



# PIGS in PARADISE

ANIMAL FARM—A Fairy Story  
By GEORGE ORWELL. (Secker & Warburg, 6/-).

This novel by George Orwell is described by the publishers as "a simple satire for a child of our time", which is in fact an accurate commentary on the book: simple—yes, a satire—yes, and very many individuals in the world to-day are childlike. As Jonathan Swift commented: "Credulity is a more peaceful possession of the Mind, than Curiosity". And, to-day as then, great numbers of people find it vastly easier and more gratifying to accept unthinkingly the vulgar and shallow pretensions of propaganda agencies rather than to expend any effort or research in an attempt to reach a true evaluation of the actual worth of various contemporary enterprises and institutions. This seems most obvious at the moment in the case of the Soviet Union. *Animal Farm* may well prove to be an excellent First Primer in the hands of the Political Child of Our Time, the member of any one of Father Stalin's many 'Innocents' Clubs.

The book under review is in fact, as the publishers suggest, directly in the tradition of Jonathan Swift's great satirical works—Gulliver's travels to Lilliput, Brobdingnag, Laputa and the Country of the Houyhnhms, the Drapier's Letters, A Modest Proposal and, above all, The Tale of a Tub, Swift's brilliant allegorical onslaught upon the worthlessness and pedantry of some political, philosophic and literary charlatans of his time. Swift wrote: "The Reason why those Ancient Writers treated this Subject only by Types and Figures, was, because they durst not make open Attacks against a Party so Potent and so Terrible . . . whose very Voice was so Dreadful, that a Legion of Authors would tremble, and drop their Pens at the Sound." Probably George Orwell makes use of the weapon of allegory less from fear of the wrath of Fellow Travellers than from a realization that such "fairy-tales" provide perhaps the most effective means in general of penetrating beneath the accumulated fantasies woven by the Heralds of the Grave New World—the sound principle of counteracting myth by myth.

## For new readers

# What is Anarchism?

Socialism and communism have a fairly clear meaning for most thinking people; they mean the abolition of private property, the holding of "all things in common". But Anarchism still remains a mysterious word which merely pictures bomb throwing and chaos. The Anarchists want to go a step further than the socialists; they want the abolition of property, but they want the abolition of the State as well. Anarchists believe that so long as there are rulers there will be privileges and oppression.

Anarchism is a word derived from the Greek "anarkhos", which means "without ruler". This does not mean "without order", as order and harmony can more easily be achieved through mutual aid and co-operation than through the competition existing under the capitalist system.

The anarchists want complete freedom for men where they will be able fully to develop their personalities. To achieve this they refuse to invest power in any leader or organisation. The words of a Victorian liberal, "Power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely" can be taken as a formula of anarchist theory.

Anarchism has often been described as a destructive and negative creed and it is undeniably destructive, as it wants to uproot altogether the present system of society. One of the principal anarchist theoreticians, Michael Bakunin, denied however that his was a destructive creed; "in destroying we construct", he said. The anarchist utopia becomes a reality as the old order is destroyed. The state, the church, the wage system, the slavery of work, the yoke of the family, would all fall to give place to an anarchist society in which the principle of organisation would be, not the government of men, but the administration of economic resources by means of the voluntary co-operation of the workers.

The vehicle to achieve anarchism is anarcho-syndicalism, i.e. the organisation of workers in syndicates at their places of work on an industrial basis. Anarcho-syndicalism does not merely wish to ameliorate the conditions of the workers under capitalism; it aims at carrying out the social revolution by means of economic action.

Modern anarchism is not a vague, romantic theory. It has been given a sound philosophical basis by deep thinkers like William Godwin, Proudhon, Stirner and Bakunin. It has received a scientific foundation from Peter Kropotkin, who wrote many books and pamphlets in which he showed the intimate connection that exists between the natural sciences and anarchism. His book, "Mutual Aid," which has been described by H. L. Beesley as "a book that may yet help to make an epoch" shows how mutual aid is to be found everywhere both in Nature and in human society and how, therefore, co-operation should be the basis of the social order.

That Anarchism was not merely the creed of a set of cranks was paradoxically enough realised by a German judge, Dr. Paul Eitzbacher, who in his book "Anarchismus" has given the best objective study of Anarchist doctrines.

Many books have been written on anarchism and by anarchist writers, but many have not been translated into English, and some, like Godwin's "Political Justice", are out of print. In this country, Freedom Press, which was founded by Peter Kropotkin in 1886, has steadfastly published anarchist books and pamphlets. These include not only reprints of anarchist classics, such as Kropotkin's pamphlets and Alexander Berkman's "A.B.C. of Anarchism", but modern books which bring anarchist theory and methods into the context of the modern social situation.

The most recent additions to their publications include works by Herbert Read, such as "The Philosophy of Anarchism" and "The Education of Free Men", which have had a considerable influence on the younger generation of writers and artists. George Woodcock has made a valuable contribution to the theoretical and historical aspects of anarchism in his book, "Anarchy or Chaos," and on the practical applications of anarchist theory in his series of pamphlets on the land, railways and housing.

Anarchism in England is attracting to itself many of the young people who are seriously concerned with social problems. There is arising a native body of thought which relates anarchism to the circumstances of modern society and makes it a living and relevant doctrine.

M. L. B.

Now, seemingly more than ever before, a Legion of Authors in King Street and the Arts Theatre Club trembles with awe and febrile emotion at the mention of the Soviet Myth, the South Sea Bubble of the twentieth century, but Mr. Orwell remains (and has long remained) serene and admirably iconoclastic. *Animal Farm* is lucidly—and horrifyingly—logical: stage by stage we are shown the inevitable results accompanying a political revolution, (the overthrow of a particular hierarchy and the consequent usurpation of authority by a new hierarchy, basing its power on the retention of the State apparatus and the old moral order). The picture of gradual and ineluctable degeneration and regression which such a process presents is under the pleasant veneer of this political Charade, at once sobering and instructive. It is not this reviewer's aim to be heavy-handed and pompous in his treatment of this novel, which is in itself a delightfully amusing and witty story of a Revolution that Went Wrong—the revolution achieved by the animals on a farm, the expulsion of all humans, the inauguration of a new era of Soviet Animalism and the subsequent betrayal of the animals by their leaders, whose superior intelligence was equalled only by their personal opportunism and cunning, and their aptitude for copying the ways of the very humans they had ejected in the beginning. The story itself is extremely pleasurable to read (the Song of Revolt "Beasts of England"; the new Commandments which changed with the times, especially the last one, "all animals are equal" which finally became "all animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others"); the rise to power of Napoleon the pig—Comrade Napoleon, Animal Hero, First Class and invoked as Father of all Animals, Terror of Mankind, Protector of the Sheep-fold, Duckling's Friend . . .)

But one cannot avoid a serious consideration of the implications of this modern fable, for the moral is grim indeed. It is one which anarchists have been repeating to a hitherto deaf world for many decades: power corrupts all who succeed in achieving it, and no one with power in his hands escapes its taint. Further, not only is this corruption inevitable but it always shows itself on an increasingly virulent scale, and the history of a man or group of men in whose hands power is vested is always the history of a gradual degeneration and reaction—however slow and concealed this process may be. It is this all-important fact which our Tame Communists, living in their two-dimensional world of Party and Leadership, seem utterly unable to realize. Perhaps this "simple satire" may assist in planting a grain of understanding in those doctrinaire brains.

It is related of Jonathan Swift that, at the end of his life, on being handed a copy of *The Tale of a Tub* he remarked: "Good God! What a genius I had when I wrote that book!" Likewise, I am prepared to claim on behalf of Mr. Orwell that *Animal Farm* is of far greater significance than its unassuming title would suggest.

SIMON WATSON TAYLOR.

# Atomic Energy and Anarchism

## A Discussion on Revolutionary Methods

The Editors, War Commentary,  
Dear Comrades,

In the editorial in your last issue you say, quite rightly, that "in a free and co-operative society the discovery of how to use atomic energy could be turned to the lasting benefit of the human race." What you omit to say, and what is of the utmost importance that you should say, and clearly, is how this free and co-operative society is to be achieved. I know what answer I would give, as a pacifist—I have expounded it in my recent book *Bread and Roses*; it is the revolution-in-the-human-heart answer. I know what answer you would once have given—you would have replied that the workers must seize power by any means at their disposal, with the implication of armed revolution if possible—or if events shaped that way, as in Spain.

I say that this is the answer you would 'once' have given, because with the discovery of the atomic bomb the world is different. Now, it seems to me, all who have hitherto advocated the use of violence (when it seemed necessary) as a means to an end must reconsider their position. The atomic bomb is the logical, inevitable conclusion of the use of violence as a means to an end. The pacifist slogan that violence begets violence has been demonstrated in practice, step by frightful step, all through the war—bigger and better bombs all the time, then on to fly-bombs, and on to the rocket, and so on to the atomic bomb, the supreme 'miracle of destruction', as it has been called. Atomic bomb No. 1, the one that destroyed Hiroshima, is already out-of-date, we learn; the one that destroyed Nagasaki was bigger and better; the one that destroys the next place (London, say, or Moscow, or New York) will be bigger and better still. In time there is no reason why the entire planet should not be destroyed with a single bomb. That man should ultimately destroy mankind is the supreme and final achievement of violence. It means that unless the world abandons the use of violence, of force, as a means to an end, it must ultimately destroy itself. The pacifist is finally vindicated in his belief.

What, then, is the revolutionary answer? What is the anarchist answer? I have given you the pacifist answer. (!? It is the scientists who have given it you with their atomic bomb). Is violence still to be the answer? And if so, isn't it, now, all rather like shooting at tanks with peashooters? The bombing plane alone made the barricades—romantic symbol of revolutionary violence—out of date in Spain. The bombing plane defeated the Spanish revolutionaries. Quite recently in Greece it was demonstrated all over again that henceforth victory must always be to those who commanded the tanks and bombers. But now the bombers and

tanks are out of date, too. The old-style anarchist, we know, used to fling home-made bombs (and usually miss!) Machine-guns and tommy-guns made the home-made bomb as out of date as the atomic bomb has now made 'the block-buster'. And the atomic bomb is, as you have yourself said, the final weapon in the hands of the ruling-class! The revolutionary can have no recourse to it—even if he would. What then? Where does the revolutionary go from there? Along the pacifist road to his free and co-operative and stateless society, making the revolution first in the human heart?

The time has come for revolutionaries to face the issues raised by the atomic bomb—by the revolution it itself represents. Is violence still the answer to the How of the Good Society? If so, then we shall know that good society only in heaven . . .

Fraternally,  
ETHEL MANNIN.

Comrade Mannin conveys a somewhat distorted picture of the anarchist attitude towards violence. The use of violence is not a fundamental principle of anarchism. The only fundamental principle of anarchism is that no man should be under the domination of his fellows, and while a rich and varied body of theory has arisen as to the means by which we shall attain a society devoid of domination, this body of theory does not, as in political parties, take on the rigidity of a dogmatic system. Therefore, while many anarchists have held that violence may be a necessary part of the struggle for the achievement of such a society, it has never been regarded as necessary to believe in violence to be an anarchist.

To-day, in the anarchist movement generally and also within the group that publish "Freedom", there are anarchists who believe and anarchists who do not believe that the use of violence is practicable as a means of struggle for the free society. What unites them in common action is their belief in the fundamental aims of anarchism and their belief that these aims will not be reached without some kind of struggle. Anarchists do not reject the idea that a change of heart is necessary for the achievement of a good society. Indeed, they regard the change within and the change without as mutually inter-dependent. The attitude of men in general will certainly have to change radically before a revolutionary change in society is possible. A new consciousness of social principles will have to emerge, and it is the function of the anarchist to bring about this emergence of consciousness. But even when the majority of men have reached the desired change of heart, it is unlikely that this condition will be universal. Many men will still continue to wish to retain their power

and property and privileges, and in the last resort they will have to be prevented by means of direct action from halting the final emancipation of men.

As to the means of struggle that will be necessary, anarchists are not unanimous in their opinions. There are those who regard non-violent forms of direct action, such as the strike, boycott, sabotage, as being the only practical methods. There are others who consider that violence is likely to occur on both sides during the struggle, and that if it does the anarchist must accept this fact and endeavour to turn it to the right end. But even those anarchists who accept violence are not primarily concerned with it, as one might suppose from Comrade Mannin's letter. They do not want it if possible, but only if necessary, and even then they regard it as an extremely dangerous weapon whose use must be regarded with the greatest caution. Their attitude might best be summed up in the words of Bakunin, "Bloody revolutions are often necessary, thanks to human stupidity; yet they are always an evil, a monstrous evil and a great disaster, not only with regard to the victims, but also for the sake of the purity and the perfection of the purpose in whose name they take place."

The arrival of the atomic bomb obviously alters the nature of the class struggle in that it places a new weapon into the hands of the ruling class, and makes it easier for them to do without a large, and for that reason unreliable, army. But the change is quantitative rather than qualitative. The ruling class have always been in possession of weapons which were beyond the attainment of the workers, and which might have been used with devastating effect against an insurrectionary body of workers. In this class, poison gas is only less formidable than the atomic bomb. But these catastrophic weapons, by very reason of their wide and indiscriminating effect, are the last which the ruling class are likely to use against the workers in an area where a great deal of property and a great many of the allies of the ruling class are likely to remain. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the anarchists do not envisage their struggle in military terms. It would be a struggle of the people, anonymous, without uniforms, and carrying on their action in the places where they live and work. Whether or not they used violent methods, they would not organise themselves into regimented armies, for in this way they would both be denying the spirit of the revolution and placing themselves at the mercy of their opponents.

When violence has reached such great heights as the atomic bombs, it is obvious that the revolutionary, who cannot even desire to use such methods, must make it his primary object to destroy them and to prevent their use by others.  
EDITORS.

# ASPECTS OF ANARCHISM

## III. SCIENCE AND HUMANITY

THE invention of the atomic bomb, and its revelation of vast new fields for destruction and construction, brings us abruptly to the problem of the social relevance of science and the relationship of the scientist to society.

Science itself is neutral. It is the knowledge gained by methods of experiment and inductive reasoning, and as such is neither good nor bad, neither beneficial nor harmful. Science enters the world of human values only when it is applied, by technicians, to functions which affect the lives of men, individually or in society. Then its application can become good or bad, according to whether it is used for destructive or constructive purposes.

Its eventual results depend entirely on the moral attitude of the people who use it. For this reason, we must beware of the tendency during the last hundred years to elevate science into something approaching a system of religious dogma. The unthinking acceptance of the statements of scientists is as harmful as a similar acceptance of the statements of theologians. Indeed, it may even be worse, for it tends to encourage scientific knowledge to harden into a dogmatic system, while the nature of science is to change and grow with the increasing spread of human knowledge into the world of nature.

If we embrace science uncritically, without attempting to direct its results to a definite social purpose, we shall find that it will be used by irresponsible individuals for their own ends, and will result in harm as well as benefit to humanity. We should avoid the unthinking attitude which desires to reject science entirely because of the evil results that have accrued from some of its discoveries. On the other hand, we should see a certain grain of truth in the motive behind this attitude, for it is equally dangerous to go to the other extreme of certain enthusiasts who regard science as being inevitably a positive benefit to humanity.

### The Dangers Of Science

Science in the hands of men with no social consciousness, or with erroneous social ideas, is quite capable of wrecking all the beneficial institutions of society and creating a desert from which men will have to start again in the long and painful process of building up a social order that will satisfy the material needs of men and give them the freedom from fear and coercion which will enable them to develop their individual personalities. The anarchist regards science as the necessary means of attaining the material basis of such a society, but also recognises in it a potential enemy of great power, if it is used in the hands of reactionary capitalists or centralised states, as it is used to-day.

Here we should pay certain attention to faults which occur in the contemporary practice of science. And, because of the neutrality of science itself, the comments will inevitably become criticisms of the attitudes and practice of scientists.

In all, hundreds of scientists and scientific technicians have taken some part in the researches leading to the invention of the atomic bomb. They have worked deliberately in order to use their knowledge for an end which involved the destruction of whole cities and of hundreds of thousands of their fellow men without the possibility of escape or self-defence. They have sold their knowledge to the state in order that it might be used to achieve the ends of particular groups of individuals at the expense of the rest of humanity. Some of the minor technicians and research workers may not have known the exact nature of the work in which they were employed, but at least they must have realised that its ultimate purpose was the making of bigger and more terrible instruments for the destruction of other men.

We cannot class these scientists as monsters of cold-blooded sadism. They are ordinary men and women who accept the prevailing standards of the society in which they live, who produce instruments of death because the government requires it of them, and who, in spite of their acute scientific brains, have realised the consequences of their actions. It has been a depressing thing in the past few days to read self-congratulatory articles in the newspapers by scientists who have just been responsible for hundreds of thousands of deaths and who have created a great new fear to beset humanity for the years to come. It has been even more shocking to find that no single scientist has come forward to denounce this complete perversion of the func-

tion of scientific work to serve the interests of war. One of the scientists who took a leading part in the research declared that she worked for science, not for war. In that case, she should have refused to allow the results of her work to be used for military purposes. She and all other scientists should have refused to work for the state, whose only object in encouraging science is to increase the profits of its supporters or to attain the destruction of its enemies.

Nevertheless, the scientists did take part in this destructive work, and it is important to discover why there exists such a gap between their scientific ability and their social consciousness.

### Divorce From Reality

The general tendency of modern science is towards steadily increased specialisation. The vast increase in the field of scientific knowledge, and the increasingly technical nature of the practice of scientific research, have rendered it impossible for the old-fashioned universal scientist to survive. It is not even possible for one man to keep contact with all the knowledge available in one branch of science, such as biology or physics. Consequently, each scientist tends to become a specialist, and to carry on his particular fragment of narrowly defined research without reference to the outside world or even other aspects of science. Added to this, while the scientist of a hundred or even fifty years ago was concerned mainly with objects or forces which impinged directly upon the life of man, the modern scientist has reached the stage where he has to conduct his enquiries largely in an abstract and mathematical vacuum, using an esoteric symbolism and a specialist jargon which have no direct relationship with the concrete world in which men live. This tends to isolate him from social realities, so that the sound humanism which characterised many of the older scientists has given place to an abstract attitude that tends more and more to be the enclosed province of a relatively restricted circle of men with limited interests. It is probable that no scientist is deliberately obscurantist in his language, or deliberately avoids social interests, but the nature of his work is such that he is continually tempted to retreat from human realities and to keep himself contained in a world where his thoughts have little in common with those of ordinary men and women. Similarly, other men are cut off from scientific knowledge and from scientists largely because of the same difficulty of finding means to transmit scientific knowledge to people who are not specialists.

### Scientists And Totalitarianism

In these circumstances, scientists tend to ignore social movements and to drift with the dominant tendencies in society. Those who think socially at all have a tendency to embrace abstract social theories, like Marxism, which mirror the character of their own formulation of knowledge. So long as they can carry on their research, so long as they can pursue their particular channel of knowledge, they are as willing to work for a bad as for a good cause. Moreover, dealing continually in dehumanised thoughts, figures, diagrams, they tend to lose sight of the human beings whom their actions will affect, and so, because their imaginations have been concerned with abstractions and cease to envisage concrete human situations, they very easily become the creatures of seekers after power, or even themselves seek power.

For this reason, totalitarian régimes have found it well to draw their scientists into the conspiracy of power. In England the scientist was treated badly in peacetime, and is only given some temporary encouragement when war makes his intervention necessary. On the other hand, in Germany and Russia scientists have become formed into privileged classes. Very few of them have failed to make the necessary equivocation of adjusting their knowledge to the political mumbo-jumbo of dialectical materialism or Aryan racialism. To carry on their research and to be given money and privilege have been sufficient for most of them. And it is an interesting fact that among English scientists Russia is generally regarded as the scientific paradise, and that so many scientists have taken over positions of power in the puppet governments which spring up under Russian domination. While scientists are thus willing to ally themselves to gov-

ernments, and to sell their knowledge to the highest bidder, irrespective of the purpose for which he uses it, they will remain enemies of humanity and will impede the development of a free society.

### What Science Could Give

Yet the application of science is capable of being the most potent material factor in the achievement of the aims of anarchism, which are freedom from the rule of other men and from the domination of toil. But before it can be used for this end, there must be a radical change in the attitude of scientists. They must return to a humanist outlook, in which the service of man is the central object of their work, rather than the determination of certain abstract problems which may lead to destructive as easily as to constructive ends. They must adopt a militant attitude towards those who endeavour to exploit science for ends other than the general good. They must refuse to use their knowledge for making instruments of war, and must temper their isolation with a knowledge of the realities of social life, so that their scientific work can be permeated by a feeling of the need to serve for the good of all humanity.

In return, a free anarchist society can offer the scientists much more than any governing clique. The scientists who are pampered by totalitarian governments are kept to strictly defined lines of research. In a capitalist environment many of the most fruitful lines of research are halted or delayed for many years, because of the opposition of vested interests which regard their profit as endangered by the new invention. And the scientist only comes into his own in such societies when he is willing to use all his energies in inventing methods of wholesale destruction.

But in a free society, the scientist would not find any of these circumstances which stifle and warp his work in the world to-day. He would have abundant material for his research, and, because there were no institutions wishing to use his knowledge to keep their power or individuals wishing to hinder his work to keep their profits, he would be able to devote himself to the continual improvement of the conditions of humanity, so that men would become free from want and the need for excessive work. Thus science can achieve its true ends only in a society of freedom.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

# THOUGHTS ON FREEDOM. 2

"I am really sorry to see my Countrymen trouble themselves about Politics. If men were Wise, the Most arbitrary Prince could not hurt them. If they were not wise, the Freest Government is compell'd to be a Tyranny. Princes appear to me to be fools; Houses of Commons & Houses of Lords appear to me to be fools; they seem to me to be something Else besides Human Life."  
WILLIAM BLAKE.

"What do these knaves mean by virtue? Do they mean war and its horrors, and its heroic villains?"  
WILLIAM BLAKE.

"A tyrant is the worst disease, and the cause of all others."  
WILLIAM BLAKE.

# LABOUR PUSS IN TORY BOOTS

THE Labour Party, in gaining such immense electoral success, becomes the political or...

The repercussions on political developments both in Britain and abroad may well be wide...

The Labour Party gained support in the country mainly because the people, suffering too long under the heel of exploitation and persecution...

## Out Of Step

The electorate are attributing to the Labour leaders a very much greater desire for fundamental change than the Labour bosses claim for themselves...

The most that the electorate can hope for is a mild economic reformism and a change of faces in the familiar seats of political and industrial authority...

The Labour Party will operate a machine of government carefully built up over the course of three centuries by landlords, financiers, industrialists, lawyers and political careerists...

## Law's Long Arm

The British parliamentary system has been constructed carefully and cunningly to serve the interests and purposes of a ruling class...

The possessing classes seized the opportunity to establish, through constitutional means, the legal right to hold on to the loot and possessions which had become theirs through criminal conquest at home and overseas...

stitutional laws of which the economic rights of the people have been filched and social liberties demolished.

Taking advantage of the natural law that we must have food, clothing, shelter and an outlet for energy, the rulers have produced a satisfactory condition of subservience.

## King And Constitution

The earlier Socialists such as Owen, Morris and Blatchford recognised the injustices of the existing capitalist society and advocated drastic and fundamental social and economic changes as the remedy.

The Labour Party in power to-day pledges itself to defend the King and Constitution, to maintain the structure of ordered society and the principle of government by force...

Analysis of Labour's programme indicates little alteration from the policies of the Tories or Liberals. Nationalisation of the coal industries and Bank of England, and conversion of the iron and steel industries into public corporations is the main difference...

## Reform versus Revolution

The social revolution has not taken place. It will be propitious to start referring to the King as Comrade Windsor or treating Field Marshal Montgomery as one of the proletariat...

The same conditions of change will apply to the other industries. The new employers will still be a select few quite as remote and highly paid as those already known to us...

The great danger resulting from a period of mild reformist Labour government is twofold, caused by the disillusionment and frustration of the people and their subsequent reaction...

vinced that the old order must go if they are to obtain better conditions of living. Reliance on old methods of privilege and private ownership has given way before a political awakening.

## Twofold Danger

The war has brought the apathy and drift of the pre-war period to a rude stop. We are not deluded into believing that the mass of the people have, in the past few years, gained a greater intellectual appreciation of political science...

As time goes on, and the capitalists become less nervous, stocks and shares will boom again in the City and the industrial bosses will become less and less apprehensive of the "rebels in Westminster"...

They will realise that at this time when the people are united in a desire for great changes, confidence placed in Labour politicians was abused and the chance lost.

## Second Danger

The other great danger is the narcotic of political power. To politicians a political fortune will be as dear as a million pounds is to an industrialist; experience has shown over and over again that of the two the politically drunk is the more dangerous.

Conditions that produce government produce slaves. Destroy the conditions which produce slavery, and automatically the purpose of government disappears. Were there no subjects there would be no king; willing subjugation produces dictatorship, but free men govern themselves.

PRESTON CLEMENTS.

The principle on which the drastic changes must be decided is that of treating all ownership as theft, and obstructions such as the police, institutions of law and governments as accessories and conspirators to theft.

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# AMNESTY CAMPAIGN

We reproduce below a statement which has been issued to the press by the Freedom Defence Committee in connection with their campaign for an amnesty for all people held in British prisons under wartime regulations and laws.

The Committee intends shortly to start a second campaign against the continuance of military and industrial conscription.

Although the war in Europe has ended, and the Fascist internees have been released from their confinement, thousands of men and women are still in prison under wartime laws.

They include political prisoners (whom the law chooses to class as felons), conscientious objectors, deserters, absentees and offenders under many bureaucratic regulations.

Whatever excuse may have been given during the past few years for such imprisonments is surely invalidated now that the war in Europe is ended and we are told that the nation will gradually return to peacetime conditions.

# Criminal Lunacy Exposed

We have just witnessed an act of criminal lunacy which must be without parallel in recorded history. A city of 300,000 people has been suddenly and deliberately obliterated and its inhabitants murdered by the English and American Governments.

## DEMAND AMNESTY

FOR  
**CIVILIAN AND MILITARY PRISONERS**  
UNDER WAR TIME LAWS

Apply for Signature Forms to—  
FREEDOM DEFENCE COMMITTEE,  
17, St. George Street, W.I.

The Freedom Defence Committee was originated in February of this year, under the name of the Freedom Press Defence Committee, to assist the four anarchists who were being tried under Regulation 39A.

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HERBERT READ,  
Chairman,  
Freedom Defence Committee.

## CRAZY "JUSTICE"

FRANKFURT.—A 21-year-old German was sentenced yesterday to 12 years' imprisonment for possessing and firing a rifle.

## FARMERS v. SHEPHERDS

Thirty farmers from three counties went to Winchester gaol to-day to seek the release of a fellow-farmer who had been sent there yesterday for 14 days after he had refused to pay tithe arrears amounting to £37 7s. 6d.

Mr. E. V. E. Parsons, chairman of the Salisbury branch of the National Tithe Association, on behalf of the farmers, said:

"We are fighting now to abolish the tithe and also this terrible 1936 Act which has altered the foundation of the tithe."

"It is now made a personal debt, and there are clever lawyers who try to make you bankrupt if you do not pay. We shall carry on the fight until we are victorious."

Mr. Ronald Farquharson, a Dorset farmer and county councillor, declared, "We shear the sheep, but the Church shears us."

You see what they mean when they talk of "their flock".

## RAVAGES OF WAR

Two thousand cases of venereal disease were reported among American troops in Germany during the first week after the non-fraternisation ban was lifted on July 14, an increase of 1,500 cases over the weekly figure for May.

A huge increase in the disease among American soldiers in all parts of Europe is recorded in an official report issued to-day. During the two months following D-Day 43,752 men (the equivalent of almost three full divisions) contracted the disease on the Continent.

## "JUDGE NOT, LEST YE BE CONDEMNED"

"There are risks in every job. The collier, in an honourable calling, runs the risks of fire, falls and flood."

That comment was made by Judge Temple Morris yesterday, when he gave judgment with costs in Swansea County Court against two Ammanford miners sued for causing loss of 2,600 tons output by absenting themselves from work.

The defence was that the men feared an inrush of water which was seen dripping from the roof.

Lord Justice MacKinnon said recently: "It is easier to sit in Court than to work in a mine."

What risks are attached to Judge Temple Morris's job that he can pass judgment?

## VICTORY FEELINGS

Barely finished with its welcome to Eisenhower, New York last week greeted 14,526 of Ike's men returning from Europe aboard the 81,000-ton *Queen Mary*.

What U.S. won—from the same page of *Life*.

What is the upshot of victory for our country? First and most obviously, an enormous increase in America's relative power in the world. That has been a result of practically all our wars.

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Other outbursts of spontaneous irritation have occurred owing to the shortage of transport. The other day 300 people, some of whom were armed, took forcible possession at Civitavecchia of the small steamer which is at present the only means of public transport between Sardinia and the mainland.

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## EVERYTHING CAN BE BOUGHT

The council of the Yorkshire Mine-workers' Association decided at Barnsley on Monday to recommend to their members for acceptance an agreement with the West Yorkshire Coalowners' Association under which £35 will be paid in respect of any miner killed at work and £17 10s. in the case of any boy under 16 years of age if the men at the pit where the fatal accident occurs continue working.

At many Yorkshire collieries it has been a long-established custom for the men to cease work for a day after a fatal accident.

Manchester Guardian, 15/8/45.

## VICAR OF BRAY

LISBON, Tuesday.—Sir Owen O'Malley, new British Ambassador to Portugal, told the Portuguese Press:

"Whatever Government is in office, British foreign policy serves the interests of Britain, which do not greatly change."

"The Anglo-Portuguese alliance has served those interests for 600 years, and I see no reason why it should not continue to do so."

Surely no-one thought a Labour Government would break off relations with the Fascist Doctor Salazar, that pillar of democracy?

# Through the Press

## FOR A PERMANENT WAR

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## MUSSOLINI ON WAR

"Another point of the capitulationists is that 'the people's heart is not in the war.' Now the people's heart never is in any war. Not even in those of the Risorgimento, as can be proved by unimpeachable documents."

"The truth is that no war is ever 'popular' when it starts, and it is easy to see why: it becomes popular if it goes well, and if it goes badly it becomes extremely unpopular. Even the war for the conquest of Abyssinia became popular only after the victory of Mai Dev."

From Mussolini's Diary published in *Reynold's News*, 22/7/45.

## DIRECT ACTION BY FARMERS

Sharecropping farmers and agricultural labourers in Pisa province, Italy, passed a resolution at a recent meeting of "Workers of the Soil," which represents more than two-thirds of the sharecroppers and farm workers of the province. Here is a part of the resolution: "The war was made and supported by those who supported Fascism: the industrial and land-owning capitalists. We farmers, fully aware of the predicament of the nation and of the people's need of our produce, have sown, and sowing will continue to sow every inch of our fields and will work night and day. But, if the owners of the land which we work do not repair our houses at once, if they do not purchase for us at acceptable conditions the livestock which was taken away, we will make good our expenses and our damages by increasing our share of the crops."

## "THE OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE"

The Soviet government last week released, in the U.S., official pictures of a scene that must have made Lenin spin in his glass case on Red Square: the election and coronation Feb. 4 in Moscow of a new patriarch, the 13th, of the czars' own Holy Orthodox Eastern Catholic and Apostolic Church, the so-called Russian Orthodox Church.

The re-established Church, politically powerless within Russia, may further Soviet aims outside Russia. Its value to Stalin is indicated by the fact that last week the new patriarch was on a round of visits to the patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria in the explosive Middle East.

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## READY FOR THE NEXT WAR?

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## WAR SECRET

Mr. Churchill had an attack of pneumonia early last autumn, it was disclosed last night. It was kept secret at the time, I understand, at Mr. Churchill's own wish.

News Chronicle, 14/8/45.

## BRASS HATS AT WORK

Astonishing preparations made by the Australian Army to receive the Duke of Gloucester, when he visited troops stationed in Queensland were revealed by soldiers on leave this week.

Army authorities, before he reached Atherton, had gone to the following pains:

1. They transported an eight-roomed timber house 60 miles, from Cairns to Atherton, moving it by road on two tank-carriers harnessed together;
2. Engineers worked 24 hours laying down the foundations and installing a hot-water system;
3. Trees 15 miles away were dug up, hauled to Atherton and planted round the house;
4. Turf was brought five miles to provide a lawn round the house.

Before the Duke reviewed the units near Atherton the men were ordered not to shave for two days, then on the day the Duke arrived they were told to let mud from a nearby river cake on their hands, faces and uniforms.

The Brass Hats' idea was to give the Duke the impression that the men were dirty and their uniforms stained after a long route march.

Actually they marched only a mile.

News Chronicle, 13/8/45.

## THE CHURCH AND THE ATOMIC BOMB

To show his disapproval of the use of the atomic bomb the Dean of St. Albans, the Very Rev. C. C. Thackstone, banned the use of St. Albans Abbey for a Civic Service of Thanksgiving planned for yesterday.

He said last night: "I cannot give thanks to God for an event brought about by a wrong use of force, by an act of wholesale indiscriminate massacre."

He added that, having made his gesture, he was willing to allow a service in the Abbey on Sunday.

At a Methodist service in St. Albans the Rev. L. C. Fogg said we should thank God for the work of our scientist which had shortened the war and saved thousands of lives.

News Chronicle, 16/8/45.

## SOLIDARITY

Australian investigations following the escape of eight prisoners from a building built specially to accommodate Navy personnel proved that in each of the cells the workmen who built the building left a hacksaw.

When questioned, they told the authorities that they had made the "gift" as a "goodwill gesture."

Glasgow Evening News.

