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# Freedom

A N A R C H I S T F O R T N I G H T L Y

"We do not understand by the term Revolution merely, an insurrectional period which, though necessary, is not followed by the liberation of all the latent forces in the masses, would be sterile and serve to substitute one state of coercion by another." MALATESTA.

Vol. 8 No. 16

9th August, 1947

Twopence

# QUIT PALESTINE NOW!

## Anti-Semitic Demonstrations are Debasing and Futile

THE hanging of the two British sergeants kidnapped by Jewish terrorists is undoubtedly a horrible incident, but it is only an incident in the history of bloodshed that has marked British rule in Palestine during the past twenty-five years. Terrorism in Palestine has not been the exclusive weapon of the Jews. For many years before the war it was the Arabs. And the methods used by the British administration throughout can only be described as governmental terrorism.

But the National Press whose spokesmen have been attacking the Government over the newsprint cut on the grounds that it represents an attack on the Freedom of the Press have, nevertheless, found all the necessary space to splash the Sergeants' case over the front pages of their papers. In the case of the evening papers of Wednesday, July 30th, the announcement that the two sergeants had been "found Roped to Trees" was headlined, though later that same evening it was announced in the 9 o'clock news by the B.B.C. that in fact they had not yet been found! It was only the following morning that the bodies were found.

We mention this as one example of the irresponsibility of the Press in this country in connection with events in Palestine. But the main charge to be levelled at the National Press is the eagerness of certain papers to give undue prominence to this case, knowing that it was bound to have unpleasant repercussions in the country. We do not suggest that the incident should have been suppressed, but that it should not have been presented in such a way as to be used as an excuse for anti-semitic demonstrations. Incidents have already been reported in Glasgow and Liverpool where Jewish shops have been stoned, fired and looted. In Manchester a crowd of civilians and soldiers started a demonstration in the Jewish quarter which was preceded by window-smashings in various parts of the city and as we go to press an anti-Jewish demonstration has taken place in London, and stone-throwing damaged six windows of a synagogue at Calford Hill. It is not the material damage to property with which we are here concerned but with the mentality of the people who take part in these demonstrations. That latent anti-semitism exists in this country must be admitted with a feeling of shame. The editors of the sensational press must be aware and some even responsible for this, and in presenting the news of the sergeants in the way they did, they are guilty of inciting hooligan elements to take part in anti-semitic demonstrations. Not one of these papers has so far attempted to show that the Jews in this country cannot in any way be held responsible for what is happening in Palestine, and no appeal has yet been published to restrain people from excesses such as in Liverpool, Glasgow and Manchester.

Our voice is a small one by comparison, but at least we know that the anarchists will be using all their powers of persuasion to stop people from joining in vocal as well as physical anti-semitic demonstrations.

### Terrorism Breeds Terrorism

A year ago we published an editorial on this page in connection with the blowing up of the King David Hotel (Freedom 10/8/46) in which we pointed out that "No doubt the blowing up was a horrible business; loss of life is always something which shocks humane feelings. But to raise one's hands in an attitude of pious disapproval is just not enough. These things do not happen without cause; and when one considers the background of such acts of terrorism, the sanctimonious hypocrisy of the Government stands revealed. For, as in all terroristic acts by individuals or illegal organizations they are a seemingly inevitable outcome of long continued governmental terrorism conducted under the mask of law and order". The argument we used a year ago to explain the King David explosion applies equally well to-day in the case of the two sergeants.

This year nine Jewish "terrorists" have been sentenced to death by the

British. Seven were hanged and two committed suicide on the eve of their execution. None of these men so far as we can ascertain were charged with being responsible for the death of a British soldier. Three were condemned to death by a military court for their part in the attack on Acre gaol where hundreds of Jews are being held, without trial, simply as suspected "terrorists". They were successful in the attempt to release their comrades and presumably this is the "crime" which earned them the British hangman's rope.

In Palestine to-day the death sentence can be passed on Jews caught carrying arms. Presumably, the anti-semitic demonstrators of Liverpool will answer that drastic measures must be taken, and it is only by threatening the big stick that terrorism in Palestine will be stamped out. But, in fact, increased governmental terrorism will only meet with more terrorism from individuals and illegal organizations.

### How Will It End?

The British Government has hanged nine "terrorists". The terrorists have hanged two British sergeants and threaten to hang another seven. The British troops in avenging the death of their two comrades kill five Jewish civilians in Tel-Aviv. A further 23 Jews were injured the following day during

## Demob Speed-up

(by our Forces Correspondent.)

If there were much satisfaction to be got from saying "We told you so", the editors of Freedom would be rubbing their hands with glee. Have not these columns for years forecast the nature and the inevitability of the "crisis" which is now upon us and whose seriousness is now constantly drummed into us by the government. We have continually exposed the crack-pot economics by which we work so hard to produce things we need so badly, only to export them in exchange for foodstuffs, the bulk of which, if we developed our agriculture, merely to the level it has reached in, for instance, Holland, could be produced at home.

The government hopes to increase production by the economy measures of which we have heard so much during the last few weeks and by various schemes for directing labour to vital industries (as was foreshadowed by Deakin's "try-out" speech at the recent conference of the T. & G.W.U. (Freedom 26/7/47), and by reducing Britain's overseas commitments, and by consequently reducing the size of armed forces, thus lowering overseas expenditure and making more men available for productive work.

### POOR MONTY!

The first hint of this last proposal was enough to make Field Marshal Montgomery, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, cancel his proposed visit to Japan and leave New Zealand for home. Monty, doubtless disappointed at not being able to meet that other great actor, Gen. MacArthur, was at great pains to emphasise that he had not been sent for, but was returning home of his own accord. Which was probably true—he must have been perturbed at the idea of a cut in the power and glory of his army, though he needn't start worrying about his own job yet.

We welcome this proposal of the government. The sooner it begins to take effect, the better; but I don't think we

## Back to Wartime Shackles

THE poverty of Labour Party socialism as an inspiration to the people is now making itself apparent, and it is truly pitiful to see the so-called planners for peace reduced to appealing for a return to the "Dunkirk Spirit" and to the restrictions saddled upon the workers during the war.

The threat of open direction of labour on the wartime model as advocated by T. & G.W.U. boss Arthur Deakin at Hastings, has been averted for the time being by general opposition to the idea both by the T.U.C. and the Cabinet. But that was already a fortnight ago—what may happen within the next fortnight is anybody's guess.

the funeral procession for the five victims. Now Hagana (the Jewish organization whose co-operation the British have been seeking in their anti-terrorist campaign) retaliates by threatening "reprisals against troops and police 'who kill and injure innocent Jews in revenge for the murder of the two sergeants'." How will it all end? At the moment it is clear that terrorism will be answered with terrorism. The Jewish terrorists (as, incidentally, the Arab terrorists earlier) have shown their determination in a way that must convince the British that intimidation, threats and even the hangman's rope will not succeed in stamping them out. Their sang froid and skill (which many of them learned in the British commandos fighting for "democracy"! ) cannot be denied, and their fanatical nationalism continued British adminis-

tration in Palestine will only intensify. Is there a solution to the "Palestine question"? As we have pointed out on other occasions, in discussing this question the fundamentally incompatible factors involved must be kept in mind. The clash of Imperialism; the determination of Britain to hold on to assets in Palestine, and guard Imperial lifelines; the political ambitions of Zionist Jewish Nationalism, and the rival ambitions of Arab politicians in Arab Nationalism; the setting-off of these two against each other by the British, and their willingness to be used in this way hinders the mutual solidarity of Jewish and Arab workers. "Realist" political theorists try and suggest "compromises" which they advance as "solutions". When "utopians" like the Anarchists say that there is no solution within those terms of reference, and therefore it is necessary radically to alter the whole framework of Palestine affairs before any solution can be reached—we are told that we are hopelessly "unrealistic". But it is clear that in fact our position is far more realistic than all these "Palestine Plans" and partitions and compromises which in reality only serve as a cover for the continued predominance of British Imperialism, and the schemes of other Imperialist powers to share in the gains of Palestine.

It is indicative of the sloppy way the government is muddling through that this order is being re-imposed before it was actually due to come off in the case of agriculture, for instance, and that all the show with which restricted measures were taken off the workers in the early months of this government was just so much

opportunism, with expediency, not liberty, as the principle.

The government, it seems, is thinking of rather more subtle methods of getting the workers where they want them. First, they are going to divert raw materials away from non-essential industries, so that workers in the former will find themselves unemployed and compelled to work in the latter industries. Secondly, the government will order the "freezing" of labour in the basic industries by a re-introduction of the war-time Control of Engagement Order, tying workers to their jobs.

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### Withdraw British Troops

The first step in solving the Palestine question must be the complete and immediate withdrawal of British troops from that country.

Let not the part-time "humanitarians" raise their hands in horror and cry "If we leave Palestine there will be terrible bloodshed". That argument has been used as an excuse to maintain British rule in India during the past 150 years, and yet the British are now having to leave, bloodshed or no bloodshed. This hypocritical argument must not be allowed to prevail as a justification for keeping troops in Palestine for years to come.

If those misguided hooligans who have been "avenging" the two British sergeants by smashing up Jewish shops and stoning synagogues are genuinely shocked by what is happening in Palestine and are anxious to stop such things happening on a much larger scale, they would do well to use up their energies by walking through the streets with placards marked "British Must Quit Palestine Now". At least they will be showing some practical understanding whereas their present actions can only come under the heading of "attempted terrorism".

(An article by our Middle East Correspondent on the Political Background in Palestine appears on p. 5.)

### AUSTERITY

It is not only our freedom which is being cut, either. The austerity existence which has been our lot for the last seven years is being ensured for at least another year—and when the government promises austerity for a year it can mean anything up to 10 years.

Not only are luxury (?) goods to be cut through the control of raw materials, but the import of meat, which costs us those precious dollars, is also to be reduced.

This, with the T.U.C. arranging with the government for workers to work longer hours, is very soon going to bring into grim reality the cynical exhortations of the workers' song—"Live on hay, work all day, you'll get pie in the sky when you die!"

### ATTEMPTING THE IMPOSSIBLE

There is probably no experience which workers could undergo more fitted to show the identity of all forms of government, and the impossibility of improving the rotten condition of society without seriously tampering with the capitalist economic system. And what government is going to do that, when its very power relies upon economic control of society?

If one allows the present government the benefit of the doubt as regards their sincerity, one can only say that they are attempting the impossible. To seek to attain an equalitarian society while retaining a money and wage system and through constitutional methods is futile. And frankly, can one believe a party to be sincere which so obviously and promptly throws overboard the principles and promises upon which they were returned to power?

The work of building an equalitarian society, inspiring the people to give of their best through the best possible incentives—the certainty of justice and freedom—is the work of the people themselves, not of politicians of any brand.

To combat this new economic slavery, and to hold back the dawn of a new repressive era, with only the promise of war in the background, the workers must lose no further time in creating their own free organisations, with the revolutionary aim of workers' control and an end to capitalist stupidity.

Until then—let everyone of us resist individually every attempt to reduce us from our human status to economic nonentity!

### CEASE FIRE IN INDONESIA

HOLLAND'S decision to call a halt to the fighting in Indonesia following the request made by the Security Council, has undoubtedly been largely influenced by the lack of support and even opposition received in Holland and the open hostility of public opinion throughout the world.

The Republican Government has also accepted the Security Council's proposals and in a statement "earnestly appeals to the Security Council to send a commission chosen by the Council so that it can be convinced and see for itself the actual situation in Indonesia to enable speedy settlement of the conflict."

It seems doubtful that a "speedy settlement" will be reached in view of the conflicting interests at play, and the present conflict has created new differences regarding the Linggadjati agreement (setting up a United States of Indonesia), the Indonesians accusing the Dutch of being guilty of breaking this agreement and thereby consider themselves no longer bound by it. The Dutch on the other hand, say the Indonesians have pursued a policy of aggression and have not carried out the terms of the agreement.



# ANARCHISM: PAST & FUTURE

A Summing Up by the Editors

## AN EXPERIMENT IN EDUCATION

The Editors, "Freedom",

DEAR COMRADES,

I would like to interest your readers in Burgess Hill School. This is a co-educational school which has achieved some reputation in recent years as a progressive school upholding many principles of freedom in education, such as are advocated in *Freedom*.

This Summer, the Company that owned the school decided to close it down for their own financial reasons. The staff, however, were opposed to this decision, and have been sufficiently devoted to the principles of the school to form themselves into a Syndicate to obtain possession of the school. The Staff Syndicate has actually collected sufficient funds and bought the school, and the school will be run henceforward with a constitution embracing both the Staff Syndicate and the parents of the children. Among other interesting features of this constitution is the fact that all the staff—teaching, administrative and domestic—have elected for equality of pay. This principle has shocked many of our well-wishers—the fact that highly qualified teachers are prepared to work for the same wages and conditions as those who cook the meals and scrub the floors, but we find in practice that it is a very good arrangement, and the equalitarian atmosphere of the school is a healthy influence on the children.

This letter is *not* an appeal for funds, but an invitation to all readers of *Freedom* to take a practical interest in Burgess Hill School. We, the staff, do not wish to run our pioneer effort in education in a Vacuum. Its value is largely dependent on the number of progressively minded people who are interested in it, and they can help us in many ways—by publicising the school, by putting the right sort of parents in touch with us, by attracting first-rate progressive staff to us.

I have not the space here to enlarge on the kind of education which we aim to provide for the children, but I shall be happy to answer enquiries of every kind if readers will write to me.

Yours sincerely,  
TONY GIBSON.

Burgess Hill School,  
11, Oak Hill Park,  
London, N.W.3.

## ANARCHISM —Interpretations

Crime is the result of economic conditions, of social inequality, of wrongs and evils of which government and monopoly are the parents. Government and law can only punish the criminal. They neither cure nor prevent crime. The only real cure for crime is to abolish its causes, and this the government can never do because it is there to preserve those very causes. Crime can be eliminated only by doing away with the conditions that create it. Government cannot do it.

Anarchism means to do away with those conditions. Crimes resulting from government, from its oppression and injustice, from inequality and poverty, will disappear under Anarchy. These constitute by far the greatest percentage of crime.

Certain other crimes will persist for some time, such as those resulting from jealousy, passion, and from the spirit of coercion and violence which dominates the world to-day. But these, the offspring of authority and possession, will also gradually disappear under the wholesome conditions with the passing away of the atmosphere that cultivated them.

Anarchy will therefore neither breed crime nor offer any soil for its thriving...

Alexander BERKMAN

in "The A.B.C. of Anarchism".

AS the editors had hoped, the publication of Herbert Read's lecture on "Anarchism—Past and Future" in *Freedom* two and a half months ago has produced considerable discussion, a selection of readers' comments being printed in recent issues. Hitherto, the opinion of the editorial group on questions raised has not been expressed, the various contributions to the discussion being printed without comment. The following article limits itself to expressing in a discursive way, the editorial group's view; it does not seek to sum up or summarize the discussion, for our readers are quite capable of doing that for themselves. We do not wish to engage in polemical discussion, but to emphasize certain points where we are in agreement with Herbert Read and to make clear where we differ.

The current issue of the New York anarchist paper *Resistance* (the former *Why*) which has just reached us, reprints Herbert Read's article, and invites its readers' comments. The fact illustrates a value in the article independent of the views expressed; that it acts as a ferment for further discussion, and provides a jumping-off place for a re-examination of anarchist conceptions in the light of modern conditions. We do not advocate revision of traditional views merely for the sake of revision. Indeed, we shall appear in this article as the defenders of certain traditional anarchist concepts which we think Herbert Read throws overboard altogether too lightly. But that does not absolve us from doing continually what Read does in his lecture; subject the ideas of our movement to perpetual self-criticism, always in the light of changing conditions and advances in thought. Unless a movement undertakes this stocktaking in the field of theory, its ideas will become stereotyped and hardened. Separated from the fruitifying influences of change and movement, they will wither and become sterile.

Thus it is in the breadth of Read's survey, rather than in the particular opinions expressed, that its value lies.

### Little Advance in Anarchist Thought

Our correspondent C.W. (*Freedom*, July 12th, p.7) points out—in our opinion rightly—that the advances in anarchist ideas in the last 50 years have come from revolutionary peasant movements (Zapata's peons, the Makhnovists, the Spanish collectives, even movements like the squatters) which have not penetrated into the world of intellectual ideas. Yet Read's challenge: "no fundamental thought has been devoted to the principle of anarchism for half a century (since *Mutual Aid*)" is sufficiently true of the intellectual expression of anarchist theory to destroy any complacency. Nevertheless we agree with C.W. when he asks "Are we justified in so lightly setting-aside the activities of the last 50 years because they have not found a literary expression?" The task of incorporating the lessons of these revolutionary experiments (worked out as Kropotkin noted again and again by the anonymous working masses in the struggle itself), into anarchist general theory, is one which the movement cannot indefinitely neglect.

### The Empirical Basis

Read's insistence on basing our ideas on the happenings is something which these columns have already sought to stress; we cannot express our agreement too strongly. And we would agree also that the fields of social and individual psychology, of anthropology, education and ethics, are of first class interest to anarchist ideas.

For the moment it is enough to point out that however imminent disaster may appear to be, long term studies still have to be undertaken. Atom bomb or no atom bomb, the fundamental questions remain the fundamental ones, and they cannot be indefinitely shelved without damaging the cause of the revolution.

### The Tensions in Society

Several correspondents have pointed out a detailed weakness in Read's more detailed argument. His insistence that non-violent methods provide the only solution, his almost despairing reliance on education, and his related emphasis on psychology are examples. We shall not discuss these questions directly, but proceed to examine the issue which underlies them all—Read's attitude toward the tensions in society, the conflicts and stresses that are loosely grouped under the term "class struggle".

Many correspondents criticised (in effect) Read's pessimism without however, showing any concrete grounds for optimism. It is perhaps no accident that his original "challenge" ignores the revolutionary advances made by workers and peasants in the heat of revolutionary situations. Read seems to regard revolutionary situations as regrettable incidents: "The few sane and enlightened pioneers who may lead a revolution," he wrote, "are almost immediately swamped by the forces of the collective unconscious which the violence of the revolutionary event releases." He does not see the revolutionary situation as an opportunity, a chance for men to express their real (i.e. human) nature, as soon as the shackles of authoritarian forms are cast off. Short-lived such opportunities may be, but in their few weeks they achieve more progress in ideas and in more con-

crete directions than in years of patient plodding within the framework of a more or less stable class-divided society. Kropotkin, with his conception of the spontaneous creativity of the revolutionary masses, "the spirit of revolt" as he called it, drew attention again and again to this lesson from revolutionary history.

Read's pessimism about revolutionary situations appears also as an undue optimism about the potentialities for progress in stable societies to-day. Despite the value of progressive experiments in education or the application of knowledge acquired through psychological research, it is obvious that the extent of such applications can only be tiny in a State dominated society. Yet Read himself (and in a still more exaggerated form, Alan Smith, *Freedom*, June 28th, p.2) seems hypnotized by the power of the State. In fact however, the oppressive weapons of the totalitarian state reflect the difficulty with which it imposes itself. They reflect, in fact, the very powerful opposition which exists to such state machinery. Far from being a symbol of stability, the concentration camp is a symptom of the internal tensions within totalitarian societies. These tensions can reach a breaking point, and the breaking point can provide the opportunities for revolutionary advance. Whatever the superficial disadvantages in outbreaks of violence which conflict in society creates, without such conflicts there would be no hope whatever of ending the type of society that stultifies man's social aspirations.

### The Value of Education

This is not to belittle the usefulness of progressive movements in educational and other fields. But such activity does not of itself prepare the revolution or even hasten it; its great value lies in laying the ground work for action during a revolutionary situation. At such times the outworn methods of orthodoxy seem completely inadequate for they are no longer supported by an institutional and social framework which gave them a semblance of practicality. When a revolution has, so to speak,

cleaned the slate, the experimental and progressive methods, which formerly seemed so impractical, become the only reasonable guides to revolutionary action.

We do not accept therefore Read's discarding of the traditional attitude of revolutionary anarchism. It seems to us to be based on a misconception of the role of the revolution in bringing about the disintegration of the class founded institutions in society and thereby presenting an opportunity for the building up of revolutionary institutions based on mutual aid. While allowing that difficulties arise from psychological hangovers, to make too much of these is to fail to recognize that the psychological attitudes found to-day draw a strength from the environment of class society which they will lack when revolutionary events have washed away this environment. (See C. S. Craig, *Freedom*, 31st May).

Read's insistence on non-violence as the only true course is also productive of confusions which some contributors have not been slow to confuse still further (see Stephen Marletta, 14th June). We do not propose to reopen, once again, this thorny matter. It will be sufficient to indicate a leading confusion in the original lecture. After insisting on non-violence, Read derides "the romantic conception of anarchism", and dismisses, among other things, "citizen armies and barricades". Now, ever since "general" Engels' time, revolutionary theoreticians have been declaring that the days of the barricades are over. The atomic bomb has raised the chorus all over again. But the historical fact remains that whenever the workers have seized the means of production, they have found it necessary to defend them with barricades and citizen armies. And they have often defended them successfully with these "out of date methods".

### Non-violence and Strikes

Still more confusing however is the idea that non-violence does not exclude strikes. If non-violence means anything it means recognizing an essential brotherhood even in the oppressors, and

## It is For Us to Decide

"HUMAN suffering is so great, so endless, so awful that I can hardly write of it," said Richard Jefferies sixty years ago, thinking of the great natural calamities that befell mankind in his day. But to-day the cruelties of untamed nature are eclipsed, in magnitude and horror by those perpetrated by civilised man.

The ravages of fire and earthquake, hurricane and flood become insignificant when viewed against the unspeakable suffering seen on the Western Front in the first World War or the Eastern Front in the Second. The upheavals that engulfed Nagasaki and Hiroshima were far more fearful than any tremor of the earth's crust. The fires that destroyed Hamburg and Warsaw were not the result of spontaneous combustion. The "Death Treks" of the Burmese forests and of the Amazon jungle were not epics of Man's conquest of Nature but of his enslavement of his fellows. The migrant populations, the displaced persons are not, like the children of Israel fleeing from barren lands to milk and honey, they are the odd-men-out of nationalist geography. The decimated nations, the Jews, the Armenians, are not the victims of natural calamity, but of enlightened statesmanship. The threatened extinction of the Skolt-Lapps and the Australian Aborigines, is not the result of the rigours of the Arctic, or the desert, it is a hardly noticed by-product of universal militarism. Consider the fate of the Chinese, a nation which has been ravaged by war throughout the lifetime of the majority of its population. Chiang Kai Shek, (variously known as 'the Butcher' and 'Our Gallant Ally'), is now demanding from the half-starved

peasantry still more enormous levies of food to keep his army of five million men, in the field.

We cannot avoid the conclusion that if our rulers had *tried* to bring about the maximum of human misery, they could not have been more gruesomely successful. But, as we all know, they are actuated by the highest of motives. Liberty, Democracy, National Self-Determination, Social Security, for these and countless other slogans and abstractions mankind crucifies itself. Warsaw, Hamburg, Rotterdam, Stalingrad, Buchenwald, Monte Cassino, Hiroshima, are stations on the universal road to Calvary, trodden at the behest of our political Messiahs.

In the age of universal suffrage, the "Century of the Common Man", the individual is more helpless than ever before in the face of the cunningly exploited mass emotions of power politics. Few and feeble are the voices raised in protest against the universal brutality, and many who pay lip-service to human values have already joined in their destruction by taking sides with one or other of the rival tyrannies which seek to dominate mankind. Others have given way to apathy, and joined the ranks of the indifferent, the irresponsible and the resigned.

Both these attitudes, as Ignazio Silone recently declared, are a cynical betrayal of the human spirit, for resignation makes the Third World War inevitable, while to take sides is to justify it. And the specious plea of "defending the bad against the worse" is a poor recompense for the slaughter of millions. It is folly to try and make distinctions between the 'Democratic way of life' and 'Russian Bar-

an attempt to extend the human hand of friendship even to such. But the embracing of strikes means acceptance of the class struggle, which non-violence seeks to jump over. In this connexion, the Irish Citizen Army arose from strike pickets whose successful strike tactics depended just on their being armed.

The fact is that a philosophy based on mutual aid does not exclude the idea of struggle, and that preoccupation with long term essentials does not relieve one of the necessity of considering the short term present also. The problems of envisaging a constructive world while at the same time seeking to do away with the oppressive institutions of the present are inevitably complex. It does not solve anything to lay down a single method as sovereign. The great theoretical discussions of the anarchist movement have always served to show that only a very few basic principles are primary—rejection of the idea of authority, respect for the initiative of the individual. Arguments on methods are useful, but there is no golden road.

### Past and Future

It will be seen therefore that our criticisms of Read's lecture fall on those sections which advocate some kind of a revision of traditional anarchist theory. We do not subscribe to any slavish acceptance of tradition, but there have been plenty of attempts to revise basic anarchist concepts in recent years. These have taken the form of justifying support for national wars, excusing participation in "revolutionary" governments, and the like. But they have all been shown up in the event, and their very failures have strengthened the traditional anarchist position.

But too much must not be made of these criticisms, for discussion and theoretical differences are the life of a movement such as ours which does not require any official orthodoxy. Read's "sevenfold system of study and creative activity" provides a programme which will take years to exhaust. Meanwhile it serves to draw attention to the fact that every advance in the human sciences tends to confirm the central philosophy of anarchism—that men can only develop when they have responsibility and freedom. Inevitably we are preoccupied with the masses of the workers for they provide the energy for social change; but it remains true, as Read insists ("the real revolution is internal, the most effective action is molecular . . ."), that the revolution is made not by abstract terms like "masses", "the working class", but by men and women of vision, humanity and determination.

barism' or between 'Soviet Economic Democracy' and 'Anglo-American Plutocracy', for behind all these phrases lies the reality of a universal contempt for human freedom, a unanimous denial of Man's right to his share of the produce of the earth.

Those who are unwilling to resign themselves to the tragic future that seems to approach inevitably, those who will not conform to the policies of whichever of the predatory gangs at present engulfs the region where they happen to live, those who refuse to be swayed by the torrents of conflicting propaganda, and those who will not accept the rejection of individual rights and responsibility, must sooner or later join forces in the new Resistance movement, the underground army without generals or uniforms or battle-fields, the "Third Front of the victims and the underdogs".

Wars will continue so long as people are willing to fight in them. Atrocities will go on until we are no longer willing to commit them. The atomic bomb will continue to be made and used so long as there is anyone who is sufficiently irresponsible to make and use it. To-day when commonsense is rationed and human consciences dehydrated, there is little sign of unwillingness to participate or acquiesce in the universal brutality. We must counter it with the weapons that are at hand for everyone who cares to use them, the weapons of disobedience, and of human solidarity. These do not have to be bought in any black market or smuggled across any frontier. They spring from the heart of everyone who thinks and acts for himself. In the words of our rulers: *It all depends on you.*



# COAL BOSSES DECLARE WAR ON MINERS

AT the recent Annual Conference of the National Union of Mine-workers, Lord Hyndley (late of Powell Duffryn, now chairman of the National Coal Board), launched an attack upon those miners who, when faced with a worsening of their working conditions or confronted with the pitiful spectacle of the union officials conducting protracted negotiations on some outstanding grievance, decide to take strike action. Hyndley rounded off his attack with the threat of prosecution.

Threats of this kind to militant miners come as no great surprise to the regular readers of *Freedom*, for this paper has always predicted the inevitable use of these methods within Nationalised industry. We are only amazed at the remarkably short space of time which has been allowed to pass before they were introduced. The almost indecent haste can only indicate either, the depth of contempt that the N.C.B. has for real unionism, or that the urgency of their attempt to solve their problems of coal production has led Hyndley and his backroom boys to throw discretion to the wind and force a show-down now.

## THE SAME OLD BOSS

True to type, as the coming coal crisis casts its ominous shadows forward, the mask of the "new benevolent Coal boss" slips, to reveal the self-same hated features of the old boss, magnified, mouthing the dire threats used so often in the past. The first reaction amongst many of the miners' delegates was summed up in the words of one delegate who is reported as expressing the opinion that such threats will have the same effect, little or none, as those of the past, and prosecutions would only create bitterness. This sentiment was re-echoed a hundred

thousand fold throughout the entire coal-fields, for the miners know full well that the start of to-morrow's shift may mean to them the necessity of stopping the "big wheel" in order to, perhaps, immediately rectify yet another piece of managerial abuse or prevent its imposition, and by their action expose their necks to the axe wielded by the Coal Board's Gilbertian Lord High Executioner.

In what was apparently to be the commencement of the campaign against the militant miners, two more pop-guns were to be fired. Replying to a letter previously read at the conference from Lord Hyndley, threatening prosecution of "unofficial strikers", Will Lawther, President of the N.U.M. gave a *carte blanche* backing by the union to the threats of the noble Lord. In the words of this paid "servant" of the mine-workers, the miners may read the inevitable result of the much-lauded close co-operation by the union officials and the National Coal Board, which is, by far and large, functioning in direct conflict with the true interests of the miners. "We say to you—and your colleagues—Go ahead and take whatever action is essential to meet the situation . . ." brays the donkey. From his remarks one would imagine that Lawther had rejoined the ranks of the

working miners and was actively engaged in the task of winning coal, but no! Lawther's industrial efforts are indicated by an increasing waist-line and a shiny seat to his trousers. He seems to forget like many others of his ilk that it is still the miners that get the coal and not the bureaucrats.

## THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

The insult to injury is rubbed well in, with the speech made at the conference on the following day by Shinwell, the Fuel Minister, when he stated that where unofficial strikes were holding up production, the closing down of the pits concerned was being considered. First the threat of prosecution from the gent with a title who is given the "Go ahead" by his chief dog catcher, and then the people's representative kicks in with the threat of dismissal, unemployment, and the compulsory transfer of employment of miners to pits far removed from their homes. Why, it seems like old times again in the coal-fields and yet, union yes-men are still heard blindly chanting ". . . them days is gawn".

With the futility of political action daily becoming more and more apparent to the miners, the powers that be are attempting to suppress the inevitable use of economic direct action by the workers. Determined efforts on the part of the miners can soon put to naught the machinations of this unholy Alliance of State, Employer, and Union Boss.

## "WE WILL FIGHT!"

As a tragic commentary on the above betrayals of the miners it should be sufficient to say that if, prior to the

recent Barnsley pit deaths, enforcement, by strike action, by the Barnsley miners, of safety measures to rectify the pit's unsafe condition (which was well known to the men), perhaps would have saved the lives of those killed. By discouraging the use of independent action by the men, the mouthpieces of the Unholy Alliance, in no small way share the responsibility for the deaths of miners. Even as the conference was in session the news was brought that three miners were killed that day in Brinley Pit near Coventry. To the State's inhuman lust for power over

men, to the Employers and Union bosses' greed for "pelf and place", we miners soberly point to those whose lives may have been saved but for the treacherous betrayal of the miners' desire to control their own lives and industry. "Close on one thousand of our lives will be lost in each of the coming years. We can greatly lessen this awful toll by our enforcement of safe working conditions.

"Our lives are at stake; for our lives we will fight and strike!"

TOM CARLILE.

## Land Notes

# Capitalism & Cabbage

ONE of the most distasteful tasks I have ever had to perform was when, in 1941, at a time when the price of food was beginning to rise, and the U-boat campaign was making itself felt against our imported food supplies, I was ordered to plough in a field of spring cabbage.

It was a field which had already been "gone over" once, and one good load of succulent young cabbages had found its way to market. And that's where the trouble had started. Plenty of other farmers had also sent good loads to market and consequently the price had fallen pretty sharply, and when the time came for a second cutting to be made from this field, the price was still low.

At least, that is what I was told. "It won't pay us to cut them and cart them to market," the foreman told me. And as this was a farm in Kent, the word "market" was synonymous with "London". Yet down in the local town, less than two miles from the very field on to which I was driving my tractor, cabbages in the shops were costing 6d. per lb.—a dear price at that time—and the local housewives were pretty sore at being charged that price, too.

It was certainly a pretty shocking order to receive at that time—wastage of food is bad enough at any time—and it was one which had a decisive effect on my social attitude. Up to that time I had been merely—how shall I describe myself—a humanitarian war-resister? My rebellion against existing society was limited to my resistance against war. But this incident and one or two others helped to open my eyes to the sordid nature of our economic system and set me thinking on a trail which ended up in Anarchism, and the realisation that war, waste and Capitalism are indivisible.

## A Share Out

But to return to the field of cabbage—I did manage to save some of them. After the foreman was safely out of the way, I hopped off my tractor and cut two or three bags full and laid them out on my headland. At dinner time, when I went down to the shed where all the workers who did not go home for dinner ate their "tommy"—as the inevitable cheese sandwich was called—I told all the women on the farm about the cabbages. And within half an hour of knocking off that night, there was barely a good-sized cabbage left on that part of the field still unploughed—and I seemed to have an awful lot of trouble with my tractor that afternoon!

Technically, those cabbages were stolen, but I couldn't care less. What I should really have done, of course, is to have loaded up a trailer and sailed down the High Street of the local town, distributing free cabbage to all and sundry, and that I did not is a matter of great regret to me now.

## Waste Again

What really started me on this subject was the fact that this horrible business of ploughing in greenstuff is taking place again now. And in view of the present world food situation it seems even more obscene than before.

In Lincolnshire last week, at one farm alone, 22,000 cauliflowers were destroyed and ploughed back, with another 150,000 possibly joining them if the market was still low. At a time when housewives were being charged anything from 1s. to 2s. for a caulif., the commission men were telephoning the farms begging them not to send any more to the markets.

As one farmer said—"If I could get it to town and sell them myself I would make a handsome profit at 3d. a cauliflower. As it is, I shall lose hundreds of pounds." That seems to give a pretty good indication of where the money goes—not to the grower. Other farmers were finding their costs per net of 20 cauliflowers to total up like this: Cutting 6d., haulage 1s. 6d., use of nets 6d., wholesaler 6d.—total 3s. And in the markets sets of cauliflowers were fetching just that 3s., so that the farmers were receiving precisely nothing for the work, long, hard and patient, of growing the vegetables.

## N.U.F. Stupidity

Believe it or not, the only solution the National Farmers' Union have for this sorry mess is to increase the number of middlemen!

An official of the Union is quoted as saying: "If more licenses were issued to greengrocers it would automatically create a wider market and greater sales. Competition would bring prices down." It would be interesting to know if they have any bright schemes for increasing the population rapidly so that it could absorb all this food!

The market men, confusing London with England, blame it all on the holiday season. "Everybody is away," they say. But people on holiday still eat, don't they? What sort of brilliant organisation is it that brings food into the centre at the same time as people are leaving it—and probably finding shortages at their holiday resorts?

## The Solution

No, there is only one solution for this stupidity. The decentralisation of society and the free distribution of all consumer goods which are basic principles of a free, anarchist society, would eliminate all this unnecessary transport and criminal waste which are so inevitable in a centralised capitalist society. A flexible organisation of distribution according to need would ensure that food was sent where it was wanted when it was wanted. The abolition of the money system with its restriction upon consumption for the many in order to ensure profits for the few, would release for productive work that vast army of parasites who produce nothing, but batten upon the labours of others, besides ensuring a full share of the abundance thus produced, for all, according to their need not their pocket book.

P. S.

## Industrial News in Brief

# Anomalies of Tipping

THE recently published report of the Catering Wages Commission on Tips has already had its effect on the income of catering workers.

The main point of the report was that the public should stop tipping waiters and waitresses since minimum wages are now laid down by law for all workers in the catering trade, and that tipping affects the "harmonious relations" between waiters and kitchen staffs, and even between employers and staffs generally.

The practice of tipping has always led to serious anomalies among workers in hotels and kindred establishments. One has heard fantastic stories of how workers will actually pay to hold certain positions where tips are especially frequent and lucrative. Head doormen, for instance, at London's luxury hotels were said at one time, if not now, to pay for the honour of bowing and scraping (with dignity, of course) to the rich, who rewarded them so handsomely for opening their car doors and so forth that they (the

doormen) were able themselves to arrive to work at the hotels in the own chauffeur-driven limousine!

Behind the gilded scenes, however, the kitchen staffs have had to sweat in foul conditions for no extra reward.

## Corner House Strike Threat

The immediate result of the Commission's report is that the public have cut down their tipping quite drastically, with the consequent drop in income for waiters and waitresses. The position, therefore, is such that at one of Lyons' Corner Houses, the shop steward presented a demand to the management on 31st July for a weekly wage of £4 excluding tips.

The management have been given one week to accede to this demand, and if it is not granted an unofficial strike will be called for the week-end of August 9th-10th.

This will be after this issue has appeared, so that by the time this report is

being read the struggle will be either in progress or won by the Corner House workers.

The Catering Boards Orders governing the wages and hours in unlicensed premises comes into force on August 11th, and provides weekly minimum rates for a 47-hour week.

Meanwhile, the Commission's Report suggests "where necessary, employers and workers will no doubt seek such methods of pooling and sharing gratuities as will adjust the differences between tipped and untipped workers.

"It may be that some action on these lines will be a matter of urgency in those establishments where the wages of, say, waiting staffs have hitherto been influenced by the fact that tips were received."

It's a pity that the Commission did not realize that the publication of their report advising the public to cut tipping was going to be acted upon immediately by the public!

## PARSONS—KEEP OUT!

Mr. Shinwell, Minister of Fuel has written to the Rev. Austin Lee, 43, rector of Claxby, Lincs, who volunteered to work in the mines on week-days, declining his offer "with regret".

"The work," wrote the Minister, "calls for a high degree of skill and experience which can be acquired only after a long period."

In reply to the parson who suggested that he and others should work in the pits, I say this.

I would rather freeze in the winter—and I loathe the cold—than forgo the ministrations of our priest.

I would go without luxuries all my life rather than have the clergy work in the coal mines—(Mrs.) Marjorie Haynes, Shorton, Valley Road, Paignton, Devon. *Daily Mirror*, 30/7/47.

It would be interesting to know just what Mr. Shinwell thinks of the "Bevin Boys" scheme, and whether the lady so concerned for the dear minister would freeze rather than have anybody working in the mines?

the agreement will be expelled. New branches will be formed for the minority who voted in favour.

"The branches affected are all in South Yorkshire."

The fact that all the offending branches are in the same area seems to indicate the fact that there is some good local reason why they should not conform to the directive from head office. Surely the men on the job are the best judges of what conditions they are prepared to accept? And what was the point of having the ballot if everybody was ordered to say "Yes" on pain of expulsion. It sounds rather like a Nazi "free election" does it not?

And what is going to happen next? Presumably the new "stooge" branches will fix the agreement and the expelled workers will have to accept the accomplished fact and like it or lump it! Such is trade union democracy!

## PAYMENT BY RESULT IN BUILDING TRADE?

Like many other socialist principles, opposition to piece work is in process of being forgotten. Now known as "Payment by Result", it is to be one of the most important contributions to the search for incentives which is occupying some of the most powerful brains among government and trade union officials—with conspicuous lack of success.

The first industry to be afflicted thus is most likely to be the building industry, one union for which, the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, has already met employers' representatives to discuss the matter.

Another building trade union, the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, is urging a public enquiry into the building industry and the creation of a State corporation as a preliminary to

nationalisation. At a recent conference of this union it was disclosed that there were now 200,000 registered builders in Britain but only 100,000 bricklayers!

Certainly, building workers have been targets lately for much criticism regarding the speed at which they work. We remember, however, the demonstrations and marches of last year which they held to draw attention to their several grievances. If they are going slow, be sure they have good reason for it.

## TIP FOR THE T. & G.W.U.

A speaker told a mass meeting of African workers at Mombasa, Kenya, that if they did not support a projected colony-wide strike they would have their ears cut off. *Daily Mirror*, 30/7/47.

## T.U. Democracy

AN astounding report appears in the *News Chronicle* (21/7/47) which indicates very clearly the dictatorial nature of the big unions.

The report states:—  
"More than 1,000 members of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation are to be expelled from membership because they failed to fall into line with a majority agreement."

"They will also forfeit superannuation money and other benefits."

"All but four of the union's 146 branches had signed an agreement governing the continuous burning of open-hearth furnaces, which would mean more steel production and less fuel burning."

"A ballot was held in the branches. The result will not be announced until to-morrow, but it was learned here to-day that the men have rejected the agreement by a big majority."

"They had been warned of the consequences of failure to follow the trade union lead."

A union official told me this evening: "Those in the branches who voted against

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IN a recent article in one of the Sunday papers, Alan Moorhead presented a survey of the anarchic tendencies inherent in the present dissolution of Europe. He sketched, with deep foreboding, a picture in which small communities were developing independently of, and sometimes in opposition to, their central governments. Becoming, in fact, city states. Decrees were being ignored, authority resisted and all that is bound up in the normal rigidity of state control looked upon as alien and hateful.

It is, perhaps, impossible to put one's finger on any particular spot on the map of Europe and indicate an example of a completely independent community which is in a position to ignore the mother state, its currency and traditional ballyhoo, and proceed to frame life within its own natural laws. In Greece, for example, where the central government's power is not absolute, the recalcitrant areas are still under an equally barbarous dictatorship. It is equally impossible to feel any hope that the communal tendency towards decentralization is, at the present moment, other than a transient flowering before the central governments become more firmly empowered under either the aegis of the dollar or that of the Kremlin.

A common error made by many roaming observers is to confuse the outward semblance of independence and aloneness, common to most peasant communities, with an absence of government authority. The recognition of government is still there, even if all community practices are not to the letter of the law. In this light the situation in Europe to-day is not as anarchic as Moorehead's article tended to convey. What is, however, far more actual and threatening to the stability of central government is the indifference and disillusion scattered over quite heterogeneous individuals who, as individuals, have lost faith in contemporary institutions. Those who refrain from voting, see in each uniformed state servant a threat, evade taxation, view religion with an open cynicism, are a more dynamic potential, a more explosive element, than the peacefully flourishing commune, no matter how independent of the mother state. This prevalent indifference is confined to no country, no class of people in particular. It can be the nucleus of the new oneness of man, more universal than any other because now, as never before, must that fact be recognised.

Italy provides an excellent example of this state of affairs, and also where it could lead. Or, rather, where it could lead were the Americans not about to give it a dollar transfusion.

At the end of the recent war there were many who saw in Italy the first signs of a libertarian society. The old order had completely collapsed. The land owners had fled to their remote luxury villages near Como or into Swit-

### P.O.'s. AS A PROPAGANDA WEAPON FOR AUSTRIAN C.P.

A FURTHER example of the way in which the Soviet Government seeks to increase the prestige of the local Communist parties in countries not controlled by the Communists is afforded by the recent letter from Generalissimo Stalin to the Communists in Austria on the return of Austrian prisoners of war.

According to a recent statement of the Austrian Minister of the Interior there are over 100,000 prisoners in Russia. For months the Austrian Government has been trying to persuade Russia to complete their repatriation, but these requests met with little response. Two or three weeks ago the Communists of Austria wrote to Generalissimo Stalin making a similar request. In reply of July 21st Stalin promised that all prisoners would be back in Austria by the end of this year and said the Austrian Government would be informed accordingly. The inference which the people of Austria will be expected to draw is obvious.

[Footnote: Most of the Austrian prisoners held by Britain were repatriated by the middle of last year and all were back by the beginning of this year. All held by the Americans were returned by the beginning of this year. The French completed the repatriation a few months ago, so that no Austrian prisoners are held by any of the allies outside Russia.]

zerland. Behind them the peasantry, as a matter of course prompted by their inherent sense of justice, had appropriated the land they worked and taken over the padrone's mansion as a new schoolhouse for their children or as accommodation for those who had lost their homes in the bombardment. The owners of the factories, the fascist capitalists, expecting little sympathy from the Allies, had gone underground or fled, leaving the workers to carry on alone. In Milan, where the partisans had liberated the city, there was equally active opposition to the "liberating" authority of the Allied Command. The partisans resisted for a few days an order to hand over their arms, and naturally their independence, until an Allied parade of force through the city's main thoroughfare succeeded in intimidating them. Hardly a wall, from north to south, escaped expressing the widespread hatred of the king, the police, the church, and the fascist rule. At that time all four institutions were synonymous. Equally apparent was the same form of ostentatious demand for a complete reconstruction.

All this fervour for change and reconstruction, however, was never given the opportunity to flow into the correct channels. The ebullient spirit which prevailed in the masses was cleverly twisted into a senseless "epurazione" campaign, by parties anxious to be proved the most partisan, which succeeded in punishing minor officials but which left the real criminals with all their old authority: i.e. industrial leaders, church, the landowning aristocracy. They, as we all know, had found ample shelter and even reward among their class brothers of the Allied aristocracy. So this magnificent, transient moment, when it needed but the slightest encouragement to bring about enlightenment and change, passed insignificantly.

The forces of reaction were quick to take advantage of the situation. The outcome is the prevailing frustration and indifference, a sort of inverted anarchism minus the idealism, which, if it were not for the more pressing need for combating hunger, might well become explosive. The reaction has taken place on three levels. Primarily, of course, the scheming malinfluence of the allied administration, moulding the situation to their own liking, a liking at variance with the wishes of the people. Secondly is the example set by the political parties, inane and self-centred, and the common feeling that their bickerings in Rome, the centre of constitutional democracy, are the antics of an assembly of Silone's village orators and quite remote from the really pressing problems. And lastly, like the jackal emerging after the departure of the lion, the Vatican as an assertive influence behind the government.

If one follows these very general outlines to the more detailed facts of life in Italy to-day, it is not difficult to see the promise and the dangers inherent in the situation. Lack of faith in government has brought lack of faith in currency which, in turn, has brought lack of faith in the whole structure of society as we know it. Shortage of essential goods, the all pervasive black market, has caused an inflationary spiral not yet stabilized. Paradoxes are evident in such confusion as, for example, the black market becoming a symbol of valid free enterprise while any attempt to restrict it is looked upon as repression. In the chaos of the unknown and the insecure, living for the moment and having not the slightest direction other than the urge to personal enrichment, is the only end. One enters a shop with one's food coupons to be told that the commodity, openly displayed, is only for sale at black market prices. The authorities simulate helplessness or actually connive. Faced with the question these same authorities blame maladministration and evasiveness of the peasants to surrender their stock. They forget that it would be folly to turn over produce at a fixed minimum price when all the other essentials of life are at an inflated level. And who knows that the government are not in the black market and selling at the inflated prices? The tourist can only buy rationed petrol with foreign currency, dollars, sterling, or the swiss franc. The leading banks pay 900 lire for a £1 traveller's cheque yet give over 2,000 for the same pound in cash. State monopoly cigarettes can be bought without coupons at a higher rate.

In this situation a sharp division is noticeable between the outlook of the peasants and the outlook of the city dweller. With currency unstable, work and wages bear little relationship and do not represent security. On the other hand the peasants have something concrete in their lives. The land will always be productive, the part they play always well defined. Though their standard of living, never very high, is still comparatively low, they have preserved an equanimity of outlook which is not present, or at least not as common, among the city dwellers. As

always the poor peasant is more human and sympathetic, a fact which stresses the corrupting force of competitive city life. On the other hand the townspeople, finding their formerly secure roots in quickly eroding soil, are in a situation both self-destructive and socially destructive unless a faith is found. They have not yet realised that their vague hatred of authority is valid and desirable and can lead to a concrete and lasting solution. Or are they, in one of those sudden decisive moments which have littered history, to be swept into one of the dragnets of the political parties? Both the neo-fascist and communist parties have made their nets look like the lace curtains to paradise.

Accompanying this vacuumic panorama there is also a good deal of nostalgia for the old days of fascism. It seems to be constantly at the back of peoples' minds, without any reflection on the implications of such sympathies. Standing by a railway where the grass was growing between the sleepers and the Italian by my side muttering, ruefully, that it was never like this in Mussolini's day. Or children from a nearby school being taken for a walk by their teacher and dressed in differently coloured clothes. In the good old days they all wore the same uniform. The streets are just a little dirtier, the train services never to schedule, the price tickets in show windows sometimes not displayed so that the unwary

### WHITE JUSTICE

Two Negro boys, aged 15 and 16, were led out of condemned cells here to-day to die in the electric chair.

The boys, James Lewis—the 15-year-old—and Charles Trudell, admitted 17 months ago that they killed by shooting their white employer, James McKey, father of seven.

Thousands of Americans joined in a fight to save the boys.

The State Supreme Court confirmed the death sentences, but the fight went on until last night, when Mississippi's Governor Fielding Wright rejected last-minute appeals.

News Chronicle, 24/7/47.

## Defending Civil Liberties

THE July issue of *Resistance* (formerly *Why?*) the anarchist monthly magazine published by our New York comrades, carries an article entitled "The Start of the Witch Hunt", in which are enumerated the various measures taken by the Government against "Red" infiltration.

"Congress resounds with the calls of the big corporations to curb labour in this, in that; to keep 'reds' out of positions in the labour movement; to root them out of government jobs. Senators demand that Henry Wallace, that sincere demagogue, be tried for treason for saying what he thinks of Truman's foreign policy, and they summon up that legislative ghost, the Logan Act, one of the many laws on the statute books which could bring about our own form of constitutional fascism. Even Hollywood is getting set for a probe of the 'reds'."

"Already Congress has decreed a death penalty for the 'crime' of making known certain military information—the first time there has been such a penalty during peace. Already persons labelled 'reds' have been fired from government jobs, and at least one, who had denied his political beliefs, has been sentenced to a number of years in prison. Even the august Supreme Court has not remained aloof from the accelerated repressive trend of the day. A recent decision permits the police to seize any incriminating evidence while ostensibly investigating a particular crime—opening the door, thus, to the sort of searches that went on under fascism in Italy and Germany and still go on in Stalin's Russia."

*Resistance* explains that as Anarchists we have absolutely no sympathy for the immediate target of this repression, the partisans of the Russian State, whose record of persecution against the Anarchists in

buyer is overcharged. But in the good old days—in fact there is a desire, despite everything else, for a little neatness, a pattern to things, but again it is quite disconnected from any fixed political leanings. It is, one supposes, man when he is exposed in all his weakness and vulnerability.

It is difficult to gather up all these loose threads and say, firmly, that such and such a feature stands out beacon-like. Nothing stands out. There are just numerous cavities which neither the government nor the big powers can fill in. And the greatest of them is in the souls and the hearts of nameless people. Perhaps the only point that can be prophesied is that so prevailing is the feeling of mistrust towards government and their parties that any future policy relying on compulsion and police methods, which is the only way it could retrieve its authority, would be widely resisted by an economy and a way of life which rests squarely on constitutional illegality.

The recent visit of Peron's woman to Italy has underlined the state of affairs already mentioned. The earlier emigrants to the United States are being followed in the direction of the Argentine, where the fascist state is anxious to enrol as many Italian sympathisers as possible. The emigration is akin to the Britishers' exodus to the dominions. *Il Libertario*, (the Anarchist paper published in Milan), sees this emigration as a form of nostalgia for fascism and concerning, significantly, not only monarchists, demo-christians, liberals and qual-unquists. One should, however, be careful not to confuse the genuine frustration of politically indifferent workers with the more definite motives of fascist sympathisers. Another favourite destination for Italian emigrants, no democrats please, is that other authoritarian state, South Africa. It would be interesting to discover how many are trying to get to Russia.

In the meantime Peron's woman continues her holiday and hands out 5,000 lire notes to workmen repairing the embassy boundary wall. Publicity tells us she has sympathy with the workers. It seems more likely that she wants the boundary wall built mightily high and strong.

CHARLES HUMANA.

### WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE—2

"Science is not International" says Russia.

In an attack on those Russian scientists who look on science as international, who believe in the free flow of information and show "indifference to the superiority of the scientific discoveries made in Russia", Moscow Radio said:

"Science is international," these people say, "and it is therefore of no importance by whom when, and in what country a scientific discovery or technical invention was made. In an era of well-developed international communications a scientific discovery is bound to become sooner or later common property of all countries." Such talk shows the absence of the desire to magnify the glory of one's own motherland, and forgetfulness of the interests of our country and of one's own responsibility.

In defending what the *Manchester Guardian* refers to as "startling doctrine with terrifying implications", Moscow Radio brought up the old familiar clichés which only the blind fanatics can possibly accept:

"The Anglo-American warmongers have militarised science; imperialism has made use of modern science and technology not to benefit but to harm mankind. Soviet scientists, unlike those employed in capitalist trusts and monopolies, are imbued with the idea of Socialist humanism. It is understood that discoveries made by Soviet scientists will not and cannot be made use of to the detriment of the masses. All honest people in the world know it. If that is so, every Soviet patriot must realise the importance of keeping secret our scientific discoveries, and must stigmatise every violation of this rule as anti-patriotic sycophancy to bourgeois civilization."

One would think the Stalinists had fought the war with peashooters the way they talk now that the war is over!

being sentenced to two years' imprisonment for a drawing showing a priest strangling a chicken (representing the unhappy Italian people).

And then, if we turn our attention to West Africa, we read in the *West African Standard* of the 22-year-old editor of the Nigerian *Daily Comet* being sentenced to three years' imprisonment with hard labour for "attempting to seduce the Police from their duty and allegiance to the king."

Indeed, wherever we turn we find examples of individual freedom being trampled on by the representatives of "law and order". More than ever is it necessary for those men and women who genuinely believe in freedom (and this implies, as *Resistance* puts it, opposition to all repression on principle) to come together, ready to raise their voices for all to hear whenever any attempt is made to trample on the people's rights. Such men and women are to be found in all countries, and it should be one of the tasks of the Anarchists to lay the foundations for Defence Committees whose very structure and composition will make it impossible for political parties to infiltrate them for their own ends and eventually sap them of their vitality as for instance has been the case in this country with the Stalinist-controlled National Council of Civil Liberties.

Once these Committees are formed, the next stage should be co-ordination on an international scale. We think the *Freedom Defence Committee* though still weak, has shown the way. The functions of such Committees is at present limited. But on an international scale who knows what may be their influence. At the very least, can we not hope that they may be the rallying forces for a general recognition and restatement of human values which may yet save humanity from atomic obliteration?

LIBERTARIAN.



# Political Background in Palestine

(From our Middle East Correspondent)

THE reason so many people fail to understand the Palestine situation is because they think exclusively in nationalist terms. Hence they look with optimism or pessimism at this or that latest Conference or Commission that is going to settle the problem once and for all, and never think that the very political existence of nationalist politicians means that some problem or another has to be kept alive. Partition is an old-established way of doing that. Whereas, from an Anarchist point of view, what is a preliminary to a rational approach to the problem is the complete abandonment of nationalism. This may be "utopian" but it is not as hopeless as trying to reconcile "Arabs" and "Jews", particularly when one realises that not only are the "official" viewpoints classified under those headings quite irreconcilable, but Arabs no more wholly accept the "Arab case" and Jews the "Jewish case" than everyone in Britain accept the wishy-washy liberalism expounded over the B.B.C.

## The Jewish Attitude

For instance, most Jews in Palestine support the illegal army, the Haganah, and oppose the terrorists, while the left-wing and right-wing divide on the question of a bi-national or a Jewish national State. Many do not favour independent statehood at all, and advocate British Imperialism, federation with neighbouring Arab states or other solutions. The majority of Jews outside Palestine are not Zionists at all; while the majority of Zionists outside Palestine are opposed or lukewarm to the Haganah and favour the Irgun and occasionally the Sternists.

## The Arab Attitude

As regards the Arabs there are two divergent points of view in the main: the conciliationists such as Abdel Rahman Azzan Pasha, Secretary of the Arab League who is not only, not hostile to the Jews, but is also prepared to meet with the Zionists to the point of agreeing to a Jewish minority in an Arab Palestine (i.e. a Zionist "National Home" as a minority) and the extremists such as Fawzi Kawukji whose sole aim is to drive the Jews right out of Palestine.

Not only that, but it may also be pointed out that the alleged solid front of Arabs supporting the "Palestine Arab" case are not quite able to meet in perfect harmony. For if King Ibn Saud, Lord of Hejaz and King of Saudi Arabia, and foremost champion of Moslem Palestine, met Fawzi Kawukji, leader of the illegal Arab Army devoted to the Mufti of Jerusalem, he would probably cut his head off! Kawukji is not only wanted by the Palestine Police; he was also under sentence of death in Syria but escaped from the French a few hours ahead of the firing squad. He joined King Feisal in

## Mexico

### POLITICAL AGENTS AT WORK

Victor Serge, writing in the American *New Leader* (July 12th) states that the Mexican secret police has been devoting itself of late to an inquiry of a curious affair. "A Spanish engineer, a Republican refugee, reputedly a member of the Spanish Communist Party or in open sympathy with it, disappeared in October 1946, without leaving the slightest trace. This engineer, Rafael Martinez Cofino, was engaged in scientific work related to modern armaments; he was assisted by his cousin, Rogelio Melendez, who also disappeared, some time previously. According to the Mexican newspapers the police apparently are convinced that 'Stalinist agents' are trying to obtain technical information from Rogelio Melendez; that the engineer Rafael Martinez Cofino, after being kept under isolated observation for some time in Mexico City was escorted to the port of Coatzacoalcas, in the State of Veracruz, and taken aboard a Soviet ship—doubtless the same Soviet boat which came to pick up the principal Communists of the Free Germany group, and which was then given considerable attention by the press.

Around May 15 another Soviet ship arrived at a port in the State of Veracruz, at Veracruz itself or at Coatzacoalcas, to collect another group of German Communists who had not been able to obtain transit visas. Among those who embarked was one of the most renowned leaders of the Comintern in Mexico, Dr. Leo Zuckercan (or Leo Lambert), who was chief in charge of administering an international Committee to Aid Anti-Fascist Refugees, a collaborator of the Free Germany group, and who distinguished himself by his violent intervention in a Jewish gathering dedicated to the memory of Erlich and Alter, old Polish Jewish Socialists who were shot in the USSR. The departure of these Stalinist refugees was cloaked in the greatest secrecy; they did not know themselves the exact time and place of their departure; under orders of the Party, they were obliged to leave Mexico City and await final instructions at Cuernavaca. Socialist circles comment on the attitude of certain of those voyagers, who did not dissimulate their anxiety nor their regret at being forced to leave, were obviously obeying categorical orders from Moscow."

he would sooner see Dr. Weizmann crowned King of Jerusalem than see Fawzi Kawukji get near to his goal of a Pan-Arabia under his own leadership. And it is doubtful whether Abdullah of Transjordan, who is anxious enough about Zionist claims to Transjordan as well as Palestine, would like to see Kawukji strong on his borders. He may well be prepared to see his army defeated by the Jews in spite of his support for this same army of the Mufti. Hence the Rahman Pasha plan for an Arab Palestine with a strong Jewish minority—just strong enough to curb any potential Arab ruler—may well suit the Arab Kings and Rulers, none of whom like to see each other too strong and all of whom have ambitions that are bound to clash.

This does not alter the fact that a very bloody civil war can result in Palestine, the illegal Arab and Jewish armies, of which there are more than one on each side, being versed in guerilla tactics. The only alternative is the faint possibility of a non-nationalist body of sentiment on either side, causing a different outlook altogether. But this presupposes a great deal more social revolutionary feeling than actually exists.

One thing is certain. If British troops are used in this struggle—and they undoubtedly will be—it will be for the furtherance of what Whitehall considers are "our" interests since there is nobody in Palestine other than those admittedly believing in British Imperialism who wants to see British troops there. The lives that are lost as a result of Army intervention will not be for the protection of anything but Mr. Bevin's reputation for being firm.

A. M.

Iraq and was banished for conspiring against the throne, and became Ibn Saud's military adviser until he organised the Pan-Arab revolt of Ibn Rafadi of the Billis tribe from Saudi Arabia to Transjordan. Ibn Saud swore to cut his head off personally, and Kawukji went to Transjordan where he began organizing a new Arab Army, and was the leader of the Arab rebellion in 1936, holding Northern Palestine and defying even the R.A.F. His guerilla tactics were remarkable and terrifying, and need to be recalled to-day when the initiative in terrorism has passed to the Jews, since Kawukji is now on the hilly frontier of Palestine awaiting the hour to move back. What a terrible civil war there is going to be in Palestine when rival terrorists meet!

## Choosing the Lesser Evil

How far there will be an unbroken front on either side is hard to prophesy. Ibn Saud would like to see an Arab State in Palestine but my humble guess is that

## Germany

# 2 Million Slaves are still held by the Allies

"FREEDOM" will continue to press for the repatriation of German Prisoners of War even at the risk of repeating ourselves. Our chief objection to the retention of P.o.W's in this country more than two years after the ending of hostilities has been on moral grounds and whatever other arguments may be used in justifying their repatriation they cannot in any way minimise our moral obligation to see to it that every possible pressure is made to bear on the powers that be to make the necessary arrangements for the speeding up of repatriation.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* (26/7/47) writes that next to food the subject of the early release of German prisoners in Allied hands is the subject of most importance to the German man in the street. "Lack of food is to him a perpetual nagging want, unexplained and inexplicable. Allied failure to return prisoners of war is to him a more obvious injustice, a source of resentment more easily and more directly focussed on the victor nations."

## Two Million Prisoners

The exact number of prisoners in Allied hands cannot be ascertained mainly because of the unreliability of Russian figures (*Freedom* 31/5/47). But even accepting official figures, the total two years after the ending of hostilities is 2,012,000 distributed as follows:— Russia 890,000, France 600,000, Britain 280,000, Middle East 80,000, Yugoslavia 70,000, Belgium 40,000, Poland 30,000, Holland 10,000, Czechoslovakia 8,000, Luxembourg 4,000.

The *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent however puts forward arguments to show that a more likely figure is 3 millions. And he too maintains that on "material and moral" grounds "it is high time that the prisoner-of-war question was solved." He points out that in spite of all the material difficulties of housing and food, Germany needs these men for the country is very short of manpower (the number of men of working age has dropped from 29,500,000 before the war to 21 million to-day.

"German statisticians have estimated that 5,000,000 more men are needed to raise industry even to the now outdated level prescribed by the Potsdam agreement. And this does not take into account Germany's millions of homes destroyed and hundreds of cities shattered. Rebuilding, save for the Ruhr miners, is slow and haphazard. Farmers, by bartering food-stuffs, can get the materials to build new outhouses for their cattle; engineers work on railway bridges, and factories with hopelessly insufficient labour forces, and jobs which should take a matter of weeks take years.

Germany needs every possible man to help in a post-war recovery which has not yet begun."

But, as the *Guardian's* correspondent points out "possibly even more important is the moral reason for the return of her prisoners.

The programme of repatriation so far as this country is concerned (15,000 a month) means that there will still be German prisoners in this country in a year's time, or three and a half years after the end of the war. Let those who profess to be lovers of justice do all in their powers by the written and spoken word to force the Government to return these men to their families irrespective of the fact that they may be needed for farm work or for clearing bombed sites. We cannot tolerate the holding of slave labour in our names.

## WAR TALK

In 24 hours we could wipe out 75,000,000 Russians and not lose 100 men," said Dr. Robert H. Montgomery, Texas University professor who helped the U.S. Army to pick atom bomb targets.

"They know it," he added. "I'm not worried about the Russians. I am worried about us.

"If we are going to kill them, let's do it now—not wait three years.

"Rather than that let's learn what to do about this power for the good of man. The next war won't leave anything here or there."

But in Munich yesterday, Dr. Hans Bomka, one of the world's leading atomic scientists, said Russia had "tons of atom bombs" and had solved the secret of atomic warfare.

*The People*, 20/7/47.

ON Sunday, July 27th, a demonstration organised by the Stalinist-controlled International Brigade Association was staged at Trafalgar Square to commemorate the 11th Anniversary of the Spanish workers' heroic struggle against Franco. Among the many speakers was the Communist "General" Lister, whose counter-revolutionary role in the struggle is well-known inside Spain as well as by those outside Spain who followed the de-

velopment of the struggle during those three eventful years. The Spanish Libertarian Movement in this country distributed a duplicated handbill giving facts about the so-called "General Lister", and the London Union of Anarchist Groups distributed a large number of printed handbills at this meeting which we are reproducing below as we feel that the matters dealt with are of interest to a wider public than was reached at Trafalgar Square.

# 19th JULY, 1936

11 YEARS have passed since the unarmed people of Spain rose to prevent the mutinous generals, in league with the Church hierarchy, from seizing power and establishing a clerico-military dictatorship. It was the beginning of a struggle which, thanks to the armed assistance received by Franco from Hitler and Mussolini, was to last nearly three years. For without that aid Franco would have been defeated in a matter of days.

The fact that the Spanish workers and peasants were able to hold out for these three long years is an epic in International working class history, which workers do well to commemorate. Unfortunately, political parties have used the Spanish workers' struggle for their own narrow, sectarian ends, with the result that the Communists would have us believe that it was they who led the workers on July 19th, 1936, whereas on their own admission at the time their membership in Spain was very weak and in such important regions as Catalonia, non-existent. But the Communists today rely on the blind, unquestioning support of their politically ignorant, drifting membership to get away with this falsification of working class history.

These are some of the facts which can be verified, and which we are prepared to substantiate regarding the struggle in Spain since 1936.

(1) The Communists were an insignificant force in the opening phases of the struggle, and won influence and members only as a result of controlling the distribution of arms sold by Russia to the Spanish Government for hard cash, and through the co-operation of Russian secret police agents introduced into Spain to destroy the revolutionary character of the struggle.

(2) The artificial strength of the C.P. was demonstrated when it came to a show-down during the last days in Madrid. Then, the Communist attempted coup was crushed by the workers' organisations in a matter of days.

(3) The principal forces in Spain on July 19th, 1936, were the Socialist inspired U.G.T. (General Workers' Union) and the Anarchist inspired C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labour) which each had a membership of nearly 2 million workers.

(4) The Communists, through their representatives, took great pains to explain that the struggle in Spain was not for the social revolution but for bourgeois democracy. They clearly demonstrated this during the May Days in Barcelona, 1937, where with the aid of those elements who feared the extension of the revolution and the Russian police agents they were responsible for the death of hundreds of revolutionary militants, many internationally known as active anti-fascists.

(5) When the Spanish workers took over the large landed estates, the factories and workshops and worked them for the benefit of the community they were demonstrating that the armed struggle against Franco must be accompanied by the social revolution. Their achievements—the successes as well as the failures—are recorded for all time. Also recorded is the fact that the Communist brigades were the spear-head of the attacks on these workers' collectives, in Catalonia, Levant and Aragon. And among the leaders of these counter-revolutionary forces were "General" Modesto, and "General" Lister, who are the star turns at today's Communist rally to commemorate the glorious struggle of the Spanish workers!

July 19th is a day in working class history which must never be forgotten. It is a glorious day in the long and hard struggle that has been incessantly waged in Spain between the oppressed and the oppressors and as such it belongs to no party. But if any party could lay claim on it, the party least justified in so doing, would be the COMMUNIST Party.

The role of the Communist Party in the working class struggle only becomes clear when one understands that its whole policy is dictated by its masters in the Kremlin. It is then that one understands why during the past eight years the C.P. has both supported and opposed the war; why it has both supported and opposed strikes and increased production in the mines and factories. It also explains why it took part in the armed struggle against Franco and his masters, and in the struggle against the revolutionary achievements of the Spanish workers on the land and in the factories. Workers of Britain! The Communists are not concerned with your interests. Their first concern is to carry out the foreign policy of Soviet Russia and this can, and does, sometimes conflict with your interests, and in these circumstances you can be sure that the Communists will put Russia's interests first!

In conclusion, should you be told that we, the Anarchists, are "fascists" or "trotskyists," don't just accept that as an answer to our arguments against the C.P. The Anarchists have resisted dictatorship wherever it has attempted to raise its head. But for us there is no distinction between dictatorships, whether they are imposed in the name of the bosses or in the name of the proletariat. They are in both cases opposed to the fundamental concepts of Freedom and as someone once put it "freedom is the greatest of political goods."



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## George Woodcock's

### De Tocqueville, the Critic of Democracy.

On social thought there have always existed No-Man's-Lands, in which move independent thinkers who do not seem to fit into any accepted school of political philosophy, yet who occasionally produce works which are of the greatest importance to the rational development of our ideas on social organisation. One of these pockets of independent thinkers lay, during the nineteenth century, somewhere to the extreme left of liberalism. It consisted of a number of writers and thinkers who had no connection at all with the anarchist movements of the time, who almost certainly would never have thought of calling themselves anarchists, but who nevertheless realised fully the dangers implicit in authority and uttered their colliary warnings against the corrupting nature of government.

One of these men was, strangest of all libertarian philosophers, the Catholic peer, Lord Acton, a historian of great learning and honesty, who was a leader of the revolt within the church against Papal authority, and who, after a lifetime studying history, uttered the famous warning of the corruption of power and the essential badness of all great men.

Another, and hardly less incongruous figure among the No-Man's Landers was Alexis de Tocqueville. De Tocqueville entered politics, but was always at odds with his associates. He saw the authoritarian evils of Jacobinism, he saw equally the dangers of the Right, and, when the chaos of French political life resulted in the victory of Louis Napoleon in 1851, he

# Literary Notes

abandoned in disgust what a more mercenary man would have regarded as a promising career, and washed his hands of politics.

De Tocqueville's importance lies in the fact that he was the first man, after Godwin, to present a reasoned analysis of the democratic form of government, which revealed within it the same dangers of suppression of individual freedom as exist in other forms of government.

In 1831 he was sent on a mission to the United States, and, on his return, he wrote an exhaustive study entitled *Democracy in America*, in which he subjected the institution of democracy to the most rigid scrutiny, and showed a live consciousness of the danger of majority rule crushing out the individual qualities of men and their essential freedom. He exposed clearly and cogently that classic democratic fiction which sees in the will of the majority a right to dictate to the individual. After many years, his book has now been republished in the World's Classics as a double volume at six shillings. It should certainly be regarded as a useful text book for libertarians, since, while it contains some conclusions with

which anarchists are unlikely to agree, the criticism of democratic authoritarianism is certainly more capably conducted and more thoroughly considered than anywhere in anarchist literature outside Godwin's *Political Justice*.

### Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass

From the critic of democracy to the poet of democracy seems a far cry, and de Tocqueville may on the face of it appear to have very little in common with Whitman, who seemed to find in democracy his poetic goal. Yet what Whitman meant by democracy, at least as an ultimate end, was something quite different from the existing state of affairs which de Tocqueville analysed. Whitman hoped for an eventual society where all men would be equal and free because they would be responsible, in other words, something not very far removed from anarchy.

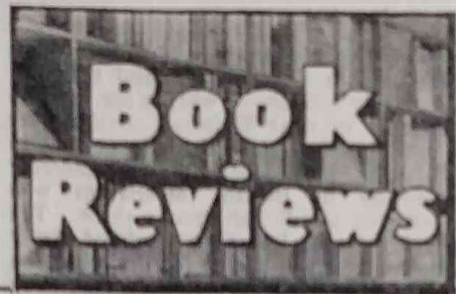
And, while it is true that Whitman made all kinds of ideologically naive mistakes, worshipped Lincoln and so forth, while he tended to become involved in oratorical mumbo-jumbo, his main virtue remains in his continual insistence on that factor which has so long dropped out of current social ideas as a living thought, the brotherhood of man. A new and enlarged edition of Whitman has appeared in the Everyman's Library, and, if you do not become annoyed by his rants, there is much of permanent interest to be found there, stirring poetry and a revolutionary urge that is not so vague as it sometimes appears.

### Stories from the South

One of the things which Whitman felt most strongly was the need for the abolition of colour prejudice and slavery; he refused to fight his fellow man and, instead, worked in a hospital during the civil war, but he was certainly ready to include the Negroes in his idea of brotherhood, and felt passionately the need for righting the wrongs done to them. If he could return to America to-day, if he could witness the lynchings and murders of Negroes which still take place in the deep South, the exploitation of coloured workers and farmers, the deliberate exclusion of Negroes from civil rights and the application of Jim Crow laws, we can be sure that he would think differently than he did of the apparent triumph of Negro freedom in the civil war.

But the wrongs of the Negroes do not go wholly unprotested. Coloured writers like Richard Wright are forcing themselves on the attention of the American literary world, with their messages of suffering, and there is a whole group of white writers, some of them resident in the South, who try to portray the misery of the poor Negroes.

One of these writers is Eudora Welty, whose *A Curtain of Green* has just been issued in the Penguin library. This is a collection of excellently written stories, about life in the rural areas of Mississippi. Some concern Negroes, some white people, but all are characterised by a deep feeling for human suffering, accompanied by a very original wit. There is one terrible story about the exploited tomato farmers, called *The Whistle*, and a fine story of a Negro band, called *Pennyhouse*. However, I have no space to discuss the book any further at present; I can only recommend readers to introduce themselves to the work of this really competent American short story writer.



# Rocker on the German Problem

## (1) RUDOLF ROCKER

"RIGID adherence to traditional conceptions and dead thoughts, are the greatest obstacles in the way of any further progress. The truth of yesterday is the lie of to-day, if we attribute to it any absolute character. . . . We also have to re-educate ourselves and our activities to the new conditions."

"Above all we must beware of suggesting a general solution, which can only be realised in the distant future, but will

not bring us one step forward at present. . . . if we want to perform something to-day, we must give a hand in clearing the ruins which the Nazis have left us."

"Certainly we can and must work together, wherever there is a possibility, for to-day co-operation is absolutely necessary, because there are so many problems in the solution of which we are all equally interested."

"Nobody can absent himself from the hard task of reconstruction, because the fate of all of us is connected with it. . . . on this point all our comrades must be quite clear if they are to achieve anything at all."

"It doesn't matter about our eventual aim, but it does matter what we have to say now, and what practical capabilities and what willingness we have to work with others who perhaps do not always share our opinions, but at least share the intention to improve the well-being of the community. One simply must learn to understand others, if one wants to be understood by them. . . . The better we can do justice to the ideas of others, the more right we gain to see our own ideas honestly estimated and appreciated."

"We must work together with others to accomplish our task, because we ourselves are so weak. . . . By isolating ourselves from the life around us we achieve nothing, we therefore must, as a movement seek an *Anschluss* whenever we can find it and wherever we are offered the opportunity to express our views and aims. . . . above all in the trade union movement, which is also to-day confronted by new tasks. That we, as ex-members of the F.A.U.D., (pre-Nazi Syndicalist organisation), must take part in the work of the Trade Unions, need not be stressed. Also the comrades should pay more attention to the co-operative movement than they have so far done."

Our comrades should therefore, instead of wasting their strength in the building-up of old organisations, seek an *Anschluss* with such movements from which may come something really creative and significant for the development of a libertarian socialism on federalist foundations.

In the present situation the reconstruction of Germany rests absolutely with the local councils (*Gemeinden*). . . . the whole social administration lies to-day almost exclusively in the hands of these councils.

This is an entirely new situation, which, if understood correctly is of the most profound importance for the re-development of Germany and the whole of Europe.

Our comrades should take part in the administrative work of the councils and try to translate the theories of libertarian and federalist socialism into practical work, as far as is possible under local conditions.

As long as the local councils were fully under the control of the central state, the situation was different. To-day this obstacle has disappeared.

Rudolf Rocker, the veteran German anarchist has written a pamphlet, "A Contribution to the Study of the German Situation", (*Die Betrachtung der Lage in Deutschland*), which has recently been published in Sweden by the *Sveriges Arbetares Central-organization*, in which he advocates a revision of the traditional anarchist attitude in view of the peculiar and desperate situation in Germany to-day. His attitude is bound to cause considerable controversy, and we print below a translation of certain extracts from his pamphlet, (which unfortunately is far too long for us to give anything like a complete translation), and a refutation of Rocker's arguments by John Olday, whose name is well-known to our readers and whose record of underground anti-Nazi activity in Germany qualify him to speak in the name of our German comrades.

## (2) JOHN OLDAY

THE pamphlet is full of contradictions and can only give the impression that Rocker is misinformed on the real position in Germany, and misinterprets the situation and the mentality of the German workers. His assumption that the state has lost its domination of local affairs is only correct insofar as there is no German Government, but its place is taken by the Allied Government which is more powerful than any dictator. The local councils, (*Gemeinden*), far from having any resemblance to independent communes, are merely the scapegoats and "stooges" of the Allied authorities. Are our German comrades to compromise with the racket of voting and elections, merely for the privilege of becoming the tools of irresponsible military dictatorship? Rocker advocates a league with the Federalists, but this can hardly be regarded as a progressive step; is not Mr. Churchill an advocate of Federalism?

In one breath Rocker recalls our movement's hundreds of dead comrades who remained loyal to their convictions, and in the next he calls those who still do so, unrealistic fools. After tedious moralising, and after scolding the German people as a whole for the atrocities, he goes on to say that the German workers failed after 1918. But has Rocker forgotten the workers' revolts in 1919, 1921 and 1923? On one page he writes of the iron machine of the Trade Unions' bureaucratic centralism and its deadening effect on militancy, and on another he advocates joining them. He points out that the pre-Hitler F.A.U.D. with its 150,000 members was not strong enough to inspire the other millions of organised workers to action, yet shortly afterwards, says, concerning a new movement, "The number does not count" and trusts that

the few can propagate their ideas with enough success to influence the big organisations.

Rocker has not one word of protest against the organised looting of German industry, which is the real obstacle to the reconstruction with which he is so much concerned, not a word against the mass kidnapping of skilled labour, against the unjust and unjustifiable prolongation of the exploitation of the slave labour of prisoners-of-war, or against the censorship which successfully hinders the expression of libertarian views, and fosters the renegades and opportunists who are willing to sell themselves to the occupation. Not a word against the imprisonment of active anarchists, the scandalous favouritism towards proved Nazis, or against the new militarism of Allied-sponsored camouflaged German units, under the command of ex-Nazi officers, in all zones of Germany, the re-introduction of saluting, medal wearing, and Prussian military discipline. (While millions of civilians go without sufficient clothing, factories in Hamburg are providing new uniforms for the new "Militia" formations).

The revisionist arguments of Rocker's pamphlet has a familiar ring. Have we not heard similar "realistic" language used to justify support for the two World Wars, for support for the Bolsheviks in 1918 or the participation of certain Anarchists in the Catalanian government during the Spanish War? And did not events prove the impractical idealists to be right, and the practical men woefully wrong? The German anarchists have no reason to revise or modify their principles. On the contrary they are bound to re-affirm them, since their predictions have so abundantly been proved correct, and since a hundred thousand potential comrades are finding in anarchism the only possible alternative to the various forms of subjection offered them from Right and Left, West and East. Every recent experience has confirmed the anarchist conceptions and the anarchist philosophy, and all the symptoms indicate new orientations, new groupings, which, when the time is ripe will manifest themselves powerfully. The present period, beneath its ostensible confusion is a phase of intense preparation. The new front, silently forming, has no time for negative and confused counsels. To-day, more than ever before, the real representatives of tomorrow have one aim only, the social revolution, which they know can only be brought about by revolutionary means. They reject, (all the more vehemently because of tragic experience), all participation and compromise with the reformists, pessimists and confused opportunists.

Rocker asserts that: "The belief in the total destruction of all existing social institutions, and the erection of a new world, rising phoenix-like from its ruins, is only a Messianic belief, and those who let themselves be carried away by it, will dream of deeds, but never accomplish them." But in answer we say: the history of anarchism proves otherwise. Such a dreamer was Bakunin. Such a dreamer was Erich Muesham, who Rocker claims as a comrade. But if he were alive to-day, would not Muesham, who was tortured and murdered in Orientburg, denounce Rocker's pamphlet, which only adds to the confusion and bewilderment of the German working-class?

## Conditions in Irish Prisons

PRISONS AND PRISONERS IN IRELAND. Report on certain aspects of Prison conditions in Portlaoighise Convict Prison (Published by The Labour Party, Dublin, price 3d.).

THIS 16-page pamphlet consists of a report which was originally prepared for circulation only to the Administrative Council of the Labour Party by three Deputies and a Senator. They only spent seven and a half hours inspecting Portlaoighise prison and interviewing prisoners but it seems to have been sufficient for them to come to the conclusion that our prison system is not the best system for combating crime, "that in fact it is demoralising and outmoded".

References are made to "the solitude and silence" in prisons "to say nothing of its uselessness and aimlessness". "The recreation . . . takes the form of walking aimlessly backward and forward around the prison building and it is hardly possible to imagine anything that looks so foolish or purposeless, as the sight of a number of adult men walking in single file from one point to another seemingly bereft of interest of intelligence."

The figures concerning the prison population at Portlaoighise are interesting when compared with conditions in this country. Accommodation is available in single cells for more than 250 prisoners but at the time of the visit the number of prisoners, including local short term prisoners was 103. In Britain the prisons having accommodation for 11,000 prisoners actually house 17,000 according to official reports. It would be necessary to have the figures for the whole of Ireland before trying to use the above information as a further proof of the connection between War and Crime. Other interesting data for this Irish convict prison is that 30% of the 103 prisoners have been convicted for homo-sexual practices and the prison staff number 55, or approximately one warden for two prisoners!

The report refers also to seven political prisoners from whom are withheld "privileges" such as exercise in the open air, receiving visits from friends or the facilities to write letters because they refuse to wear convict clothes. They are also subject to frequent searches and, being under "special observation", have their cell lights turned on each quarter of an hour throughout the night. For these men the Report recommends that they should be transferred to Military Custody.

The report, which was adopted by the Labour Party of Ireland, makes a number of short term recommendations, which would certainly make the physical conditions in prison less beastly, and a long term recommendation that "the place of detention for penal servitude prisoners should correspond to that of a colony rather than to a jail, that it should afford ample opportunity for effective segregation and the means of providing work and training of a beneficial character; that long-term prisoners, under the care and guidance of the doctor and psychiatrist, should be equipped by moral and physical training to restart on release, a normal life in society."

Though this report does not even claim to deal with the causes of crime, though the long term recommendation does indicate that the minds of its authors are not completely closed to such questions, it is worth reading by those people interested in penal questions. R.

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# Behind the Slogans "FREEDOM OF THE PRESS"

THE Press is very vigilant in defending its own profession, and this is sometimes known as "Freedom of the Press". It is in fact, nothing of the sort, and the people who are loudest in the cry, really know the least about this Freedom. It is an essential right that the people have long struggled for: the right to say things however unpopular they may be or however inexpedient they are considered—to see publications permitted, however wrong or wicked they may appear to be. This is not the Communist or Catholic idea of freedom—something they demand for themselves when they are a minority and deny to others when they are in power; nor even the Liberal and Democratic idea that permits anyone to say as they wish, with due limits, at certain times, having regard to this or that, and bearing in mind the various enactments and laws on the subject. Freedom of the press is the right to publish anything regardless of whether it is pernicious, harmful, seditious, subversive, wicked, blasphemous, treacherous or demoralising—since all doctrines can be found to be one or the other of these by one or another viewpoint. You do not need any more laws for this, you only need to abolish a few. But the intelligentsia never see that. They always want a few more laws, as if there were not enough of them doing sufficient harm already.

## JUST ANOTHER REPORT

The Royal Commission on the Press—yet another commission to add to the multitude of committees and white papers that provide jobs for aspiring middle-class lawyers and an outlet for ambitious upper-class heirs—is enquiring into the control of the British newspapers and news agencies, and suggestions pour forth. Perhaps some innocent souls will be surprised when they find that the daily press is owned by millionaires, perhaps someone will suggest how it could be otherwise.

For ourselves we do not begrudge the millionaires their press, and we do not think highly of any proposal to replace their control by that of the State. What incentive would the State have to make a profit? None! Then it would be even worse than the control by the millionaire who cannot flout his readers too openly and has to buy an occasional brain for

them. We begrudge the millionaires their money, and when the social revolution has abolished their wealth we should be interested to see if the Press Lords, now so interested in publishing, will get down to it when they find they have to work their printing presses themselves, or in common with those few who will still share their antiquated ideas on Capitalism.

## POOR EDITORS

One of the suggestions to the Commission is from the National Union of Journalists, who aim at editorial freedom. They want laws (of course) to see that the editor is not interfered with by the publisher or the advertiser, that he get fixed space to so much advertising matter, that he has a professional code to protect himself, a Court of Appeal to go to when the proprietor infringes his code; regulations safeguarding his authority to such a degree that the arbiter of publishing becomes neither the millionaire proprietor nor the Whitehall bureaucrat, but the editor.

What improvement is there in this? Personally I prefer an open enemy to a hidden one and would far rather see Lord Beaverbrook against us than one of the Socialists he sometimes pays to sit in the editorial chair of a Conservative newspaper, helping to "glamourise" the Capitalist propaganda with a "democratic" slant.

## NO DIFFERENCE

Why should we assume that the Editor cannot be as venal as the Capitalist? No "professional code" has yet kept out trickery and quackery, and apart from that, why assume that there will be less propaganda from an editor than from a proprietor? In the presentation of news as well as in the editorial space—and even more so (as in the case of the Spanish Revolution) in the news that is NOT printed—the editor whether acting as a paid agent or as the final arbiter, can up to a point, influence his readers' minds, stimulate their prejudices, blind them to things that happen and persuade them of the truth of things that are not happening. At a certain point of course, people cease to believe their newspaper at all.

We oppose the enquiry into the Press and all these suggested new laws, because we do not believe in any beneficial change

that will come from them and can see the vague threat of a blow against all papers honestly propagandist, and not intended for the glorification of an editor, but for the dissemination of views.

## REAL PRESS FREEDOM

If sufficient people want to get an honestly outspoken daily newspaper, this

can be achieved in due course, and they can have an Anarchist newspaper frankly giving a libertarian and working-class slant on news, in place of the present authoritarian and "snob-appeal" angle (which is going to be hysterically obvious when the Royal marriage comes off). The "rights of editors" on such a paper need

not be respected (they certainly aren't on Freedom where they don't even get paid!) for what is needed is not people who will sell themselves to the highest bidder and want legislation to protect their consciences afterwards, but those prepared to work in common with others for the progress of their ideas.

# Reform has Failed

IN the earliest days of the British social movement, it had the chance of following reform or revolution—Social Democracy or Anarchism. Unlike many Continental and other movements, which had at least a brief spell of revolutionary struggle before being led astray by reformism, submerged by Bolshevism or liquidated by Fascism, the British working class movement was from the first wholly inclined towards reformism. The trade union element was the basis of the socialist movement; it was eminently respectable when the Socialists of the early I.L.P. tried to push it leftwards and gradually with the rise of the Labour Party the Socialist element has become the respectable, and mainly non-working class, element. Certainly one can say that a good half-century of Socialist agitation in this country has passed, including early Liberal-Labour legislation, trade union negotiation, long-drawn out Labour struggles, Parliamentary representation in the Liberal T.U. days, in the I.L.P. and Labour Party in opposition, in Labour Ministers in Liberal Governments, Labour minority Governments, hundreds of county and local governments, joint production committees, Labour and Socialist share in legal and judicial powers, and now a Labour Government with full powers. It is fair to consider England as a test case of Social Democracy and whether Labour reformism is of value to the workers or not, and protests by Labour spokesmen that we have to consider the effect of the late war are pretty valueless when one realises what they would have been saying about the Government of to-day if (as they them-

selves expected) the over-publicised name of Churchill had triumphed at the 1945 Election.

Is it not true to say that the entire trade union work of two generations has collapsed in the post-war world? The gradual struggle to push up wages has resulted in the worker of to-day being paid a wage which before 1914 would have put him right up in the upper middle class, but since the value of goods and food has leaped up terrifically during the war and no effective reduction has been made, his apparent increase is seen to be an effective decrease; he is in fact worse off than he was before, and where certain improvements in the standards of living are to be seen these can invariably be traced to technical improvements such as have marked the most backward countries, rather than any actual benefit gained by the long sacrifices made to reformism.

It may be interesting to note the remarks of a trade union official and a reformist for many years, even if not officially approved by the Labour Party—W. J. Brown, M.P. Writing in the *Evening Standard* (19/6/47) he states:

"This decline in the value of money dammifies all those who in the past have sought, by thrift and saving, to make provision for their old age.

We are still urged to save. But unless this decline in purchasing power can be arrested and reversed, every counsel of prudence will urge people to spend while their money will still buy something, rather than wait till it will buy practically nothing.

By this inflation, the intentions of Government in the field of social insurance

are also defeated. It may seem a far cry from Lloyd George's 10s. a week for the old couple, to Jim Griffith's 40s. a week. If purchasing power is taken as the test, the difference will not be very great.

And finally, this inflation offsets much of the hard work of decades of trade union effort. The plumber of to-day probably draws three times the £2 a week which my father earned in the early 1900's. But when my father died, he owned three small houses, besides the one he had lived in; and he had bought them out of his savings."

Syndicalists do not advocate reform, but revolution. We do not deny the necessity and value of immediate reforms, but we do not enter into a struggle for them. For a simple reason known to every bargainer: that if one makes a small demand, one receives not what one asked for, but what the opposite party think is as small a fraction of the demand as they can get away with. We have seen the Government of to-day pressed for all sorts of improvements in the way of living—reforms urged on a Party that before it was in office made the pressing of reforms its business—and the result has been some minor concessions in the way of income tax. When the ruling classes are faced not with a demand for this and that petty reform, but a plain demand for the transference of the means of production from the hands of capitalism or the State into those of the working classes, they will if they cannot suppress the movement, shower concessions in the way of reforms upon the working class in order to appease them.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST.

## BAD GIRL MAKES GOOD

A Belgian Army chaplain told the international Missionary Council at Whitby, Ontario, yesterday, that he sheltered a Gestapo chief's mistress in his Brussels home during the war in return for the life of his brother.

He was Colonel Robert van Goethem, chief Protestant chaplain of the Belgian Army, who said that after an order liberating his brother had been issued he hid the woman in his home for two months.

Asked if she had "turned over a new leaf," Colonel van Goethem replied, "I don't know. The last I heard she was employed by the British Secret Service." *Sunday Dispatch*, 13/7/47.

## DIEPPE—1942

Far more important historically, though far less successful, was the raid staged five months later against the harbour of Dieppe.

Militarily speaking, it is generally conceded that the Dieppe raid was a grim farce.

The two attacks on the east flank of the city both failed.

The western flank attacks went better. One Commando company penetrated two miles inland towards its objective, which was either the airfield or German Divisional Headquarters, but, lacking support from the tanks, they were unable to complete their mission and were withdrawn after suffering heavy casualties.

But the real catastrophe took place on the main beaches in front of the town. Failure to clear the headlands left the area the focus of a withering cross-fire emanating from positions which the troops could not attack.

Even the tanks fared badly. Only four tanks got beyond the esplanade wall. The rest were stopped on the beach.

*Sunday Express*, 13/7/47.

This "grim farce" was hailed at the time as a glorious adventure.

## DEMOCRATIC JUSTICE

German tram-conductor Kurt Sperling blacked the eye of an American woman passenger who refused to move from the door of his tram, a military Court in Frankfurt was told yesterday.

The woman, Sally Derman, 32, who comes from Brooklyn, New York, showed the black eye in court, and said Sperling slapped her.

She is a civilian worker with the U.S. occupation forces and wore a civilian blouse and khaki skirt at the time, she said.

Sperling said he didn't know she was an American. She provoked him by kicking him on the shin and calling him a Nazi beast, he said.

He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

*Daily Mirror*, 30/7/47

# Through the Press

## THIS EQUALITY

The Russians are putting hundreds of German women to work in the uranium mines in Southern Saxony, near the Czechoslovak border, to speed up production, the Soviet-licensed Berlin newspaper *Nacht Express* said to-day.

The women's ages are given as from 18 to 40.

Unofficial reports recently have said that many of the men employed there live in barracks surrounded by wire fences, and that portions of the area are closely guarded.

Young men were also said to be fleeing to escape compulsory labour in the uranium mines which the Russians are said to be working at full pressure to advance their atomic research.

*News Chronicle*, 14/7/47.

## A WOMAN AND HER COUPONS

Stories about extra coupons for Princess Elizabeth's trousseau may have raised some unfounded hopes among humbler brides. Extra coupons are not granted to a bride except—say the Board of Trade—"where it is a matter of national prestige."

But women of Britain will not grudge Princess Elizabeth the privilege if she asks for a coupon concession. It is a matter of national prestige that the heir to the throne should be married in suitable style. And honeymoon pictures sent overseas are likely to be good publicity for British fashions.

*Evening Standard*, 12/7/47.

## STRAIGHT SCREWS

Prison governors have been instructed to make a special check-up on references of all men and women applying for temporary posts as prison officers.

Behind these instructions lie the Prison Commissioners' growing alarm at the serious increase of trafficking by officers in a number of gaols throughout the country.

Recent disclosures of trafficking have shaken both the Prison Commissioners and the Prison Officers' Association rather badly, as they feel it is an unjustified reflection on the long-service men who are known to be incorruptible.

*Reynold's News*, 6/7/47.

Known to be what?

## GREAT LEADER

Auckland, Sunday.—Handshaking in Australia and New Zealand has been too much for Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery. His right hand is paining him, and he has asked to be excused for the rest of his New Zealand tour.

*News Chronicle*, 21/7/47.

## FREE UNION RECOGNISED

Moral conduct has fallen below pre-war standard, in the view of Judge Earengy, K.C. He was giving a reserved judgment in a case in which Victoria Dwellings Association, Ltd., sought possession of a flat at Islington.

The company contended that the tenant, Mrs. Margaret Roberts, had broken the agreement by taking in Patrick Cosgrove as a lodger.

Evidence showed that Mrs. Roberts and Cosgrove were living together and in fact had a baby aged three months.

Judge Earengy said: "If a married woman takes a tenancy and admits her husband, he is a licensee and not a tenant or a lodger."

"Is there any difference between a legal husband and what I may call a quasi-husband in this respect? On consideration, I think there is not."

On what he described as the "delicate question of morality," the judge said: "This is not a court of morals. It may shock some people living in the same block of flats to know that in one of them a tenant is living with a quasi-husband. But moral conduct has fallen below pre-war standard and no neighbour came forward to suggest any complaint against Mrs. Roberts."

Judgment for Mrs. Roberts.

*News Chronicle*, 16/7/47.

## MAKING AN HONEST WOMAN OF HER

After living together for seventeen years, a woman of ninety-four and a man of seventy-three said yesterday they were getting married to "stop the gossipers".

William van Asperen, of Detroit, U.S.A., met Mrs. Ellen Davis, a widow, at a dance eighteen years ago. "It was love at first sight," said van Asperen. "We began living together a year later. It was platonic, but you know how neighbours talk. Maybe our wedding will keep them quiet." *Daily Mirror*, 30/7/47.

## THE NEW GOLDEN AGE

In New York, a manufacturer proudly advertised the ultimate in labour-saving devices for U.S. women: "Flexible rubber separators to keep your toes apart so polish dries thoroughly without smearing."

*Time*, 28/7/47.

## CHRISTIAN POVERTY

A Cadillac with fancy fittings, including desk, radio and bookshelves, retailing for £3,500, has been shipped to Pope Pius XII.

*News Review*, 31/7/47.

## STALIN THE MODEST

Not so long ago Stalin made it known that he did not approve of the excessive flattery and adulation which his name usually provokes in the Soviet Union. If this was seriously meant as a reproof it has had remarkably little effect. The report of a reception given to Russian sportsmen in the Kremlin and attended by Stalin himself as well as by most of the Soviet leaders gives a good example of this—to Western ideas—degrading fashion.

Mr. Molotov opened the proceedings with a flowery speech in which he proposed the health "of him who embodies all the best qualities of our country, our people, our youth—our great and beloved Comrade Stalin." After Molotov the Soviet champions rose one by one to express their gratitude and love for "our dear and beloved teacher", to whom apparently all Russian successes in sport and athletics are due. He was described as "the author of our victories", "the best friend of physical culturists", "our father and teacher", and "beloved leader of the people".

*Manchester Guardian*, 24/7/47.

## TIME MARCHES ON

"I hope the housing stringency will have been solved in four years."—Mr. Aneurin Bevan, Minister of Health on Oct. 17, 1945.

"I do not think ten or fifteen years will see the end of the housing problem."—Mr. C. W. Key, Minister of Works, in South Wales last night.

*Evening Standard*, 17/7/47.

## FEUDALISM WITH A VENGEANCE

There will be an elaborate wedding in Spain in October when the Duchess of Montoro, only daughter of the Duke of Alba, former Spanish Ambassador to Britain, marries Don Luis Martinez de Irujo, son of the Duke of Sotomayor.

The Duke, now in London, will almost certainly do the thing in the grandee style, judging by the lavish show he put up for his daughter's coming-out party four years ago.

It cost him £10,000, and nearly 2,000 guests danced from dusk till dawn among the flower-bedecked marble columns of his fifteenth-century palace. Chinese lanterns lit up a 30-yard-long bar. Drinks alone cost the Duke £2,000.

Now, I am told, all Spain is talking about the even bigger things the Duke is planning for the wedding.

*Star*, 19/7/47.

## CHRISTIANITY: ONE VIEW—

The Queen attended and addressed a meeting held last night in the Central Hall, Westminster, celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Bible Reading Fellowship.

The Queen said that as during the years of war, throughout the present days of reconstruction we all had great responsibilities to shoulder. If we relied upon our own strength either as an Empire, or as individuals, we should indeed find the burden too great. But if through prayer and Bible reading we learned to live each day in the strength and power of God we might well go forwards with confidence and hope.

Her Majesty quoted some words of Queen Victoria, who in referring to the Bible said: "This made England's greatness." "It is my prayer and hope," said the Queen, "that these words may become true again in our generation. These are challenging days in the history of the world. A new era is struggling to be born, and what sort is it to be? We in our nation and Empire are called to give a moral lead to the world and we can only do this if we are true to our great Christian tradition."

*Daily Telegraph*.

## AND ANOTHER—

I've just read Stephen King-Hall, "Save Europe Now!" First, it should read "Save All Humanity—Now!" Last night we heard over the radio that Sir Stafford Cripps had appealed to our "Christianity"—now King-Hall does the same. Well, for my part I'm sick of the "Christians!" These "Christians" who support war and all its devilry and then call it "our finest hour", "glorious", etc., etc. Surely it is not only the German who only "sees his misery." It is the lot of the common peoples everywhere.

I have a little grandson, and if it is the Christianity of the Montgomerys, the Tedders, the "Bomber" Harrises he must embrace—then I wish that he had never been born!

Letter in *The Leader*.

## RE-EDUCATION

Millwall F.C. have decided to refuse German prisoners admission to their ground this season.

Mr. Jack Coek, the manager, said last night that a letter in reply to an application from the welfare officer at the Peckham Rye Camp had been sent by the club secretary.

The letter said: "With loathing and detestation we point-blank refuse to countenance the suggestion. This ground has been severely hit by the enemy's attention."

"It is not our desire to see free fights at every match, which would certainly happen if we allowed these men on the ground."

*News Chronicle*, 16/7/47.



# PARSONS AND PROFITS

THE Church of England Youth Council's report of "slacking and moral tone in factories" has caused a stir in union circles, all of which repudiate the allegations made by the churchmen. As regards their imputations about "beastly and degrading initiation practices", these can easily be dismissed—naturally the Press, with an eye to sensationalism, makes the most of them—and it is quite easy to see how middle-class ecclesiastics,

who conscientiously "step down" and look on a proletarian environment as a world completely foreign to their own background of bun-fights at the village rectory, have exaggerated and magnified incidents which happen when lads anywhere get together and a certain amount of horse-play results.

They state too that young people in industry are introduced to gambling practices, which is perfectly true, but in fairness it might also be stated that young people everywhere are introduced to gambling practices, and possibly three-quarters of the nation are engaged at some time or another in gambling to some extent or other; what relevance this can have to industry in particular is not quite clear.

But the whole point of these petty allegations seems to be to build up, not so much the appeal for wider diffusion of Church teachings, but the major allegations about "slacking". On this a right perspective is needed.

"One observer wrote of the effect of such an environment upon a lad entering a large London engineering firm: 'He may have been taught by Church, home and school, that there is a dignity in labour and that a fair return for a fair wage is right.'

"Everything about the factory contradicts this. Everybody expects him to dodge as much work as possible. If he works steadily during the day he is regarded as an oddity, a despised 'Master's Man' toadying to the bosses.

"It is unknown for anyone to work voluntarily for one minute after the hooter has gone, unless on official overtime. He may have been taught to respect other people's property, but he finds scrounging almost universal."

(Daily Herald, 11/6/47.)

This is interesting. The first paragraph proves how true are allegations that the State is only an executive committee of the ruling class, in a capitalist society. The bulwarks of State-conditioning propaganda—Church and school—as well as "home" (which in this respect obviously does not mean parental influence, considering the parents are quite likely to have come from the same factory environment also, but such home influence as Press, radio and cinema) take a great deal of trouble to teach that there is a dignity in labour (if so we have never noticed it in a capitalist society—where dirty hands and overalls are a sign of inferiority and clean collars at a desk are a sign of superiority) and that a 'fair return for a fair wage is right'. It is not. The only 'fair' solution is an abolition of the wages system. Who can tell what work merits what pay?—how can you decide who is more entitled to more money?—a professional man with his education to pay for or a much more socially useful dustman?—a bishop or a socially useful coalminer?—or a worker in one trade or a worker in another? The pay one gets is only the amount the employer is obliged to pay. Nobody could stay in business by paying the workers what they thought was 'fair': they only make a profit by paying the standard



## Police Move Against Glasgow Anarchists

Coinciding with the visits of the King and Queen, etc., to Scotland, the police felt obliged to move against the Glasgow Anarchist.

On Sunday, 22nd July, the police reserves were called up from the Central Division. Gallantly led by Inspector

McMasters, they entered the proletarian arena and charged comrades Eddie Shaw and Preston Clements with causing an obstruction at the Maxwell Street meeting.

These meetings, which have been held here regularly over the past three years,

rate. And anyone with a knowledge of libertarian economics could tell the churchmen that the employer only exists as an employer by legalised robbery: he keeps the major part of what they themselves have produced. Cannot this be called scrounging?

Why not therefore dodge as much work as possible? What is the reason for conscientious work? There is no logical reason why people should enslave themselves for other people's profits, hence the need for mystical appeals such as the Church provides, and in case you are a rationalist, there are the patriotic appeals which the State provides.

These attempts, like so many others from so many different sources, which endeavour to assist the capitalist class or the State from one point of view or another, are clearly shown to be deficient in their appeal to the mass of the workers. So far from the Church being able now to assist the capitalist class, it loses its

own influence by being so unashamedly on their side. The man at the bench knows instinctively that he is not kept there because some shareholder in Surrey who has never seen a factory feels philanthropically inclined towards him, and that therefore he ought to do his bit in gratitude.

In a free society, such as could be achieved by the syndicalist methods of making capitalism unprofitable in preparation for the time when the workers could take over the factories for themselves, the man who worked steadily through the day would be no more an oddity than the man who nowadays works steadily through the evening on his own allotment. But who could deny that a man who nowadays works steadily through the day, without wishing to toady to the boss, is an oddity, unless he were under the illusions fostered by Church and State and the influences brought to bear on the home?

A.M.

provide the most popular platform in Scotland, at times attracting between two and three thousand people. On Sunday, when the police interfered, the audience numbered a few hundred.

After the charge was made the same police force was very busy in Scotland dragging, coercing and roping the public on to the pavements and highways for a carefully rehearsed reception for the petted and publicised Buckingham Palace Barnacles.

This charge against the comrades of "causing an obstruction" in a Glasgow side street has a most crude and inconsistent interpretation.

There is no evidence yet to support the opinion that this is the first step to stamping out street meetings in Glasgow and destroy what is the essence of freedom of speech.

We understand that our Glasgow comrades have no intention of packing their bags at the first knock on the door and are contesting the charges made against them.

## AMERICAN "EFFICIENCY"

Edgar Hoover, chief of the FBI, has a set of new 1947 model gangsters on his hands—complete with flamethrowers, walkie-talkies, jeeps, the latest automatic firearms, and just about everything else used in wartime except dive-bombers.

The spirit of Al Capone, according to Hoover, is abroad in the land again, and his "gang busters" admit ruefully that they are up against just as tough a pack of organised thugs as have ever challenged American Law and Order.

Most of them are in their early twenties, and are described as utterly ruthless.

"We wouldn't be surprised to see some gangster turn up with dive-bombers any day now," said Hoover to-day, "because quite a lot of surplus Army 'planes have been disposed of lately."

"These post-war gangsters make the old-time criminals look like characters out of the Old Curiosity Shop.

"To-day's big-time hold-up men and bank robbers are adopting the Army's famous walkie-talkie two-way radio telephone as part of their standard equipment, and get last-minute instructions from the master-mind right on the job.

"When the police are on their track spies hidden in strategic spotting places give the front-line man a radio tip-off, and mostly he is able to make a safe retreat before the police arrive."

On at least two occasions recently desperadoes in jeeps used lethal flamethrowers to beat back FBI squads when trapped.

Evening Standard, 2/7/47.

## Squatters Again!

WHEN the engagement of Princess Elizabeth was announced, the offer of the mansion at Sunninghill Park to Windsor Rural District Council for housing was withdrawn and the R.A.F. hastily packed up and left the 300 ex-U.S. Air Force huts in the grounds. But, with a wicked disregard of the peace of mind of the happy pair, 400 would-be squatters have announced their intention of taking over the huts, which in any case are more comfortable than the prefabs which they

have been waiting for so long. The Crown agents, the police, and the local Council have pleaded with them and a "truce" was agreed upon, but the homeless Windsorians are still determined to seize the huts, with a shocking disregard of our English traditions of respect for Royalty—as symbolised in their massive castle—and our spirit of fair play represented by the famous Playing Fields of Eton, close at hand.

### TOO BAD

After all, it would be too much to expect the newly-weds to stay with their "in-laws" at Buckingham Palace, of the building of which a contemporary historian wrote:

"Never was there such a specimen of wicked, vulgar profusion. It has cost a million of money, and there is not a fault that has not been committed in it. Raspberry-coloured pillars without end, that quite turn you sick to look at."

That would certainly not suit the romantic young lovers, and a little place in the country is just what is wanted. But you can't have those awful people "squattling" on the lawn!

### NOBLESSE OBLIGE

We are sure that Princess Elizabeth has taken her place on Windsor's housing lists, and that there is no question of her jumping the queue, and we have no doubt that plenty of building workers will be found to get the place in order.

## INCREASE FOR FARM WORKERS

The Agricultural Wages Board for England and Wales have awarded an increase of 10s. per week for farm workers (men) and 8s. for women.

This makes the minimum wage for the men who grow our food the princely sum of £4 10s. 0d.—women £3 8s. 0d. The employers' representatives voted against the increase, and both sides have until August 19th to lodge objections.

Not all the increase will be borne by the employer, in any case, for the board also ruled that the rent for "tied" cottages shall be increased from 3s. to 6s. rendering the increase in wages only 7s. actually.

The farmers are already talking of raising prices. And so the whole money farce goes on . . .

### GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

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

### LANCASHIRE GROUPS MANCHESTER

No. 1 Committee Room,  
Houldsworth Hall, Deansgate.  
Friday, 15th Aug. at 7.15 p.m.  
Mat Kavanagh on  
Nationalisation & the Worker

Open Air Meeting, Platt Fields,  
Sunday, 17th Aug. at 7.30 p.m.  
Enquiries to S. L. Flackett, 28, Braemar  
Avenue, Stratford, Nr. Manchester

### CHORLEY

Public Meeting at  
Oddfellows Rooms, 9, Cunliffe Street,  
Tuesday, Aug. 19th at 7.30 p.m.  
Mat Kavanagh on Why Vote?  
Enquiries: Chorley Area Group  
11, Ribblesdale Place

### LIVERPOOL

Coopers Hall, Shaw Street,  
Liverpool 6  
Sunday, 24th Aug. at 7 p.m.  
Mat Kavanagh on Why Vote?

### BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP

Regular fortnightly public discussion  
meetings are held on Sundays at 7 p.m.  
at Dick Sheppard House,  
36 Holloway Head.  
Next Meeting—August 10th

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