

# Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

"Patriotism is an artificial and unreasonable sentiment. It is the cause of the worst evils that torment mankind."

TOLSTOY.

# WORLD POWER POLITICS

## Russia and America Stake Their Claims

HAVING no political ambitions like the political parties of left and right, anarchists are not obliged to employ the prevaricating jargon whereby political moves are dressed up to appear as if they were animated by some kind of morality. Ernest Bevin may describe the Marshall plan as having "behind it a conception of great co-operation between Europe and the wonderful and powerful Western Hemisphere", but it is obvious enough that it is in actuality just another step in the power politics which twists the fate of millions of ordinary men and women and children.

The struggle for spheres of influence has been sufficiently evident since the moment that the war ended, and the various moves and counter-moves have been noted as they occurred in *Freedom*. Moves which demonstrate the expansionist rivalries of Russia and the United States on the one hand, and on the other measures for the protection of the communications of the British Empire taken by conservative and labour governments alike. It is sufficient here to recall the Azerbaijan "revolt" in Persia, the complicated policies in Greece, and the endless discussions on the future of Germany. Both Russian and Anglo-U.S. spokesmen define their respective policies in terms of protecting democratic rights, safeguarding freedom, eliminating fascist elements, and so on. But, as a result of the friction they initiate or maintain, the workers pay the price in economic misery or political oppression or both. The administrations favoured by both groups are united in determined repression of any independent moves on the part of the working class and peasants to improve their situation without reference to their too eager "protectors".

## COLLIERY CLERKS STRIKE N.U.M. TO BLACKLEG?

Following dissatisfaction with the administration of the South Western Divisional Coal Board (see page 3), 4,000 colliery clerks in South Wales have gone on strike in protest against anomalies under the five-day week agreement. They are joined by timekeepers, door-keepers, foremen and certain grades of technical workers who claim that the National Coal Board refuses to recognise their union—the Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union—as a negotiating body. The strike, however, is unofficial.

There is a possibility that they may be joined by overmen in the same coalfield, whose union—the National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shot-firers—is also not recognised by the Coal Board.

In both the unions concerned, their members are still working six- and seven-day weeks in spite of the general five-day week agreement, and are ham-strung because they cannot negotiate with the Board. Perhaps a little direct action will succeed where constitutional methods have failed.

As in the Winders' strike in May, the National Union of Mineworkers—the "big" recognised miners' union—is going to distinguish itself by black-legging against the smaller unions. Mr. Will Arthur, vice-president of the S. Wales area N.U.M. said: "Our men will do any job which arises in the collieries to keep the pits going." But in view of the general discontent with the Coal Board, dropping in production and rising absenteeism, maybe he is speaking too soon? It is a terrible thing when workers as militant as miners—with their traditional solidarity—can be played off against each

## Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan

The so-called Truman Doctrine was clearly directed to checking the expansionism of Soviet Imperialism and ensuring the predominance of American Imperialism. The offers to Greece and Turkey and the guaranteeing of territorial integrity of these countries on the Russian fringes was an open indication of U.S. power policy.

On the other hand the Russian puppet States from the Baltic to the Danube indicate quite clearly that Russian political control is not going to permit American interference.

The political crisis in Hungary (referred to on another page) is revealing in this connection. The political leaders of the Smallholders Party are evidently the willing agents of American economic policy—doubtless because they have good reason to fear Russian control. Their "democratic" victory in the last elections (59% of the votes, as against the Communist 17%) has not the slightest significance in the light of the power struggle, for the rulers of Russia have not scrupled—as *Freedom* pointed out in the last issue—to abduct politicians for extracting confessions from, while the rulers of America reply with

economic pressures by cancelling half of a 30 million dollar loan. Neither power has any concern for the well-being or the wishes of the mass of Hungarian workers and peasants.

Regarding the international situation from the broader European point of view, the Hungarian situation fits into a general pattern—the pattern of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, or whatever other fancy name power politics masquerades under.

While the Hungarian Communists kick out the politicians who look to the West, the Christian Democrats in Italy kick the Communists out of the Italian government (using rather less brutal methods). And at the same time, and also in the West, the French Premier Ramadier also sacks Communist ministers while the American government not only applauds but offers subsidies for the purpose of combating French Stalinism.

What is happening, in fact, is a recognition of spheres of influence. The Russians can have the eastern states of Europe, except Turkey and Greece (and the oil countries of the Middle East) while the Americans will look after France and Italy (? and Spain). The frontiers of these spheres of influence are drawn by weight of power.

(Continued on page 8)

## The Crisis in Hungary

THE Communist coup in Hungary was achieved by methods only too familiar to students of the Soviet Union. Defeated in the last elections—they only got 17% of the votes to the Smallholders' 59%—the Communists used their control of the police force to secure power. They arrested Bela Kovacs, secretary-general of the Smallholders' Party, and took him off to Russia together with many other political opponents of the Communist Party. Once there "confessions" were extracted from them by the same methods as were used to provide the "evidence" in the Moscow Trials of 1937 and 1938. A smuggled letter (according to *Time*, 9/6/47) describes these methods: "The interrogation was a nightmare. I was allowed to lie down only six hours in two weeks . . . I stood for 20 hours continuously." Other accounts have described the blazing arc-lights under which these interrogations take place. In 1937, Bela

Kun, the Hungarian Bolshevik of the 1918 revolution, was made to stand for many hours in order to get similar confessions of "treason" out of him.

On the other hand, the prime minister Nagy, who resigned in Switzerland and is now in America, was almost certainly in contact with the American Government, just as Rakosi, the Communist leader, was in touch with the Russian Government. One must beware of taking a one-sided view of the business. One would feel more sympathy for Nagy if he had protested when his lesser colleagues were arrested. But instead, he went to Moscow himself, and was presented with an automobile by Stalin only a few weeks before his flight.

Both parties are simply acting for the rival imperialisms of Russia and America. Instinctively the Hungarian peasants and workers will have realized this. And although the crisis involves their freedom in various degrees, yet they cannot usefully make common cause with either side. Inevitably such situations produce apathy and confusion, even when the charges brought by the Communists are as ridiculous as these. For the Smallholders are in power with a majority, so why should they want to "conspire" against the government? Such conduct would be understandable from the 17% Communists, but not from the 59% Smallholders!

The upshot is that Hungary has fallen back into fascism, this time of the Red variety.

# BUSMEN'S STRIKE

## NATIONAL STOPPAGE AVERTED

When busmen of the Hants & Dorset and Wilts & Dorset bus companies staged a token strike last March (*Freedom*, 22/3/47), they were fobbed off with the argument that their grievances were of a national character rather than local. Now the fight has reached boiling point in other parts of the country too, and at the moment of writing between 10,000 and 20,000 bus workers are on strike in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Northumberland and Durham and in the Midlands, where Derby and Nottingham are strike-bound.

The strikers are all employees of privately-owned companies and their grievances are mainly that their conditions, under a recent Arbitration Tribunal award, compare badly with those of employees of municipal passenger transport undertakings.

Under the award they are granted a 44-hour week, but no provision was made for new Sunday rates, overtime or paid holidays, similar to those granted to the municipal workers.

Officials of the Transport and General Workers Union are working hard to prevent the strike spreading, and have succeeded in a few cases in South Durham and North Yorkshire, but there is every likelihood of the strike spreading and reaching national proportions. The time that the negotiations have been dragging on may be judged by the fact that it is now three months since the Southern counties busmen struck in March.

## LATER :—

### Men Going Back

Since the above was written the strike has more or less collapsed following intervention of the Ministry of Labour. Strikers were told by the M. of L. "the country cannot afford this stoppage" and apparently they fell for it. They have gone back on a promise that a special meeting of the National Joint Council would be called on Friday, 27th June to consider their grievances.

Meanwhile, from a correspondent in Yorkshire we receive the following details of working arrangements in the "United" Bus Company, one of Yorkshire's biggest bus concerns:—

1. Drivers and conductors are only paid for time spent in actual driving or conducting. Time spent in bus stations and stands, which averages about 20 minutes between coming in

from one trip and leaving on the next, does not count as working time, and is not paid for. *But driver and conductor have to stay with the bus.*

2. Sunday and overtime rates are only time and a quarter, as against time and three-quarters in other companies.

The "United" were on strike, and many employees of other companies were on strike as much in sympathy with them as for grievances of their own.

Apparently the union had supported a one-day token strike—they probably knew

the men were going to strike anyway. The trouble for the union started when the men refused to go back after one day. The strike, although it did not last long, was at least sufficient to jerk the M. of L. into action—for what that is worth!

Our correspondent adds:—"Let us hope for the day when transport workers will have no need to support useless organisations and disrupt the community in the attempt to make a living wage—when, in fact, wages and employers will be a piece of history."

## EUROPE'S CHILDREN

At a conference organized by the Howard League for Penal Reform on 16th June, Francesca Wilson spoke on the "Lost Children of Europe To-day". She gave some idea of the magnitude of the problem of child destitution and outlined the relief measures organized by UNRRA camps.

The second speaker was Dr. Stephen Schafer on "The World War and Child Delinquency in Hungary". Dr. Schafer analysed the causes of juvenile crime, and drew attention to the fact that where the State supplanted the head of a family as authority, children were readily taught to engage in Nazi greenshirt organizations (both for boys and girls) and he himself had had his flat broken up and his books and records destroyed by greenshirt youths of 15 to 18.

But in addition to this he drew attention to the fact that the statistics for juvenile crime both in the first world war and in the recent war showed a catastrophic increase. He blamed the utilization of the romantic imagination of childhood and adolescence by "the false romanticizing of war."

Owing to the breaking up of families, tens of thousands of Hungarian children were destitute. Since Hungary was an "enemy country", it was supposed to be the responsibility of Germany to feed these destitutes. But in fact many of them were being cared for in UNRRA camps. It was noticeable that the initiative of looking after these children was chiefly derived from individuals, who, by their own efforts, got round or overcame the red tape of official salvage work.

## Another Political Stunt The Housewives' League

IT is a good many generations since the Tories were in opposition, and the results are apt to be a bit comical at times, particularly with the Socialists in power. One of the most amusing sights we have had since the early days of the Fascist movement when Society ladies such as Lady Houston and Unity Mitford were up to their stunts in the first rush of enthusiasm, has been the activity of the Housewives' League, and it has been quite a light relief to see well-dressed and fed Conservatives on Hunger Marches. And some of the stunts they have adopted can only have been taken direct from the N.U.W.M. (National Unemployed Workers Movement) of pre-war days—only instead of parading outside the Ritz or the Dorchester they parade outside the local Food Office!

The British Housewives' League's "Big Three" have been revealed by their registration as Mrs. Lovelock, of Wootton Rectory, Canterbury; Miss Dorothy Crisp, Berkeley Street, W.1; and Mrs. Bloice, of Sideup, Kent; none of whom appear by their addresses to be actually in need of outdoor relief, and indeed by attending any of the League's meetings one can see quite plainly that they belong to a class which does not do too badly in the present scheme of things in spite of rationing.

The criticism of the Housewives' League made by Labour Party spokesmen has, of course, been quite valid; why is it that in the days of "peace and plenty" none of them thought of organizing the same agitation against the

Conservative Government when the mass of the people were undernourished and rationed according to their purse?

Because the basic absurdity of the Housewives' League is so patent, and the Government spokesmen are so well able to brush it aside, the real danger lies in the fact that with the brushing aside of the so-called Housewives' League the real housewives and their complaints are liable to be brushed aside as well.

The Conservatives have given much publicity and effort to the Housewives' League, which has adopted quite merrily the age-old Communist tactic of "fellow-traveller"—denying vehemently they have anything to do with the party whose tactics they follow. They have even gone to the lengths of threatening libel actions against people labelling them "Conservative"—quite as Mr. Gollancz when following the C.P. line slavishly in the pre-war Left Book Club threatened to sue anyone labelling them "Communist"—although fair deduction of political trends can hardly be called libel.

Nevertheless, the Conservatives may have backed another loser. It may well be that the reaction to the revealed political intentions of the organised "housewives" complaints may cause the working class housewife with her genuine complaints to think twice before she makes any, in order to avoid being associated with the exploiters of pre-war misery, and in this way it may be of more benefit to the Labour Party.

K. A. E.

## On Being An Anarchist in 1947

### A Comment on Herbert Read's Lecture

Let me say, at the very beginning, that I wholeheartedly agree with the general trend of Herbert Read's observations on "Anarchism: Past and Future". And, proceeding from this agreement, my comment is going to take the form of an elaboration of some of his suggestions concerning things the importance of which my experience has taught me, in discussions with my friends, as well as in definite attempts to get across anarchist ideas to those who know little of them.

### The Power of the State

Firstly, the all-important question of the State. "The power of the State, of our enemy, is now absolute," says Herbert Read. It is so. It cannot be denied. The State is everywhere triumphant and everywhere its influence is spreading. In an increasing number of spheres we find that it is the State rather than with some private body that we have to deal. There has been in the past a general feeling in the movement that whatsoever the State touches must be dropped by anarchists. That any State institution or function is, *ipso facto*, to be condemned. Briefly, the anarchist was supposed to be "agin' the government". The dilemma of the anarchist in 1947 becomes obvious. The sphere of State action is spreading and so it becomes progressively more difficult for the anarchist to avoid 'co-operation'. Anarchists condemn the State as an anti-social institution. In its place they would develop a co-operative 'Society' such as preceded the State system, and as still exists to this day on the fringes of civilisation. But surely it is obvious now more than ever, that the 'State' is co-extensive with 'society' and is fulfilling functions of arbitration and co-ordination that would, in the event of social revolution still have to be carried out by some organized body. Aldous Huxley deals with this question at the start of the eighth chapter of *Ends and Means*. He writes this:

"The Anarchists propose that the state should be abolished; and in so far as it serves as the instrument by means of which the ruling class preserves its privileges . . . the state is obviously worthy of abolition. But in complex societies like our own the state has certain other and more useful duties to perform. It is clear, for example, that in any such society there must be some organization responsible for co-ordinating the activities of the various constitutional groups . . ."

The point then is this. As some time in the past it may have been sound anarchism to condemn all state activities lock, stock and barrel. It is unsound to-day, and becoming unsound. To take that line in a country increasingly

### ANARCHISM —Interpretations

"In free surroundings based upon Equality, man might with full confidence let himself be guided by his own reason (which, of course, by necessity, would bear the stamp of his social surroundings). And he might also attain the full development of his individuality; while the "individualism" considered now by middle-class intellectuals as the MEANS for the development of the better-gifted individuals, is, as everyone may himself see, the chief OBSTACLE to this development. Not only because, with a low productivity, which is kept at a low level by Capitalism and the State, the immense majority of gifted men have neither the leisure nor the chance to develop their higher gifts; but also because those who have that leisure are recognized and rewarded by the present society on the condition of never going 'too far' in their criticisms of that society, and especially—never going over to acts that may lead to its destruction, or even to a serious reform. Those only are allowed to attain to a certain 'development' of their individualities who are not dangerous in this respect—those who are merely 'interesting', but not dangerous to the Philistine."

Peter KROPOTKIN.

# THE COVENTRY VENTURE

By  
Dr. K. BARLOW

MORE than eight people out of ten in Great Britain are townsmen. They know nothing of the soils on which their food is grown. Quite a number of them believe that apples grow under greengrocers' counters. Nobody is much concerned how the farmer down the street grows his food nor what happens to it when it is grown. Nobody nowadays is very pleased with their diet but few realise that the way their own family is able to eat removes their chance of ever being healthy.

The diet of the British working man consists of white bread, margarine, over-sweetened tea with a little milk, boiled potato, tinned meat and tinned jam. If you feed it to rats they develop ailments of the chest and stomach, just the same as the British working man does. The Sikh races of Northern India do not develop such illnesses to the same extent. Nor do rats fed on their food. The first thing needed to form a healthy body is a diet of the right sort, grown on healthy soils.

That's the sort of story that you hear often enough. It is a tale which as you may suppose, no one is likely to take very seriously. But in this instance it is different. A whole community of Coventry families is taking the matter very seriously indeed. They have bought their own farm and started to grow food they can be sure of, for their growing children.

They have realised that it is nonsense and deception to describe as a health service a set-up

(Dr. Kenneth Barlow, the author of the following article, is the moving spirit behind the Housing Experiment and Health Centre now proceeding at Coventry. The Coventry Experiment is an extension of the conceptions developed by the Pioneer Health Centre at Peckham—already described in *Freedom*. In this article Dr. Barlow sketches the dietic basis on which a healthy community must erect itself.)

which does nothing about nutrition. The present "Health" service is purely a breakdown service: it does not deal with faults in nutrition and in living which lead to breakdown.

The Coventry venture—known as Brandon Woods Farms Ltd., is an off-shoot of the Family Health Club Housing Society. This society sponsors the first attempt to repeat the famous Peckham Experiment. Its success springs from its lack of organisation. Everyone in the society can put in his own oar and help to row the boat. The farm work for example has received great help from members. The society provides a forum where the eventual shape of their own world, the shape that they would like to give it—can be discussed. When you have families discussing the life of their homes you have to deal with a community on the scale of a township. The Coventry society recognised this and is planning in detail to build its own township at Brandon Woods on the immediate outskirts of Coventry. The farm which has been bought and is now being farmed is to provide milk and green-grocery for families who will live beside it and will

be able to see that only the best is provided. For the farm will be the green belt of this new township of 2,000 dwellings.

The society found that the soils of the farm fields were deficient in fertility. That the crops were not as healthy as they desired. Yet on these crops their farm animals must be fed. The truth therefore is that as yet fully healthy food cannot be got out of their farm. It is only as the fertility of the soil is built up and thereby the health of the farm animal that food of first quality for health can be got. Only then can the real basis of a health service be established.

There is every reason to suppose that fertility is its own reward. A really healthy farm with an assured retail market on its doorstep must eventually be a profitable proposition if well managed. Brandon Woods Farms Ltd. is a new venture requiring capital in amounts of £1 upwards: It promised to pay 3½% on its loan stock and to secure it upon its attested herd of Ayrshire cattle and upon its other stock and implements. Application forms may be obtained from the Secretary, at Binley Farm, Coventry.

The recent reform by Parliament of medicine and schooling offers to the common man no reasonable prospect of either health or maturity. He is therefore driven outside the plan. He is compelled to improvise experiments such as those at Peckham and Coventry in order to create about him a community which will permit of his growing to his full stature and becoming mature in his manhood.

## Anarchism & Public Opinion

A Reply by  
George Woodcock

George Woodcock writes:—The following article was written in reply to a point which George Orwell made in an article on *Politics vs. Literature* which appeared in the literary magazine *Polemic* last year. As will become evident from this reply, Orwell's essay was a study of Swift. I submitted my reply to *Polemic*, and it was duly accepted on the 31st October last year. Since then several issues of *Polemic* have appeared, without the reply to Orwell. As eight months had passed and the gap between the original article and the reply was growing steadily, I made enquiries, and found that, although my article had been accepted, it was not planned to publish it in the near future. I have been unable to find out why an article whose nature gives it a certain urgency has been pigeon-holed in this way, but your guess is as good as mine.

In George Orwell's essay on *Politics vs. Literature (Polemic 5)*, there occurs the following passage:

"Gulliver's master is somewhat unwilling to obey, but the 'exhortation' (a Houyhnhnm, we are told, is never compelled to do anything, he is merely 'exhorted' or 'advised') cannot be disregarded. This illustrates very well the totalitarian tendency which is implicit in the anarchist or pacifist view of Society. In a society where there is no law, and in theory no compulsion, the only arbiter of behaviour is public opinion. But public opinion, because of the tremendous urge to conformity in gregarious animals, is less tolerant than any system of law. When human beings are governed by 'thou shalt not', the individual can practice a certain amount of eccentricity; when they are supposedly governed by 'love' or 'reason', he is under continuous pressure to make him behave and think in exactly the same way as everyone else."

I contend that this passage gives a wholly erroneous view of the anarchist idea of society. Orwell's argument begins with an obvious *non sequitur*. He quotes a statement by Swift, and then states that this "illustrates very well the totalitarianism which is implicit in the anarchist or pacifist view of society." But Swift never declared himself an anarchist or pacifist. He accepted neither the anarchist idea of a *classless* society without government, nor the pacifist's total rejection of violence, and he has never been taken by either anarchists or pacifists as one of their theoreticians. Therefore, to quote his ideas as typical of either of these social theories is illogical and misleading.

Secondly, Orwell confuses the issue by identifying anarchist with pacifist. Many anarchists believe in violence; on the other hand, many pacifists admit the need for law and coercion on a lower level than that of war.

But the most important point of criticism is that Orwell's whole idea of the anarchist attitude towards social relations is inaccurate, and seems to

spring from a superficial acquaintance with anarchist writings. The anarchist does not believe in the rule of public opinion, any more than in that of law. Every anarchist, from Godwin onwards, has stressed the need for the unlimited exercise of private judgment. Godwin, it is true, declared that in every situation there is only one possible right way to act, but he also claimed he could find it only by the exercise of his own reason, and he was always anxious to avoid any kind of pressure from 'public opinion'. Later anarchists have consistently attacked the idea of imposing the will of the majority, and have specifically indicated the evils of uniformity of thought.

Very few anarchists have claimed that men should be governed by 'reason' or 'love'. Godwin, it is true, advocated reason in his earlier period, largely because he developed his ideas in the eighteenth century rationalistic environment, and Tolstoy talked of love, but he was always more a spiritual authoritarian than an anarchist.

Most anarchists have based their conception of society on the idea of mutualism, the reciprocal interplay of personal interests to produce a natural and balanced social order in which men would act decently towards each other, not because of laws or public opinion, but because it was in their interest to co-operate and because, as Kropotkin showed, there was a natural tendency among men towards mutual aid, which is quite a distinct thing from the kind of restrictive gregariousness Orwell envisages.

Public opinion, moreover, is dangerous only in a large and centralised society. But anarchists envisage a radical decentralisation of society into a very loose federation of small social groups, where there would always be room for the eccentric to find some sympathetic environment. Moreover, public opinion attains really large proportions only if there are large authoritarian institutions for it to support or resist. A hostile state, an alien government, a church, a nationalist movement, and so forth, all create their own systems of conduct and stimulate a public opinion either to sup-

port or to oppose them. But where there are no nuclei of positive institutions or fixed systems of conduct, where society is diffused in small intimate units, connected by a loose network of reciprocal ties, it is difficult to see how public opinion will be able to grow into a dangerous force.

### Causes Of Crime

Here an old question arises—how are we to deal with the criminal if there is neither law nor public opinion to coerce him? My answer is that 90% of crimes to-day arise from the institution of property, and most of the rest from some maladjustment due to a faulty society. By the time man has reached anarchy, these causes of crime will have been eliminated, and the isolated outbursts of anti-social behaviour can surely be left for the groups in which they occur to deal with as seems best to them in the circumstances.

Finally, following the method employed by defendants in libel cases: I would contest Orwell's general statement that the law is in fact less restrictive than public opinion. Athens, where the law was never very strong, was much richer in creative eccentricity than the rigidly lawful Spartan republic. The comparison holds in our own day. In America, there is a strong public opinion against anarchy, but anarchists work fairly freely. In Russia there are laws against anarchy, but probably little public opinion, yet there are no openly avowed anarchists outside the jails and concentration camps.

So, if we must have one or the other, I would rather fight against public opinion any day than against the law, invested with all the power of the state. But, as I have already said, I do not think this has anything to do with anarchism.

**"The State must be abolished!  
In that revolution I will  
take part! Undermine the  
idea of the State, make  
willingness and spiritual  
kinship the only essentials  
in the case of a union—and  
you have the beginning of  
a liberty that is of some  
value. The changing of  
form of government is mere  
toying with degrees—a  
little more or a little less—  
folly the whole of it."**

HENRIK IBSEN.

being penetrated by state agencies is sheer folly. It is not unplausible to suggest that the day is in sight when we shall find ourselves, willy nilly, incorporated into a Statist structure. It will effectively consign many traditionally anarchist attitudes to the scrap heaps of history.

### "Reform versus Revolution"

Secondly, the old antithesis of 'reform versus revolution' must be reconsidered. Of course, if all "reforms" are to be condemned as "sops", and defined as minor concessions to avoid major losses, then the question has been begged, and the argument proceeds in a gratifying circle. All "politicians" and state administrators are not corrupt, most men live their lives in (more or less) honest desire to do what is right, but since all proceed from differing basic assumptions there is confusion. Most people agree that anarchy is a desirable condition, but they invariably assume it to be impossible and visionary and therefore do not investigate it. Education and re-orientation is then our fundamental task, as well as a policy of co-operation with all libertarian tendencies that appear whether or no they are based on an exclusively anarchist theory. We must counter the growth of State power by devolution and decentralism. We must nourish the idea of workers' control and "vocational" employment in the huge industrial structures that the "Socialist" State will erect. We cannot bring these structures down, we cannot destroy them. If we refuse to co-operate with any State enterprise we shall simply be isolating ourselves from any contact with real production or administration. We must endeavour to transform what we see before us, rather than to fight against it, for the battle is, in this case, most certainly to the strong.

### Importance of Ethics

Thirdly, the ethical question must occupy an increasing proportion of our attention. By discussion and action, we must see to it that there appears on the social scene a conscious body of opinion whose ethical attitudes derive from the idea of a free society with the same logic as current ethical conceptions reflect the property society we know so well. A utilitarian and humanist ethical system is a weapon that can do more damage to a corrupt society than an atomic bomb. We must refuse to tell the conventional lies, make the customary salutations and observe the traditional rites. Each one of us should be able to justify his or her actions to the individual reason, and to that alone. This is the way ahead.

### In Conclusion

In summary: I have found in Herbert Read's lecture the outlines of a satisfactory answer to the headaches of an anarchist in this year of 1947, year in which "the State is supreme", in the era of the atomic bomb. His argument, as I see it, is that we must regroup our anarchism on the newest developments in the field of knowledge, and then go ahead to educate men for freedom, always concentrating on the concrete achievement, rather than the dictates of our dogmatic traditions.

To which I add my own conviction that the field of ethics is that which to-day holds out the best promise of advance towards the ideal of the free and spontaneous life—of advance towards anarchy.

ALAN SMITH.





# DO WE WANT 'LA PERON' HERE?

FRANCO has made his prison-house State gay in honour of the his distinguished visitor—Senora Eva Peron, the wife of his fellow-dictator in the Argentine. Vast civic processions and displays have covered the surface of the poverty and misery that exists in Spain to-day. Doubtless the dignitaries of Fascist Spain have regaled the Senora with stories of the common ideals they have with her husband: and she has been reassured as to her personal safety by realising that political prisoners are dealt with in the same way in Spain as in the Argentine.

This Nazi queen of the Argentine proposes to visit France and Britain after her triumphal tour of Spain. She is due in London on June 30th. The British Government do not dare to give her a triumphal reception. Those who sympathise with the political prisoners of Peron cannot be put out of the way so easily in this country, and the Foreign Office has to reconcile itself with allowing the lady a private visit without giving her the sort of State reception that rulers of the country like to give each other and charge to the National Debt.

It is said that we are in need of Argentine mutton, but we are indeed in a poor way if purchase of mutton has to be mixed up with silence over human carcasses. This is however a very lame excuse, since the Argentine Government has never been over-generous with its "gifts": the mutton get from the Argentine has to be paid for; and the very reason the Government give us for the fact that everything we produce is in short supply at home is the fact that it goes to bring us in such necessities from abroad. If we are going without our own products in order to purchase mutton, therefore, what is the purpose of kow-towing to Senora Peron? Is independence another item which is in short supply and marked for export? There is no need to be grateful for goods which are very well paid for. What the Government may very well be fishing for is seen in the reported statement that the politically influential Senora Peron may place orders for British warships, for the Argentine Navy, and that the latest inventions incorporating designs previously secret, may be used on ships from our dockyards for the Argentine Navy.

"Argentine naval experts have convinced Col. Peron that if his country is to be a leading maritime power a strong navy is essential.

An expert in close touch with the negotiations told the Sunday Empire News yesterday: 'If Britain lands this order it will keep our shipyards busy for a long time.

"The only other country who could possibly compete is America, and so far our tenders are lower."

We have had ship building experts in the Argentine for some time now, and parallel discussions have taken in this country.

### WAR-TIME SECRETS

"It is impossible at the moment to say how large the final order will be, but it is quite likely to exceed the £50,000,000 generally accepted in shipping circles."

If Britain gets the order many war-time secrets may be included in the warships."

Sunday Empire News, 15/6/47.

There is a certain amount of friction between the U.S.A. and the Argentine, because under Peron the Argentine is not too keen on seeing the U.S.A. spread the tentacles of "Yankee Imperialism" across the continent of Latin America and might prefer to place the business in British dockyards.

It is a well-known fact that Peron has ambitions at making his nation what is known as a "first class power". Are our industrialists and politicians so simple as one might think? Surely they have learned their lesson! They have—but learning it is so profitable! Japan came to us as an important new customer forty years ago. We built her ships and trained her Army and established her industries: we took her Princes around our battleships and

taught them our technique. And needless to say a bit of sentiment was wrapped up in the Big Business we put over—Japan became the land of happy, smiling places, the land of the orange blossom, the "Britain of the East", until she was fully industrialised, fully prepared for war, and she went to war with us. Peron may well follow the same pattern. Nowadays our bit of sentiment has to have an ideological flavour, and just as the U.S. liberals have "found out" that the Argentine is undemocratic at about the time the dictatorship resisted "Yankee Imperialism", so our left-wingers may find all sorts of democratic justifications for Peron's dictatorship if his business deals go over.

If Senora Peron's visit is to negotiate for a deal for battleships, as has been reported, we protest not only in the name of our comrades the political prisoners of Argentine, Anarchists and other revolutionaries who languish in jail for the 'crime' of opposing dictatorship, but also in anticipation of further victims of war, who may stave off un-employment for a year or two by

making munitions of war to be used against themselves in all probability.

Energetic protests should be made to this representative of the Peron Government concerning the political prisoners in the Argentine, and we hope she is made so uncomfortable in this country that before she goes she considers joining Miss Crisp's Housewives' League! We do not want to "strengthen the ties between this country and the Argentine", to use the verbiage of politicians. We are on the side of the oppressed and cowed workers of the Argentine who, like those of Spain, are unable to show their contempt for the grandees and their wives flaunting their pomp and wealth in the face of starvation, in the same way that we can, and in the event of any display, should.

M.

## Stop Press But Nazis Wives Arrested

Senora Peron is to be given a party in London with Lord Stragholi as host. He has already taken it upon himself to "explain" her giving the Fascist salute to Franco. But the government may also entertain her.

At the same time, in Germany, the wives of other (defeated) fascists are being arrested under denazification purges—Frau Goering, Frau Schirach and the rest. One wonders why Nazis wives should be arrested while other fascists' wives are being officially welcomed.

# From Germany A Revolutionary Manifesto

Despite twelve years of oppression under the Nazis, and two years military occupation, during which period the most energetic attempts have been made to liquidate revolutionary workers, it has yet been impossible to root out revolutionary ideas. Freedom has already drawn attention to the strikes and demonstrations of German workers in the Ruhr in the spring of this year. The manifesto which we translate below clearly shows that ideas of revolutionary working class struggle are still alive and active in Germany. It is headed by the slogan "Workers of all lands, unite!" in German, French, English and Russian.

"SPARTACUS"  
Independent Proletarian Revolutionary  
Paper  
1 May, 1947 Special Issue.

### HUNGER

After 12 years of totalitarian dictatorship, 7 years of war, and on top of them, 2 years of military occupation bringing intensified starvation, the workers of the Ruhr are awakening to a new life. And behind them are the workers of the whole of Germany.

### Mass Strikes and Demonstrations

Already for several weeks, the workers had expressed themselves here and there in unofficial strikes. At the end of March this movement was increasing like an avalanche to several hundred thousands and involving the great majority of the industrial workers of Western Germany. The working masses did not limit themselves to leaving the workshops and pits, they went out on to the streets with their wives and children, so that on some days there have been a million working people demonstrating on the streets of the Ruhr. Their watchwords were always the same: STOP THE REGIME OF HUNGER! STOP THE OPPRESSION!

### Where Have the Parties and Trade Unions been?

Whence comes this mass movement? The ruling powers, the various political parties have sought to put the blame on each other, but they have all certainly done everything they could to hinder the mass strikes and demonstrations. In fact, the party and trade union leaders later on undertook the task of putting an end to the movement. Thus they proclaimed a 24-hour general strike being afraid that things might get worse.

But the full demands of the workers have never been successfully achieved by such a short strike. This means that instead of stopping half-way they must go on with the strike.

No, the party and trade union leaders have certainly done nothing to assist the mass movement. And it is not, as some claim, the work of the Nazis. The Nazis have neither the wish nor the ability to set such mass strikes in motion. That doesn't mean, of course, that this or that national group or other, or even Moscow, has not tried to profit from them. But that happens in every class struggle.

### The Movement Comes from Below

It comes from the great masses of the Ruhr workers, from the working man

# What Good Came of It?

## The Problem for anti-militarists

THOSE who intend to take up the struggle against war should be advised by the complete failure of twenty and more years purely negative and pacifist "No More War" movements. When the war broke out the leaders of peace movements in the main deserted their posts and supported the war. But the "Never Again" slogan was deeply embedded in the masses, who may have acquiesced in a war but would never have given it any active and enthusiastic support if there hadn't been some better slogans than the outworn "King and Country" and other patriotic slogans with which the State disguised its previous imperialist wars. And it was precisely the people who had been most actively and intelligently opposed to war in peacetime who supplied all the popular slogans in this war, and talking of the new world that was going to come about as a result of the war, and how the nations would be reconstructed, how the war was in reality a silent revolution, and the like.

It was only a question of time with the end of the war to await a practically official definition of the fact that all this

was merely "war propaganda". It could not be plainer put than in President Truman's statement on June 14th on the occasion of signing the Act of Ratification of the Peace Treaties with Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

"I feel I must publicly express regret that the Governments of those countries not only have disregarded the will of the majority of the people, but have resorted to measures of oppression against them.

"Ever since the liberation of these countries from the Nazi yoke and the commitment undertaken by the three Allies at Yalta, I had hoped that Governments truly representative of the people would be established there.

"Such Governments do not exist to-day in those countries."

This will not deter anyone who makes a profession out of apologizing for imperialist wars. They will simply get ready to borrow anti-Bolshevism in the next war, as they borrowed anti-Fascism in the last, and return it to its rightful owners when they have had their use of it.

A. L.

after being treated for 14 years as cannon fodder, as beast of toils without any will of their own, are again thinking for themselves and beginning to move.

## The Answer of the Comrades of the Ruhr

The great powers look on and quarrel among themselves about who shall exploit the coal of the Ruhr in the next war, and who shall take the place of the Nazis in bringing the German workers under the yoke.

The Ruhr proletariat, the working women and youth, from Dusseldorf and Osnabruck, Essen and Gelsenkirchen, Aachen and Cologne, have given their answer: NOBODY!

It is they, the workers; those who have sacrificed their whole labour power and their health to bring the coal to the surface.

This coal goes to the international war industry!

But the workers starve and freeze!

The workers, their wives and children, starve and freeze throughout the whole of Europe!

Therefore it is not sufficient to make a single protest strike. That can be merely the beginning of a far greater and more long drawn out struggle that will end only when the workers take over the mines and factories into their own hands.

Who should control the coal and steel, if not the workers who produce it all?

Who then should control the food supplies and food distribution, if not the workers who produce it all?

The workers should themselves exercise control through their own trusted delegates, men tested in the class struggle, controlled at all times by the workers who have elected them; through their action committees and councils they must take into their own hands throughout the whole country the places of work and the distribution of the means of life.

In their OWN hands!

Not in the hands of the State—no matter whether the state officials be German, French, British, Russian or American.

There is no deliverer from on high,\* neither God, nor Emperor, nor Marshall, nor Leader, nor State!

When the strikers and demonstrators occupy the factories and mines, when they have taken the distribution of food into their own hands, when they appeal across the Zones and the frontiers to the workers in other countries, the workers in the forces of occupation, and fraternize with them in a spirit of working class solidarity—then will the great Powers be powerless, and the international armaments kings have to give way.

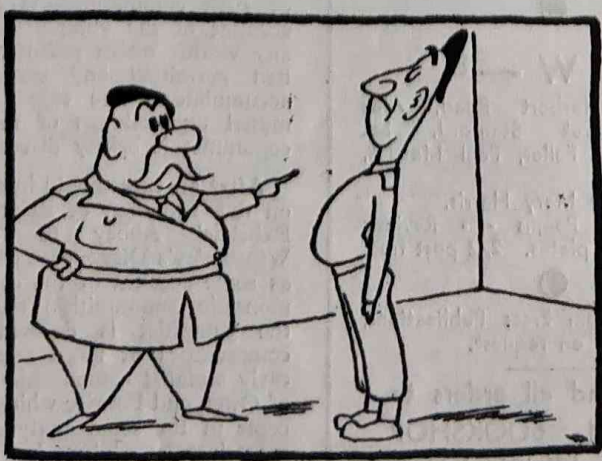
And then, also, the hour will strike, when oppression and exploitation, starvation and war, will be ended for ever. SPARTACUS.

\*This line, well-known to German workers, is taken from a revolutionary song by Johann Most.—Eds.

THE THREE MUSKETEERS—10

CHRISTIAN KNIGHT

By JOHN OLDAY



I can't bear to see the poor wretches eating out of the dust-bins ...

... something ought to be done about it ...

...!

# Freedom Press

- George Woodcock:  
ANARCHY OR CHAOS 2/6, Cloth 4/6  
NEW LIFE TO THE LAND 6d.  
RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY 3d.  
HOMES OR HOVELS? 6d.  
ANARCHISM AND MORALITY 2d.  
WHAT IS ANARCHISM? 1d.  
Peter Kropotkin:  
THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE 1/-  
THE WAGE SYSTEM 3d.  
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 3d.  
SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS  
(Chosen by Herbert Read) 8/6  
Enrico Malatesta:  
ANARCHY 3d.  
VOTE WHAT FOR? 1d.  
Herbert Read:  
THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM 1/-  
THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN 1/-  
William Godwin:  
SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL  
JUSTICE 3d.  
ON LAW 1d.  
A. Ciliga:  
THE KRONDSTADT REVOLT 2d.  
M. L. Berneri:  
WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA 1/-  
C. Berneri:  
KROPOTKIN—HIS FEDERALIST  
IDEAS 2d.  
Alexander Berkman:  
A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM 1/-  
John Hewetson:  
ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI 6d.  
ILL-HEALTH, POVERTY AND THE  
STATE Cloth 2/6, Paper 1/-  
MUTUAL AID & SOCIAL  
EVOLUTION 1/-  
Gaston Leval:  
COLLECTIVES IN SPAIN 1d.  
John Olday:  
THE MARCH TO DEATH 1/6  
THE LIFE WE LIVE, THE DEATH  
WE DIE 2/6  
P. J. Proudhon:  
GENERAL IDEA OF THE REVOLUTION  
IN THE 19th CENTURY Cloth 5/-  
F. A. Ridley:  
THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH  
AND THE MODERN AGE 2d.  
"Equity":  
THE STRUGGLE IN THE FACTORY 3d.  
Icarus:  
THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT 6d.  
McCartney:  
THE FRENCH COOKS SYNDICATE 3d.

27 Red Lion Street  
Holborn, W.C.1

# Randolph Bourne

IF somehow, suddenly, Randolph Bourne were alive again in today's world, he would not be as bewildered or as bewildering as some of those who did not die. Though it is perilous to draw parallels between historical periods, it is safe to say that he would find the world in a similar, if more desperate, plight. Then in 1918, the year of his death, as now, a world war had left in its wake a shattered Europe of starving, despairing people and, in the words of one of Bourne's contemporaries, "an America harried by frights and intolerances and mob fanaticisms." In our time, though it had been discernible in the past decade, the liberals—as exemplified by *The New Republic* and *The Nation*—have come out of the war, for which they gave full support to the ruling class, with an addiction for some servile State, a faith in direct contrast with the liberal heritage of self-reliance fostered by Emerson and Thoreau. They were the same liberals who, in Bourne's time too, had accepted the ballyhoo of a war fought for high-sounding purposes, a war to end war—a cataclysm which they had hoped would be sterilized of its more frightful aspects, only to be left, without moorings, with the dust of the dead.

But Bourne had held back. His colleagues of *The New Republic* forgot their pacetime principles as did his old teacher, John Dewey. No longer for them the quest of a moral alternative to war.

Bourne would have none of it. Instead, he scrutinized the ideas he had held in common with them, holding each up to the light—or rather, darkness about him. He tried to find out

why many of the ideas had been so inadequate to the test of war.

Bourne saw a clue to the crisis in ideas in the acceptance by intellectuals of the instrumentalist philosophy of John Dewey. Accepting that philosophy, the liberals had couched their support of the war in such terms as:

"It is only on the craft, in the stream, they say, that one has any chance of controlling the current forces for liberal purposes. If we obstruct, we surrender all power for influence. If we responsibly approve, we then retain our power for guiding."

Bourne's answer to all this was deeply prophetic, echoed as it was by the Versailles Treaty soon after his time and the Potsdam Agreement and the impact of the atomic bomb in ours. Wrote Bourne:

"Well, it is true that they may guide, but if their stream leads to disaster and the frustration of national life, is their guiding any more than a preference whether they shall go over the right hand or the left hand of the precipice?" (*Twilight of the Idols*).

But Bourne's diagnosis of the disease of the modern spirit did not end there. More underlying than the malignancy of ideas was the cancerous nature of our institutions. Here Bourne, in the winter of his life, went to work on what Paul Rosenfeld has

called "his deadly wonderful analysis of the State."

*War is the health of the State*, wrote Bourne, and in his full realization of what that meant, recognized the roots of modern totalitarianism years before the psychoanalysts of fascism. As Bourne put it:

"There is in the feeling towards the State a large element of pure filial mysticism . . . The chief value of

# and the State

the State in wartime is the opportunity it gives for this regression to infantile attitudes."

Bourne shows in full how this attitude is cultivated by all States, and how this example of domination, set by the centralized power, pervades the relations of the citizenry. All this reaches its culmination in war, for as Bourne emphasizes again and again:

"Nations organized for internal administration, nations organized as a federation of free communities, nations organized in any way except that of a political centralization of a dynasty, war upon each other. They would not only have no motive for conflict, but they would be unable to muster the concentrated force to make war effective . . . We cannot crusade against war without crusading implicitly against the State."

Thus, just as he had rejected the profit system in such essays as *What Is Exploitation?* Bourne ended by rejecting the State entirely as a lever of progress. Were he alive to-day, confronted with the sham socialism of

Labour Party oligarchy in England, or the atom-armed fast developing corporatism in the United States, Bourne would not have to revise these views one whit.

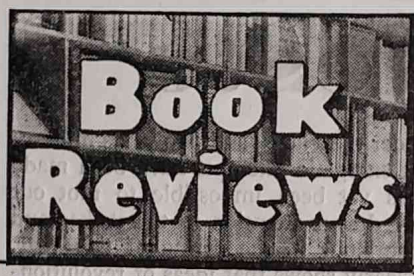
What then is the alternative? Randolph Bourne never lived to develop fully the constructive side of his argument. Implicit, however, in all of his writings of this later period is the philosophy of anarchism, the development of a decentralized, co-operative society where man's personal responsibility can flower. It is the practical alternative to Statism shown by the anarchists of Spain (partic-

ularly Catalonia) in their co-operative communities during the Libertarian Revolution of 1936.

We must seek that alternative everywhere before the State hurls us into complete destruction.

MICHAEL GRIEG.  
(The above article forms the introduction to the new edition of Bourne's pamphlet *The State*, published by the Resistance Press in New York, of which copies will shortly be available.)

WANTED: 2,000 New Readers!  
Are you helping to introduce new readers to FREEDOM? Have you asked your newsagent to stock the paper?  
Can you sell a few copies among your friends? We can supply you with copies of the current issue (6 copies 1/-, 12 copies 2/- post free).



# BOOKS FROM INDIA

- C. L. Swartz: What is Mutualism? pp. 253. 4/-  
W. B. Greene: Mutual Banking. pp. 78. 1/6  
Michael Bakunin: God and the State. pp. 106. 2/6  
Rudolf Rucker: Socialism and State. pp. 33. 1/-  
Peter Kropotkin: The Place of Anarchism in Socialist Evolution. pp. 26. 6d.  
(Obtainable from Freedom Bookshop).

Mutualism to other aspects of Libertarian thought—on education, the legal system, etc.; but as Anarchists, we may entertain serious doubts about Mutualism which, like the other economic panaceas (e.g., Social Credit or the Single Tax), intends to eliminate the capitalist system, painlessly, from within. Many of its proposals might (however hypocritically) find favour with those elements which champion the "little man" and the "small independent producer". We might, for instance, query the feasibility of maintaining, in a "free" society the employer—worker relationship.

These books and pamphlets are published by our energetic Indian friend R. Bhavan of Bombay, from the Modern Publishers, Indore. We welcome his many activities (which include the establishment of the Indian Institute of Sociology and the publication of the "Indian Sociologist") which are doubly valuable in view of the coming crisis in Indian history.

"Mutual Banking" was written as far back as 1849 by an early American disciple of Proudhon, and sets out the evils of usury or interest and of a specie currency (backed by gold or silver), and advocates mutual credit and a mutual money, independent of currency, used between producers. The purpose of the mutualist bank, as summarised by the publisher "is to advance money on sound personal guarantee on their future earning or production, even without the mortgage of property at the rate of one per cent. interest per annum. This amount of interest covers the whole expenditure of the establishment and leaves something to be carried forward to reserve funds. Besides, loans on low interest would give impetus to honest industry and it will also help to increase employment by creating efficient demand." Green, following Proudhon, declares that:

"Mutualism operates, by its very nature, to render political government, founded on arbitrary force, superfluous; that is, it operates to the decentralization of the political power, and to the transformation of the State, by substituting self-government instead of government from without."

Swartz's more comprehensive "What is Mutualism?" was originally written as one of the volumes in the excellent American "Vanguard Press" series published in the 1920's and now unobtainable. It naturally covers a broader field, and relates

The reprint of Bakunin's splendid polemic is especially welcome, for since the "Mother Earth" edition of it and Guy Alfred's "Spur" Bakunin pamphlets have been out of print, this is the only work of Bakunin's available in English. The publishers, who are also issuing a Hindustani version explain their aims in an interesting introduction referring to the instigators of the Indian communal riots:

"They make use of the credulity of the ignorant masses by frightening them that their religion is in danger and that to protect it any sacrifices on their part are an obligation on them. The leaders remain at a safe distance while the orgy of murder, rape and incendiarism is allowed to run riot among maddening crowds. Wherever and whenever the communal riots have taken place they have taken a toll of innocent persons while the real culprits go scotfree. We hope therefore that this booklet will serve a useful purpose in opening the eyes of credulous people and they will see that they do not fall a prey to the evil designs of the mischief-mongers and exploiters . . ."

This edition contains the long and very interesting footnote on the purposes of education, arising from a conversation between Bakunin and Mazzini. It should be noted that "God and the State" has never been published in a complete form—a fault due to Bakunin's method of composition because of his hectic life, rather than to any of his publishers. Another enormous footnote—its length of a pamphlet, occurs under the title of the whole work in the 1st Volume of "Oevres" (Paris, 1895), and the most satisfactory English edition, with Max Nettlau's notes on the sources of the work was that published by Freedom Press in 1912.

Kropotkin's pamphlet is a general introduction to Anarchism in the form of a lecture given in Paris, and Rucker's "Socialism and the State" is a fragment from the chapter of that name in his "Nationalism and Culture" which we hope to publish in its entirety at the end of this year. The pamphlet covers much the same historical ground as H. Koehlin's articles on "The Development of Libertarian Thought" which appeared in *Freedom* last year. There is also an interesting short biography of Rucker. C.W.

# Freedom Bookshop

- I CHOSE FREEDOM 15/-  
By Victor Kravchenko
- THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY 10/6  
Ralph Linton
- SUNDAY AFTER THE WAR 10/-  
By Henry Miller
- MURDER THE MURDERER 3/6  
By Henry Miller
- THE DARK TOWER 8/6  
By Louis Macneice
- THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION 19/6  
By Wilhelm Reich
- MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM 27/6  
By Wilhelm Reich
- By KENNETH BARLOW:  
A Home of their Own 4/6  
The State of Public Knowledge 8/6

Just Out:  
**NOW — 8**  
Essays by Herbert Read, Alex Comfort, Derek Stanford, Ed. Rawstron, Roy Fuller, Paul Mattick, Jean Trioux.  
Short Story by Mary Harris.  
Paintings - - Poems - - Reviews  
64 pages + 4 plates. 2/2 post free.

List of Freedom Press Publications, etc., on request.  
Please send all orders to  
**FREEDOM BOOKSHOP**  
27, RED LION STREET  
LONDON - W.C.1

# A New Freedom Press Pamphlet THE BASIS OF COMMUNAL LIVING

"The Basis of Communal Living" by George Woodcock. Freedom Press, 1/- 44 pp.

SOCIALIST theories have (or should one say "had"?) a common basis in the idea that "all men are brothers", that conflict and the domination of some men by others is unnecessary, and both could and should be replaced by a social order of mutual co-operation. But as socialist disillusionment has grown, it has come to be less readily taken for granted that men are naturally social, and a search for evidence which confirms the possibility of social and co-operative living has been felt as a need. Such evidence is provided in a scattered and fragmentary form by the history of the various communities which have existed at various times. George Woodcock has done a notable service in collecting the relevant material into this 44-page pamphlet. But he has not been content merely to collect facts: he has set them in a proper perspective and provided a thoroughgoing analysis of the historical material and its lessons.

In an account of the primitive social community the existence of common work, and a common responsibility for matters involving the welfare of the community, is stressed. And the basic equalitarianism of such communities is shown by the account of the voluntary distribution of any wealth which peculiar circumstances had permitted any one individual to accumulate. The extent of the communal undertakings of mediaeval urban communes is briefly discussed.

After an exceedingly interesting chapter on the 'Intrusion of Religion' (in which Rabelais' Abbey of Theleme and Winstanley's Diggers are described, as well as some account of the cohesive force in monastic communities) the remainder of the pamphlet is devoted to historical communities of more recent date. The early socialist communities, and the ideas of Owen and Fourier which inspired them, come in for some analytical criticism of great interest. There is a chapter on the Spanish Collectives of 1936; and one on the Palestine communities; finally one on the English community movement of to-day.

George Woodcock makes a very important distinction between the primitive communities and the mediaeval communes on the one hand, and the socialistic, religious and revolutionary communal experiments of these later chapters. Whereas the former were a spontaneous growth from the conditions and economic necessities of their time, the latter are more or less conscious attempts to determine a course of life in accordance with certain ethical, religious or social theories. The former were in line with the trends of their times, were an expression of them; but the latter are a reaction against the individualist and competitive trends in capitalist society. They represent either a retreat from capitalist surroundings, or a revolt against them.

Much of the difficulties and failures of the community experiments can be traced to imperfect emancipation from an unsympathetic social climate, and Woodcock shows that the more radical the social theory, the more these communities approximate to what is commonly regarded as the extreme ideas of anarchism, the more likely have they been to succeed. Some of the most successful wartime agricultural communities, and such other attempts as the Peckham Experiment have been more or less consciously directed towards anarchy, as experience has taught the necessity for it.

Not the least important lesson that emerges from this survey is that social living is more commonly achieved when it is not the main object in itself, but arises as a by-product of some activity undertaken in common. Hence religious bases for community are less effective than a common aim in work. The far reaching conclusion from this is that if men have a social framework of equality and common responsibility they are more likely to live together harmoniously, than if they consciously seek to "behave socially". The corollary is that social life of the future will depend less on "a change of heart" than in the setting up of social conditions which permit of equality and individual responsibility for the affairs of the community at large.

These are only a few of the stimulating questions which this timely pamphlet raises.



# ZBOROWSKY—THE ODD MAN OUT

The Polish soldiers and airmen, who were at one time so popular in this country have worn out their welcome with the end of the war; and as Poland, for the guarantee of whose independence we theoretically began the war, is now under the control of Russia, they have nowhere to go. In the general growing ill-will towards Poles the case of the escaped gunman Zborowsky naturally was a gift to the Press and the search for him has been dramatised by the newshawks.

There are always people with the fox hunter's mentality who take some pleasure out of the hunting of a human being. In *Walls have Mouths*, W. F. McCartney refers to escapes from Parkhurst thus:— " . . . the hostile population is one of main difficulties a man encounters in attempting to escape. The islander of the Isle of Wight really has a self-righteous dislike of the convict. These unpleasant people are only too eager to catch a poor devil escaping. What grand sportsmen they are! . . . Ugh! Boys Scouts, hounding with their poles like an otter some poor devil only wishing for his freedom! It make one sick! Are not the police and jailors paid enough? Yet when a man escapes on the Isle of Wight the whole population, from Royal Yacht Squadron to retired Pompey whores, turn out to catch him; they make a gala of it."

Has not this been the case in Norfolk?

Where are the voices of the humanitarians who rightly protest against bloodsports?

A couple of servicemen who were "tired of doing nothing" on leave (one on demobilization leave) had nothing better to do with their time than to join in the man hunt. Warrant Officer Richard Pearson, R.A.F., and Corporal Richard Herring, R.A.C., both on good rates of pay, young men with their pockets lined and "nothing to do with their time", are typical of those who joined in the human foxhunt. The Press reports at the moment of writing indicate that these two men have helped to find the Polish gunman's latest hide-out. This tracking down may seem a pleasant way of passing the time to them: or maybe they think it necessary to track down the disturber of law and order. If this is their reason they might do well to read how Zborowsky came to be a gunman. His case is one of thousands in Europe. (And it is noticeable how similar is Zborowsky's case to those of many Jewish youths who learned in the same "academy" under Hitler or Stalin and have turned to guns in Palestine. The Poles might do well themselves to see how the Jews, towards whom the majority of them feel antagonistic, are faced with much the same problems.)

Writing to the *Daily Mirror* (21/6/47) Flying Officer Matwieczuk Marian, of the (Polish) R.A.F., said: "I met Zborowsky when he was about fifteen, during my imprisonment in Russia . . . He was arrested because he was a son of an ex-soldier of the Balachowitz Army, fighting against Bolsheviks after the first World War, and in the opinion of the secret police was dangerous for the Soviet Union.

At the age when he was supposed to form his character he learned about the injustice legalised by law."

According to F/O Marian, there were three Poles in the cell, 4 x 6 yards, in for political reasons, and the rest were Russians and Soviet citizens charged with murder, stealing, etc. Zborowsky stayed in Dnepetrovsk prison and was released from Siberian hard labour in 1942, after serving 1940—1942 with the prison labour that is the basis of Soviet economy.

F/O Marian who accepts the legalistic idea that Zborowsky "committed a crime, . . . he had to be punished" nevertheless points out, "I was not shocked by the account given by newspapers about Zborowsky. I accepted it with pain as the consequence of the years spent by him in Russia. I have seen hundreds of children between twelve and fifteen in the Dnepetrovsk gaol . . . It is difficult to place in my mind his boyish face, I remember from Dnepetrovsk prison, together with the name 'Gunman'."

While Zborowsky's character was moulded at his early age in Dnepetrovsk prison for the plain reason that he happened to be Polish and his father had fought in a Polish Army, let us not forget pro-Soviet hysteria was sweeping this country, and those who may find and try Zborowsky for what he has done and what he yet may do, ought to be standing in the dock themselves. The Press maintains its commercial basis by sensationalism over an occasional case like Zborowsky or say Dov Gruner. Let us remember how they came that way. It is a direct consequence of Hitler and his erstwhile partner Stalin. And do not let us overlook the fact, as the liberals do, that those who supported either of those regimes, must share responsibility; and more particularly the Western democracies who close the doors of Continents to all these "displaced" persons—who slam tight the opening of immigration to America and the British Empire—have stopped the hole out of which they could have escaped towards a better existence. If America, Canada, Australia, etc., opened their empty spaces to Europe's thousands of unwanted persons, it would not be necessary for a man to shoot his way out of deportation to Russia.

## Postscript

Zborowsky is found. A vicar gave the final clue.

"The Rev. Stephen Pearson told me: 'I saw the Pole talking to some men in a motor car. Then a police car came tearing up and asked me if I had seen anyone of the Pole's description. I was able to give them the good news!'" *Daily Herald*, 23/6/47 (our italics).

The Rev. Stanley Pearson would, no doubt, be fortified had he been with the *Daily Mirror* reporter (D.M., 23/6/47) whose "good news" was:

"I saw Zborowsky arriving at Southend Police Station. His hair was matted and dirty, his cheeks drawn, his eyes tired."

The hunt was up. The quarry was gained. Yoicks, tally-ho, and the parson received the thanks of the hunt master.



"WE HAVE THE SAME SOLUTION TO WORKING CLASS PROBLEMS, SENORA!"

## meetings and Announcements

### UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS:

#### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Sunday Evening Lectures  
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.  
at 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1  
JUNE 29th Dinah Stock  
Colonial Workers' Freedom Front  
JULY 5th Peter Rollings  
The I.W.W. in England

#### N.E. LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

NEXT THREE MEETINGS  
(July 1st, 15th, 29th)  
at 71, Streetfield Ave., East Ham, E.6  
JULY 1st. Discussion led by Eric Maple  
Man and Society

#### GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

Open Air Meetings  
at Maxwell Street, (Argyll St.)  
every Sunday at 7 p.m.  
Speakers: Frank Leech  
Eddie Shaw Preston Clements

#### BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP

The first of regular fortnightly public discussion meetings will be held on July 6th, at 7 p.m.  
at Dick Sheppard House,  
36 Holloway Head.

#### LANCASHIRE GROUPS

Public Meeting at  
Oddfellows Rooms, 9, Cunliffe Street,  
CHORLEY,  
SUNDAY, JULY 6th. Mat Kavanagh  
"Opposition to War in this Atomic Age"

#### AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS

obtainable from  
FREEDOM BOOKSHOP  
17, Red LION STREET, LONDON, W.C.1  
Price 1d. (8d. per dozen, 5/- per 100)  
post free

#### FREEDOM Anarchist Fortnightly Price 2d.

Postal Subscription Rates  
6 months 3/- (U.S.A. 60c.)  
12 months 6/- (U.S.A. 1\$)  
Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies,  
6 months 5/6 12 months 11/-  
All Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders  
should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS,  
crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the  
publishers

FREEDOM PRESS  
27 Red Lion Street  
London, W.C.1 England  
Tel: Chancery 8364

## THE PRINCESS, THE CITY—AND SOCIALISM

Princess Elizabeth said: "City of London has inspired some of most adventurous exploits ever recorded, and spirit of determination enabled it to endure steadfastly destruction of bombardment."

After speaking of Empire peoples, she said: "Our Commonwealth is not so much a single act of faith as miracle of faith."

*Evening News*, 11/6/47.

★

"Princess Elizabeth is no longer proud. She will be a democratic Queen. They say that if she were to vote she would vote for the Labour Party."—SAMEDI SOIR (Paris).

Quoted in *News Review*, 5/6/47.

Like the Commonwealth, the Labour Party is a "miracle of faith".

## CORRECTION

In article entitled "Randolph Bourne and the State," page 6, col. 4, 14 lines from bottom, after "dynasty," read "or a reformed descendant of a dynasty, could not possibly make" [war upon each other].

Apologies for a printers error!

## HE WENT OVER TO THE OTHER SIDE

The death of Frank Hodges on June 4th draws attention to yet another example of how a union leader climbed to power and luxury over the backs of his one-time fellow-workers. And power, as usual, corrupted him.

Hodges was born in poverty and went to work in the South Wales mines at a very early age. He eventually won a scholarship to Oxford, and later on with the financial aid of his fellow-workers, went to France to finish his studies at the Sorbonne. Towards the end of the 1914-18 war he became Secretary of the Miners' Federation.

But after the "General" Strike of 1926, when the working masses were fighting desperate battles against the coal owners and the government, Hodges "crossed the border" and gave his support to the capitalist class. His economic investments grew larger, and his list of "achievements" included:

Director of the Bank of England.  
Electricity Commissioner.  
Member of the Lancashire Cotton Corporation.  
Director of Messrs. Beardmore's, Farmer and Stockbreeder in Leicestershire.

To cap it all, he became a *Coal owner!* Altogether a remarkable career—of which the moral for the working class is *Control your delegates, or they will control you!*

## Power Politics

(Continued from page 1)

### Britain as the Rejoicing Third

Such a situation restores the British government to its traditional position of holding the balance of power. British Imperialism hopes to be the gainer from the weakening struggle of the other two major powers, and it is a mistake to underestimate its capacities in this respect.

It has been noticeable that during the Hungarian crisis, the British Government and the British press have made what capital they can out of it, but they have made no move which might seriously embarrass the Russian *fait accompli*. It is legitimate to conclude that Russian influence in Hungary is conceded. In short, we are seeing once again the whole dirty business that became a commonplace between 1933 and 1939; where sanctimonious principles were loudly paraded, but workers were massacred by police states without the "freedom-loving" nations moving a finger. Let property be threatened and they will intervene to the utmost; but for mere workers' lives and liberties—well, that is a different thing altogether.

### Don't Take Sides: Support the Workers!

But it is useless to take sides, and reproduce the war "to end fascism" all over again. If men languish in political gaols under the Russians, they rot in economic misery under American-sponsored capitalism. The two "alternatives" may differ, no doubt; but only in degree, not in kind. It is not so much one ruler or the other; it is for the ruled against all the rulers that one must struggle.

### German Workers on Strike

The chaotic situation in Germany illustrates the same power conflicts on a smaller scale, with the various German politicians throwing in their lots either with the West or with the Russians. But lying dormant beneath them all are the millions of the German workers. In this issue we publish a manifesto

on the strikes and demonstrations in the Ruhr in the spring. As we go to press 30,000 workers in Cologne have come out on strike as a demonstration against the cut in the bread ration from 1,500 to 1,000 grammes a week, and the measures taken by Military Government to prevent any supplementing of rations. The Cologne workers have sent emissaries to the workers of Dusseldorf to describe their conditions to them. Now the workers in the Ford, the Klöckner-Homboldt-Deitz engineering works, the Westwagon railway wagon repairing plant, the Felten and Guillaune factory, the Karlswerk cable factory, the Kalk chemical (fertilizer) factory, and other plants have stopped work. In addition there are said to be widespread go-slow movements, and sabotage of the dismantling of factories for reparations which would create still more unemployment and misery.

Our position is clear: we are for the German workers in their struggle against oppression and starvation. But it is our position also the world over. Hating Bolshevik Imperialism, we do not embrace American Imperialism. Rejecting private capitalism, we do not rush into the arms of Russian State "collectivized" capitalism. We refuse to take up the struggle on behalf of one or other of the ruling—that is to say, exploiting—groups. Our position is by the side of the exploited, the ruled, the oppressed; in short, we are for the workers, whether they are groaning under military occupation, or the Russian police state dependencies, or the British Empire and its subsidiaries, or whether they are suffering under a capitalist economy propped up by American loans paid for by the exploitation of the American workers.

Support for one or the other imperialisms means support for power politics, means support for the coming war. Support for the workers whatever their "nationality" (a meaningless term when applied to men and women who sell their labour to live) means support for the revolution, means joining in the fight to destroy war, injustice and oppression. It is the workers whom anarchists support.

## FREE PUBLICITY

Readers who feel they would like to help FREEDOM'S circulation drive by inducing their newsagent to stock the paper may be interested in a paragraph which appeared in a recent issue of the "National News-agent, Bookseller, Stationer" (the trade journal with the largest circulation). Under the general heading "Periodical Pars for Alert Agents" the reference to FREEDOM reads as follows:

"FREEDOM (fortnightly, 2d.) is an anarchist newspaper of considerable interest to all who follow trends of political thought. It has the serious intention of publishing informed opinions for the benefit of converts to anarchist philosophy and encouraging those whose convictions are similar.

At present there is a drive to increase

the circulation by another 2,000 readers. It is well-produced, well-written (contributors include Herbert Read) and attractively laid out. Obtainable from the Freedom Press, 27 Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1."

Why not use this "cutting" as an introduction to your local newsagents?

### Press Fund

June 7th—18th

Gillingham: M.C. 4/-; London: J.R.A. 6/6; Wragsby: A.S. 5/-; Pittson: P.B. £2/10/0; N. Bergen: D.F. £1/5/0; London: A.M. 4/6; London: G.C.B. 2/-; San Francisco: Libertarian Group £12/10/0; London: H.B. 5/4; London: A.M. 10/-.

Previously acknowledged	£18 2 4
1947 TOTAL TO DATE	£212 12 2
1947 TOTAL TO DATE	£230 14 6