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

TOLSTOY.

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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, doorkeepers, foremen and certain grades of technical workers who claim that the National Coal Board refuses to recognise their union—the Clerical and Adminis-trative 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 Shotfirers,—is also not recognised by the Coal Board.

In both the unions concerned, their members are still working six- and sevenday 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

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 colidarity—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

of a 30 million dollar loan. Neither power has any concern for the wellbeing 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

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 Kun, the Hungarian Bolshevik of the 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, secretarygeneral 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

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 is 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 STRI

NATIONAL STOPPAGE AVERTED

When busmen of the Hants & Dorset and Wilts & Dorset bus companies staged token strike last March (Freedom, a token strike last ivalence with the 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 compare badly with those of emaward. ployees 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. 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

EUROPE'S

HILDKEN

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 out-

lined the relief measures organized by

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

tion to the fact that the statistics for

juvenile crime both in the first world war

and in the recent war showed a catas-trophic increase. He blamed the utilization

of the romantic imagination of childhood

and adolescence by "the false romanti-

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 initia-

tive 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.

But in addition to this he drew atten-

The second speaker was Dr. Stephen

UNRRA camps.

of 15 to 18.

cizing of war."

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 wagewhen, in fact, wages and employers will be a piece of history."

Another Political Stunt The Housewives' League

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 ben 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 organising the same agitation against the

IT is a good many generations since 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 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 "fellowtraveller"—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. Gollanez 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

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 prewar misery, and in this way it may be of more benefit to the Labour Party.

K. A. E.

On Being An

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 or 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 'cooperation'. 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

"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 coordinating 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 unsounder. 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 bettergifted 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.

Anarchist in 1947 THE COVENTRY VENTURE Dr. K. BARLOW

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.

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 growing children.

They have realised that it is nonsense and

article, is the moving spirit behind the Housing the farm will be the green belt of this new township Experiment and Health Centre now proceeding at of 2,000 dwellings. Coventry. The Coventry Experiment is an extension of the conceptions developed by the Pioneer Health fields were deficient in fertility. That the crops were on which a healthy community must erect itself.)

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 they would like to give it—can be discussed. When Coventry. you have families discussing the life of their homes deception to describe as a health service a set-up grocery for families who will live beside it and will stature and becoming mature in his manhood.

ORE than eight people out of ten in Great | (Dr. Kenneth Barlow, the author of the following | be able to see that only the best is provided. For

The society found that the soils of the farm Centre at Peckham—already described in Freedom. not as healthy as they desired. Yet on these crops In this article Dr. Barlow sketches the dietic basis 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 which does nothing about nutrition. The present soil is built up and thereby the health of the farm "Health" service is purely a breakdown service: it animal that food of first quality for health can be does not deal with faults in nutrition and in living 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 organisation. Everyone in the society can put in capital in amounts of £1 upwards: It promised to his own oar and help to row the boat. The farm pay 3½% on its loan stock and to secure it upon work for example has received great help from its attested herd of Ayrshire cattle and upon its other That's the sort of story that you hear often members. The society provides a forum where the stock and implements. Application forms may be eventual shape of their own world, the shape that obtained from the Secretary, at Binley Farm,

The recent reform by Parliament of medicine you have to deal with a community on the scale of and schooling offers to the common man no reasona township. The Coventry society recognised this able prospect of either health or maturity. He is started to grow food they can be sure of, for their and is planning in detail to build its own township therefore driven outside the plan. He is compelled at Brandon Woods on the immediate outskirts of to improvise experiments such as those at Peckham Coventry. The farm which has been bought and is and Coventry in order to create about him a comnow being farmed is to provide milk and green- munity which will permit of his growing to his full

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

"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. 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 ob-serve 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 reground 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.

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 socity 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 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

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

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 restrictive gregariousness Orwell

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 ve 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 anarchism, but anarchists work fairly freely. In Russia there are laws against anarchism, but probably little public opinion, yet there are no openly avowed anarchists outide the jails and concentration camps.

So, if we must have one or the other, 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 The changing of value. form of government is mere toying with degrees — a little more or a little lessfolly the whole of it."

HENRIK IBSEN.

THE RAILWAYMEN'S CASE

WITH THEIR FEET

WHILE the railway workers' claims have been shelved by the companies for four months, the railmen themselves have been making quite clear how much they value their jobs by "voting with their feet", and walking out to better paid, more comfortable jobs in other industries.

During the war, the Essential Works combat the justice of the men's claims Order was clamped upon the railway workers, tying them to the job. The results of their efforts to obtain more satisfactory wages for themselves are described on this page by "Engineman". But last August the E.W.O. was lifted, and the right to quit the job given back to the workers. And they grabbed the oppor-tunity with both hands in thousands of

Between last August, and February 15th of this year, no less than 13,486 members of the permanent appointed staff, among the conciliation grades alone, have resigned, according to the General Secretary of the N.U.R., J. Benstead. This takes no account of retirements under age rules, and although the companies claim that they have "attracted" more men than they have lost, still there would appear to be about 20,000 vacancies for railway workers.

DANGEROUS WORK

Not only are the wages low throughout the industry (minimum standard base rates range from 84/- to 87/-) but a high proportion of industrial casualties occur on the railways. If miners and seamen are excluded railway workers account for per cent. of deaths while at work during 1946. And the danger is increasing with the deterioration in rolling stock and locomotives.

The workers claim that the number of locomotive breakdowns is double now what it was in 1938, and that locomotives are in a worse condition than they have ever been. Obviously these are hardly circumstances likely to encourage workers to enter an underpaid industry.

THE COMPANIES ARGUE

At the moment of writing, the M. of L. Court of Inquiry into the railmen's claims is still sitting. The men have put up a strong case, from which the above facts have been taken, and the companies have replied by merely stating what would be the cost of the increased wages and shortened hours. They make no effort to

Transport Strikers Sacked

A feature of a strike of 200 transport workers at Dawson's, general carriers, of Bermondsey, is that it is an unofficial strike on behalf of the union, who are not officially supporting the workers. At the time of writing, the strike has lasted a

The dispute arose because of the firm's refusal to recognise the union status of their black-coated staff. Drivers and loaders came out in protest, and the firm retaliated after five days at a standstill by sacking all the strikers as from the first day of the strike. Announcing its decision to re-form the business, the management stated it was "prepared to receive applications from former employees willing to join in the rebuilding of a sound organisation". attempt to weaken and divide the strikers.

There are standing firm, however, and are contacting workers of other firms with a view to spreading the strike. They are refusing to consider themselves sacked and are mounting 24-hour pickets outside Dawson's yard. Three men are allowed in to groom and feed the 33 horses stabled

Inside the yard, lorries are waiting loaded with butter, eggs and bacon ready for delivery to Portsmouth, Norwich and the Midlands. Should the strike spread, the issue causing it, the obvious right of clerks to organise in their unions, if they so wish, will be forgotten in the attempt to alienate the public's sympathy by the scare that 'the rations are in danger.

Mining Clerks Threaten Strike

From the beginning of the five-day week, colliery clerks have been labouring under grievances too. The Mineworkers' Union, under the stalwart Arthur Horner, have for months been "negotiating" with the N.C.B. "on their behalf", but the clerks are beginning to get impatient and have threatened to strike if something is not done soon.

It will, of course, be an unofficial strike, so look out for a few thousand more saboteurs in our midst!

(See page 1)

or the truth of their description of the conditions under which the men work. These are in fact irrefutable.

As usual the demands for higher wages is turned into a threat against the public of higher fares. Meeting the men's full demands would raise the annual wage bill by nearly £90,000,000, a figure which could only be balanced by raising passenger fares and transport rates 65 per cent. and 70 per cent respectively above pre-war level.

The companies also argue that the privileges that railmen have, more than offset the amount by which their wages fall short of those of other workers (specifically mentioning the Civil Service). Railmen's privileges amount to free rail warrants at holiday periods, privilege tickets at quarter fare and free uniform and clothing. Only the last items, be it noted, can be said to cost the companies

NON-PRODUCTIVE WORKERS

The transport industries probably carry a higher proportion of non-productive workers than any other essential industries. The public should realise that when they are paying their fares and transport rates they are not only paying for the services of the men who actually do the job and the materials involved, but also for the existence of a huge army of clerks, ticket punchers, ticket printers, form-fillers, etc., to say nothing of the shareholders. "Engineman" has pointed to the form of organisation which will really fight for the workers' interests. The consumers' interests lie in the elimination of the need for thousands of unproductive consumers in every industry. The interests, there-fore, of workers both as producers and as consumers lie in nothing short of the abolition of capitalism and the money system altogether.

WAGES

RAILWAYMEN are extremely sceptical about the possibility of a reasonable wage increase resulting from the present negotiations. This is my belief after talking the matter over with my mates of all grades at every opportunity.

At the last national negotiations on wages, it is not generally known that the Labour Minister in the present government intervened to make some suggestions; those suggestions were not for the purpose of helping the railwayworkers to get better wages. According to a propaganda leaflet recently issued by the N.U.R. directed against the A.S.L.E. & F., the suggestions at that time made by the Labour Minister were chiefly designed to ensure that no further wage claims were made until the end of 1947. This would seem to be the answer to the railway-workers complaint that negotiations are being dragged on too long.

Some day, railwaymen and other workers will see the necessity for having control of wages negotiations and then they will get a quick settlement.

Reasons For Pessimism

Why are railway-workers so doubtful about any chance of a good settlement? One reason is that settlements during recent years have always fallen far short of the original demands. The present demands are for £1 a week increase and a 40-hour week, with a 35-hour week claim by the R.C.A. Railway wages have lagged considerably behind the increased cost-of-living, more

A RAILWAY CASUALTY

Lewis Arthur Lamb, 63, a loco-otive fireman. of Plashet-road, motive fireman. of Upton Park, who left his engine "out of goodness of heart" to help three shunters to move a brake van clear of a cross-over at Plaistow goods yard, was crushed between his engine and the brake van.

Verdict at to-day's West Ham inquest: Death by misadventure. Evening Standard, 18/6/47.

so than in other industries. The costof-living is going up during these protracted negotiations, and the politicians are warning us that life will be even more tough in the near future; so that the present wage demands should really be amended in an upward direction.

During the war years, railwaymen received but a fraction of their demands as is shown by the following: In December 1939, 4/-; in April 1940, 3/-; November 1940, 4/-; 1942 saw an improvement on these miserable amounts, for we got 8/6. In June 1943, 5/-, and then another 5/- in 1944; finally we got the 7/- added in 1945. These amounts seem to have created the impression tht we can expect something varying between 4/6 and 7/6 a week

Need For Changes

It is plain that orthodox trade-union negotiations are being seriously questioned by the workers. This is in itself a step towards a better understanding of the needs of organised labour to-day It is not good enough for us to continue to tolerate control of the unions by a hierarchy of officials, especially when the officials are more influenced by political considerations than the interests of the members of the union. We read in the newspapers that the union officials made a midnight dash from the conference of the Labour Party at Margate, to a meeting in London with a government Minister. Precious little inspiration would be obtained at the Labour Party conference, where Mr. H. Morrison was telling the delegates and others, "From now on, what we get in social benefits or higher wages must be earned by higher production." argument railway-men may conjecture; for the newspaper city-notes are telling us that railway receipts are declining, and there will be a large deficit at the end of this year on the £43,000,000 rental guaranteed by the government!

If railway-workers, or any other workers are to prevent the dire effects of the economic crisis being visited upon them, it is necessary to think in different terms from the usual trade-union negotiations. First and foremost workers

must insist that there shall be less salaried officials and superannuary pettyofficials in industry. It is fast becoming a joke of ribald character that, on the railways there will soon be as many officials as workers. Perhaps it is a sign of the times, but nevertheless, a fact, that local trade-union officials are becoming local petty-officials and lackeys of officials. Surely, we should be asking ourselves, is it not ludierous that we have organisations in which there are railway-officials as well as workers? Every railway-worker knows that the interests of the officials and the workers are not the same. The trade union organisations have become transformed. They are no longer the bodies that many workers imagine they are. The workers in many places are learning from bitter experience these facts. Railwaymen at Paddington, Stratford, L.N.E.R., Bishopsgate, Broad Street, and other places have seen their legitimate activities frustrated by the combination of Railway Officers, T.U. Officials and Government Ministers.

Because of these glaring contradictions some railway-workers are thinking in practical terms of a definite alternative to all this lack of unity, want of workers' solidarity and what is generally understood as good unionism. These workers are trying to lay the foundations of one workers' industrial union, in which the workers will really control their own affairs, since there will be no centralised bureaucracy. Instead of sitting back and waiting with cynicism and scepticism while the bosses in industry and the trade unions bargain about a few shillings, we should then be in a position to improve our wages and conditions, and plan for workers' control of industry without officials.

ENGINEMAN.

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Land Notes

Between Two Worlds

Dr. Johnson, Boswell tells us, once remarked that "No one but a fool ever wrote except for money," and when, on a soft, still summer evening, I am forced to stay at home and write these Notes instead of peddling off down to the local, I feel strongly inclined to agree with him Futhermore, all irksome tasks are the more easily performed when they have become habitual. Indeed, without the formation of habits much of what one has to do each day, like getting up early and at the same time every morning, would be quite unbearable. The acquirement of habits are almost a necessary safeguard to one's

All of which is a rather cumbersome and verbose way of saying that, having managed to get off writing Land Notes for a while, and being, I am forced to realize, essentially mentally lazy, it requires a hell of an effort to get them started again; all the more so when the first attempt must be made after a day of singling beet under a blazing sun, a job which incidentally I detest and at which I am consequently not very pro-ficient. (Yes, the beet is very late this year, this operation being normally completed a month ago.) Fortunately, the tractor-mower went into the first field to be cut for hay this morning so I can reckon on returning to my normal and more congenial job, that of carter.

Having written the above (in case you begin to wonder, quite rightly, what relevance it all has) largely to gain time while I wondered what the heck I was going to write about, I have to admit that I am not much further forth and that your guess is as good as mine. One thing though, that has recently impressed me, with all its agricultural and social implications, is the vast difference between the older and younger farm-workers. Surely there can hardly have ever existed such a complete break between two generations, between the men over forty and those under thirty with those between thirty or forty hovering uneasily between the two. In every way, politically, psychologically and what you will, there is a complete break. The connecting links of a whole chain of culture, a whole way of life, seem to have cracked and

(With this issue, G.V. is resuming his Land Notes after a few months intermission during which this feature has been replaced by a series of five articles "Agriculture and the Social Revolution in Britain.")

The Old Tradition

Firstly, then, the older men with their staunch conservatism, with their disapproval, or, at best, mocking tolerance, of all, or nearly all, the new-fangled ideas and machines, their distrust of "modern", scientific means of farming, which, one must admit, is very frequently justified. And yet, with all that, their deep, traditional, almost intuitive knowledge of the land on which they have lived and worked and their deep respect for it. Above all, perhaps, their pride in their job, their craftsman's contempt for work of inferior quality. They did their work well, not primarily because they were employed to do it or through fear of the sack, but because it was a pleasure to them and they derived an abiding satisfaction from a job perfectly executed, whether it was a hedge properly laid, a stack neatly thatched or a horse or cow with that smooth, glossy sheen and flowing rhythmic lines that betoken perfect

In these men, too, the knack-one might even say without exaggeration, the artof manual work reached its zenith. Though their movements may appear slow and heavy, like the great ponderous Shire horses to which so many of them devoted more loving care and attention than they ever bestowed on their families, they can load a muck-cart, pitch a sheaf or handle a hoe with a swift, swinging ease and speed which makes us younger men seem stiff and awkward by comparison.

For the older men, then, the trivial round and the common task, performed within a social structure that the great majority of them accepted, with all its privations and injustices, as more or less in the natural order of things and which no one could change very much for the better, did provide them with pretty well all they asked, because really they asked very little. Those who know something of the history of the English agricultural labourer may realize why.

Born Into Decay

Not so the young men born into, and growing up, in a decaying and disintegrating rural society dominated by an urban industrialism and, with the growth of mechanical transport, increasingly connected with it, physically and ideologically. Essentially urban in outlook, for the most part they dislike and avoid manual work as far as possible, their ambition being to sit on a tractor seat and their hope that they won't have to get off it.

Strongly attached to machinery of any kind, they also regard working with it as a step-up in the social scale. Their recreation is the nearest cinema (it doesn't matter much what picture it is; they are much the same-which is true enough), or, on a Sunday evening, they stand in the central place of the village dressed in smart suits, smoking cigarettes or whistling the latest popular tune, their pointed shoes tapping out the restless, fidgetty

Made discontented and dissatisfied by a vague, inchoate social awareness that did not worry most of their fathers and of which they themselves are hardly aware, they are not content with the social structure in which they live and work. and the trivial round and common task is not sufficient for them. And why should it be, indeed? Inwardly resenting and rejecting the old master-man relationship, yet they do not see any alternative to it. Truly they are indeed "between two worlds, one dying, one powerless to he horn."

The Urban Mind Dept.

What I have written reminds me of part of a conversation I recently heard between two town-workers. It ran like

"Good farming land though, I believe." "Yes, I suppose that's all its good for really, farming.'

"Dull, flat country I call it. Nothing

COAL BOARD UNDER FIRE

As opponents of nationalisation we have often pointed out that under state ownership the relationship betwen workers and management is no different from that under private ownership. And moreover, that even the personnel of the officials remains the same. The main difference in the status of the managers is that under state control they are even more secure in the privileged positions than if employed by private companies.

The miners of South Wales have had this very clearly brought home to them. In the last issue of Freedom we printed information showing how the N.C.B. was buying up mansions throughout the counto house their officials. Now come rumblings of discontent from the coalfields, which has already resulted in a considerable drop in output from S. Wales and, through the unions, criticism of the Board and its members.

No Confidence

Even before the state took over on Jan. 1st, the Executive Council of the South Wales area Mineworkers' Federation passed a vote of no confidence in the chairman and vice-chairman of the Divisional Coal Board, General Sir R. Godwin-Austen and Mr. G. E. Aeron-Thomas, former coal-owner. Now the E.C. is protesting against the appointment of Mr. Iestyn Williams as chief executive officer of the Labour Relation Department of the N.C.B. Mr. Williams was formerly secretary of the Monmouthshire and South Wales' Coalowners Association.

While the union bosses are passing reolutions, the miners are using a form of direct action. It can hardly yet be called a go-slow movement but many may well develop into that later. Coal production in the week ending June 7th was the lowest since the five-day week began last May 1st, and was 60,000 tons short of Mr. Shinwell's target for South Wales, and nearly 20,000 tons below the highest week. South Wales miners now number 108,450 as compared with 105,854 at the start of the year.

and

AS a result of a few big scandals the curiosity of the average Frenchman has been aroused in police affairs. Not the uniformed police, the traffic policeman or the cycle patrols, which are popularly referred to as the "cows on (vaches à roulettes). This category of mercenaries is well-known. It enjoys the general contempt of the working class whose conditioned reflexes immediately associate the "flic" with his task of repression.

The recollection of "passages à tabac" (beatings up) which have been personally experienced by most workers rounded up during demonstrations and the brutality of the baton charges have given a sinister reputation to the re-pression squads of the municipal police, particularly in Paris where 30,000 policemen uphold "law and order". Instinctively the word "flic" has

acquired a pejorative meaning and we remember an old militant of the Labourers' syndicate who refused to see his son who, being unemployed, had

joined the police.

But a whole literature has built up the myth of the plain clothes police-man who pursues thieves, who unravels international mysteries, who detects and arrests murderers. Magazines specializ-ing in crime, publish each week articles on the extraordinary underworld battles against the defenders of law and order. And astute editors transform the smallest police enquiry into a detective

The recent scandals which have besmirched the régime of the 4th Republic throw a somewhat different light on the

rôle of the police.

The Police and Their Aids

The French Police Force is composed of two bodies both under the control of the Ministry of the Interior: the Générale, which operates over the whole of the French territory, and the Police Judiciare, whose powers are limited to Paris.

A lively rivalry has always existed between these two bodies. The Sureté often demands to work in Paris on cases that have originated in the Provinces, while the Police Judiciare wants the right to conduct its enquiries in the Provinces on cases that have started in Paris.

These two departments have their own informers and protégés. They are no exception to the rule that every repressive organisation relies for its information on the very people who associate with crime and delinquency. They have their ramifications among the groups of pimps, in every café where traffic in drugs takes place, in illegal currency exchange offices, among smugglers and black-marketeers. In return, the informers receive police protection.

Needless to say, the Police, with a capital 'P', does not possess its own classified and paid informers. It is left to the policemen themselves to choose their aides and make the necessary arrangements with them.

As police officers are generally badly paid, corruption is rife and as a result there is no clear demarcation line between the criminals and the instruments of repression. This statement, which might appear monstrous to those who still have faith in bourgeois morals, is nevertheless quite commonplace. In 1939, in one of those Paris dis-

tricts where prostitution was more wide-spread, Boulevard Sébastopol, one could see every evening an inspector of vice squad, arriving in the traditional Renault of the Police Judiciare, to collect the arnings of his women. In this case the alliance was so close that the delinquent and the policeman were the same person!

An identical situation exists in the political sphere. Before the war, and still today, there are specialised police squads whose job is to keep watch on subversive elements. There is, for instance, an "anarchist" squad, a "trotskyist" squad, a "royalist" one, etc.

The rôle of these squads is to watch rather than to take action, except in times of crisis. The political police acts

THE ARTS UNDER SOCIALISM

At Prague's International Music Festival, Shostakovich made one speech, to the International Congress of Composers, but anyone who expected to hear new theories or techniques was disappointed. Blinking myopically under the klieg lights, he read a dull account of the bureaucratic organization of the Soviet music, not once mentioning himself. At the end, someone asked: "Is your opera Lady Macbeth of Mzensk banned in Russia?" Said Shostakovich quietly: "It is not banned—it is simply not played." There was an embarrassed silence; considering the blast directed at Lady Macheth by Soviet ideologists eleven years ago ("Screaming, neurotic music"), it was hardly a nice question. Shostakovich made an abrupt bow and walked from the stage.

Time (U.S.A.), 9/6/47.

Brutality

generally only when it receives definite instructions from the Ministry of the Interior, because it knows that its intervention might arouse popular demon-strations in the case of working class movements, and in high places, in the case of right wing movements.

Policemen and Politicians

The police is divided by different interests and even political tendencies. Sections of the police give their allegiance to one or the other police chief who is himself protected by a leading political party or by some financial Trust. Freemasons are very active in this field and make clever use of their members.

During the occupation when the resistance began its activities, the Police acquired immense importance. It was divided into factions, some in favour of the Allies, some of Germany, some of both. Simultaneusly, intriguers and political groups contrived to win the collaboration of the police either by privileges or money. British, American, German, Russian, Vichyite and Gaullist Intelligent services thus spread their

At the time of the liberation the police was represented as having played a great rôle in the resistance, with the exception of a few sections frankly pro-German. But when the Resistance fell to pieces and its hidden quarrels and internal struggles came into the open, the patriotic halo of the police quickly disappeared.

Communist cells, American stooges, collaborators were all in possession of dossiers patiently compiled for attack or for the purpose of defending themselves. As soon as a scandal broke out the opposing factions were able to supply the Press or the magistrates with documents discrediting the accusers.

Corruption

This explains why the food scandal, in which the Socialist Minister Gouin was involved, was follwed by the scandal of textiles and tyres in which the Communist Marcel Paul was involved. Since then the police weapon has been used by all the political parties aspiring to power. The Hardy affaire threw dirt on the Gaullist movement; that of collaborators who had taken refuge in convents put the M.R.P. (Christian Democrats) in an embarrassing position; an underground organisation was discovered in the prison of Fresnes; General Alamichel, collaborator of Tillon, the communist minister, was overwhelmed by proofs of his betrayal during the occupation; the Joanovici scandal was a severe blow for the

Recently, Roussoy, rector of the Sorbonne, adventurer of genius, and the glory of French culture, member of the pro-communist organisation, Front National and involved in shady dealings in currency, with the consent of the Gestapo, has tried to commit suicide.

Each of these scandals enjoys a more or less wide publicity according to the allegiances of the newspaper in which they are reported. They are displayed with enormous front page titles in some papers and merely get ten lines, on the third page, in others.

All these scandals have been known for months but are only made public to suit the political struggle. In the meantime, the police remains untouched.. The slightest hint of a purge unites all the Employees of Repression. They know that régimes may change, progress or be overthrown, but that their services will be indispensable to

those who hold power.

They are no longer the solid easing of a State. They are a weapon ready to serve whoever is in power.

S. PARANE.

FRENCH POLICE U.S. Imperialism in Far East

The American Military Occupation Authorities in Japan are seing to it that American business interests are well intrenched there before rival imperialisms can get their feet in. Thus the American North West Airlines have begun advertising in the Japanese press services to the United States, to the Philippines, and to Shanghai. But permission was not given to British airway companies to start services to and from Japan. Nor have British-owned banks been permitted to re-open business although the French Bank of Indo-China has been granted a limited licence.

This last concession has its ironical side, for in Indo-China the U.S. and French interests are in the sharpest con-flict, under cover of the "nationalist" struggle of Viet Nam against French Imperialism. This struggle broke out after the French Government has refused to permit Viet Nam to control the customs, for that would have broken the control of the Bank of Indo-China—which is owned by the powerful Monde Catholique. But the force behind Viet Nam is American capital. The complex nature of the U.S.—French imperialist rivalry is indicated by this account from Jackson Mayers of Worldover Press:

"In Tonkin, in their occupation zone, the Chinese troops who had come in with the Americans were stripping whole towns. They seized all Japanese arms more more modern than their own, and sold their ancient arms to the Indo-Chinese. The Kuomintang in China sent in millions of counterfeit piastras until the wild inflation was destroying the economy, something the Japanese had shrewdly avoided. In the Japanese appeal to the Indo-Chinese, they had cleverly permitted the birth of a lusty young industry that France had hamstrung for 85 years, and which now the Chinese were swiftly dis-

During their brief occupation, the Chinese-unquestionably Asia's shrewdest bargainers-showed that in their long role as a semi-colony, they had learned a few of the tricks of imperialism. With the exception of the landed property trusts, which could defend themselves, almost all French properties-at least the small and medium-sized ones—were ceded to the Chinese.

> Chinese General — U.S. Capital

At Haiphong, the important Commerce Hotel and all commercial import and export passed into the same hands. General Gaston Wang, one-time chief of the Chinese general staff and governor of d'Hai-Nan, and suspected of relations with the Japanese as far back as 1932 in Shanghai, led the Chinese business men. Wang, associated with M. Koung Sun De, president of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, founded a trust at Haiphong in order to launch businesses and a Chinese navigation company.

But General Wang and Sun De were

not independent small business men. They were connected with two firms just established at Hanoi, the Sino-Indochina Union Development Ltd., and the Viet-Nam Chinese Union Banking Corporation —firms with a Chinese front but American capital. They were, actually, subsidiaries of an American corporation, the Sino-American Union Development Ltd., whose chief seat is in Chungking.

This huge development corporation envisages the opening by 1948 of similar branches in Siam, Burma and Malaya, according long-term credits to industry and commerce representatives who will deliver raw materials and crude products.

The activities of the American-Chinese corporations in Indo-China go far to explain the present American opposition to French suppression of a colonial revolt. It may explain, too, why the French request for surplus American arms in Belgium was rejected. Yet on their part the French have been responsible for some vicious repression and an 85-year traffic in opium. Moreover, Indo-China has been completely exploited by the Bank of Indo-China, owned in toto by Le Monde Catholique, dominating force in French banking, the Army and the colonies.'

Foreign Commentary

THE more one reads the foreign

the ever-increasing number of or-

ganizations which for the sake of

brevity are referred to simply by their

initials. Our contemporary l'Adunata

dei Refrattari published a column

recently, dealing with a few of these

mysterious initials so far as Italy was

concerned, but undoubtedly the only

solution would be for the papers con-

cerned to include in each issue a

glossary translating the initials into

In the writer's opinion, our com-

rades in Italy by referring to their

new organization as the C.N.T. have

helped to increase the confusion, since

in the minds of those who have fol-

lowed the left wing movements, F.A.I.

is associated with the Spanish "Anar-

chist Federation of Iberia" rather than

the "Italian Anarchist Federation"

and C.N.T. with the Spanish

"National Confederation of Labour"

rather than the French organization

However this confusion would ap-

pear to be felt only by those who

follow the activities of these move-

ments through the columns of the

press, since in Italy, the work of our

comrades is slowly but surely gaining support, and in France the C.N.T. is

rapidly becoming an organization to

be reckoned with in the industrial

struggle in that country. Undoubtedly

our comrades have chosen the ideal

moment to launch their organisation:

dissatisfaction with the Stalinist-

controlled C.G.T. (General Confeder-

taion of Labour) and the thousands of

exiled Spaniards who formerly be-

longed to the Spanish C.N.T. as well

as the traditional militancy of revo-

lutionary syndicalism in France have

combined to put the C.N.T. on the

map right from the start. The French

popular press have already given the

usual sensational publicity to our com-

rades' activity. France-Soir, for in-

stance, has spoken of the "trotskyist cells of the C.N.T.", though better in-

formed people are aware of the

trotskyist hostility towards the C.N.T.

It would seem, however, that in

France as in this country, the term

"trotskyist" is used in an attempt to

bearing the same name.

more understandable terms.

press, the more is one baffled by

THE FRENCH C.N.T. blacken an organisation. The weekly illustrated magazine Point de Vue recently devoted two pages to the French C.N.T., attributing the Renault strike to their agitation.

Even in the English Press attention is being paid to our French comrades. The Sunday Observer's (June 15th) Paris correspondent, Alan Houghton Brodrick in a dispatch headed "POWER OF NEW FRENCH LABOUR Union Growing" writes:

"This afternoon and to-morrow, the central committee of the C.N.T.—Confederation Nationale du Travail—will meet in Paris, and it is expected that the new membership figure will considerably exceed the present total of 120,000. Puny as this may seem compared with the Confederation Generale du Travail—the French T.U.C.—there can be no doubt that the C.N.T. is playing an important part in the labour unrest. It is gaining ground in most industrial centres, and especially among metal workers and

The C.N.T. was founded only in May of last year. It is anti-Communist in the sense that it is opposed to the Stalin brand of Communism, which is the official creed of the French Communist party, but it is no Rightist body. Indeed, its spokesmen openly claim that it is a party of revolution, opposed to any collaboration with the Government and hostile to Government interference in fixing wages or determining working conditions.

The Communists accuse the C.N.T. of being composed of Trotskyists and anarchists and of taking money from big business. Possibly the C.N.T. has helped to inspire labour unrest, which is worrying the Communists and the C.G.T. not a little since the recent strike movements have shown that these organisations have followed rather than led."

Bernard Causton writing on FRENCH STRIKES in last week's issue of Tribune, also refers to the C.N.T.:

"Although the Communists would considerable power, they have yet to exercise care in their choice of tactics. Their predominance inside the C.G.T., with its membership of over 6,000,000, is not finally secured and needs consolidation. There is growing rivalry, for instance, from the Christian Trade Unions, as well as from the still smaller C.N.T., the Confederation Nationale du Travail, which follows the old anarcho-syndicalist tradition and counts at present some 120,000 supporters."

The latest issue of Le Libertaire does not, unfortunately, contain a report on the meeting of the C.N.T. referred to in the Observer, but it will be interesting to see what progress our comrades of the C.N.T. have made during this first year of their existence.

THE FRENCH RAILWAY STRIKE

Commenting on the recent strike of French railwaymen, Le Libertaire (19/6/47) comments:

"Never has anarchism won a similar victory in principle since those hours of feverish hope in 1936. And never has it more clearly imposed itself as the foundation of a new social order!

"For the indiscipline of the railmen, in refusing for a few days to recognize the authority of the State-Boss, of the party-chiefs and of the slavedriving syndicates (du syndicat gardechiourme) was in fact an organized indiscipline. Masters of the whole railway system, the railworkers ensured, by their own initiative, the perfect timing of the suspension and resumption of services; they effected the smooth running of special transport, and without which food supplies for large towns would have been irretrievably endangered. The efficiency with which this work was carried out had to be generally recognized. The railway workers defended their own interests, but within the framework of the general interests of the working class as a whole. And they demonstrated by this that the railways and their personnel, both from the technical and moral point of view, were ripe for socialisation-for direct management, without the State or the Boss-in a word, for libertarian collectivism.

Now, this absence of violence and disorder, more than the black flag unfurled over Villeneuve-Triage, crushed the authority of the Government and of the C.G.T., by showing that authority was useless . . . Useless because in the Rail Strike as in the Renault strike, the capacity for emancipation by the workers themselves was clearly shown . . ."

As readers know the Ramadier Government was forced to accept the French railway workers demands.

"PEN CLUB" CONGRESS

The 11th International Congress of "Pen Clubs', the second since the end of the war, was held this year at Zurich. The sessions were animated, even tumultuous, according to Combat (20/6/47) during discussions on the proposal to re-establish the German section. It was agreed in principle that the German section should be re-established by nineteen votes to one with nine abstentions. The most notable contribution was made by the well-known Italian writer Ignazio Silone, who declared that "military victory has left untouched all the problems which gave birth to Fascism and national-socialism. I know of no party, no institution or Church which is not affected to-day by the resignation of the spirit . . . We see that those who, in the past years, have been in the forefront of the struggle against racial hatred, who have been loudest in its denunciation, are not adverse to judge their now defeated adversaries, in the spirit of racial madness. One defends justice when it is convenient for one to do so. It is nevertheless clear that one cannot properly understand this crisis of our time if one does not examine its general characteristics. No unilateral condemnation of scape-goats can silence in our conscience the feeling of a universal guilt . . .

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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 ofter 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-genrous 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 necessaries 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? 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 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 wartime secrets may be included in the

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

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 unemployment for a year or two by

undemocratic at about the time the dic-tatorship resisted "Yankee Imperialism", so our left-wingers may find all sorts of

democratic justifications for Peron's

dictatorship if his business deals go over.

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.

Stop Press

But Nazis Wives Arrested

M.

Senora Peron is to be given a party in London with Lord Stragboli 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.

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 preceisely 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.

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

"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 is 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 HUN-GER! 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

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 th Ruhr workers, from the working man

JFFICERS MESS

and the working class youth, because they don't want to, and cannot, go on any longer living as they are at present. They have suffered more than too

much of oppression, war, bombardment, Nazi terror and occupation terror, hunger and want. But there is a limit to everything, and the limit to the patience of the masses has been reached.

Since the glorious struggles in the Ruhr in the 1920's, when the Western German working class was in the forefront of the international working class, no such movement has appeared until the spring of 1947.

The Occupation Powers Had to Give Way

Not only did the party and trade union leaders, already in pitiable dependance on the capitals at home and abroad, have to give way, but also the occupying powers themselves. These latter did not even try to oppose the masses directly. They could not afford to do so, and were not even sure that British soldiers would be willing to massacre the German workers.

Among the British soldiers are many miners, among the occupation soldiers there are many workers who well know what strikes mean, and know that it is necessary that the workers of all countries stand together.

The British authorities, who are facing great difficulties in Britain itself, have fallen back before the strikers and demonstrators.

It is already a success for the mass movement and a set-back for the military authorities.

The latter have made some fine promises. It will soon be seen that their

promises will not be kept. Then the movement will break loose anew and it will be difficult to stop it.

The Significant Change

The significant change is not so much in this immediate success, but rather in the fact that the German working class,

By JOHN OLDAY

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 chilren, 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 exereise 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

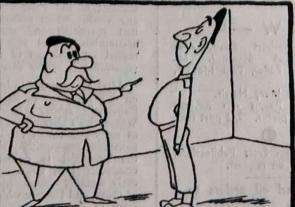
And then, also, the hour will strike, when oppression and exploitation, starvation and war, will be ended for ever. SPARTACUS.

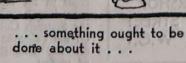
*This line, well-kown to German workers, is taken from a revolutionary song by Johann Most.—EDs.

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CHRISTIAN KNIGHT







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

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Freedom Press Randolph Bourne

F 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 liberalsas 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 highsounding 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

But Bourne had held back. His colleagues of The New Republic forgot their peacetime 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 philossophy, 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 underlyng 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

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, cooperative society where man's personal responsibility can flower. It is the practical alternative to Statism shown by the anarchists of Spain (partic-

and the State

the State in wartime is the opporunity it gives for this regression to infantile attitudes.'

Bourne shows in full how this attitude is cultvated by all States, and how this example of domination, set by the centralized power, pervades the re-lations 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

* See page 8 for correction

the monster State of Russia, the 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.)

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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 Rocker: Socialism and State. pp. 33. 1/-

Peter Kropotkin: The Place of Anarchism in Socialist Evolution. pp. 26. 6d.

(Obtainable from Freedom Bookshop).

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 disci-ple 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 mortproperty at the rate of one per terest per annum. This amount gage 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 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

Mutualism to other aspects of Libertarian thought-on education, tthe legal system, etc.; but as Anarchists, we may entertain serious doubts about Mutualism which, serious doubts about Mutualism which, like the other economic panaœas (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. society the employer-worker relationship.

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 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

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—itself the 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. This edition contains the long and very

Kropotkin's pamphlet is a general introduction to Anarchism in the form of a lecture given in Paris, and Rocker'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. Koechlin's articles on "The Development of Libertains Thomas". of Libertarian Thought" which appeared in Freedom last year. There is also an interesting short biography of Rocker.

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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 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 primitve 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 permitted any one individual to mulate. The extent of the comaccumulate. The extent of the com-munal undertakings of mediaeval urban communes is briefly discussed.

After an exceedingly interesting chapter on the 'Intrusion of Religion'' (in which Rabelais' Abbey of Thelema 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 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 imdistinction betwen the primitive communities and the medaeval communes on the one hand, and the socialistic, religious and revolutionary communal experiments of these later chapters. Whereas the former were a spontaneous growthfrom 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 captalist 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 ap-proximate 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 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

detters to the Editors

ANARCHISM-PAST AND FUTURE

The publication of Herbert Read's lecture, Anarchism Past and Present is a welcome contribution to the pages of Freedom.

The most effective and permanent changes in a social structure will be those that are secured not in external organization (whether this is considered alone as either political or economic) but within the basic material of a society, the human personality.

Inevitably, while holding liberty to be a supreme value, we will give our energies to the struggle against the authoritarian centralized State and its tendency to reduce personal responsibility in the interests of a relatively small power-group, but we should not lose sight of the fact that the removal of repressive institutions alone will not produce that condition of integration and social maturity without which no free society is possible. The State maintains its power in a large degree through the aquiescence of its subjected majority; irresponsibility, not the State or Capitalism, is at the bottom of our social difficulties. But the growth of communal unity is a slow and primarily educative process rather than a sudden transformition. Involving radical changes within the individual it is, as Read suggests, a danger that must be not so much political as organic.

The anarchist movement requires not merely further and sincere research into its scientific and historical justification but also a more subtle application in the field of sociology where confirmation of our basic beliefs may be found in experiment rather than in the emotional reasoning of individual rebellion.

The Pioneer Health Centre at Peckham,

the Folle High School movement in Denmark or the work of the Pacifist Service Units during the war—the list may be extended-point to the road along which lies our most significant

opportunity. Let us leave, for a moment, the agitation and the Alice-in-Wonderland economics and consider the best means of changing society from within, for a careful from within the falling structure will ultimately be more valuable than all the ranting without.

It will, I am sure, be no betrayal of our revolutionary principle if the word education takes the place of that of revolution. For education in its widest sense, involving the development of communal unity and communal responsibility can be a definite weapon (if these are the terms in which we will continue to think) for the destruction of State domination and economic exploitation. The teacher, let us say, the club-leader or the social worker is close to the root of the matter. Government will go when it is no longer needed nor tolerated. He who has once known freedom and learned how to use it is of surer conviction than he whose disatisfaction is only superficially exploited for ideological

Mr. Read's "call to order" is a carefully considered and appropriate exposition of the possible future direction of our movement.

Oxford.

JOHN LARKMAN.

DEAR COMRADES.

I feel sure that the majority of anarchists will agree with me when I say that Herbert Read's recent lecture on our movement was one of the most lucid and convincing expositions it would be possible

to make. Having said that, however, I should like to give my views on that part of the lecture wherein education is discussed, or rather, I should like to criticize most strongly the views put forward by Mr. Read on that subject.

Notwithstanding the fact that the atomic bomb has now made it impossible to carry through a revolution in the traditional manner (rifles, bombs, barricades, etc.), our comrade apparently believes that the world's politicians, soldiers and capitalists are going to stop the game of power politics while we all get educated for this biological change in which Mr. Read believes so fervently. Does he not realize that his ideas should be regarded as a long-term view? If he does, does he not realize that the chances now are that within 50 short years atomic weapons will probably destroy the human race? Men have preached morality to an immoral world throughout the centuries and most of them have died a maytr's death, but does Mr. Read believe that the evidence of Buchenwald and Dachau suggests an increase in morality? Of course, he does not, but to talk of long-term plans in an atomic era where the menace of war is ever-present and where man has proved himself to be under certain circumstances the foulest thing in the universe is, in my view, rather silly.

Having treated our distinguished comrade very roughly up to now, I should like to change my tune completely and thank him for an exceedingly fine piece of work! I agree most strongly with his basic principles and it was only that idea we had time to educate ourselves for change when in reality the world is going to pieces almost before our very eyes)-to which I took exception.

I am not as pessimistic as I sound but time is running short and if anarchism can save the world from the ghastly predicament in which it is placed-and it can save it-non-violent non-co-operation with the State must be shown to the people as an alternative to the present slavish adherence to political parties, trade unions and other organisations based on petty nationalism and narrow class interests.

DEAR COMRADES,

In reply to Stephen Marletta's letter in the last issue of Freedom, he is quite right in saying that violence is not anarchistic and he can, of course, quote from many anarchist sources in advocating a non-violent society which is the basis of anarchism. What anarchists have denounced as "churchy-pacifist" is the inept doctrine that one should not be prepared to defend oneself and in the event of a revolution should not resist coercion or compulsion. (To quote Berkman in the same book Marletta quotes from) "The social revolution will attack no one but it will defend itself from invasion from any quarter. Besides, you must not confuse the social revolution with Anarchy. Revolution, in some of its stages, is a violent upheaval: Anarchy is a social condition of freedom and peace."

I think you over-rated the lecture by Herbert Read. It is a comment on the position since the last war when the "left wing" has adopted such an inferiority complex and lost all its aggressiveness. Rebelliousness has come entirely from the right wing and "left" has trailed behind it with such negative slogans as antimilitarism and anti-fascism and even now cannot jerk out of it, and even such libertarian thinkers as Read are concerned over the atom bomb "preventing" workers' action, while right-wing nationalists (such as the Stern Gang, for instance!) have no such inhibitions whatever but are quite prepared to forge ahead aggressively. The Anarchist movement while not copying the futility of such, should recapture initiative and aggressiveness and rebellion for the side of advance, and not fall into the general evil of left-wing timidity in challenging the State.

Fraternally,

A. M

DEAR COMRADES,

London.

As usual, the current issue is interesting and provocative, perhaps you can spare space for these comments?

It seems a poor form of argument to assert that the other fellow is following

a party line. Both George Woodcock and L.H. display this tendency-after all it depends on the point of view whether one is considered firm and consistent or just damned obstinate. Were the Nazis in power—we would be applauding that gallant resistance of the Jews. As it is, the Government feel hurt that the Jews resist being liberated.

I am sure that Herbert Read would be among the last to claim that the intellectual is in a class apart and surely Stephen Marletta himself exposes the weakness of his argument when he says, "To me non-violence is the MOST POWERFUL WEAPON" (my emphasis) for as J. McD. points out in the Atomic Age we are likely to be wiped out before a long-term educational policy will bear

My view is that education can proceed side by side with other developments. Just as at present the majority accept both the idea of the money system and clothing coupons, the next step is to encourage the idea of abandoning the former while using the latter as "currency" until such time as production once more overtakes consumption when perhaps clothing centres will be provided on a "help yourself" basis. J.H. deals with this so far as Agriculture is concerned, but develop-ments in the Plastics industry indicate even closer associations between Agriculture and Industry with the prospect of assured market for every kind of product (subject to the prior demands of food processing).

John Olday, of course, needs no defence for his Three Musketeers and I can understand W.H. who found that these cartoons prejudiced the officers against the paper. "Ah, would some power the giftie gie us." NUFF SAID.

Sincerely yours,

Holbory, Soton.

L. S.

UNION OF ANARCHIST

[A further contribution to the discussion appears on page 2, column 1. -EDS.]

MARKETS AND STARVATION

SIR,—The U.S. Government is buying two million tons of potatoes for destruction in order to keep up the price.

In Germany people are starving, and much of the rest of the world is in sore need of food.

Could there be anything more callously immoral? We are told that shipping is the bottleneck-well, are there not hundreds of ships laid up in the United States? We are told that refrigerator ships are required: cannot the potatoes be de-hydrated or tinned?

Of course there are difficulties: but who will say that they cannot be overcome, given the will to do so? Everyone is far too busy talking about democracy and liberty and iron curtains. Words and empty stomachs are a poor omen for peace. Let the statesman prove that they have preserved a sense of proportion and true values: let the United States be as generous in loaning money for armaments and fine phrases for debate, and perhaps we shall get somewhere.

T. M. Unwin.

Letter in New Statesman.

DISRESPECTFUL

The other day, when passing a Shrewsbury hotel, I recognised a titled lady who was being assisted to her car by the Remembering the magnificent work she had done for this country whilst in America during the war years, I was about to pay my compliments when a passing workman called out in a coarse pice what I took to be, "H'up the Landed Gentry," following this remark with an objectionable noise.

Unfortunately, I was not, at that time, carrying my riding crop, or I should certainly have given the lout what for.— Letter in Shrewsbury Chronicle, quoted in New Statesman.

PRAISE

Wasn't it Keir Hardie who said, "When the Tory Press praise you be

Emanuel Shinwell in The Star, 30/5/47.

Keir Hardie also said "Conscription is the badge of the slave". And the Tory Press praised and supported Labour's Conscription Bill.

PRISON AND PALACE
For nearly a decade Honor Earl, Lord
Maugham's artist daughter, has been an official prison visitor. Next week she is holding an exhibition in the headquarters of the Institute for the Scientific Treatment for Delinquency in Bourdon Street, off Berkeley Square. Lord Justice Wrottesley opens it on Tuesday.
"I have seen many tragic people whose

misery could have been avoided by the right treatment," says Mrs. Earl. is why I am anxious to help them."

Chief attraction of her show will be

a new pastel portrait of the Queen. For this, Mrs. Earl was given three sittings at Buckingham Palace.

Evening Standard, 28/5/47. What treatment does she suggest for the inmate of the palace?

Through the Press

FOOD WASTED

Noted in the Nationale Rotterdamsche Courant of May 19th. Hehe it is:
"Naaldwijk. During the week now

ended supplies of spinach carried to the auction halls in the Western provinces rapidly increased. The public, however, showed no particular demand for this vegetable. The buyers were not able to take up all the supplies, and thousands of kilograms of spinach therefore had to be thrown away at once."
News Chronicle, 22/5/47.

HARD LIFE

Back in Britain after a five-month U.S. vacation were the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, who would presently push on to the South of France for a vacation. Might the Duke be looking for a job? asked a reporter. "Well, I might some time, but I have nothing definite in mind," replied the Duke. "I never take life easy," he added. "I never have and I never shall." Time, 26/5/47.

OBSCENE OR SOPORIFIC

Kathleen Windsor's novel Forever Amber will not now be accepted for carriage through the post, the U.S. Post Office Department announced in Washington yesterday.
"The book violates statutes which

forbid the sending of obscene matter through the mails," said Mr. Roy Frank, Assistant Solicitor of the department, quoted by Reuter.

Forever Amber successfully appeared as a defendant in a Boston trial early this

After it had been proved that the book had sold 1,250,000 copies throughout the world, Amber was found not guilty on charges of impurity and was given the "freedom of sale" in the State of Massachusetts.

Sunday Dispatch, 9/5/47.

Reason given by the learned judge of Massachusetts for not banning the book was that he merely found it condusive to sleep (alone).

OFF THE RATION

Londoners would probably rub their eyes if they learned that Selfridge's was advertising: "Come to our store and go to Mass. Then do your shopping."

That's what is happening in Tokyo, where the largest department store has remodelled its entire top floor as a Catholic

It was blessed by Archbishop Tatsuo Doi of Tokyo. The Mass which followed was crowded. There is a lift to take shoppers to Mass

on the seventh floor.

The Universe, 11/5/47. Hell, they'll be queuing for it next!

"HAVE A TOWN, SON"

Lord Warden of the Stannaries is a title which puzzled many who read to-day that the holder, the Earl of Radnor, had been received by the King.

The Stannaries are the tin-mining districts of Cornwall. As Lord Warden, Lord Radnor is concerned with their administration and is also responsible for the farmlands and properties owned by the Duchy of Cornwall.
Since 1336, when King Edward III

created the Duchy of Cornwall for the benefit of his eldest son the Black Prince, its revenues have been the birthright of every male heir to the throne.

To-day, as there is no male heir, they are paid to the King and amount to about £117,000 annually. From them is paid Princess Elizabeth's income of £15,000 a

Lord Radnor, in his early fifties, has held his office since 1933. He is a farming peer, who takes more than a mere owner's interest in his 1,600 Wiltshire acres. In 1924 his father, the sixth Earl, made him present of almost the entire town of Folkestone.

The Star, 24/5/47.

DANGER-MEN AT

Over 500 industrialists, bankers and insurance men representing 35 countries will assemble at Montreux, Switzerland, on June 2 when the International Chamber of Commerce holds its first post-war

News Chronicle, 22/5/47.

THE BENCH AS PULPIT

Mr. P. Bond, Willesden magistrate, told a man who said in court yesterday that he was unhappy after ten years of marriage: "You are lucky if that is all you

complain of."

Mr. Bond, whose wife died seven years ago after forty years of happy marriage, said last night:

"All marriages contain the seeds of disaster. One wife is enough for any man, but I doubt if one woman is enough for many men."

Marriage was an unnatural state but he knew of no alternative.
"I believe marriage carries on because

men have more or less deliberately conveyed the impression that a woman's job is to get married."

Marriage had been idealised out of all

relation to reality by poets, film stars and, above all, by the Church. "They speak of a mystic and spiritual union at which I scoff," he said, "for marriage is earthly."

Daily Mirror, 10/6/47.

There's nothing like the Bench for voicing your opinions with people's liberty in your hands.

APPEAL TO REASON!

Appealing to them to support him if he has to punish their children, Mr. H. Bates, headmaster of Montem School, Slough, told members of the Parents Association that although he detested corporal punishment, there were some children who understood only one thingpain. Referring to the proposed investigation into school punishment, he said, 'I shall demand that the cane is left in my school." Schools that were run on

'free discipline" lines were not schools but "rabbit warrens and fairgrounds," he

Evening News, 13/6/47.

DRAGON'S TEETH

The Ku Klu Klan-anti-Negro, anti-Jew, anti-Catholic league of hooded men, was granted permission by the superior court here to-day to dissolve.

The State of Georgia had entered the courts with a suit aimed at wiping out

Samuel Green, the Klan's "Grand Dragon", had conferred with his lawyer and had decided to abandon his efforts to fight the State campaign.

News Chronicle, 14/6/47.

Unfortunately, racial bias is more deeply seated than that.

RED TAPE—I

Burnham Council, by refusing an application from Mr. Choules (of Burnham), for permission to swop his council house for the one occupied by Mr. Pepler (of Bristol), have condemned both to waste 1,248 man-hours per year in travelling 35,000 unnecessary miles to and from

Mr. Choules is an inspector at the British Overseas Airways. Every morning on his motor-cycle he passes Mr. Pepler, who is on his way to Burnham-on-Sea, an overseer of building sites in the district.

News Chronicle, 14/6/47.

RED TAPE—2

"I understand there is one man in the Ministry who understands the [new] Education Act—and unfortunately he was not in," Mrs. C. Rackman told Cambridgeshire Education Committee yesterday. She was describing the vain visit of a county officer to clear up a point in the Act. in the Act.

Reynold's News, 15/6/47.

NO PLACE LIKE HOME

At a "shooting party" in Boston's Al-onquin club last week, Host Melvin Maynard Johnson, Jr., president of Johnson Automatics, Inc., introduced his latest "weapon"—an indoor target gun. With it, big (6ft. 4in.), handsome Mel Johnson, inventor of the Johnson semi-automatic rifle and machine gun, hopes to brief the rifle represident programs and the rifle represident programs. to bring the rifle range into every home. Time (U.S.A.), 9/6/47.

UNBEARABLE

Australian-born Earl of Ducie returned to England yesterday to ask for the return of his requisitioned 5,000 acre Gloucesshire seat, Tortworth Court, in the grounds of which are the huts of Ley Hill prison, "the jail without bars." Lord and Lady Ducie are going to

Tortworth next week "to see how things really are."

"It is bad enough to be surrounded by convicts," Lord Ducie said yesterday. Now I understand the prison is to be expanded to include the hall itself to accommodate juvenile delinquents. It would be unbearable."

Daily Herald, 17/5/47.

Be sure the Duke is not the only one finding it unbearable . . .

CIGARETTE CIVILIZATION

Two Sicilian youths kicked a third to death in the streets of Palermo to-day. When arrested they told police that

their victim had not given them their share of the proceeds from the sale of American cigarette ends. News Chronicle, 17/6/47.

WHAT THE LAW DOESN'T COVER

Ever since the zealous Doukhobors* landed in Canada at the end of last century, they have been a worry to the Dominion Government. Notorious for their nude parades in protest against the education of their children, they lately caused a stir by announcing their intention to share their wives.

Settling on 340 acres of land near Nanaimo on Vancouver Island, 60 men and 80 women have formed a break-away sect in opposition to the main group and openly proclaimed marital shuffling. To charges of immorality, their leader Michael Verigin replies: "Wife sharing eliminates adultery, deception, jealousy and other evils common to modern matrimony."

Piously renouncing private ownership of land and money, the Doukobors believe that private ownership of persons and families is all part of the same old order, and should be renounced. But while British Columbia's clergy furiously attacked the sect and real estate prices in the neighbourhood of the settlement slumped heavily, the provincial Attorney-General admitted there is nothing he can do about it. Wife sharing may be a moral offence. It is not a legal one.

*A much-persecuted group of Nonconformist Russian peasants who believe in equality and are opposed to killing and violence. Total number in Canada, 17,000.

News Review, 12/6/47.

C.O.'s EARNINGS

Money earned for the U.S. Government by conscientious objectors working for private employers during the war—some \$1,200,000 (£300,000)—will go to the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund.

Legislation for this was approved by the House of Representatives Armed Services sub-committee.

Evening Standard, 13/6/47.

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 thoretically 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."

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.I Dinah Stock Colonial Workers' Freedom Front JULY 5th.
The I.W.W. in England Peter Rollings

N.E. LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

NEXT THREE MEETINGS (July 1st, 15th, 29th) at 71, Streatfield 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. Eddie Shaw Speakers:

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

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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 hideout. 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 Matwiejczuk 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 exsoldier of the Balachowitz Army, fighting against Bolshevists after the first World War, and in the opinion of the secret police was dangerous for the Soviet

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 Dniepotrovsk prison and was realesed 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 Dniepotrovsky gaol . . . It is difficult to place in my mind his boyish face, I remember from Dniepotrovsky prison, together with the name 'Gunman'."

While Zborowsky's character was moulded at his early age in Dniepotrovsk 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 sensational was a line of the commercial basis. tionalism over an occasional case like Zborowsky or say Dov Gruner. Let us remember how they came that way. it 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.

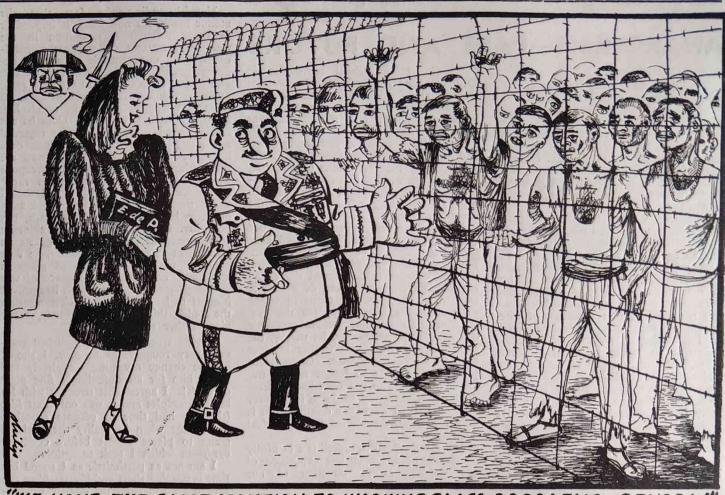
"The Rev. Stephen Pearson told me: 'I saw the Pole talking to some men in a motor car. Then a police car came tearing up and asked me if I had seen anyone of the Pole's description. I was able to give them the good news'."

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 eves 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!

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

Evening News, 11/6/47.



"Princess Elizabeth is no longer proud. She will be a democratic Queen. 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"

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

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 libertieswell, 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 Americansponsored 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 Guillfaune 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

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 the circulation by another 2,000 readers. paragraph which appeared in a London, W.C.I." recent issue of the "National News- Why not us agent, Bookseller, Stationer" (the introduction to your local newsagents? trade journal with the largest circulation). Under the general heading "Periodical Pars for Alert Agents" the reference to FREEDOM reads as

It has the serious intention of publishing informed opinions for the benefit of converts to anarchist philosophy and encouraging those whose convictions are

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Press Fund

June 7th — 18th

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