"You do not realize what spring means till it is winter; and the best songs of May are written behind the stove. The love of freedom is a prison flower, and only in captivity does one feel the value of liberty."

HEINRICH HEINE.

Vol. 13, No. 12

March 22nd, 1952

Threepence

FIVE ANARCHISTS EXECUTED IN BARCELONA; 27 MORE WORKERS ON TRIAL THIS MONTH

# Appeal to World Opinion

RANCO's firing squads have again been busy. Five of the nine leading members of the illegal anarchist Trade Union, C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labour), who were condenned to death by a Military Tribunal in Barcelona last month, had their sentences conrmed by the Central Government early last week. They were executed a firing squad the following Friday. According to a Reuter report mom Madrid: "In the small hours of the morning, a special Mass was in the prison chapel and the men were asked to attend, but refused."

The executed men were Jose Pedredo. Jorge Pons Argilez, Gruana, Pedro htiago Mir rover Font and Gines Urrea Pina. Thus Franco and his brutal regime opt responsibility for five more ims to the already long list of who have paid the supreme rifice for their part in Spain's gele for freedom.

is true that Franco's representahave protested that these men guilty of "three murders, ed hold-ups, and several rob-es in Barcelona and its vicinity." lging, however, by the worldexpressions of horror when the th sentences were passed, no one leved that the trial was anything Franco's way of suppressing osition to his regime. A lastinute appeal to prevent the execuwas made in vain by the British Parliamentary Labour Party and by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

FLSEWHERE on this page is an announcement of a Protest Meeting to be held in London. It is a meeting above party politics. It is an attempt to revive the public conscience in this country, and we hope, later, throughout the world, to the terrible things that have been and are happenning in Spain, and which political expediency is at-tempting to whitewash. Just as when Russia was fighting on the same side as the democracies, so the horrors of forced labour and

the secret police were conveniently forgotten, to be revived only when Russia was no longer an ally, so with Franco. Now that the Americans are anxious to draw him into their military defence schemes, all the brutalities of Franco's regime, the prisons filled with men and women whose crimes are that they have fought for the elementary freedoms of assembly, of the Press and of speech,, are deliberately soft-

The real answer to the threat of Russian (or any other) totalitarian-ism is not war but a Free World. If in the "democracies" we not only preached freedom but also practised it, there would be no totalitarian

### SPEEDING POLITICAL TRIALS IN SPAIN

A CCORDING to the Observer (16/3/52): "The Franco Government is reliably reported to be hurrying the trials of political prisoners for whom the death sentence is sought, so that they will be unable to benefit from a limited amnesty expected to be proclaimed during the Eucharistic Congress at Barcelona from May 27th to June 6th. A group of 27 trade unionists are to be tried soon in Barcelona on unspecified charges of sabotage committed in 1947."

The 27 trade unionists referred to are all members of the C.N.T. and we understand that the prosecution will demand three death sentences.

"Special Branch Officers have only the

"Yet at sea and air ports they have established themselves as an integral part of clearance machinery. At sea-ports the detective stands to the right of the Immigration Officer.

"Al Airfields, the Yard Man has a desk alongside those of the Immigration Officers and passengers are routed to him after passing first through immigration.

"He takes passports, checks names against the two suspect lists and passes passengers on to the Customs."

"This has already been done by the Immigration Officers and, legally, the detective has no right to essery out these

In addition, this double check by officers of the two organisations leads to duplicated reports from the Immigration Officer to the Home Office and from the detective to Scotland Yard.

The row between the two organisa-

of any police constable . . . to d proof of identity from a

threat. Instead, the threat now comes not only from without but also from within. By accepting the use of totalitarian methods to fight totalitarianism, we are permitting the whole world to drift into dictatorships by consent.

The Churches seek a solution in more religion. The politicians of the Left seek it by bigger and better Governments (World Governments, United States of Europe . . .) The anarchists believe that we shall be approaching a solution when the majority of men and women will have the courage to act and think for themselves. For then they will say No! to political expediency and compromise. They will say No! to the petrol bomb and the atom bomb, to the concentration camps and the witch-hunts. Then they will say No! to "Guns instead of Butter" and to controlled and to controlled thinking.

NEXT week's meeting to Protest against Franco's suppression of Free Speech in Spain and the execution of representatives of the workers' organisations can serve two purposes. Firstly, of clearly demonstrating to Franco that whatever may be America's policy in Spain, we shall protest against, and give publicity to, the barbarities of his regime until world opinion will really become effective in helping the Spanish people to free themselves from the totalitarian yoke.

But, secondly, we should make this meeting the beginning of our own "rehabilitation". The long war years, with all the horrors and exhaustion they brought in their trail, have blunted that spirit of freedom and justice, so well summed-up in the phrase "an injury to one is the concern of all". A spirit of defeatism, a pathological concern for material well-being have swept the

world and the pockets of resistance are ruthlessly being eliminated one by one.

To-day, in the world of gloom, the Spanish workers resistance to Fascism, a struggle which has been waged for fifteen terrible years is, in spite of its apparent hopelessness, the most inspiring example of a people's will to freedom. Maybe the Resistance in Spain is only a small fraction of the Spanish population. But so long as there is one man left to defend the freedom we all desire, but lack the courage and conviction to fight for, there is hope.

May the Protest Meeting on March 27th, be the beginning of a resistance movement, linked throughout the world by men and women of like mind, against injustice, irrespective of political and national considerations, and for freedom and human dignity!

# The T.U.C. and the Budget

A S was to be expected. Butler's Budget has been greeted by a howl from the T.U.C. The people who persuaded the South Wales miners not to operate their ban on Saturday morning shifts in protest against the Tories' economies, want such protests to remain merely verbal with themselves holding a monopoly in verbosity.

"Strong criticism," we are told, is expected to come from the Economic Committee, who report on their inquest on the Budget on March 26.

The rather amusing thing about this, however, is that, in part at least, Mr. Butler has done what the T.U.C. wanted, for they were reported a week before the Budget as urging a relief in income tax for the "lower income groups"—as workers

"lower income groups"—as workers are now quaintly called.

This, Mr. Butler has done, but because, in the nature of things in the world of finance, everything has to be paid for, obviously he had to make good his losses somewhere else. He chose food subsidies, among other things, which apparently the T.U.C. had not bargained for—hence the protests.

But what did they expect? They knew perfectly well that this was going to be a hard Budget for the workers, because they know that the money to pay for rearmament has to be found somewhere. The slimy thing about this, however, is

The slimy thing about this, however, is

that the fuss is largely political in nature and is being engendered more because the Budget was introduced by the Tories than anything else.

In the debate in the House of Commons, Clement Davies, the Liberal leader, in the happy position of being neutral in the Labour-Tory slanging match—said, "Mr. Gaitskell (who opened the debate for the Labour Opposition) made a gallant struggle to find means of criticising the Budget, but if he had been at the Despatch Box it would have been much of a muchness."

And, of course, it would. But for the trade union leaders, the task then would have been to explain it away to the workers and to get them to accept it without disturbance. After all, Sir Stafford Cripps and Gaitskell himself did their best in their time to reduce our standards in order to deal with the economic

in order to deal with the economic crises, but from the T.U.C. then the cry was only for restraint and acceptance of

the wage-freeze.

Just like the Conservatives themselves. Just like the Conservatives themselves, and their election promises which have gone up in smoke, the T.U.C. and the Labour leaders are pulling a political hoax. Their opposition is phoney, and it is to be hoped that the workers will see through it, and realise the situation as it really is.

Like the Labour Party, the T.U.C. ac-Like the Labour Party, the F.U.C. accept rearmament. They are even on the "Right" wing of the Labour movement, in support of Attlee and strongly opposed to the Bevan group and their criticism of the armament programme—which is limited enough, after all. So, accepting rearmament, what is the inevitable result?

Obviously, a policy of guns before butter, which very soon becomes, as we said last week, guns before bread and butter, for it is not only the luxuries which are being attacked, but the barest properties too. which are being attacked, but the barest necessities, too. And since the trade union leaders are not fools—they would not be in the cushy jobs they have if they were—they know full well the consequences of the policy the Government is pursuing. And being "responsible" patriots they conceive their task to be one of support, in the national interest. The fact that the rearmament policy is leading the working-class—which they are supposed to represent—into hardship and eventually into war, is a strange interpretation of "national interest", but then the workers are used to being spoken to as though they are apart from the nation.

What a situation for the working—

the nation.

What a situation for the working-class! We are being worked into a position perhaps as bad as any in our history, and a century of struggle for trade unionism is being thrown away by a servile leadership.

The rank and file are willing to resist. The South Wales miners and the York railinen, have shown their militancy—but have been talked down by the leaders.

rainien, nave snown their mititaley—out have been talked down by the leaders, it ever there was a justification of the anarchist and syndicalist opposition to leadership, the present trade union movement is it.

But while the rank and file show them-But while the rank and file show them-selves prepared to "have a go" (miners at Kaines colliery, Muirkirk, Ayrshire, held a one-day strike against the Budget the next day) all is not lost. It will be lost if they allow the leadership to crush all their initiative and militancy. The time is ripe for the rank and file to begin again. It is not a matter of

to begin again. It is not a matter of trying to put a theory into practice, but of having to accept the reality of the times and acting in sheer self-defence. Without a gathering of the strength of the workers, they will be crushed by the British version of the corporate militarist state. By finally accepting the fact that trade unionism has nothing further to ofter and that their future well-being is their own affair, the workers will be taking the first step towards the creation of a syndicalist movement.

Whey they finally begin to look to themselves and to act for themselves, the degeneration in our lives can be brought to a halt.

AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE

Demonstrate your Solidarity with the Spanish Workers' Resistance Movement and your abhorrence of the Franco regime, which last week ordered the execution of five more militant workers by supporting a non-party, non-political

> MEETING PROTEST

to be held at the MEMORIAL HALL,

Farringdon Street (100 yards from Ludgate Circus), on Thursday, March 27th at 7.30 p.m. sharp.

Speakers will include:

H. N. BRAILSFORD FENNER BROCKWAY J. BRONOWSKI MICHAEL FOOT

AUGUSTUS JOHN KINGSLEY MARTIN HENRY MOORE HERBERT READ

Chairman : Philip Sansom

Handbills for distribution and posters obtainable from the Organising Committee, FRUIDOM PRESS, 27 Red Lion Street, W.C.1 Telephone: Chancery 8364.

# Secret Police at the Ports are provided with special telephones fitted with "scramblers" to contact M.I.5 (for political suspects) and Scotland Yard (for criminals).

Reynolds News last Sunday published an account of an alleged clash between Immigration Officers and Special Branch detectives over the share-out of their work at sea and air ports.

According to Reynolds, Immigration Officers are attacking an attempt of four years standing by the Special Branch to take over their duties altogether. They demand instead that the Scotland Yard men be withdrawn altogether from duties involving passengers, on the grounds that they are merely dupli-cating the work of the Immigration Officers, and also that Scottand Yard men have no legal authority to carry out such duties. Reynolds News summarises the activity of these two agencies thus:

"Duties of the Inungration Service are listed in the Aliens Order of 1920.
"Officers in this service are issued with warrants signed by the Home Secretary, which grants to them powers to demand production of documents.

suspect persons—one for British subjects and one for aliens.

"They are provided with two lists of

tions began four years ago when the Special Branch put pressure on the Home Office to get control of the Immigration "Passengers' names are checked against these lists. Should a suspect arrive or report for departure, Immigration Officers [Editorial Comment. p 3]

Our reader, A.B., of Redear,

WAS very interested to read the Books," in this week's copy of FREEDOM. ant enclosing an article on the same theme from the current number of *The*Library Assistant, the official journal of
the Association of Assistant Librarians,
which I think will interest readers. The additional examples of attempted thought-control in the U.S.A. which it details provide further evidence of the extent of the danger to Freedom of Speech, etc., in the West, to which the outlined "Library Bill of Rights" provides a welcome, though perhaps not a very effective, deterrent.

### THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM By R. L. COLLISON,

Reference Librarian, Westminster P.L. (now spending twelve months in the United States).

A STRANGE situation has arisen in the United States since the war, and one which may well provoke a wariness among British librarians of even the slightest criticism of their book-selection. America has long had a different attitude from ours concerning the value of ex-perience in matters of general judgment: whereas we are inclined to ask what a critic knows of the subject he is disthe average citizen in America has a deep and innate distrust of the expert. In some ways the American attitude has its merits as part of the democratic way of living; at the same time, however, it leads to a sense of in-security among the leaders of the political, social and intellectual life of of the country.

During the past few years there have been a number of cases where the stock or the book-selection policy of an individual library has been questioned or criticised in severe terms by sections of the local press. or by such organisations as the American Legion, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution, etc. Before the war, outside criticism of this kind was usually limited to "immoral" books of the type which made Boston world-famous. But, since the war, the emphasis has been much more on the political, and particularly the ideological nature of the books. The attack has been not so much on books of a frankly extremist attitude such as the works of Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky. Engels, Marx, etc., Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, Engels, Marx, etc., or such papers as Izvestia or Pravda, but rather on books by such well-known writers as Edgar Snow, Frank Lloyd Wright, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Lewis Mumford, Stuart Chase, Carl Crow, Pearl Buck, etc., who have been accused by columnists and radio critics of being fellow-traveliers. The attacks in such large country, take widely differing

In one small Mid-West city, the local newspaper has been leading a campaign against the contents of the library. and its attack has included personal criti-cism of the librarian and his background Unfortunately, the paper has been able to strengthen its attack by quoting (out of context) from a statement on book-selection made by the librarian of a large public library in another state. In a manufacturing town in California, the book stock of the library was severely criticised by outside organisations, and

### FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

Soil & Civilization Edward Hyams 21/-

David Mitrany 25/-"One of those rare books or historic new thinking."—A. J. P. TAYLOR.

The Idiot Teacher Gerard Holmes 12/6 Conspiracy of Silence

Alex Weis being 21/-

Ill-Health, Poverty & the State

John Hewetton 2/6
What are the causes of ill-health? That is the question this Francis Pare's publication aceks to answer.

Obtainable from 27, RED LION STREET. LONDON, W.C.I

## Defending Freedom of Thought

the library committee serious considered the advisability of accepting the offer of a public relations firm which had volunteered (for a fee) to comb the stock for subversive books and to indicate which they were. At the end of 1949, an organisation in New Jersey exerted pressure on libraries in the State to put a sure on horaties in the State to put a prominent label or inscription on publications advocating or favouring Communism, and to ensure that such books were only available on signed application.

The American Library Association took the appropriate action of setting up in 1939 its Committee on Intellectual Freedom, and on June 18th, 1948, it reaffirmed its belief in the following basis policies which it felt should govern the services of all libraries:

### LIBRARY BILL OF RIGHTS.

- (1) As a responsibility of library service, books, and other reading matter selected should be chosen for values of interest, information and enlighten-ment of all the people of the community. In no case should any book be excluded because of the race or nationality, or the political or religious views of the writer.
- There should be the fullest practicable provision for material presenting all points of view concerning the all points of view concerning the problems and issues of our times, international, national, and local; and books or other reading matter of sound factual authority should not be proscribed or removed from library shelves because of partisan or doctrinal disapproval.
- (3) Censorship of books, urged or practised by volunteer arbiters of morals or political opinion or by organisations that would establish a coercive concept of Americanism, must be challenged by libraries in maintenance of their responsibility to provide public information and enlightenment through the printed word.
- (4) Libraries should enlist the co-operation of allied groups in the fields of science, of education, and of book publishing in resisting all abridgment of the free access to ideas and full freedom of expression that are the tradition and heritage of

(5) As an institution of education for democratic living, the library should welcome the use of its meeting rooms for socially useful and cultural activities and discussion of current public questions. Such meeting places should be available on equal terms to all groups in the community regardless of the beliefs and affiliations of their members.

By official action of the Council of the Association on February 3rd, 1951, the Bill of Rights was confirmed "to apply to all materials and media of communication used or collected by libraries": a clause especially necessary in a country whose libraries circulate so much audiovisual material.

These are sound principles to which it might be thought that any librarian would be delighted to lend his support. Nevertheless, in December, 1951, the Head Librarian of Kansas State Teachers' College published an article in the Catholic Library World, in which he stated: "to make all books available to all is bound to be harmful to some people," and the library board of a city people," and the library board of a city in Illinois, who were considering a motion on labelling "questionable or controversial" library materials, told their librarian that they did not wish to hear the American Library Association's policy on labelling when he offered to read it to them. In the Elks Magazine of July, 1951, the publisher and editor of an American paper called Counter. of July, 1951, the publisher and editor of an American paper called Counterattack, made an appeal to readers to "visit your local library and check on the books and periodicals that are being bought.—And those that are not being bought. Your library is one of the most powerful opinion-making organisations in the community. Yet most libraries have limited funds and must be selective. have limited funds and must be selective in their buying. . . It is your right and responsibility as a taxpayer to see that the library's funds are not wasted on books and magazines written by Communist propagandists and Soviet apologists, while authoritative works on the Communist conspiracy are by-passed. . . . Under present world conditions librarians should consider it their prime responsi-bility, from the viewpoint of community service, to build up the best possible

Continued on p. 3

### -Book Review-

THE REBELLION OF THE HANGED

THE REBELLION OF THE HANGED, by B. Traven. Translated by Charles Duff. (Robert Hale, 10/6)

world sharply dominated by Washington and Moscow, social revolutions are readily condemned by one side or the other as being part of an international conspiracy. The desan international conspiracy. The desperate outbursts of hungry Africans are dismissed as communist-inspired; the resistance of Slavonic peasants against imposed collectivisation simply disguises a capitalist plot. The idea of social revolution is now so tainted that calls for a world of Love, Land and Liberty, or Workers' Control, receive only the sneering smile of the dirty-minded watching two boys walking hand in hand.

With The Rebellion of the Hanged we are taken back to the days of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, a period when revolution was still an affair of men rather than of a soulless organisation. Traven's story begins about the time when the dictatorship of Diaz was collapsing and Magón, Zapata and Madero were beginning the uprising which finally ended it. In many instances, the revolution took the form of quite independent operations, thrown up spontaneously by the terrible conditions under which the peon lived and worked. Such an operation is the theme of this

The story carries us into a lumber camp in the company of an aptly named peon, Candido, who has been forced to leave his small-holding. With his sister and his two children, his wife having died because of a doctor's callous neglect, they begin this new life in the steaming forests of South Mexico. They quickly discover, however, that the lumber camp is a place where men are beaten and tortured, and that to escape from the sadistic foremen and managers means facing the surrounding jungle. As conditions worsen, and those in authority decide that the only way to increase production is by greater brutality, certain incidents occur which reveal to the

workers the fact that they are not as powerless as they had always assumed. Two or three of their number have been involved before in revolutionary activi-ties, and now find themselves thrown up as organisers of a rebellion.

This progresses inevitably to the final assault against the management, and the slaughter of their oppressors. The revo-lutionaries then decide that they are now committed to something far greater than the destruction of the lumber camp, the call of Tierra y Libertad. At the con-clusion of the book they have formed themselves into an army and are advancing against the first villages that lie after the wild forests.

In his book, The Death Ship, the author made the state come to life with the reality of a speaking and thinking character. In the same way revolution becomes, in The Rehellion of the Haused the living reality it. Hanged, the living reality. It means, of course, that one does not feel for the individual characters as much as one should, and one has the impression blurred faces merging together to form an event. This, however, does an detract from the forcefulness with which the theme of the revolution is develop and the manner in which it immedia compels the reader's attention. T be some criticism of the deta in which brutality and violence treated in this book. But no one has studied this period in Mex history will question the authenticit such happenings.

The translation by Charles Duff br out admirably the sharp and inci-picture which the author has created

### **Art Galleries**

AT the Lefevre Gallery, Edward B is showing the series of paintings which he has been engaged for the two years. They are religious paint—the subjects are the usual of Flagellations of Christ, Expulsion of Money Lenders from the Temple, and they are all painted with peculiar intensity of violence and me marish terror which Burra strives successfully to obtain. For his paintin have got these sinister, and for a decidedly unpleasant things, to the clusion of almost all other qualities, a Least that if this precentation we I feel that if this preoccupation with horrors and the communication of creep atmospheres were the starting point of new development, then it might be the one would find some evidence in these present works. But no. There are the old familiar religious scenes which we all know, most richly coloured and popughouls set in a sterile atmosphere of fear and terror, and that is all.

To exchange this gloomy pessimism for the exhilarating turbulence of Ossip Zadkine's sculptures and gouaches at the Leicester Gallery is something of a Zadkine's last show in England was in 1928, and apart from reproduc-tions and a few gouaches, I have seen very few of his originals, so it was an enjoyable experience to be confronted by the gay animation of Zadkine's shapes, for his sculpture is much more exciting than his gouaches. His figures make strange and lively patterns; there is a constant feeling of irrepressible movement, and if Zadkine manages to leave one feeling somewhat elated and re-freshed, that seems to be no small achievement in these days.

R.S.

### A Report from Glasgow

### Make Dead-End How to

REPORT by two Scottish social should be self-evident—that the prime cause of "juvenile deliquency" is bad housing, overcrowding and too-big families.\*

It is the story of 1,349 Glasgow boys who left school at the age of 14, on January 26th, 1947, and follows their lives up to the age of 17. The survey was made by Dr. Tom Ferguson, Professor of Public Health at Glasgow University, and Mr. James Cunnison, Director of Social and Economic Research

These boys, they say, were the product of a Glasgow age of unemployment and poverty—they were all born about the end of 1932, when Clydeside lay under depression, they grew up in war-

"Glasgow is a city of tenements," the authors point out, and they found that 83.7 per cent. of their sample lived in and weights of the boys were more by overcrowding than by the houses. (In connection with size of houses. (In connection with heights and weights, they found that there seemed to be an "optimum range" of height and weight at the age of 14 within which there was the least likelihood of delinquency, and the incidence of these maximum heights and weights was found to be closely related to the assessments of sociability, initiative, persistence, reliability and "personality".

"When the several types of local authority houses are considered separ-ately, boys from 'rehousing' areas used mainly to rehouse slum-dwellers, are found to have a much higher amount of crime than others." During the three

\*THE YOUNG WAGE-EARNER, by T. Ferguson and J. Cannison (Oxford University Press, 8/6). See also the Freedom Press pamph-let III Health, Poverty and the State.

### SUBLIMATION

Miss Georgina P. Mathie, principal psychologist, County of Stirling, quoted the case of a nine-year-old boy who ran amok with a hatchet in the large family of which he was a member, saying: "There are far too many bairns here." She showed how by psychological treatment he became completely adjusted and several years later he was working a guillotine in a printer's establishment.

-The Ross-shire Journal (quoted by Picture Post). years of the survey, 156 boys (11.6 per cent.) were convicted on 237 occasions. These figures are "probably an understatement of the amount of juvenile delinquency in the community," for they take no account of the boys from "approved schools" who would otherwise have been leaving school on the date at have been leaving school on the date at which the survey began. Overcrowding is again an unmistakable factor in the breeding of the young delinquent. "The drawn," the authors conclude, the "higher the delinquency and, in general, the greater the proportion of boys with more than one conviction." (Half the boys came from families of more than five children, a quarter from families of eight or more; 103 lived in one-room

At the end of three years, one in four of the boys was in a dead-end job with no clear idea of what his life work was to be. Just under half had received sustained training for skilled work. Aim-

less shifting from job to job was the characteristic of one in four. The boys in the dead-end jobs and those who kept changing jobs were shown to come from the badly-housed families. It is, however, interesting to note that

own choosing. Moreover, half of these had chosen their job for their interest. No more than 17 per cent. of these were in search of "security" and only 112 per cent. were actuated only by "considerations of pay". We need, say the authors of this important survey, not only medical services,

at 17, 84 per cent. of the boys declared that their present job was one of their

but healthy people: not only housing programmes but enough houses to accommodate every family in decency, free from overcrowding and in good surroundings.

"These are not the conditions under which the youths of to-day are growing

### BOOK **Broken Generation** REVIEW

THE MAN OUTSIDE: The Prose Work of Wolfgang Borchert. Translated by David Introduction by Porter. Stephen Spender (Hutchinson,

"We are the skittle-players. And we ourselves, the ball. But we, 100, are the skitt that fall. And the skittle-alley, where the thunder is, is our heart." WOLFGANG BORCHERT.

WOLFGANG BORCHET was sent to of the age of twenty. In 1942 he spent six months in solitary confinement under sentence of death for his outspoken letters. His sentence was commuted, but in 1944 he was again imprisoned. Demobilised, he worked in theatres and cabarets until the end of 1945 when he was taken ill with a fever resembling malaria. He spent the rest of his life in bed, and died in Basle in November, 1947.

Such was the life of the voice of a broken generation. His writings depict in all its stark despair the plight of the human individual in this world of war and fear of war. With a vigorous,

bare the futility of war and hopelessness of the fragmented Germany of the middle forties. Should anyone read this book and still maintain there is some justification for war, then the gods are indeed succeeding in their task of making

Stephen Spender, in a somewhat obscure introduction, writes that. There is no sense in conjecturing how Borchert would have developed Nevertheless, for myself, I think that Borchert had reached a stage in his development when there were only two paths he could take. The first was forpaths he could take. The first was forward to an anarchist position. (He reached, indeed, a sort of negative anarchism—an example of which is his sketch of prisoners exercising, entitled "The Dandelion".) The second was to fall into a despairing, fatalistic mysticism, traces of which run through most of his works, particularly his play "The Man Outside." Borchert himself, states he is a nihilist. In his "This is our Manifesto"

"For we are no-men. But we do not say No in despair. Our No is a protest. And there is no peace for us in kisses, for us Nihilists. For into the nothingness we must again build a Yes. Houses we must build in the free air of our No, over the abysses, the craters and the slit-trenches and over the open mouths of the dead: build

houses into the clean-swept air of the Nihilists, houses of wood and brain and houses of stone and thought."

### "There's Only One Thing"

The last work is a splendid manifesto against war and militarism (though anarchists will probably see little hope in his appeal to judges and factory-owners.) An acquaintance of mine, upon reading it, said it ought to be plastered in big posters over the whole of the country. And certainly, unless we take Borchert's advice and "say No" to the efforts of the world's rulers to prepare us for another orgy of destruction; unless the common people of the world cease being a mass and become thinking individuals, bending their energies to the construction of a world from which rulership and exploitation have been banished forever, then Borchert's prophecy in his "Stories From a Primer" may indeed prove true:

"When in the year 5000 a mole peeped out of the earth

he was comforted to observe: the trees are still trees. The crows still caw.
And dogs still lift their legs.
The fish and the stars, the moss and the red and the midges; all have remained the same.

And sometimes sometimes you meet a man."

S. E. PARKER.

Vol. 13, No. 12

March 22, 1952

### FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

THE cautious traveller entering or leaving this country may have speculated speculated on the identity and purpose of the men who examine his passport as he queues up for the Customs inspections. Those citizens who have had occasion to come in contact with the Special Branch of the Criminal Investigation Depart-ment, Scotland Yard (as the Political Police are called in this country) will probably have recognised members of this disagreeable body doing this passport scrutineering, and will thus have secured a clue. But the teneral public may well be quite until the public may well be quite until the public may well be quite until the public that the secured in the secured as the ware that these checks are con-ontinually going on. The alleged low-up between the Immigration ficers and the Special Branch may erefore serve a very useful purpose it brings the whole business out the open.

Reynolds News stresses egality of the position of Special anch passport scrutineers, but it is well to consider the duties of the migration Officers as well.

There was a time when entry exit from this country was con-Britain was regarded as a haven political asylum for foreign victims the Security Police services abroad. reportion never stood up for "God we the King," but he describes his Memoirs, the feeling of lief with which he boarded a ship ying the Union Jack, so much did be political freedom mean to a ontinental in the nineteenth cen-Not only is the would-be immigrant the object of check-overs by the Home Office (Immigration Officer) and Scotland Yard (Special Branch), but he also has to obtain permission from the Ministry of Labour before he can earn his living here. Since most countries impose limitations on the amount of money a man may take out, admission to this country to-day requires that a man be the guest of some Englishman wealthy nough to extend hospitality. Needless to say, such an arrangement immediately introduces a class

All this happens at a time when political or economic asylum was never so desperately needed by such enormous numbers of people. Yet there have been not a few cases where men driven to desperation have escaped from their own counrry, and being refused admission by the Immigration Officers, have com-mitted suicide.

Older people can remember that before 1914, passports were prized possessions, difficult to obtain, which greatly facilitated travel formalities. The promised assistance of the Foreign Secretary, inscribed on the inside cover, really meant something. But at the same time the movements of ordinary travellers, who did not hold a passport, were not unduly restricted. port, were not unduly restricted. Foday, a passport is compulsory for record of one's movements, and can be damning—as in the case of travellers who fear that a tell-tale visa for an Iron Curtain country may cause refusal from the Immigration Authorities of Britain and the U.S.A. (see FREEDOM, 15/2/52).

Bevin, when he was Foreign Secretary, used to exclaim that he looked forward to the day when passports would be abolished. It is well to remember that passports cover the activities of the Immigration Officers, the Second Paragraph tion Officers, the Special Branch, the Treasury, and the Ministry of Labour—all of their dead hands upon civil freedom.

### DARKEST AFRICA PROBLEM OF

We conclude below our extracts from Dr. Massono Salvadori's article in the Indian Quarterly on "The Problems of Darkest Africa." The conclusion which Dr. Salvadori reaches elsewhere in his article is that the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations should be given real power to supervise the application of a policy of limited interference" in the colonial territories, an arrangement by which "non-colonial Powers would be able to correct the abuses and mistakes made by the administering Powers." He believes that, "As what has already been done can seldom be undone without causing further injustice, a few reservations, totalling less than 1% of Dark Africa, could be set aside for the Europeans, Indians and Arabs where they are at present most numerous," and that, "Outside the reservations, non-Negro people would be aliens, subject to the laws and regulations passed by native administrations. There, in 99% of to-day's Dark Africa, Negroes should be allowed to shape their own destiny. Only thus could the West atone for the abuses to which Negroes have been subjected for the last four hundred years."

One should not dismiss out of hand, the views of an observer so informed and sympathetic, but a glance at the behaviour of the Colonial Powers at the meetings of the Trusteeship Committee in 1949 and 1951, is sufficient to indicate that they will never sanction the surrender of their power to the Council, far less will they be "corrected" by the "irresponsible criticism" of the non-Colonial Powers. As everywhere the liberation of colonial peoples will have to be by their own efforts, and the history of national revolutions shows that if liberation from foreign imperialism is confined to the political field, it results merely in a change of masters so far as the mass of the people are concerned. Africa and the world have still to be liberated from the principle of authority.

THE independent development of African Negroes has been suddenly halted. Sometimes with the best of intentions, more often with the aim of depriving them of the few riches they had, or of exploiting their labour, Europeans and Arabs have introduced in Dark Africa new political, religious and economic institutions. They have also imported a number of debilitating diseases.

also imported a number of debilitating diseases.

It is true that colonial rule has put an end to wars, raids, slavery, cannibalism, and human sacrifices, that it has brought considerable economic advancement, but one may wonder if these advantages compensate for the loss of a creative spirit which had already produced remarkable results.

Impact of Western Colonialism
In many parts of Africa, the old social order has already been destroyed. There are probably millions of what are called detribalized Negroes. Having lost their place in society, being unable to feel part of a community, they become a liability to themselves, to the other Negroes, and even to the White people. Elsewhere, other mistakes have been made. It hasn't helped the Negroes that most colonial administrators, in the upper brackets and the lower ones alike, had very little understanding of African life. They had been taught that the Negro is at best a child to be treated paternally, and at worst an unreliable savage, hardly worthy to be called a human being. Usually the petty bourgeois Europeans who fill the ranks of the colonial service, like their jobs. They have servants, spacious quarters, and the possibility for satisfying the poisonous craving for power which slumbers in the souls of most frustrated people.

White administrators have often suc-

people.
White administrators have often su White administrators have often succeeded in divesting of real power what used to be the traditional sources of authority, the Councils and the Chiefs. The result is the creation of a political vacuum. Missionaries have been able to prove that idols are not worth worshipping, but they have not succeeded in replacing, except in a few cases, the old religion with their own. The Christianity of most converts would hardly be called such if missionaries paid more attention to ideas and less to ritual. In

many parts of Africa "mission boy" (the Negro educated by missionaries) is synonymous with scoundrel. Government authorities, planters, and settlers, have collaborated in replacing the free economic life of the African Negroes with some form of forced labour, and fairly persuasive methods have been devised to induce them to work for the Europeans. Europeans.

devised to induce them to work for the Europeans.

Of course the picture is not so dark everywhere; there are grey spots, there is even some light. The greatest havoo to native institutions has probably been caused by the French and the Belgians. But there has been some improvement in their policies in recent years through an effort to reach a better understanding of the Negro and to interfere less with his life. The least havoc has been caused by the British, in some at least of the fifteen territories they own in Dark Africa. It is true that Kenya Colony, with its four million natives, is run mostly to the advantage of a few thousand Europeans; that in Southern Rhodesia one-fifth of the land is reserved for nearly two million natives while less than one hundred thousand Whites have the use of the other four-fifths. But it is also true that in Uganda most of the administration is in the hands of native authorities; that local parliaments really conduct the affairs of some of the tribes; that Europeans and Indians are not allowed to buy land, while efforts have been made to promote native agriculture, thereby raising the standard of living. In Tanganyika the colonial administration has intervened to protect the natives against exploitation by European and Oriental traders. In the Gold Coast and Nigeria, native political institutions have been respected and the share of the natives in running public affairs has increased. It is in these districts, in Uganda, in Nigeria, on the Gold Coast, that to-day one finds a vigorous native life, and considerable progress achieved—a proof that African Negroes fare better where there is a minimum of European interference.

It doesn't help much to blame and complain. The crimes of the slave trade.

It doesn't help much to blame and complain. The crimes of the slave trade the killing and enslaving of tens of millions of Negroes, have happened. It is fair to add that Europeans were not

alone in such abominable activities, but that they were alone in stamping them out; but is the success of the anti-slavery out; but is the success of the anti-slavery crusade sufficient atonement for the crime committed? It is not much use to debate to-day whether it was right or wrong for Europeans to occupy Dark Africa. In the 19th century European States were politically, economically, and intellectually the strongest, and they occupied all political vacuums in the world. To-day they are weak, and, thanks to their weakness, they may be obliged to revise their policies.

revise their policies.

The problem is: What is going to be done with Dark Africa, with that huge mass of land where more than one hundred million people live? If no agent interferes, the British, French, Belgians, Portuguese, and South Africans, are likely to continue a system which is destroying the self-development of African Negroes, and which has cloaked the creative abilities of most Negro peoples. The average well-intentioned citizen of Western countries will say (as he has been saying for a considerable time): "African Negroes are our wards. They cannot look after themselves. If we abandon them, our place will be taken by Arabs or by Communists, who are more ruthless than we, and Africans will be worse off than they are now. Therefore we cannot abandon them." And they go on to say: "But they must not be exploited. We will provide them with hospitals and schools. We will make Christians of them, and teach them to do away with polygamy, to accept our concepts of right and wrong. We must away with polygamy, to accept our concepts of right and wrong. We must introduce in Dark Africa the blessings of mass production, of labour and management efficiency. We must introduce

But as a positive programme, would the best thing be to make of the African Negroes replicas of Westerners, to clothe their bodies with trousers and skirts, and fill their minds with the beliefs, values, and prejudices with which the Western mind is at present overburdened? That Western civilisation has many favourable aspects is easy to prove, both on the

grounds of intellectual and material grounds of intellectual and material achievements; but to maintain, as many Westerners do, that it represents the last word in the field of cultural development is conceit. During the last 400 years, the West produced the religious wars of the Reformation (which brought death to one-third of the German nation), the political wars of the French Revolution and the two World Wars. There is a good deal wrong with a civilisation which has produced the Inquisition, the burning of witches, the Red terror and Himmler.

In the relationship between the West and African Negroes, three things should be considered: the limitations and drawbacks of Western civilisation, the inevitability of close contacts between the West and Africa, and the considerable progress made by African Negroes on their own. What would be to the greatest advantage of both the West and Dark Africa from the point of view of further progress in civilisation? The best reply to be given to this question would—I think—be the following: not to interfere with the Negro way of life to such an extent as to cause a breakdown in native culture or to destroy the creative abilities of the Negro peoples. If this is the right answer, it means the granting of a maximum of autonomy to the Negroes; to expose them to Western and other cultures without forcing any on them; to let them develop their own individual and group characteristics.

when mentioning cultural autonomy, it is not in the sense that the term is used in the Soviet Union, where great emphasis has been put on what they call the new freedom of national minorities. In the Soviet Union, autonomy means only that one may speak one's traditional language and develop a national literature. But apart from that, the Soviet Union is to-day following a policy of complete assimilation. Political and economic institutions are the same for Russians and non-Russians. Minds and consciences are indoctrinated to act in terms of Marxian dialects. Under the pressure of identical laws, customs are rendered uniform. rendered uniform.

Continued on p. 4

### Freedom of Thought

Perhaps, to British librarians, the lengthy attack on the latest edition of Helen E. Haine's Living with Books, in the Freeman of January 14th, 1952, will be the most surprising of all these attacks on libraries. In it, the author quotes extensively, out of context, from Miss Haines's words in an effort to establish "her late espousal of Communism, and her attempt to boost its literature."

All this is but part of a much wider

her attempt to boost its literature."

All this is but part of a much wider campaign against the intellectual world, in which politicians, university professors, school teachers, clergymen, book reviewers (and even such an old-established publishing firm as Little, Brown), and the film industry in the United States have been attacked in the press and over the radio. One nation-wide professional organisation of teachers at first decided to ignore these attacks, but later decided that a better policy was to fight back with every legitimate weapon it could command. Even the respectable Institute of Pacific Relations, and such an authority on the Far East as Owen Lattimore, have not escaped serious accusations.

At the American Library Association

Footnote.—The literature on this subject is already enormous. Those librarians who are interested in reading more may care to look at Leon Carnovsky's "Obligations and responsibilities of the librarian concerning censorship" (Library Quarterly, Iamary, 1950); L. K. Martin's "What are we afraid of?" (ALA Bulletin, December, 1948); David K. Berninghausen's "The case of the nation" (American Scholar, Winter, 1949) and his "A Summer, 1951); Claude Fuess's "The perils of conformity" (Saturday Review of Literature, January 12th, 1952); and John Crosby's "Radio and television" (New York Herald Tribune, November 19th, 1951).

Continued from p. 2

collection of authoritative works on Communism."

have not escaped serious accusations.

At the American Library Association Midwinter Meeting in the last week of January, 1952, the librarian of a large industrial city pointed out that the danger could come from unexpected quarters, citing how a man in his city whose books had been seized by the police as subversive, had promptly subpenaed copies of eighteen of them from the public library, in an effort to prove that they were freely available to the local population. He, in common with other librarians, had prepared a broad statement of book selection policy to show on what principles his purchases were made.

The post-war era has been one of

were made.

The post-war era has been one of great expansion and technical advance in American librarianship. At the same time, librarians in the United States are being forced by events, sometimes far away and at others uncomfortably close at hand, to consider what they should do in a similar situation in their own area. As one reader put it: "I'm an adult. Sound mind. Good education. Who the hell has the right to tell me what to read or warn me what not to read?"

Footnote.—The literature on this sub-

# Australia Cuts Imports

Unemployment likely in British industries

THE Australian Government have announced that many imports are to be cut to 20 per cent, of the total for the last financial year. Since Australia has provided an expanding market for many British industries, this measure comes as a severe blow to the industries concerned, and is likely to result in unemployment.

### MANKIND IS ONE Selections from FREEDOM.

This volume contains articles which were published in FREEDOM during 1951, and is the first of similar volumes to be published annually.

Volume 1. 1951

240 pages 6" x 8 " paper 7/6.
A few cloth bound volumes at 10/6 \*This Edition is available at present to reade s of FREEDOM at the special price of Five Shillings (postage 6d.) (U.S.A. readers 1.00 dollar post free).

The textile and motor car industries are the worst hit, but boots and shoes, cutlery, china, toys and and snoes, cuttery, china, toys and and other consumer goods are also seriously affected. The *Observer* remarks (9/3/52): "Indeed, the cut may be even more acutely felt than appears at first sight. In the last few months, Australian imports, especially from Britain, have been ricing even higher in many essections. rising even higher in many cases than they did in 1950-51. The drop from present exports may, therefore, be as high as 90 per cent."

The topsy-turvy nature of capitalist economy is stressed by the fact that (to quote the *Observer* again): "Serious as the results may be for many individual industries, official circles in London recognise the wisdom of Mr. Menzies' action. There is no doubt that the import cuts will help considerably to stop the leakage of the gold and dollar reserves of the sterling area, of which Britain is the custodian."

### Drift towards war

Such checks to one of the few expanding markets can only divert British industry more and more to-wards armaments as a safe and re-warding economic activity. The drift towards war is hastened by just these factors. FREEDOM PRESS TONY GIBSON: Youth for Freedom paper 2s. PHILIP SANSOM:
Syndicalism—The Workers'
Next Step
ERRIGO MALATESTA: 18. Anarchy.
Vote-What For? 6d. M. BAKUNIN:

Marxism, Freedom and the State.

paper 2s. 6d., cloth 5s.

HERBERT READ:

Art and the Evolution of Man. 4s.

Existentialism, Marxism and Anarchism.

3s. 6d. chism.

Poetry and Anarchism.

cloth 5s., paper 2s. 6d.

The Philosophy of Anarchism.

boards 2s. 6d., paper 1s.

The Education of Free Men. 1s. ALEX COMFORT: Delinquency
Barbarism & Sexual Freedom.
paper 2s. 6d., stiff boards 3s. 6d.
RUDOLF ROCKER:
Nationalism and Culture.
cloth 21s. ALEXANDER BERKMAN: ABC of Anarchism.
PETER KROPOTKIN: The State: Its Historic Rôle. 1s.
The Wage System. 3d.
Revolutionary Government. The Wage System.

Revolutionary Government.

3d.

Organised Vengeance Called Justice.

2d. JOHN HEWETSON:
Sexual Freedom for the Young 6d.
Ill-Health, Poverty and the State.
cloth 2s. 6d., paper 1s.

M. L. BERNERI:
Workers in Stalin's Russia.
GEORGE WOODCOCK: Anarchy or Chaos.

New Life to the Land.
Railways and Society.
Homes or Hovels?
What is Anarchism?
1d.
The Basis of Communal Living. 1s. WILLIAM GODWIN:
Selections from Political Justice. 3d.
On Law. On Law.

A. RIDLEY:
The Roman Catholic Church and the Modern Age.

2d.

Murie Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications: Marie Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A Tribute. cloth Ss. Journey Through Utopia. cloth 16s. (U.S.A. \$2.50)

K. J. KENAFICK:

Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx.

Paper 68.

27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.I.

THE great drawback to anarchist propaganda is the time one spends answering stock questions which quite obviously have no great value in them whatsoever. This is by no means con-fined to anarchist propaganda, and many other ideas have, of course, the same thing to contend with. I always recall in this connection hearing a young pacifist tell a C.O. Tribunal, when asked what he would do if a German tried to rape his sister, that he did not in fact have a sister. This was dis-missed as irrelevant! It would, it occurred to me, be very interesting if he had brought forward the decision of any court of law on a case in which some had (as the tribunal was apparently urging) killed anybody for that reason, even an enemy soldier. The same sort of "logic" seems to apply in objections

to anarchism.

Many people ask the same question: who would do the "dirty work"? It seems to me asking a bit much of the anarchists to answer this problem in their spare time, when full-time experts are becoming increasingly baffled by the self-same problem. Somebody once asked me at a meeting, "Who would go down the mines?". I was told I was irrelevant when I pointed out that the Coal Board were sitting up nights with headaches over that problem, and I did headaches over that problem, and I did not propose to assist them in their deliberations. It may be argued that some people regard this not merely as a flippant objection, but as a real

Darkest Africa

Cultural autonomy includes a good

deal more than language and lore. It means in the first place self-government,

the possibility for each tribe or nation

to determine the political institutions under which it wants to live, and the

right to choose its leaders freely. It means the development of different legal

systems; the application of a variety of

economic systems; the free choice of religious and ethical beliefs; the com-

petition between different ways of using one's mind and organising one's ideas.

African Negroes is bound to cause resentment in a number of quarters. Cer-

tainly among those greedy and narrow-minded Europeans for whom imperial-ism, colonialism and exploitation are

good things (happily to-day they are not as influential as in the past). There are still many Europeans who believe,

in spite of the sad experiences of the last third of a century, in the right to

impose their civilisation everywhere; who want to transfer en bloc the structures

of the West to the lands of Dark

There are those who fear that

autonomy for African Negroes would

autonomy for African Negroes would deprive the colonial Powers of the riches which they believe to be buried in the womb of African earth. Apart from the fact that the wealth of Dark Africa should properly belong to her Negroes, it is realistic to add that this wealth is mostly in the realm of dreams. Africa has produced in abundance only such non-essentials as gold and diamonds. As far as anyone knows, Dark Africa does not possess the bure deposits of iron.

not possess the huge deposits of iron, coal and oil, which are the basis of the wealth of the great industrial nations.

Nowhere, from the Sahara to the Limpopo River, are to be found the huge stretches of fertile soil existing in Western Europe, in the central United States, in the south of Russia, in Eastern

States, in the south of Russia, in Eastern China and Northern India. There is copper in the upper Congo Valley, and tin east of the Niger; they would still be available even if the natives were granted full autonomy. The same would apply to the iron of East Africa, to the small amount of coal in Nigeria, to the timber available in the forests.

Children attending Barnborough vil-lage school were said by Mr. G. N. Paling, at a Don Valley Education

Executive meeting at Doncaster on February 27th, to be more crowded than

pigs in a sty. Mr. J. R. Scott of Barn-borough, had asked for special priority for a new junior and infant school for the village. Mrs. Paling said the present space worked out at five square feet of room for each of the 140 children in attendance

PIGSTY SCHOOL

The idea of cultural autonomy for

barrier to anarchism. Yet this was an objection not to anarchism only, but to socialism in general, when the idea was first known. Why? The argument then ran: if everybody could get a decent living in a decent manner, who is going to do this, that or the other (which I personally am not prepared to do)? Hence it was claimed to be necessary that capitalism should force some people by depressing their level of living, to undertake jobs which they would not otherwise have undertaken. In those days nobody thought about direction of labour: the optimistic nineteenth century fondly imagined that it had abolished the feudal peon and the slave for ever.

Why has this argument been forgotten and dismissed as regards the Socialist case? Why does nobody ask Mr. Attlee who will do the dirty work? Why does nobody ask Mr. Pollitt who will do the dirty work? Alas, they know the answer only too well, and in the latter case they may already be on the list for the saltmines themselves.

Capitalism no longer in many countries provides the lash of hunger. Owing to permanent war economy, other jobs can be had and people will desert the heavy jobs and the dirtier jobs, and Whitehall officials lie awake in the afternoon, letting their cups of tea grow cold, wondering how they can stop such a wards the State "socialist" plan of drift. In this way, capitalism moves to-direction, and the Conservative plan for making jobs available only through Labour Exchanges is only the thin end of the wedge. The answer the authoritarians have to the question of "Who will do the dirty work?" is simple. You will. Or a fine not exceeding . . . and imprisonment not exceeding . . . Unless they carry the argument to it fail. imprisonment not exceeding . . . Unless they carry the argument to its logical conclusion and you to Siberia.

The anarchists are not at all efficient in this matter, and how weak and feeble sounds their answer to this question in contrast to the forceful "You will" of the authoritarian. We simply have to acknowledge the fact that people do tend to desert certain jobs. In this case there of desert certain jobs. In this case there are only three alternatives. Either they will not be done. Or they will be carried out by greater mechanisation,\* or abolished by greater simplification. Or else, in fact, people will actually do them. The only humanly possible other alternative, that a select few will order others by these of by threat of imprisonment or hunger to do them, is not possible in a non-governmental society. This will worry many people (particularly the Whitehall officials previously referred to), but I never liked the sound of that "You will"

\* In this connection I recall what a comrade who went to the U.S.A. told me. In a speech over there he said, "As regards this question of who will go down the sewers"—such an old friend in England—and was told indignantly, "They've been mechanised for fifteen years in this town, brother."

### BAKUNIN AND THE B.B.C.

MANY who heard the rather extraordinary comments of Alexander Halpern on Bakunin in the Third Programme, will have been glad to see the following letter from J. Garcia Pradas, which appeared in the Listener of 13/3/52.

"Sir,—Whatever the informative value of Mr. Halpern's talks, it seems to me that in the second one he has repeated some silly slanders of old, long since refuted, about Bakunin, whose 'picturesque and romantic figure . . . is known', but perhaps not to him. To say, as Mr. Halpern does, that 'the summa of Bakunin's political philosophy' can be found in the words 'I now seek God in revolution. Revolt means in the first (place?) destruction, and destruction is a creative power', is to reveal a very deficient knowledge of Bakunin's life and works; too deficient to be shown. To add, as he also does, that 'we know now that it was Bakunin who wrote Nechaiev's revolutionary catechism', is something worse than sheer nonsense, because what some of us do really know-thanks to Max Nettlau, Malatesta, Kaminsky, etc.—is that London, N.W.6. J. GARCIA PRADAS."

Bakunin was not the author of the young tiger's 'Catechism', but of his own, quite different to anybody who has taken the trouble to read both.

'And to add further, as he does, too, that Bakunin, 'very far from the solid theories of Marx and Engels'thank goodness for that!-was the arch- and protopriest of revolutionary amoralism, the sworn enemy of 'all soft and enervating feelings of relationship, friendship, love, gratitude, and honour', is to give as information such old ridiculous Marxist rubbish that Pavda, not THE LISTENER, would have been the proper wrapper for it.

"Bakunin had, no doubt, his errors, mainly due to his epoch and his nature; but he was a man of genius-proof: his critique of the 'proletarian dictatorship', unequalled yet-a man of virtue in his own way, and, above all, a man of flooding generosity, who all his life, by deed and word, from the depths of his great soul despised the maxim 'The end justifies the means.'

Yours, etc.,

CAREERISTS & RUBBER STAMPS

WHEN the Prime Minister was being harried in the House of Commons last month by his Labour critics over the arrangements to explode an experimental British atomic bomb in Australia, he upset the apple-cart by revealing, to the great and indignant embarrassment of the Labour front bench, the extent of the previous government's

atomic preparations. But the most revealing incident was in the Foreign Affairs debate when Mr. Churchill was being questioned on what he had agreed to at his visit to Washington. Angry Labour critics suggested that he had committed this country to an extension of the Korean war into China if the present truce talks broke down. A motion of censure was tabled, and Mr. Churchill retaliated by disclosing, from Cabinet papers, just what the commitments of the Labour Government had been. The Labour Government had agreed that if Communist planes used bases inside China to bomb United Nations in Korea, United Nations

"I cannot describe to you the gasp which this disclosure evoked from the Labour benches," writes a Labour M.P., J. P. W. Mallalieu, in Tribune:

forces would be allowed to bomb

those bases inside China.

"This was the very first inkling back-benchers had had of any such commitment. We had not been consulted about it before it was made. We had not been told about it after it was made, not even during the discussions which preceded the decision to censure Mr. Churchill.

"We waited for a repudiation. None came. The Opposition Front Bench remained rigid and silent. Nye Bevan leaped to their rescue by demanding that the full papers be laid before the House. The Prime Minister maght have given the House an incorrect summary. There was nothing in the Prime Minister's past record, said Nye, which would guard the House against such a possibility.

"Unhappily, as a subsequent statement by Mr. Attlee showed, the summary proved reasonably correct."

Poor Mr. Mallalieu concludes:

"What I am prepared to say here is that the present leaders of the Labour Party have been guilty of scandalous contempt of their Parliamentary sup-porters in taking such a decision without consulting or even informing those supporters. I say further—though this is a minor matter—that they are guilty of crass stupidity in putting down a censure motion in the terms they did when they knew that this commitment of theirs was

Notice that Mr. Mallalieu attacks his Party bosses, not for their dishonesty, their duplicity in charging their opponents with their own crimes, but simply for their stupidity.

Labour in Power and in Opposition

An article in last week's New Statesman on "The Lessons of Labour's Crisis," smooths the matter over by talking of "the difference between the duties of a Labour Party when in Opposition and its duties when it is supporting a Labour Government." "So long as Mr. Attlee was Premier." says the New Statesman,

in the Cabinet, and the Parliamentary Party was not even consulted before these Cabinet decisions were presented to Parliament. In the same way, the annual conference inevitably became a mass meeting to applaud policies evolved by Mr. Attlee's Cabinet

"It is no doubt difficult for Mr. Attle and some of his colleagues to rememi that since last October their period absolute control over the Parliament Party and the annual conference ended. They are not members of Shadow Cabinet which can take decisions privately and legitimately mand formal ratification of them by back-benchers.

"The first task, therefore, of the liamentary Party—after it has redratits standing orders—must be to work the organisation required to transfitself from a loyal voting machine in body which can take sensible decision

We very often hear that difference between a Party in Opt sition and in office is that out power it is irresponsible and power, responsible. The New State man reverses the process. We a hear often that the Labour Pan unlike others is "democratic" in structure. The New Statesman show that in practice, like any oth political organisation, it is compos of careerists and rubber-stamps.

### MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP **OPEN AIR MEETINGS**

Weather Permitting HYDE PARK Every Sunday at 3.30 p.m.

TOWER HILL Every Friday at 12.45 p.m.

MANETTE STREET (by Foyle's, Charing Cross Road) Every Saturday at 4.30 p.m.

### **INDOOR MEETINGS**

PORCUPINE, Charing Cross Rd. (next Leicester Sq. Underground Station) Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

MAR. 23—Tony Weaver on CHILDREN WHO ARE MALADJUSTED.

MARCH 30-Margery Mitchell on THE CAPACITY FOR CHOICE

### NORTH-EAST LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

IN EAST HAM Alternate Wednesdays

APRIL 2-Round Table Discussion THE MAKING OF FREE MEN

Enquiries c/o Freedom Press

### WEST LONDON

A Group has been formed in West London and any comrades interested in working with it are invited to C. Brasnett, 79 Warwick Ave., W.9

### LIVERPOOL

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

### GLASGOW

INDOOR MEETINGS at Central Halls, Bath Street Every Sunday at 7 p.m. With John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Jane Strachan, Eddie Shaw

SYNDICALIST NOTEBOOK Passports for Workers

# DON'T misunderstand this heading. It

does not mean that all workers are to be issued with passports in order to facilitate holidays abroad.

No, it means a new security measure be employed at all naval dockyards in the country, under which a new tightening up of precautions will affect 20,000 workers at Portsmouth, 14,500 at Devonport, 11,000 at Chatham, and smaller numbers at Rosyth and Sheerness.

Altogether, about 50,000 civilian workers in these dockyards are to have their photographs taken. The photographs will be posted on barriers now being built at the dock gates, and as forker files in or out, police will check their identities.

They will clock in according to their names, and over each man's time card will be his photograph. At some ports (Chatham, for example), special turnstiles are being brought into use again, allowing one worker in at a time and giving better opportunitiy for the police

The men are being warned not to speak about their work outside, and other special security measures are being taken at all naval establishments.

The recent abolition of identity cards

was greeted by us with a certain amount of reserve. Small wonder. When it serves the State's purposes, it is able to control its essential workers just as it wishes. And as more and more workers are dragged into the arms industries, more and more controls and "security" measures will be brought in to regiment

In prison, they take photographs and fingerprints, and count and check each prisoner as he goes from his cell to the workshops. Naval dockyard workers

are already employees of Her Majesty. They are well on the way to achieving the conditions offered to guests of Her

### **LONDON FARES:** RESENTMENT CONTINUES

LONDONERS are still sore at the increase in fares bounced on them a fortnight ago. And the remedy shown to be so effective in Barcelona last year a boycott—while not being operated on a mass scale, is certainly being maintained in minor ways by a great many individuals.

A lot of people are walking the distances represented by the increases and in some cases walking all the way where they want to go. Many are getting up and out of the house 5 to 10 minutes earlier in the mornings and walking where they used to take a short

The Government is supposed to be "taking action" about the increase. What action is not quite clear, but Mr. Butler's little Budget present of an increase of 7½d. a gallon on petrol will hardly help to lower the costs of public transport!

### KENT BUS STRIKE AND GO-SLOW

KENT busmen have launched a struggle against new conditions imposed by the Maidstone and District Motor Services and the Chatham Traction

Company.

The men claim the new schedules will affect their real wages by 5s. to 7s. a week. They staged a 100 per cent. one-day strike on March 15th, and announce their intention to strike one day a week until the schedules are altered.

In another Kent area, busmen staged a "work-to-rule", which was in effect a go-slow. Conductors carefully made sure that all passengers, upstairs and down, were comfortably seated before ringing the signal to start. It made nonsense of the schedules, which can only operate through wholesale disregard of the Company's own rules, drawn up in much more leisurely times (and, of course, for the evasion of responsibility by the Company in case of accident).

### SCOTS MINERS BOYCOTT SATURDAY WORK

A DELEGATE conference of the Scottish area of the National Union of Mineworkers in Edinburgh has voted 120 to 10 against renewal of the agreement to work on Saturdays.

This decision is not openly taken as a gesture against the Government, but innounced as taken on the ground that the principle of the extended hours agreement should terminate and that the five-day week should be established as decided in 1947.

Opposition to the Government's policy has, however, been vigorously voiced in the Scottish coalfields and that has obviously influenced this vote.

Unfortunately, the president of the Scottish area of the N.U.M., Abe Moffat, is a Communist, so that the miners' decision will undoubtedly be denounced as a Communist plot—with

The fact is, however, that the C.P. have been steadily losing influence in Scotland as elsewhere, and although they retain some union jobs, they have no real sway over the workers or their decisions

Printed by Express Printers, Landen, R.1. Published by Freedom Press, 27 Red Llon Street, London, W.C.I.

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies 12 months 27/- (U.S.A. \$4.50) 6 months 13/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25) Chemes, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, creased a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers. FREEDOM PRESS

ance.
—Times Educational Supplement,
7/3/52.

FREEDOM The Anarchist Wookly

Postal Subscription Rates 12 months 17/- (U.S.A. \$1.00) 5 months 8/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50) 3 months 4/6 (U.S.A. \$0.75)

27 Red Lion Street London, W.C.I England Tel.: Chancery \$364