." But in spite of continued and laborious negotiations the Government refused arms to the people. The reply given was that the Government had no arms! And Santillan adds later, "Direct action gained what we had failed to obtain in our negotiations with what we had failed to obtain in our negotiations with the Generalitat." Here the author is referring to a daring action by members of the C.N.T. who boarded a number of boats anchored in the port of Barcelona and seized rifles and ammunition from the ships armouries.

At the time of writing we have been unable to ascertain whether the minutes of the Congress exist or are available, though from conversations with members of the C.N.T. who took part in the debates, we understand that no real attempt was made to draw conclusions from past actions. Controversy, and divergence of approach were avoided as much as possible in an ot to create an atmosphere of unity within the

IT might perhaps be said that we have made too much the history of the C.N.T. both because it was representably the agreement of the U.G.T. workers' organisms to of the vacillating attitude of the C.N.T. leadership tive of the whole movement (it was attended by 649 enrol in the convocation of elections which resulted in the elections of February 1936 seeing the general delegates representing 982 Syndicates accounting for contempt in which all governments have been held by 550,595 members) and because it discussed such important the Spanish people who would therefore approve of tallicence and as the internal crisis and revolutionary activities the servants of republicant descriptions as the orientator have become the servants of republicant descriptions. the Spanish people who would therefore approve of tant questions as the internal crisis and revolutionary as its orientator have become the servants of republican participation by the C.N.T. in the elections if it resulted alliances, and examined the revolutionary activity of the release of the political prisoners without considering that such action would in any way compromise the revolutionary principles of the Confederation. If the undertook to define the Confederations concept of tariat in general, feeling itself divided, lost a part of its involved might easily oversome objections of principle cation, to the important problems of the life. If the undertook to define the Confederation's concept of tariat in general, feeling itself divided, lost a part of its element Libertarian Communism in its post-revolutionary applirevolutionary strength which characterised it in other rinciple, cation to the important problems of the life of the times. The fact of Asturias demonstrates that, once the game of Community, as well as to study what was to be the proletariat recovers this feeling of its own revolutionary viewed organisation's position to the government's programme strength it is almost impossible to crush it. In the light within all of Agratian Reform. Agrarian Reform.

Of the revolutionary period through which Spain has The internal crisis was soon solved with the re-lived and is living, this Congress considers it an inevitable C.N.T. leadership was prepared to abandon principles admission of the seissionists (referred to earlier in this necessity to unify in a revolutionary sense the two organisations of the seission that they did do so) new factors besides represented, to the C.N.T.

On the question of a critical analysis of past struggles, ference in Catalonia carlier that with the relived and is living, this Congress considers it an inevitable necessity to unify in a revolutionary sense the two organisations uniformly in the conditions for realising such a pact were as in the case of the Regional Continuation of a critical analysis of past struggles, ference in Catalonia carlier that were the such as the case of the Regional Continuation of the seission solved with the relived and is living, this Congress considers it an inevitable necessity to unify in a revolutionary sense the two organisations.

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The internal crisis was soon solved with the relived and is living, this Congress considers it an inevitable necessity to unify in a revolutionary sense the two organisations. the original one of liberating the political prisoners would have to be considered.

For instance, by ensuring the Popular Front victory as a result of their participation at the election the C.N.T. and to take into account that such a victory in full the speech made by one of the delegates as an made certain that the preparations for the military putsch would proceed unchecked. On the other hand a victory indeed be tempted to reproduce many paragraphs from the Right, which was almost certain if the C.N.T. this revolutionary and anarchist contribution, but to do abstained, would mean the end of the military consolerations represented, to the C.N.T.

On the question of a critical analysis of past struggles, such a pact were as in the case of the Regional Conference in Catalonia earlier that year, so revolutionary as to be unacceptable to the politicians of the U.G.T. And appraisance only in April 1938, eighteen months after the military and aspirations, Peirat's does no more than reproduce rising, was agreement reached between the two workers organisations. But by then the revolution had been would proceed unchecked. On the other hand a victory indeed be tempted to reproduce many paragraphs from hopeless military struggle.8

development of a fascist movement in Spain along the resolution declared that:

lines of the régimes in Italy and Germany. The Right wing parties were much the same as they had always ship, many were the attempts at revolt by the people, from the syndicalist to the Individual Anarchist points been.

The C.N.T. in taking part in the Popular Front camber of the resolution declared that:

This dogmatic statement of anarchist ideas in which and development of anarchist ideas in which and always in which and the resolution of the Primo de Rivera dictators shades of interpretation of the Libertarian Society—

from the syndicalist to the Individual Anarchist points of view. In the preamble, it is interesting to note that the C.N.T. justified the discussion of the post-revolution-Santillan, who was an active supporter of the Popular Front as the only means of resisting "the enemy" This attitude makes all the more surprising the lack of writes in Porque Perdimos la Guerra: "For the effective any discussion of the problems that might face the struggle in the streets to use the means and with a considered that the period through which Spain was passing could easily result in a revolutionary situation from the Libertarian point of view. This attitude makes all the more surprising the lack of struggle in the streets to use the means and with a considered that the period through the revolutionary region. Yet these problems and doubts were not faced at the

Communism.

U.G.T.: General Union of Workers
Reformist Trade Union movement influenced by social democratic ideas and controlled by the Socialist

The "Programme of Unity of Action between the U.G.T. and C.N.T." was published in translation in Spain and the World (No. 33, April 8, 1938). An earlier issue of the same journal (No. 31, March 4) published the texts of the original proposals for such Unity put forward by the U.G.T. and C.N.T. reservively, as well as critical appraisals of these by our comrade Emma Goldman and by the Spanish Anarchist Federation.

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Inly 26, 1952

GOVERNMENTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

DURING the first World War many restrictions were placed on the liberty of the individual by such measures as the Defence of the Realm Act (D.O.R.A.). Anti-militarists and others fought them at the time but were always met with the promise that these restrictions emergency measures to be liftd with the return of peace. Of ourse, they were not lifted and civil berty after 1918 was very much urtailed as compared with before

Exactly the same performance as enacted in 1939 when the mergency Powers Act (E.P.A.) was impeded through Parliament. Of irse, these *emergency* powers all be rescinded at the end of the etc., etc.

it more important almost than idual regulations restricting cy, has been the tendency for ment to be carried on by tory orders, rules and regulaissued by Ministries without ession in Parliament and withvidual the possibility of discussion and sition. With the growth of powers, administrators gly see themselves as ru lose sight of the (admittedly nominal) control which is supto be ultimately with the rate.

1950 the octogenarian Liberal Lord Samuel introduced a Bill eguard the liberties of the sub and cut down the practice of tated legislation. It demanded ter parliamentary control over steries and the boards of nationand industries, and provided for the legal protection by the arts for individuals penalized by ternmental action in such struc-as marketing boards.

It is worth remarking that this Bill plicitly called upon the government to implement the recommendance of the Donoughmore Committee on Ministers' Powers of 1932—twenty years back.

In 1950-when the Labour Party as in office—the Conservative arry gave official backing to Lord amuel's Bill. On June 7th, 1950, Mr. Churchill declared in the Albert all: "Here, let me say, I am much couraged by the Bill embodying ndividual rights and liberties which the Liberal Party has sponsored and which, I understand, Lord Samuel has introduced in the House of Lords. This Bill serves to demonstrate that upon these great issues Conservatives and Liberals are com-Conservatives and Liberals are completely united." The Conservatives even issued a leaflet about it on which Churchill's portrait appeared together with Lord Samuel's, and the above words quoted. This leaflet was used later for purposes of a by-election. The Bill got as far as a consend raudier. cond reading.

The situation now, of course, is different. It is the Conservatives who are in office when Lord Samuel reintroduces his Bill. The Manchester Guardian's Parliamentary Correspondent treated the whole situation best comedy played at Westminster for some time. . . . Also it was a very interesting debate and such as only the House of Lords could have staged. But to the comedy . . . Lord Samuel called the roll of some of the distinguished Torics who flowed into the Lobby in support of his Bill. Among them were most of the leaders . . .

of the leaders...

Anyone with half a political eye could see the makings of the comedy to-day. What would the Tories in office do for Lord Samuel's Bill?

Well, they played the "game". They did for Lord Samuel's motion what the Labour government did for

Lord Samuel's Bill-they sat on it and offered the same reasons for doing so as the Labour government. In fact, Lord Salisbury and the Lord Chancellor between them knocked Lord Samuel's proposals about even more heartily than Lord Jowitt had done when Labour was in office.

It is perhaps unnecessary to press the point which FREEDOM so often makes—that when it comes to governing, one political party is very like another. Or indeed that politics is not a very honest business. Or even that the Communist Party is the only performer of somer-

What of the reasons given for dismissing Lord Samuel's plea—of course everyone hastened to applaud the Bill in principle—as a practical measure? The Lord Chancellor declared in effect that the government was always on the look-out for chances to repeal these emergency regulations, but they could give no undertaking till better times came. As to delegated legislation, Lord Samuel's Bill would defeat the whole purpose of it which was whole purpose of it which was swiftness and flexibility in administration. He did not actually say that parliamentary and democratic methods were altogether too cumbersome but that was the implica-

The severest attack on the Lord Chancellor's position came from Viscount Simon—by no means a friend of progressive causes in the past. He declined to support Lord Samuel but "wished the Lord Chanon the growth of delegated legisla-tion. We were in danger of chang-ing fundamentally the nature of the We were moving into a state ciety in which we were govof society in which erned more by subordinate regula-tions than by the law of the land. This trend was closely associated with the development of the Socialist

Viscount Simon quoted certain unanimous findings of the Donoughmore Commission and observed rather acidly that the Lord Chancellor was a member of that Commission "before he became a politician" —a remark that stung the Lord Chancellor into demanding a with-drawal of that "singularly unpleas-ant observation".

So Freedom is not alone in regarding the term "politician" as one of approbium!

In the event the Bill was aban-

It scarcely seems needful to make further comment.

INSTITUTE OF CONTEMPORARY ART EXHIBITION

RECENT Trends in Realist Painting—the current exhibition at the I.C.A. Gallery in Dover Street, has some good paintings, and those by Giacometti, Bacon and Gruber

by Giacometti, Bachare very good indeed.
Giacometti's figures and still-lifes
Giacometti's figures. His interiors, never fail to please. His interiors, luminous with a subtle range of greys, emerge gradually from a maze of long thin brush strokes, and there is always an intensely satisfying emotion as one discovers the familiar studio with its delicate still lifes and the mysteriously evoked human figures. The two paintings by Giacometti at the I.C.A. are typical and excellent examples of his

Gruber's gaunt, tired and anxious nude is deeply felt and well painted; as with Francis Bacon's work they should not be passed by

This brings us hesitating before the two Sutherlands—just what is he up to these days? The portrait at a Casino is so ludicrously like a cover design for a pulp magazine's detective story that one hesitates no longer and walks on to see the very good "Chair and Objects" by Andre Minaux, and Bernard Buffet's startling "Les Poulets"—three skinny, trussed fowls almost comically grue-some and at the same time, repul-sively macabre. R.S.

HOUSING: Hypocrisy and Deception

WHILE Mr. Harold Macmillan, Minister of Local Government and Housing, was spilling platitudes about pressing forward with the housing crusade to the Town Planning committee of ths R.I.B.A. last week, local housing officials were scratching their heads over their allocations of steel for housing for the third and fourth quarters of this year. The largest housing authority in the country, the London County Council, found, for instance, that despite its representations to the Ministry, its allocations for the third and fourth periods were to be telescoped into the fourth period alone, and that it would get one ninth of its requirements. This is presumably one item in the doleful tidings which Mr. Churchill has promised us for next week.

Another aspect of the perennial house

Another aspect of the perennial housing problem which was ventilated in the House of Lords last week, illustrated once again how reformist measures defeath their own object. It has been seen for very many years that a very large proportion of the working population could not afford to be healthily housed because the rents they could pay would not show a big enough profit to make it a "worth-while" investment to build houses for them. The activities of philanthropic and semi-philanthropic bodies were on far too small a scale to meet the needs of working-class housing, and through the heroic efforts of reformers a series of Housing Acts were pushed through grudging parliaments authorising local councils to build houses and flats financed by local rates and subsidies from the Exchequer.

The rapacity of private landlords, and the resulting rent strikes during the first World War forced the government of the time to pass a Rent Restrictions Act, and as a result of that experience another Rent Restrictions Act was passed at the outbreak of the second World War in 1939.

War in 1939.

The Conservative Party which traditionally reflects the interests of people with large incomes and property-owners, has always been hostile to rent-restriction and to public expenditure on housing, and the Labour Party which traditionally reflects the interests of people with small incomes who are not property owners has always championed them. But it was a Labour peer, Lord Silkin, former Minister of Town & Country Planning who drew cheers from the Conservative benches in describing some of

the anomalies of reformism. Lord Wooltion, Lord President of the Council, had introduced the second reading of the Housing Bill which, he explained, raised subsidies to meet increased building

Lord Silkin said that the normal subsidy was now going to be £35 12s. a year, and in extreme cases £2 or more a week. On the basis of £50,000 houses a year, the total would be something like £10 million. It would become £20 million next year and £30 million the year after.

Predicting that housing subsidies might eventually reach £200 million or £300 million a year, he declared: "It looks as though, before long, 90 per cent. of the people of this country will be housed at other people's expense."

"That is not the whole picture. We have to take into account the large numbers of people who are being subsidised out of private funds in rent restricted houses." (Government cheers.)

There was also the problem of houses falling into decay because their owners no longer made profits on them with which to do repairs.

Earl Winterton interrupted to say that houses had actually been abandoned or given away to local authornies.

"That is perfectly true," said Lord Silkin. "In my own experience I have been offered a row of houses which I have had to decline for that very reason."

The newspapers have of course had much to say in approval of Lord Silkin's remarks. The News Chronicle for instance says, reasonably enough:

stance says, reasonably enough:

"The subsidy suffers from being indiscriminatory. Tenants get the benefit of it whether in need or not. A glaring case has come to light of a highly-paid executive living in a council house in Glasgow. His poorer neighbours were helping through rates and taxes to pay his rent. There must be countless other examples which are not known.

"But it is not only council house tenants who are being subsidised. A great number of private tenants do not pay the economic rent for their homes. They are being supported at someone else's expense, either the landlord or other tenants whose homes are not covered by the Rent Restrictions Act. Or, what is worse, perhaps, their homes are falling into rack and ruin around their cars

for want of repair. In any case, a false sense of values is created."

But the trouble is that, inevitably, any attempt to make the subsidy less discriminatory can be equally unfair. Mr. Jack Ellis in an article in the Socialist Leader (5/7/52), described the imposition of a "lodger tax" amongst the 2,000 tenants of the borough of Brentford and Chiswick.

"More and more council house tenants are being asked to pay a "lodger tax" on top of their weekly rent. Some tenants having married relatives living in the same house are asked to pay more than twice the normal rent. The scheme at Brentford and Chiswick provides for an extra payment of as much as 12s. 6d. per "lodger" in certain cases.

per "lodger" in certain cases.

"Many local authorities have introduced a similar system of differential rents—the more people who live in the house, the more the tenant pays. It would be difficult to imagine anything more unfair and unprincipled. On the face of things, there seems to be some argument for the "tax". Council tenants are supposed to be paying an "unduly cheap" rent (although in many districts even this is open to question). Tenants who take in lodgers can, if they choose, charge the highest market price for this accommodation, and some local authorities claim that they are therefore entitled to a proportion of the tenant's profit.

"This argument will not the suppose the simple of the second of the second of the second of the tenant's profit.

"This argument will not bear investigation. It is sheer opportunism on the
part of a council to charge vastly different rents for similar accommodation, yet
in various boroughs a total of hundreds
of thousands of tenants have recently
become liable to this 'tax'. There are
cases where, if a daughter living at home
in a council house marries, and remains

Continued on p. 4

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York Continued from p. 2 Letter from New

possum-playing to the groundlings, and falsely coy, was making his acceptance address to galleries upsettingly unpopulated; above the head of the newly anointed political warrior, yawned vast empty spaces as though already mocking his moneyed triumph. The circus, apparently, was over. Here no longer was an adulated captain who had happened to lead America in its greatest national war; here was a seeker after mere captation, an adumbral petitioner for political office. The fugleman who once had served, would now be served. Strange alchemy—strange alchemy indeed—strange triumph for the general. That Friday evening it made all the difference in the world, and in days ahead even a Candidate Eisenhower would come to learn that difference with pain and heartache.

Taft, with four futile attempts upon possum-playing to the groundlings, and

Taft, with four futile attempts upon the -nomination already to his discredit, has already announced that he has forsaken further designs upon the holy political grail. Subdued, relieved, smiling and affable surface-wise, he might have said with Worcester:

I could be well content
To entertain the lag-end of my life
With quiet hours; for, I do protest,
I have not sought the day of this
dislike.

I have not sought the day of this dislike.

But this equanimous façade could scarcely have camoflaged Taft's bitterness at having had victory snatched from his fingers at the very last moment by a political tyro, an enfant terrible, a come-lately whose chances he had held in such contempt a scant six days before. Inwardly, Taft was far from affable; inwardly, the was stewing: "Call you that backing of your friends: A plague upon such backing!" As it turned out, Taft had few friends; everyone was for him except the delegates. Some three hours after the nominating roll-call, with the newspapers already black with huge headlines, I was riding on a bus when a man, florid with mild intoxication, wobbled up and into the vehicle. Brandishing a scuffed card-hoard suitcase, he wove through the standees to the centre of the bus, planted his suitcase on the floor, spread his legs and declaimed:

"So Eisenhower won! What's all the fuss about? What difference does it make? The whole thing was a put-up job, anyway. You all knew he would win, didn't you? They just wanted to give you a good show, a run for your money, that's ail. Those people down at Wall Street, they had the whole

thing rigged up. You're fools if you swallow this phoney business. Eisenhower, Taft—they're all the same, I tell you, so what's all the fuss about?"

The passengers glared icily at this interloper upon their sweet reveries of knights errant and ladies fair, and you could almost hear the collective sigh of relief when finally he removed himself from the bus. But their week-end prospects had already been considerably dampened; they looked sullen and ill-tempered, as though this one irresponsible creature, this spoil-sport, had articulated something which each of them had confessed in his heart but either would not or could not verbalise. One inevitably resents being reminded that the reality of a circus cannot survive the final act; to dash cold water on the delusion is to condemn the deluder and to chide the deluded. This was too excrutiating, too brutal an operation for unanaesthetised passengers; they would have like an indefinite extension to their dream-world of excitement, significance, competition and substantiality—all the trappings—in a word, with which the Republican convention had been embellished by press, radio and figment. Now, all at once, the embellishments were skinned away and the quivering raw flesh was the same—repulsively the same as it was in 1948, 1944, 1940 and as far back as memory could transport the oldest passenger. All at once you remembered the petty amneuvrings and manipulations, the petty appears the petty puppets, the petty conner-cuttings, the petty pupsets, the petty conner-cuttings, and manipulations, the petty anneuvrings and manipulations, the petty appeals to purse and pride, they the publication hurled from one camp to another like so many ninety-millimetre shells, and you remembered, in spite of yourself, that the radio and television rights to th in the hombardments from both camps. All at once you even remembered, in spite of yourself, that the radio and television rights to the convention proceedings had been peddled to industrial gargantuas for commercial sponsorship, and now, even as the voice of the spoil-sport seemed strangely to linger in the close atmosphere of the bus, you had to admit that the candidates—the front man that conquered and the also-rans—had been no less commercially sponsored.

SEYMOUR GREENRERG

Profit & Loss in the Cherry Orchard

On Sunday when the radio program-announcers will sometimes tell us un-etionally of the prospects of good crops this senson. "But why should we be pleased," someone said to me last Sun-day, "the growers won't get any benefit, and we shan't have to pay any less,"

The same observation is made by Mr. Robert Raymond in an article in last week's Picture Post on "Cherry Profits." Who Gets Then?" And he answers his question thus:

"As the cherries ripen, the growers hire pickers, mostly part-time. They are getting, this year, an average of 1s. 6d. for picking a 'chip', which holds 12 lb., and are non-returnable. Big grower ls., and are non-returnable. Big growers tend to hire wooden boxes supplied by their wholesaler. If they want their own boxes they cost around 3s. 9d. each.

"The evening of the day they're picked the cherries are sent to Covent Garden by road or rail. Either way it costs Is, per chip. Since rail transport entains more piting about—farm to truck, truck to train, frain to truck, truck to train, frain to truck, truck to train, frain to truck, truck to market floor—nost growers now use motor transport. transport

"When the cherries reach Covent Garden, they are subject to a porterage
charge of its for 'toil' (using the market)
and itd. for 'pitching' (an apt description
of the unloading by the market porters).
A similar charge is paid by the buyer
when he takes the fruit away. These
leves are taken by the porters, who can
make up to £20 a week in the season
fand who belong to a branch of the
Transport and General Workers' Union
which is organised to strangulation point
in the Garden even though many growers and becomes find it quicker to unload
and total the produce themselves. "When the cherries reach Covent Gar-

Around midnight the unloading starts, and by 5 a.m. the fruit is displayed on the stands of the wholesaling firms. (A gued pinch can cost £100 a week in rental alone, but competition for pitches is min and wholesaling fruit firms prosper.) The salesman on a commission of 10 or 15 per cent, then starts work on the prowling suburban retailers.

"At this point, before the cherries have even been sold, they have cost the grower about 3s, 9d, to 4s, per 12 lbs. (3rd, 4d, per lb.)—not counting his farming costs for the year, and regardless of whether they are good cherries or bad.

When they re sold, the salesman takes as commission, and credits what's left to the greater. The best quantity cherries, is sale in expensive shops or areas, agin tetah 15s, per 12 lbs. Deducting commission and porterage, the grower drowing for picture, packing, sending, sending the profit on a chip of cherries, and a tree averaging 30 chips, that can a rapper profit of £15 lbs, per tree set the grap and counting spraying, uning ed.

Mr styling emphasies that the

gin just can't lose, even if he slushes his price in half, he is still getting his cost back, and the wholesaler of salesman "gets his cut" whatever happens. "It the stuff rois at his feet he hasn't lost a penny—not even the porterage, which is paid by grower and buyer, if any. On cherries he naturally tries to get the most he can—but often holds out too long, misses the main buying wave, and has to practically give them away, to the grower's loss.

Is there no way of getting cherries to the public (which spends about £5 million a year on them), more cheaply. Mr. Raymond tells the story of Mrs. Maxted, a grower near Canterbury, who had ten acres of small white and black cherries which she couldn't sell, because they would have been something like 1s. a 1b. in the shops. She spread the word in Canterbury that on Sunday afternoon for three hours anyone could help themselves, at 3d. a 1b. for whites, 4d. a 1b. for blacks. The families who poured into the orchard picked 2,000 lbs. of cherries. "They wanted small cherries all right, no matter what shop-keepers say—at 3d. and 4d."

There is no single solution to the problem. Mr. Raymond thinks. "The grower, for instance, is the big loser, when anyone is. He takes all the risks—of a bad crop, hailstorms, uncertain demand. But many growers are too conservative. They don't get together enough. Picking costs can't be reduced, but surely bulk purchase of wood, and winter work (such as is practised by Scilly Isles darfodil growers), would cut the cost of boxes from 3s. 9d., which seems absurdly high.

"Then the retailer. Is his traditional profit margin of 100 per cent, plus still fate? No one seems to question it—least of all the public. But the really big target is Covent Garden, that congested, expensive, inefficient market that serves 10 million people every day. On Saturdays retailers from seaside resorts such as Eastbourne come up to Covent Garden and ouy cherries for the holiday crowds. They pass almost through the cherry orchards in order to pay up to 18, 9d, a 1b, for fruit to retail for 3s, 6d. Couldn't they buy direct from a grower? They could—but they might find a strange shortage of bananas fiext time they went to Covent Garden."

Finally there is the consumer. Mr. Raymond emphasises that "the responsibility for high prices in glut periods lies with you. If you read that cherries (or plums or tomatoes) are making nothing for their growers, don't pay shop prices. Don't buy; want until the price is right; that's what the barrow boys do. In the end the absolute whip-hand—and Nature—is with you. For cherries won't keep more than 48 hours. They've got to be sold—to you."

LAND OF PROPERTY

Two hundred soldiers, five armoured T cars and police were called to a migrant camp near Melbourne, Australia, when 2,000 Italian migrants threatened to burn it down unless they were given work immediately.

-News Chronicle, 19/7/52.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR ON SYNDICALIST PYRAMIDS

COMRADE P.S. writes in his reply to my letter; "It is feared that the syndicatist system of delegation would lead to pyramids of delegates, each one up the scale more and more remote from the workers on the job. This, of course, can be so if the workers set up a permanent bureaucraey and give them the right to make decisions. But that would simply not be anarcho-syndicalism, it would just be industrial unionism."

would just be industrial unionism."

In his pamphlet, "Syndicalism—The Workers' Next Step." P.S. states (p. 36):
"The workers in a factory form their works council, all the works of that industry in a certain region send delegates to a regional council, then the regional councils send delegates to the national council, who federate with syndicates in all countries." This is the "vertical" federation of councils. The same pattern he proposes for the "horizontal" federation, with the addition of a local council as well.

All this, we are assured, will not lead to the delegates being remote from the workers on the job. This is probably true in respect of the delegates to the local council—or even the regional council (though it depends on the sizes of both the region and the association sending the delegate). But what of the national council? The delegates are already three or four times removed from the worker in one case (vertically) and four or five times in the other (horizontally). What immediate control does the worker have over them? The instruction of the factory delegate to instruct the regional delegate to revoke the mandate of the national delegate? It seems to me that the "Co-ordinative" function which is the presumed purpose of the national (or international) council will be quite some way from the workers on the job. Even the direct election of the democrats is—theoretically—a more valid method of control.

ally—a more valid method of control.

On p. 37 of his pamphlet he also writes of "control from the bottom up" of the permanent committees. From the bottom up to where? The top? There is some value in Marx's criticism of Bakunin's concept of "control from the bottom". It would seem that the term "pyramdal" is not out of place when applied to the delegate council system of the syndicalist, even of the "anarcho" variety. (If P.S. uses his analogy of the honeycomb in answer to this, it will be the first time I have heard of a honeycomb having local, regional and national councils.)

P.S. considers that this method of "linking up" industry does not lead to "pyramids of power". Nowhere in my letter did I imply that the anarchosyndicalist envisaged any power structure in their concept of the organisation of industry. What I did state—and reiterate—is that in such a system there is a grave danger of authoritarianism developing in spite of the principles which motivate its advocates.

In his efforts to prove that other forms of organisation are subject to a like danger, he cites the soviets of the Russian revolution of 1917 as an example of non-pyramidal organisation. To cite them thus is, to say the least, erroneous. The local service sents delegates to the regional soviet—and so on up to the "Central Congress of Soviets" with its executive committee. As for the

soviets being small units, one could hardly call the soviets of Petrograd and Moscow "small",

The Bolsheviks were able to achieve their domination of the revolution, not because the other revolutionary elements The Bolsheviks were able to achieve their domination of the revolution, not because the other revolutionary elements were any less conscious, but because the soviet system was capable of being used for the achievement of power ("all power to the soviets" could easily be interpreted as meaning all power to the soviet of soviets). Surely the first principle for guarding against the reinstatement of authority after (and during) a social revolution is to ensure that no structure exists which can be used for the purposes of power. If the soviet system allowed the Bolsheviks to gain power (by the simple expedient of gaining majorities) then that is an argument against the soviet system. And if the anarchist movement in this country was so arranged at the period P.S. mentions that it allowed bids for sectional control to be made, then there was something wrong—from an anarchist point of view with its methods of association. Surely a free—anarchist—association must be qualitively different from associations which are in danger of falling under the control of a section, not merely differentiated from overtly authoritarian organisations by its greater number of "Checks" against bureaucracy? To argue that the reason why the soviets were used as stepping stones to dictatorship was because the Bolsheviks gained control of them, smacks rather of the claim put forward by political parties in opposition that there is nothing wrong with government itself, only, the wrong boys are in control of it. The mode of a free association must be such as to make impossible its subordination to authority, otherwise we have no right to call it "free".

Perhaps our basic disagreement arises—as P.S. suggests—from the differing

Perhaps our basic disagreement arises—as P.S. suggests—from the differing attitudes we have towards modern industry. P.S. is in favour of it. I am not. With the usual exaggerated objections of the opponent of the "simple life", he writes of not wanting to return to the era of the rushlight. Nor do I, particularly, but if I have to choose between a cave and a modern factory, I shall choose the former. I do not think the alternative is as bad as that. Good use can be made of modern technological knowledge, but freedom does not necessarily consist of working shorter hours, it is rather the possibility of creative, integral work at things one enjoys making or doing. And creative work implies more humanization and less mechanisation. Wilfred Wellock puts the case cogently enough in his A Mechanistic or a Human Society. The gross diversion of labour that characterises mass-industry (and its correlative

Father Scratched His Nose ...

"My father was a Lancashire working man," said Mr. Michael Harald in a recent broadcast. "He was born and grew to young manhood during Lancashire's Golden Age—although he was quite unaware of this. I have a fine feeling for that age, a nostalgia for the Lancashire I never knew." I remember talking to my father about this only a few weeks before he died and painting rather a self-conscious word picture of the Manchester of the turn of the century and the early nineteen-hundreds: Manchester Liberalism, Free Trade, and a Ship Canal that really meant something: a Hallé Orchetra, Monkhouse and Montague at the Guardian, Sir Henry Irving at the Theatre Royal and Miss Horniman's seasons at the Gaiety: carriages and pairs, German commerce and German culture and the Old. Irving at the Theatre Royal and Miss Horniman's seasons at the Gaiety; carriages and pairs, German commerce and German culture, and the Old Trafford cricket ground where you could see Maciaren on his good day hit a century before lunch. Lancashire life in those days, I mformed my father, had spice and havour. An aesthetic and conomine renainstance was Soing launched, and he, my father, had been born in Arcady—and wasn't he lucky?

"My father scratched his nose with a blant foreinger. Wen, he said at last, 'An know nowe about all that. All an know is we 'ad to work damned and from first thing in Umbrang to last thing at next and tharder we worked the worse we were flower on?"

Difficult Position

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mass-man) and the amount of mechanisation that such a division implies, are in themselves a potential condition for the growth of technocraey. Only in a drastic simplification of our present methods of industry in the shape of the system of production (with the tendency towards creativity and away from "machinism") can the "multiplicity of free asociations" of which I wrote be achieved and the dangers of syndicalist industrial unionism be avoided.

S. E. Pakker.

S. E. PARKER.

Walk into my Parlour

The Spanish Communist leader in exile, Dolores Ibarruri (famous as La Pasionaria), has come out for a "national anti-Franco front" in which the working-classes and the "petty bourgeoisie" and "intelligentsia" would fight together to establish in Spain "a democracy the achievements of which are in harmony with the principles of the bourgeois democratic revolution". Its aim would be the formation of a "provisional coalition Government", which — La Pasionaria makes plain—would be provisional indeed, for the Communists tactical alliance with other groups would not stop them from carrying on the struggle for a "dictatorship of the prolitariat". La Pasionaria's appeal directed to every opponent of the France including, apparently, discontend Monarchists in the Spanish Army, excluding the Anarchists and "Tros ists" who were the mainstay of Catalo in the Civil War and whom the Comunists shot, dispersed, and overpowe—Manchester Guardian, 26/

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting HYDE PARK HIDE FARR
Every Sunday at 430 p.m.
MANETTE STREET
(by Foyle's, Charing Cross Road)
Every Saurday at 6.0 p.m.

INDOOR MEETINGS

at the CLASSIC RESTAURANT, Baker Street. W.1 (near Classic Cinema) MEETINGS SUSPENDED

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN EAST HAM Alternate Wednesdays at 7.30 AUGUST 6-BRAINS TRUST

WEST LONDON

Enquiries to— C. Brasnett, 79 Warwick Ave., W.9

LIVERPOOL

DISCUSSION MEETINGS at 101 Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool, 8 Every Sunday at 8 p.m.

GLASGOW

OUTDOOR MEETINGS

MAXWELL STREET Every Sanday as 7 p.m. With John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Jane Strackan, Eddie Shaw Frank Cartin

Anyone interested in forming a group in Leeds, please contact Freedom Press in that instance.

COVENTRY

Anyone interested in forming a group in Coventry, please write Freedom

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Housing: Hypocrisy and Deception Continued from p. 3

I should say, "I pay in reas; it I in this time of housing shortage go to the inconvenience of having other people in the house, that's my bosiness. And if I were Breatland and Chawsek Conneil answering Mr. Ellis's last point I should say, "Or course we refere to discusse detailed reasons for the cases where we

have waived our 'lodger tax'. How would you like jour Borough Council to make outlie your private affairs."

In fact, this is a case where within the economic and immental structure of our society there is no 'lan' solution, just as it amproved to say with its a 'lan'

have been an earta four or five millings a west on the real of a Counce heaver and that would have breaght an avalance of the observed million of a more bridgistic. He were on, as him first first million out on a Second Reading, the increase in satisfact was based on the Councils building the chargest possible standard notines, the meal inferror type of house. It made no allowance for their winning to build better than Not, as Charles Grocot and others told the Minister, did the increases much the standard of building."

These "most interior" houses are those obsed on the recommendations of the Ministry in the pamphlet Houses 1952, the second supplement to the Housing Manual. But though this pamphlet is introduced by Mr. Macmillan, who christens them "People's Houses", the designs and standards were prepared under the Labour government on the designs and standards were prepared under the Labour government on the designs and standards were prepared under the Labour government on the designs and standards were prepared under the factor and strength of the careful to the factor of the factor of the hondaing Research Station file writes, as technical editor of the director's forman (1) [17].

formula (2/72):

God the interest has little influence on the form of housing, which includes from his distribution of housing which includes from and repairs. A reduction of satisfact costs in, say, ten per continued the satisfact rate per cent, or the total cost.

the MOHLG house plans

Where of course, all the pointerests are deceiving as in in the suggestion that our economic pight has anything to do with expend, are on housing subsides and housing subsides.