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Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

"Each discovery, each increase in the sum of human riches, owes its being to the physical and mental travail of the past and the present. By what right then can anyone appropriate the least morsel of this immense whole and say—This is mine, not yours?"

KROPOTKIN.

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Twopence

EXPORTS MEAN WAR!

What the Cripps Plan Means to the Worker and his Family

WHAT does the Cripps Plan mean to the ordinary worker and his family? It is a question which can be answered from several points of view—all of them bleak. Perhaps the least important is the cuts in the amenities of life, the extension of wartime austerity. Least important, but not therefore unimportant, though estimates of such matters depend on the standpoint adopted. The press has sought to imply that Britain is suffering a food shortage not seen in some countries on the continent such as France and Belgium. This is mere propaganda, for the prices of food in France are far above the purses of the workers as the recent bread riots show. But the fact that British workers are still better fed than their continental fellows does not mean that they are adequately fed. Under feeding is still a potent cause of ill-health in this country, and cuts in the rations enhance its effects.

A GREY MORALE

Psychologically, too, the Cripps Plan hits the working population hard. After years of wartime stinting, the end of the war was keenly looked forward to as a respite from austerity. The small amenities of life which had been axed during the war years were expected to return with the peace and provide some relaxation from the drabness. Not only were these hopes not realized, but still greater austerities have been pressed upon us. And now it seems, the return of what is called "normal", that is pre-war, standards of life are to be almost

indefinitely postponed. For immense numbers of housewives life has become an anxious struggle to provide some kind of colour to life. It is true that such preoccupation with immediate anxieties and trivial

frustrations affect chiefly those who lack wider horizons and concern themselves with the more parochial kinds of outlook; but that does not make the fact of anxiety and drabness any less pressing.

FALLING IN WITH HISTORICAL TRENDS

Nevertheless to return to our opening comments, these aspects of the revised exports plan are perhaps the least important. Far more significant, and infinitely grimmer, are the implications of the government's proposals when seen against the chief historical currents of our time. It is impossible not to be reminded of the trends in other countries during the recent decades.

In effect, the people of this country are being asked to forego "luxuries" and concentrate on "essentials". The very terminology is a speaking comment on the perverted values of the time. For the "luxuries" we have foregone for so long include such matters as food clothing and shelter which used to be regarded as necessities; while the "necessities" of the export plan turn out to be motor cars and toys for the wealthy abroad, and anything else which can be exported. For the value of a commodity is not now judged by its social usefulness or its ability to fill an obvious need but simply by whether it can be sold abroad or not.

Now, appeals to workers to

forego "luxuries" (that is to say, necessities) for the sake of export drives, or for the production of higher priorities such as arms, have been made only too frequently in our lifetimes. The Russian workers have been putting up with this kind of patriotic austerity for close on thirty years; Italian workers went short in order to produce for colonial wars to provide a sterile imperialism; most openly of all, Goering put the "Guns before Butter" slogan clearly in front of the German people, and heavy industry was given first priority. As we know from reparations commissions, heavy industry means war industry.

EXPORTS MEAN WAR

What has all this to do with the present proposals of the government? The sinister note is to be sought in the struggle for exports. What the labour government (or any other capitalist government for that matter) seeks to do is to "close the gap between exports and imports", for the economic health of a capitalist structure—the terms are self-contradictory, of course—demands that the value of exports shall exceed that of imports. To put it the other way round, money coming in must exceed that paid out.

But it is immediately obvious that such a favourable balance of trade, as it is called, is impossible to all countries, because

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RELIGIOUS MASSACRES IN INDIA

THE last few weeks have witnessed massacres in the Punjab whose horrors can rarely have been equalled. The tragedy of the Indian famines may have cost more lives, but they did not have the peculiarly hopeless qualities of these paroxysms of mutual extermination between Moslems and Sikhs which are based on the arbitrary accidents of religious upbringing.

The starting point for these massacres was something entirely temporal: the political partition of the Punjab so that part of its area was included in the Moslem Pakistan, and part in India. How often in the future is mankind to witness mass bloodshed after such a merely political act as the drawing or re-drawing of a frontier? On one side of the Pakistan boundary a minority of Moslems are being butchered and terrorized by a majority of Sikhs and Hindus; on the other side, a minority of Sikhs and Hindus go in daily dread of the majority of Moslems. Estimates vary as to the numbers killed, but the figure runs into hundreds of thousands, while two million more are stated to be refugees seeking safety in a mass exodus.

Religious hatred reaches such a pitch that, not content with butchering minority populations, trains are stopped and individual refugees slaughtered by armed bands, and the enmity does not even stop short at armed attacks on the long and hopeless columns of terrified refugees making their miserable trek from their homes with pitiful cartloads of individual possessions. More and more countries all over the world have witnessed these pathetic treks of political refugees during the last ten years. The hatred that cannot spare even such destitutes must be bitter indeed.

Problem of Refugee Camps

Even when the administrative machinery has been able to provide camps for these religious refugees, their inmates still go in terror of attack and have to be guarded by soldiers. And the horrors that have

been perpetrated on their relatives makes them, even in their desperate destitution, retaliate with attacks on the co-religionists of their persecutors.

Nor do the officials charged with maintaining order in every case refrain from adopting a partisan attitude. According to the *American Time*, a Moslem deputy commissioner of one of the Western Punjab districts incited young Moslems: "You have full liberty to go the limit. Take revenge as you like, but if there is one Hindu or Sikh left alive in my district after you are through, I swear to kill them myself." Policemen sent to stop communal fighting, stand by and watch their co-religionists massacre their "opponents", and if ordered to fire, aim in the air. Even Ministers of the central government have made partisan declarations. It is immensely to Gandhi's credit that his attitude completely transcends these religious differences, and his influence appears to have been tremendous in preventing any communal outbursts in Calcutta.

Responsibility

Terrible as the scenes in the Punjab are, it would be an evasion of duty towards humanity not to look for the responsible causes of this present calamity. Such a situation no doubt exploits many grievances between Sikh and Moslem communities. But beneath all such lie two principal causes, Religion and the tactics of Imperialism, which have created religious differences and fanned them to hatred.

Religions talk of mankind, but they teach group loyalty and hatred born of religious intolerance. Looking on at the Indian scene from afar, it is impossible to see the victims as Sikhs or Hindus or Moslems; they are men, women, and children, suffering and outraged, and driven by poisonous hatreds which destroy them in the persons of every one of their victims. One sympathizes with the victims on either side, but one's indignation rises at the religious teachings which have divided these people and now sets them at each others' throats.

For the Sikhs were deliberately organized as a militant Hindu minority to combat Moslem oppression. Needless to say they have failed to root out oppression; but they have succeeded in exacerbating religious intolerance. On neither side have religious leaders worked for tolerance in the cause of humanity; they have all been partisans of their own creeds, animated not by solidarity with the whole human race, but only with their religious grouping. The Punjab massacres are one more gruesome monument in the bloodstained history of

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An Example INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' SOLIDARITY

FOUR Spanish underground fighters, two anarchist and two communists who had either received death sentences or 20 years imprisonment from a Franco Military Court had succeeded in escaping from prison and stowing away in a British ship "England" which was sailing from Seville to Marseilles. On the way, however, the port of call was changed to Genoa where, on their arrival, the stowaways were discovered and handed over to the Italian police.

The four men were pleased to have landed in the first anti-fascist republic to emerge from the war of "liberation", and thought that everything would go well for them. But, following instructions from Rome, they were taken on board ship to be returned to Franco's tender mercies. Of course, they were told, with typical hypocrisy, that they would be taken to a Displaced Persons camp in the suburbs of Naples.

The ship's next port of call was Leghorn, where the news that four

Spanish anti-fascists were on board and were being handed over to Franco soon spread among the workers. The methods used by the workers of Leghorn to rescue these men is not known, but the fact is that, with the connivance of the whole working population, they were taken off the ship.

The Rome Anarchist weekly "Umanita Nova" (10/8/47) commenting on this incident wrote: "We refer to and cite as an example of active international solidarity this act of liberation performed by the working population of Leghorn which set aside all party prejudice in giving this humane example. It was also an affirmation of faith and of will to action." The names of the men are:

Jose Munoz Gonzales, 33 years old, life sentence.
 Juan Torres Carbonero, 32 years old, 20 years imprisonment.
 Carlos Ruiz Merchian, 32 years old, 20 years imprisonment.
 Francisco Garcia, 30 years old, death sentence.

ATOM BOMBS NOW, BUT . . .

Atomised Industry in 100 years say scientists.

IT appears that to harness atomic power for the good of mankind is a much more difficult task than its use for mankind's destruction. Professor M. H. L. Pryce, Professor of Theoretic Physics at Oxford University, speaking at the annual exhibition of the Association of Scientific Workers, in the Oxford University Science Laboratories last Saturday, said that for atomic energy to be significant as a solution to world power problems we must be willing to wait a good part of a century.

It was still difficult to foresee whether atomic energy would play a part in industrial development, for there were too many technical and laboratory problems as yet unanswered.

"If we continue our work along the usual lines we should require something like 70,000 tons of uranium a year to replace the other forms of energy," he said. "This means that the world could run its industries for a short time on the atomic energy and then they would be brought to a stop for lack of sufficient basic material."

Professor Cockcroft, director of Britain's Atomic Research Station, on the other hand, speaking at the World Power Conference at The Hague, though not committing himself as to when atomic energy could be used in industry seemed more optimistic when he described a process by which the entire heat-energy requirements of the world could be provided by 170 tons of atomic fuel a year. He was describing the atomic "breeder" pile for the first time officially.

By the improvement of the existing pile-technique, the uranium-into-plutonium process could produce, according to Cockcroft, all the electrical energy which Britain needs from 1,000 tons of uranium, which, at a cost of £2,000 a ton, was the world's total pre-war production.

However, so far as the workers are concerned it would appear that there are more chances of being atom-bombed before scientists succeed (big business permitting) in converting atomic energy to man's use.

Background to the Mining Crisis

Few problems seem more pressing to-day than that of full production. Yet discussion of coal mining is commonly conducted in the press without any regard for the fundamental factors involved in coal mining. Instead the procedure is to reduce the problem to a false simplicity reminiscent of the propagandism of the dictatorships. The country needs coal: the miners won't work hard enough to produce it; therefore the miners are traitors. Needless to say, such an approach solves nothing and it is no wonder that newspaper reporters are treated with open hostility in mining areas. It does serve, however, to provide excuses for oppressive measures by the government.

This article seeks to place some, at least of the fundamental factors before the readers of *Freedom*. Without independent judgment based on factual knowledge, the "problem", if it exists, cannot even be defined, much less solved.

Fall in Mining Population

In 1920, there were 1,250,000 men employed in coal mining. In 1941, there were 700,000. Since 1941 there has been a slight but insignificant increase in population. It follows, therefore, that the charge of "slacking" made against the coal miners of to-day is ridiculous for a doubling of output per man would be required to make good the loss of almost half the manpower of the mines.

From every coalfield during the inter-war years, miners were leaving the mines—escaping from them would be nearer the truth. In South Wales the exodus was as high as 21 per cent. But not only were men leaving the industry; miners were doing everything in their power to prevent their children entering the mines. As a result, the average age of coal miners has gone up, the numbers of older men remaining much the same, while the numbers of men below 35 years of age has fallen very sharply. The number of juveniles is less than a third of what it was, while the number of young adults has fallen to half. In line with this is the estimate that only 1 per cent. of Bevin boys intended to remain in the industry.

Why Do They Leave?

Obviously, there must be good reasons for such a mass exodus from the mines. The following paragraphs briefly sketch some of these reasons.

Before the war of 1914, the average wage of miners was slightly higher than the average wages of industrial workers as a whole. After 1918, however, it fell to less than this overall average and by 1935 was very considerably below it.

Drastic wage cuts followed the 1914

war, and the miners lost the 7-hour day and the national minimum wage for which they had struggled for decades. Meanwhile the market for English coal was contracting, because of reduced demand abroad. Competition from other sources of fuel and power and measures of economy in utilization reduced the home market as well. Inevitably, unemployment followed in the mines. The trend was still further exaggerated by increasing mechanization in the pits, while unprofitable pits were closed—often throwing whole communities out of work. In some of the mining areas of Durham, the mines provided the sole source of work and hence of wages. Closure of a pit meant misery and uselessness for the population.

These economic factors produced the coal strikes of 1921 and 1926—the later developing into the general strike. They were only exacerbated by the slump of 1929-33, the mining areas producing some of the most devastated of the depressed areas.

The nature of mining communities made the class struggle particularly naked and bitter in the coal industry. Wage cuts hit the entire community, for all are dependant on the pits. Hence, the struggle between the coal owner and the miners was thrown into the open in a manner not found in mixed communities; it is a naked struggle between social classes.

Before 1914, the strongest of a miner's sons went almost automatically into the pit: but in the face of the developments after 1918, miners and their wives became determined that their children should not enter the decaying, contracting and dangerous industry.

Mining Hazards

For mining is the most dangerous of all trades. Up till 1939, between 900 and 1,000 miners were killed every year in the pits. Since then the fatal accident rates have fallen to 713 in 1943, 623 in 1944, and 550 in 1945.

Among underground workers in 1928, one man in five was receiving compensation for accident or disease, the figure being 6½ per cent. for surface mine workers. And whereas men other than miners lost an average of 87 days of sickness per man per year, miners lost an average of 18 days per man (1930-33). And the amount of chronic illness is also higher for miners than for other workers.

This unfavourable health record, moreover, showed itself more markedly among young miners than among the older men. This may well be the reason which made mining parents keep their children out of the mines, for one may be sure that the increase in mining hazards among the young was noticed in the mining communities before it found its way into the cold figures of industrial statistics.

Government and the Miners

What has been the record of the government towards the mine workers? In brief, they have supported the owners and introduced compulsion to try and stem the mining exodus.

In the lifetime of the miners of to-day, the government's record begins with a breach of faith. In the 1914 war miners, being essential to the war effort, were wooed with promises. When Lord Sankey's commission recommended nationalization of the mines, the government promised to carry out its recommendations. Instead, they handed the mines back to the owners. It matters little that nationalization represents only a change of masters. The miners of 1914-18 had less cause for cynicism about nationalization than the miners of to-day: they wanted it and they were promised it. Then the government broke its promise.

During the ensuing disputes, the government always sided with the coal-owners against the miners, culminating in the General Strike of 1926. It is true that the governments instituted various welfare schemes for the mines, but they did nothing fundamental to improve the lot of the miner, and their attitude towards the occupational diseases of coal-mining has been equivocal and shilly-shallying.

If they ignored the miners between the wars, however, it was quite otherwise during the war itself. Coal became essential and the government adopted all sorts of measures to try and reverse the exodus from the pits. Miners who had been called up were taken back from the army and returned to the pits. Mining was placed on the same level of National Service as the Armed Forces in an attempt to enhance the prestige of mining. Wages increased to double their pre-war level.

Despite all this the recruitment of young men for the mines was still almost nil. The government therefore resorted

to compulsion and introduced the Bevin boy scheme. It was a huge failure. Meanwhile, the Essential Works Order prevented those already engaged in mining from leaving the industry.

Such is the government's record in regard to coalmining. It is scarcely surprising that miners distrust the government.

The Coal Problem Reviewed

The government, of course, know the history of the mines very well, for several ministers are ex-miners. And their advisers must have stressed the physical problems often enough. Nevertheless, they still issue "appeals" to the 700,000 aging miners to work hard enough for 1,250,000. If there is not enough coal they can then blame the miners . . .

But what does "enough coal" mean in this context? For the coal problem is only part of the general economic problem of to-day. For the government it is the central problem. They want "enough coal" to allow of the production of enough export goods. And it is only in this context that the coal problem becomes a coal crisis. It is said that exports are needed in order to buy enough food from abroad. But agriculture in this country doesn't need much coal, so it would be a full economy to produce the food here instead of buying it with industrial exports which require coal for their production.

Meanwhile, before men can be expected—much less required—either by the government or by the community at large to enter the coal mines, certain things are needed. Mechanization must be used to lighten the work, instead of reducing wages: mining must be freed from hazards due either to economy on the part of the owners, whether private or State. It must be freed from the haste and scramble which are also fruitful of accidents. And conditions in the mines must be made such that miners do not suffer from preventable occupational diseases.

It may well be argued that some other source of fuel and power should be sought which would dispense with coal mining altogether. But to do that in our society would simply be to return the miner to dereliction and unemployment.

ANARCHIST.

ANARCHISM

—Interpretations

Whatever be the object towards which mind spontaneously advances, it is of no mean importance to us to have a distinct view of that object. Our advances will thus become accelerated. It is a well-known principle of morality that he who proposes perfection to himself, though he will inevitably fall short of what he pursues, will make a more rapid progress than he who is contented to aim only at what is imperfect. The benefits to be derived in the interval from a view of equalisation as one of the great objects towards which we are tending are exceedingly conspicuous. Such a view will strongly conduce to make us disinterested now . . . It will impress us with a just apprehension of what it is of which man is capable and in which his perfection consists, and will fix our ambition and activity upon the worthiest objects. Mind cannot arrive at any great and illustrious attainment, however much the nature of mind may carry us towards it, without feeling some presages of its approach; and it is reasonable to believe that the earlier these presages are introduced and the more distinct they are made, the more auspicious will be the event.

William GODWIN.

(from Political Justice quoted in William Godwin by George Woodcock.)

Living Writings from the Past

Where I Stand

By
Michael Bakunin

I AM a passionate seeker after truth (and no less embittered enemy of evil doing fictions) which the party of order, this official, privileged and interested representative of all the past and present religions, metaphysical, political, juridical and "social" atrociousness claim to employ even to-day only to make the world stupid and enslave it. I am a fanatical lover of truth and freedom which I consider the only surroundings in which intelligence, consciousness and happiness develop and increase.

I do not mean the completely formal freedom which the State imposes, judges and regulates, this eternal lie which in reality consists always of the privileges of a few based upon the slavery of all—not even the individualist, egotistical, narrow and fictitious freedom which the school of J. J. Rousseau and all other system of property moralists, middle class bourgeoisism and liberalism recommend—according to which the so-called rights of individuals which the State "represents" has the limit in the right of all, whereby the rights of every individual are necessarily always reduced to nil. No, I consider only that as freedom worthy and real as its name should imply, which consists in the complete development of all material, intellectual and spiritual powers which are in a potential state in everyone, the freedom which knows no other limits than those prescribed by the laws of our own nature, so that there be really no limits—for these laws are not enforced upon us by external legislators who are around and over us, these laws are innate in us, clinging to us and form the real basis of our material, intellectual and moral being; instead of therefore seeing in them a limitation, we must look upon them as the real condition and the actual cause of our freedom.

Unconditional Freedom

I mean that freedom of the individual which, instead of stopping far from the freedom of others as before a frontier, sees on the contrary the cementing and the expansion into the infinity of its own free will, the unlimited freedom of

the individual through the freedom of all; freedom through solidarity, freedom in equality; the freedom which triumphs over brute force and over the principle of authoritarianism, the ideal expression of that force which, after the destruction of all terrestrial and heavenly idols, will find and organize a new world of undivided mankind upon the ruins of all churches and States.

I am a convinced partisan of economic and social equality, for I know that outside this equality, freedom, justice, human dignity and moral and spiritual well-being of mankind and the prosperity of nations and individuals will always remain a lie only. But as an unconditional partisan of freedom, this first condition of humanity, I believe the equality must be established through the spontaneous organization of work and of collective ownership of freely organized, and into communes federated, productive associations and through the equally spontaneous federation of communes—not through and by supreme and supervising action of the State.

This point separates above all others the revolutionary socialists or collectivists from the authoritarian "communists", these adherents of the absolute initiative and necessity of and by the State. The communists imagine that condition of freedom and socialism (i.e., the administration of the society's affairs by the self-government of the society itself without the medium and pressure of the State) can be achieved by the development and organization of the political power of the working class, chiefly of the proletariat of the towns with the help of bourgeois radicalism, while the revolutionary socialists, enemies of every double-edged ally and alliance, believe on the very contrary that the aim can be realized and materialized only through the development and organization not of the political but of the social and economic, and therefore anti-political forces of the working masses of the town and country, including all well disposed people of the upper classes who are ready to break away from their past and join them openly and accept their programme unconditionally.

Two Methods

From the difference named, there arise two different methods. The "Communists" pretend to organize the working powers in order to "capture the political power of the State". The revolutionary socialists organize people with the object of the annihilation, or if a polite word has to be used, the liquidation of the States altogether whatever be their form. The first are the partisans of authoritarianism in theory and practice, the revolutionary socialists have confidence only in freedom to develop the initiative of peoples in order to liberate themselves. The communist authoritarians wish to force "science" upon others, the social libertarians propagate science among them so that human groups and aggregations infused with conviction in and understanding of it, spontaneously, freely and voluntarily, from bottom upwards, organize themselves by their own motion and in the measure of their strength—not according to a plan sketched out in advance and dictated to them, a plan which is attempted to be imposed by a few "highly intelligent, honest and all that" upon the so-called ignorant masses.

The revolutionary social libertarians think that there is much more practical reason and common sense in the aspirations and the real needs of the people than in the "deep" intelligence of all the learned men and tutors of mankind who want to add to the many disastrous attempts "to make humanity happy" a still newer attempt. We are on the contrary of the conviction that mankind has allowed itself too long enough to be governed and legislated for and that the origin of its misery is not to be looked for in this or that form of government and man-established State, but in the very nature and existence of every ruling leadership, of whatever kind and in whatever name this may be. The best friends of the ignorant people are those who free them from the thralldom of leadership and let people alone to work among themselves with one another.

*Freely translated from *The Commune of Paris and the Notion of the State*, by M. ACHARA.

PROGRESSIVE OR STATE SCHOOLS?

Tony Gibson Answers a Critic

DEAR COMRADES,

The writer K.A.B. who comments on my letter in *Freedom* about progressive schools, raises a number of points which I would like to deal with at length.

First: the indictment that such schools take the child away from the "normal environment which he would get in an average school", and put him among the children from predominantly liberal middle-class homes to be influenced by their social outlook. The point I would question here is the value of the "normal environment" of the average school in producing children capable of unbiased thought. The environment into which the children of the working-class are thrust, is one which the master class has devised to render docile workers. All that the child learns there from undergoing it in company with fifty-odd class-mates of his own social level, is that the working-class accepts this conditioning process as right and proper. As for the liberal middle-class ideology, its main virtue is that the children can calmly ignore it. The children of middle-class liberals generally do not seriously care a damn what their parents believe.

The libertarian aim is that children should grow up with neither the prejudices of the working-class, the liberal middle-class or any other class. The progressive schools tend to provide a de-classed environment, and the children have the chance of orienting themselves to society with somewhat less of a burden of class prejudice.

Second: K.A.B. draws a picture of the child from a rebel home going to a State school and refusing to comply with saluting the flag and other such nonsense, and presumably achieving martyrdom at a tender age by having his bottom tanned for conscience sake. But would it be for conscience sake? Rather it would be out of mere blind loyalty to Mum and Dad who disapprove of patriotic wrongs of flagwaving, and so while the other kids are looking forward to a spot of senseless fun on Empire Day, little Johnny from the anarchist home is doomed to the misery of being a self-conscious crank because of his parents' convictions.

If parents have to let their children be subjected to the doping of State schooling, the best they can do is to see that the kids are as little embarrassed as possible

by the clash of the home and school environment. Force a conflict on the child and he will quietly embrace the cloak of conventionality in self-defence. Not a few revolutionaries have been sadly disappointed to find that their offspring have grown up into conventional nonentities. This is hardly surprising, just as the children of clergymen not uncommonly grow up into libertines as a reaction from their fathers' preaching. State School propaganda will undoubtedly be the major influence over the child while he is young, for he is imbibing it in community with other children, and the outlook they accept, he will accept. Any subsequent readjustment of ideas in adolescence must be done against the handicap of these deep-rooted patterns of thought, and it is only then that the libertarian ideas of his parents can be of assistance. But it is my contention that those who for one reason or another have escaped any strong indoctrination in childhood, and have lived their youth unselfconsciously and unharmed by the philosophy of adults, have the best chance of being free-minded and courageous adults.

Third: K. A. B.'s strictures on the ex-pupils of A. S. Neill are decidedly unfair. Unless one were to undertake a properly conducted scientific investigation into the products of progressive schools (with proper controls) any such factual generalisation is worthless. One cannot judge this type of education, or even one school, on the evidence of knowing a few individuals. (My own impressions of a number of A. S. Neill's ex-pupils have been favourable, but I am not bringing this forward as evidence.)

It is easy to criticise the progressive schools by pointing out all they are not, but the point is that they do not aim to be a parallel alternative to State schooling. Their function is far more important than that. Regard them as you will, as laboratories of education, or as an agitation against the mis-education carried out elsewhere, or as a mere manifestation of the libertarian trend amongst school-teachers, the progressive schools do not need to seek to justify themselves.

Fourth: the inevitable point has been raised that the privately run schools demand fees, hence the workers must send their children to the free State schools.

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VICTORY AT GRIMETHORPE

Miners Go Back on their Own Terms

A DECISIVE victory has been won by the miners of Grimethorpe, backed up as they were by thousands of their fellow workers in the Yorkshire coalfields—and it's a victory for direct action!

We reported in our last issue how the dispute began. How the high-handed increasing of the length of coal face to be worked by the men brought to a head the mounting discontent among the miners. How they had struck work and how their obvious determination to fight against very real grievances had brought out 16,000 fellow miners in sympathy, when their militancy had earned them the sack.

At the time of writing in our last issue, however, the position was obscure. High pressure windbags from the Union, the Coal Board and from the Government had hurried to Grimethorpe and the surrounding parts, appealing, bullying, cajoling and pleading for the men to go back to work. And in many cases they had succeeded, and the men began to go back.

But not at Grimethorpe. There the men were up against real oppression. They had been betrayed and insulted by their union officials and dictated to by the National Coal Board. And as the miners said: "The Board would rather lose coal than lose face." So they dug in. This was the fourth week of the strike, of no wages; they were beginning to run short of cash and many were already signing on for public relief, but it seemed perfectly clear to everyone except the Coal Board that these men were grimly determined not to be bullied into a false position.

So with a cry of "We're not having the Grimethorpe men dictated to!" surrounding pits began to stop work again and in a short time 60,000 men from forty-one pits were taking their stand against dictation.

UNION CARDS TORN UP

Then began the most significant action of all. Miners have always been the most militant of trade unionists. The rights of the miners' unions have been fought for bitterly and bloodily through years of

the workers' struggle. But two weeks ago in Yorkshire militant miners were tearing up their union cards.

The importance of this gesture, if it means a permanent break with the N.U.M., is difficult to over-estimate. In the mining industry the whole cycle of unionism has been turned. The many small original unions federated into one big union for the industry—the National Union of Mineworkers, which but for minorities like the Colliery Clerks represents all the workers in the industry. The industry has been nationalised—one of the aims of trade unionism. The N.U.M. has equal say with the National Coal Board in all matters affecting the workers—and now those workers are beginning to tear up their union cards! It could hardly be made more clear that the miners are no longer looking upon the union as their own fighting organisation. They are realising that the function of the union in a nationalised industry is not to protect the workers, but to discipline the workers and endeavour to ensure that servile acceptance of all the agreements negotiated by their so-called representatives.

And what did their representatives have to say about the strike? Will Lawther: "It is criminal at this time; in fact, it is more than criminal, it is bordering on the stage of insanity." Arthur Horner: "140 men are holding the nation to ransom." Neither of these men (President and Secretary of the N.U.M. respectively) demanded that the Coal Board take the extra 2 feet off the stint before the men returned, but each sided with the bosses against the men.

It was left to the miners themselves to show that when they said they were not going to work the longer stint they really meant it, and finally the Coal Board was forced to agree to let them restart at the old stint.

THE LESSONS OF GRIMETHORPE

Several interesting points arise out of this dispute and its result. The first is

that more clearly and more convincingly than we could have done it has nationalisation been shown to be no solution for the workers' problem—to represent no end to the workers' struggles.

The second is that the huge centralised union with its paid full-time officials—divorced from the job and hob-nobbing with the bosses—is no organisation

through which the workers can hope to achieve justice.

Thirdly, the strike has proved the value of direct action and the strength of solidarity. A stubborn government Board was forced to climb down twice in the face of determined opposition from the workers—once when they withdrew the dismissal notices, and secondly, when they agreed to let the workers return on the old conditions pending investigation by a fact-finding committee including two men from the coal face of neighbouring

pits.

Fourthly, we can see that the time is not far off when the miners will see the need to create new organizations in their fight against exploitation. Disillusion with the union, disillusion with nationalisation, can have only one positive reaction—a move towards anarcho-syndicalism as a means of struggle and a demand for free Workers' Control.

The battle of Grimethorpe may yet prove a decisive one in the class war.

Where are the Incentives

NOTHING could be more indicative of the artificial nature of our social structure than the lack of incentive to work, which is to-day the cause of so much worry "at a high level"—a phase which means way above the workers, up among the experts.

It never seems to strike these "experts", perched at their high levels above the common man, that their very existence on a different plane constitutes in itself a reason why workers are becoming less and less willing to work. They never seem to realise that the workers have their own ideas on the value of the opinions and advice emanating from the lofty heights, and that a good start towards solving the problem of incentives might be to regard workers as responsible human beings instead of industrial robots.

Man is a creative animal, and nature abhors a vacuum. Because of the former, the relationship of a man to his work is one of the most important factors making for his happiness or unhappiness; because of the latter, boredom is one of the most potent causes of discontent.

From Craftsman to Industrial Slave

In the days of the mediaeval guilds, the very idea that men needed incentives to work—in the sense the words are used to-day—could not have existed. When workers were craftsmen their work consisted of being able to do much more than perform mechanical

actions regularly. They were artists in their work, loving their labour because it called for the best they had to give, because they could not for one moment relax their skill, nor allow work falling short of their own high standard to pass out of their workshops. Furthermore, living as they did in small communities, they would in most cases know or know of the customer, perhaps deal direct with him and thus have a personal interest in the future of their products and the people who were going to use them.

To-day, these relationships have been gradually broken down. Even in the case of the relatively few craftsmen still practising, between the primary producer and the consumer there have come middlemen, agents, managers, foremen and touts of all descriptions, because all work has become commercialised and there are pickings for the parasite. In industry in general, the position is worse still. Not merely have the human relationships been broken down, but the work itself has been broken down too. The instance that springs to mind is of the worker whose job was "the sixteenth part of a pin", but it can be worse than that. Not only do workers labour to-day at fractions of a finished product, but in some cases do not know what the finished product is going to be! This was so in the case of the workers on the atomic bomb, and represented the absolute height of irresponsibility.

Bribery The Only Incentive?

We see, therefore, that with the rise of industrialism, and particularly mass production, a great wedge has been driven between the producer and his product, destroying craftsmanship and delight in creation. From the standpoint of value and reward on the material plane, the wedge is just as big, since the profit system demands that the producer be robbed of a large proportion of the value of his labour in order to pay for the numbers of unproductive workers engaged in marketing the goods—to say nothing of the profits for the bosses.

And from the point of view of the worker's pride in the usefulness of his products—how can that exist when so much production is harnessed to destructive ends? Or when so much production is "For Export" in spite of acute shortages at home? Or of goods he cannot afford to buy himself?

In fact, then, none of the factors which would naturally encourage men to give of their best can be said to operate in capitalist society to-day. There remains only one method, out of the two which are the recognised influences under capitalism—bribery. Fear is the other force, and with no enemy at our gates, and no large-scale unemployment, that won't work just now. So bribery is the only means left to the bosses, and Britain's contracting economy puts the employers in a poor position to do much in that line even if they wanted to—which, of course, they never do.

High taxation, food and other shortages, increasing austerity and the attempt to peg wages all militate against enthusiasm in the worker, and the small bribes and preferences offered to some are, in the first place, likely to cause discontent among the others, and secondly, inadequate.

No Incentive

Couple this with the general despair and disillusion, the prevailing hopelessness and the sense of the inevitability of another destructive war, and it cannot be denied that there are really no incentives at all for men to work hard to-day.

The advent of the Labour Govern-

ment, which was expected to inspire the workers to new heights of productivity, has proved, as an inspiration, a dismal failure. The few reforms the Government has been able to grant have proved worthless in face of general worsening conditions and rising cost of living. Nationalisation is proving to be, as anarchists have always asserted, a mere change of masters and the workers in our one nationalised industry—the miners—are learning through bitter experience the hard truth.

The Creative Revolution

Compare the slackening of effort with what followed the Spanish Revolution of 1936. There, the social revolution which certain socialists tell us is taking place silently here, actually was achieved—in the only way a social revolution can be achieved. There, through their direct action the workers seized the means of production, anxious to work them for the benefit of the community of which they were a part—and willing to take the responsibility which Workers' Control entails. And the terrific increase in productivity and output in general tells its own story.

Briefly then, our attitude to work is this. We will not work hard for the bosses' profit or the government's benefit. While, under wage slavery we have to work or starve, we will work sufficiently to prevent ourselves and our dependants starving, and at the same time try and win back from the boss class as much as we can in as many ways as we can. But we will not willingly assist in our own exploitation.

But when we have control of our own industries, when the means of production which we have created during the long years of our slavery are taken into our own hands, then we will bend our backs as never before. Then we shall be working in our own interests and in the interests of our fellows, who are identified with us in the creative revolution.

For the creative urge which is in all of us will find its true expression in a condition of freedom and equality, and the tawdry bribes and coercions of a money-governed society will no longer be necessary. Wage slavery and its degradations will go, and in its place we shall create and prove the dignity of labour.

P.S.

POST-WAR AGRICULTURE SLIPPING

EVERY June 4 the nation takes stock of its farms, counting its acres of crops and its livestock.

The provisional figures for this year have now been published and they show how our agriculture has begun to slip back since the last year of the war. Here are some of the figures.

Acres are in thousands.

	1945	1946	1947
Grain	6,997	6,641	6,439
All crops	11,052	10,662	10,383
Grass	9,810	9,947	10,252
Cattle	7,237	7,244	7,169
Sheep	12,597	12,764	10,177
Pigs	1,732	1,474	1,147
Poultry	37,352	39,567	41,008

The 1947 wheat acreage is just over 2,000,000, compared with 3,275,000 at one period of the war.

A MINER SEES THE TRUTH

A miner in Armthorpe summed up the long-smouldering disappointment of his fellows: "Nationalisation don't make no difference. There's still the bloody boss."

Time, 8/9/47.

Land Notes

Britain Must Feed Herself

THE exigencies of the make-believe world of dollars and financial juggling have focussed attention upon a subject which has until recently not been considered as worthy of notice by the political pundits. Until recently the "impractical" anarchists and the more far-sighted of agricultural theorists have been almost alone in studying the vital question "Can Britain Feed Herself?" (The wartime plough-up must be regarded as a panic rather than a policy—an unscientific attempt to wrest as much food as possible from the land under blockade conditions without any thought for the future consequences).

Our View

There is no need for me to reiterate the anarchist viewpoint on this subject which has been dealt with so frequently and thoroughly in *Freedom's Land Notes*, and in the recent "Agriculture and Social Revolution" series. Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, presents the argument as convincingly to-day as it did fifty

years ago, and George Woodcock's *New Life to the Land* re-states the case in present-day terms.

Topical Question

Kropotkin's contentions were recently discussed in a superficial way in the B.B.C.'s "Country Questions" series and the whole question was one of the most important subjects at last week's conference of the British Association. Henry Walston, in answering those whose parrot-cry is that there is insufficient land in these islands pointed out that: "The limiting factors in agricultural production are labour machinery, fertilisers and feeding stuffs—but not land", and even the Tory Walter Elliot, although denying that we can feed ourselves, sounded a warning voice to those who still accept the usual capitalist export policy: "It will be very remarkable if the run of American bumper harvests continues. It will be miraculous if we find ourselves with sufficient spare goods of a kind wanted in America to purchase them."

Prophecy

It must have occurred to a class of our readers that there is a close parallel between the policy of H.M. Government and the old I.W.W. song which ended with the chorus:

"Work and Pray,
Live on hay,
You'll get pie in the sky
bye and bye."

They will not be surprised that, at the British Association Conference, Prof. J. D. Bernal prophesied that we will become a nation of grass-eaters. When the laughter was over he added quietly: "I am perfectly serious.

Grass is a thing we can most easily grow. We may well be driven to using it—and liking it—in a year or two."

7 ACCIDENTS ON FARMS TO ONE IN FACTORY

A RECENT survey of seven Warwickshire farms, the first of its kind, indicates that the number of accidents among farm workers is about seven times that in factories.

Records were kept by farmers over a working period of 1,500 hours. Ten per cent. of workers had accidents involving absence from work of from five days to four months.

The survey was initiated by Mr. A. P. Young, industrial management expert, and carried out by Captain H. Harvey, secretary of the Worcestershire branch of the National Farmers' Union.

The farm, unlike the factory, has no legal obligation to report accidents.

News Chronicle, 6/9/47.

HOP PICKERS' STRIKE

Another example of how the existence of the middlemen means less for the primary workers was shown when 300 hop pickers at Southfleet, near Gravesend, went on strike, recently for higher rates.

They were being paid 8d. per bushel when they heard that other pickers were receiving 10d. or 11d., but it transpired that these higher prices were being paid by the big brewers' companies owning hop fields in the district who could pay more than unattached growers because the latter could only get their hops to the brewers through the agency of middlemen who naturally had to get their rake-off.

We wonder whether a direct trading association could not be formed between the growers and the brewers?

PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS OR STATE SCHOOLS

(Continued from page 2)

So what? Either we have to buy what we want for ourselves or our kids in this bloody system, or we can get certain things free from the State. It is up to the individual to decide what he will buy with cash and what he will buy with the coin of subjection to the State and all it implies. Unfortunately, when parents save their pockets by sending their kids to the elementary school it is the kids who have to pay for the schooling—and pay in something more valuable than cash.

TONY GIBSON.

MORE REPRESSION IN SPAIN

THAT Franco has not succeeded after 8 years of Fascism in reducing the Spanish people to servile obedience is confirmed by many eye-witness accounts of what is happening in Spain to-day.

L'Adunata dei Refrattari quotes from a letter dated August 8th, received from comrades inside Spain, in which they refer to the period of "tremendous repression" through which they are passing. "We have been unable to do much during this period. More than 4,000 members of the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia) and C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labour) have been arrested during this period in the provinces of Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona and Bilbao alone.

During the past three days they have murdered twenty comrades whose mutilated bodies have been found lying in the roadways. Amongst them was also comrade Alfonso Bericat Luna who had been carried off from his house in the middle of the night by the police. We did not know whence he had been taken until we found his body three days ago in Rabasada Street, in Barcelona . . .

"This new outbreak of Franco repression is fierce and we are having to witness these and even more terrible things. The gangsters in Franco's pay

are not leaving us a minute's respite." And in the *Manchester Guardian* of September 11th is an article on Political Trials in Spain by a delegate from a number of student and youth organizations who went to Spain last month to investigate a case of nine young Spaniards held in gaol for 15 months without trial for alleged anti-Franco activities.

Political Trials

The writer points out that "in the course of my inquiries I attended three political trials, which, nine years after the Spanish war, are still conducted by court martial." and proceeds to describe the scene at one of them, where apparently the defence is conducted by military lawyers who are as anxious as the prosecution to bring in a verdict of guilty.

The nine young people were charged with having taken part in a protest campaign, directed against the regime. First, in March, 1946, they had pasted up 200 posters displaying the Republican flag; then they had copied articles from the Left-wing clandestine press and pushed them under doors in the night. Lastly, the students, working in three groups, had received from Isabel Toralba, three small bombs, which they had placed outside two shops and a restaurant by way of protest against the high prices and low wages which together make the scandalous contrast of life in Spain. Little damage was done

The Effect of the "Exodus"

Writing of the present mood of the Jewish refugees of the *Exodus*, the *Manchester Guardian* remarks: "Suspicion, resentment and distrust have gone very deep and the evils of their psychological condition will not be cured in a short time. Most of them

have lived in camps, whether as prisoners or as refugees, for years. They have been completely out of touch with the world and have grown to assume that every man's hand is against them . . ." It is difficult to see that this "assumption" has been very effectively belied by the behaviour of the British Government towards Palestine in general, and these Jews of the *Exodus* in particular.

"Helping" Them

It is said that the International Relief Organization is prepared to help them. But the Jews refuse to speak English or German or French, or any other language than Yiddish or Hebrew. For the "help" which the IRO offers them is removal to Displaced Persons camps, some in France, some in Germany. "Before decisions can be taken about their future they have to be got to say where they come from, or at least who they are. At present they will not do this." Their reasons have been given by one of them, a sixteen year old youth: "What good would it do to go to a displaced persons camp in Germany? We are not interested in anything in Germany; we are not interested in France. We just want to go to Palestine where we belong."

As Anarchists we have expressed our lack of sympathy with the political aims of Zionism sufficiently often and we need not therefore go into the matter now. But we do demand the right of everyone to go to any part of the world where he wishes to go, and we condemn the forcible moving of people about to places where they have clearly ex-

pressed themselves unwilling to go.

The Do-Gooders

The *Manchester Guardian* well expresses the attitude of the do-gooders in the extracts quoted above. The *Exodus* Jews must be helped, of course . . . But that means that they must go where other people tell them to go, for helping them does not mean helping them to go where they themselves choose. "Decisions" have to be made about their future; not by themselves, however, but by well-meaning International Relief people anxious to soften the blows of the British Government but not to prevent them ever being struck. The M.G. writes as though the assumption that "every man's hand is against them" were a kind of delusion. Those who are unwilling to condemn the British Government seem able to overlook the forcible deportation of these men, women and children from Palestine; the total disregard of their views about disembarkation first in France and then in Hamburg; overlook the inevitable brutality employed in dragging them off the ships at Hamburg.

Typical of Government

For us, such actions are simply typical acts of Government, for ruling over men just does involve forcing them to the will of the government instead of what they themselves want to do—and forcing them means just that. The *Exodus* episode is one of those which shows government action without any veil, nakedly and brutally inhuman, blind alike to the expressed wishes of these refugee Jews, and utterly indifferent to the especial cruelty of visiting such treatment on men and women with the background of horror which they possess.

Foreign Commentary

Stalin Prize Winner Purged!

THE Russian cultural purge continues. In the last issue we reported the attack made on the "decadent art" of Picasso and Matisse by *Pravda*. Now it is the turn of philosopher Georgy Aleksandrov who for years has been head of the Communist Party's Agitation and Propaganda Section. He is the man who in the magazine *Bolshevik* and his fortnightly paper *Culture and Life* has been denouncing writers, playwrights, artists, cinema directors, etc., for pernicious ideological errors. And like so many faithful servants of the Party it is his turn to be purged! The inquisition was ordered by Stalin and carried out by Zhdanov. These witch hunts are so tragically interesting that we give readers a long quote from a recent issue of *Time* (8/9/47):

To Moscow, the Central Committee

summoned a hundred or so top-rank philosophers, professors, theoreticians, for a ninety-day conference. Assembled, they learned that the subject of discussion was to be Aleksandrov's *History of Western European Philosophy*. Only a year before it had been awarded a 100,000 rouble Stalin prize. To this startled group Zhdanov laid down the Central Committee's charges against Aleksandrov: (1) he had preached a "toothless vegetarianism" toward the philosophical enemies of Marx-Lenin-Stalin; (2) perhaps unsuspectingly, he had become "the prisoner of bourgeois historians of philosophy." The cream of the jest was that such had been the substance of Aleksandrov's charges against many another Soviet intellectual.

Charged Zhdanov: "His objectivist conceptions he consistently carried out through the entire book. It is not accidental that Comrade Aleksandrov, before starting to criticize any bourgeois philosopher, pays tribute to his merits, burning incense before him."

But that was not the worst of it. Continued Zhdanov: "It so happened that Comrade Aleksandrov's book received recognition from the majority of our top philosophical workers, and received numerous favourable reviews. This means that all these others also share Aleksandrov's mistakes. That bespeaks an unsafe condition on our theoretical front . . . Such conceptions if developed here would unavoidably lead to objectivism—to slavishness to bourgeois philosophers and overstating of their merits, thus depriving our philosophy of its militant advancing spirit."

What was the objectionable "objectivism?" In Aleksandrov's case, it was merely the familiar polemical device of building 'em up before knocking 'em down. He had used this technique on Bacon, Descartes, Spinoza, Kant, Fichte, Hegel. But he had also been found guilty of playing with metaphysics, a reprehensible sin in Russia, and he had depicted Marxism as an evolution from earlier philosophy. Thundered Zhdanov: "The origin of Marxism was a real discovery, a revolution in philosophy." In the wake of Zhdanov's thunder, 46 of Aleksandrov's colleagues and co-workers, among them doubtless some who had written rave reviews, slavishly climbed the Zhdanov bandwagon with similar denunciations, and 36 more were awaiting their turns to speak when the meeting closed.

FOOD RIOTS IN FRANCE

Meanwhile in France the reduction in the bread ration (from 8 ounces to 7 ounces a day) has ostensibly been the reason for widespread hunger demonstrations. One of the most serious incidents occurred in Le Mans where a group of infuriated workers broke into the prefecture and, after a scuffle with the police, were dispersed by the use of tear gas and hose pipes.

Railings were torn down in the ensuing scuffle, and the demonstrators, who were forced back into the streets, threw stones and flaming torches

through the windows of the prefecture. The fires were extinguished before any serious damage had been done, but by the end of the fighting 27 policemen and about an equal number of demonstrators had been hurt. Less violent demonstrations occurred in Toulon, Cherbourg, Limoges, and Caen.

It is difficult at the moment to estimate how many of these demonstrations were spontaneous risings of the people, and how many were organised by the Communists as part of their political campaign against the Coalition Government. But in many cases, such as the one referred to above at Le Mans the *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent found it "difficult to trace political motives among the groups of demonstrators."

POLAND HAS MILITARY SECRETS

An A.P. report from Warsaw (11/9/47) states that "a Military Court in Cracow tonight sentenced nine men to die and seven others to long imprisonment for transmitting State and military secrets to Polish expatriated General Anders and to Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane and Mr. Victor Cavendish Bentinck, U.S. and British Ambassadors in Warsaw."

We have included this item because it sums up in a few lines the state of the world two years after the end of hostilities. Poland was the excuse for this country entering the war in 1939. In 1945, was still disorganised and prostrate after years of suffering, occupation and bombing by both sides. 1947—Poland has already reached the stage of having "military secrets", and of wanting to withhold them from an "ally". It's tragic, and no efforts must be spared to acquaint the people of this country of the hypocrisy of so-called "wars for democracy" of "defending the independence of gallant little Ruritania", before a new excuse is found for a third world-wide upheaval.

TAILPIECE

Time reports: "In Brooklyn, Jonas Lowenhaar was acquitted of using 'loud and boisterous' language when the discerning judge perceived that Lowenhaar was a mute."

Lucky Lowenhaar would not have been so lucky if he had been facing one of our many deaf magistrates!

LIBERTARIAN.

In Tripoli

"CIVILISATION" IS STARVING THEM!

A *Reuter* report from Tripoli states that thousands of Arabs in Tripolitania, who lost their crops and live stocks in this year's drought, are trekking from the interior to the coastal towns in search of food and work. Others have crossed the frontiers into Cyrenaica and Tunisia.

Large numbers have been gathered into relief centres at Tripoli. The British administration has established free-meal centres throughout the country and made free issues of grain. The administration has also imported 30,000 tons of grain, but the Arabs are reluctant to pay the price. Last year the Arabs, who, left to themselves, always hoard grain against a drought, had to export their surplus grain at £17 a ton. This year they are being asked to buy imported grain at £30 a ton.

So much for the benefits of Western civilization!

FOR INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION of C.O.s

AN appeal to the United Nations, signed by 429 persons, including Pearl S. Buck, Bishop Charles K. Gilbert, Arthur Garfield Hays, Professor Sidney Hook and Aldous Huxley, recently urged that the proposed International Bill of Rights include an article recognizing the right of conscientious objection to military service.

The petition, addressed to the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations, reads as follows:

"The undersigned note with approval the effort that has been initiated by the War Resisters' International to bring before the public and the United Nations' Commission on Human Rights the need for recognizing the right of refusal of military service in obedience to conscience. The statement of the War Resisters' International supporting this proposal reads in part:

In the seventeenth century freedom of religious belief and worship was established; in the eighteenth century freedom of the press and of speech were recognized; and in the nineteenth century the right of association

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PRIORITY PASSENGER

Tutti Frutti, pet Pom of Princess Achraf Pahlavi, sister of the Shah of Persia, left London last night by air for New York—still waiting for the chicken and champagne diet prescribed for him by his mistress.

in the organized labour movement was secured.

The present century sees a very intense struggle for the right of man to become international in his thought and action and in so doing to obey his individual conscience rather than the particular State in the matter of submitting to military service.

If we take as an index the growth of resistance to military service which has taken place in the more democratic countries between the two world wars, it may be fairly judged that the impulse to resist military service has become a very important factor in the social and political evolution of the world, and that this resistance is a factor which cannot be ignored.

"We, the undersigned, therefore respectfully urge that an article be included in the proposed International Bill of Rights to read as follows:

THE RIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO REFUSE MILITARY SERVICE IN OBEDIENCE TO CONSCIENCE SHALL BE RECOGNIZED."

GERMANY—SEEDS OF CHAOS

THE early administration in Africa, Britain and America, remained in the hands of the captured German commanders who retained their authority after capture. Prisoners of War came under Nazi officers and SS men bullied and ill-treated prisoners who renounced Nazism or who tried to communicate with their captors. Prisoners who had deserted the Nazis and given information to the Allies were victimised and, in some cases, murdered.

War criminals were kept hidden. Good Nazis were not sent on working-parties and could forgo the extra rations allocated to working-parties. English-speaking Germans were employed as interpreters, and informed the German prisoner commanders of the conduct of prisoners, and the contents of secret British documents. The Nazis ran their own courts-martial and documentation centres. The secret H.Q. kept track of every German PoW. and his unit from the time of his capture to his repatriation. Lists were made with the intention of using these records if the reconstruction of a military force should become opportune.

Nazis Stayed On Top

In certain camps, Nazi officers kept strict "spir-and-polish" discipline. Nazis who proudly carried their swastikas were appointed to clerical jobs. British guards were unable to protect PoW's who sympathised with the Allies, from being beaten-up cruelly by their compatriots.

An investigation by a Commission of delegates of the Swedish Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. in the notorious British PoW. camps 2218 and 2228 in Belgium, through which 40,000 PoW's passed, revealed a lack of clothes and blankets and water, difficulties in the distribution of food, cases of robbery and brutality. The distribution of food was in the hands of Nazis. The result: PoW's who later arrived in this country were under-nourished and often too weak to work. Thousands of prisoners in the French camps of Mühlhausen and Belfort, according to reports in the conservative paper *Figaro*, were suffering terribly from the effects of bad treatment and under-nourishment. It should be remembered that the Communist paper *Humanité* condemned all sympathy and mercy, and even demanded harsher treatment for the defenceless "victims of the victims".

When the Nazi PoW's realised the defeat of Germany, the most notorious were the first to be converted to democracy. The lectures at PoW Training Centres were invaded by all those who desired to get back to Germany as quickly as possible with the object of getting jobs and privileges under Allied control.

Outside Influences

We can dispose of all those democratic lecturers in PoW. camps who have tried to convert the remaining bulk of PoW's in discussions and talks. They have never had a sympathetic hearing, and though they first seemed to meet a certain interest, it has now become quite apparent that their lectures are being boycotted.

Though, in this country, the left radicals have tried to penetrate certain camps with their particular brand of propaganda, the result can by no means stand comparison with the success of the British fascists, who, at present, are the most active, clever, and dangerous of agents, secretly asserting a steadily increasing influence which can only be enhanced by the criminally stupid policy of the British government.

Direct Action

For some time it seemed as if syndicalist methods were being consciously adopted by the German PoW's and as if anarchist influences were successfully at work. The prisoners formed an illegal union and spread direct action tactics from camp to camp. Drivers, being in constant contact with other camps became the couriers. The go-slow method was spreading nearly everywhere, so effectively that the National Farmers' Union denounced the prisoners in public. Working parties chalked "We want to go home" and "Down with Slave-Labour" on their

lorries and hand-printed bills were thrown from the vehicles. When camp commanders threatened PoW drivers, backed up by the other prisoners, they declared their intention to strike. Sabotage by the PoW drivers in Italy took the form of selling petrol, lorry parts and whole vehicles to the Italian black-market and

the slogan appeared "We're going to flog the Empire from under the Tommies' behinds!"

This alarming unrest was successfully checked by the politicians, who, suddenly overwhelmed by humanitarian sentiments, urged the government to make concessions.

From Nazism to Nihilism

But the successful direct action of the prisoners, though it met with our sympathy, cannot be claimed as a sign of the hoped-for development towards anarchism. The attacks of the anarchist critics, on the government and social system, were applauded by the discussion

groups of PoW's as a confirmation of their own resentment and opposition to both democracy and dictatorship, but the anarchist alternative was accepted only by a relatively small number of prisoners, which could not exercise a great influence on the majority.

Though the anarchists have gained considerable respect for their general attitude and certain aspects of anarchist philosophy have been assimilated by politically conscious elements, the general tendency has been a development from National Socialism to what we may describe as *National Nihilism*.

JOHN OLDAY.

(To be continued.)

Germans Resist Industrial Dismantling

A FACTORY at Kiel has been occupied by British troops and German police, after its workers had refused to dismantle it.

The Governor of Schleswig-Holstein had previously issued an ultimatum which expired on Sept. 10th.

Meanwhile, the British government is moaning about the high cost of keeping Germany.

Another aspect of our policy of squeezing Germany with one hand and then being forced to try to remedy the harm done, with the other, is seen in the export policy. A German writing to *The Listener* (11/9/47) says:

"... the last two years' experience shows that more than 90 per cent. of export value consisted of coal and timber, yielding very small proceeds. Going on with this sort of export would mean Germany's dependence on support from abroad for all the years this practice is being accomplished.

"Indeed coal supply for German use is by far insufficient and therefore no real production can start. Even now, in summertime, electric power is being switched off nearly every day for some hours so that factories have to stop working. Meanwhile, a considerable amount of electricity is "exported" to Belgium. Are you astonished at certain indifferent feelings among or men no matter whatever their job? ... German industry is not in a position to produce most needed simple things, because the only raw materials Germany possesses are taken away."

Attlee Justifies Retention of Slave Labour

Mr. Attlee has now answered the memorial submitted to him by the Save Europe Now organization, in which 2,000 leading citizens urged the earlier repatriation of prisoners of war from this country and the Middle East.

In his answer, Mr. Attlee wrote that he sympathised with the human considerations which were put forward in the memorial but "I cannot share the view that the retention of German prisoners of war in foreign countries for labour purposes is inequitable, when it is recalled that this is one of the only practical means by which Germany can make any reparation for the loss and destruction which German aggression has brought on so many countries of Europe.

"I need not emphasise the importance of the work being carried out by German prisoners of war in the United Kingdom, particularly in agriculture. And, other reasons apart, difficulties of transport would in any event have made it impossible to achieve a much higher rate of repatriation.

"We are satisfied that the material conditions in which the prisoners of war work in this country and in the Middle East are entirely adequate and that all reasonable freedom and amenities are available ...

"I cannot make any promises at this stage, and it would be wrong to give the prisoners the impression that they could hope for a change in our present programme, particularly now that our need for agricultural man-power has so greatly increased and while transport difficulties remain as acute as ever. However, the completion of this year's harvest will naturally give us the opportunity to review the requirements of prisoner-of-war labour in the ensuing months."

This Government document confirms our fears, often expressed through these columns, that the German PoW's are being retained in this country as a source of cheap labour, particularly during the present labour shortage.

The only valid argument against a speedier repatriation of the PoW's would be the lack of the necessary transport, but as the *Manchester Guardian* points out in a recent editorial "As for difficulties of transport, it may be true that the shipping allotted to repatriating prisoners cannot carry more than 15,000 men a month; but that is just a question of how many ships are allotted to this task."

In his reply, Mr. Gollancz for the Save Europe Now organization, took up Mr. Attlee's point about the reparations aspect of PoW labour.

What is so gravely objectionable (he wrote) is that particular Germans are being penalised owing to the mere accident

of capture. Surely any reparations which may be considered desirable should fall on the German people as a whole. How can it be right that a man (and his family) should have to endure this special suffering year after year just because we happened to capture him? This is the consideration, I am certain, which weighs with the extraordinarily distinguished list of 2,000 leading citizens who signed the memorial to you ...

I would add that the retention of these prisoners contravenes the Geneva Convention—not perhaps in the letter, for a special and formalistic defence can no doubt be put up on the ground that no peace treaty has been signed, but certainly

in the spirit.

And the *Manchester Guardian* concludes that "the ugly truth is that the prisoners are kept here because the Government is slow to carry out the necessary redistribution of man-power within the country and is much too ready to fall back on the line of least resistance, which is to use men who have no choice. If Germans are to stay here and work, let more be done to encourage them to stay voluntarily as civilians, as 90,000 German prisoners in France have done; and let us stop pretending that we are doing something virtuous and proper when we are in fact suiting our own leisurely convenience."

We hope the Government's challenge will not remain unanswered by men and women in this country who refuse to be made a party to the use and justification of slave labour as one means of helping to solve capitalism's crisis.

GERMANY REVISITED

Conditions in British Zone have not Improved

Under this title, Victor Gollancz has contributed a number of articles to the *Manchester Guardian*. He visited Germany for a fortnight in August, in company with two M.P.'s. As was to be expected, if one recalls his book *In Darkest Germany*, Gollancz's articles are factual and at the same time have that human touch about them which give greater meaning to impersonal statistics.

In the first article, Mr. Gollancz points out that his first impression was of a quite considerable improvement but "experienced observers told me, for the most part, that I was mistaken and that the weather was deceiving me ... very soon you find that, after nearly a year, there has been little change in the physical circumstances of the people. The food situation had reached what is called rock-bottom—though there appears to be no rock-bottom for human endurance—during the spring and early summer, when rations for the normal consumer of about a thousand calories or even considerably less were common. Now, however, rations were again climbing towards, and in some places reaching, the 1,550 calories level—which, it should be remembered, we thought quite shameful two years ago, when we talked of reaching 1,800, as a stage

on the road to 2,000, in a matter of months. It is also worth recalling that a diet of 1,000 calories is described by Sir Jack Drummond, formerly scientific adviser to the Ministry of Food, as "starvation".

Regarding health, Gollancz found the infant mortality rate "surprisingly good in the circumstances" but with tuberculosis there has been an alarming increase. The statistics for Hamburg showed 66 per cent. more cases on the register at the end of 1946 than at the end of 1945 with a further 25 per cent. (estimated) to be added at the end of 1947. He adds:

"I am convinced by my own observation that the account recently given by one of your special correspondents is accurate, that the disease is increasing hideously, and that unless decisive measures are taken there will be such a plague of deaths from this cause in a few years' time as will shock the conscience of what is called the civilised world.

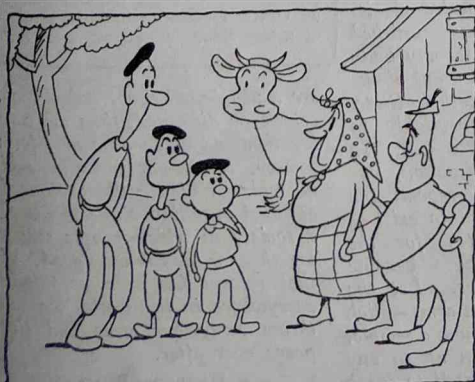
I made one or two special inquiries about health in the city of Hamburg. The British Public Health Official at the moment in charge, reported that new cases of hunger oedema admitted to hospital in each of the months May, June, and July averaged more than 400, and that while the figure was on paper lower than the corresponding one for 1946 it was really much higher, since there was now a stricter criterion as to what could and what could not be properly described as

hunger oedema. This figure must, of course, be multiplied very many times to give the total of all cases, hospitalised, privately treated, and unknown."

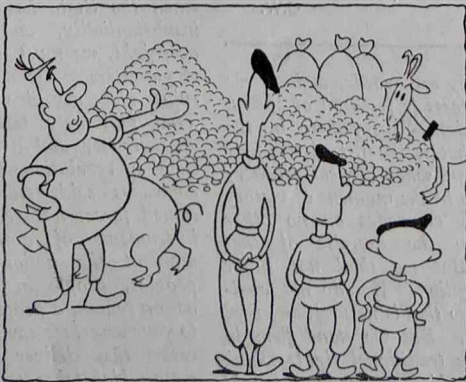
The question many humanitarians must be asking is "What will happen this winter in Germany?" and there can be no denying that if the policy of preventing Germany from developing her industries and of the Germans from taking a hand in reorganising the economic life of their country is continued, then mass starvation and widespread epidemics seem inevitable.

We think this the right place to remind comrades and readers that the London Anarchist Group has many addresses of comrades in Germany to whom food parcels are sent from time to time, and that support in this work of solidarity is urgently needed. Send rationed food, or points or cash to the Secretary, L.A.G., c/o 27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1, or if you would like to send food or clothing yourself, the Secretary can send you the name and address of a German comrade in urgent need. We don't look on food parcels as a solution to the German problem, but we do consider solidarity as something fundamental to our ideas; and our German comrades certainly need our solidarity!

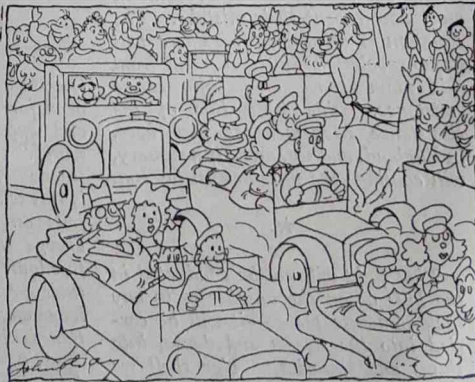
THE THREE MUSKETEERS—13



THE HARVEST WAS GOOD ...



... BUT IS ROTTING FOR LACK OF TRANSPORT.



MEANWHILE ...*

By JOHN OLDAY

*... An endless procession of cars, military vehicles of all four occupation Powers, German civi-cars, people's cars with Union Jacks, diplomats' cars; now and then a gigantic black car with a general's pennant ... all going to the super "tap to Billets" of British troops and Air force at the Olympia Stadium with the masses of military bands, Scottish pipers, motor racing, athletics and fireworks.

(From a German Press Report.)

THE fear of war continues to be the pre-occupation of the whole world, and a great deal of our time and money is spent, either on efforts to establish and preserve peace, or on preparations for still another war. But do we really understand the nature of the problem of war and peace? How is it conceivable that we, who are gifted with rational faculties, and are citizens of a common world, will presently proceed to destroy each other with the terrible weapons which modern science has put in our hands, and for reasons which are merely economic, or political, or ideological. We all know that the atomic warfare of the future will exceed even the last war in horror, terror, and the destruction of life and civilization. Why, then do we not merely contemplate the possibility of such a war, but even despairingly admit its inevitability? Why cannot mankind be sane when its very existence is threatened by causes which should be within the control of reason, of science, of pity?

The two authors, whose books* we are considering have different answers to these

*SCIENCE, LIBERTY & PEACE by Aldous Huxley. (Chatto & Windus, 3/6.)

WAR, SADISM & PACIFISM by Edward Glover. (Allen & Unwin, 8/6.)

questions. Mr. Huxley, in spite of the mysticism which to an increasing extent dominates his writings, is really an optimistic rationalist. The "Inner Light" does, it is true, make its fitful appearance in this new tract for the times. He says that if only "ministers of the various sects and religions would abandon sentimentality and superstition, and devote themselves to teaching their flocks that the Final End of man is not in the unknowable Utopian future, but in the timeless eternity of the Inner Light, which every human being is capable, if he so desires, of realizing here and now, then the myth of progress would lose its harmfulness as a justifier of present tyranny and wrongdoing." But, alas, sighs Mr. Huxley, the average human being will never attain this timeless eternity of Inner Light because he is fascinated by a will o' wisp which he calls science, and which, far from leading him to Utopia, is creating round him a social and economic hell of which war, in all its scientific efficiency, is merely one aspect.

Brave New World

Mr. Huxley's pamphlet is really a frontal attack on the a-moral scientific mind of to-day. It is the scientist who, without any sense of moral values, and overriding conception of goodness or beauty, has created social tendencies which inevitably lead to the concentration of power in irresponsible hands, to a centralization of industry in amorphous inhuman cities, to a world-wide condition of economic insecurity which can only be resolved by war. The ideals of science are always in the direction of more and more power, more and more production, greater speed and completer mechanization, and along with these materialistic ideals goes a mental attitude which accepts such quantitative achievements as progress, and

believes that such progress is the only object in life.

No one, I think, can question this diagnosis of the materialistic trends of our civilization, nor deny their connection with man's insane proneness to war. But what we must question is the assumption which Mr. Huxley then makes, that we have only to re-direct these scientific trends in order to secure peace. "Let us suppose," he says, "that those who make it their business to apply the results of pure science to economic ends should elect to do so, not primarily for the benefit of big business, big cities and big government, but with the conscious aim of providing individuals with the means of doing profitable and intrinsically significant work, of helping men and women to achieve independence from bosses, so that they may become their own employers, or members of a self-governing, co-operative group working for subsistence and a local market." Suppose, repeats Mr. Huxley, "that this were henceforward to become the acknowledged purpose guiding the labours of inventors and engineers." Why, then, cries Mr. Huxley, a progressive decentralization of population, of ownership of the means of production, of political and economic power, would become possible. We could increase the local sources of food supply by improving insect controls and multiplying refrigerator units; we could develop entirely new foods such as edible yeasts; we could synthesize chlorophyll, as for fuel (which at present causes so much international tension) we could revive windmills and construct paraboloid mirrors of large size which would be capable of superheating steam and even of melting iron by direct action of the sun's rays.

O brave new world! But Mr. Huxley does not tell us how the chemist and the biologist, the physicist and the

engineer are to be persuaded to see the Inner Light, and redirect their energies towards such eminently reasonable ends as decentralization and regional co-operation.

A Vital Book

A change of heart such as Mr. Huxley requires is a psychological process, so let us turn to Dr. Glover, one of the leading psycho-analysts in this country. He has just published a new edition of a book he wrote fourteen years ago, but the new volume is more than twice the size of the old one, and its argument has been greatly strengthened by the material evidence provided by another world war. If I say that I regard this book as the most important contribution ever made to the solution of the problem of war and peace, I shall be accused of exaggeration and defeat my aim, which is to persuade you to read *War, Sadism and Pacifism*. But what, in the whole range of science and politics, could be more important than a solution of this problem. If a scientist has put his finger on the real cause of war, and has indicated methods by means of which war might be prevented, then not even the invention of anaesthetics or antiseptics, the cure of cancer or tuberculosis, could claim to be more important. Diseases ravage our lives, but war destroys civilization itself, and all that makes life worth living. So please listen to what Dr. Glover has to say.

Dr. Glover is a scientist and he is using a scientific language which cannot wholly, or accurately, be translated into the language of everyday life. But I shall try to restate his thesis in simple words. He begins with the fact that we are all creatures compounded of love and hate. We are born into a world of harsh reality, and from the very first days of our lives we have to struggle against forces which threaten our inborn selfish instincts. We have to fight for food, for air, for freedom of movement, and in that struggle we turn against the very objects of our love—our mothers, our fathers, our brothers and sisters. But for one reason or another we do not, or we cannot, express this hatred: we are frustrated and therefore bury or repress those unsocial, disloyal, ungrateful feelings. We are then no longer conscious of their existence, but psycho-analysis has proved beyond any doubt that such feelings continue to exist, in a deep and inaccessible region of the mind: that they are bottled up, as it were, under pressure, and continually seek objects upon which they can vent their hateful force.

Opportunities for such a discharge of hatred do not normally occur in the orderly conventional life we lead in peacetime, so the energy accumulates until we find an excuse for war, and there occurs a catastrophic purgation of our over-charged emotional system.

Social Therapy

What we have to do, in order to prevent war, is to make sure that our aggressive instincts are not frustrated and repressed,

especially during the period of infancy. We cannot get rid of the primary instincts of hatred—they are part of our human heritage, the curse with which we are all born. But we can hope to reduce the mental strains which cause outbreaks of irrational violence, delinquency, crime and war. "Reduce unconscious anxieties," says Dr. Glover, "and hostile reactions begin to disappear." In the individual this can be done by a short-term policy of psycho-analysis and mental therapy or healing. But you cannot, in this way, treat all the millions of individuals that constitute the warring nations. So a long-term policy of social analysis and social therapy is needed. That policy, to be effective, must be carried out in the formative stages of the disease: it is a preventive therapy, or prophylactic, and it must take place in the nursery, in the home, in the school. "I do not believe," says Dr. Glover, "that war between civilized nations will ever be prevented until we learn how to bring up children in a more reasonable and understanding way than we do at present." But a more reasonable and understanding way implies measures which will shock the conventional citizen and parent. For—it is no use disguising the fact—our impulses of hatred are closely related to our sexual impulses, and one of the first things we must do is to try and reduce what Dr. Glover calls "the tangled mass of superstitions and conventions that obstruct all rational adaptation to sexual life." "It is difficult," he says, "to over-estimate the reduction in emotional friction that could be secured if more rational codes were applied to sexual problems from infancy onwards." But the essence of any such reform is that it should be carried out in an atmosphere of love and intimacy. "The really shocking thing about Western Civilization," Dr. Glover thinks, "is that it permits and approves, on both cultural and economic grounds, the delegation of upbringing from the family to every conceivable form of substitute parent or training institution. To my mind it is much more shocking that Anglo-Indian parents should board out their little three or four years old children in Bognor than that a native mother should go to work with her baby slung over her back, or that, little tribal children should carry on their sexual play before the indulgent and amused eyes of their parents. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that the successful upbringing of children requires a Renaissance of Family Culture. The family must somehow or other win back from the State the rights it has lost; and it must re-establish a scale of values in which the place of honour is given, not to social achievement, but to transmission of humane family culture."

A New Approach

There is no time to enter into any further detail of the diagnosis which Dr. Glover makes, or of the preventive measures which he prescribes. Many of his practical recommendations are the same as Mr. Huxley's—he agrees, for example, that the centralization of power and production and the worship of the State are the symptoms of our social neurosis: that the main problem is "how to extend the cultural authority of the family and to curtail the spurious cultural authority assumed by the State." But he knows that we cannot rely on anything so uncertain as a change of heart. He believes that the problem is a scientific one, but he fears that unless scientists know how to manipulate the forces of love and hate they will make a greater mess of government than any laymen. For our politicians he has nothing but contempt: "undaunted by an endless and humiliating story of absolute failure, they continue their labours with an untroubled faith in the rule of thumb." Some entirely new method of approach to the problem is essential, and that method is suggested by the theory and practice of psycho-analysis. On the basis of that theory and practice we can at least be sure that "any investigation of the subject which neglects to correlate war phenomena with primitive infantile phases of unconscious mental development can only end in futility and frustration"—a difficult sentence which means that the war to end war must be fought long before our children reach the playing-fields of Eton or of any other school.

We need a new science of upbringing, and for a few of the millions now spent on UNO, UNESCO and the armaments of a fear-ridden world, we could have it.

are a people, all equal and all equally armed or disarmed, then we can get together and agree on a new form of society, a non-governmental society, in which nation will no longer be opposed to nation, State to State, but a society in which people will work together for the common good. When that reform has been accomplished, everywhere in the world, we can all throw away our arms and live in peace ever after.

—HERBERT READ,
"Freedom—is it a Crime?"



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Freedom—Is it a Crime

Our statesmen have made a chaos and call it victory. Millions of men are dead; and their silence is called peace. Millions of slaves and prisoners stream eastward and westward—to the North and to the South—anywhere from the centre of this ghastly compass of war. As they travel along the dusty roads, they lose their marks of identity, their uniforms and badges—they resume their human shape and appearance: the grey mass of the unemployed.

Comrades, the time for doubts and hesitations is past. Those who waited for the war to bring about a revolution must now repent their mistake. The situation is unequivocal. There will be no revolution—just yet. But from this moment we move into active resistance. The front line of the Resistance Movement is now here, in England, and we, alone if necessary, will continue the fight against fascism.

That fight will not be conducted in the hills or on the beaches or in any such romantic places—it will be carried into the streets and docks, into slums and factories. Nor shall we fight with blockbusters and tanks, not even with Tommy-guns and bombs.

WHEN 4 comrades of our editorial board were tried at the Old Bailey in 1945 on charges of conspiring to cause disaffection in the forces, the Freedom Press Defence Committee published as a pamphlet two speeches by Herbert Read. These speeches had been made to crowded London audiences before, and after the trial, and they constitute a stirring and powerful call for resistance.

We can still supply copies of "Freedom—Is It A Crime?" at 2d. each, or 3d. including postage. When you write for a copy, we suggest you enclose a donation, however small, for the Press Fund. In 1945, the government tried its hardest to suppress our paper, but it never ceased to appear even though five of our most valued comrades were in jail. To enable us to continue to-day, we ask you for a much smaller sacrifice than theirs. If you feel that "Freedom" should continue to appear, you must help us make it possible.

C.W.

Our weapons are words, and all we need for success is freedom of speech and expression—"everywhere in the world." That is the fist of the four freedoms, but what cynical mockery is this which in the moment of victory falls on our comrades on no other charge than the exercise of that freedom. But we shall not suffer their persecution. We do not challenge any law that is natural, any trial that is just. But we stand firm in asserting the traditional rights which free men in this country have fought for throughout the centuries, and we

challenge that State which, with arbitrary authority and ignoble instruments—I refer to our political police—has dared to abrogate those traditional rights: we challenge that State to an unrelenting strife.

Under defeat, a particular State may disintegrate. We have seen several States disintegrate during the past few years—France, Belgium, Italy, Greece, and now Germany. This, we say, provides a golden opportunity to make the necessary structural alterations in our social system. It is, in fact, a revolutionary situation, and in such a situation, when the State has revealed all its insubstantiality, and has vanished overnight, we must not let any body of gangsters or looters step out of the ruins and organize another State. That will only lead inevitably to another war and a worse war. In such a revolutionary situation, our comrades said, and I repeat, the armed forces have ceased to exist as instruments of a State: for the moment the nations have become peoples, people in arms. Let the nation remain a people in arms—stick to your arms, we say to such a people, rather than deliver them up to any gang which takes upon itself to speak in the name of a new State. If we

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PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS

DEAR COMRADES,
K.A.B., in his letter in *Freedom* on 6th September, raises the most important objection to a Progressive School—namely its dependence on fees. For on account of this necessity it is bound (1) to accept a certain number of children of "middle-class liberals"—though do not let us forget that Tolstoy, Bakunin and Kropotkin were wealthy—or (2), by accepting pupils at low fees, to limit the staff to those who can manage on a tiny salary and the provision of teaching material and equipment to less than the minimum.

Yet, having taught for nine years at Burgess Hill School, and since then in a Boys' Grammar and in a Secondary Modern in England and in a Lycée in France, I am more than ever convinced that the above-mentioned necessity is the condition that must be recognised if there is to be freedom in education. The State schools not merely throw away their tremendous material advantages, but bring up their pupils to become clerks and soldiers and to believe that they should do not what they think right, but what they are told.

But to be a rebel, as K.A.B. suggests, as a reaction to one's schooling, is to be unstable; and to refuse to salute the flag on Empire Day is only negative. We need genuine objective revolutionaries. No Headmaster, but responsibility for a school jointly shared by pupils, staff and parents is part of the pattern of a persuasive discipline. Such a background is only found in the progressive schools today, and where it is not simply an indication that the school in question is not really free—even A. S. Neill's scholars live under the authority of a Headmaster.

London. ANTHONY WEAVER.

THE THEATRE AS A SOCIAL MEDIUM

DEAR COMRADES,
Several weeks ago one of your correspondents suggested that a film review be included in *Freedom*. May I add the further suggestion that such a review should be extended to include the Stage also?

Whilst in London on a recent visit, I happened to see two plays which dealt with a very important social problem—that of the colour-bar. The first of these, "Deep are the Roots", raised the question in a very provoking manner. Yet, when it came to state (a) the causes of

OUR OLDEST ALLIES

Professor Peres de Carvalho, of the Lisbon Institute of Engineering, has been dismissed from his post by a Cabinet decision. The action was taken under a law which grants the Government powers to dismiss any military or civil officials "who reveal a spirit of opposition to the fundamental principles of the Constitution or who do not show a guarantee of co-operating with the State."

Associated Press, 8/9/47.

AMERICAN INTOLERANCE (I)

Prejudice against Negroes has provoked a bitter controversy in the city of Gary, Indiana. When a small number of Negro children were admitted to one municipal school three-quarters of the white children stayed away.

Gary is a steel-making centre, and the parents of many of the pupils who stayed away are members of a trade union, the United Steel Workers, which is part of the Congress of Industrial Organisations. C.I.O. officials are doing everything they can to get their members to send their children back school. Some apparently were kept at home not because of racial prejudice but because their parents feared they might be hurt in disorders that might break out. Indiana recently adopted a State law forbidding any public display of racial hostility.

Manchester Guardian, 10/9/47.

(II)

A significant new development in the campaign against Russia and against Communism is found in the deportation proceedings against a trade union official on the ground that he is a revolutionary affiliated to an organisation advocating the overthrow of the United States Government.

The individual in question is Mr. John Santo, who is an important official of the Transport Workers' Union in New York City. Mr. Santo is accused of being an alien Communist. If he is deported the door will be open to similar action against many alien Communists, and especially those in the trade union movement.

Manchester Guardian, 8/9/47.

Letters to the Editors

TWO VIEWS ON ROCKER'S GERMANY PAMPHLET

DEAR COMRADES,

I have just received from the Rhineland a letter of protest against Rudolf Rocker's pamphlet. I myself have not received the pamphlet, I suppose, due to the fact that our attitude towards elections and the party standpoint, is known to be too critical. I have always considered participation in elections to be merely bourgeois window-dressing. If we aim only at making people forget their misery, why not lead them out to the marketplace and give them tight-rope walkers and magicians. It would at least be harmless amusement for the people. The magicians of the political arena can only be the cause of anger and confusion.

I consider that no-one who has been abroad throughout the Nazi period has the right to judge. To-day, the outside world knows less of the real conditions inside Germany than during the Nazi regime.

Our freedom is only the freedom to suffer, our rights are only the rights to starve, to freeze, to be spiritually crippled.

But the neo-Nazi movement will not succeed in spite of all their outside support. We have seen the reich of the hangman collapse. We shall also survive the present reign of insanity. Only when the oppressed stand as united together as their oppressors will the capitalist edifice

such transparent racial discrimination and (b) a possible solution, the authors were apparently at a complete loss. The second, "The Respectable Prostitute", being a satire, could hardly be expected to, in one act, provide a solution (which is obviously a social transformation) although it was useful inasmuch as it brought home even more sharply than "Deep are the Roots", the blatant colour-bar existing in the South of the U.S.A.

Such plays are worthy of review in an anarchist journal and, indeed, it would be refreshing to read a review not written in the necessarily prejudiced manner of the bourgeois press.

Birmingham. S. E. PARKER.

ANTI-SEMITIC DEMONSTRATIONS

DEAR FRIENDS,

Your editorial (9/8/47) on the anti-Semitic disturbances in Liverpool and elsewhere was of great commonsense and I would like to underline one remark. You say the National Press could have presented the case of the two sergeants hanged by terrorists in a different way. How true this is when one knows they were Intelligence Corps sergeants on field security (i.e., what would be espionage if the terrorists were what they consider themselves to be, a national military body). But I believe it referred to them only as "British sergeants". The full truth would not have lessened the brutality of the hanging reprisals but it would have made the news less sensational.

SOLDIER IN MIDDLE EAST.

POLICE CORRUPTION

By day 47-year-old M. Pierre Houdard was the popular police chief of St. Cloud, a Paris suburb.

By night he was alleged to be "M. Pierre," leader of a gang of motor-car thieves.

His reported "double life" ended to-day when he and eight of his alleged accomplices were arrested.

M. Houdard, grey haired and with an air of distinction, had a growing reputation until six months ago when he directed a raid on a black market restaurant, and fell in love with beautiful Berthe, the owner's wife.

The husband went to gaol. Berthe became—it is said—the police chief's mistress. She introduced him to a car thief and "M. Pierre's" gang was formed.

Car thefts in St. Cloud were so numerous—35 in two months—that M. Houdard, the popular police chief, suggested the formation of a mobile squad to keep watch.

The squad's vigilance led to inquiries at Berthe's bar—and to her principal customer "M. Pierre."

News Chronicle, 12/7/47.

MIRACLES LTD.

"It must be the work of the Devil!" cried the hoteliers of Lourdes. How could the Blessed Virgin appear at Espis! She was always seen at Lourdes.

Ignoring these protests, the hoteliers of Espis persisted last week in asserting that the Virgin Mary appears in their town on the 13th of every month. Talk of co-operation between Lourdes and Espis, and a regular bus service for pilgrims was silenced, however, when the Bishop of Tarble made a dignified reference to possible knavery in Espis.

Nevertheless, the number of pilgrims increased.

Meanwhile, the religious fervour generated by the rivalry of the two French towns was used to fight Communism in the surrounding countryside. Monarchists thought the Virgin of Espis might make some pronouncement in favour of the return of the Comte de Paris. Four million francs was collected to erect a vast church in Espis. And the owner of a nearby cafe made a fortune from the sale of lemonade to pilgrims.

Leader, 13/9/47.

Through the Press

AMERICAN INTOLERANCE (I)

Prejudice against Negroes has provoked a bitter controversy in the city of Gary, Indiana. When a small number of Negro children were admitted to one municipal school three-quarters of the white children stayed away.

Gary is a steel-making centre, and the parents of many of the pupils who stayed away are members of a trade union, the United Steel Workers, which is part of the Congress of Industrial Organisations. C.I.O. officials are doing everything they can to get their members to send their children back school. Some apparently were kept at home not because of racial prejudice but because their parents feared they might be hurt in disorders that might break out. Indiana recently adopted a State law forbidding any public display of racial hostility.

Manchester Guardian, 10/9/47.

(II)

A significant new development in the campaign against Russia and against Communism is found in the deportation proceedings against a trade union official on the ground that he is a revolutionary affiliated to an organisation advocating the overthrow of the United States Government.

The individual in question is Mr. John Santo, who is an important official of the Transport Workers' Union in New York City. Mr. Santo is accused of being an alien Communist. If he is deported the door will be open to similar action against many alien Communists, and especially those in the trade union movement.

Manchester Guardian, 8/9/47.

DAY OUT FOR LORDS

In the Royal Gallery waiting for the House of Lords to assemble this afternoon, it looked as if the backwoodsmen had been mustered for a great constitutional occasion. I commented to one peer on the large number who had left their country pursuits to come to town, and he replied: "Ah, this is the only event in London to-day."

It seemed to be quite a social occasion. Peeresses in their summer dresses gave almost an Ascot effect.

I counted about 170 peers in the Chamber—much above the normal attendance. Such was the scramble for places in the small Debating Chamber that party boundaries ceased to exist. Old die-hard Tories sat self-consciously on the Government side, giving the impression of a Socialist administration backed by a great aristocratic following.

Evening Standard, 9/9/47.

IN THE NAME OF SPORT!

Disorderly scenes led to five arrests at the Scottish League Cup-tie between Dundee and Celtic at Dens Park, Dundee, yesterday. More than 100 bottles were thrown on to the pitch during the game, which was watched by a crowd of 35,000. Some 4,000 Celtic followers arrived from Clyside, and the disturbances took place at points where the visitors were gathered most thickly.

The first bottles were thrown when a Celtic player had been taken to the pavilion to have an eye injury treated. The most serious incident occurred at half-time, when police officers were involved in a struggle with a spectator. This man staged a demonstration in front of the stand and was finally frogmarched to the pavilion by four policemen.

Manchester Guardian, 8/9/47.

SUSPICIOUS

Eight policemen were needed to hold down Bertram George Hudson, 27, no fixed address, when he tried to escape while being taken into court at Highgate to-day.

After it had been said that Hudson had eaten his coat while in the cell he was remanded for a medical report, on a charge of being a suspected person.

The Star, 1/9/47.

REVOLUTION

In the time it takes to adjust a girdle, the nation's advertising writers last week joined the fashion revolution begun by couturiers and fashion magazines (TIME, Aug. 18). A year ago, Manhattan's Lord & Taylor had lyrically praised suits with "new bulky tops" and short-skirted hip-hugging dresses that had matured in "a faultless anatomy of design". Last week L. & T.'s ads. cried: "Remember, those shoulders out to—here, those hazardous days of the short, tight skirts?"

Time, 25/7/47.

DIPLOMACY SIMPLIFIED

Woman mainly responsible for the cultural exhibition in London to mark Moscow's 800th anniversary is earnest curly-haired Jean Alty, of Chelsea.

Miss Alty has been a confirmed Russophile since she spent six weeks in the Soviet Union eleven years ago. She is now secretary of British-Soviet Friendship Houses Ltd.

Her fond hope (and she wants about £1,000 to realise it) is to establish a club in London where Britons and Russians can mull over mutual relations. She believes, she tells me, that misunderstandings could be disposed of over a cup of tea.

Evening Standard, 9/9/47.

fall. All electoral activity means only a prolongation of misery.

We ourselves must conquer our own freedom.

Hamburg.

CARL L.

[The above letter is a translation of the original German.—Eds.]

★

DEAR FRIENDS,

First of all I thank you very much for the newspapers you were so good to send to me. We make practical use of every one of them, nothing goes to waste, they are too precious for that.

Now I come to the refutation of R. Rocker's pamphlet by John Olday, in *Freedom*, August 9th. My friends and myself see in the pamphlet, that Rocker intends to help us, and we thank him very much for his good will, but we have to reject his pamphlet from the start to the finish. If we would follow his advice and opinions expressed in the pamphlet, it would be our liquidation, at least for the present. It is enigmatical that a man with so much experience as Rocker has, can give us such advice and express such opinions. If we would follow them, a part of his own life-work would be annihilated. He must be misinformed. What he said of the communes is all bosh, there has not been a change in this respect, why should there be a change? Rocker ought to know his opponents better.

In short: John Olday has told the plain facts, and to add anything to it would only be a waste of time.

Rocker's pamphlet will never do us any good, but has done us already harm, because it has caused heated discussions. The world of to-day has not time for confusions, and in this country less than anywhere else.

Wuppertal.

WILLY F.

A TECHNICAL PROBLEM

Spring cleaning at the Houses of Parliament is always delayed until the summer when MPs are away on their long holiday. The process is now in full swing.

Tapestries are being dusted, oil paintings restored. Even some of the massive carved doors are being replaced. The Commons debating chamber is the busiest place of all.

Apart from the general brush-up it is getting, acoustic experts are experimenting with various loudspeaker devices. Without microphones few people listening to the debates from the galleries would be able to hear what MPs are saying. So years ago an unobtrusive loudspeaker system was installed.

Now the authorities are trying to find a more effective system. I am told that several methods are being tried out.

One involves placing microphones on the table between the Government and Opposition front benches.

If adopted, this idea would no doubt make all the big speeches clearly audible, but there are disadvantages.

Prominent politicians do not like to hear the confidential whispers of their colleagues broadcast by sensitive microphones.

The Star, 1/11/47.

HE FOUND OUT

As a conscript I imagined that I would be accorded a measure of respect by my superiors in the Air Force, and would be invited to join in the spirit of service to the community.

Alas for my hopes!

To the Service authorities I am the nearest equivalent to a convict sent to a penal establishment for correction.

I am the proletarian; N.C.O.'s are the middle-class; officers the aristocracy.

If I smile on parade at the time-worn jokes of my N.C.O., I am transgressing the Bible of military discipline.

Here the teachings of Christ are evil anarchic theories. No men are equal—even off duty.

Initiative is discouraged, thinking is the sole prerogative of the higher ranks. Submission is the text of the sermon.

Letter in Leader, 13/9/47.

LESSER BREEDS

Mr. Patrick Kennelly, secretary of the Australian Labour Party, declared at the Commonwealth Conference of Labour Parties in Toronto, that the Australian Government believed in a "white Australia", he said. The country's 6,000 black Aborigines were a dying race, kept on reservations.

Evening Standard, 9/9/47.

TIME TO RETIRE

Frederick Harding, 69, was described by his counsel at the Old Bailey yesterday as a man "past his best days in crime, who, not being as agile as he was before, could not run away as fast as he should."

Harding, who pleaded guilty to stealing £250 worth of jewellery, was gaoled for two years.

Daily Mirror, 11/9/47.

Anarchist Summer School

THIS year's Anarchist Summer School which was held in Hampstead can be said to have been a success socially, if not financially, as last year's. The first lecture, opening the school was given by one of the most widely-esteemed speakers of the movement, Mat Kavanagh. He spoke on "Nationalisation and the Worker", and was rewarded with a good practical discussion and little criticism. He pointed out how the programme of the ruling class, whether Conservative or Labour, was always the same, it always aimed at dividing the working class, putting out propaganda which amounted to dope, killing any sense of responsibility in the workers so that

they invariably put all responsibility on to someone else. It was, said Mat Kavanagh, only due to the aftermath of war, when there was a general feeling of disgust for all those connected with the running of the war, that the people voted in the Labour Government; it was largely a kind of protest against government and authority, symbolised in the Conservatives, and there had to be a change; but alas, so long as there is a Government there will be no change: Labour or Conservative, they are all the same.

He ended his talk with a short picture of the practical side of the Spanish Revolution,

"The Means of Revolution"

By Saturday afternoon many more comrades had arrived, and the country as a whole, was, fairly well represented. Many came from Lancashire, others from Dorset, Herts, Walsall, Gloucestershire, Surrey, Berkshire, Essex, Glasgow, Bristol, Gosport, Great Yarmouth and Birmingham, and there were, of course, many from all parts of London. The discussion after Philip Sansom's lecture "Means of Revolution", was both positive and stimulating; most people there took part and every possible angle was touched on and discussed.

The question of education and the formation of Anarchist schools took up a large part of the discussion.

After supper the forty odd comrades gathered in the Lecture Room heard a well-known comrade from Glasgow, Eddie Shaw! Comrade Shaw gave us a survey of industry in Glasgow now, and pointed out that "Anarchism" was an everyday word in Glasgow, and that wherever one went one could hear interesting discussions on Anarchism from every aspect, in factories, in the shipyards, in pubs, at the Dogs. Anarchist public meetings were well attended, but he maintained that the workers in Glasgow were still no better off, even though they knew the answer. They still did not understand their power as individuals. He stressed the fact that YOU are the most important person, and until everyone realises this then there will always be someone better off than you.

Aspects of Anarchism

On Sunday, there were still more new faces at John Hewetson's talk on "Contemporary Aspects of Anarchism". He first gave a brief historical outline of the Movement in England, comparing its strength during the war and now, pointing out that although in actual numbers the movement was probably smaller now, the movement as a whole was, nevertheless, as strong, if not stronger.

Many times in the heartening discussion that followed Comrade Hewetson was accused of underestimating the strength and influence of the Anarchist Movement in this country. Attention was also drawn to the wide contact maintained with comrades abroad. The value of this work, especially with our German comrades for instance, should not be underestimated. The week-end was rounded off with a Social Evening and comrades again had an opportunity for discussion and for getting to know one another personally. And when finally the evening came to a close it was generally felt that the Summer School had been a great success, for the opportunity it had offered to exchange notes on activity in the different localities from which comrades came and for healthy discussion of the fundamental problems facing our movement in the troubled times ahead.

P.W.

"Marble Arch Main Colliery," the high-light of the show, is billed as "the mine with no coal." Its manager is Mr. James Owens, of Astley Green Colliery, near Manchester, and the 45 guides are all miners. Persons not schooled in the arts of propaganda may wonder whether the West End is really the best place at

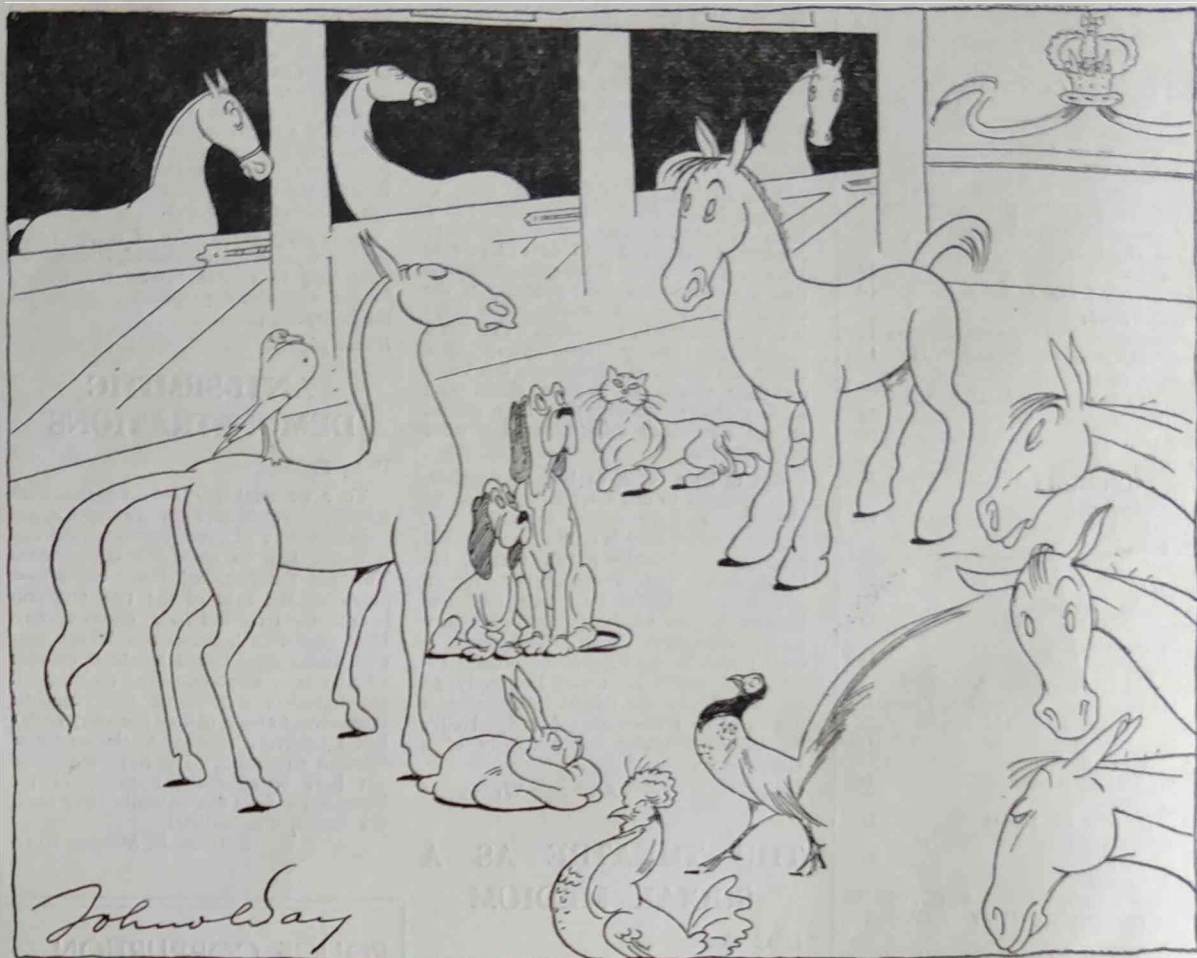
this moment for a brand-new 10-ton Meco-Moore cutter-loader, a Joy power-loader and all these modern mining machines and craftsmen.

Inside Hyde Park, 400 yards away, ten carpenters and joiners might be observed to-day completing a make-believe pithead mining shaft. Nearby six ponies quietly

nibbled at the parched grass. Together with a series of colliery bands they lend local colour to the Marble Arch Main Colliery. At night they are lodged in the royal mews at Buckingham Palace, side by side with the King's greys and bays.

Manchester Guardian, 11/9/47.

You lucky ponies!



"My dear, you're charming but stupid," the Royal horse said, very stiffly. "For you it's always work and want. For us it's simply spivving and living."

CRIPPS' PLAN

(Continued from page 1)

one country's exports are imports to all the buying countries. Dominant powers must have a favourable balance, and failure in this struggle means being enslaved by debt to the successful. This is what Goering meant when he declared that "Germany must expand or bust". It is the same idea in less bombastic phraseology that Labour ministers put forward when they insist that Britain's continued existence as a world power, etc., etc., depends on the fate of the export drive.

But the fact is that such export drives are only the manifestation of the capitalist competition which leads ineluctably to war. Historians recognized the pattern before the 1914 war, and it was pointed out often enough before 1939. No doubt

it will be equally obvious to the survivors of the coming war. Anarchists have always worked for its general recognition before the slaughter begins.

TOWARDS ENSLAVEMENT

But the resemblances to Russia and Germany do not end there. The Cripps plan and the revised export list has been lauded by the industrialists. They have now got their targets and they can get on with the job. What they mean is that they have now a programme which indicates to them their profits, and the government has engaged itself to provide the means for achieving these target-profits.

In effect this means that the Government, taking into account the interests of the owners of industry, has planned production. By itself this would be only of academic interest perhaps; but it means also that the Government also plans the lives of workers. Hence the continuance of the control of engagement order, the conception of "essential" and inessential work, which provides a guide whereby workers can be switched out of one job and into another, or compelled to remain in a particular job regardless of his own feelings about it. He must stick to it in the interests of closing the gap between imports and exports—the polite description of the employers' need to make profits.

The upshot is that any expression of discontent on the part of workers is condemned on patriotic grounds—"Your country's future is at stake! Is this the time to press sectional demand? . . . and so on. It is our Government's version of the "needs of the Fatherland", the "imperious demands of the struggle for Socialism" and all the other watchwords whereby workers abroad have been bludgeoned into acceptance of a course which leads to . . . war.

ABSOLUTE REJECTION REQUIRED

Such is the general vista. It is silly optimism to try and kid oneself that any other future lies ahead for capitalist economy. Hence it is quite futile to see the present situation as any special outcome of Labour policy. Conservatives or Liberals or Communists alike would have to employ exactly the same measures.

Nor can one object simply to one aspect of the process such as the increased powers of direction of labour without considering the others. Every part interlocks with every other part in the deadly warpath of capitalist economy. The trend is clear enough; it will not be reversed by partial measures. War is the goal, and if one rejects it one must reject the whole process which leads to that goal. Reject the scramble for exports, reject the whole economic structure which reproduces that scramble in all its transactions by making the recipient pay more than the cost, by insisting on profit.

And in rejecting it, let us remember that this war-making economy which keeps the masses of the world poor has almost no counterbalancing advantages to put forward as reasons why we should not reject it outright. It is the system which pays more attention to exporting toys and motor cars than to providing food for people either at home or abroad. Not only is it a war economy, it is also a starvation economy.

Press Fund

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UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS:

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Sunday Evening Lectures
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
at 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1

SEPT. 21st Eric Maple
"Anarchist Propaganda"

N.E. LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

NEXT MEETING:
at Flat 3, 43, New Wanstead
(Nr. Green Man, E.11)

TUESDAY, SEPT. 23rd, at 7.30
Alan Smith on The Haiti Rebellion
of 1789—1802

TUESDAY, OCT. 7th at 7.30
S. Watson Taylor. Lecture to be
announced.

Any enquiries to:—
27 Red Lion Street, W.C.1.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

Public Meetings at
CENTRAL HALLS, BATH ST.,
will be held every Sunday evening.

First meeting: September 28th.

Speakers: Preston Clements, John
Gaffney, Frank Leech,
Eddie Shaw.

Doors open 6.30 p.m.

Make a point of telling your
friends and workmates of these
indoor meetings to be held in
Glasgow during the coming
months.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP

Regular fortnightly public discussion
meetings are held on Sundays at 7 p.m.
at Dick Sheppard House,
36 Holloway Head.

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Housewives League Admit Political Backing

MISS DORTHY CRISP and her notorious Housewives' League have once more forced themselves on to the front pages of the National Press. This time it was not as a result of a free fight with Communist hecklers but among themselves! The two factions within the League are led by Miss Crisp, supported by Mrs. Lovelock, and Mrs. Hart respectively. The charges levelled at Miss Crisp by Mrs. Hart are interesting in view of the League's denial earlier this year of being connected with any political party (*Freedom*, 28th June). She first of all charged her rival with keeping a political No. 2 account for the League which nobody but Miss Crisp had ever seen.

She also accused her of spending £100 of the League's money "to entertain her rich friends at the May Fair" and shouted: "Miss Crisp has sold us to politics and to the Road Haulage Association."

Waving a paper, she said: "I have here in my hand a letter from the RHA to Miss Crisp proving that they paid £1,750 for your meeting at the Royal Albert Hall."

Miss Crisp in her reply, admitted the existence of a No. 2 account, but stated that it was used to pay for the League's Newsletter. She also admitted that it was correct that the Road Haulage Association had paid for the League's Royal Albert Hall meeting.

There can no longer by any doubt as to the background and aims of this organisation which has hitherto posed as being composed simply of indignant housewives with a grievance, but without any political bias. The are undoubtedly many genuine housewives in the League, but perhaps by now they have realised that they were simply being used as pawns in the old, old political game of party politics.