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# Freedom

Vol. 8 No. 4

15th February, 1947

Twopence

"Government and law, in their very essence, consist of restrictions on freedom, and freedom is the greatest of political goods."

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

## FUEL CRISIS CONDEMNS CAPITALISM

**D**URING the past week or so we have been involved in the culmination of an industrial and economic crisis of the greatest magnitude. A spell of bad weather, by interfering with the transport of coal and causing a heavy drain on electrical power, has precipitated a fuel crisis which has largely halted industrial production, has thrown many men out of employment, and has threatened the supply of domestic electricity and even the many essential services which now run on electrical power.

The exceptional weather of recent weeks has obviously not in itself caused this state of affairs. It has merely provided the last extra strain which brought about the culmination of an already deepening crisis. The fuel situation was already so grave that any responsible individual in touch with its actual statistics must have realised that the situation this winter was touch and go. Whether the government actually knew this we do not know, but if they did, they were evidently bargaining on being able to scrape through on a narrow margin and so conceal the critical situation they and their predecessors had produced from the attention of the people.

The weather, however, was against the Cabinet, and the results of their muddling policy have come home with a vengeance, except that it is the people, not the government, who have to suffer the inconvenience. Naturally enough, the Cabinet are trying to make use of any excuse they can to save their own reputation. They blame the weather, they blame the low rate of coal production, they blame the high rate of coal consumption, they say that if only the miners had worked a bit harder and the consumers had used a little less electricity, all this would not have happened.

### Real Cause Of The Crisis

But the real causes of the present situation are not the weather, or the miners, or the consumers. All these are just the scapegoats of a series of inept governments, and of a whole capitalist system which is so efficient at destruction that it fails always to provide adequately for the positive needs of life.

In the first place, the present crisis would never have taken place if, before the war and in the early days of the war, the authorities had not seriously reduced the number of coalminers by taking them into the army and war factories. It would also not have happened if they had made any real attempt to modernize the coal mines and to give the miners labour-saving machinery and better conditions of working. But all the efforts were directed towards producing war machines, and the miners were expected to carry on with old methods, working on seams which have become steadily more difficult because of the age of the mines and the bad underground travelling facilities. Now, according to the latest appeal from the

it is of course too late to improvise any alternative source. This fact demonstrates how capitalism, whether of the private or the state variety, fails completely to provide adequately for the constructive needs of human society.

### Destruction Or Construction ?

On the other hand, capitalism always succeeds in producing bigger and more efficient instruments of destruction in a surprisingly short time. During a war, no expenditure is too great to enable scientists to find a new means to outwit or destroy the enemy. But during peace, only a pitiful fragment of the resources of science are turned towards reducing toil and harnessing the various sources of power which would free men from their economic bonds. It is fairly safe to say that had only half the scientists and half the money used on atomic bomb research been used on making an efficient system of electric power production in England, based on natural sources of power, not only would the present crisis not have arisen, but sources of industrial power would have been tapped which would have already opened up to the workers the immediate reality of a steadily decreasing requirement of work for an increasing production of material goods.

It may be argued that England has not the water power of a country like Switzerland. But what of the tides? The Irish harnessed the power of the Shannon estuary and produced electric power to serve a vast area of hinter-

land. In England there are many sources of tidal power as strong as the Shannon. And this is only one possible means of providing additional power. The use of the sun's rays, of atomic force applied to industry, of cosmic rays, are still unapplied; the discovery of how to use any one of them fully could hardly be more costly than the discovery of the atomic bomb.

### Capitalist Wastefulness

The reason why new and more reliable forms of power have not been tapped does not lie merely in the stupidity of capitalists. They are wise in their generation, and it is perhaps not surprising that the owners of coal mines should not want to see coal become obsolete, that the owners of electricity undertakings should not wish to adapt their plant to new methods, and so on. An infinitely complicated series of vested interests in normal times protects industry from any innovation that might prove financially ruinous. It is one of the great evils of capitalism that it should so often need the extraordinary chaos of war to bring some socially valuable invention to the fore—and an added evil that the invention should then appear in a perverted and destructive form.

Only when vested interests have been destroyed, when neither private capitalism or the state keeps its stranglehold on industrial life, can we hope for the full resources of nature to be utilised in such a disinterested way that we shall not be faced with such stupid and avoidable crises as the present fuel shortage.

### HARD FACTS

It is not surprising that many comrades and friends take it for granted that "Freedom" will appear each fortnight. After all we have been bringing out a paper regularly for the past 10 years, so that some 200 issues have appeared in that time. But for those comrades who have been responsible, it has never been an easy task. Ours has been a hand-to-mouth existence, which with the periodic increase in production costs has made our task of regular publication a source of continuous anxiety.

Consider for one moment some of the problems we have had to face in production costs during the past few months. When we considered the question of the 8-page "Freedom" we estimated that there would be nearly 40 per cent. more material than in the 4-page paper. But at the same time the trade charge for typesetting were increased by 33½ per cent. The result is that our typesetting charges alone have nearly DOUBLED! What this means in more concrete terms is that with our present circulation the cost of composition alone has increased from ¾d. to 1½d. a copy. The cost of paper has increased as well as the quantity used for each issue of "Freedom". The cost of blocks has in the past few months risen by 33½ per cent. Ink costs more, and wages in the printing trade have increased. "Freedom" as presented to our readers to-day costs approximately 75 per cent. more to produce than it did two years ago. And though our actual printing costs are maintained at the lowest level possible, the cost per copy is now 2½d. This is a very low price as costs go to-day and is accounted for by the fact that our contributors receive no remuneration, nor do the Editors or administrative group, and the printing charge are kept to a bare minimum. Furthermore, the overheads, rent, postages, telephone, etc., are not included in arriving at a figure of 2½d.

### EFFECT OF CIRCULATION ON COSTS

It is our opinion, in spite of the apparently insuperable gap between costs and income, that "Freedom" could be made to pay its own way, without abandoning our policy of refusing paid advertising and of maintaining the selling price at 2d. The solution lies in the ability of our comrades to increase the circulation of "Freedom", and for the following reason.

There are certain production charges which remain the same whether we print 1,000 or 10,000 copies of each issue. They are the typesetting, the cost of blocks for the illustrations, the making-up of the pages in type, placing these 'formes', as they are called, on the machine and all the necessary work involved in "making ready" for printing. Now the cost of printing "Freedom" is in the region of ½d. per copy and that is a cost which we must face whatever the quantity. But the fixed initial production charges which have to be added to the ½d. will diminish with the increase in the number of copies printed. What this all boils down to is that at present "Freedom" costs us 2½d. per copy to produce. By increasing our circulation by 1000 copies the cost is reduced to 2d., by

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## The Royal Visit to S. Africa

**W**ITH the usual pomp and ceremony, the British Royal Family left the shores of this country for a visit to South Africa. Workers' time and energy has been squandered left and right to ensure that no comfort or luxury will be missing. The royal train which has been specially built for the occasion, will only fit the particular gauge line in S. Africa and will be useless anywhere else. The royal suite has been lavishly furnished with a bathroom each (no queuing there!) The dresses of the Queen number 75 at a cost of £10,000 alone (we would hesitate to ask the question "How does

she manage that on her coupons?"); all this to glory an institution that is a hangover from tribal life, with the tribal ruler being a privileged and powerful person. It seems only too fitting that the royal destination should be South Africa, where the white ruling-class dominates millions of native peoples. The caste system is one of the strictest in the world. No native worker is allowed to learn a skilled trade or in any way acquire knowledge that would enable him to raise his standard of living or position in the social scale. Two million white men hold sway over 6,500,000 natives and 1,000,000

others, such as Indians. The only representation that may be seen is that three members of the Parliament and the Union, and four indirectly elected Senators, all white, sit to plead for the natives against the 190 representatives of the white minority.

Only 3 in 11 of the native children get any schooling at a cost of £3 per year, compared with the average of £20 per year for each white child. 60% of the children die before they reach the age of 18. By exploiting this source of cheap labour, huge profits have been made for many years from the diamond and gold mines. Yet when the coloured workers dared to strike, as they did some weeks ago, armed police were used to shoot them down, and to drive them back into the compounds like so many cattle.

This is the scene, and the background, against which will be flaunted the pomp and opulence of the regal visit. Just the right sort of thing to show the workers of S. Africa, just how "Socialist and democratic" our labour lords are! It is nothing less than an outrage against human decency that such an exhibition should be staged. Let us make this particular export a permanent one!

T. W. B.

### Intimidation of Court Martial Witnesses

Threatening witnesses is a thing Britishers deplore in less civilised countries like America, not to mention Russia and the Fascist countries. "It can't happen here."

In the Cairo Court Martial which is now trying ten soldiers for alleged conspiracy to cause a mutiny, prosecution witnesses described threats used against them to make them talk. Brigadier Coleman said to Cpl. Lawson in the course of an argument about the meaning of "Strikes" and mutinies, "You can be shot." Lawson made his statement as a result of threats, and declared in the witness-box that Brigadier Coleman had said, "If you don't make a statement and tell the truth I'll get you seven years." It can't happen here.

## THE BLUM EXPERIMENT

After a month of homogenous socialist government, France has gone back to a tripartite and even quadripartite coalition. The whole parliamentarian rainbow, except the reactionary right (Republican Party of Liberty), is represented inside the government. This means that the new cabinet also represents all the main imperialist currents which divide the world to-day.

During the formation of the new government, difficulties were encountered in naming the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, National Defence and Home Affairs. The Communists wanted at least one of these essential posts. After many discussions, they finally obtained that of National Defence, and will be able, in that way, to carry on unhampered the work of infiltration of the Army which they started on the morrow of the liberation.

On the other hand, the Popular Republican Movement (M.R.P.) keeps the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance and Trade, and will be able to defend the private interests of the capitalists belonging to this party and the patriotic mentality of the great and small bourgeoisie. The fact that Bidault remains Foreign Minister means that France will remain outside any drastic manoeuvre in the international field.

The Socialist Party is in high spirits and sings everywhere the praises of the Blum experiment. It is certain that public opinion is more favourable to the

Socialist Party. The best proof is that the Communist Party insisted during the government crises on a return to a coalition government so as to prevent the continuation of the experiment.

But this success is merely psychological, due to cleverly arranged propaganda, and does not bear an analysis of the facts.

The Socialist experiment has brought no material advantages to the working class. The cost of transport (railways and underground) has increased, as well as gas, electricity, coal and postage.

The official decrease in the price of goods has not affected the shopkeepers, who had taken the precaution to put up their prices beforehand.

The steps taken by the Blum government have probably put a brake on the increase in prices. But one must keep in mind that the freezing of wages has resulted in decreasing the buying power of most necessities by 30% during the last four or five months.

On the other hand, the government has compelled the workers to abandon the gains they had achieved in 1936. The forty hour week is considered unpracticable and workers are made to work 48 hours, and in some industries 52 and 60 hours.

In point of fact, a worker doing a 48 hour week receives a wage inferior, from the point of view of its buying power, to what he received for a 40 hour week soon after the liberation.

It is certain that the measures taken

by the Blum government are of a nature to give back to France a certain stability and provide her the arms necessary for international competition. It is also certain that these measures are totally foreign to socialism or, more simply, to the interests of the working class.

The effect of the reduction of 5% on prices has had one tangible result: it is to make strikes for wages psychologically impracticable. Civil servants who have been fighting for more than a year to have their salaries adjusted to the cost of living, printing workers who want to see the application of a rising scale, workers in private industries who feel more and more the weight of the high cost of living, have seen their movements become unpopular since they were going against the reduction in prices imposed by the government.

The return of the Communists inside government has been greeted with relief by the governing classes. They had feared for a moment that, if the Communists had remained in the opposition, discontent would spread to wider sections of the population.

A coalition government is an ideal formula to maintain the proletariat in ignorance of its own condition. But strikes take place nevertheless. It is certain that if they spread and discontent bursts out, it will blow up the so-called socialist and workers' parties, or else will be crushed by the forces of reaction lauded by these so-called socialist and communist ministers.

# IN DARKEST GERMANY

DURING recent years one's mind has been so saturated by accounts of atrocities, war massacres and famines, that one's powers of indignation, sensibility and anger have been considerably blunted. One feels so powerless against the accumulated lunacy of the whole world that one is tempted to look at it with an almost fatalistic eye. But reading a book like Victor Gollancz's *In Darkest Germany* shakes one with disgust and rage.

This book deals with a visit to the British Zone, and therefore the flimsy excuse that "it is no concern of ours" cannot be brought forward. It deals with conditions existing not in faraway India or China, not behind the well-guarded frontiers of Russia but on the other side of the North Sea, right under our noses.

The material contained in this book is not entirely new; part of the information has been published in various newspapers. But the mass of information is greater than can be found anywhere else and has been carefully checked by the author during his six weeks' visit to the British zone. This, Gollancz believes, is the longest visit paid to the zone since victory. Mr. Hynd, who is Chancellor of the Duchy, has not spent more than twenty-eight days in Germany during the past twelve months.

That a socialist Government should be responsible for the conditions existing in the British zone is a tragic irony. You need all the hypocrisy and callousness of our politicians to deny that millions of people in Germany to-day are starving.

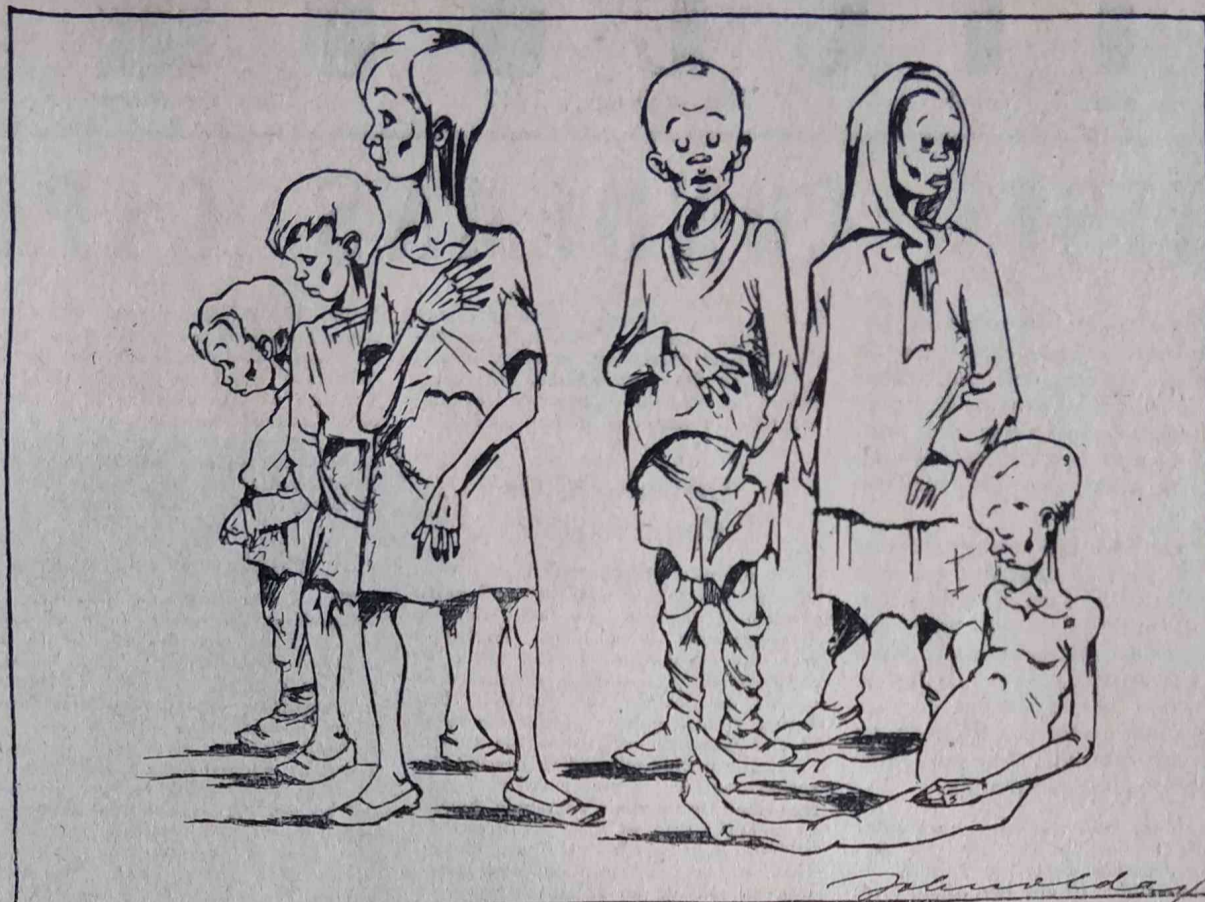
In Hamburg 100,000 people are suffering from hunger oedema or the equivalent, and in Regierungsbezirk Dusseldorf 13,000 people were being treated for this illness during the month of September (the number will be much greater during the winter). Active lung tuberculosis in Hamburg is at least five times as prevalent as before the war.

"All this doesn't mean," says Gollancz, "that people are dropping dead in the streets . . . The point is that a very great number of people feel wretchedly weak and ill, and that the health of the population as a whole is being undermined with such startling rapidity that, unless radical measures are taken to effect an improvement, the toll in one, two or three years' time will be appalling. It must be remembered that mortality from tuberculosis did not reach its climax until five years after the last war.

## The Calories Myth

The Government has been carefully hiding behind the myth of the calories ration distributed to the German people. When Mr. Hynd declares in the House of Commons that the Germans are getting 1,550 calories, everybody feels satisfied.

The point is, as Gollancz abundantly proves in his book, that people do not get their full ration. In the Ruhr he found that people were getting 8,500 grammes of bread instead of the full ration of 10,000 in 28 days. The cereal ration was not distributed so that the 1,548 calories were already reduced to



1,206. In other parts he found that only 65 and 50% of the ration was obtainable. The same applied to skimmed milk. In the whole North Rhine region the deficiency since October 14th had been about 50%.

It is quite clear that in many cases the number of calories received in fact is a third less than on paper.

## "The Misery Of Boots"

If lack of food undermines the health of the nation the absence of consumer goods and in particular shoes and clothes, has also terrible consequences. In the schools he visited Gollancz found a large proportion of children with completely ruined shoes, and when at home many people were going bare footed. The official figure of the number of children's shoes needed for the period from July to December was, at the very minimum 6,200,000 but the total number of coupons issued for their purchase from May to December was 1,771,000.

Napkins, baby clothes, overcoats, blankets, mattresses are almost impossible

to find. The children are the worst victims but it won't prevent people from justifying the inhuman treatment of the German people by saying: "They've brought it on themselves."

Several chapters of the book and a large number of photographs give a terrible picture of the housing conditions. Out of the 23 million Germans in the British zone several millions live in the atrocious conditions Gollancz describes, many more live in reasonably decent rooms but badly overcrowded. In Dusseldorf the average living space per person is 3.2 square metres, but there are still people living in extremely comfortable establishments and when Gollancz spent a night in a particularly ruined city his bedroom measured 720 square feet.

## More Destruction

The demands for sending more food to Germany are met with the excuse of world shortage, but what explanation can the Government give to the senseless destruction which is still carried out at

the present time? The application of the Potsdam agreement, which is supposed to prevent a rebirth of the German military machine, plunges the German people still further into ruin.

Fertilizer factories are being destroyed when German agriculture needs them most urgently, and so are factories producing soda which would be a first necessity in a country where soap is a rare commodity. Cement factories are being closed down, though, as Gollancz remarks, cement can be used to build Siegfried lines, but also to repair houses and build new ones.

Kiel harbour is scheduled for destruction. If this is carried out it will be impossible to build up a whole series of light industries and the resultant unemployment has been estimated at 150,000 out of a population of 250,000.

Thirteen fishing vessels were blown up at Bremerhafen because they had been used as mine layers. They could have been reconverted into fishing boats and helped to alleviate the food position but

NOTE—We had intended to reproduce photographs from "In Darkest Germany", but electricity cuts prevented the blocks and those for our usual cartoons, being ready in time. The drawing above is from "The March to Death" by John O'Day (Freedom Press - 1/6)

because of some lunatic agreement the fish had to remain in the sea and the people to starve.

## Herrenvolk v. Herrenvolk

The irresponsible policy of the Allies in Germany is not calculated to impress the people with the merits of democracy. Neither is the behaviour and mode of life of the occupying troops. Unnecessary vexations are meted out daily by British officials to German civilians, irrespective of whether they have always been anti-Nazi or not.

The military character of the occupation is displayed everywhere in arrogant fashion. "The result of it all," says Gollancz, "is that when German liberals talk to German youth about militarism, the reply is—'But British militarism is just as bad'."

The British occupying forces behave like the master race. They eat well, they have plenty of cigarettes and drinks, German houses have been requisitioned to house them and German men and women employed to serve them. Labour and materials are freely spent on repairing clubs for British troops and in Hamburg 14,226 labourers were engaged in building a Garden City to house the Control Commission.

The "re-education" of the German people is hampered still further by the totalitarian attitude adopted by the Allies towards the denazification of books. The Control Council Order of 13th May, 1946, prohibits the circulation not merely of books "supporting militarism, nationalism, and racialism" but also those "containing propaganda directed against the United Nations". As far as new books are concerned publishers are instructed that they are responsible that the works published "shall not include anything which reflects adversely upon . . . any of the Allied Powers".

## Damning Indictment

Gollancz's book is a damning indictment of the policy of the British Government in Germany. The information it contains should be as widely known as possible and one cannot look at the photographs which illustrate the book without a feeling of shame and of revolt.

We shall deal in another article with the proposals he puts forward for a solution of the German problem.

*"Unity is the goal towards which humanity is inevitably attracted. But it becomes harmful, destroys the intelligence, the dignity and prosperity of individuals and peoples, once it is achieved without liberty, but through violence, under the influence of the church, politically or even economically."*

BAKUNIN.

## ANARCHISM — Interpretations

"The whole case for anarchism rests on a general assumption which makes detailed speculations unnecessary. The assumption is that the right kind of society is an organic being—not merely analogous to an organic being, but actually a living structure with appetites and digestions, instincts and passions, intelligence and reason. Just as an individual by a proper balance of these faculties can maintain himself in health, so a community can live naturally and freely, without the disease of crime. Crime is a symptom of social illness—of poverty, inequality and restriction. Rid the social body of these illnesses and you rid society of crime. Unless you can believe this, not as an ideal or fancy, but as a biological truth, you cannot be an anarchist. But if you do believe it, you must logically come to anarchism. Your only alternative is to be a sceptic and authoritarian—a person who has so little faith in the natural order that he will attempt to make the world conform to his own devising."

(HERBERT READ: "The Philosophy of Anarchism").

## " WHY GO IN FOR POLITICS ? "

WHILE attempting to circulate this paper round a rather hardboiled bunch of men I was asked, 'Why the devil do people go in for politics anyway?' This of course I could not explain satisfactorily. It is easy enough to explain why certain people adopt a political career. I remember early in the War hearing a couple of officers discussing their post-war future, and one of the Military Gentlemen stated that he was doing that. 'Oh,' asked the other, 'in what interest?' Note the answer: 'I haven't quite decided yet. I've been out of touch with things abroad and I want to look around me first.' Obviously one party was as good as another as regards principle—he was looking at it from the plainly sensible angle, he wanted a respectable career as an M.P. with early demobilisation and a settled future. From the capitalist point of view, he was quite as justified as any other bourgeois who went in for Law as a career, and would be quite indifferent to the rights or wrongs of cases; whether he was a prosecuting counsel or a defending counsel would depend on which brief was offered. In the same way, whether Labour or Liberal or Conservative, depends a lot on what prospects of advancement are offered. We are not so simple as to blame the respectable middle-class for adopting such a career, to which their whole training is directed. When they go in for politics, they are adopting a profession, just the same as if they went in for the Law, or went in for the Church, if incapable of adopting any other profession.

However, while the attitude of the gentlemen who learn economics and philosophy at the university, and adapt our lives to what they learned, can readily be understood, it is a little more difficult to understand the attitude of those who give their time, energy, health and money

to the advancement of somebody's personal career who is far from standing in need of philanthropy.

At one time English politics used to be taken perfectly seriously. When the rival candidates, Whig and Tory, came down and wrangled for votes, it was taken as a good excuse to get drunk at their expense, and thoroughly enjoy the fun in all respects. Gradually, however, a comic element was introduced whereby the voters got the delusion that the candidates get into power without asking more than a kiss for the baby.

Even then the growth of Liberal and Conservative political associations still had some point in them. The social life provided was to a certain extent in advance of anything else in the pre-cinema days, and a change from the parochialism of church societies. The willingness of candidates to pay large sums to local associations, in return for selection, led to an increase in the social amenities available, and many workingmen's clubs would never have been founded had it not been for this spirit of give-and-take which the political racketeers were well able to provide, since they did not depend on politics for a living directly but indirectly. (The social entrée it gave to the new rich, the tradition it enabled the old rich to keep up, and the commercial life it enabled the aspiring professional man to enter were more than sufficient return.)

However, quite a new element arrived in politics with the growth of the Labour movement. The early Socialists used to pour scorn on the idea of voting for the Liberal lawyer or the Tory landlord, and told people to vote for the working-man's candidate instead. When the Anarchists prophesied that the working-man's candidate would only go the same way instead, they weren't pro-

phesying far ahead enough—we have seen that in the period of the first Labour Government with full power, not only have the working-class candidates become quite absorbed in the social structure of the upper-crust (trade union leaders going as naturally and consequently to the House of Lords as the Liberal 'captains of industry' went in the beginning of the century) but the Socialists have attracted to themselves the very element that made up the Tory and Liberal lists; the professional and business men, the Army officers, the scions of the aristocracy.

Although this has happened, and nothing made it plainer than the last Election, the sincere rank-and-file in the Socialist movement is limping badly behind events, and taking refuge from confusion in the various red-herrings of modern politics, such as foreign policy and personalities. They do not realise that they have by their devotion and hard work built up a machine that has been captured precisely by the other class, any more than the early Christians perhaps realised what they were letting the world in for when they built up a new religion.

An ardent Socialist worker of my acquaintance was very depressed after the landslide at the Election. I asked why. She showed me the statement by the victorious local Labour candidate thanking electors and the Labour workers for their confidence in 'him'. She had shut her eyes to his statements during the Election asking, quite in the Churchill style, for renewed confidence in 'him'. She wanted to know, was all her work for 'him'? Surely he was only a figure-head, a representative . . . but of course such an idea was twenty years out of date. When they first made him a Councillor he began to get the pompous ideas those funny little men have, and as he

gravitated to Parliament in a safe Labour seat and got enormous majorities Election after Election, he naturally adjusted himself to thinking of himself as a little tin god, devoted to the public interest.

In fact, all politicians, even the most ambitious young man making up his mind whether to be a Socialist or a Conservative candidate and wondering which is the quickest, think of themselves as devoted to the public interest, and the apparent discrepancy of this belief with the lining of their own pockets is one that most people can explain away to their own personal satisfaction.

## Preservation of Capitalism

However, what is this 'public service' after all but the preservation of the present capitalist system? However much anyone may think up schemes for reform here and patching-up there; transference of control from the State to the capitalist or the capitalist to the State; whether one should extend the olive branch here or rattle the sabre there; the whole of politics is in reality devoted to preserving the present system of disease, unemployment, war, poverty, and class privilege. No matter what plans or what good intentions a politician may have, the fact is that his career is bound up with the preservation of the system, and if by any chance he happens to act in such a manner as to endanger that system, his political career is finished. How many will take that chance with their jobs?—and least of all will a professional man whose interests are entirely bound up with his job. A displaced politician is at a better end than a debarred lawyer or an unfrocked priest or a doctor stricken off the lists. He usually has business to enter (and we may mention that no working-man's candidate has even been

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THE death of Jim Larkin sees the removal of an historic figure from the Irish industrial battlefield. Jim lived to be 68 only because of an American prison—for there can be no doubt that if he had been in Ireland in '16, he would have shared the fate of his comrade Connolly.

His meteoric career was not of his own choosing, for he would have remained content to continue his work as a Liverpool docker, had it not been for the tyranny of Sexton, the head of the National Union of Dock Labourers. Larkin had brought the men out in an unofficial strike and had carried them to victory. The men would not return to work without Larkin, and the bosses would not give way, so Sexton found a solution by appointing him organizer in Belfast, the graveyard of all previous organizers. But Larkin surprised Sexton and the whole Labour world of the day, for he not only brought out the dockers, but held up the whole port in a general strike—even the police came out!

### Larkin Joins Connolly

It was in Belfast that the great

## A PIONEER OF IRISH TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION

partnership with James Connolly started. Both recognized that the old form of craft unionism was outworn, and that the workers must organize on a modern basis. Hence the Irish Transport Workers' Union was born. Larkin was involved in expensive litigation with official Trade Unions, but despite vicious legal persecution he fought on and triumphed.

The union grew. It appealed to the Irish because it was a union that would fight, and because it did not rely on money so much as on strategy and tactics. If there was not an early victory the men went back to work, only to come out again the next week, or at whatever time would disorganize the boss' plans.

### The Great Strike Of 1912

In 1912 came the great test. The boss class saw the menace of "Larkinism" and W. M. Murphy, Dublin's

richest man, Chairman of the Tramways Co., issued an ultimatum that all tramwaymen must leave the union, or leave their work. The ITW took up the challenge and supported the men. The dockers and carmen, the seamen and all the waterside workers came out in sympathy with the tram-men, and for twelve months the strike pursued its bitter course. Starvation was the general rule; ruin faced the city. Landlords got no rent, and the small shopkeepers were broke. Neither side would give way. Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the ITWU, was turned into a soup kitchen. Meanwhile, Larkin toured England and Scotland, holding gigantic meetings, collecting money and food. The British workers showed their solidarity and responded generously. The British government, through its agents in Dublin Castle, naturally took the boss' side. Brutal attacks

on strikers' pickets by the police, backed by the military, were a daily occurrence. The strikers enrolled a large number in a defence body armed with bludgeons to defend their open air meetings from such attacks. This body was the germ of the Irish Citizen Army, the first Red Army in Europe. Larkin was active in its formation.

In order to raise money for the strike and the union he went to America, and while there he got a year's imprisonment and so missed the Rebellion of Easter Week and its tragic consequences in the execution of its leaders.

### "Larkinism"

"Larkinism" has been dead for some years, and now that Larkin himself is dead too, it will soon only be a memory. The contribution of Roman Catholicism, Nationalism, and Industrial Unionism was only possible in an oppressed country like Ireland. Conditions have changed politically; economically they are just as bad. The worker finds that the Irish capitalist can be, and is, just as rapacious as the English. Larkin, like most rebels of the time, was swept away by the Russian revolution, but he was soon disillusioned by a visit to Russia, and he turned inward to purely Irish affairs. . . . As an Irishman, he was instinctively a rebel, always ready to make any sacrifice for the cause of Humanity, but also, like so many Irishmen, he failed to see that the soul-destroying principle of Authority must first be fought and completely eliminated. Until men see that Freedom is the end for

which we must strive, all else is illusion. And the realization of Freedom means throwing off all the shackles of Authority—the Church and the State as well as the domination of Property. The Roman Catholic Church is the very embodiment of the principle of Authority and of Property, and as such will constitute a formidable obstacle that the workers must smash in their march towards emancipation. Larkin and the Irish workers failed to see this—for he was a good churchman to the end—and because of this failure, they did not understand the brave words that Pearse and Connolly wrote in the Proclamation of Easter Week.

Larkin's death should remind us that the ITWU's form of industrial unionism is not enough despite the militancy and organizing power which Larkin and Connolly gave it. What was lacking was the revolutionary spirit and constructive zeal shown by our comrades of the CNT and the FAI in Spain. Organization by itself is not enough: The will to win and expropriate the robbers must also be there.

MAT KAVANAGH

### In Brief

#### MORE DUSTMEN WITH A GRIEVANCE

In our last issue we reported a strike of dustmen in Glasgow. Now it seems that in Southgate, North London, dustmen are threatening to stage a "salvage strike" because their bonuses have been stopped by their council. This is quite a good method of striking without inconveniencing the public. The dustmen say that they "will lose interest" in collecting bottles, waste paper and other materials now being salvaged. As this is probably a source of income for the council the men will be embarrassing their employers, ignoring the government production and economy drive, and at the same time serving the public in the essential of clearing garbage.

#### "NO BREAD—NO COAL" IN RUHR

That the present rations, even when obtained, for heavy industry workers in Germany is hopelessly inadequate has often been pointed out in the columns of *Freedom*. Now the miners in the Ruhr district in the British Zone have nearly come to the ends of their tethers, as promises to remedy shortage of bread are not being kept. Stoppages have taken place already at several pits; sympathy strikes at others, and on the walls at some have appeared the chalked words—"No Bread—no Coal!"

We feel confident that when the miners show themselves to be determined not to slave on empty bellies, bread will very promptly be forthcoming.

#### STEEL WORKS STRIKE

One of the queer features of the labour shortage in Britain is that it is running side-by-side with increasing unemployment—now politely referred to as "redundancy". Ten men were dismissed on those grounds at Cowley, Oxford, pressed steel works. One hundred employees in the trucking department struck work in protest.

#### FINED FOR SLEEPING

One young coal miner was not very impressed by pithead appeals for more coal on "Vesting Day", when (as a citizen of Britain, he became part-owner (?) of the Nation's coal mines.

James Smith, 21, of Matthewstown, Glam., was discovered asleep down the pit just after hearing the said appeals and, such is his privilege as an employee of the State, that he was subsequently fined £2 at the local bench. The magistrate (a fellow worker for the State) told him his offence was "extremely serious in view of the grave shortage of coal".

Incidentally—who fines magistrates when they go to sleep on the bench?

#### TRADE UNIONS AS STRIKE BREAKERS —OFFICIAL!

Professor D. L. Savory, Conservative M.P. for Belfast University asked Mr. Isaacs, Minister of Labour, the following question on the matter of unofficial strikes: "Have the trade unions lost all control over their members, while retaining such absolute control over the Government?"

Mr. Isaacs' reply (which should be noted by all workers who read this) was: "With regard to the second part of the question, anyone with any common sense knows that is not a correct description. On the first part of the question, the evidence is that a great many of these unofficial strikes when they start are stopped and controlled by the unions, who get the men back to work."

G. V.

## Conditions in the Brick Industry

MEMBERS of governments and their satellites are continually puzzled by the reluctance on the part of the workers to enter the stable and essential industries instead of the more unnecessary ones. Figures have been given recently showing there is a total of between 300,000 and 400,000 workers engaged in the betting industry—that the football pools represent the seventh largest industry in the country.

It is interesting to discover, then, that the total number of workers in one of the community's most essential industries is a mere 62,000—but a fifth of those engaged in the get-rich-quick industries. The recently-published report on the Brick industry,\* however, gives one a fairly broad hint as to the reasons for the preference shown by workers for non-essential occupations, which are usually indoor jobs. The conditions shown as obtaining throughout the brickyards are certainly not such as would attract labour when—as at present—we are going through a period of labour shortage.

The "black spot" of the industry is shown to be in the sanitary conditions. Most brickyards are located in rural districts, without access to main sewers, but little attempt has been made to provide alternative forms of sanitation. Similarly, in most yards there is a lamentable lack of washing facilities of an adequate nature.

### Similarity With Agriculture

Several times the committee pointed out the similarity between the brick industry and agriculture, and certainly from the point of view of the actual conditions of working on the job there may be many points in common. Work is done in the open, or under open-ended shelter, for instance, and as already mentioned, most brickyards are in rural districts. Like farms, too, the majority of yards employ relatively small numbers of workers. There is one advantage, however, which the average farm worker has over the average brickyard worker, and that is that he lives on the job. Admittedly, few people would want to live on a brickyard, but the point is that when a farm worker is soaked through by working all day in the open, he usually only has to go a few yards to be indoors and changed into dry clothes. Not so the brickyard worker, and the stress the committee put upon the necessity for providing drying rooms for clothing, and protective clothing itself, is a pointer to the uncomfortable conditions of work and the lack at present of any such facilities.

On the matter of canteens, the committee is puzzled by the fact that even in the best works "where the standard is good" the percentage of persons taking the full mid-day meal is seldom more than 30. "The reasons for this," they say, "includes the economies of the home, tradition of food supply and the conservatism of the older workers who still prefer their accustomed places round the kiln or near their place of work." Obviously the first thing that springs to mind is the observation that even where the canteen facilities are "good" they are still not good enough, and that the factor of the "economy of the home", merely included by the committee is a very important factor indeed. In these days of extreme rationing, few workers are not prepared to supplement the family ration with hot meals eaten out if they can afford

it, and the committee is careful to avoid all mention of the standard of wages throughout the industry and how it compares with the cost of living.

### Recommendations

In their list of recommendations, there is nothing the committee suggests which one imagines would not have been effected long ago had the workers been in control of the brick industry themselves. The committee appear to realise (since it advocates subsidisation "in approved cases") that the question of "expense" and "capital outlay" has a lot to do with the lack of decent

facilities. Anarchists assert that the comfort and the welfare of the workers must come before profits for the boss but we also realise that while the boss is in control of the means of production and the money system exists, the profit motive will be the deciding one. There is, therefore, only one solution: the establishment of workers control of the means of production, with the workers on the job free to establish their own standards of working conditions and administering the industry on behalf of the community as a whole for the satisfaction of the needs of the community, and not for the profit of the employer.

### Land Notes

## Agriculture in a Free Society

Continued from previous Issue

LAST time I put forward the view that for most types of farming the medium-sized family farm was probably the best social and working unit. By "medium-sized" I am thinking in terms of 100—200 acres, and by "family" farm I mean a holding held and worked by a man and his family. The greatest disadvantage of this social and economic set-up is the undoubted bulwark that it provides for an authoritarian family basis of rural society. There is, however, no inherent reason why a family unit must be authoritarian, but when it is an economic, as well as a social, unit there is no denying that it has a tendency to become so. But I think this is a risk that is worth taking, particularly in a libertarian society where that tendency would not be so strong, because of the advantages that accrue from this form of social organisation in farming. To begin with every land-worker has a strong and deep-rooted desire to have a place of his own, and for myself I cannot see anything regrettable or anti-social in this. To place a man who runs his own farm with the help of one or two sons, in the same category as the owner of a large concern which employs hundreds, or thousands, of workers is manifestly absurd, and due to a doctrinaire outlook which bears little relation to actual social conditions.

"The vulgar-Marxist concept of 'private enterprise' was irrationally misinterpreted to mean that the revolutionary development of society would bring about the abolition of all private property. Of course, the political reaction made capital out of this misinterpretation. As a matter of fact, the development of social and individual freedom had nothing to do with the so-called 'abolition of private property'. The Marxist concept . . . referred, exclusively, to the private possession of the social means of production which determine the social process, such as railroads, power plants, mines, etc." (*The Mass Psychology of Fascism* by Wilhelm Reich). A small farm can hardly be placed in the same category as "railroads, power-plants, mines, etc."

### Small Working Units

Furthermore the small, independent unit helps to counteract any tendency to centralism in the organisation of society, and also against the tendency for a managerial class to arise—a tendency which is always present in any large, collective undertaking. On the contrary, it produces a person of initiative and independence, the antithesis of the mass-man of centralised, bureaucratic society.

These, however, are largely incidental advantages. The important one is that it is the social unit best suited to agricultural production. Farming is both an art and science, besides requiring, for its successful execution, considerable administrative ability—combined, in capitalist society, with business acumen. And the art element is by no means the least important. Probably for this reason output per acre tends to be highest on farms between 100 and 150 acres, the latter figure probably being the maximum size of a farm that one man can know intimately, and therefore can manage efficiently. (The quality of livestock are, it is true, in our present society, usually lower on smaller farms, due in large part to lack of capital to lay out on good and expensive breeding stock.)

The production side of farming, its planning and execution, is I believe, fundamentally an individual, rather than a collective, process. Mutual aid can, of course, and even now does, play a large part, especially in small-farm districts where farmers lend each other machinery, help each other with threshing and sometimes form a small working group of two or three at harvest time, going to one man's field one day and another's the next. In a libertarian society one would expect this process to be carried further in the bulk purchase of such things as seeds, tools and manures (I hope not chemical ones) and in the collective distribution of produce. Such farmers co-operatives do in fact already exist, mostly in Denmark and Eire.

### Social Organization

The type of social organisation, then, that would be likely to evolve in a revolutionary situation would in most districts, probably consist of agricultural collectives made up of individual holdings. According to some theorists this ought not to happen, but, nevertheless, it probably would. The collective, through co-operation with larger delegate organisations, based roughly, most likely, on the present parish, rural district and up the scale to the county, would organise production in the sense of finding out what particular products, and in what quantity, were required by the nearby urban consumers, and arranging for their production, in so far as their production was suited to the soil and climate of the district. The actual production would, however, be left to the individual farmer to be executed as, on the basis of his knowledge of his holding, he thought best. That is the point I wish to emphasise. The collective would run

machinery pools to help the individual cultivator and would arrange for additional reasonable labour, transport and whatnot. (A big snag of machinery pools is, of course, that most agricultural machinery is used only for a short, limited period and for a particular operation, and that consequently everyone wants the same machine at the same time. This difficulty is not, however, insuperable and has to some extent been overcome in existing society.)

Apart from extreme districts such as hill and mountain land on the one hand and rich market-gardening land on the other, most holdings would be based on that natural biological unit, the mixed farm, which, while avoiding all monoculture, makes a speciality of that article which the farm and the district are particularly suited to produce—milk or beef or corn, etc., as the case may be.

Such then is a brief, and inevitably somewhat sketchy, outline for a sound social and economic organisation of agriculture, an organisation which benefits both the producer and consumer, and does not forget that not the least important product of the soil is the men who live on it and by it—a fact which most urban social theorists are apt to ignore.

### Quiz Dept.

"Many farmers are attributing some of the failure for last season's laid crops to fertilisers. They, therefore, propose using less in 1947. This is neither correct nor sound husbandry. The past wet season gave a long growing period as well as lush growth—both meaning a greater consumption of fertilisers. The weeds, too, absorb plant food from the land. The correct treatment for 1947 crops is to use more rather than less of a properly balanced complete fertiliser."

Where is this extract taken from? "Helpful Hints" by the Ministry of Agriculture? "Science and Agriculture" by an Agricultural Researcher? But perhaps you have already guessed. Oddly enough, it is an advert. (in *The Farmers' Weekly*, 10/1/47) issued by a large firm of fertiliser manufacturers.

P.S.—Any landworker knows, or can prove in practice, that using more fertiliser most certainly does contribute considerably to laid crops, being usually the chief, though not only, cause. The weeds, which are referred to as having so unfairly cashed in on some of the fertiliser meant for the crops, would in any case return a considerable portion of it to the soil when ploughed in.

\*Report of the Committee on Amenities in the Brick Industry (H.M. Stationery Office—3d.).

# Revival of Dutch Imperialism

THE visitor to Holland is at first struck by an air of apparent prosperity. And, indeed, the standard of life of the Dutch people has undoubtedly shown a quite amazing improvement since the days of the occupation, when the staple foods for large areas were often sugar beet and even tulip bulbs. During the war years, agricultural productivity had fallen to about 40% of the pre-war level, and a large proportion of this was taken away by the Germans. Last year, in spite of the fact that large areas of Walcheren and the Zuider Zee area had been flooded by the German and Allied armies, the agricultural production had risen to 85% of pre-war. This has been done without any elaborate coercive machinery like the English War Agricultural Committees, but very largely through voluntary associations of the peasants, who are eager to use co-operative methods to a very great extent, and are much more willing than most English farmers to accept the advice of good agricultural scientists. It is estimated that next year the agricultural production will actually be 20% higher than it was before the war. This rapid expansion of Dutch agriculture undoubtedly shows the superiority of even a limited system of voluntary co-operation over the curious combination of small-scale capitalism and governmental coercion which has failed so signally to bring British agriculture on to a basis of adequate production.

As a consequence of this factor, there is comparatively little food shortage in Holland. Rations are considerably higher than those in England; on the other hand wages are still low, and many workers with large families are unable to buy the full rations. Also, there is great inequality in the distribution of the food available. The peasants and country people generally are very well fed, and, owing to an almost complete lack of restriction on restaurant meals, the well-to-do can eat on a really gargantuan scale without even having to infringe the rationing laws. To quote a single instance of the unfair way in which the system works, a Dutch comrade has a sick child to whom the doctor has ordered a diet including one egg a day. These eggs, in spite of the medical certificate, can only be obtained at enhanced prices in the black market; at the same time, one of the smallest restaurants in Amsterdam has a ration of more than 1,000 eggs a month for sale unrestrictedly to the customers who can afford to frequent it. Nevertheless, in spite of all these inequalities, the food situation in Holland is immeasurably better than in most of the other European countries at present, and there is little or no actual starvation.

## Shortage of Consumption Goods

In other consumption goods, however, the situation is very different. Clothing is scarce, expensive and of poor quality. The workers all look very badly clothed, particularly in the industrial towns like

Rotterdam. Household goods of all kinds, particularly bedding, cooking utensils and crockery, are difficult to obtain, which weighs all the more heavily on the very many people whose household requisites were requisitioned during the war by the German Army—and sometimes looted by the "liberators"! Fuel is scanty, owing to the small coal industry of Holland. Supplies of tobacco are very short.

In such articles there is a very considerable black market, carried on both by large scale magnates and also by small traders in the poorer streets of the towns. In Amsterdam I walked through streets which were lined with youths and women offering cigarettes, chocolates, fuel and clothing coupons. Black market prices are high, particularly for cigarettes, of which the ration is 40 a week. In Amsterdam the current black market price is 4 guilders for 20 (about 7/6); in The Hague, a more prosperous town where the risks are greater owing to a more vigilant police, the price is as high as 6 guilders for 20 (about 11/-)! Thus anything more than the most moderate smoking is a luxury which only the wealthy can enjoy. Incidentally, the Government recently entered the black market as a competitor in cigarette trading; it bought a large consignment of cigarettes from America, and, instead of offering them at the rationed price (between 1/- and 1/6), decided to sell them in the free market at the black price of 4 guilders. This was a cynical admission of the fact that in Holland, perhaps more than anywhere else in Europe, the wealthy can buy everything in abundance and without difficulty.

It will be seen that in Holland, as in England, the condition of the workers is not very high. Few of them are starving; on the other hand, they cannot obtain sufficient warm clothing, bedding and fuel, nor could they easily afford it if it were obtainable. The policy of the government is to forbid increased wages and shortened hours, and in this it is supported by most of the trade unions, i.e., the Christian and Social-democratic unions. Only the unions under Communist influence oppose the government's policy towards the workers, and it is generally recognised that they will sing another tune when they are invited to share the power. Generally speaking, wages average a slightly lower level than in England, but their purchasing power is probably little less. The plight of the workers is complicated by an acute housing shortage, particularly in Rotterdam and the Eastern provinces where the fighting was most severe.

## Crisis in Dutch Imperialism

The policy of the Dutch government is based on a desire to perpetuate Dutch imperialism, owing to the crisis in which Dutch capitalism at present finds itself. Germany, one of the best markets for Dutch agricultural products, is no longer able to buy goods; this explains the Dutch anxiety to produce plans for reconstructing German economic life. The

Dutch mercantile marine, which provided a great part of the national income before the war, has greatly diminished in the last six years, and may never regain its position as a carrier of goods for other countries. And the great Dutch empire in the East Indies is gripped in an independence movement which has already done much harm to the interests of Dutch capitalism in that area.

The Dutch capitalists are faced with the loss of their three large external markets, and they are not willing to let them all go without a struggle. So they have chosen to make a desperate bid for the recovery of effective control over their East Indian colonies. The militarisation of Holland is going on apace, and an army is being built up which will be considerably greater than their pre-war army. In the towns and on railway trains one is astonished by the number of men in uniform—it seems like a country at war, which in fact Holland is at the moment. Troops are being shipped steadily to the East Indies, and everybody in Holland expects a great offensive against the Indonesians as soon as a sufficiently strong army is built up. Significantly, the uniform of all the soldiers one sees is identical in every respect—except for badges—with that of the British army. For the British and American governments are regarded as encouraging the Dutch government in its militaristic programme, with the idea that a well-armed Holland will give them a bastion against Russia in Europe, and a strong Dutch government in the East Indies will both hold in check the general spread of independence movements in the East and also provide an additional buttress against Russian infiltration in that area.

## Opposition to Militarism

The general attitude towards the militaristic policy appears to be one of indifference, but there seems to be a considerable minority opposition. The Communists organised a few flashy demonstrations against sending troops to Indonesia, but have made no real opposition; this has mostly been left to individual action, shown in the high percentage of deserters, and the occasional mutinies among men being sent abroad (the most recent of these was reported from Port Said about a fortnight ago).

The picture of Holland, as I have sketched it, represents much the same as that of any other Western European country; the contrasts of wealth and poverty, the lowering of the workers' standard of living since before the war, the general bankruptcy of trade union and labour movements, the strengthening of militarism and the power of the state. Against all this, the only resistance so far is that of individuals and small uncoordinated groups; the Dutch workers, who carried out two important strikes against the Nazis, are so far content to accept passively the oppressions of their native rulers.

GEORGE WOODCOCK

# POLICE BRUTALITY IN TRINIDAD

ON February 5th, Reuters reported that 22 Trinidad oil workers on strike had been found guilty of "unlawful assembly, obstruction and intimidation arising out of a strikers' march and the police raid on the Port of Spain trade union headquarters", in Trinidad. That some account of the background to this trial is available is mainly due to the reports sent to the *Daily Mirror* by John Walters.

Note that the strikers are found guilty of "obstruction and intimidation". Beatings by the police, brutal raids, callous evictions from their homes are not mentioned however in official accounts; indeed they are denied by those responsible for them, Sir Bede Clifford, Trinidad's retiring governor now on his way home, or Col. Angus Muller, Chief of Police in the island...

The following is based on the very full and detailed reports of John Walters.

## Reprisals Against Strikers

Working conditions and wages in Trinidad have long shocked white visitors who keep their eyes open. Some weeks ago, workers in Southern Trinidad oilfields owned by United British Oilfields struck work owing to discontent arising from increasing unemployment and consequent destitution. Immediately the whole governmental machinery was brought into play. The Governor, Sir Bede Clifford, imposed a curfew from 8 p.m. to 5 a.m. on January 18th, and declared Emergency Regulations (banning amongst other things, meetings of more than a few people) to be in force.

More important from the strikers' point of view, however, were the economic reprisals instituted by the employers. Strikers were immediately evicted together with their families from their homes. Eviction notices signed by W. M. V. Ash, an official of the United British Oilfields of Trinidad Ltd., read: "You are required to remove from the premises at . . . belonging to this company and occupied by you, within seven days from this date. If you fail to remove from the premises within that time legal proceedings for recovery of the premises will be commenced." Many strikers and their families have left their homes and been received by other workers. Considerable hardship results, as overcrowding is already extreme in the island. A worker who was absent with his family had his house emptied of its furniture by the police who took it away. The Oil Company's official, Mr. Ash, is also a member of Trinidad's Legislative Council.

## Debarred From Their Allotments

Many workers rent small strips of land from the Oil Companies on which they grow much needed food. John Walters tells of men driven off their allotments regardless of the fact that

they have paid their rents in advance. They are thus unable to gather the food they have grown and which their families need. Police in steel helmets and armed with rifles are patrolling the strike area.

Not content with acting automatically for the employers in an industrial dispute, the police have also beaten up many of the workers. John Walters spoke to several who showed him weals and bruises on their backs. While he was examining the feet of a woman who was said to have been crippled by police beating, the police arrested two men in the crowd. Throughout his tour of the oilfield police took notes of his conversations and of all his movements. Despite many questionings, he could find no confirmation for the police allegation that the strikers had been riotous.

## Terror Raid On Union Headquarters

Five hundred men and women marched from the oilfields of Southern Trinidad to the capital to protest against the state of Emergency declared by the Governor. While they were resting at the Headquarters of the Oilworkers' Union on the night of January 22nd, a squad of police, personally led by Col. Angus Muller, the Chief Commissioner for Police, raided the place at 1 a.m. Muller was shouting for Uriah Butler, the leader of the oilworkers' union, who fortunately had escaped. Walters reports the testimony of several eyewitnesses who saw men and women, regardless of age, beaten up with rifle butts, and saw several shot. Walters himself interviewed two men who had been shot, who were lying in hospital under arrest (but ignorant of the charges, if any, preferred against them) and guarded by policemen.

Police occupied the Union hall for two days. At the end of that time the printing press of the union was found completely smashed, as were also lavatory and handbasins. In view of these eyewitness accounts, it is ironical to hear Creech Jones, the Labour Colonial Secretary, blandly stating in Parliament: "I think it right to say that the Commissioner of Police has assured the Governor that the police did not damage the press." The Commissioner of Police led the raid; is he likely to give any other answer?

## Creech Jones Also Backs Employers

As a result of the companies, aided by the police, driving the strikers out of their homes and off their allotments, the severest hardships have been visited on the strikers and their families. Police have used violence to the limit. But not content with that, the law then steps in as well and charges 22 strikers with violence! And charges against more than 100 other people have been adjourned . . . The 22 have been found guilty (in an island where the employers sit on the Legislative Council, and are guarded by armed police, can one evince surprise?), but sentences have, at the time of writing, been postponed.

While a trial is in progress, it constitutes contempt of court for any public utterance to be made which prejudices the outcome, and this rule is most stringently observed in this country. The Colonial Secretary, however, does not consider such limitations as binding on him. On January 29th, Creech Jones stated in the House of Commons that the strikers had intimidated persons going to work—i.e., he had stated as a fact the very issue which was at that moment being tried! Maitre Sinnan, counsel for 52 of the strikers charged, denounced Creech Jones' statement as "a gross misrepresentation of what occurred in the colony . . . Direct references were made to facts of cases actually in dispute. No one would have talked like that in England if a similar case was pending there. Aren't our people entitled to the same standard of justice as is maintained in England? Trial here would now be a farce. The Secretary for the Colonies has tried and sentenced these people."

These incidents serve to show the intimate line up between Government, police and employers, which openly displays itself in colonial territories.

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# RUSSIA

## Soviet Culture Purge Continues

The literary purge in Russia was recently described in *Freedom*. Now it is the turn of Russian Broadcasting to be reminded of the party line. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union passed a recent decree charging the radio network with being guilty of monotony, mediocrity and bad transmission, and declared that the most important immediate task is "to raise the significance of broadcasting in the political education and improvement of the cultural level of the workers."

It is clear that every propaganda method must be strained to its utmost in the Russian government's attempt to maintain stability during the present crisis in Russia. Writers, musicians, dramatists, cinema, schoolteachers and newspapers have all been denounced as not "pulling their weight" within the last few months. It is not surprising to find radio in the same boat.

## Russian Visitors To Cost £25,000

Parliament is to be asked to vote £25,000 by the Government Hospitality Department to meet the cost of entertaining the members of the Supreme Soviet on its coming visit to this country. Hospitality is doubtless an attractive quality. But when half Europe (not to mention Asia and Africa) are starving, what is one to think of fellow bureaucrats lavishing luxury upon one another. The hosts: alleged representatives of the British working class ("We know how the working man lives . . ."); the guests; workers, of course. Members of the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Mother Russia ("No, comrade. A class-conscious worker does not hanker after luxury while Socialism has to be built up . . . You must draw in your belts comrades . . .").

# Foreign Commentary

## French C.P. Claim Louise Michel!

THE re-writing of History by the Communist Party is an old game (as George Orwell so skillfully shows in his 'fairy story' *Animal Farm*!) The latest example of falsification occurred recently in Levallois in France where the Communists staged a demonstration, which marched to the tune of the Lorraine and was headed by men carrying tricolours. The demonstrators made for the Cemetery of Levallois where they placed a wreath of red, white and blue flowers on the grave of . . . Louise Michel! Speeches by the Communist minister Maranne, Mayor of Levallois, and the Mayor of St. Denis followed. This was too much for a young Anarchist who was present, and who shouted for all to hear "Patriotic demonstrations and tricolour flags are an insult to the memory of Louise Michel who was a revolutionary and an anarchist." This violent interruption came as an awful shock to the National Communists who set about our comrades to prove to them that they were right! According to the *Libertaire* (30/1/47) from which this information was obtained, the police intervened and led off our comrades to a police van, followed by the Stalinists who advised the police "if they try to get away, fire on them!"

The Communists have in the past tried to make out that Sacco & Vanzetti were Communists. To-day they would make a communist and "patriot" out of the comrade and Anarchist Louise Michel. FOOTNOTE: Louise Michel and Sebastien Faure were the founders of the Anarchist paper *Le Libertaire*!

## OFFICIAL BLACK MARKET IN TOBACCO

In France the tobacco shortage will soon be eased . . . at least for those who can afford to pay more for their

cigarettes. According to the *Populaire* (5/2/47) the Government will probably retain the ration of tobacco at its present level but will also allow the sale of tobacco off the ration but at a higher price. The State hopes in this way to benefit by an additional income of 6,000,000,000 francs in revenue.

It would appear that the Black market is not black when operated by the State!

## SEX REFORMS IN JAPAN

The February issue of *La Grande Reforme* has just reached us and though we have already expressed our disagreement with its neo-malthusian line, nevertheless this little paper always carries interesting articles and news items which are not easily found in the Press. In this issue it contains a news item from the Japanese paper *Mainichi* which reports that birth control has been approved by a Committee of the Ministry of Health carrying out research on the question of population. In view of the present conditions of life, it has been decided to leave to the discretion of parents the decision as to the time to lapse between each new birth. The same paper announces that the criminal code regarding abortion will be revised this year, to conform with the interests of eugenics?

It would be interesting to know what facilities are being provided for parents to limit births under this new scheme.

## FRENCH ANARCHISTS AND THE GERMAN PROBLEM

Anti-German feeling in this country is nothing compared with French National-

ism and hatred of the Bosche. The Anarchists in France are among the very few organizations which are trying to counteract this reactionary outlook. In an editorial article dealing with the German problem, the *Libertaire* really deals with fundamentals, courageously and ably.

"We must revive the internationalist spirit—writes the *Lib.*—we must answer the incitements to hatred by the creation of united revolutionary currents in all countries. French workers, what reasons have you for detesting the German worker, who is exploited as you are, when your masters were signing agreements with German Industrial magnates, the purveyors of Nazism?"

"One must react. You must fight against the odious and inhuman exploitation of German prisoners, who are slave labour which will be used to counteract your strikes and demands."

"Admittedly you remember the German worker in uniform, under the orders of the Nazi chiefs. But you too have been a soldier and took orders from brutes."

"Do you forget that since 1933 there have been more Germans in concentration camps than Frenchmen in the resistance movement?"

"Do you remember your passivity when thousands of Jews were being arrested?"

"Do you know that during last year the French military in Algiers have murdered thousands of natives who demanded bread?"

"And to-day, who is opposing the Liberation of . . . Indo-China?"

LIBERTARIAN.

# NEWS FROM GERMAN ANARCHISTS

We are pleased to be able to reproduce a short selection from a collection of letters from anarchists and syndicalists within Germany, which we have received from the IWMA bureau in Stockholm. The letters all tell the same story of suffering and resistance to the Nazis, of dozens of comrades imprisoned and tortured or starved to death in the concentration camps. The encouraging thing about them is that they reveal the presence within Germany of very many libertarians who have retained their ideals throughout the terror and who, however depressed they may be under present conditions, still wish to carry on the struggle to free the German people from their many internal and external enemies.

Comrade H. from Frankfurt-am-Main, writes:

Here, in Hesse, almost all the important ministries are occupied by socialists and communists. But, in spite of that, the Minister of Labour, Oskar Muller, Communist, cannot deliver a single speech without talking of the dangerous renaissance of the reaction. That means that he confesses his incapacity to do anything by political means against the growing poverty among the masses. Those who have come victorious out of the collapse of Nazism are the bourgeoisie, who still dispose of the economic means and form a State within the State—the point of departure of a new reaction. In reality, the situation is this: the workers of the workshops and factories carry all the weight of production, but their wages are not sufficient to buy their rations. . . . But the capitalist who sells goods, who adulterates and exchanges them, counts in astronomical figures and lives as in peacetime. Because of this abnormal situation, and for other reasons, such as, for example, the existence of zonal frontiers, and the continual influx of masses of refugees from the Russian zone, the situation is very bad, and it is not impossible that we, above all we who are enfeebled because of our life in the concentration camps, will perish as victims of poverty. You understand well what you must do if you can, to save us from that end.

Here, I wish to say something on the help which you project. I admire the Swedish working class which has kept a cool head during the war, without becoming nationalist and chauvinist, and which is ready to help us now. It is a satisfaction to know that you are collaborating with other organisations to help us. But it is also necessary that we organise our own action. Here in Germany, the assistance activity is organised above all by Christian humanitarian organisations, and in a lesser degree by socialist organisations, and it is very clear that we do not enjoy very much sympathy among the black or red priests, so that, in general, we receive nothing.

The syndicalists and anarchists affiliated to the FAUD here in the south-west of Germany, have had to make great sacrifices in the illegal struggle against Hitlerite fascism. Prison, house of correction and concentration camp for long years—this is what we have suffered. The sufferings in the Hitlerite hell cannot be described. The comrades in the prisons were liberated by the allies. They are physical ruins, but intellectually they are not destroyed. But our comrade P., of Offenbach, perished at the last moment, in Buchenwald, immediately before the liberation.

The following letter is from four comrades of Darmstadt who all suffered imprisonment under the Nazis. Two received 11½ years' imprisonment each and were in Buchenwald at the end of the war, one received 4½ years' imprisonment, and one 3 years' imprisonment.

Their ignorance of external events shows how little information of what really happened reached the German people during the war years. Their physical condition needs no comment.

Our situation is difficult. We are dying of hunger—material and intellectual. Our bodies, ill-treated in the prisons and in the concentration camps, demand nourishment for our stomachs, and our isolation of long years without contact with world

events and with the international movement makes us almost dead from the intellectual point of view. What has passed in the world since 1933? What has happened in Spain? Is it true that there was a pact between Hitler and Stalin? What are our anarchist and syndicalist friends doing in the rest of the world? Are they still working for our ideals and our organisations? Do the militants of other countries know that there were thousands of revolutionaries in Germany who never capitulated to Hitler? Do they know in the world that we, for example, of the FAUD, have never ceased to struggle, and that we are doing everything to bring our organisations to life again? Yes, the external forms of the Third Reich have been broken, one group of rulers has gone away, but the old bankrupts of 1935 have been put in their places and they continue as if the year 1933 never existed. They struggle, as before, for the fruits of power, for the mandates of parliament. The enterprises and the economic power remain with the bourgeoisie as in 1918. Most of the Nazis are organised in the Christian-Socialist Party and the Communist organisations. Until now only the political parties and the official unions are authorised. When we shall receive permission to re-organise it is difficult to predict. But in any case we employ every means to propagate our conceptions.

Comrade K. D. of Göppingen, writes:

The most important part of our libertarian literature has been saved (in Göppingen was one of the most important centres for anarchist literature in Germany). I have the idea of forming a new Book Guild, or perhaps a literary society of a libertarian tendency. We have no choice, the ruins call us to work, and life continues.

Besides, Göppingen has now an Erich Mühsam Square . . .

Comrade Lisbeth H., writes from Leipzig:

Our good Arthur Holke is dead. He was arrested, in company with many other comrades, in the month of March, 1937, and in 1938 he was condemned to 1½ years for high treason; afterwards he was sent to Buchenwald. On the 22nd January, 1940, I received the news of his death. Our Gerhard Wartenburg (editor of the Syndikalist) also died, in a camp near to Berlin.

Arthur suffered terribly. The worst for him was when he had to be present at floggings and executions. One day he cried in the presence of his torturers: "It is not me whom you wish to destroy, it is my ideas!"

The following extract is from the letter of Comrade W. P., who was in Spain during the civil war, and then returned to Holland, where he rejoined his family. He was expelled from that country and went to Belgium whence, after the German invasion, he was transported to a Concentration Camp in the south of France. He writes:

It was there that my sufferings commenced. I was told that I would be extradited to the German authorities. At first I was sent to the camp at Vernet where I was kept for four weeks. Then, it was the prison of Castres and that of Vichy. At Vichy I was handed over directly to the Gestapo. After interrogation I was conducted to the frontier of the Vichy zone and to the Santé prison, where I was interrogated by the Paris Gestapo. After two weeks, I was transported to Kassel. The Gestapo beat me in the face, and then I was accused of high treason to the fatherland. On the 6th November, 1942, the special tribunal condemned me to six years in the house of correction for preparing high treason. The prosecutor said that an accusation of treason to the fatherland was impossible because the crime of intervention in the Spanish war fell under the amnesty. On the 8th November I entered the house of correction.

On the 1st March, 1943, we were transported to Heuberg to be incorporated into a disciplinary battalion. You can well imagine that life in that troop was not agreeable. The arrests, condemnations and executions commenced from the first day. Then we were taken to the front, near to Cherson on the Dnieper. Some comrades deserted to the Russians. On the 9th March, the political "criminals" were withdrawn from the battalion, concentrated in the Nikolaieff camp and then sent back to Germany. There we were prepared for the western front. Sometimes we were given arms, then they were taken away. But there was need of soldiers. On the 25th March, 1945, as soldier of Battalion 999, I deserted to the Americans.

In the month of June, 1944, my wife and also comrade Paul Brunn were arrested in Amsterdam. Comrade Ackermann died in prison. My wife was condemned to 1½ years in prison, she was sent to Ravensbruck camp. Paul Brunn

was condemned to 10 years in the house of correction. I have heard nothing more of him.

My captivity among the Americans was the last station on my road. It was the dangerous road of a German anti-fascist.

In a second letter Comrade W. P. writes:

I can tell you that P. K. has just returned from captivity in Russia. We had not hoped to see him. P. made an extremely lamentable impression. He is extremely thin and has water on the knees. The clothes he carried on him were in an indescribable state.

If all the millions of men in Russian captivity return in such a state, Russia has compromised herself profoundly against the humanist ideas of international socialism. That is to say that Russia, in a relatively short time, will lose all sympathy in the western countries.

But this fact—the cruel fact of the bad treatment and the brutal exploitation of simple German soldiers in Russian captivity—will produce a purely counter-revolutionary impression in the heads of the German working masses poisoned by the Hitlerite pest. This situation signifies that revolutionary socialism in Germany must work under very difficult conditions. Russia has caused serious damage to the idea of international socialism—damage much deeper than anything the reaction could have produced.

## THE MIND OF REACTION—CROCODILE TEAR GAS

Some sidelights on the mental action of high-up policemen were given in a recent newspaper interview given by Sir Reginald Clarke. A former Commissioner of Police for Calcutta, he is now carrying on the good work as Chairman of Civil Protection (1946) Ltd., manufacturers of tear gas bombs and tear gas guns.

It is no surprise to us to learn from Sir Reginald that the largest customer for tear gas is the government of India. "I was the first person to take tear smoke to India," he declared, "that was in 1936. Since that date it has been widely used all over India."

Sir Reginald regards himself as a humanitarian who moves with the times, and his comments make a considerable contribution towards understanding the thought processes of reaction. "The time has come," says he, "when you can no longer shoot people down in the streets." Convinced of the humanitarian qualities of tear gas, he wrote a pamphlet on it called "Tear Smoke". Tear gas was first used, apparently, in America, 20 years ago, as a device for the protection of banks. The government of India, "also adopted this humane method of mob control" following "a popular demand for the use of tear smoke before resorting to gunfire. . . . It is only a matter of time until all Governments with similar problems are forced to do the same."

Sir Reginald's views on technique are interesting: "For rioting it is a weapon of use against unarmed mobs in the early stages of disorder before mass hysteria has been allowed to develop, and it must be used in sufficient quantity. For other situations with which the police are faced, such as the barricaded criminal, the stay-in strike, squatting to prevent traffic, etc., tear smoke is the only satisfactory method of attack. Every police headquarters in a civilized country should be familiar with this modern scientific solution of some of their most difficult problems."

For this retired policeman it is like an advance in the treatment of disease. The old crude methods have been superseded by more modern ones which are at once more efficient and ever so much less drastic, with a lower mortality rate among the victims—I mean, patients. At no time does he stop to wonder if "rioting mobs" perhaps have some just cause. The idea that "mass hysteria" might be the expression of a people whose sense of justice has been outraged, or the desperation occasioned by chronic famine, simply does not occur to him. He is a policeman—his not to reason why. Is there a protest meeting?—use tear gas first, gunfire only if you have to. Are the unemployed lying down in front of the Oxford Street traffic? Tear smoke will soon move them on, and without doing them any real harm too. An employer is on the 'phone: "The men at my factory are on strike!" "Well, what about it, are they violent?" "No, but it's a stay-in strike!" "Right you are, sir, we'll be over directly—with the tear gas."

We have the humane killer for animals; now we have the humane strike-breaker too. (Employers please not the address: Civil Protection Ltd. (1946), St. Mary Axe, London, E.C.2.)

## C.O.s Demand Workers' Control

SOME months ago we printed in Freedom some particulars of the programme adopted at the inaugural Congress of the Committee for Non-Violent Revolution which met in Chicago in February last year. This programme called for industrial direct action to end war and to establish a society of workers' control. At the time we indicated the anarchist nature of many of the proposals of this movement.

During the past year the CNVR has continued its militant work. It has co-operated with the strikers in the various American C.O. concentration camps, has organised demonstrations against the continued imprisonment of conscientious objectors, and has acted as a means of continuing in peace time the fine spirit of resistance which the American objectors developed in their struggle against the state in prisons and labour camps.

The recent activities of the CNVR have included active support for seamen strikers, a draft-card burning campaign against conscription, and a campaign against UNO while it was holding its meetings in New York. Members of the CNVR picketed the area where the meetings were held, and organised meetings calling for international action among the workers against war, capitalism and the state. One of the recent manifestoes of the CNVR contained the following attack on UNO, and the same alternatives which we have advocated in Freedom.

"THE RULERS HAVE CONCOCTED THE UNO.

There can be no peace in a world in which:

Imperialist Nations such as the United States, Britain, and Russia hold huge sections of the earth in subjection, either as outright colonies or as economic and political dependencies.

The Factories, Mines, Railroads, Shops, and Land are in the hands of profit-seeking private owners or State bureaucrats, while the majority of the people are dispossessed wage-workers who suffer regimentation, insecurity, slums and depressions.

People rely on physical power to impose their wills on others. The machines of war are kept in readiness (and used for bargaining purposes) through armament factories, atom bombs, armed forces, and conscription.

These are the Causes of War. The UNO Cannot prevent War because it protects these Causes of War.

WE MUST NOT BE SIDETRACKED!  
WE MUST ATTACK WAR AND INEQUALITY DIRECTLY:

1. By refusing to manufacture the tools of murder. We can demand that our unions go on strike against all manufacture and transportation of the implements of war. As individuals we must refuse to accept any work in munition plants, no matter what we are offered in the way of higher "blood wages".
2. By refusing to accept induction into any branch of the armed forces. We can work against conscription and enlistments. Promote a general strike against war. Begin by refusing to accept military service even if, like the anti-Nazis in Hitlerite Germany, we are subjected to governmental action.
3. By asserting our solidarity with all people by sending food and clothing to Europe and by insisting on economic equality and independence for all oppressed people.
4. By taking the factories, mines, shops, and other economic enterprises

away from private profiteers and turning them over to the democratic operation of the workers and the public."

"WE KNOW that Peace means a world-wide people's movement, an end to nationalism and dictatorship, militarism and empire.

"WE KNOW that Plenty means sharing the world's goods according to the needs of the people.

"WE KNOW that Revolution means getting rid of our corrupt political system and abolishing wage slavery—substituting the co-operative institutions of a free people.

"WE KNOW that Revolution means using the general strike, the sit-down strike, mass civil disobedience, to seize control from private owners, state bureaucrats, and fake labour czars.

"The new world is not built from blueprints. We believe this programme of action offers the peoples of the world a chance to act now rather than accept the certain death confronting us."

In another recent manifesto, the CNVR declares even more emphatically its demand for a free society based on a world-wide movement of direct action among the workers.

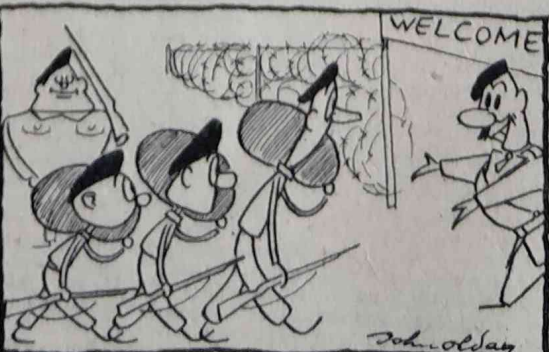
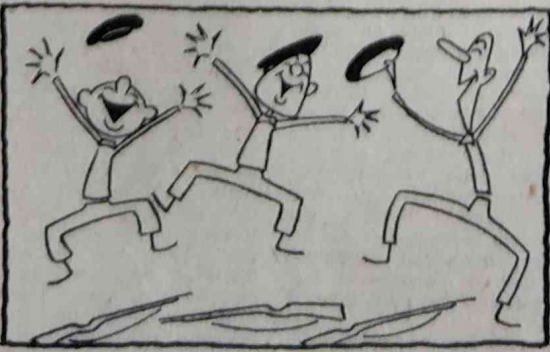
There may be minor points with which we differ from this militant movement of American anti-militarists. But in so far as they seek for the ending of war by the direct action of the workers and the establishment of a free co-operative society, based on workers' control, we support their struggle against the American state. If they continue with the same militancy as the conscientious objectors showed in prison and in the Labour camps, they should prove a live force of resistance and subversive activity.

G. W.

### THE THREE MUSKETEERS

### BACK TO THE "NEW ARMY"

By JOHN OLDAY



OR—from the frying pan into the fire!

# WORKERS' INITIATIVE

FIRMS like the Standard Motors who agreed to the five-day week and find it pays handsomely, have an advantage over their competitors as they attract the most energetic (mentally and physically) of workers, who do not have to work harder, the motto being 'work fast not hard', everything being provided to this end. Before the war it was a commonplace for the target for the day to be reached by 4.0 p.m. The money earned being equal to others working till 7 or 8 p.m. In discussion this is described as 'Leisure Incentive in Industry'.

Engineers in the Midlands often work in gangs on 'production' jobs. Gangs vary according to size and value of the job, etc. Usually the gang leader is one of the men and trusted by the others but there is a potential second ganger, just in case! Result, no one ever worries over money that being the ganger's job! Everyone else getting on with the job with an easy mind; slackers and incompetents being dealt with by their mates as occasion arises. Individualists do not like it but it works. The result is that this kind of factory largely runs itself. Supervision is simply traffic control. 'Bossing' is unheard of and unnecessary. What connection has all this with the future of society?

This, that most of the modern methods that are effective grew more or less spontaneously from the worker's initiative, occasionally assisted by sympathetic experts and usually bitterly opposed by employers organisations. The farseeing expert sometimes realising that his economic conditions depend on improvement at the bottom first. Every foreman in this kind of factory strives for what he calls 'a happy shop'. All this has taken years to bring about and has been propagated in devious ways (I know, I have done some of it).

Some may say this is compromising with Capitalism but there is more to it than that. Really it is the triumph of co-operation, as people have learnt to work together without compulsion. I have known managements to hand the

job over to the shop (the workers) and wash their hands of it. Some bosses cannot see things like this as yet. Some never will till the capitalist system ends. Trade Union leaders and Communists invariably claim that they did it! The more cynical and aware of the workers smile and say nothing while the trade union officials proceed to register the accomplished fact as their agreement!

I am convinced that if the engineers had control of the whole of the industry and could decide what to make they would be a vital force in changing to a free society. Imagine giving Coventry and Birmingham engineers an order for a Peckham Health Centre for every 2,000 families in the country. I can imagine the activity! Imagine Midland Regional being really ours, our own friendly announcers inviting helpers and reporting progress. I know some chaps across the Atlantic who would catch the next boat over here to help.

After a year or two of cleaning up this country we could then let the artist and artistscraftsmen loose and let them teach us to create beauty and appreciate it. I have spent years painting this kind of

# The Revolutionary Ideas of the Marquis de Sade

AT the L.A.G.'s Sunday lecture-discussion on February 2nd, Simon Watson Taylor spoke on "The revolutionary ideas of the Marquis de Sade". He introduced the subject by emphasizing the difficulty of approaching Sade's ideas at all in view of the conspiracy of silence surrounding his work and the myth of his being a monster of cruelty. It was necessary, before considering Sade's work, to dispel this 'monster' legend, and this could be done easily by giving the salient facts of his life, showing first the fantastic exaggeration by history of the two quite harmless incidents in which Sade became involved in his youth. He had been condemned to death for the latter escapade by a judge who had for

long been the inveterate enemy of Sade's father-in-law, and during the next few years Sade saw the inside of four jails between regular attempts to escape. Eventually, after repeated protests by Sade, the case was reviewed and the sentence quashed; but, though exonerated, he was still kept imprisoned through the influence of his mother-in-law, who detested him.

Then followed twelve years in prison, during which time Sade wrote the greater part of his books, "Justine" and "Juliette", "Les 120 Journées de Sodome" and "Aline et Valcour". This period of Sade's life coincided with the great revolutionary preparations which led finally to the storming of the Bastille on July 14th, 1789. Sade was actually in the Bastille, and had scattered leaflets to the crowds outside and shouted to them from his cell, calling on them to release the prisoners.

With the revolution Sade was freed and became active in the revolutionary movement; he was President and spokesman of the famous 'Section des Picques' and led an unceasing struggle for

moderatism and against the Terrorists. For his opposition to the death penalty he was arrested in 1793, but freed again the next year; from then on he had to face constant police persecution, and in 1801 he was re-arrested for writing a pamphlet attacking Napoleon. By the First Consul's order he was confined to a lunatic asylum (a fate meted out to several of Napoleon's political opponents) and died there in 1814, after spending twenty-seven years in eleven different prisons.

Sade's work was concerned with one great objective, the desire to give back to civilised man the force of his primitive instincts: he had no illusions about the natural goodness of man, but he believed that with complete economic and sexual equality human conditions could be greatly bettered. To this end, he fought throughout his life against the oppressive forces of religion, the law, bourgeois morality and patriotism. His writings on the uselessness of laws were permeated with anarchist principles, and in his attitude to religion he was an uncompromising revolutionary atheist.

His books, which were in the form of fiction, dealt largely with the decadent and reactionary existence of the privileged classes of his time, and he was probably unique among his contemporaries in emphasizing the necessity of a complete social revolution based on essentially libertarian principles—abolition of laws and the idea of property, decentralization of the social organisms, sexual equality and educational reform. He could, in fact, be considered as the first reasoned socialist. In his attempt to reconcile the conflicting demands of the individual and society he anticipated Max Stirner and the 19th century anarchist philosophers. In certain respects—as in his ideas on sexual morality—he went far beyond even the most 'advanced' social thinkers of the present day.

It was most desirable that, after more than a century of enforced silence, Sade's voice should be increasingly heard in the future. For, in Sade's own words: "I want equality, I only preach that."

picture to ordinary engineer workers. They smile at first and then catch on to the idea. A few cannot visualise but would welcome a demonstration. In Coventry the second Peckham Experiment will soon be under way as one form of demonstration.

H. WRIGHT.

## "Why Go In For Politics?" (Continued from page 2)

known to return to work after leaving politics; he always succumbs to the company directorships of his more recent colleagues) but what chance would a politician have if he had directly endangered the capitalist system?

As Anarchists, therefore, we have no intention of 'going in for politics', but if as was probably the case, my friend meant by that phrase, why take an interest in politics, we are obliged to take an interest in politics because the politicians appear to be so damned interested in us. They want to enslave us for work, for more and more production, for more and more goods of which we are not allowed to enjoy the benefit; they want to control our lives from the cradle to the grave, in sickness and in health, in

work and even in 'voluntary association' such as trade unions and insurance societies which we are not compelled to join; we are forced to join the armed forces and lay down our lives in obscure corners of the world where we are totally unwanted, for the greater glory of the Foreign Ministers meeting and dining in luxury, so that people can shake their heads proudly and say what a strong policy they have; we are forced to pay tribute by taxation to the petty splendours of politicians and titled nit-wits; and our livelihood depends not on our own efforts but on the fluctuations of a stock market run by thieves.

We are certainly interested in these affairs, but it is to ABOLISH them. We are not worrying about the good of

the State but we are concerned with our own good, and our remedy for the condition of the State and Government is abolition. Those who so altruistically work for reform and better government would do better in looking after their own personal interests which involve doing away with politics altogether.

As for those who make a living out of government, we may hope that for the general good of the community they may turn now to comparatively more honest means of making a living recognised in capitalist society, such as cheating insurance companies or running notorious houses, but we look forward to a system of society in which government and capitalism have been abolished, and such gentlemen learn how to work. A. M.

# AN ANALYSIS OF FASCISM

THE MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM by WILLIAM REICH. (Orgone Institute Press, New York, 27/-).

FRANKLY, I do not feel capable of giving anything like an adequate survey of this book within the space of this article. The notes I made while reading the book would provide enough material for a pamphlet. There is so much in the book that one would like to refer to, so much that is, or at least seems to me, so important for an understanding of the sociological problem of modern man, that it is extremely difficult to decide what to omit and yet give a reasonably accurate summary of the book—which I take it is what a reviewer is meant to do. Aware from the start that I cannot succeed in this task, even to my own satisfaction, I am nevertheless committed to making the attempt; so here goes.

According to Reich himself, his "sex-economic sociology was born out of the attempts to harmonize the depth psychology of Freud with the economic theory of Marx. Human existence is determined by instinctual and socio-economic processes. Sex-economic sociology dissolves that fatal contradiction which made psychoanalysis forget the social factor and made Marxism forget the animal origin of man."

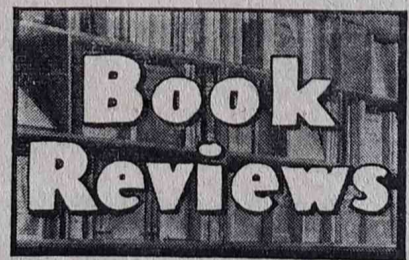
The central theme of the book, the problem which Reich sets out to try and solve, is I think, in his own words, this: "We are confronted by the incontrovertible fact that never in the history of human society have the masses been able to preserve, to organize and to develop the peace and freedom which they gained in bloody struggles." Whether or not one agrees with the reasons Reich gives for this fact, one is compelled in all honesty to acknowledge that it is historically an "incontrovertible fact."

Always the workers, having overthrown one tyranny, have permitted another tyranny to take its place. Russia, of course, is the supreme contemporary example of this process, and we can all think of other examples. The tyranny, new and unique in many of its aspects, which afflicts the contemporary world is known as fascism or, more generally, totalitarianism. According to orthodox Marxism, and also according to some anarchists, fascism is imposed by a cunning and ruthless minority on an unwilling majority. It has been claimed, the last and most reactionary form of capitalism. This is a hopelessly simplified and unsatisfactory explanation, and in one important aspect manifestly incorrect. As Erich Fromm pointed out in his *The Fear of Freedom*, a social order cannot be imposed on a people unless it fulfils a deep and powerful need in their individual psychological make-up, unless, in other words, it has their passive even if not their active, support. No good purpose is achieved by denying the fact that fascism is essentially a popular, mass movement. "Fascism," says Reich, "is only the politically organized expression of the average human character structure, a character structure which has nothing to do with this or that race, nation or party but which is general and international. In this characterological sense, fascism is the basic emotional attitude of man in authoritarian society, with its machine civilization and its mechanistic-mystical view of life. It is the mechanistic-mystical character of man in our times which creates fascist parties, and our *vice versa*. . . Marxist sociology (and, it must be stated, much anarchist sociology—G.V.), out of its ignorance of mass psychology, contrasted the 'bourgeois' with the 'proletarian'. This is erroneous. A certain character structure is not limited to the capitalist, but pervades the working people in all professions. There

are no characterological class distinctions in the biophysical depth of human structure."

### What Is The Appeal Of Fascism?

What is it then in "the biophysical depth of human nature" that makes fascism acceptable? First and foremost, says Reich, suppressed, and therefore, neurotic sexuality. "The formation of the authoritarian structure takes place through the anchoring of sexual inhibition and sexual anxiety." Authoritarian sexual morality is the indispensable basis of authoritarian, class society and this basis has its intimate form in the family as we know it. "Character-analytic investigation of people of any age, nationality or social stratum, show that the interlacing of the socio-economic with the sexual



structure, as well as the structural reproduction of society, takes place in the first four or five years of life, and in the authoritarian family. The church only continues the function later on. In this way the authoritarian state develops its enormous interest in the authoritarian family: the family is the factory of its structure and ideology." And he quotes from Hitler's *Mein Programm* (1932) "The highest task, therefore, is that of the founding of a family. The final destruction of the family would mean the end of any higher form of humanity. . . The ultimate goal of a truly organic and logical development must always be the formation of a family. It is the smallest but most valuable unit in the whole structure of the state." Again and again Reich emphasizes this intimate connection between compulsive—as opposed to natural, self-regulated—sexual morality and the social suppression of the masses indicate. "The social function of sexual suppression," "Authoritarian family ideology and the mass psychology of Fascism," "Some problems of sex-political practice," etc. Finally "the socially irresponsible individual is the individual absorbed in sexual conflicts." If you think that is exaggerated just consider a moment and you must agree it is basically true.

But all this does not mean that the goal of human freedom is an illusion. On the contrary, Reich's psychological

work on the human character structure gives added support to the anarchist contention that man is fundamentally co-operative and potentially capable of freedom. "Extensive and conscientious therapeutic work on the human character," says Reich, "has taught me that, in judging human reactions, we have to take into account three different layers of the biophysical structure. . . In the superficial layer the average individual is restrained, polite, compassionate and conscientious. There would be no social tragedy of the animal, man, if this superficial layer were in immediate contact with his deep natural core. His tragedy is that such is not the case. The superficial layer of social co-operation is not in contact with the biological core of the person, but is separated from it by a second, intermediary, character layer consisting of cruel, sadistic, lascivious, predatory and envious impulses. This is the Freudian 'unconscious' or 'repressed'; in sex-economic language it is the sum total of 'the secondary impulses'. Orgone biophysics have shown that the Freudian unconscious, the anti-social element in the human structure, is a secondary result of the repression of the primary biological impulses. If one penetrates through this second, perverse and anti-social layer, one arrives regularly at a third, the deepest layer, which we call the biological core. In this deepest layer, man, under favourable social conditions, is an honest, industrious, co-operative animal, capable of love and also of rational hatred. . . All that which is genuinely revolutionary, all genuine art and science stems from the natural biological nucleus."

### Man Is Capable Of Freedom

Accordingly, then, it follows that "nothing new has to be created; all that has to be done is to eliminate the obstacles which stand in the way of the natural social functions. . . the growth of an organism is, on the strength of its biological function, free in the strictest sense of the word. So is the natural growth of society. It regulates itself and needs no legislation or regulation."

Man is, then, capable of freedom. It is his natural condition. But meanwhile, while we struggle, on however small a scale, "to eliminate the obstacles which stand in the way," we must remember that "the idealisation as well as the commiseration of the masses will only lead to ever new disasters. . . Under the influence of politics, the masses blame the powers that be for wars. This is shifting the responsibility. The blame for war belongs only and alone to the same masses of people who have all the means of preventing wars. The same masses of people who—partly through indolent passivity, partly through their active behaviour—make possible the catastrophes from which they themselves suffer most

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horribly. To emphasize this fault of the masses, to give them full responsibility, means taking them seriously. On the other hand, to pity the masses as a poor victim means treating them like a helpless child. The first is the attitude of the genuine fighter for freedom, the latter is the attitude of the politico." G. V.

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## Man as "-ist" Constructive Criticism

DEAR COMRADES,

I welcomed the enlarged *Freedom* although I should have welcomed still more a return to the magazine-type format under which *War Commentary* was once published.

One small criticism of G.V.'s Land Notes in *Freedom* dated 18/1/47. The study of economics is one thing; that of ethics another. If economics is to be placed on a scientific footing it cannot concern itself with welfare. The economist is not concerned with ends, only means. The end is placed before him by someone else. His job is to discover the most economical way of achieving that given end, having regard to the fact that resources and time are limited and are capable of being put to alternative uses. Of course, the economist may also be a moralist, in which case he may question the desirability of the end. But it is important to see, as G.V. does not, that the economist cannot be attacked for appearing to be devoid of feelings towards "natives". No scientist, as scientist, is concerned with the morality of his recommendations. It is simply not his province. It is the province of the ethicist. D. E. S.

DEAR COMRADES,

I like the last two copies of *Freedom* very much, especially the items of real news, which we never seem to get enough of in progressive papers. Personally, I think the articles of pure theory should be cut down to a minimum, and possibly issued in pamphlet form. Above all, the workers don't want to be preached to. I should like to see more fiction (and history when its interesting)—satire and drama, and also cartoons. These are the greatest weapons of Progress. There are many novels and plays that could be serialized in *Freedom*, and I think these would undoubtedly help to widen the basis of the appreciation of anarchism. E. W. L.

DEAR COMRADES,

I have subscribed to *Freedom* for quite a while now and I should like to express to you my gratitude for not only keeping it on such a high literary level, but its revolutionary tone has been maintained throughout the late war. and now that

# Letters to the Editors

"peace" is with us again, the constructive message of Anarchism is still given to an increasing number of people, who realize the insidious influence of the state and organized religion on the individual. I am pleased that a circulation drive has been launched, and I wish you all success in your new venture. I was delighted to see that the paper has been enlarged and

I am sure that in its present form an increasing number of people will want to read it, and the increasing financial liabilities will be met by their solidarity.

I have one suggestion to make, and it covers a subject which will, I believe, increase in importance, namely the cancerous influence of the Vatican on humanity. An article appeared in *Freedom* some

weeks ago on the same subject in the form of a review of F. A. Ridley's pamphlet *The Roman Catholic Church and the Modern Age*, and I would suggest that from time to time vigorous attacks on the Vatican be published not only in pamphlet form but in *Freedom* as well.

As far as *Freedom* Press publications are concerned I should like to see more of Herbert Read's writings available. His *Philosophy of Anarchism* is a masterly exposition and deserves to be even more widely read than it is at present. I would suggest that his broadcast talk "Neither Liberalism nor Communism—a Third Way" be reproduced in leaflet form for mass distribution.

I enclose herewith a contribution to the

Press Fund. I honestly believe that, if kept at its present level and if the light of revolutionary fervour of its writers and readers remains undimmed we shall, in time, see a widely read paper and an increasing number of people who realise that Anarchism is fundamentally the only constructive philosophy on which to base a really useful and happy life. As one who is so convinced, I extend to you all my heartiest best wishes for the future, in which so much can be accomplished. I look forward to the time when *Freedom* will be a weekly, for it fulfils for many people the newspaper to which they can turn for truth. Carry on the great work with patience, for right will ultimately prevail. J. S.

## Alex Comfort on "Progress in Sexual Ideas"

DEAR COMRADE,

I should feel materially happier about "Anarchist's" remarks on sexual freedom if he had not tried to depict the case of an offence against a 16-year-old girl in such singularly misleading colours. Much as I approve of healthy sexual freedom for the adolescent, this wasn't an example of it, and much as anarchism rejects the idea of punishing sexual or any other conduct to make people moral, the parent who acts as a pimp is hardly upholding the sort of blue-eyed sexual liberty your correspondent envisages.

I wish that some of the people who theorise about sex had to deal with the mess which conduct of this kind produces, in the medical field. We are perfectly well aware that most of the effects of such tangles on the personal happiness of the participants are due to the attitude of society, and ninety per cent. of the irresponsible conduct to defective social consciousness derived from that society, but it seems rather a pill to swallow that seduction by someone she had never previously met is the ideal introduction to adult sexuality for a sixteen-year-old girl, particularly in view of a considerable body of evidence that intercourse took place under pressure by the parent. (The child is frequently kept out of the witness-box in these proceedings in a rather doubtfully effective attempt to prevent more psychological damage). If this had been the case where anything resembling genuine love and

genuine mutual respect had been involved I should be more in agreement with your correspondent, but on the published evidence it wasn't.

Prostitution is one of the ugliest prices which we pay for coercive society and its works, war and military conscription in particular. It is not a form of sexual freedom (ask a prostitute how far she regards herself as "free", and you will not find her enthusiastic). A reasonable and stateless society would go a long way to remove it, and a withdrawal of sexual conduct from the field of supernatural morality would go even further, but in any society the practice of sexual intercourse for gain is bound to be debasing to the individual. Moreover, like any other sort of irresponsibility, sexual license, which no anarchist ever advocated, creates personal problems both for the participants and for the children produced, which are psychically inevitable even in free societies. Adult sexuality, as opposed to mere high jinks, is bound to be responsible, if only because the high-jinks party grossly overrate the efficiency of contraception, and to talk of the children incidental to such non-erotic unions being brought up by the community is to talk psychopaediatric bosh.

While the approved school and the punishment of the mother and the man, penalties for which Stead and the other reformers worked and went to jail, are pitifully misdirected. "Anarchist" would have made a better case if he had con-

finned himself to blaming coercive society for the occurrence of such messes, and for its inhumanity towards the victim; and to the advocacy of that freedom based on a communal sense of responsibility in all one's relationships, sexual and non-sexual, which alone makes normal and complete sexual health possible. As it stands, his article seems to me to misrepresent the ideas on which this freedom is based. ALEX COMFORT.

### REPLY

(Anarchist writes: Dr. Comfort misconceives the chief purpose of my brief article, "Progress in Sexual Ideas" in 18th Jan. issue of *Freedom*. I was mainly concerned to show how the law underwrites reactionary sexual attitudes, and the nature of the particular case makes no difference to the fact that in law a parent is responsible for insisting that his or her children remain sexually continent at least till the age of 16. I do not think I depicted the case in question in 'singularly misleading colours', for in the reports available to me there was no suggestion of pressure being brought on the child in question, nor that the seduction was more or less enforced by a stranger. But even if this were so, the fact remains as I stated it that "the fact that a girl under sixteen should engage in sexual behaviour is regarded by the law as a punishable wrong." Let me say here that I am in full

agreement with Dr. Comfort's remarks distinguishing between responsible sexual life and sex licence. But my article was directed to show the law's bearing on the question of adolescent sexual activity of any kind. There is another point in Dr. Comfort's criticism that I would like briefly to touch on. It is doubtless true that unsatisfactory and disillusioning sexual experiences can produce "a mess in the medical field", and I fully agree that the sex-negative attitude of society bears the major share of responsibility for bad results in individual cases. But I venture to think that still more far reaching results, and in far greater frequency, are produced by the general practice of adolescent continence and the guilty fear of sex which the law seeks to enforce. As I stated in my article, "every thinking person knows what havoc and misery this attitude creates, how it ruins many (I might have said the majority) of marriages from the start, and lays the foundation for much ill-health in later life for women." And again, I might have added for men also. The general production of sex-guilt feelings is far more harmful than individual instances of adolescent sexual disillusionment. And in this particular case, if the facts are as stated by Dr. Comfort, it still remains true that any potential damage will be made actual, or actual damage increased, by the legal consequences, and the being "taken care of" in a reform school.)

### BEGINNING OF STAKANOVISM?

Jim Marley, 32-year old champion coal filler of East Walbottle Colliery, Northumberland, has been challenged.

He set up a record by filling 50 ten-cwt. tubs in 7½ hours. Jim (Chips) Smith, of Newsham Colliery, Northumberland, says he can beat it. Workmates have backed each man for £20, each to work a shift in both pits.

*Daily Express*, 27/1/47.

### GOOD GOD! WHAT NEXT?

Mr. James G. Green, 23-year-old driver, who has been told by his employers, Hayes (Middlesex) Council, that he must have his appendix out or lose his £5 3s. 9d. a week job, was yesterday examined by ten doctors and medical students, including an American and a Chinese.

They told Mr. Green he had nothing wrong with his appendix, but was suffering from tubercular stomach, and that if he took things easily he would get better.

When their report has been sent to his doctor, Mr. Green is going to put it before Hayes Council.

Mr. Green said at his home in Limegrove, Hayes, yesterday: "I am certainly not going to be cut open for nothing."

"The Council want to put me on heavy work and I am not fit for it. I think they have lighter jobs."

The Council say they have not such jobs vacant. An official said no statement could be made until Mr. Green's report had been received from the hospital.

*Sunday Express*, 2/2/47.

So the time is now approaching when the State, in its wisdom, has the power to say what organs of his body a man must retain or have removed as a condition of his employment. Well, well.

### LUCKY CHAPS

Appointment of a man whose job will be to make miners happier and healthier was announced by the National Coal Board last night.

He is Dr. Cuthbert Leslie Cope, 43-year old first assistant to the Nuffield Professor of Medicine, Oxford. His official title under the Board is Director of Research into Human Problems.

Last night Dr. Cope told me: "I am going to make researches on all the problems relating to ailments in the mines."

"My job will be to make the miner as happy as possible. Every aspect of his day-to-day life will be studied."

"I shall be going down the mines to watch him at work and see in what way medical science can help improve the miner's lot."

"For instance, we may have to decide on a new form of lighting for his work. All matters will be discussed by a panel of experts."

*Daily Herald*, 28/1/47.

We wonder how many persons on the "panel of experts" have any actual experience of mining.

### PROGRESS

Latest in prefabricated movie houses is one where the dust off your shoes is sucked away by air currents as you enter.

Latest in horror: Luminum painted men's ties that shine out in the dark with pictures of glamour girls or what you will.

*American Diary, News Chronicle*, 3/2/47.

### PLAYING WITH FIRE

During the week-end I had a chat with Alan Brock, who has presented the Queen with a large parcel of fireworks for use on the Vanguard during her voyage to South Africa. The Queen is a real enthusiast about fireworks, and has loved them since her childhood.

*Daily Dispatch*, 27/1/47.

### CONCESSION

Sixteen Latvians who were towed into Seahouses, Northumberland, while heading for Britain in a motor-boat from Sweden 13 weeks ago, have been given "temporary permission" to land by the Home Office.

*Daily Herald*, 28/1/47.

### THE DIFFICULTIES OF PRICE FIXING

Mr. Strachey in a special message to the nation has just announced that arrangements are now completed for buying up all South Africa's surplus crawfish tails. One shipment it appears has already arrived.

According to the Shell Fish (Maximum Prices) Order, 1944, the price of crawfish is fixed at 3s. 6d. per pound in winter and 2s. 4d. in the summer.

These prices, Mr. Strachey states, are quite appropriate for whole crawfish, but he points out that as there is "a higher fish content" in crawfish tails the price for the South African imports will be 5s. a pound when the tails have been boiled before sale.

*News Chronicle*, 28/1/47.

### NO DAKOTAS FOR THE KING

Parachutes for all on board are fitted to the four Vickers Viking aircraft of the King's Flight.

It is expected that in view of recent accidents this lead given by the King's Flight will produce an urgent demand for the fitting of parachutes as standard to all aircraft working on the lines operated by the three British nationalised corporations.

The parachutes are of the Irvin pattern and the canopies and packs form a part of upholstery of the chairs. The parachutes themselves are not, therefore, visible. The harness is arranged so that after trusting his arms through the loops the passenger can quickly buckle it on and he can then rise from his chair wearing his parachute and be ready to jump. The main door of the aircraft can be jettisoned in an emergency.

*Manchester Guardian*, 29/1/47.

### THEIR'S NOT TO REASON WHY

From the T.U.C. went an urgent appeal to all members not to allow the thought that harder work means more profit for the employers to deter their production efforts.

The workers argue that the Government secure in income tax an amount equal to a day's pay a week, and increased production means more profit for the employer.

The T.U.C. say that an employer who earns £5,000 a year pays a good deal more than a day's wage every week in income tax.

*Daily Graphic*, 28/1/47.

# Through the Press

### JAPANESE NUREMBERG

At the conclusion of the prosecution's case against 26 Class "A" Jap war crimes defendants the court reporters here have recorded 4,000,000 words.

The trial of Tojo and his companions has been going on since last May. It is expected that the defence will take at least another six weeks.

Eleven judges, 50 prosecution attorneys and 23 U.S. defence lawyers have attended the hearings, at which 102 witnesses appeared personally, and affidavits from another 1,200 witnesses and details from 1,100 documents have been presented.

The language difficulty has lengthened the proceedings, though there is a language and clerical staff of 104 Allied nationals and 154 Japanese.

The secretarial and defence staff total a further 363.

During the hearings the former Foreign Minister, Yosuke Matsuoka, died of consumption, Admiral Nagana, Chief of the Naval General Staff, died of pneumonia, and Dr. Shumei Okawa, leader of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere plan, went mad in court. Two others were taken to hospital with chest complaints.

The defence has notified the Court that it will divide the case into six phases: general, Manchuria, China, Russia, Pacific War and evidence adduced on behalf of the accused individually.

*News Chronicle*, 28/1/47.

### MORE OIL INTRIGUES

City men were saying last night that the £54,000,000 "Shell" Transport and Trading Company is negotiating a big oil deal with the Americans.

The £1 Ordinary shares have risen 11s. 3d. during the week, adding £14,000,000 to the stock market valuation of the business, making it £155,500,000.

There has been heavy buying of the shares—much of it by Americans. At least 50,000 shares were bought yesterday.

Mr. G. Leigh-Jones, a managing director of the company, is now in America. He has been there several weeks.

What puzzles the City is where Shell can link up with the Americans. One guess is that the huge Shell selling organisation may be the outlet for the oil the Americans are scrambling for in the Middle East.

*Daily Express*, 25/1/47.

### SEATS OF THE MIGHTY

Sideshow men flocked to the 145-roomed Philadelphia mansion of the late Eva Stotesbury yesterday for the auction of the former socialite's furniture.

And shocked citizens were too timid to venture into the bidding when the auctioneer reached the lots thus listed in the catalogue:

Eighteen-carat gold lavatory seats.

*Daily Mirror*, 26/1/46.

### SUPER-EMOTION DEFINED

A PSYCHOLOGALVANOMETER, loosely called a "Lie Detector," was used by some of Britain's leading psychologists in the Pavilion Cinema, London, yesterday, to determine the true emotional reactions of members of the audience while watching the much-discussed film "The Outlaw."

The Psychogalvanometer, or P.G.R. for short, is a delicate instrument which registers moment-to-moment emotional responses by means of a shifting spot of light on a screen.

The "victim" has a metal clip fastened to his hand and connected to the P.G.R. As his emotions fluctuate, they are recorded on a graph.

The P.G.R. used was the only one in Britain, and yesterday I sat in the Pavilion and watched the film with the P.G.R. clip attached to my hand.

The test showed that I responded well to what might be called the "high spots" of the film, which included shots of the star, Jane Russell.

The psychologists claim, however, that the sequences showing Miss Russell do not register particularly high emotional responses, except when they are accompanied by surges of the background music by Tchaikowsky.

It was finally agreed that Russell plus Tchaikowsky equals super-emotion.

*Sunday Dispatch*, 26/1/47.

### BUREAUCRATIC SIMPLICITY

"Forms will be as simple as possible, and I am prepared to lengthen the period for filling them up from two to three months."—Mr. J. W. Belcher, M.P.

*Reynolds News*, 2/2/47.

### THE ADMIRABLE B.B.C.

Despite much that is admirable in its service, the B.B.C. is still occasionally guilty of strange lapses.

Last week, for instance, Aung San, the Burmese leader, was to broadcast a short message on the successful conclusion of the Burmese Delegation's London talks.

Everything was arranged. Then, when Aung San went along to give the broadcast, he found that the B.B.C. censors had slashed his script so drastically that it no longer conveyed what he thought ought to be said. He naturally refused to accept the cuts. The broadcast was cancelled.

*Reynolds News*, 2/2/47.

# Preserving Oxford Decencies!

AN Oxford student paper, the *Cherwell*, has been banned by the university proctors because it circulated a questionnaire designed to get some factual matter on the sex life of girl students. Among thirty questions were two to which the proctor took exception: "If unmarried, have you experienced sexual intercourse?" and "in Oxford?" Undoubtedly these are matters which many people prefer to keep private (though there was no suggestion that anything beyond statistical analysis of the replies was intended), but there is also no doubt that some factual material about the sexual lives of undergraduates (men, incidentally, as well as women) would be of considerable interest. Since there was no compulsion to answer, one would have thought that proctorial intervention was not necessary. But clearly the university authorities were afraid that the replies would reveal what "ought to be concealed" and the credit of the university with prudish parents might fall—with undesirable economic effects on the colleges.

Actually the reply of two girl undergraduates to the *News Chronicle* reporter was quite revealing in a very amusing way. "We found nothing objectionable in it. In fact, we think it an excellent idea and we should very much like to read the results. Naturally, we did not fill in the questions referring to unmarried women." One is left speculating what construction one is to put on the "naturally . . ."! It looks as if the attack which Tom Harrison made as a young man (in his *Letter to Oxford*, 1933) on the sexual development of undergraduates is as justified to-day as it was a dozen years ago.

## Meetings and Announcements

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES

- FEB. 16th. Geoffrey Pittock Buss  
The Drama as a Social Force
  - FEB. 23rd. Alex Comfort  
Sexual Delinquency
  - MARCH 2nd. Paul Potts  
Ignazio Silone
  - MARCH 9th. Bill Mansbridge  
Tito's Aims in Trieste
  - MARCH 16th. Bert Smith  
God and the State
  - MARCH 23rd. Laurie Hislam  
The Freedom Defence Committee and Civil Liberty To-day
- Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.  
at 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1  
Admission Free. Questions invited

### UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS (Lancashire)

**PUBLIC LECTURES in CHORLEY**  
at the ODDFELLOWS' ROOMS,  
9, Cunliffe Street, Chorley  
at 6.45 p.m.  
Sun., FEB. 23rd. Albert Smith, B.A. (Oxon.)

**THE USE OF HISTORY**  
Sun. March 9th. Mat Kavanagh  
**THE WORKER AND NATIONALISATION**  
Descriptive leaflets from:—  
U.A.G., 11, Ribblesdale Place, Chorley

**ARTISTS' COOPERATIVE**  
The Second Meeting will be held at  
8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1  
on Wed., Feb. 26th at 7.30 p.m.

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## Arbitrary Power Of Proctors

But the important point which emerges is the enormous power wielded by the proctors. Not only did they ban the *Cherwell* (they have now announced that it may resume publication in a month) but they forbade the Editor or any of the staff, to discuss the ban with advertisers, subscribers or anyone else, thereby preventing any kind of protest against their ruling, even of the mildest kind, to be voiced.

If any struggle against this kind of obscurantist dictatorship is to be undertaken, it can come only from the people who suffer under it—the students themselves. Unfortunately, the level of thought on sexual matters in the universities, and in the social class from which students mainly spring, is so elementary that the proctors' action will probably receive support from student ranks. On the other hand, there could be no more auspicious moment for an attack on university restrictions, for the colleges are filled with returned service men, older than the usual run of undergraduates, and vastly more experienced. These will be much less willing to be treated like irresponsible children than the students of three and four years ahead.

## Dutch C.O. Hunger Striker Forcibly Fed

When Nol Kneulmans, a 20-year old conscientious objector, recently went on hunger strike, because the Dutch C.O. tribunals refuse to recognize his objection, the authorities ordered him to be forcibly fed.

The Dutch Government did not recognize conscientious objection to military service until 25 years ago, when a 19-year old war resister named Herman Groendaal went on hunger strike to prove his sincerity. His action caused the whole of liberal opinion in Holland to put pressure on the Government to introduce conscience clauses into the Military Service Act. Now it seems that the same drastic methods are required to make the government operate the conscience clauses.

## Revolutionary Applications of Psychology

THE work of psychologists is concerned with the maladjustments between their patients and the social environment, and the amelioration of their condition depends on modifying one or the other—the patient or his environment. Of course, it is much easier to 'adjust' a man to his social surroundings, than to make criticisms and effective changes in the latter, and it is disappointing to find psychologists in general quite unconcerned about social change. They are apparently content to try and make the individual fit society, instead of seeking to mould society for the maximum good of its component individuals. Thus most psychology becomes entirely reactionary.

For this reason the work of a psychoanalyst who not only sees the cause of much psychic illness in the economic,

sexual, and social frustrations to which we are all subject in varying degrees, but goes on from there to propose radical changes in economic and social customs, is of immense importance. Wilhelm Reich, whose book *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* is reviewed on another page in this issue, has done much to uncover the mechanisms whereby the authoritarian principle in society is maintained and reinforced by such social customs as the denial of sexual gratification to children and adolescents, and such social institutions as monogamous marriage and the family. These institutions and customs have been instinctively disliked and fought by anarchists for generations (Emma Goldman went to prison for her determined advocacy of knowledge about birth control 40 to 50 years ago). But it has been left to Reich to provide a detailed account of the exact function of anti-sexual concepts in authoritarian societies.

## Do Workers Accept Fascism?

Reich claims to be a Marxist. Yet his characterological studies have driven him to advocate individual responsibility and complete rejection of the leader principle—though Marx and his followers regarded the first as Utopian and, in practice, were thoroughgoing believers in the latter with their determined devotion to political forms of action. Studies of life, of what really happens, have driven Reich into what amount to Anarchist concepts. Even so he retains some of the Marxian habits of thought, and these colour the expression of some of his ideas. Thus, it is true that Fascism has a mass support, and that its causes lie in the frustrations of every one of us—before it takes power. But while any regime depends on a more or less passive acceptance or resignation on the part of the working-class as a whole, it is surely unwise to take too little account of the means which totalitarian regimes adopt to secure that general resignation. Large sections of a population may indeed accept Fascism; but the existence of vast concentration camps, and a permanent pretorian guard of SS men, NKVD officials, etc., indicates that the regime is taking no chances. No one can say that Franco's Fascism was willingly accepted by the Spanish workers and peasants. And the revolts of the Italian workers which brought Mussolini down in the summer of 1943 show that even 21 years of Fascism could not get itself accepted with any finality.

These are lessons from the history of Fascist administrations, and they are important ones. But that does not diminish the importance of Reich's demonstration of the factors which prepare the soil for the successful development of Fascism—or whatever other name (e.g. Communism, Tito-ism or what you will) extreme authoritarianism adopts. And it does not in the least degree lessen the necessity to fight for full biological freedom for every individual, at all ages, so that fully responsible men and women may develop; for only on sexual frustration and resulting irresponsibility can Fascism erect itself.

## Point of View

# Hope for Individualists?

Individualistic anarchists appear to have no hope of working-class activity as a means of social change. In fact some of them seem to deprecate any activity. When this idea is persisted with, the active minded individual of this type just argues with other philosophically minded persons in small, practically closed, groups and with little effect on the large-scale life around them. Such, could be classified with all sardonic pessimists. I can understand certain types of 'Marxists' and others, waiting for the revolution or evolution to happen in time! But what these individualistic anarchists fail to realize is the *they are evolution*, along with the people of less or slower perception.

From time to time enthusiasts stir the mass of people into awareness and give them hope and vision. Some of this remains, but most dies away due to the pressure of everyday life. The pessimists then blame the workers. The workers in everyday life find nearly all 'clever' people on the opposite side, actually or potentially, or believe they are, which comes to the same thing. (That there are opposite sides in life is obvious to anyone from all real experience.) The workers after being let down by the 'clever', impatient people, get despondent, apathetic or cynical, according to temperament. The 'clever' ones get disgusted (or become disgusting!).

The anarchist, having deeper and fuller knowledge, should be the one to inspire and encourage and break this vicious circle of despondency. His ideas should appeal to the instinctive good in people. His appeal should be specially to the workers as they are more the creatures of

instinct than the 'clever' 'get-onners'.

We are familiar with modern educational ideas where the teacher is 'on the side of the child'. The same applies to the workers and their natural teachers the anarchists and people who have anarchist ideas without label. The ordinary workers crave to exercise their consciences at work, etc., but are frustrated by managers, officials, efficiency experts, etc. In spite of this, any good work achieved is usually the result of a worker's individuality. This is admitted on occasion by managers and realized by workers. If the anarchist is to get his message over he must be 'on the side of the workers'. The important thing is to gain the worker's confidence and then, choosing the psychological moment, get the ideas into their heads.

The right moment is most important. Religious and State organizations know this, which is why they seek to control people at their most reasonable periods to have their ear at the right moment. Most real knowledge does not come from long study but from flashes of insight. The 'clever' minds are so cluttered up with long study and unnecessary facts that they are almost impervious to new ideas, especially simple ideas. The dumbest man I ever met and with whom I worked for years, nearly made me lose faith in my powers of persuasion, till one day I gained his confidence by making him some metal shades to protect the blooms of carnations. In this way I found he had a passion for carnations. He grasped the essence of anarchist ideas in no time. His former resistance was due to not trusting me (or anybody else).

A. WRIGHT.

# INSTEAD OF A CARTOON

(With Philip's and Editors' Regrets)

## NO LIMIT TO FRATERNISATION!

A German prisoner was recently convicted at a military court because an A.T.S. girl was found hiding under his bed. He was charged with "conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline in that he improperly consorted and associated with the girl".

This shows just how shallow the "liberties" recently granted to the German prisoners are in fact. They can walk the streets, clad in uniforms which brand them immediately, they can carry on very limited polite conversation with a few English people, but they can do nothing about fulfilling their natural inclinations, which years in prison camp must have aggravated.

In this case it is clear that the girl, the only person with a right to object, was quite willing to associate with the prisoner in question; the interference of the military authorities therefore shows just how ridiculous are the pretences of granting extra freedom to the German prisoners, when they are still kept away from any really close relationship with English people.

## DIRECT ACTION AGAINST FRANCO

The 6,000-ton steamer *Marie Jose*, from Bilbao, Spain, bringing the first Fascist flag into the Manchester Ship Canal since 1939, berthed yesterday at the Lancashire Steel Corporation berth at Irlam.

This has aroused a storm of protest from local trade unionists. The local men may refuse to unload her.

After many protests last night at a meeting of the Irlam and Cadishead Trades Council, the secretary was instructed to convey the unanimous feeling of the meeting to the T.U.C. in London and ask for guidance on what further action they should take.

"Our men have been unloading the ship to-day, but we didn't recognise the flag," declared Mr. H. Taylor, of the National Union of Blastfurnacemen.

"The question will be raised at a union meeting tomorrow. We didn't realise it was a Fascist ship."

*News Chronicle*, 23/1/47.

# Lectures in C. London

The war has seen the break up of many conventional conceptions, and has at the same time created new problems for solutions. Such material conditions have inevitably caused a ferment in ideas and a need for discussion for the purpose of clarifying and sharing views about these new problems. For more than a year now a focus for the discussion of some of these problems has been provided by the Sunday evening lectures organized by the London Anarchist Group at 8, Endsleigh Gardens, London, W.C.2. It is encouraging to see that a similar need is being met in Lancashire by a series of lectures organized by our Chorley comrade, Alfred Booth, at the Oddfellows' Rooms, 9, Cunliffe Street, Chorley, Lancs. Public meetings on a larger and broader scale are regularly held by our comrades in Glasgow.

All this is evidence of the need to present an Anarchist approach to current problems, Anarchist conceptions to take the place of the old conventional ideas which have been shown to be inadequate by the social changes brought about by the war. And it is clear that there is a ready audience who want to hear the Anarchist approach on these topics and weigh it up in the context of actual conditions.

It is the aim of the London Anarchist Group's lectures to meet this need. Current problems and new modes of solving them form the broad programme of this weekly series. It does not aim to provide an academic textbook course of lectures "on Anarchism". The philosophy and doctrines of Anarchism do not readily lend themselves to this schematic kind of treatment, and thinking people to-day are less interested in cut-and-dried political systems than in finding out how an approach such as Anarchism regards the concrete problems of to-day. They want to know, in fact, whether Anarchism will help them both as individuals and as members of society to overcome the difficulties of living in the mess which is politely called the post-war world.

The lectures, therefore, are mainly delivered by Anarchists; but not solely for there are many problems on which factual information is required, and an

expert's account is more satisfactory than an exponent of a particular social philosophy. Among non-Anarchists who have lectured in the past few months have been George Orwell, F. A. Ridley, George Padmore, and Alec Craig. Lectures have dealt with British, Russian, and Vatican foreign policy; with Imperial problems; with agriculture, industry, the wage system, the growth of huge urban centres like London; with sexual ideas and progress, crime and its causes and "treatment", medical aspects of poverty; with the Anarchist movement in other countries; with social contributions of various literary figures such as the Marquis de Sade and William Blake; with various practical and philosophical problems raised by Anarchist theory itself. These varied subjects have been treated by members of the London Anarchist Group, and by many other Anarchists, among them Eddie Shaw, Alex Comfort, Geoffrey Pittock Buss, R. Rhees and T. W. Brown—to name but a few.

Readers of *Freedom* in the London area are cordially welcomed at these lectures. Discussion and questions are a feature; the meeting place is central and what is important these days—warmed by a large stove! Lectures are advertised in *Freedom*. They are free, but a voluntary collection is taken to defray the rent and other costs. Handbills announcing future lectures are issued from time to time.

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(Continued from page 1)

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