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Twopence

Reaction Brought Up-to-Date

Comments on the Conservative Conference

THE subject-matter of the Tory Conference at Brighton was the the development of a programme with sufficient appeal to the electorate to secure the ousting of the Labour Party at the next General Election. As such it can have very little interest to those who seek the abolition of the State and the wages system, and it will

therefore not be necessary to go into any details of the business.

What does interest us very much, however, is the evolution of new methods in the technique of mass deception which is the first pre-requisite of any organization which aspires to wield power over the workers. Not that one envisages the Tory leaders as conscious and diabolical deceptionists deliberately thinking out a code for hoodwinkers; they are, doubtless, every bit as sincere as their Labour counterparts. And, like them, the evolution of their Party policy is chiefly a matter of adapting it to practical issues of the day, of making it more in line with the needs of the time.

What, however, does this mysterious phrase "the needs of the time" mean? In a leading article in the last issue of Freedom certain aspects of Labour policy, notably, the direction of labour, were shown to be framed less by the principles of Socialism than by the seemingly inevitable development of a State Capitalist mode of economy. The Tory Conference at Brighton showed that the same trend bears on Conservative policy with a similarly resistless power.

ECLIPSE OF THE **DIEHARDS**

All the political commentators have noted the "progressive" character of the conference, meaning by this that the old type of Tory is giving place to men whose espousal of reactionary ideas is less openly wholehearted. Thus the Executive was considerably embarrassed by certain speakers who advocated an almost explicit anti-Semitism under the guise of anti-foreign and anti-Communist opinion, and received not inconsiderable applause from some quarters. But more tactful speakers from the higher reaches of the Party contrived to put matters in a rather less unattractive light.

Again, Sir Waldron Smithers has been made the Aunt Sally for a good many gibes. merely put forward the traditional ideas of Conservatism untinged by any "progressive" fancy dress-and was overwhelmed by the younger leaders of the type of R. A. Butler. To us there seems no question that the reaction speaks openly through men like Sir Waldron Smithers, while it clothes itself in deceptive phrases in the mouths of the "modern" Tories. Straightforward reaction is far preferable—and far less in-sidiously dangerous—than the more practical reactionary who knows how to suit his policy to the "needs of the time". These latter know when to sacrifice the indefensible outposts of Conservatism in order to preserve the citadel of reaction; to sacrifice the part to preserve the whole. Labour leaders like whole. Cripps show a similar elastic adroitness. The master opportunist in this line of business was Lenin. Hitler was good at it,

CONCESSIONS TO SOCIALISM

The clearest manifestation of this process of bringing Conservatism up-to-date was the wholehearted acceptance of the "Industrial Charter". The conference thereby committed the Tory Party to maintain certain measures brought in by Labour, notably the nationalisation of the Bank of England and of the mines, despite the fact that they were bitterly criticized by conservatives when first proposed and carried through. .

Practical men among the Tory leaders, like Anthony Eden and R. A. Butler, recognize such measures as inevitable and necessary in the world economy of today. Their acceptance by the Tories shows that they are not a product of socialist theory as the Labour leaders contended when they were first brought in; instead they are simply necessary measures for the smooth introduction of the State Capitalist economy which is the social framework of contemporary history.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

Anarchism teaches that government itself it evil because it deprives the individuals who compose society of all responsibility for the management of their common affairs. If this view is accepted it immediately obliterates the differences between the politicians of the Right and of the Left—for it is not how they rule that matters, but the fact that they rule at all. Of course acceptance of this

FRENCH BREAD RATION NEVER SO LOW

The conditions of French workers are deteriorating at an amazing speed and one cannot help being struck by the acute feeling of insecurity looming over the great majority of French people to-day. The fantastic rise in prices has come as a hard blow after government promises, a few months ago, that prices would be frozen and even decreased. The daily bread ration is down to 200 gr. (just over oz.) and French people remark bitterly that even under German occupation it was never lower than 250 gr. The bread is moreover yellow in colour, containing a lot of maize and is not easy to eat. Milk is practically unobtainable even for people with doctors' certificates or mothers with small babies. Ration tickets are often not small babies. Ration testers are orien not honoured, particularly for fats; meat is unrationed but costs about 8/- a pound, ham 10/- a pound, liver 18/- a pound. Coffee costs twenty shillings a pound in the black market.

Anarchist point of view depends on how one regards the relationship of the individual to society, and how one estimates the potentialities of individuals. But it is a suggestive pointer con-firming the anarchist position to find that the policies of "Left" and "Right" also converge so strikingly under the pressure of developing State Capitalism, to the point of virtual identity. Labour "betrays" socialism be-cause of the "needs of the time"; and the Tories "betray" con-servatism under the same impetus. It is not surprising that the needs of the time often produce coalition governments of "all the talents" when the dividing line between them is so tenuous. The times are indeed propitious for the setting up of a single party as under the totalitarian regimes. General de Gaulle is openly demanding a single party government to suppress the struggle between parties in France.

British Democracy may as usual prove more subtle and preserve a two party system, both however having the same programme! Such an outfit would provide a traditionally perfidious cover for the advancing totalitarianism of the twentieth century.

IN 1943, the stinking corpse of the Comintern, with its long record of betraval of the workers and service of Russian foreign policy in all parts of the world, was buried with great ceremony, as a magnanimous gesture on the part of Stalin to his new friends, Churchill and Roosevelt.

Of course, the decision did not mean a great deal. The Comintern policy had served its turn, and now the Russian government, assured of the temporary co-operation of its capitalist allies, could well afford to throw overboard this temporarily useless piece of machinery, particularly as the various national parties were already well disciplined enough to carry out Soviet orders with any international organisation.

The Communist parties thereafter served Soviet interests by supporting the various capitalist interests and entrenching themselves as strongly as possible in resistance movements, trade unions, and all kinds of labour movements, so that when the time of need arose they would hold as many keys as possible.

The situation has since changed. The common interests of Anglo-American capitalism and Soviet authoritarianism have dwindled away, and their imperialist interests clash at a dozen points in the world, from Germany round to Korea. Soviet policy has changed, and the policy of the Communist parties changes

with it. For some time it has been clear that a return to a pseudorevolutionary policy was imminent, in an attempt to use the workers of Western Europe, Asia and America as cats' paws in the imperialist

That phase has now been officially declared open, by the formation of a new Communist International, at present only consisting of the parties in countries where Communist influence is strong. Denunciations have been made of the Western demo-cracies and of the right-wing Socialists. The talk of popular fronts is dropped, and we are back where we were in the early 1930's, back to the old phase of "Social Fascism" which preceded the campaigns for "United Fronts" with the Socialists and the later participation in coalition governments.

It is clear, from the present international situation and the past record of the Communists, that this new adventure is nothing more nor less than an attempt to utilise workingclass feeling for furthering the ends of Russsian imperialism.

Once again, the workers will have to be on their guard not to play into the hands of the Communists not to allow their genuine rebellions against the capitalist governments be used by the Communists for their own ends. The Communist spokesmen will once again talk revolution while it suits them; they will cynically make use of every working-class movement they can dominate for their own ends, but they will certainly contribute nothing to any genuinely revolutionary

The workers should remember how they were betrayed by the Communists in factories and workshops during the war, how for their own ends the Stalinists were ready to ally themselves first with the Nazis and then with the capitalist democracies. The new Comintern is merely another of these manoeuvres. It will certainly destroy any genuine revolutionary movement that comes under its sway; the workers can protect themselves only by making their own organisations which are free alike from Trade Union bosses and Communist stool pigeons, and by refusing consistently to be used as the tools for Russsian or American foreign policy.

CABINET THE **CHANGES**

After months of rumour, the Cabinet changes have at last taken place, and, while we are under no illusion that any alteration in the composition or political flavour of the Government will lead to advantage for the workers or will halt the speeding progress towards dictatorship and increased want for the masses, there are certain imporant tendencies revealed

The first is the emergence of "strong men" in the key positions, and particularly of Cripps as "Economic Dictator". As is pointed out elsewhere in Freedom, Cripps is the man who, more than any other of the Labour leaders, has con-tended that the workers are incapable of managing industry. His advent to a position of almost absolute power in industrial affairs means a consolidation of managerial power, the advent of technocrats and "experts" to increased authority, and strengthening of the old capitalism industrial ruling class as part of the industrial ruling class as part of the "Labour" autocracy, as has already happened in the case of the mines.

The second is the increasing upper middle-class composition of the Cabinet, Now, no less than six out of the eighteen members of the Cabinet are old public school boys, which means that they from the more select stratum of the old capitalist ruling class, trained in institucapitalist ruling class, balled in historic tions which have the avowed object of turning out young men who will be able to wield authority over the "lower orders". This move undoubtedly is an attempt on the part of the Labour Government try and regain the support of the middle class in the next election, and to counter the clearly increased influence of the Tories in those marginal constituencies where a middle class vote assured the Labour parliamentary majority.

But Attlee and Morrison are not neglecting their old centres of support entirely. The three Co-operative members of the Government, who have shown an ineptitude unusual among even ministers, still remain in their positions. The "Left" of the Labour Party is thrown a sop by the retention of Bevan and the elevation of G. R. Strauss to Cabinet rank.

In other words, the new changes show

two tendencies, firstly, the emergence of ruthless authorarians to key positions, and secondly, a preparation for the next sections by trying to placate as many sections of the Party's supporters as possible at the same time. The net result of it all is that the power rests more for all that the power less more group fo four or five men, such as Attlee, Cripps, Bevin and Morrison, while the lesser members of the Government become more than ever puppets to be moved about for the entertainment and misleading of the election public. The real decisions are made by the tiny group of key ministers and the civil service and industrial bureaucracy who control the ministries behind the backs of the politicians whose photographs appear in the newspapers, in nicely domestic attitudes calculated to please the readers of the Daily Herald.

NATIVE **IMPERIALISM** INDIA

The Indian Native States, it is true, are islands of mediaeval autocracy, where a small ruling class of the richest men in the world live in luxury at the expense of the poverty-stricken masses of their people. But there is no real evidence that the Nehru government, for instance wishes to change that. There is no suggestion that the rulers will be deprived of their riches or the major part of their privileges. It is their inclusion within the new empire, as collaborators, that is

This is shown clearly in the attitude of the Nehru government towards Junagadh. If the Congress leaders were really concerned with the happiness of the people of this little principality, they would call on them to resist their ruler

The character of the new regimes which have arisen in India and Pakistan is shown very clearly in the rush to take over as many of the Native States as possible.

and would set out a programme of free-dom from autocracy. Instead, their objection is not to the autocracy of the ruling prince, but to the fact that he wishes to they try to solve the matter by a show of military force which reminds on of the British in the pearly days of their rule in India, and which is certainly a

rule in India, and which is certainly a strange culmination to the passive resistance that was once the cherished programme of Congress.

Furthermore, while the Congress leaders object to the ruler of Junagadh adhering to Pakistan, they show their insincerity by not attempting to dissuade the Hindu ruler of Kashmir from attempting to carry out his plans to put a Moslem majority under Hindu rule.

These incidents of power-grabbing and scuffling to get the largest slices of territory reveal the imperialist potentionalities of the new set-up in India. Nehru and his associates are following in the true path of Clive and Wellesley.

THE PALESTINE COLLECTIVES

Demonstration of some Libertarian Principles

THE Jewish agricultural collective settlements in Palestine have for many years now been carrying on with success a kind of communal organisation which is of great interest to all those who are concerned with the practical application of libertarian principles, and we can therefore welcome a new book by Maurice Pearlman, Adventure in the Sun (Gollancz, 7/6), which gives a more detailed and comprehensive account of the collective settlements than has hitherto been available.

First of all, it must be pointed out that the Palestine collectives do not claim to be anarchist communes; their political interests are linked up with one or other of the various labour and socialist parties of the country, and there are certain internal features of many of the communes which would not consistently fit into a really anarchistic pattern. Nevertheless, their great value lies in the fact that they have demonstrated conclusively the practicability of certain principles they share with the anarchists. They have shown that a society can be run without money, on the basis of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"; they have eliminated a privileged class; they have abolished family tyranny and inequality of the sexes within their own boundaries; they have proved that men will work even harder with a motive of social usefulness than with the motive of individual profit. We certainly cannot afford to ignore a movement which in so many ways has vindicated the contentions the anarchists have for long been putting forward.

The Palestine collective movement is much larger than most people imagine. There are two types of settlement—the collective proper, and the co-operative settlement, where the workers have their individual plots, which they work without hired labour, and sell their goods through co-operative agencies. Together, these two types of organisation cover about a quarter of the agricultural production of

Aims of Collectives

The collectives proper, with which we are concerned in this article, are about 160 in number, with a total of 45,000 members, but the number of settlements and members alike are increasing at a steady rate. It will thus be seen that their experiment is no cranky venture by a few fanatics; most of their members are ordinary Jewish workers and intellectuals whose main concern is to find the best practical way of building a sound society in which the Jews will not be divorced from the bases of productive work as they are in the majority of countries.

As to the internal structure of the communes, they are run on a completely collective basis, with no money and no private property in anything but a few personal articles. Pearlman tells us, with much supporting evidence, that:

"In them the basic principle 'from each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs', is worked out practically in an all-comprehensive communal life. Members give their labour to the common stock, receiving the satisfaction of their primary wants, food, clothes and shelter, and certain other wants, from the settlement. They share in all but their purely personal activities with the community.

"There is no private property. Tenancy of the land and ownership of the settlement's property are collective. Members thus own nothing. But, being partners in the community, they have a right to everything. There is no money in circulation within the settlement; there is no need, since a member, by virtue of membership, is granted his principal needs. Money is used only in economic relations with bodies or persons outside the settle-

Communal storehouses are established from which members can obtain anything they want-no rationing system is usually adopted, and members are trusted to demand only what they really need. At one time some of the settlements went

even clothes, but it was found that this led to considerable difficulties, and it has since been generally agreed that the individual members should keep the clothes and any other objects which they use in personal life-such as musical instruments, books, pictures, etc.

No Privileges

There is no kind of economic privilege in the settlements, since nobody is paid and everybody has the same rights to satisfy his needs. Nor is there any other kind of privilege. Generally speaking, all workers do their turns in the fields, except when some specialist may be of much greater use to the collective by working full-time at his particular branch, but this rarely happens. As far as possible, men and women do equal work, and the women are relieved from family responsibilities and allowed to take an equal part in the communal work by the fact that the collective nursery undertakes the complete care of the children. The old problem of "unpleasant work" has also been solved by the introduction of rota systems by which every member of the collectives takes his turn as lavatory cleaner or dish-washer. major affairs of the collectives are decided by General Assemblies at which every member attends and takes his part in the discussion, if he so desires. Administration is vested in a secretary, treasury and executive committee, but none of these members are usually exempted completely from their share of hard work, the nature of community

economy prevents them from having any financial privilege, and it is the general custom for none of officers or members to hold their positions for more than two years at a time. They can also be recalled by the General

Separate committees are also elected to deal with various branches of settlement

"Most settlements thus have committees governing labour, financial affairs, defence, personal needs of members, cultural activities and adult education, children's education, entertainment and health. Where there is deadlock over some issue within a committee the matter is referred back to the General Assembly.'

One point on which Mr. Pearlman is not wholly clear is in regard to the actual power vested in these committees; for instance, he seems to suggest that the committee dealing with the allocation of labour exercises potentially dictatorial powers; on the other hand, in practice it is likely, since there is no serious dissensions within collectives on such matters, that in fact its work is usually done in spirit of arrangement rather than direction.

There are many further interesting lectives, but there is little space to deail

Achievements

They first began thirty-seven years ago,

Starting from poor beginnings, they have managed to give their members a standard of living which is in most cases very much higher than that of farm workers anywhere else in the world; their care of the children has been always extremely efficient, and they have given great attention to cultural development and the provision of adequate leisure activities, so that their farm workers have the opportunities in these directions which are usually available only to dwellers in large cities. Lastly, they have never failed to share their advantages with their neighbours; many Arab villages have benefitted from the irrigation, the tractors, the technical, veterinary and medical advice of community members. It has been the case that in areas where Jewish collectives exist Arab standards of farming and health have shown a steady improve-

The Jewish collectives are well worth

G.W.

details of organisation among the colthem at present, and the interested reader will find plenty to satisfy him in Pearlman's book. But some final remarks should be made on the actual work and achievements of these settlements.

under the Turkish Empire. The early settlers had to face considerable local hostility, and ever since they have been subjected to attacks from Arabs who were the dupes of nationalist politicians. But, in spite of all this, they have continued to survive and expand steadily; many of the former desert lands of Palestine have been rendered fertile by their introduction of irrigation, and they have contributed very much to agricultural and horticultural research in Palestine.

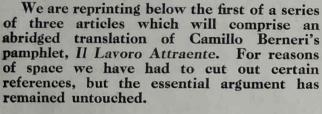
attention, as organisations which have solved modern economic problems much more efficiently than either state socialism or private capitalism, by the use of generally libertarian principles and cutting out centralisation and the wholly discredited "profit motive".

ANARCHISM -Interpretations

We maintain that the State organization, having been the force to which the minorities resorted for establishing and organizing their power over the masses, cannot be the force which will serve to destroy their privileges. The lessons of history tell us that a new form of economic life always calls forth a new form of political organization and a Socialist society (whether Communist or Collectivist) cannot be an exception to this rule . . . Consequently, the chief aim of Anarchism is to awaken those constructive powers of the labouring masses of the people which at all great moments of history came forward to accomplish the necessary changes, and which, aided by the now accumulated knowledge, will accomplish that change that is called forth by all the best men of our time.

KROPOTKIN.

THE PROBLEM OF WOR



ON the eve of social upheavals, with state socialism, authoritarian communism and economic oversimplification on every hand, it should be the anarchists' specific task to define the problem of work in clear and concrete terms; this, like every other social problem, must be brought up-to-date, in line with technical development and new economic physiological and psychological knowledge, as well as with the problems always arising out of the various tendencies within the ranks of the industrial proletariat.

While keeping to its broad aims and final objective, Anarchism must define the means and methods of its future as a new order. What activity is more universal than work? What problem is vaster and more intermingled with other problems than that of work? Economic, physiological and psychological laws, as well as practically all society and nearly the whole of man's life are involved in this activity, which to-day is still life are involved in this activity, which to-day is still a painful drudgery, but which tomorrow will become the supreme human dignity. The essay which follows is a kind of introduction to the theme of "Attractive Work", to which I should like to see the attention drawn of all "The monkey is a very intelligent animal, and could talk those who could contribute ideas, personal experience and if it worked to: if it does not that is because it does not those who could contribute ideas, personal experience and if it wanted to; if it does not, that is because it does not particular technical knowledge. An expert would have want to be forced to work"—was merely expressing the done more and better; but as the experts are usually attitude of the worker to servile labour. disinclined to part with their acquired knowledge, it falls to others to raise these questions and place them before our comrades.

We shall have made a stride forward if, at our meetings and in the press, we are able to analyse the question of free and attractive work, the more so as this problem involves many others and is, by its very nature, likely to recall interesting experiences and to suggest constructive schemes .

Workers As Slaves

flame of his forge. His hands were soiled and he was as dirty as a crocodile.

"The various workers who handle the chisel-do they

"The stone-cutter breaks the hardest stones. When return to the yard at sunrise though his knees and back be breaking.

of bread he must run from house to house in search

"Why such toil hardly to fill one's belly?

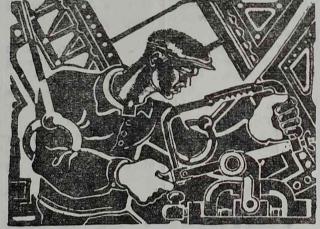
"And the dyer of cloths? His hands stink; they smell of putrid fish. His eyes droop with sleep, but his hands never rest from preparing finely-coloured robes. He hates cloth, every kind of cloth.

"The cobbler is very unhappy, and is always com-plaining he has nothing to chew but his leather.

"They work, they all work-but it is as with honey, the gatherer alone eats it."

This poem, which dates from the 14th century before Christ and describes workers' conditions in the reign of

By Camillo Berneri



religious dogma which holds that work is a consequence

Ancient mythologies depict the tiller of the soil as a reprobate paying for his sins of rebellion: Adam, progenitor of the human race, is the angel fallen from the heaven of idleness to the hell of work.

Christian Conception of Work

According to Christian ethics, work is imposed by God on Man as a penance consequent on the Original Sin. Ancient and Mediaeval Catholicism glorified work mostly as an expiation of sin. The Reformation, too, considered work as "remedium peccati" although Luther and Calvin weight." "I have seen the blacksmith at work before the open went further than St. Thomas by forecasting the modern the more notable thinkers of the Renaissance.

Bourgeois moralism transferred the principle of work enjoy more respose than the peasant? Their field is as a duty to the field of civil morals, and invented a the wood they carve, and they work well after the mystique whereby the exploited serf was placed on a day is ended and even at night if there is light in monument as "knight of labour", "faithful servant", 'model worker", and so on.

The stone-cutter breaks the hardest stones. When he has finished carrying out the orders received and his hands are tired, can he take a rest? He must return to the vard at sunrise though his knees and peasant, were responsible for their lack of deep awareness "The barber works far into the night. For a mouthful personality. Emile Zola in Travail paints a true and bread he must run from house to house in search convincing picture of the type of dull-witted worker who thinks of his convincing picture. who thinks of his master as an indispensible provider of work and serves him with doglike fidelity, who shuns the struggles for emancipation, who regards new discoveries with hostility, and accepts the slavery of work with a fatalistic passivity which soon degenerates into a form of masochism.

Revolt Against Serfdom

The advent of socialist literature, pitying and indignant, finally brought the proletariat to a realization of its own The development of industrialism has been described in sombre colours by those who have examined it from the point of view of Man, not the Money-box. Rameses II of Egypt, expresses a lament which continues Heine, in What is Germany? speaks of England as "an throughout the centuries. In the slave societies, it is pain men like machines." Marx and Engels speak of the lives and suffering. The repugnance which the shepherd, turned of the workers in their time as a "living hell" and the peasant and artisan, has for work, is reflected in the latter depicted the industrial capitalist as a feudalist, and

the factory as a gaol:—"The slavery which the bourgeoisie have imposed on the proletariat is clearly visible in the factory system. Here all liberty is forfeited, de jure and de facto. The operative must be at his workshop at dawn; if he is two minutes late he runs the risk of losing his day's pay. He must eat, read and sleep to order. The despotic bell breaks into his slumbers and interrupts

Not only Marx and Engels but also Lassalle, Lafargue and other Socialist writers rise up against this industrial slavery, which they denounce not only as a method of social exploitation, but as a system for the degradation of man. Engels, in his book on the Cosition of the Working Classes in England and Paul Lafargue in his Property, its origin and evolution, both illustrate the brutishness to which extreme specialisation of work leads.

Bakunin and other anarchist writers took up and further developed this criticism. Peter Kropotkin proclaimed: - "The division of work means man classified, stamped and labelled for the rest of his life, making knots in some material, or driving a truck at the minehead, without any general idea of the significance of machine, industry or mine and thereby losing all taste for work and the capacity for inventiveness which had, the inception of modern industrialism, created the of, and a penance for, an error committed by the first mechanical devices on which we are so fond of priding

> The time when the working day was thirteen hours long, and even sixteen or seventeen hours, has passed; but the monstrous workshops which run on the so-called rationalisation of work' method are still with us, as shown, for example, by Egon Erwin Kisch, who describes, in American Paradise, workers' conditions in Ford's

Physiological and Psychological Troubles

The modern factory worker wears out his brain and nervous system. Boredom, on the other hand, is the inevitable result of automatic work. Tarde, discussing the pathological effects of boredom, asserts that it causes 'irregularities of circulation and nutrition, sensibility to cold, diminishing of muscular tone, loss of appetite and

Dr. P. Janet in his book on neurosis quotes the case conception of the dignity of work, an idea sketched by of a girl doing a monotonous job, who, to avoid boredom, was in the habit of giving rapid glances out of the window into the road on her left. She slowly developed a nervous twitch which made her jerk her head incessantly to the left. The same doctor tells of another girl who was obliged to work far into the night, and, fighting against boredom and sleep, she soon developed a rhythmical 'chorea' (involuntary nervous movement) in which she would turn her right wrist and move her right foot regularly up and down. These movements, performed in a state of somnambulism and accompanied by the words "I must work" spoken out loud, were those of her occupation. She made dolls' eyes and had to operate a lathe, pedalling with the right foot and working a flywheel with the right hand. I myself, watching typists at work, have noticed that several of them were victims of a nervous twitch obviously connected with weariness and boredom.

> The attitude of people to work has been the object of special research. The widespread aversion of the operatives for their occupation, if a monotonous one, is plain from workers' autobiographies collected by Adolf Levenstein (Berlin, 1909). A weaver and a metal worker both express a real loathing for their work. In another investigation carried out by the same author (Munich, 1912) the repugnance of the workers for their jobs is even more evident. A mechanic writes:—"The moment the bell sounds, I dash like a madman to the doors leading out of the factory." A lathe-machinist: - "Work is ended for the day. I feel an inward uplift and relaxation and would like to shout for joy." Another says—"I force

(Continued on page 8)

Dictator of Industry UNREST IN FRANCE By a French Correspondent. Produced in England and America. And

the Government Cabinet, and a new office has been created for Sir Stafford Cripps. The office is that of Minister for Economic Affairs. Once again we have the emphasis on economics. Surely the plight of the politicians continually compelled to stress the dominant role of economic affairs should be having a certain effect on the longsuffering workers in industry. For the last two years we have been continually reminded that we are facing difficulties caused by economic affairs. Of course, we can take into account the fact that political mistakes and blunders are required to be explained away somehow, but this explaining away of mistakes is not the only reason for the many references to economic questions. The crisis conditions of to-day are primarily caused by economic dislocation accentuated by the disastrous war. The politicians profess themselves beyond blame for the crisis conditions of to-day. But what are the people to think of these innocent pious politicians who wish now to disclaim responsibility, when we remember only too well that they all shared full responsibility for the war plans, and all were shouting vigorously for a "full war" and "no surrender" a little more than two years ago. Had they the slightest appreciation of the terrible consequences that would result from the systematic destruction of the warring countries' economy? Did they explain to the people in July, 1945, that the only kind of government they offered would be one that would make life more difficult and less tolerable, and that would emulate many of the things by which fascism had become infamous?

The Great Leader

The newspapers now refer to Sir Stafford Cripps as the "economic dictator". Apparently, too, he has no doubts about his own ability to manage industry, although he has stated that the workers are not capable of controlling industry. It is interesting to note how attention is directed to the individual and to the wide powers of the new Ministry. Six years of war did not destroy the conception of great leaders. Those who combatted the idea of any great man leading a people as irrational, illogical and reactionary, now try to pretend that they have the material to make the great man theory work in pratice.

This new dictator of industry in "socialist" Britain, ensconced in his palace, will be able to survey, investigate, plan, direct and generally control the thousands of different industries, observing the bottle-necks, the gaps, the hold-ups, and all the other peculiarities of industry. Ordinary people find it quite enough to understand the intricacies of one industry, but not so the politician; he is ready to take on thousands at a time, and issue directions and orders affecting every one of them and every worker in them. I once knew a manager of an establishment where hundred workers were employed; this manager one day suggested to a worker that he would welcome some news from the workshops as he realised that many things that went on there were unknown to him. then, we must admit that the T.U.C. General Council have signified their readiness to co-operate. As is usual nowadays with all this belief in totalitarian trade-unionism, the General Council speak in the name of the workers and commit them to all manner of things without the workers knowing anything about the racket. Already, is airy talk about concentration of industry, involving the closing down of many firms. The workers who become redundant will then have to face the directives of the dietator of labour.

More Austerity

The trade-union bureaucracies can be depended on to use their powers to bludgeon the still largely apathetic workers into suffering further inconveniences to meet the desires of the "economic dictator". Efforts will be made to develop production committees for the purpose of speeding-up jobs, securing economies (at the expense of the worker) and generally cheapening production by increasing the amount of Marxian surplus-value, all in the name of "Socialism". But it is a form of socialism that is being increasingly exposed. It is not the socialism that the workers understand and desire. Socialism was understood (if vaguely) by the workers to mean economic security, better wages, a higher standard of living, more leisure and the means to

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enjoy a fuller life. They are aware that they are not getting these things; on the contrary, they get more and more austerity, and are told to work harder and yet harder. These very people who in times of Tory rule asserted that there was no need to suffer poverty anywhere, because the productive capacity of agriculture and industry was far more than sufficient to satisfy the needs of everyone, now wish the people to forget.

It is obvious that there is a glaring contradiction in the exhortations to a "work or want" policy. The contra-diction lies in the fact that the Government dictators desire to cheapen and increase production, not to satisfy the needs of the people but to strengthen its struggle for power, which it is waging against the governments of other countries. As has been already pointed out in the columns of Freedom, all countries are similarly doing their best to gain positions of power or to ally themselves with the more powerful. Capitalist economic competition has always been held to be the direct cause of war by those who professed to be socialists or communists. But now they are all together in the policy of statecapitalist-cum-private-capitalist Britain intensifying her economic competition for world markets. Economic com-petition, political wrangling, then military action, this is the policy that the workers are asked to accept all over

Already there is enough wealth and energy being wasted on military organisations under the control of Britain to materially improve the life of the British people. There is tremendous economic waste occurring because the struggle for power as a policy is preventing the economic reorganisation of countries like Germany and Italy. Not only is there the most deplorable human suffering (and let us hope here that at some future time we are not all held responsible for our rulers, as our rulers hold the German people responsible for Hitler) but there is a most tragic destruction of economic productiveness that we could utilise, as well as the German people.

Drags on Progress

At least there is this to be said for the economic crisis; it is concentrating attention on the greater importance of economic affairs in society, in contrast to political affairs. The politician elected to govern by reason of his political allegiances, now tries to become an economic planner. But it just

will not work. The necessity to maintain vast military commitments involved in the state system of society; the huge bureaucracies inherent in political control of economic matters, and the complete inability of a centralised authority to run industry efficiently, are factors which prevent the economic progress necessary.

The workers are receiving their social and political education the hard way. They are learning to detect the real "spivs and drones", those who toil not neither do they spin in an economic sense, but they take a very good share from the pool by reason of their political power or connections with that

The worker will eventually realise that the greater part of the wealth he produces is taken from him by others. Dividends and profits are calculated to take a third, another third is wasted in authoritarian control and the worker is heavily taxed on the remainder. If the worker is to get the maximum of the wealth he produces, he must organise workers' control of industry, where the men who do the work will plan for it and control it and instead of austerity under an "economic dictator", we could have plenty, through economic cooperation and co-ordination with peoples everywhere.

C. W. ROOKE.

Refusing Overtime an Offence!

The Sunderland reinstatement committee has recently reached a decision which will undoubtedly assist the Labour Government in their new drive to get the most out of the workers, and will also prove a new threat against what little freedom remains in industry to-day.

A labourer in a Sunderland factory was sacked for refusing to work overtime. He brought his case before the reinstatement committee, but, having been told that overtime was an accepted practice at the foundry where he worked, they decided that to refuse overtime constituted "industrial misconduct", for which a man could legitimately be sacked.

This, of course, makes nonsense of the industrial freedom for which the Labour movement long pretended to fight, and shows the way in which every means is now being taken to further chain the worker down to the grindstone of industrial tyranny.

Strikes are taking place all over France. Some are inspired by purely political motives such as the strike in Nancy where six thousand workers walked out in protest against the use by the police of tear gas at demonstrations against the transport of sugar to Germany.

The strike in the tobacco and match factories as well as the unrest amongst railwaymen are caused, however, economic reasons. The cost of living has gone up, according to official statistics, by 8.3 per cent. during the month of September alone, rents are also going to be sensibly increased, yet the 11 per cent. rise in wages agreed by employers and the C.G.T. on August 1st, has not yet come into effect.

The electricity cuts two days a week add to the hardships and also mean that many factories have to close down two days a week.

Results of Nationalisation

Unemployment is still practically nonexistent but the position of workers in nationalised factories, many of whom are sacking a great number of workers, is particularly serious. When they lose their jobs workers are directed to other factories; sometimes they have hours of travelling away from their homes, and the housing shortage is such that there is no possibility for them to change their residence.

The situation is particularly bad in the nationalised factories devoted to aircraft production. All aircraft production is nationalised in four big trusts, SNCASO, CNCAN, SNCASE, SNCAC, dividing France in four geographical groups.

The conditions in a factory in the Seine-et-Oise belonging to the SNCAN, which is, like the three other trusts, in deficit, is typical. It employed during the German occupation 3,000 workers and is now left with only 1,600. During this last year 1,000 workers have been dismissed. This factory has been assembling tourist planes with a view partly to export, partly to national defense as the models produced could be transformed into fighter planes.

After two years of "planified" and nationalised regime this factory has been obliged to give up the production of airplanes and is now to devote itself to that of electric cookers with the prospect of having to close down altogether in the next spring.

This situation has been created by the fact that the Government ordered a quantity of planes for which it was not able to pay and those manufactured for export were turned out at a much higher price than those of the same type being to complete this nonsensical position the French Air Ministry recently ordered planes from England.

The reasons for the high cost of production and the poor quality of the aircraft turned out is to be found in the lack of autonomy and the bureaucratization of the aircraft industry. The factory management are obliged to follow the orders of the Air Ministry even when they go against their technical experience. They are forced to use materials ordered by the Ministry in Paris, which are not suitable for the type of planes they were ordered to produce. To quote an example amongst many, which, though it may seem trivial, has caused considerable delays and has been the cause of great exasperation in the factory mentioned above; the factory received a supply of undercarriages which are needed to be operated with fluid oil, but the Air Ministry had ordered viscous oil, with the result that planes always had trouble when they landed. Such mistakes could easily be avoided had the factory the power to place its own orders.

Political parties try to find scapegoats to justify this state of affairs. Right wing newspapers put the blame on the management when in fact they worked fairly efficiently considering that they were handicapped by the lack of freedom and The Communists talk of sabotage on the part of non-nationalised factories, accusing them of not sending the right supplies to the nationalised factories. But this explanation is not backed by facts.

The workers in the factories do not need to look for sabotage to find the causes of the trouble. They know that bureaucratic control and inept planning are the causes of the trouble. If they were allowed to organise production themselves the chaos created by remote control would soon disappear.

Another cause for resentment against nationalisation is that nationalised factories pay lower wages than privately-owned factories. While in aircraft factories a tool-maker earns 72 francs per hour, in a Ford factory he would earn 110 francs; an unskilled worker earns 37 francs per hour in the first and 55 francs in the second.

Nationalisation has been a failure and even the Communists do not dare to advocate it any longer. The dismal failure of the aircraft industry has lost them many supporters who remember that Communists represented nationalisation as a universal panacea and who hold the Communist Tillon, who was Minister of Air, responsible for much of the present

Land notes

NEW LIFE TO THE LAND?

DURING the past month The Land (note capital letters) has recovered some of the news value that it had during the war years. Reluctantly, belatedly and with obvious irritation, the Government has decided that this country must after all become very much more selfsupporting in food. It is also grudgingly admitted that this is not only desirable but possible, a fact which was previously refused recognition in "official circles" as well as by that useful abstraction known as public opinion. Along with, and following on, the Government announcement of its plan for increased production there seems to have occurred a certain mild curiosity amongst some urban people about what really goes on in that queer, and often, picturesque world that one can see from the windows of railway trains while travelling from one town to another. What is it like, this life on the land, people inquire with a rather shame-faced and guilty air. "I am afraid I really know nothing about the land but I feel that I 'ought' to." Then is apt to follow a string of questions displaying a naivety and ignorance that makes one almost squirm with embarrassment. Unable to think of what to say, or rather how to say it, one mutters incoherently, smiles self-consciously and tries with all the mental ingenuity one can muster to steer off the subject as quickly as possible. Often it almost feels as if one were being asked questions about life in Polynesia.

The Root of all Evil

It is also difficult to write regularly about farming from an anarchist viewpoint without endless repetition, thereby being a bore to oneself as well as to such people as may read the stuff one writes. This repetition, this awareness that "I have said it all before, said it all," is brought about largely by the fact that all the evils, all the absurdities that one points out, all one's analyses of existing conditions, as well as well-intentioned peoples' pro-posals for removing them, all come back almost every time to the same root cause -the production of food, as of every other commodity, for profit and not, primarily, for use. In the final analysis it comes to just that. If one accepts the profit motive, modify it how you will, all the rest follows. This is not an over-simplification; it is just a fact. And so

elucidate, the current happenings in the farming world, one feels that it is all rather irrelevant and unimportant because all these things are the inevitable and, for the most part, quite logical outcome of our system of monetary values.

It is just stupid for "progressiveminded" persons, who take a "humane" capitalism as in the natural order of things (as if any form of capitalism could be "humane" if the word is to have any meaning at all), it is just stupid for such people to write indignant letters to the Press about crops being ploughed in and whatnot or even about restrictive policies in agriculture. Such action on the part of producers, if it is not more profitable or cuts losses, is obviously the right course to take—if one accepts (and how many in actual fact do not) the profit

The Futility of "Planning"

Ironically enough, the attempt to modify the more glaring injustices and absurdities of the profit system by "planning" only results, for the most part, in even greater chaos largely because the persons responsible for the "planning" pardon the inverted commas) are almost always quite divorced from what they plan about. Left to itself the "law" of supply and demand does, or at any rate did, tend to produce some sort of equilibrium. Attempts at compromise (i.e., State socialism) only aggravate the evil.

Moreover, as far as farming is concerned anyhow, the increase amongst the younger generation of farmers of the acceptance of the capitalist ideology of profit as the sole criterion of good farming can be, and often is, disastrous to the land from which the profit is made. A farm is not simply a food factory and never can be. Among the old men, the older farmers and their workers that is, profit was not the sole criterion of suc-Hard task-masters though they often were, these farmers had a feeling of responsibility to the land they farmed and there were certain things, like, say, the burning of straw, which they would never for a moment consider even though, on a short term view, it might be more profitable to do so. But with the increasing acceptance of profit as the practical manifestation of "efficient" farming, the restraining influence exercised by the old tradition of always doing the land well, and never exploiting it, is fast lapsing. In brief, planned capitalism, what is usually called socialism, with its emphasis on "efficiency" (which in actual fact in existing society becomes synonomous with profit) is, in farming anyway, in some respects a greater evil than the old laissezfaire capitalism, prevented as it was, from reaching its logical conclusion by longestablished custom.

Tampering with capitalism, supposedly alleviating its more obvious anomalies, which is the avowed purpose of socialism, only tends in the long run to make them worse. I must repeat, however tedious it may seem; either you accept the profit system or you don't. There are no satisfactory compromises and all attempts to achieve them are doomed to frustration and are so much wasted energy.

That really has been, and I am afraid,

dear reader, will probably continue to be, the constant, underlying theme-song of these Land Notes, with, of course, variations on the same theme according to the occasion. If you find such a prospect dull—well, frankly, so do I sometimes. But there it is.

Labour Shortage?

Speaking of anomalies just now, here is one which is perhaps worth noting. According to Parliamentary spokesmen and "the experts" (bless them) the new food production drive requires an additional 100,000 workers on the land. Yet, according to the returns made to the National Union of Agricultural Workers, it is at present estimated that there are between 5,000 and 6,000 farm workers unemployed. The conclusion is almost unavoidable that the experts have gone astray somewhere. Moreover, as the bulk of the unemployment appears to be in the arable counties of East Anglia and Lincolnshire and as the bulk of the main-crop potatoes and nearly all the sugarbeet in those counties is still to be lifted, it does seem rather odd. I suspect, however, even though no details of the figures referred to are available, that the bulk of the unemployed come from the ranks of the regular workers rather than the casuals who would be employed on the potatoes and beet.

The recent wage increase, which can-

be said to be adequately compensated for by the new prices for agricultural prohas caused farmers to further reduce their permanent staff wherever possible, and this has been made possible to some extent by increased mechanisation, mainly of cultivation and harvesting. Indeed the present trend on British farms, and especially in the arable districts, is for an ever-smaller permanent staff operating larger implements and bigger tractors supplemented by seasonal gang labour.

The real point to note, however, is that under the Control of Engagements order which, despite previous promises to the contrary, still operates, and will for some time continue to operate, in agriculture, these unemployed farm workers are bidden to seek employment outside the industry even should their services be sought after.

Farm Workers and D.P.'s In such circumstances the antagonism

displayed by farm workers towards the substitution of Displaced Persons on the land for German P.o.W.'s is understandable enough. Looked at superficially, the action of British workers in refusing, in one case, to continue to work on the same farm if D.P.'s were employed seems, in view of the suffering most of these persons have gone through, to be mean and uncharitable. But it must be remembered that such foreign labour, docile as it usually is, grateful for any sanctuary and even for the privilege of being allowed to work at all, is always a potential threat to the British worker. As long as there is any actual employment of British farm workers, it is natural for them to do all they can to prevent the shipment and employment of foreign workers who can be used as bargaining counters against them by their employers who, you may be sure, do not employ D.P.'s on humanitarian grounds. Such an attitude on the workers' part, inevitable perhaps though it may be in the existing social conditions under which the workers live, is yet another example of the stupidity and cruelty of the present social system, for if the land of this country were farmed to anything like its potential capacity the men would not be compelled to take such action.

The Municipal Elections The Cholera in Egypt

The difference in climate between the pre-war period and the present day can easily be observed in relation to the municipal elections which will take place on the 19th October, and for which propaganda campaigns are in progress.

Up to 1939, local questions assumed a major importance, as well as personal questions, and in spite of the progressive extension of the powers of the State, the commune retained a certain independence, maintained its particular life, and still appeared to many liberal and progressive spirits as the basic cell of the nation.

There were also a high proportion of municipalities under Socialist direction, the Socialist party having shown a very live interest in all problems of general concern: health, town planning, children's welfare, sports and leisure activities. The social-democratic tradidition which had manifested itself in Germany and Belgium, had been carried on by the French Socialists, who found for their humanitarian activities the support of the radicals and the Free-

Communal Initiatives

A certain "municipalist" spirit was developed, and initiative in communal policy received support in directions where partisan considerations were absent.

In the elections which followed the liberation, lists of "Resistance", "Social Progress" or "Left Bloe" candidates were presented and gained incontestsuccess. Christian Independents, Radicals, Socialists and Communists were elected pell-mell on common lists.

Two years of frustrations, two years of social conflicts, of continued hypertrophy of the State, of external threats and pressures have entirely transformed the character of the municipal councils.

At the same time as the central authorities limited, controlled and suppressed the powers of the councillors, submerging them in decrees and circulars, the great parties acted through their centralised machinery and imposed their discipline on the militants of the urban or rural centres.

Intrusion of Politics

It was no longer a question of discussing credits for a nursery or a holiday camp, in the interest of mothers and children, but of upholding or resisting the government, of introducing into discussions pro- or anti-Soviet slogans, of taking part in the battles of influence on a national scale.

To the inherent faults of a municipal system created and developed in a capitalist environment - corruption, vote-catching, the intervention of local

element of paralysis: the utilisation of local problems for the vast manoeuvres of parties and imperialisms.

The result is that to-day those villages and wards are rare where the people vote on the question of whether there will be more public wash houses or whether the repairing of roads will be accelerated. On the contrary, the electors are invited to show their preference for Russian wheat or American wheat, to declare themselves for or against the entry of French-controlled German territoy into the combination of British and American zones, to choose between democracy with Yankee sauce or Balkan sauce.

Of course, the great formations still talk of a municipal programme, but it is only a kind of platonic homage to traditions. The Communist Party puts parliamentary leaders at the head of its lists presented in the great towns; the Christian Democrats and the Socialists do the same. The posters, whose images seem to emanate from the same studio and to be conceived by the same brain, speak of war, of happy old-age, of German coal. It would be enough to change the heading to make these generalities serve the propaganda of any

De Gaulle Intervenes

As for the League of French People, of General de Gaulle, it does not even speak of municipal aims. It makes its appearance merely in order to count the faithful. But at the same time, following the laws of electoral competition, the speeches of the General, Joan of Are 1947, take a political turn. Thus, at Lyons, after the ceremony to the memory of a great military adventurer, General Diego Brosset, the sympathisers were gathered in a meeting in the central square and De Gaulle, just like the most petty street corner orator, asked his hearers to vote for the RPF lists.

Two movements appear likely to collect the votes of the discontented. The first is the Communist Party, losing influence in industrial areas, but progressin peasant districts, exploiting adroitly all the grievances which the government policy causes-and demanding its re-entry into the Cabinet.

The other is the League of French

People of General de Gaulle, without any basic organisation, without control of the levers of national life, without any solid machinery, but which in the event of an appeal to the people can gather the votes of all the lower middleclass, officials, rentiers and pensioners, who are anxious for a return of the "good old times". They also demand National Union, but without the Com-

which is that of the choice of the mayors, will without doubt make more definite the internal split, and reflect th split on the international plane. In most of the municipalities the elected of all the parties of the right and left will make a barrage to hinder the choice of Communists at the head of the town halls.

Death of Communal Liberties

In fact, we are observing the death agony of communal liberties and the triumph of bureaucratic centralism.

And the role of the revolutionaries, of the libertarians in particular, is to make alive and to develop, most often against and always outside the municipal authorities, co-operative and syndicalist organisations, bodies for sport and mutual aid, detached from the pernicious influences of the omnipotent State and of imperialist quarrels, so as to give birth to a new structure of society.

S. PARANE.

Middle East Notes

paper phrases by saying that the epidemic in Egypt had swept aside all political, commercial and nationalist preoccupations; on the contrary, the newspapers are busily engaged in trying to prove that the Government has been either vigilantly alert to prevent the disease or criminally negligent in not foreseeing it; business firms are advertising the most unlikely products from Egg Nog to brands of wine as "good for epidemics' and even street vendors of sticky dates are crying that they have been cleaned in boiling water; while the Arabic press has blamed the cholera on to British troops en route from India-which aroused an indignant reply from GHQ MELF that no British troops in Egypt had had cholera since a few had it in 1916 but which has nevertheless been panic-stricken into emergency schemes almost amounting to total blockade of the troops from the civil population.

To me the most significant thing was the touching faith in cure-alls the average man still displays-religion, politics or medicine, people are still clinging for a "saviour"; in this case it was a bit more

religious Messiah, it was the vaccine serums. Before they were distributed there was a black market on them as the well-to-do rushed to be inoculated; "baksheesh" having passed hands, the free distribution began; and there was a stampede for inoculations by even those who live their entire lives in povertystricken surroundings in which dirt and disease are rampant and who are always drinking from and excreting in the same contaminated canal. But no effort was ever made to clear up the source of the trouble—the water supply; and it has taken an epidemic to persuade the Government to clean the streets of filth in heaps-at any rate in important places like Cairo-which, needless to say, people had already begun to do themselves

THE MUCH PROMISED LAND

Mr. Bartley Crum, being 100% pro-Zionist, does not make his book (Behind the Silken Curtain*) less interesting. After all, it is usually the people who feel deepest on the subject who let the cats out of the bag. Mr. Crum was a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry into Palestine, and had a joy-ride round the world with the august members of that body, who were wined and dined everywhere and most of whom finished up with a grudge against everyone concerned because of the amount of propaganda that was thrown in with the wines and food.

The significant part of the book is where Mr. Crum admits how the American Government has consistently cheated over the Palestine question. It has long been recognised that Britain promised the land in two different directions. The British members of the Commission were quite well aware of it, and to show the level of "our" rulers, were quite delighted when they discovered apparently for the first time that the American Government was equally guilty of bad

"I was given a document marked 'Contents of file of confidential communications in Palestine supplied by Division of Near Eastern Affairs for use of Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry' According to this file, since September 15, 1938, each time a promise was made to American Jewry regarding Palestine the State Department promptly sent messages to the Arab rulers discounting it and reassuring them, in effect, that regardless of what was promised publicly to the Jews, nothing would be done to change the situation in Palestine . . . Sir John said drily, 'It appears that Great Britain is not the only Power who promises the same thing to two different groups'.

Needless to say, Mr. Crum, who has a Roosevelt fixation, tries to persuade us that the President was sincere and the mysterious "State Department" was acting behind his back!

Some light is thrown too on the British diplomats in the Middle East, the so-called "pro-Arabs" who started with Lawrence and continue to-day, who are pro-Arab so long as the Arabs can be kept down and treated with patronising contempt and combine power politics with a scholastic view of Islamic culture that rather reminds one of ornithologists studying rare birds.

Auni Abdul Hadi, private secretary to the late King Feisal, stated that "the Emir Feisal, who had signed an agreement with Weizmann of sympathy for Zionist aims, did not really know what he was signing because the agreement was not in Arabic. Colonel T. E. Lawrence-Lawrence of Arabia-had acted as interpreter at the time . . . 'Lawrence was careful not to allow any Arab to be present at that meeting'." Mr. Crum thinks it incredible that Lawrence-'one' of the greatest friends the Arab peoples ever had' would have connived at such a plot and yet two of Mr. Crum's colleagues had an interview with King Ibn Saud where precisely the same thing happened. The famous H. St. John Philby, English convert to Mohamedanism who acts as Lawrence at Ibn Saud's court, translated the King's words and in the usual fashion the transcription read much better than it sounded at the time!

By a complete repudiation of all the diplomatic gentry behind the scenes as well as the luxury travellers inquiring into other people's affairs, any troubles in this corner of the world might quite easily be settled by those directly concerned in the matter. The fact that stands out most clearly from the evidence of all the representatives of this and that who appeared before the Committee is that none of them really represented anything but themselves.

*BEHIND THE SILKEN CURTAIN (Batley Green).

Another Christian Crusade

IF EVER there were brilliant masters of statesmanship and oratory, as the retouchers of history would have us believe, then the present school of politicians lacks not only brilliancy, but even the most essential fundamentals of a beginner's course. Compare the passion and mastery of Robespierre, Danton and Parnell with our uninspiring public speakers reading their carefully prepared and ambiguous such a dreary-weary, statements in amateur-schoolmaster manner. If we are to be fooled, let us be fooled at least by entertaining means! Having to swallow these unforgivably dilletantic and contradictory pronouncements must hurt the esteem of the often-praised intelligent common elector who doesn't like too plain evidence of having chosen leaders of less common sense than himself.

Muddleheadedness

As an instance take the statements made on the future of Germany by Lord Pakenham, who is the minister responsible to the Foreign Secretary for the British Zone of Germany in an interview with Colin Frame of The Star

(1) "We are in Germany to make sure that she does not launch another war; to help her develop a peaceful, demosome material compensation for the immense damage inflicted in her name, at the same time ensuring a reasonable standard of life for her citizens."

(2) "It would be morally wicked to try to do all these things without making sure that her standard of life is reasonable" . . . "The average get no more than two-thirds of the level on which we struggle along, while the poorest are desperately hungry."

(3) "Our own people are co-operating most effectively with the Germans.

(4) "None of our people in Germany would thank me for pretending that we have had the success we had hoped

(5) "No doubt many Germans have not worked as hard as they might have done."

(6) "The real standard by which history will judge us, is what effect we have on the mind of the German

(7) "It would be an affectation to say that there is any firm conviction that democracy has much to offer in the way of practical results.'

By What Right?

Of course all the blame for the faults and failures of the British Administration is put on to Russia, who has not kept the Potsdam agreement, just as the Russians in their turn accuse their "allies" of having acted contrary to their obligations.

Will Lord Pakenham explain to us and the German people what entitles us "to help Germany intellectually and morally to her feet," and prevent her from launching another war, while we are importing Nazi technicians, aeroplane constructors, radio experts, chemists and scientists? We are at present employing Hitler's number one atom scientist, Dr. Heisenberg; Dr. Hahn, a famous uranium expert and hundreds of others. The re-search experiments of Britain's "atom city" at Didcot are led by Dr. Frisch. Is it not contemptible hypocrisy to pretend to be helping Germany to develop a peaceful mind while we spend millions on atomic and bacteriological weapon

Does the founding of sham German councils, with no rights except those of the scapegoat, help to develop a "democratic consciouness"? How can we advocate a Christian mind when our own record is nothing but a refutation of every Christian principle?

Hypocrisy

How easy it is to assume moral indignation and say "we are not seeking the destruction of a trade competitor," after that competitor has been robbed of patents, skilled labour, scientists, and all the tools of reconstruction. Is it not the limit of hypocrisy to preach "morality" and practise slave labour, to offer "hope" and, in practice, to restrict a whole nation to a "coolie" standard of living, and to talk of intending "to carry out our policy firmly and with as much humanity as possible"? Germany, like the rest of Europe, has seen what "humanity" means to governments, whatever their political

Lord Packenham concludes his statement thus:

We Britons are there in the nature of trustees, and our work in Germany is either a Christian Crusade or nothing at all.

Christian Crusade? Did the ghost of Goebbels smile and add the words "against Bolshevism"?

Foreign Commentary

NOT JUSTICE THIS IS

So much publicity has been given in the National Press to the Petkov trial and his subsequent execution that Freedom can be excused for not having dealt with the case. After all, our readers are well acquainted with Communist methods and their contempt for opposition when they are in power, and the Petkov case is just one of thousands of examples that could be quoted.

But two comments could be made. The first is the very frank condemnation of the execution of Petkov made by Mr. Bevin on behalf of the British Govern-It is a pity that Mr. Bevin is not so indignant about the almost daily executions that take place in Spain, in which the principles of justice are as absent as in the case of Petkov. British public opinion, as a whole, is no more aware of what is going on in Spain, eight years after Franco took over Government of the whole country, than it was during the Mussolini and Hitler regimes. And the fault lies with people like Mr. Bevin whose utterances have a world-wide Press and, even if not accepted, do at least reach the public's ear; whereas the small informed groups and newspapers can at best only reach a small, already informed

The second comment comes from Time (6/10/47) and deals with an aspect of the Petkov trial which might be referred to as a "human angle" comment. According to Time, Petkov "fought the Nazis and spent part of the war behind German barbed wire. After the Russians put the small Bulgarian Communist Party in power, Petkov opposed the Communists led by the old Comintern agent, Georgi Dimitrov, hero of the Reichstag-fire trial.

"Said the U.S. Government in a stinging (but futile) note of protest: "The trial of Petkov recalls to mind another trial which occurred in Leipzig 14 years ago. In that earlier trial, a Bulgarian defendant [Dimitrov] evoked world-wide admiration for his courageous defiance of the Nazi bully who participated in his

prosecution. To-day that defendant has assumed another role and it is now the courage of another Bulgarian [Petkov] whose steadfast opposition to forces of oppression has evoked world-wide admiration.'

"There was a curiously ironic angle to Nikola Petkov's legal murder. When up.

Nikola Petkov's legal murder. When up.

In France, unlike here, a life sentence Georgi Dimitrov awaited trial in a Nazi jail, Petkov was one of a group of Bulgarian political leaders who arranged for Dimitrov's 72-year-old mother, Baba Parashkeva to visit him. Gratefully she said then: 'If my son lives through this, he will repay you a thousand time'.

And Time cynically concludes: "The hangman's noose was Georgi Dimitrov's fulfilment of his mother's 14-year-old promise."

FORGOTTEN MAN?

The introduction to Douglas Home's prison play Now Barrabas (Freedom, 5/4/47), now published in book form and reviewed elsewhere in this issue refers to a matter which will we hope particularly interest our French readers. It is by Sir Alexander Paterson. He writes: "Three times in my short life have I crossed the path of men, who, while engaged as combatants in bloody war, found in incum-bent on them to refuse combat." One was Siegfried Sassoon, Douglas Home was the second, the third was a young French journalist who in 1917 "having for a year or more endured the daily blasting and bloodshed of Verdun, dared to write in his own paper that this human carnage had outstripped any conceivable limits of sense and decency, and the time had come to call a halt. He was tried by Court Martial and sentenced as an enemy to his country to transportation to and confinement sine die in the Ile au Diable off the coast of Cayenne." Twenty years later in 1937 Sir Alexander Paterson met this man in the Ile au Diable and walked and talked with him. "Often in the intervening years-he writes-have I wondered how he fared and faced his end."

and still in prison? And if so can nothing be done for him? It is a pity that apparently in France there is no organisation that one knows of to which this case could be referred, unless of course our comrades of the Libertaire take it

means what is says, and whilst it is difficult to be categorical about it, a "living death", which is the only way one can describe a prison sentence which ends only in death, is as barbarous as any

BRITISH JUSTICE" IN PALESTINE

The Associated Press reports that on October 9th a Jerusalem military court sentenced to-day two brothers of 17 and 19 and a third man to seven years' imprisonment each for printing illegal leaflets issued by the Jewish terrorist organisation, Irgun Zvai Leumi.

The father of the two brothers was found not guilty and was discharged.

The three men said that they were forced by two unknown men, who entered the Tel-Aviv workshop where they were employed, to assist in printing the leaflets.

The sentence passed was undoubtedly intended more to intimidate other printers than to punish these two vouths. wise there can be no justification by the authorities for this savage sentence on two boys. But that is not justice, and that champion of Bulgarian freedom-Mr. Bevin-might well turn his attention to such examples as the one quoted above of British justice which are on his doorstep and for which he must in part be held responsible. And while he is looking into this case he might ask himself whether the 800 Jews who are held in British concentration camps without trial, in some cases for as long as 8 years, (Freedom, Oct 4th) are an example of "British Justice" about which he can feel LIBERTARIAN.

Germany-

WHAT stands behind the muchyouth to-day? Is it the "determination of negation"? Or is there, behind the bitter and disillusioned rejection of all present values, the tremendous longing for new and real values?

Karl Schumacher sees the growth of a new and powerful supernationalism born out of despair and fostered by the catastrophes of deportation and starvation. In 1946, he begged his British friends to check the growth of this nationalism by applying a constructive economic policy.

The seducers of German youth to-day talk of the third world war and seek to lure them into supporting either the East or the West. They whisper: "We should, and must, prepare for this war. After having lost two world wars, we will finally survive the last as victors." The Russian side whispers of a Communist Germany which, side by side with Russia, would dominate Europe; the West asks them to participate in a victorious crusade against the Moscow barbarians.

SEEDS

are helped by the occupation authorities. Naturally, sports and religious organisations are the most favoured. Political groups are assisted "insofar as they are based on democratic principles". There are "youth" papers and magazines-with circulations of up to 100,000 copies, "youth" broadcasts, plays and films. Everywhere the initiative comes from the grown-ups. Youth itself is passive!

Resurgence of Nationalism

The nationalist youth movements are being legally reorganised. The Bündische Freischaren Völkische vouth groups are reappearing, issuing manifestoes and circulating their literature freely.

The notorious "Jungo" (Jungdeutscher Orden) has made its reappearance. This organisation was the first nationalist advance guard to emerge after the 1918 revolution, the first to organise provocative demonstrations, to unfold the abolished black-white-red flag, to proclaim the myth of the unconquerable army that had to withdraw owing to the "stab in the back" delivered by the Reds. From this organisation were drafted the political murderers of the secret FEME. The workers will recall the violent anti-Semitism of the "Jungo", the cruel defenceless workers, the bloodbath of Mechterstedt, the thousands of victims who fell under the hands of similar organisations of the "Fatherland's Union", led by Jungo, in Munich and Brunswick and during the insurrection of Max Hölz. Hundreds of thousands of Jungomen were financed and armed by the big industrialists, instructed by officers of the Reichwehr and employed as reinforcements to the police and the army to crush strikers and militant workers.

From Hamburg, Frankfurt, Munich, from all parts of the Western zones comes information confirming the rebuilding of

reactionary forces.

propaganda.

In Weilheim (Upper Bavaria) the widow of General Ludendorff has organised the Bund für Gotterkenntnis, a mere new edition of the old Bund für Deutsche Gotterkenntnis. It was Mathilde Ludendorff who, with the protection and assistance of her husband, widely propagated the "new German religion" from all Jewish and Catholic attributes. It was from her and Arthur Dinter that there originated the German race theories from which Hitler and Streicher adapted their racial doctrines, which led to the cruel atrocities committed against the inferior multitude' Now once again Frau Ludendorff attempts to spread under the cover of religion an insane gospel in order to prepare the mind of youth for a "spiritual resurgence"

German universities, Christian youthcentres, have again become hotbeds of reactionary and counter-revolutionary

In the East all are absorbed in the Freie Deutsche Jugend, the one-party organisation which is, of course, like its predecessor the Hitler Youth, merely a political instrument. In both East and West there are institutions but no real youth movement. Many groups cultivate ideas and traditions that were dead and

discredited even in the Weimar days. The Real Movement

The real movement is underground and its characteristics are: hatred of the farce of "democracy", "liberty", "justice", etc., a desire to fight and to sabotage, and a vague urge for freedom. It refuses to accept mere fictions, empty catch-words and hollow slogans. It sees lots of plans for reconstruction but no capability to accomplish them, and it tends to admire the Nazis, for their "realism" in economy

and administration. Youth despises those who want to make it take part in the democracy-farce, those who speak to it of reconstruction. It sees that behind the much-vaunted plans, there are no material realities, not even clear projects. It has no interest in "communal enterprises", for it sees that public and private life are dominated by selfishness, greed, neid und missgunst, swindling and informing. Is this, asks youth, the ideological basis for a new

It laughs at the "Christian socialism" propagated by the Church, it is sick of the Marxism of the S.P.D. which entirely lacks any revolutionary spirit, it distrusts

After the first world war a sharp rise of left and right extremism occurred, which increased with the crises of the

post-war period. In order to capture the radicalised sections of youth, the various parties adopted radical slogans. The Communists stole slogans from the Syndicalists and Anarchists, the Nationalists stole from Nietzsche, Stirner and the Communist Both succeeded in capturing manifesto. the dynamic forces of the youth. Both later dropped their radicalism when it stood in the way of turning towards reaction, and purged their ranks.

The Danger of "National Revolutionaries"

The fact that the "revolutionaries" of the National Revolution were liquidated by Hitler and their movements driven underground, in company with Socialists, Communists and Christians, has provided them with an anti-Fascist alibi and the glory of rebellious martyrdom. They are now out to cash in on this. And, what is worse, they are succeeding in gaining the sympathy of the youth, with their fiercely

the social experiments of the Soviet Zone which bear the stamp of totalitarianism.

The boasted activity of the sponsored youth organisations is artificial. The young people are forced into hoarding, cheating, stealing, in order to make a living and to keep their families alive. Wage-rates do not even provide for a bare existence. It is here that they display their initiative, imagination, activity, and courage. They have neither the time nor the inclination to devote these qualities to patching up a decayed society.

Youth is passive and immune to all the slogans. It has had enough of all the 'isms. Neither neo-nazism nor pseudo-democracy has captured its support.

"Nihilism"

In nearly every Social-democratic and Liberal paper of the Western zone as well as every Stalinist paper of the Eastern zone, we find attacks against the nihilist attitude in general and Nihilists in particular. The term is never clearly fined. It is left to the imagination of the reader to visualise something even more dreadful than the old terrifying bogies. This obscure Nihilism is an object of constant attack by all legal parties. But the patronising or excited warnings seem only to arouse greater interest. The dynamic sections of youth are impulsively drifting towards any extreme that seems to offer a radical alternative to all the resurrected doctrines of political parties.

Judging from the anti-Nihilist propaganda of the respectable parties, the word 'nihilist" is applied as a general term to brand all those who remain indifferent to or distrustful of their slogans. Next, it is used vehemently against all political elements of the German resistance who have not compromised and degraded themselves to the role of agents of foreign imperialisms, who reject all the methods of compromise that are advocated, and insist on a social revolutionary policy, to name only the Anarchists, Syndicalists and the Betriebsräte groups.

By insisting on the resolute continuance of revolutionary tradition and by refusing to participate in the so-called "reconstructive" policy, these radical elements are classified as destructive obstructionists and Nihilists. There is a tactical reason behind the collective use of this name, which is also applied to the Nationalist extremists. This practice is used demagogically by the Bolsheviks to we have in Germany contradictory Eastern and Western conceptions of Nihilism. are presented with: National-Nihilists, Nietzsche's European Nihilism, Spengler's Prussian Socialism, Junger's Prussian Anarchism, Niekisch's and Strasser's National-Communism. It is not surprising that all this, to which are added a whole set of unidentified Nihilist bogies, must confuse even a fairly well-informed student of politics.

For the present we must restrict our-selves to a short account, in order to illustrate the new German underground and the problems confronting our German comrades.

proclaimed hostility towards fake democracy, Marxism, bureaucracy and proforeign servility.

Even workers are inclined to forget that these national-revolutionaries, who became victims of Himmler's terror and are now opposing the "common enemies" were the greatest asset of the Nazi party in Hitler's decisive battle for power. They represented the workers' section of the "National Socialist German Workers" Party"!

They helped, by pretending to be socialists and revolutionaries, to capture for Hitler the support of thousands of militant and socially-minded workers who had turned away from the corrupted working-class parties.

Today, once more, the "national-revolutionaries" are attempting to direct all popular resentment and discontent into the channels of a national revolution. And just as, after the last war, they stole basic socialist and Communist slogans and presented them in a framework of patriotism, so now they are trying to exploit genuine Nihilist sentiments.

They receive encouragement from the fact that Britain and America are dropping the Morgenthau and Vansittart methods and are giving German capitalism a new chance to build up a strong Western Germany. Numerous Nazis are still operating in important positions. It is no secret that thousands of them shelter in Christian democratic parties and encourage the "national-revolutionary underground".

True Nihilism

Since this underground is attracting many potential revolutionaries, it will be necessary to expose the cunnnig tactics of the German counter-revolution and its foreign benefactors. It will be necessary to draw attention to the past counterrevolutionary activities of the nationalist self-styled "revolutionaries" and recall the disastrous results for the workingclass. Above all it will be vitally necessary to pronounce clearly the Anarchist conception of Nihilism: the destruction of chaotic order built on Nazi or semi-Nazi foundations and the construction of a society based on anarchy, "the highest form of order".

Only by doing so will we draw to our movement those basically sincere and dynamic people, who, given a clear definition of our social revolutionary conception, are bound to identify their own

JOHN OLDAY.

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Message from Italy

Italy is facing another grim winter. The shops filled with goods, the restaurants and cafés where people with money can buy whatever they want, give the visitors a false impression of prosperity. But the Italian worker has to live essentially on his rations which are vastly insufficient and he cannot afford to supplement them with butter or ham at 15/- a

Unemployment is increasing in the South. A city of a million inhabitants like Naples counts 180,000 un-employed, 50% of the working popu-lation. In the North unemployment has been reduced by employing workers in factories where there is actually no work for them. This false employment bears heavily on the Government's resources and will not be able to be kept up for very long.

Instead of trying to solve the tragic economic situation, political parties are merely concerned with gaining votes, filling government posts, controlling newspapers. But the spirit of freedom is not dead as shown by this letter from Cesare Zaccaria, one of the editors of Volonta, a monthly anarchist review published in Naples.

An enormous wave of agitations is passing over Italy. The misery, the hunger of the working people is increasing every day. The ordinary worker, the ordinary housewife, have reached such a degree of suffering and humiliation that their only concern is to try to adapt themselves to their terrible conditions instead of fighting against them. Politicians, who aim at taking power to use it for their own ends, take full advantage of this passive mood of the people.

On one side we have the Pope and the Catholic Church—focussing points, as always, of the forces of reaction. They are backed by the other political machines who uphold the social predomination of the rich and the powerful—the so-called Liberals, the so-called Qualunquisti (Party of the Common Man), the socalled Independents.

On the other side are the political groups who play the left-wing card: united in their negative desire to substitute the Priests in the Government but disunited in their attempts to secure power for their own political groups. The so-called Communists lead the band, Socialists of Nenni's type follow them faithfully, Socialists like Lussu follow them with some misgivings, Socialists like Saragat hold the tail against their own wish, the Republicans and the other minor groups also follow without the

slightest idea of where they go. But they have all a common pole: the image of ministerial seats, the smell of Power of which they all want a slice.

In the middle are the working people, who move according to the orders of the leaders, without knowing why and without reaping any improvements in their terrible conditions

We are, as always, on the side of the people: every time they seem ready to act we are with them even if we distrust the politicians who may pull the strings. We do not exclude the possibility of a sudden awakening of the workers. They may realise that it is not enough to shake off the power of the Church, that they must also liberate themselves from the tutelage of political parties. That is why we want to remain at our post, ready for the struggle but keeping our eyes open because we refuse to become the pawns of political leaders who are all enemies.

We must therefore say to our comrades of work: don't forget that these politicians, who now ask you to revolt, told you to keep quiet when they were in power. They want you to fight, not for you but for themselves. If in Italy the wealth of the rich-so often built with blood and mud-has not been touched; if Italy is now in the grip of the priests who have preserved intact the privileges acquired by putting themselves at Mussolini's service; if in Italy there is no rebirth of the free syndicalist struggle but merely a continuation of the totalitarian mechanism of corporative organisations with a new name; if in Italy nobody sets the problem of free education; if everything carries on as under Fascism; if in Italy a stupid amnesty has freed the fascist big shots who had escaped the people's justice while anti-fascists are persecuted-if all this happens, is because a State machine, enemy of the people, has been rebuilt in Italy with the complicity of the men who to-day pretend to be radicals.

We tell our working-class comrades: Do not forget, as soon they are in power again, they will tell you to be docile, to pull in your belt. Because they do not fight for you, but for themselves.

When will the people who work for everybody, the people who pay for everything, the people who suffer for all, at last decide to revolt-without preparing with their own hands their new chains? Only then will the destruction of Fascism really begin in Italy-Fascism is merely the hunger for power of a minority, and it has subsisted in its integral form even under scores of different names and different leaders.

C. ZACCARIA.

Dictatorial Powers in Pakistan

A writer in the last issue of Freedom described some of the disadvantages and difficulties of the "I-told-you-so" position in which anarchists so often find themselves. Even at the time we made them, our criticisms of Indian nationalism were ill received by the partisans of Home Rule. For we urged that government was government whoever wielded the big stick, and declared that the lot of the Indian peasant and worker would not be materially improved until the land and industry lay under their direct control.

The threats of "drastic action", "ruthless repression" of opposition which the government of India has repeatedly made since its accession to power have underlined the anarchist lesson pretty heavily. The government of Pakistan also pays unwilling

By JOHN OLDAY

tribute to the truths of anarchism. A new "public safety" ordinance (such is the invariable terminology of repressive measures) gives the Government dictatorial powers. According to the Times correspondent in Karachi, "the Government is authorized to detain persons without trial for a period of six months, a district magistrate is empowered to detain persons for 15 days without trial, and the Government may authorize the flogging of persons found with arms and ammunition".

In addition to all this, "the ordinance also empowers the Government to impose a precensorship of news and to control the Press, impose collective fines, and compulsorily prevent employees in essential services from leaving their employment. It also controls public meetings, processions, camp drills, and parades".

Not much news in that: Government is the same the world over.

BACON AND STRIKERS

The Ministry of Food has announced that, beginning from October 19th, the bacon ration is to be reduced by half. This is the result, it says, of the strike in the Canadian bacon factories.

We wonder if this is the full reason;

since the day this announcement was made newspapers reported that butter and bacon have been piling up in Denmark's warehouses since the Danish-British food negotiations broke down a week ago.
Britain has been buying 1,600 tons

weekly from Denmark which she has now left on her hands. Meanwhile, on the other side of the frontier, people starve.

THE THREE MUSKETEERS—15







Literary CERVANTES & THE SPANISH PEOPLE Freedom Bookshop

Just at present a great deal is being made of the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Spanish writer, Cervantes, author of the most justly celebrated masterpiece of Spanish literature, Don Quixote. Cervantes deserves all the praise he will probaly receive, although we can imagine that he himself would regard the adulation of professors and academic gentlemen with a sceptical eye, but there is one aspect of his work in Don Ouixote which is worth considering and is unlikely to be given great prominence.

The story of Don Quixote is familiar. A country squire, whose head is filled with the half-baked fantasies of mediaeval stories of knight-errantry, sets out to seek adventure and to right wrongs. He takes for his companion a peasant, Sancho Panza, who is distinguished by a love for food, and a remarkable mental simplicity combined with a certain shrewdness over practical matters which the knight completely lacks. The mishaps of these two adventurers in pursuing Don Quixote's romantic fantasies are amusing in the extreme, but there is much more to Cervantes' book than this.

Faults of Idealism

In a sense it is a portrayal of the faults of idealism. Superficial enthusiasts have tended to see Don Quixote as the personification of virtuous idealism set against sordid realism. But in fact the acts of the knight are described in such a way as to show that idealistic fantasy detached from concrete reality can breed more harm than good; in some moods Don Quixote is a precursor of those modern myth-makers who have re-edified on a large and catastrophic scale the mock heroism he represented. Hitler, for instance, was nothing if not Quixotic in his dreams of a

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HOMES OR HOVELS?

resurrected Holy Roman Empire on something of the real Spanish peasant a world scale, and all the sensational imperialists of the past three centuries were prefigured, in this strange knight with his mad dreams of dominion.

Yet it would be rather sweeping to class Don Quixote as a wholly wrongheaded character. At times the evil wrought by his love of fantasy is almost outweighed by his strictly logical regard for ethical principles. There is, for instance, the scene where he frees the galley slaves from bondage, and, when he is reproached for freeing criminals, declares:

"Is it for a knight-errant when he meets with people laden with chains, and under oppression, to examine whether they are in those circumstances for their crimes, or only through misfortune? We are only to relieve the afflicted, to look on their distress and not on their crimes. I met a company of poor wretches, who went along sorrowful, dejected, and linked together like the beads of a rosary; thereupon I did what my conscience and my profession obliged me to do. And what has any man to say to this?"

Don Quixote's reasoning is unanswerable, and it seems clear that Cervantes, who had himself known what it was to be a slave, was using this apparently ridiculous tale to register his protest at the whole system of punishment that sent men into slavery for faults committed as much through misfortune as through ill intent. One feels that in this particular incident Don Quixote is doing what Cervantes would like to have done for every chain gang in his unfortunate country.

Sancho Panza

But it is in Sancho Panza's conversations and experiences that we get attitude towards government and individual dignity. Sancho begins by wanting to be a governor, because he is taken up with the glamour of the position; his very concept of it is clearly that of a man whose life has always been remote from the exactions of authority. But even while Sancho has these ideas, we are regaled with the shrewdness of his wife's attitude:

"Do thou live, and let all the governments in the world go to the Devil. Thou camest out of thy mother's belly without government, thou hast lived hitherto without government, and thou mayest be carried to thy long home without government, when it shall please the Lord. How many people in this world live without government yet do well enough, and are well looked

Sancho, however, insists on continuing his ambition, and eventually is installed by the Duke in the governorship of Barataria, an appointment which is designed as a burlesque to take advantage of his supposed peasant stupidity for the amusement of the court. But Sancho turns the tables on his tormentors by a series of judgments based on a commonsense consideration of each case brought before him, which makes the codes of the legalists appear ridiculous. Very soon, however, he realizes the evils of government, and one day goes out, saddles his ass, and departs, having made to the dignitaries a speech which can well be taken as the common man's condemnation of power and its burdens:

"Make way, gentlemen, and let me return to my former liberty. Let me go, that I may seek my old course of life, and rise again from that death that buries me alive. I was not born to be a Governor, nor to defend islands nor cities from enemies that break in upon them. I know better what belongs to ploughing, delving, pruning of vineyards, than how to make laws, and defend countries and kingdoms. A spade does better in my hand than Governor's truncheon; and I had rather fill my belly with a mess of plain porridge, than lie at the mercy of a coxcombly physic-monger that starves me to death. I had rather solace myself under the shade of an oak in summer, and wrap up my corpse in a double sheep-skin in the winter at my liberty, than lay me down with the slavery of a government in fine holland-sheets, and case my hide in furs and richest sables."

"My Own Lord"

In this speech Sancho rises above those who sought to mock his simplicity, into the full dignity of an independent human being, and for the rest of the book, in spite of his follies, his clowning behaviour, his sententious proverbs, his gluttony and his discretion in the fact of danger, Sancho remains the better for having shown that a rude and credulous peasant, if he be only an honest and shrewd man, can show more sense and wholeness of personality than all the products of courts and governors' palaces, As he says later, "I do but defend myself, that am naturally my own lord."

In this he represents that tradition of independence which has for centuries inspired the Spanish peasants to try to govern their own lives, to form their own collectives, and to resist the attempts of kings and generals to oppress them. In creating Sancho, Cervantes became a true interpreter of the Spanish common people of his GEORGE WOODCOCK.

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Book Reviews

The Importance of Being

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE by George Orwell. (Collins, 4/6)

George Orwell has written a book called The English People. The writer who so skilfully produced the allegory of Animal Farm has now created the more concrete image of a national man, the Englishman. A man, he claims, more fitted than any other to lead this shattered world to the millenium. Now, most world to the millenium. writers have their irrationalities and some, with the best intentions in the world, undertake certain works which have a far wider emphasis than they at first imagined. And this wider emphasis has not been lost to the reviewers in our national journals. It is as though, facing the dark future, they have used the occasion for a little self-praise and encouragement.

One would have preferred to ignore this latest work of George Orwell, coming so soon after the profundity of Animal Farm, as a natural weakening to temptation despite the promptings of higher reason. And one could have let it remain in quiet obscurity alongside the other titles in the series such as British Soldiers and British Merchant Adventurers. Since someone had to write the book for the series, why shouldn't it be someone with the wisdom to keep to the lower notes of the trumpeter's scale. One did not, however, expect this little booklet to be lauded as though it were a major document. The action of the critics and reviewers, in giving it such prominence, makes it worthwhile going into the subject a little more deeply.

Why were whole columns devoted to it? Was it in deference to the author's reputation? Was it, as has already been mentioned, to indulge in a little much-needed back patting? Strangely enough, despite the party line of the various journals, they were all unanimous on this occasion. Nationalism had transcended

Now it is just at this point, when we see seasoned critics basking in the Orwell spotlight, that we realise another interestin fact of the booklet. Either the reviewers have connived or have been fooled. And so has the editor of this prestige building series. For Orwell has cleverly produced out of his top hat a definite political pamphlet. The message that goes hand in hand with his carefully compiled lists of virtues and faults of the English people is one that he has been peddling in his more obvious political

Briefly, it is that of Britain leading a European bloc in the face of the Russo-American stalemate. By toning down, through the use of trite generalisations, the political emphasis, and by giving the impression of a preoccupation with national characteristics, he is able to write . . . "They can give the example

that millions of human beings are waiting

The world is sick of chaos and it is sick of dictatorship. Of all peoples the English are likeliest to find a way of avoiding both . . . They have known for forty years, perhaps . . . (what) the Russians and the Americans have yet to learn: they know that it is not possible for any one nation to rule the earth!"

With this modest proclamation must be coupled Orwell's other approach, the one for his non-English admirers given prominence in the Partisan Review (July-August) ". . . a socialist United States of Europe seems to me the only worthwhile political objective to-day.'

One doubts whether the coincidence is accidental. How are we, with this new awareness of being an Englishman, going to co-operate with these foreigners? can we, with such original (evidently) virtues of not killing each other, being gentle and so on, open the city gates and the doors of our homes to allow the entry of those who (equally evidently), do kill each other, are not gentle, have no inherent sense of humour? Or is the United States of Europe going to be an extension of the British Empire on a somewhat more mutual plane? To assist us in his muddled approach, Orwell tells us that the immediate necessities of the English people are to breed faster, work harder, and probably live more simply.

Now, where have we heard all that before? As the booklet tells us, one of the

traditional faults of the Englishman is hypocrisy and line shooting.

It may be maintained, of course, that the political message is incidental. That booklet is a sincere attempt to catalogue the faults and virtues of the

standard Englishman that makes up the vast majority of forty-eight million. The John Bull on the Work or Want hoard-If this is so then one feels ashamed for being so suspecting. There is your Englishman with his virtues of kindness, not killing one another (thank goodness the common Englishman is not tainted with the legalized killings at the behest of his government though these beastly Russsians and Americans are naturally branded with their governments), and the virtues of love of sport and sentimentality towards animals. As long as we keep to the history books they gave us at school this will appear quite in order.

Now, it is obvious that Orwell feels little tug at his conscience because it generally accepted in enlightened circles that no two men are alike though customs may be similar over a wide area. That a foreigner, lost in the centre of London with a copy of The English People, might not find the xenophobia quite as strong as in Northumberland, that he might find people abrupt on a rainy day and considerate on a sunny day. It prompts Orwell to ask the question, 'Can one talk about nations as though they were individuals?' Do such things as 'national cultures' really exist? He then answers these doubts in this manner-'This is one of the questions, like the freedom of the will or the identity of the individual, in which all the arguments are on one side and instinctive knowledge is on the other.

At this point a little fresh air should be allowed into the stuffy basement. It is from Henry Miller in which the writer has managed to integrate 'all the arguments' and 'instinctive knowledge'. From

Black Spring, one of the banned books that gob in the hypocritical eye—'I am a patriot—of the 14th Ward Brooklyn, where I was raised, the rest of the United States doesn't exist for me, except as idea, or history, or literature . . man I have met seems as princely, as regal, as noble, as Lester Reardon . Jules Verne never led me to the places that Stanley Borowski had up his sleeve when it came dark . . . All these boys of the 14th Ward have a flavour about them still . . . The names ring out like gold coins, Tom Fowler, Jim Buckley, Matt Owen . . .'
The trouble with books of the nature

of The English People is that no names ring out like gold coins because the standardization could never be applied. Instead of a pocketful of gold coins jingling as we walked through the 14th Ward we should have nothing but a stuffed bird in a glass case. Instead of taking people as we found them we should take them as someone else found

So I think, like Henry Miller, we'll get to know their names and look upon them as men instead of as symbols. And we'll remember that even a Nigerian bushman will lose his suspicion in the face of kindness and become sullen and unfriendly when exploited. And we'll be thankful that Englishmen don't kill each other and hope it remains so. And it makes us all the more critical of governments that send such people overseas to kill others in Greece, Palestine, Indonesia and the like. And we'll remember that there's nothing highly original in being gentle, considerate and peace-loving. Anywhere at any time.

Nor shall we forget the example of progressive writers who, temporarily we hope, fail to remember all this.

CHARLES HUMANA.

NOW BARRABAS, by William Douglas Home. (Longmans, 6/-.)

Readers may recall that a whole page of Freedom (5/4/47) was used for a review of Douglas Home's prison play Now Barrabas, which was being given at the time at the Vaudeville Theatre in London. The play now appears in book form. In view of the full discussion on its merits and shortcomings contained in the issue of Freedom referred to, the intention of the present review is to draw the attention of readers who were unable to see the play to the fact that they can read it for themselves, rather than to repeat the points so ably put by "Anarchist" in his review.

The sixteen illustrations which are included in the volume will assist the reader in reconstructing the atmosphere, but without actual experience of prison life, I think it will be difficult for even

the most imaginative reader to visualize the scenes so accurately portrayed by the

When, for instance, the warder shouts "Fall in", "Stand to yer doors, A Wing", "Put yer light out, Messmen." "Right turn, to the kitchen. Lead on A44, A51". "Put yer flaming lights out, or I'll put yer both inside . . .". To appreciate this To appreciate this hotchpotch of instructions and threats one must have actually witnessed the scene in the prison at that particular moment. Almost every prisoner is dashing about from all directions along the balconies, some are carrying full chamber pots to the recesses where one lavatory has to cope with the chamber pots of some thirty men (often more since it is only on rare occasions that all lavatories are working), others are returning with empty pots. Then there is the dull thud multiplied by 300 as each bed board is leaned against the cell walls; and then the rush again

with enamel water jugs to refill from the solitary tap situated near the congested lavatory recesses. And whilst this mad rush is going on, a "screw" down below is shouting his head off!

Nevertheless, there is an important aspect of the play which can be appreciated without difficulty by the uninitiated. And it is the study of prison types. This the author does brilliantly, without exag-geration. The phoney "squadron-leader", the old boaster Brown, the self-pitying schoolmaster, are real human beings whom you will be bound to meet if and when you become a guest of His Majesty! I feel Douglas Home lets off the

prominence of the "decent screws" who in practice are a very small minority. Nevertheless, Now Barabbas is a good play and an interesting study of an

Governor too lightly and gives too much

aspect of prison life.

27 Red Lion Street

Holborn.WC1

I WAS with Erich Mühsam in Oranienburg Concentration Camp from May 1934 until the day of his death in July 1934.

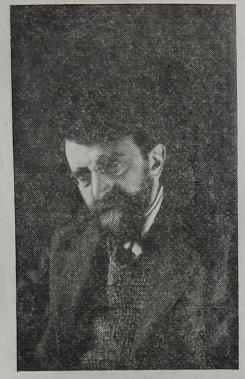
We were billeted in the same barracks. It was an old brewery. We slept on straw palliases in the overcrowded room. Mühsam was a quiet, modest and friendly fellow-prisoner. In any spare time we had we would hold political discussions or play chess, which he loved passionately.

At the time of the Röhm putsch, our camp was suddenly encircled by SS men who disarmed our SA guards who were suspected of being in sympathy with Röhm. The SS men, who came from Dachau, took over the

After they had been there for a few days, they called Erich Mühsam before the Camp Commandant. When he returned, he told his most trustworthy friends that he had been given three days, during which time he must hang himself, or else he would be hanged. The news spread like wild-fire through the camp, and, with the increasingly bad treatment, our tension became unbearable.

But nothing happened. Mühsam kept cheerful, amiable and calm.

On the evening of the third day, the SS man on duty appeared at our "cage". The room orderly reported all present except Mühsam. Mühsam stood in the big barb-wired yard cleaning an SS uniform. We all saw him through the windows of the barracks. There was a new rope slung between two posts on which hung some SS uniforms which Mühsam was brushing. He should have been inside with all the rest of us. The SS men ordered us to go to sleep and locked the door. The night passed restlessly for us all, and few could sleep. There was whispered conversation and we were all waiting for something to happen.



We were told to get up next morning, but no-one was permitted to leave the barrack-room. Mühsam had not returned and the excitement grew. After about half-an-hour, the man on duty appeared and informed us that Mühsam had hanged himself in the lavatory. He addressed the Jews

who were isolated in a corner of the room and said: "Which of you from Sodom and Gomorrah volunteers to cut Mühsam down?"

All the Jews went, and I went with them. We were shocked by what we saw. At the back of the room over the furthest seats a rope was fastened to a beam—the same rope that had hung between the two posts in the yard the evening before. On this rope Erich Mühsam was hanging. His face was peaceful. His mouth and eyes were closed (a proof that he had been killed and then hanged). His body was taken off and placed in a shed. What happened to it later, 1 do not know.

After a few days, we were to be transferred from Oranienburg to Lichtenburg. Hundreds of us were standing together ready to be transported on lorries, and with us were the SA and SS. One of the prisoners cried loudly and clearly for everyone to hear "One minute's silence in memory of our comrade Mühsam!" There was a dead silence and no-one moved. Neither the SS nor the SA dared to do anything or to make any

Remschied.

OTTO WEBER.

ANOTHER GLASS-HOUSE OUTRAGE?

We read in the Evening Standard (9/10/47) that:

Reginald Fisher, 24-years-old soldier, was taken to Banstead Mental Hospital last night after alleging that he was gassed and beaten in detention barracks in

Fisher reached England last Friday from No. 3 Military Gaol and Detention Barracks, Linz, Southern Austria. He had been in gaol for two years on a charge of desertion and had three months left to serve.

At his home in Badric-road, Battersea, to-day his mother said: "He looks an old man. I am going to see our M.P. Mr. Douglas Jay, to-night about the

"My son says they used tear gas and water jets against sick patients. A mutiny started because the prisoners in Austria were aggravated by the bad food, infrequent mail, and because men needing hospital treatment were not rereceiving it. He said that somebody always seemed to be beaten up."

Here young Fisher's young sister took up the story. Said she:

"My brother told us that after rioting had broken out the mutineers were handcuffed and taken to Klagenfurt. Tear gas bombs were thrown into the cells.

When some of them tried to escape as they were being driven to the military hospital they were tear-gassed in the gaol

Then Mrs. Fisher said: "My son has been put in the 'depressed ward' at

'Even the orderly who brought my son in his pyjamas from overseas said he had seen the marks of lashes on his back and

boot-marks on his body. 'They kept him in Austria until he was nearly better, but his wrists were still swollen and bruised by the tight hand-cuffs they kept on him."

The War Office has announced that a Court of Inquiry has been set up in

Austria to go into these allegations. This is a matter which should not be allowed to rest and we hope that the Freedom Defence Committee, which has already done much good work in the defence of imprisoned soldiers, will take up this matter.

fifteen to twenty guineas a term, the child would grow up among middle-class surroundings. And I am not as sure as our comrade that it is so amply repaid in the child's future character.

I have known so many working-class parents who have made big sacrifices to see that their child got "education": particularly in secondary schools and beyond.

The result was to force the child into another environment and to grow up despising his home associations. As far as the choice rests at present, think the juvenile rebel against authority in the State school is the one

who grows up into the man who struggles for liberty. Tony Gibson suggests this would be merely out of "blind loyalty to Mum and Dad". This is not impossible, of course, but when they start disbelieving in Father Christmas—or Christ -it may not just be blind faith in being told of his non-existence, but that, having been told, it's impossible to believe any more. I remember when I was at school, there were many of us, in the 'No More War' days, who were unable to take part in any Armistice Day celebrations, and

PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS

detters to the Editors

I feel that Tony Gibson misses the

point of my contentions somewhat. I could

not agree more with the claims for free

schools, in a free society; my feeling is,

however, that these "progressive schools"

to-day don't create free men; since they

are compelled by economic necessity to

segregate themselves into narrow class

borders they tend to separate the son of

a militant revolutionary home from those

who would normally be his mates. It

it no use saying that the children of

middle-class liberals don't seriously care

what their parents believe: not many

children do nowadays anyway. The main

point is that their prejudices are passed

on with their environment. You cannot

expect anyone brought up in a private

school not to look on the multitude of

kids, and later men, as noisy and "com-

mon". Most middle-class people with the

money to spare for education put their

children into private schools because they

feel the child is "sensitive" or the like and

has to be treated like a delicate orchid;

I do not feel that they grow up without class prejudice, but with it more than any-

one. It has always seemed to me that

genuinely nervous child, doesn't turn out

men of strong character. How far does the "progressive school" avoid this? I

And as regards the "inevitable point"

about fees—Tony Gibson asks "So what?" Either we buy or we take what

the State dishes out. Well, this is

what—the fact is that since the majority

of working-class parents could not afford

private schooling, which might run into

except for the

'private schooling"

ask for information.

yet very few of us had family associations with progressive movements. (More-over, it wasn't a "reaction to one's schooling", as Anthony Weaver infers, but to war, in spite of the schooling). Perhaps the argument is a parallel one

with objections to 'community living'. ('Cut off from the struggle' or 'in the struggle'.) We need a synthesis of sorts -communities which can both show a way of living and yet associate actively with those taking part in industry in general-which perhaps one of our comrades can suggest.

It is regrettably true that "not a few revolutionaries have been sadly disappointed to find that their offspring grow up into conventional nonentities." On the other hand, there are several reasons for this: one of the main ones I have discovered in conversation with many older Anarchists, is the strain in their homesthe sacrifices of the father, for instance, always being understood by the mother whose sole concern is the bringing up of the children and who does not always appreciate the reason for the sacrifices occasioned by strikes, blacklisting, prison, which in the last analysis fall upon her, and the children grow up rather to think of "the movement" as they would "the other woman". Freedom in schooling I think ought to permeate the lives of the children of revolutionaries much more thoroughly than "private schooling" would. Any suggestions? Many of our old comrades used to shrug their shoulders at the question and say-"Well—if Kropotkin failed with his daughter . . ." But I think that with

DEAR FRIENDS,

London.

Tony Gibson has admirably answered K.A.B.'s letter. To write further on the points originally raised is unnecessary. Nevertheless, before the matter is left, it is surely required to state broadly the principle underlying 'progressive' schools, which has not yet been mentioned. I should like, therefore, to add something, particularly since Dr. Read's broadcast, which you report in your last issue, is so relevant.

the experience of a previous generation

we could manage to see that we avoided

the fate of that good revolutionary socialist blacksmith—Papa Mussolini.

Though progressive schools differ among themselves in many ways, it should be understood that one thing common to to most of them is this very aim of enabling children to give vent to their animosities and aggresiveness, the repression and storing up of which is rightly understoood and emphasised by Dr. Read as being one fundamental cause, not only of delinquency and crime and the like ills, but of war itself.

Yours sincerely,

E.S.

KNOWING WHAT TO (1)

A bomb exploded early today in the garden next door to M. Paul Ramadier's private home in Decazeville, a few hours after France's Socialist Premier had left

When told by telephone of the incident, M. Ramadier shrugged and said: "It is one of the inconveniences of being Prime Minister." Daily Mail, 7/10/47.

I understand that the delay in publishing the Ministerial changes has been caused by the necessity of notifying the next-of-kin. Daily Telegraph, 7/10/47.

INTEGRATION OF LABOUR

Agriculture should be teamed up with light industry. Farmers and owners of light industrial factories should become

Supposing a large number of farmers all over Britain built factories on their farms and had bungalows and cottages erected for their employees, and possibly by their employees. The result would be that electric power would have to come to

every corner of the country. There would be a large rural population, consuming local produce (agricultural) at a fair profit to the farmer, whose problems of marketing would be simplified. There would be fewer middlemen and therefore more producers. Health would benefit. Workshops and spare labour would benefit farms; there would

be no need for satelite towns. Letter in News Chronicle, 9/9/47. One suspects that writer of this letter has read Kropotkin and naively hopes that these ideas of the "integration of labour" can be applied under capitalism!

SOULS—WANTED

British Priest Archdiocese of Agra (India) seeks employment. Long and varied experience of Souls in all walks

Advt. in Catholic Herald, 12/9/47.

JUSTIFYING HIS PENSION

Major J. S. Cape, who at 76 is retiring Chairman and managing director of Totalisators Ltd., is to have a pension of £2,500 a year. He does not expect any objections from shareholders about it, for he tells me that profits last year were £211,000, together with another £85,000 from subsidiary companies.

"Since my pension is only to be paid out of profits, I don't think shareholders will be worried by it," he says.

Evening Standard, 11/9/47.

hroug

IN THE SAME BOAT

Foreign Minister Fadhil Jamali, of Iraq, told the U.N. Palestine Committee "Zionism is very much like Nazism. Ideologically it is 19th-century nationalism based on race mythology mixed with religion.

"Practically it follows the same methods of propaganda and the same method of aggression and penetration."

Daily Mail, 7/10/47.

Very true. And the same applies to Pan-Islamism.

WE SHOULD KNOW ...

Those who wonder what the Special Branch does, apart from the bizarre activities attributed to it by writers of thrillers, will be glad to know that it is responsible for translating the messages sent by radio into the appropriate

Manchester Guardian, 6/10/47.

The Manchester Guardian's readers would be less glad to know of some of its other activities!

ACT OF GOD (I)

A chaplet of 22 yellow roses placed about the brow of a statue of the Virgin in St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Stockport, by the seven-year-old May Queen, Pauline Byrne, on May 4th, still shows no sign of decay. Father James Turner, the parish priest,

said last night: The whole parish is talking about it.

It is not for me to say it is a miracle, but to my mind it is something above nature, as roses usually drop after a few

(II)

Six persons were killed and 20 injured when, in an earthquake, the church tower in Ario del Rosales, Michoacan State, crashed just as the congregation were leaving.

Daily Telegraph, 7/10/47

"MORALITY" AND **HYPOCRISY**

There is, of course, no official censor-ship of plays in the States ,but their methods are even more drastic! Entire companies can be yanked off to gaol for "corrupting public morals", and this has happened twice in the case of Mae West.

Nudity on the stage, although frowned on officially, is allowed in England, provided certain rules are adhered to. First of all, "if you move, it's rude." "Living statues" are permitted in the "altogether", just so long as they remain completely static, and are bathed in coloured light. Nude dancers must, in addition to "surprise pink" lighting, perform behind a gauze curtain, or else be covered by a veil, however transparent.

In most parts of America, complete nudity on the stage is allowed, but in the puritan states, such as Massachusetts, dancers in the French company of the Folies Bergère, were issued with three pieces of flesh-coloured steiking plaster each, and purity was served.

While we have unquestionably advanced a long way since the banning of such plays as Ghosts and Mrs. Warren's Profession, inconsistencies are always cropping up.

Leader, 6/9/47.

ADVANTAGES OF OCCUPATION

I remember sitting in a German beer house listening to the incredible conversation of certain members of the Control Commission.

They admitted, quite frankly, that they would hang on to their jobs until the last possible moment, not as you would hope, because the task is important and one that they are proud to be doing.

No, drink is cheap, food more plentiful, and life a lot easier.

And the same line is taken by other "ambassadors" of Britain abroad.

Sunday Pictorial, 5/10/47.

SOVIET IDYLL

The Department of External Affairs states that the Moscow ballerina Eleanora Kuznetsova, who married the Canadian Consular officer, Mr. George Power, in February, 1945, when he was stationed in Moscow, is applying for a divorce.

After Mr. Power and his wife failed

to obtain Soviet permission for her to leave Russia when her husband was transferred to Ottawa five months after their marriage-since when they have not seen each other-the Canadian Government approached the Soviet Government seven times in unsuccessful attempts to secure an exit visa for her.

News Chronicle, 27/9/47.

ATOMGRAD

It had to come. Sooner or later someone was bound to name a city after the discovery of the age. The Russians

According to the French newspaper La Bataille, official Moscow knows the spot as "X71". But the thirty to forty thousand voluntary Russian gaolbirds who labour on atomic research in the Siberian city, call it Aatomgrad.

It takes a special permit from the Moscow Institute of Scientific Research and from the Ministry of War for a visitor to get in, and only visitors ever

News Review, 25/9/47.

STATESMANSHIP

The Anglo-American Committee's Report stated:

"In Germany and Poland, which were often described to us as the 'cemetery of European Jewry', the Jews may see in the face of any man he looks upon the murderer of his family."

Yet we are sending 4,500 Jews back to Germany, including some 2,500 women and children.

Jesus said, "Suffer little children to come unto me." We are made of sterner stuff. What are children in the calculus

Letter in News Review, 18/9/47.

PRISON IS BEST

A 29-year-old mother-to-be, Mrs. Edna Flora Hall, who had no previous convictions, was sent to prison for six months here to-day for theft. There were three women magistrates on

the bench. Mrs. Hall pleaded guilty to stealing

collecting-boxes, obtaining 9s. credit by fraud, and shoplifting. The contents of the collecting-boxes amounted to £10 16s. 6d. and the value of the articles stolen from shops was £16 1s.

Mrs. Hall, of no settled address, was said by a previous employer to be a good

Mrs. Hall had told the police that she had been deserted by her husband and was expecting a baby in November.

Det.-Constable Walker said that in

November, 1946, Mrs. Hall's little boy, aged four, was accidentally drowned and she had been unable to work since. The mayor, Alderman Mrs. Mary Whitmore, said: "We have no alternative but to send you to prison. We are sure you will be well looked after and it is

really the best thing for you."

News Chronicle, 23/9/47.

PURGE AGAINST U.S. FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

20 YEARS AFTER

"Sacco and Vanzetti were nothing but a couple of damn radicals who didn't deserve to live whether they were guilty of this particular crime or not." So said a Massachusetts citizen to this editor at a Rotary Club luncheon in Quincy.

Sacco and Vanzetti died in the electric chair, August 23, 1927. During the week of the twentieth anniversary of that hideous miscarriage of justice, President Truman's witch hunt, backed by a Congressional appropriation of \$11,000,000 for thought control police, opened against 1,500,000 federal employees. The psychology of the Quincy Rotarian is bearing a horrible harvest!

Of it Editor Freda Kirchwey writes in the August 23rd Nation:

I repudate as disingenuous and dangerous the notion, frequently advanced these days by persons who call themselves liberal, that the restrained procedures used in Washington somehow justify the loyalty check itself and the purposes behind it.

On the contrary, the government of the United States has no excuse whatsoever for carrying out a purge on the scale promised, with or without safeguards. The government is not threatened from any direction. If a political drift is discernible in the country, it is to the right. The Communists, however irritating, are neither more numerous nor more aggressive than in years past. Only hysteria or a calculated desire to make political capital out of the general fear of Russia can explain the institution of an organized system of thought control in the federal departments

... The recent announcement that ten more persons had been ousted from the State Department included an official estimate that 831 workers had been dismissed as political "suspects" from the government service as a whole; this before the new check had even begun. How many of them were suspected of communism was not mentioned, but the State Department made no pretence that the twenty persons so far ousted from its staff were even supposed to be Communism. They were dropped, it said, for "security reasons", without further specification.

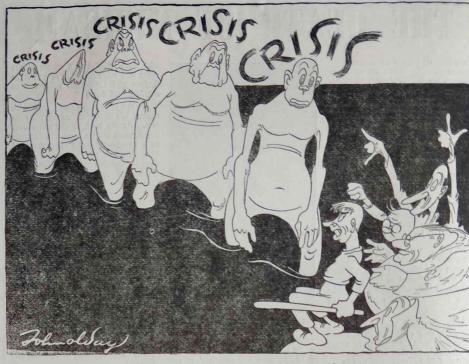
It is a fact widely known in Washington that of the first ten dismissed several had no idea what charges had been brought against them. Some of them are likely to take their cases into court. I. F. Stone reported in PM on July 2 an astonishing conversation with Assistant Secretary of State Peurifoy, the official handling the department purge. A few lines are worth reprinting:

[He] did not think the ten were Communists, nor did he think more than a few might be called fellow-travellers, but he was dubious about their associations.

... When I asked whether they would be told the evidence against them, he said they would not. When I asked whether they would be given a statement of specific allegations against them, he said they would not. When I asked whether they would be given a statement of specific allegations against them, he said they would not. When I asked whether they would be given a statement of specific allegations against them, he said they would not. When I asked whether they would be given a statement of specific allegations against them, he said they would not. When I asked whether they would be given a statement of specific allegations against them, he said no . . .

In other words, even under the methods applied in stable and comfortably conservative America, government employees are losing their jobs on charges which are never specified and are thus impossible to disprove.

The Open Forum, 6/9/47.



The Worker: Why always pick on me?

THE ATOM HEDNIB

While the atom bomb has tended to become something of an abstraction in the minds of the public, a vague threat bandied about by politicians, an excuse for Russo-American mutual abuse at international conferences, we are still faced with grim reminders of what the atom bomb means in concrete reality.

The toll of dead from the bomb at Hiroshima was already collossal; now there comes information which shows that the figures of those who died from the

after-effects of the bomb, from radio-

after-effects of the bomb, from radio-active causes, and even by indirect means, such as contact with infected corpses, were in fact incomplete.

A few miles away from Hiroshima lies an island, Ninoshima. Since the days of the atom bomb this island had not been visited by the authorities, and it was only a few days ago that Japanese officials went there and were confronted by another revolting sight of destruction. According to the Manchester Guardian

report:

"Lying all over the island were some 600 decaying bodies of Japanese who, injured in the explosion over Hiroshima, fled to Ninoshima Island two years ago. The victims, it appears, died on the island at the rate of 500 or 6000 a day, until survivors could no longer provide any form of burial. In the end those who could still walk fled from the island, leaving bodies unburied behind them."

AGAIN

Here, again, is the atom bomb in reality. We tend too easily to forget what war really means, in concrete terms of human lives. The atom bomb is not merely a counter in political conversation. It is something by means of which each and all of us may one day be served like the people who died uncared for and unburied on Ninoshima Island. Instead of accepting this as some future Nemesis, it is for everybody now to strive against war and to attempt in every way possible to take the power from those who will exploit the atom bomb to their own ends and destroy further millions of human beings in their lust for world power.

THE PROBLEM WORK **OPE**

myself to take an interest in my work, and yet I am unable to." And still another:—"Faced with each new day of work, I feel a new horror growing within me. I cannot imagine how I shall be able to stand ten hours of this martyrdom." A metal-worker:—"I take no interest whatever in my work, and if by chance on an off-day I sight the factory chimneys, I feel as if I had been reminded of something unpleasant." And this terrible judgment of another worker:—"I find no pleasure in my work. I go to my labours as I would go to my death." A weaver says:—"Purely and simply, I hate my work."

Small Minority Likes Work

Arturo Labriola sums up the results of this most interesting enquiry as follows:—"1803 replied to the author's questions. Of these, 307 (that is 17%) declared that they found pleasure in their work—but often for reasons indirectly connected with their job, or of a personal nature. 1207 workers (59.9%) found their work repugnant or even loathsome. 308 persons (17.1%) declared themselves indifferent either way (due to force of habit, because 'work was necessary' or because they had never given it any thought). And 161 (9%) gave no reply whatever. In other words, a mere 17% said they were happy in their work; but no one can say whether-they were sincere or not. People are influenced by tradition, school training and so on, and tend to give a conventional mentality been absent the final results of the enquiry might have been still more revealing; it is nevertheless, a distressing fact that more than 80% of those asked had either a definite loathing for their work, or a conception of work as something mechanical before which they remained passive and silent."

which they remained passive and silent."

Labriola comments on the result of these enquiries as follows (Beyond Capitalism and Socialism, Paris 1931):

"Work as such suggests nothing to the worker's mind. It is, to the operative, mere execution—execution of a fragment or a part of a plan. The plan and its practical working-out have nothing to do with the operative. They are the exclusive concern of the contractor and the factory management, who alone take decisions.

management, who alone take decisions.

"In the 'taylorised' or 'fordised' high-efficiency factory, the operative does not even understand what purpose his work serves, and he would certainly be quite incapable of recognising in the finished product the part to which his own work had contributed. Work of this nature, therefore, can only mean either annoyance and boredom to the worker or it means nothing at all—indeed, better for, him if his function should become entirely automatic, producing in him such a degree of insensibility as will help him forget the burden of his labour."

Labriola, as is usual with him and other possimists.

Labriola, as is usual with him and other passimists, tends to generalise; but what he says is certainly true for the majority of workers in large industries. I have with me a collection of poems written by French, English and American workers, and they all evince the same complaint: the sequence of interminable days, the weariness that annihilates thought, the desire to escape from the daily round, the terror at the thought that the whole of life will be like yesterday and to-day. To the chainwork methods used by the production lines are now added

the piecework systems which accentuate the robot-like nature of industrial work.

"Rationalisation" Means Tyranny

so on. The task of the 'demonstrator' is, at bottom, to convince the operative that he must become automatic, himself a well-timed mechanism. It sometimes happens that even after the demonstration the worker does very little better—instead of 1 minute 10 seconds per piece, he has taken, say, 1 min. 5 secs.—he is still a long way from 0.48! In this case his substitution is inevitable, and he is either put to work on a simpler machine or else he is dismissed from the factory. Another worker may take 1.10 'bedaux' the first time, the second 0.59, the third he may reach 0.48; indeed, his work becomes an exercise, familiarity provides training, and from 0.48 he drops to 0.40. In this case he does not benefit by the 0.08 'bedaux' spained; his share is only three-quatrers, the other quarter going to the technical department! A prize is given to those operatives who call attention to a superflow movement and the secrecy of their suggestion is guaranteed by the management. The Bedaux system is applied, in some factories, in more or less elastic form, but the fact remains that if the technical office is made of expert engineers, the workers will be turned into automatons during their working hours." The 'worker of a large factory' concludes thus:—

"The Bedaux system is in fact a method of work-intensification pushed to the limit. The workers employed in factories where this system is used must be strong and healthy. All calculations of labour-power, resting-time and so on are based on a worker in perfect condition'; consequently, the elderly are obliged to pass these workshops by, for even were they to be tolerated, their salary would be negligible. All applied systems of organized production, and every new mechanical device, have brought, under the capitalist regime, only a increase in exploitation, accompanied by an increase in unemployment. The Bedaux system burdens still further the workers' conditions. The greatest efforts he can make are demanded of the worker—all he gives is stolen from him. The system creates a "Rationalisation" Means Tyranny
A Turin worker gives the following example of the Sedaux system (The Workers' State, Paris, August, 1933):—
"A worker has to make a certain metal part. He sigven 30 seconds to complete this operation, divided into two, first the rough approximation, then the finishing. To do seconds to complete this operation, divided into two, first the rough approximation, then the finishing. The But while the lathe is doing one part of the job, he must go to the drill-press and fix a grummer to fit. Then he returns to the Lathe, takes out the turned piece and puts another in position, then goes to the drill with the piece from the lathe. He therefore has to work two lathest and a duit in passing from one or another of the perforating or turning equipment, and if this happens his wage will be insufficient will be like at the end of his working equipment, and if this happens his wage will be insufficient will be like at the end of his working day."

In the same enquiry a "worker of a large factory' described the system as follows:—

"The Bedaux system for begins with an office of engineers, time-keepers and expert technicians. All yourself the system is a studied with a view to determining how many movements and operations can be carried out with them in a given time. The machine ser studied with a view to determining how many movements and operations can be carried out with them in a given time. The machine distribution is now done difference of the intervenses the describation, and the various qualities of the steel used; metric speeds of working are decided on; the machines are studied with a view to determining how many movements and operations can be carried out with them in a given time. The machine destribution is now done difference the studies of the steel used; metric speeds of working are decided on; the machines are studied with a view to determining how many movement and the street seed to the machine are studied with a view to decermining how many movement and the street seed to th

meetings and announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS:

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

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

OCT. 18th Gerald Vaughan Some Social Implications of Reich's Sexology.

OCT. 25th Sylvia Pankhurst The Future of Italian Colonies OCT. 25th

N.E. LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

NEXT MEETING. at Flat 3, 43, New Wanstead (Nr. Green Man, E.II) TUES., NOV. 4th Tom Brown

Anarchism & Syndicalism Any enquiries to 27, Red Lion St., W.C.I.

CHORLEY AREA GROUP LECTURES by J. H. MOORHOUSE NOTE ALTERATION OF DATES:

Thurs., Oct. 23rd Anarchism and Healing Sun., Oct. 26th Anarchism and Psychology Commence 7 p.m.

At the Oddfellows Rooms, 9, Cunliffe St., Chorley, Lancs.

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