

THE ABUSE OF POWER

ONE of the most significant and depressing features of the modern age is the way in which, at a time when the Governments of all countries, including even open dictatorships like that in Russia, are loud in their support for an abstraction called "Democracy", there should be such a decline in those civil liberties which were traditionally regarded as one of the chief virtues of democracy. This tendency, as we pointed out in a recent issue of *Freedom*, is shown not only in the actions of Governments, where it is to be expected, but also—which is a much more dangerous thing—in the apathy and indifference which the majority of the people, including the workers themselves, show towards these steady encroachments on their liberties of speech and action.

These encroachments, as we have said, are world-wide. They occur in their most aggravated form in Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe which are under Communist domination, but as the various manifestations of extreme tyranny which are mounting in a wave of bloodshed and oppression in these areas are already covered in other pages of *Freedom*, we will confine our attention to those countries of the Western world which are supposed to maintain in their purest form all the virtues of a democratic society.

Growing Police Power

In England the most sinister form of these encroachments on civil liberties consists of the growing autonomous power of the police and of the inspectors of various government departments, and the way in which these various departments and individuals frequently act illegally with apparent impunity in order to gain their ends.

To begin with, there is a whole army of government officials, numbering some thousands, who are empowered to enter premises for search purposes, without needing to obtain a warrant. These include officials of the Ministry of Food, Customs and Excise, etc., and they are empowered to act merely on "suspicion" they themselves being the sole judges of what are suspicious circumstances. These officials, of course, with their unlimited powers of entry, can be used for police purposes, and there is no doubt that they frequently do collaborate with the police and pass on information which the police would otherwise be unable to obtain.

A further scandalous danger to freedom is to be found in the growing tendency of the police and government inspectors to use deliberately provocative methods, by tempting individuals into committing crimes and then prosecuting them. There have been several notorious cases of this recently.

Provocation

In the Court of Appeal, the case was brought forward of a Derby policeman who had gone into a public house and persuaded a man, whom he admitted to be reluctant, to place a bet for him. The man was then charged and fined; on appeal, the Lord Chief Justice, himself no particular champion of leniency, pointed out that the policeman had equally committed an offence, and condemned such blatant provocation. A further case, at Dorking, involved a number of policemen who had gone to a club and persuaded the proprietor to serve them drinks without being members; here again the presiding Judge, while convicting the club owner, was moved to point out that the action of the police was illegal and that "all the officials and policemen and policewomen who gave evidence could have been brought before this court and charged with the offences they committed". These, of course, are only the cases where police provocation gains publicity because of its particularly

flagrant nature. The cases that do not reach the press must be much more numerous.

Another important factor in police tyranny is the growing use of informers to carry on the dirty work. Recently, a shopkeeper was fined heavily for obtaining black market clothing coupons. The man he bought them from was admitted by the police to be a professional informer. Significantly, the man was not prosecuted, although he had been in possession of the coupons.

Added to this are all the other kinds of police spying done under disguised forms. Recently, for instance, the question of telephone tapping was raised in the House of Commons; the Postmaster-General got round it by claiming that Post Office officials were forbidden to listen-in, but admitted that long-distance calls were monitored for technical reasons. He did not say whether information picked up by such monitoring was passed on, and he carefully avoided the question of listening by police officials, which we know goes on, since during the police investigations of the Anarchist case in 1945 they admitted having certain information which could only have been obtained by phone tapping. A further weapon is given to the police by the new regulation authorising the opening of letters to search for pound notes. No doubt this will be used as well to extract useful information for political purposes.

Immigration Abuses

Yet another province in which the police wield completely autonomous powers is that of the entry of foreigners into England. The Special Branch immigration officers have power to refuse entry on their own initiative, and the Freedom Defence Committee has exposed cases where this power has been used solely for political discrimination. The police autonomy goes so far in this matter that, even where foreigners resident in England have gone out of the country provided with re-entry visas granted by the Home Office, the policemen at the ports have ignored this fact and sent them back on their own initiative.

We have used most of this article to illustrate conditions in England as being of more immediate interest. But the same applies to other "democratic" countries. In France, the traditional police practices of terrorism continue unabated; the *Evening Standard*, for instance, reports that at a recent demon-

stration where the police attacked the crowd, they also beat up no less than eight Press photographers and smashed their cameras, so that the newspapers should not carry a record of their activities.

In America, the heresy hunt against radicals continues unabated. Theoretically aimed at the tiny minority of Communists, the campaign is used indiscriminately against leftists of every colour, and the crudity of the proceedings impelled even the Tory and anti-leftist *Evening Standard* to make the following exposure:

"Were you a supporter of the Spanish Republic? Have you spoken publicly in favour of friendship with Russia? Do you believe in the closed shop? Are you a teacher who has instructed your pupils in the facts of human reproduction? Then, in each and every case and others more incredible, you are a Communist. You will be hauled before the Committee, pilloried, assaulted with the grossest insults before a jeering audience. Your private papers may be searched. Tittle-tattle and denunciation will be evidence, and your lawyer, if you dare to bring one, will be ordered out. At best you will be held up to public ridicule. At worst, you will forfeit your job."

Freedom is Indivisible

In all the "democratic" countries these attacks on elementary civil rights are going on. Denunciation and spying, informing and provocation, the methods so self-righteously condemned when the Nazis used them, are being applied by government officials of every kind, and condoned by the politicians who pay lip service to liberty. But, most serious of all, they are accepted with apathy by the wide masses of the people in all countries. It rests ultimately with the workers whether they regain their civil liberties by active protests or decline blindly into a state of slavery. The attitude that these acts are committed against a few foreigners, a few Reds, a few bookmakers and black-marketeers is a fatal one, for the precedents that are being established by the enemies of freedom will undoubtedly be used against everybody who tries to remain free, when the need arises. We must assert our liberties now, by active protest against all these acts of tyranny, just as the British workers years ago protested regularly. Politicians have canalised the activities of the workers into barren channels of acceptance and servility. It is time the old fervour for liberty re-appeared in active opposition and denunciation of every act of tyranny, no matter against whom it is directed. While one man is persecuted, the freedom of all is in danger.

Appeal from Portugal

MANY attacks have been made on the governmental terrorism in Spain, and, indeed, the Spanish people live in very bad conditions, while nobody can forget the fight of our Spanish comrades to liberate themselves from a dictatorship that has exploited them for many years.

But the present situation in Portugal is too often ignored. No democratic or libertarian activities are permitted in Portugal, and the Portuguese people live in a similar condition to the Spanish people. The leaders of both countries co-operate in their home and foreign activities. A fascist army, state syndicates to which every worker is forced to contribute a large percentage of his salary, a state ruled by the Catholic church, are the institutions which govern without the least consideration for individual rights.

Anti-fascist organisations in every country have a duty to know as well as possible the fascist situation in Portugal. Fascism is still very strong in the world, and, as the workers know, it is the offspring of capitalism. Therefore, fascism will not disappear while capitalism leads national and international politics.

THE FUTILITY OF ELECTIONS

THE recent defeat of the Labour Party in municipal elections is a political phenomenon which should be regarded with interest, but caution. There has, firstly, been a tendency among many people to regard them as having an interest parallel to the municipal elections in France. It should be remembered, however, that the French elections reveal a deep cleavage between two opposing international political interests—the Communists represent Russian infiltration into Western Europe, de Gaulle stands for the policy of rapprochement with Anglo-American imperialism.

In the British municipal elections there is no similar cleavage. Both Labour and Conservatives represent the opposition of British imperialism to Russian expansion; the election has been fought on an entirely national basis of differing interests within the British ruling class. It has been a choice of whether you want to be bullied by rulers with the old school tie or rulers whom you yourself have been foolish enough to advance to power by their misuse of the working-class movement.

As a whole the election shows that the majority of the people, including large sections of the industrial workers (towns like Manchester, Birmingham and Dundee were among those where the Labour Party suffered its greatest set-backs) are beginning to realise that the so-called "working-class" politicians are, firstly, responsible to a great extent for the crisis which they try to solve by imposing further burdens on the workers, and, secondly, are consistently acting in a way which shows that the kind of state socialism they represent is as great a danger to individual liberty as any open kind of fascism. The great myth of Labour representing the workers is crumbling rapidly, and out of this disillusionment may spring some really revo-

lutionary orientation among the workers.

But this is certainly not evident yet. The people who went to the polls still think in political terms. They imagine that a mere change of rulers will improve conditions. They accept quite valid criticisms levelled by the Tories against the Labour government, without realising that in power the Tories would merely carry on the same kind of activity, except that they would tend to favour private capitalists while the Labour politicians favour state capitalism. But any illusion that the Tories will bring more freedom is doomed to be disappointed.

It was a disquieting sign to see that there was a much larger poll than usual. This means that people are still seeking political ways out of their difficulties. There is no political way out. Voting for the Tories will do no good; the only way for the workers to gain real freedom is to boycott the polls and all other governmental means of retaining power, and concentrate on building their own organisations to gain their demands by direct action against the whole ruling class and the state itself.

FREEDOM TO COST 3d.

COMMENCING with the January 10th issue, FREEDOM will cost 3d. a copy. Subscription rates will be 8/6 for 12 months and 4/6 for 6 months).

To explain the reasons for this decision would be to repeat what we wrote earlier this year in an article "Hard Facts" ("Freedom", 15/2/47), where we showed readers with figures how much more it is costing us to produce this paper now than it did a year ago (and costs are likely to show a further increase in the New Year). We also explained that the only alternative to increasing the price of "Freedom" was to increase our circulation by 2,000 copies. Unfortunately, this has not been achieved. We accept part of the blame for this since we are convinced that it was a goal easily within our reach, had we been able to devote the necessary time and organization to this work. But the responsibility for the failure must be shared also by those comrades who, in spite of their words of encouragement, have in fact done nothing to "push" the paper wherever there was a chance of interesting new readers. However, this is a matter which must be decided by comrades for themselves.

What WE are concerned with is that "Freedom" should continue its work during the coming year. The majority of readers who have written to us in connection with the future

(Continued on page 8)

Alliance between State Socialism and Capitalism

The fact that nationalisation really means no break with capitalist tradition was shown by a recent speech of Herbert Morrison, one of the leading Labour party theoreticians, in which he pleaded for "spirited competition" in state enterprises, and stated that he did not see any point of "interfering in industry for the sake of interfering".

He went on to make the further revealing statement:

"I suggest it is wrong to envisage Government and industry as opposite interests.

"There is no incompatibility between the two. What we want to avoid is that the Government should frustrate indus-

trialists by preventing them from doing their jobs, or that industrialists should find it easier to rest on the soft cushion of the State."

In other words, after decades of pleading for a society based on co-operation, the Labour politicians are returning in practice to the old capitalist dogmas of the value of competition, and are actually disclaiming any intention of embarrassing private capitalists in their pursuit of profits by the traditional methods. Perhaps it will not be long before we hear some Labour leader speaking up in favour of that other old capitalist favourite, the permanent pool of unemployed as an incentive to hard work!

REGIONALISM—A BASIS OF FREE SOCIETY

As was already said in the last issue of *Freedom*, the anarchists have always advocated decentralisation, in the form of the destruction of any large-scale or "national" forms of administration. This was first, among early anarchists like Godwin and Proudhon, regarded as the only means by which the evils of imperialism and the monolithic state could be avoided.

But the logical conclusion from political decentralisation is cultural and industrial decentralisation, so that men need not be dependent for the satisfaction of their elementary physical and intellectual needs on one country in the world, or on one city in any country. And, since no kind of society can be negative, since a mere decentralisation cannot exist without some kind of local reintegration of communal, industrial and cultural life, those social thinkers who were hostile to the state began to foresee a positive social development in the shape of an active regionalism that would provide local nuclei in every district, around which the various aspects of communal life could form themselves.

The Free Cities

This way of thinking was encouraged by the researches of students into the social organisation of Greek antiquity and mediaeval Europe. In these societies the national state, as we know it, did not exist. The ancient Greek or the mediaeval German did not think that a common race or a common language forced him to belong to the same unwieldy political society as all Greeks or all Germans, or to give homage to some Greek or German metropolis which would gather all industry and culture within its walls and drain away the independent life of the countryside and the smaller cities. Instead, each free city of ancient Greece or twelfth-century Germany reared its own culture, carried on its own industries, preserved its real independence from overlords, and drew its sustenance from direct contact with the surrounding agricultural districts, for which it provided a regional focus.

Far from being in any way petty or provincial, the achievements of these free towns were on a high scale; their literary, dramatic and artistic masterpieces, their craftsmanship and industrial inventiveness, their traditions of freedom, were of far

greater vitality than anything that could be found elsewhere in their world. Nor, while rivalry led them into a fruitful emulation, was there anything parochial about their attitude or their cultures. In the ancient and mediaeval worlds, philosophers and poets, craftsmen and musicians, could wander from city to city and be sure of a welcome wherever they went.

By the nineteenth century all this rich regional life was almost dead. The advent of the German empire and the Italian kingdom had meant the final end of the free cities, and the vast industrial developments and exporting imperialisms of such industrial countries as England, Germany and America had produced a kind of international centralisation which bred uniformity in the world and destroyed all the varied richness of the old mediaeval society.

It was not merely the sentimental mediaevalists who lamented this development. The rise of the new science of sociology rapidly led its students to realise that the metropolitan development in industry and culture had led to the elimination of many definitely beneficial features of social life, and had replaced social

integration by a kind of atomisation which rendered individuals more readily the prey to the regimentation and standardisation of an authoritarian culture. "Division of labour", chief characteristic of an industrially centralised society, robbed the workers of that integrated balance of work which is necessary for mental and physical health, while it confined to a few artists, craftsmen and scientists that pleasure in work which should be the heritage of all.

Kropotkin's Contribution

Kropotkin was the first man to realise the full implications of this situation. His study of mutual aid in human institutions and of the nature of the state had emphasised for him the paramount necessity of decentralisation as a means to a free and complete life for every man instead of for the few. His researches into agricultural productivity and the possibility of decentralising industries into the rural districts gave his theories on this subject a sound practical basis, and the ideas which Kropotkin first taught as an isolated figure in the world of sociology, have since, through the work of Patrick Geddes, Lewis Mumford and other sociologists, gained an accepted position in the scientific consideration of human social relations.

Kropotkin's ideas on decentralisation and regionalism are to be found expounded at greatest length in *The Conquest of Bread*, and, particularly, *Fields, Factories and Workshops*. In the former book he reached them by a consideration of the kind of society in which agriculture and industry can achieve their true balance, and he decided that, from an economic as well as a social point of view, the old system of one country being primarily agricultural is harmful and leads to social stagnation.

"Nowadays everything holds together in the world of production. Cultivation of the soil is no longer possible with-

out machinery, without great irrigation works, without railways, without manure factories. And to adapt this machinery, these railways, these irrigation engines, etc., to local conditions, a certain spirit of invention, and a certain amount of technical skill must be developed, while they necessarily lie dormant so long as spades and ploughshares are the only implements of cultivation.

"If fields are to be properly cultivated, if they are to yield the abundant harvests that man has a right to expect, it is essential that workshops, foundries and factories develop within the reach of the fields. A variety of occupations, and a variety of skill arising therefrom, both working together for a common aim—these are the true forces of progress."

Kropotkin pointed out that this kind of social reintegration, far from being an impractical Utopian vision, embodied a principle of absolute necessity to the continued existence of a revolutionary society which, even if it were not invaded militarily by hostile powers, could at least not hope to receive any economic assistance and would therefore have to stand on its own feet.

Basis of Libertarian Society

Yet, as Kropotkin showed conclusively in *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, the argument from immediate revolutionary expediency is in fact the least of the reasons to be brought up in favour of a re-integration of town and country life. Not merely the success of an immediate overthrow of governmental power, but also that of the subsequent evolution of a healthy libertarian society is bound up in this question, and I can do no better than quote Kropotkin's own words on this matter:

"When we revert from the scholastics of our text-books, and examine human life as a whole, we soon discover that,

while all the benefits of a temporary division of labour must be maintained, it is high time to claim those of the *integration of labour*. Political economy has hitherto insisted chiefly upon *division*. We proclaim *integration*; and we maintain that the ideal of society—that is, the state towards which society is already marching—is a society of integrated, combined labour. A society where each individual is a producer of both manual and intellectual work; where each able-bodied human is a worker, and where each worker works both in the field and the industrial workshop; where every aggregation of individuals, large enough to dispose of a certain variety of natural resources—it may be a nation, or rather a region—produces and itself consumes most of its agricultural and manufactured produce.

"Of course, as long as society remains organised so as to permit the owners of land and capital to appropriate for themselves, under the protection of the State and historical rights, the yearly surplus of human production, no such change can be thoroughly accomplished. But the present industrial system, based upon a permanent specialisation of functions, already bears in itself the germs of its proper ruin. The industrial crises, which grow more acute and protracted, and are rendered still worse and still more acute by the armaments and wars implied by the present system, are rendering its maintenance more and more difficult . . .

Fallacy of Specialisation

"A reorganised society will have to abandon the fallacy of nations specialised for the production of either agricultural or manufactured produce. It will have to rely on itself for the production of food and many, if not most, of the raw materials; it must find the best means of combining agriculture with manufacture—the work in the field with a decentralised industry; and it will have to provide for 'integrated education', which education alone, by teaching both science and handicraft from earliest childhood, can give to society the men and women it really needs."

In *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, Kropotkin supplements these contentions with a mass of evidence on agricultural productivity, industrial decentralisation and integrated education which amply supports his case, and which, as will be shown in a later article, has merely been confirmed by the findings of later sociologists. On a wider scale, his statements on the economic crises and wars which are caused by centralisation of industry, with its accompanying systems of export competition and economic imperialism, have been proved over and over again by events during the present century.

As the first sociologist to point out the benefits of an integrated regionalisation of culture and industry, and to indicate the superiority of libertarian regionalism over political nationalism, Kropotkin fulfilled an important function which is now being amply recognised in the acknowledgments paid to his pioneer work in this science by such successors as Lewis Mumford.

G.W.

THE PROBLEM OF WORK

We are printing below the third of a series of articles which comprise an abridged translation of a pamphlet by Camillo Berneri *Il Lavoro Attraente* (Attractive Work). The first two articles stressed the importance of discussing the problem of work from an anarchist viewpoint and showed that work has always been slavery since the beginning of civilization, that Christian ethics considered it a punishment imposed by God. Modern systems of rationalisation have transformed workers into robots with dangerous results for their physical and mental health.

The author further analysed the factors which would render work pleasant and concluded that the duration of work must be proportional to the effort involved and that everyone must be free to follow that productive capacity to which they feel most attracted.

The "Lazy" People and the Problem of Free Work.

Many so-called "lazy" people would work could they find an occupation suited to their psychic and physical personality. Kropotkin says on this subject in his *Conquest of Bread*:

"Somebody has said that dust is matter in the wrong place. The same definition applies to nine-tenths of those called lazy. They are people gone astray in a direction that does not answer to their temperament nor to their capacities. In reading the biography of great men, we are struck with the number of 'idlers' among them. They were lazy so long as they had not found the right path; afterwards they became laborious to excess. Darwin, Stephenson, and many others belonged to this category of idlers."

Difficulties After The Revolution

These reflections of Kropotkin are absolutely right, and if I so desired I could quote corroborating opinions by psychologists, physicians and teachers, but they do not solve the problem for the immediate future. We can be convinced, as was Zola, that "if all that people were required to do was pleasing work, freely chosen, there would certainly no longer be 'lazy people'"; we can be convinced that a time will come when no coercion will be necessary to ensure that all shall work; but the problem of the moment for us is this: after the fall of the bourgeois regime, is production to be entirely free, that is, entrusted to the population's will to work? "Attractive work" if generalised, presupposes not only free choice and the right to change occupation, reconciled with the productive necessities, but also the absorption of many unattractive activities by the machine. Kropotkin, when speaking of pleasant work, cites as objects of such work the book, the luxury article, the work of art—and not mechanical parts, articles of strict necessity, unpleasantly smelling raw materials, and the like.

Work will become lighter and less dangerous, will cease to be injurious or very tiring, but on the whole it will be slow to become so attractive as to bring about the disappearance of lazy people.

Kropotkin (*Conquest of Bread* 1892) and Grave (*The Dying Society and Anarchy* 1894) have not solved the problem by limiting themselves to a statement that all men who are fit to work should compel themselves to do a certain number of working hours. Many anarchists oscillate between "the right to idleness" and "compulsory work for all", unable to conceive of an intermediate formula, which, it seems to me, could be "no compulsion to work, but no duty towards those who refuse to work".

Malatesta wrote in one of his articles, "It seems to me that the reaction to the wishful thinking so prevalent in our camp is an excess of pessimism on the part of others who fail to bear in mind, in this special case of the 'will to work', the moral coercion of public opinion and the immediate effect which a revolution carried out

By Camillo Berneri

against the exploiters—that is, against those who do not work—is likely to have on men's feelings". But he also wrote, "At the base of the anarchic system, before communism or any other way of social living, rests the principle of the free undertaking; the rule of integral communism—from each according to his ability, to each according to his need—is only valid for those who accept it by accepting also as a matter of course those conditions which make it practicable."

Against Over-Optimism

While valuing the effects of moral coercion, Malatesta does not exclude economic coercion, represented by the sanction which bars "chronic idlers" from communist or collectivist associations. Luigi Fabbri in an article on "The problem of free work", wrote: "One of the most serious problems to be met in the practical organisation of a society without governments or masters is that of voluntary work in relation to the necessities of social life. In present-day society, based on struggle and competition, work is in most cases a servitude, and for many (especially the manual labourer) a decisive mark of inferiority. The majority work because obliged to from need and the fear of starvation, or are impelled to by promises or hopes of a bonus, or a betterment in their conditions which will enable them to leave the exploited class and enter that of the 'privileged'. What will take the place of the urge of necessity and the desire for profit in a society which ensures everybody with at least the satisfaction of the more elementary needs, in which the spectre of misery and hunger will no longer be a spur, and in which individual remuneration will be replaced by the distribution of goods according to needs, independently of work done? Up to now, the anarchist writers, with one or two exceptions, have attempted to eliminate these objections with over-optimistic axiomatic replies which certainly ended the argument; but a close examination showed them to be highly questionable opinions, unsafe predictions, and hopes which presupposed the solution of a number of other very grave problems which still remain.

"The opinions, predictions and hopes regarding the solution of this difficult question were not—and are not—mistaken; they all contain, in fact, an indisputable basis of truth and common sense. But they are only partly reasonable and true, or they are so only according to an abstract logic, and in relation to future moral and social progress still too far ahead . . .

"One of the dangers of the revolution will actually be the loathing for work which it will inherit from the society of to-day. We were made aware of this in those brief moments in which it seemed that the revolution was beating at the gates. Too many people among the poor, too many workers really believed that the time had come to cease work or to make the leisured classes work for them. There were many who did not perceive the obvious truth—that the idle rich were too few in number adequately to take the place of the enormous army of workers and peasants in the fields of work, and that in any case they would be practically incapable of giving to society that particular kind of work which would be most needed.

"A revolution of people who had no desire to work, or who even imagined they could rest awhile or do less work, would be a defeated revolution. Under the pressure of necessity, coercive organisms would rapidly form, and these, in the absence of free work, would lead us back to a regime of forced and, therefore, exploited, labour.

"The consciousness of the workers, and particularly the revolutionaries and anarchists must, therefore, before the revolution—from this very moment—be awakened to the

clear notion that the revolution will mean sacrifice and not merry-making; that during its development not only the armed enemy but also more difficult living conditions will have to be fought, the latter with harder, longer and more intelligent work. If this work is done voluntarily and in the required measure, well and good—the revolution will triumph. Otherwise that same work will still be done, but this time by compulsion; and that will mean a new coercive, exploiting regime will have reformed on the ruins of the old, and the revolution will have once more failed in attaining its aim.

Work Must Be Voluntary

"One of the first things, therefore, that the anarchists must do during the revolution will be to organise free and voluntary work. In fact we must make an immediate start in realising this necessity, without worrying whether the revolution is near or far. At the same time we must work to form in the proletariat in general and among the revolutionaries in particular, this idea of the necessity of work, and produce together, with the elements to hand in present-day society, and without lulling ourselves in the hope of miracles, those forms of libertarian organisation which will guarantee the production of the necessities of life during and after the revolution. The more forethought will have been given as to what should be done, the less difficult it will be to carry it out in practice.

"There will only be an anarchic society, not merely when the enemies of liberty have been defeated, and the institutions which hinder libertarian accomplishment overthrown, but when, moreover a sufficient number of individuals who wish to live and work together anarchically will be available to uphold a society of their own which will be economically self-sufficient and strong enough to defend its existence. The existence of individuals who 'wish to live anarchically' presupposes that they have the 'will to work'—otherwise no Anarchy would be possible. When, therefore, the objection of the plague of idleness is raised, we can only consider it—given an existing Anarchist society—as follows: 'How will an anarchist society, deprived of the means of coercion, defend itself from those individuals or minorities who neither carry out, nor deem it their duty to work?'

"This question has often been answered in the past simply by avoiding it, without giving any direct reply. 'There will be no idlers' it was said 'because work is a physical need for both muscles and intellect and everyone will be willing to work when it is no longer a burden or a compulsion imposed by hunger.' This is partly true. No-one is idle in the absolute sense of the word. But brain and muscles can be quite adequately exercised by work which serves no useful purpose; riding horse-back or reading novels, indulging in the sport of fencing, or writing bad verse . . .

"Work, then, even in Anarchy, will have to meet the necessities of production, in order to satisfy all the individual and social needs of the common life; it will have to be organised, that is, according to the demands on production on the part of all, and certainly not merely for the purpose of exercising the muscles and brains of the producers. It may be that in many cases the useful will coincide with the pleasant; where this is not the case, social use must be the prime consideration.

"It follows that a 'discipline' of work is necessary. If this discipline is agreed upon and freely accepted, without the need for coercion, by a number of individuals over a wide enough region to constitute a society, this society will be 'anarchic'."

Fabbri has perceived and clearly indicated that it is a duty and not an anachronism for anarchists to examine for themselves this problem of the "discipline of work".

(To be continued.)

ANARCHISM —Interpretations

Never can a new idea move within the law. It matters not whether that idea pertains to political and social changes or to any other domain of human thought and expression—to science, literature, music, in fact, everything that makes for freedom and joy and beauty must refuse to move within the law. How can it be otherwise? The law is stationary, fixed, mechanical, "a chariot wheel" which grinds all alike without regard to time, place and condition, without ever taking into account cause and effect, without ever going into the complexity of the human soul.

Progress knows nothing of fixity. It cannot be pressed into a definite mould. It cannot bow to the dictum, "I have ruled," "I am the regulating finger of God". Progress is ever renewing, ever becoming, ever changing—never is it within the law.

EMMA GOLDMAN

—at her trial, New York,
July, 1917.

THE MERSEY SEAMEN'S STRIKE

A Rank and File Victory

THE ten-day dispute among merchant seamen, centred on Mersey-side, but having repercussions in other parts of the country, has ended in another demonstration of the value of direct action and the strength of solidarity. The strike was as much against the union as against the employers and the determination of the seamen has compelled their union (National Union of Seamen) to take up their grievances.

During the war, what was known as "establishment" was brought into being whereby seamen could be directed to particular ships. Theoretically they had to take one out of three ships, i.e., they could refuse to sail on the first and second ships they were offered, but had to take the third under threat of certain penalties. As it worked out, however, they were usually only offered one ship, and if they refused that, would be penalized.

To "compensate" for this direction, however, seamen were given a guaranteed week—whether they sailed or not, they received a basic wage from the pool.

With the end of the war came the end of establishment. Non-establishment meant that men could seek their own ships, and many seamen preferred to do this, and signed off the pool. They soon found however, that by so doing they were also signed away their guaranteed week, thereby losing money unless they could find another ship immediately. This was the issue over which the men struck work.

It is an issue which has been blowing up for a long time. It was not a sudden conflagration, but matters coming to a head as the result of long-standing irritation and discontent. At first, the seamen looked around for scapegoats, and blamed the trainees for their plight, but in the event, when the strike took place, trainees and seamen stood shoulder to shoulder against their common enemies, the companies and their lackeys, the union fakirs of the N.U.S.

SOLIDARITY

The strike was organised by the Merseyside Seamen's Rank and File Committee, a council of about fifteen workers coming together to fight a specific issue, independent of, and in opposition to, the official union, and one very encouraging and impressive characteristic of the strike was the spirit of solidarity displayed.

For the first time, to our knowledge, white and coloured seamen stood side by side in the struggle, fighting together for common rights. For the first time, no colour bar was exercised, and Africans, Indians, Chinese and white seamen stood their ground without discrimination.*

THE C.P. PLAYS ITS PART

Nor were political influences allowed to interfere with the clear-cut nature of the fight. Both the Communists and the Trotskyists made attempts to get control of the committee, but both were equally unwanted.

The usual C.P. tactic of attempting to disrupt or discredit any popular movement which they couldn't control was, however, in evidence. At one point a trainload of seamen brought in to break the strike was held up by the strikers laying on the railway lines. The doors of the carriages were locked and the men inside had been told the strike was over. The strikers, having stopped the train, appealed to the men in it to join the strike, and not to blackleg, but made no threats of violence at all, and yet someone from the back of their ranks threw a brick at the train which naturally incensed the men inside who were already confused on the issue. Police arrived at the scene, the strikers were broken up, and the train went on. It is thought very strongly that those who started throwing the bricks were C.P. elements.

*Outside of this issue, it is interesting to note the difference in conditions for white and coloured seamen. The latter (particularly Indians) received, on an average, less than half the wages of whites, are segregated on the ship, and have conditions which can only be described as hellish, and food as deplorably inadequate.

In a similar way, attempts were made to sabotage the strike by counter-chalking the strikers' slogans. The seamen had made their appeals on the walls around the docks with such slogans as: "Support the Strike!", "Don't Split the Ranks of the Seamen!", but in one night, a determined attempt was made to obliterate these slogans with others—"Seamen—Support the N.U.S.!"

WELL ORGANISED

None of these attempts, however, were able to seriously check the strike, which was well organised and well supported. Picketing was carried out in an orderly and peaceful manner, and full support came from the dockers and shipyard men. American seamen, too, were closely watching the strike, one delegate flying back to U.S.A. to report progress, while rumour had it at one time that San Francisco seamen were threatening strike action in sympathy.

The success of the strike was assured, however, when it spread to Southampton, and the *Queen Mary* (with, among others, the Duke of Windsor on board) was prevented from sailing. This quickly made the union, which had hitherto refused to recognise the strikers' committee, see reason, and the strike ended with the union agreeing to take up the strikers' case.

LIES IN THE PRESS

The national press distinguished itself during the strike by its misleading reports on the number of ships leaving Liverpool. On the day when the papers reported "83 Ships left Port", we are reliably informed that they could not have made half that number even if they had counted

every tug that untied!

Of the few ships that did get away, the *Empress of Scotland* only got just outside the docks, and another, the *Arabian Prince* got to Manchester, where the crew walked off!

The press did not report the huge and enthusiastic meetings the strikers held, however. At one at the Liverpool Stadium, capacity 7,000, the place was packed and hundreds turned away.

VALUE OF THE COMMITTEE

During the strike, one or two committee spokesmen, notably Bill Hart, were described as "leaders". This they were not, in the strict sense of the word. Their abilities threw them up on this particular issue, but the committee as a whole was responsible for the fine organisation displayed—and they would have been helpless without the support of the rank and file.

This committee should not be forgotten, or allowed to fade out. If it continues as it has started, without leaders, without political influence, truly representative of the rank and file, and under the control of the workers, a weapon will be forged which the workers of Merseyside could use towards the final goal of Workers' Control.

In such a fashion are Industrial Syndicates begun.

In the words of Bill Hart: "To think they had to ask us the *Queen Mary* could sail! It just shows what we can achieve by standing together."

Yes, it shows that. It also shows that the workers are the most necessary and the most important section of the community—that the captain on the bridge is helpless without the stokers and the deck hands down below! It shows the strength of the workers—if they care to use it.

A further article on seamen's conditions by Preston Clements will be published in our next issue.

LandNotes

MEAT AND 2 VEG.

THOUGH familiarity does undoubtedly tend to breed indifference and though one may actively participate often at the birth and death of farm animals, at parturition and death by accident or slaughter, one never quite ceases to be aware of the implications of the scene. Men have always been slightly awed, if only for a few moments, in the presence of birth and death. Instinctively, one tends to pause and reflect on this ultimate mystery. Naturally, it is not often that one has the time or the inclination to sit back and philosophize on the subject. More likely, after one has perhaps assisted a calf into this man-made world by the aid of a hurricane lamp, one just washes one's hands in the bucket, lights a cigarette and mutters: "Another poor little bugger for the Ministry of Food", and hopes that one will see a reasonable profit on the turn-over.

Is Your Slaughter Really Necessary?

The question is then: is it all really necessary and inevitable? In the unlikely event of man ceasing to live on the exploitation of his fellow-man, would he still have to continue to exploit the animal world?

It is a question that does seem to concern some people and the answer, I am afraid, whatever well-intentioned but ill-informed persons may say to the contrary, is that it is necessary and inevitable though it by no means need be as callous as it sometimes is now. Animals will always have to be bred for slaughter and it is not the act of killing which is in any way immoral, assuming it to be done quickly and efficiently, but the life such animals may live, and the treatment they may receive, while they are alive.

Indeed, it could be argued with reasonable conviction that the domestic farm animal, given tolerable freedom of movement, leads a happier existence than

its untamed counterpart since it does not risk death and physical suffering from hunger, cold or natural enemies, and if it falls ill it receives medical aid if that is at all practicable. If it is not it is at least shot and put out of its pain, an act of mercy that the Law denies to human-beings. It is true, of course, that most cows suffer for a day or two, in varying degrees according to the strength of their maternal instincts, if their calves are taken away from them and that pigs, the most fastidious of all farm animals as far as their excretory functions are concerned, suffer if they are confined in small and dirty apartments.

Inconsistency of Vegetarianism

But these things are frequently magnified out of all sense of proportion by ignorant and sentimental, not to say inconsistent persons, especially by those who profess a vegetarianism on humanitarian grounds as opposed to dietetical grounds. This form of vegetarianism, frequently

a by-product of a certain type of pacifism, is essentially the result of an urban culture completely divorced from, and apparently oblivious to, the most elementary biological facts. Such persons will not eat meat because it involves the slaughter of animals and the rearing of them for that purpose which they say is cruel and unethical. But these same persons will wear leather shoes and greedily consume milk, butter and cheese which also involve the slaughter of cattle. After all, before a cow can give milk it must have a calf and go on having calves at roughly yearly intervals. (Strange, how so many people, including women who have had several children, seem unaware of this fact.) If the calf is a bull it must either be killed young as veal or steered and fattened later. Neither are all heifer calves worth rearing for breeding purposes and those that are not must be killed either as veal or raised as stores. So surely, if the offspring have got to be killed sometime or other, then it is better to eat them than to simply throw them into a pit and bury them, though that apparently is what these animal-lovers would like done with them. I confess that this sort of mentality is beyond my understanding. Nevertheless it is perhaps one degree less irritating than those townspeople who express horror and disgust at the thought of helping to kill a pig but ask you to let them have a bit of bacon to take back to town with them.

Men and Animals

A concern for the welfare of animals, which one might note in passing is essentially an Anglo-Saxon attribute, is understandable and to be desired provided that at least some sort of sense of proportion is maintained. Actually, there are many people who are comparatively indifferent to, and appear unmoved by, man's monstrous inhumanity to man but who are profoundly moved by the suffering of an animal and extremely indignant if such suffering has been caused by a human being. Many persons, who smack their children if they catch them pinching sweets out of the cupboard, are horrified if one grabs the cat by the tail and throws it outside, if one comes upon it with its nose in the milk jug on the table.

On the other hand, it is equally correct that people who live hard, crude lives and suffer under economic exploitation are crude, not to say cruel, towards the animals over whom they in their turn have domination. I refer mainly, of course, to the peasant and labourer of all lands. It should, however, be made clear that in most cases, though by no means all, such cruelty is not of the consciously brutal, sadistic variety exhibited by the highly civilized and neurotic personality (e.g., in detention barracks) but is simply the result of a blunting of sensitivity, a dulling of awareness due to a coarsened and brutalized existence. Such a person derives no cold, conscious pleasure from forcing an old and lame horse to work by hitting it with a stick every few minutes. Often he is just compelled by poverty to do so and becomes of necessity quite indifferent to what he is doing. In anything approaching a free society he would not, of course, be compelled to act in such a manner.

Yet, once again it all comes back to the old, old story—our system of monetary values. If animals were reared first and foremost for human consumption much of such suffering as they may at present undergo could be avoided, would be unnecessary and serve no purpose. As it is, farm animals are reared so that a profit may be made on them. This sometimes necessitates them being treated in a callous manner simply because to avoid doing so would cost too much, would considerably reduce the profit made on them by their owner. No, it is not the rearing and killing of animals to satisfy human needs which is to be condemned, but the treatment of animals, as of human beings, as so much profit or loss. G.V.

The Production Drive

THE rate of production in this country is higher to-day than before the war. Yet the State authorities are far from satisfied. They want more and more goods to be produced, and they have fixed no ceiling for the upward drive. The main emphasis is on more work; more sweat and toil on the part of the worker; no immediate promises are made about any reward for this heavier toil; just the usual vagueness about more production being necessary before better living is possible. Cabinet ministers make speeches in which they declare that it is all so simple; purely a matter of exporting to live, and producing for better standards of living.

All the existing anomalies and inequities of present-day society are ignored. The waste and destruction inherent in our maladjusted order of society are to be accepted as inevitable and unavoidable. We are required to ignore the obvious things which could be done to alleviate the conditions of the mass of people. The improved distribution of food is a practical question of the day; widespread economies in the elimination of unnecessary governmental services; higher standards of wages for industrial workers at the expense of profits; concentration on agricultural production; more co-operation and co-ordination with the peoples of other lands and less power politics with its policy of dismantling factories to prevent production—all these and many more effective ways of bringing about an improvement must be neglected. They must be neglected because no government is capable of dealing with them. Government exists to govern and not organise for social development.

A government is an institution which attempts to keep itself perpendicular by arranging equal pressures on all sides. The many perplexing and contradictory actions of the party in power, which so disturb its supporters, are explained only by the dominant desire to keep in power by adjusting political pressure. But the generating force of pressure is beyond the control of government and consequently, the wobble from varying pressures must inevitably end in complete disequilibrium and a crash. The colossal waste of human effort and social striving in this form of society is to-day strongly emphasised in the misery and hunger of millions of people, and the "imperialist" and "cominform" blocks which divide the peoples of the world.

UNITY OF PURPOSE

But there is a certain unity of the peoples, which is not the result of any "official" policy or the creation of any organisation. It is the unity of purpose shown by the peoples struggling against food shortages, for better wages, etc. These movements serve to remind us once again, that the peoples of all lands are fundamentally alike in their desires

for peace, security, and social progress. It is indeed unfortunate that there exists no real international movement to promote this unity of interests to a unity of purpose.

The workers never could afford to ignore the interests and welfare of their fellow-workers in other countries. It is more necessary now than ever that they should give close attention to the question of low standards of living in other countries, which is bound to affect directly standards elsewhere. It is of great importance for instance for the British workers to know what is happening in Germany concerning the dismantling and otherwise of factories. From evidence available it seems clear that the occupation authorities are determined to exploit Germany's economy to their own advantages. In other countries, Italy, for example, there is evidence that the interested powers have been using their position to strengthen their economic powers at the expense of the deplorably low living standards of the Italian people.

PRODUCTION PROPAGANDA

The production propaganda in Britain is also basically a question of the struggle for power, as Bevin unashamedly admitted a short time ago, when he declared that a greater production of coal would strengthen his hand in international politics. But not only do the politicians campaign for greater production in itself—they also want cheaper production. They decree less food for the workers and ask for more work. The trade union leaders in this situation still attempt to do a balancing act which becomes more trite, and to add to the discomfiture of the union officials, the act itself becomes more complex and difficult as a result of the economic crisis.

Actually it is in times of economic crises that the unions should be most active, because the trade unions should be primarily economic organisations and not political. It is of course, true that they are at present pawns of the politicians, and that the economic interests of the members are subordinate to the whims of political

careerists. But the fact remains that an analysis of the constitutions of the British trade unions shows that the unions are not committed entirely to political policies. In a majority of the unions the constitutions declare the aims to be purely economic, and therefore the pseudo-political propaganda associated with trade-unionism is the product mainly of the entrenched bureaucratic officials. That the workers are also, of this opinion in many instances, is demonstrated by the large number of strikes for economic purposes—all of them in defiance of the demagoguery of the official drones.

We can still say that industrial solidarity is not yet completely absent among the workers, although it is woefully weak, thanks to the propaganda which seeks to replace the idea of industrial solidarity with the dangerous conception of national solidarity based on government by politicians. The principles of industrial solidarity exemplified in the struggles of the past, and expressed in the slogans of "An injury to one is an injury to all", "United we stand divided we fall", are principles which still live though mostly dormant. They will live, we are ready to assert, and live to become revitalised in a struggle against the new forces arising in state capitalism. It is certain that the requirements of the state capitalists will mean heavier burdens for the worker, and a new type of organisation for industrial defence will become necessary, if we are to successfully resist more intensive exploitation and make certain that the results of our labours are not to be used once again in war.

In these circumstances, we feel that the time has arrived for all who believe in the better future for the people, to take a courageous decision to help in the creation of a type of industrial organisation which will develop and use the principles of genuine industrial solidarity. It is not enough to suggest that the fight for these principles can go on in the existing unions, for in the last analysis the political careerists and bureaucratic officials would dissect the unions to the very ground, rather than relinquish their power. The times now demand an alternative; something which will really unite the workers; an organisation that will stimulate the inherent faith of workers in workers; an industrial union based on maximum democracy and complete control by the members. One union for each industry, closely federated in a national industrial co-ordinating committee without any centralised bureaucracy, and linked with similar unions in all other lands.

C. W. ROOKE.

While Moscow Commemorates COMMUNIST TERROR REIGNS OVER EASTERN EUROPE

THE control by Russia of countries generally described as being behind the "iron curtain" is even more ruthless than military occupation. The dirty work of repression is being done by native Communists but the pattern according to which it is carried out has been imported from Moscow and it is applied over and over again with a monotonous regularity.

RECIPE FOR SEIZING POWER

THE tactics used by the Communist Party have been described with particular acuteness by four American correspondents after they had completed an extensive tour of Eastern and Central Europe. The conquest of power is achieved in two movements:

1st Movement: Before Communists seize power outright, the correspondents note that seven *vital conditions* were necessary: a Communist Minister of Interior to control the police, a Communist or pro-Communist Minister of Justice (courts), a Communist or "obedient" chief of staff (army), a Cabinet of Communists and others "willing or forced" to go along, a Parliament with a Communist controlled majority, non-Communist parties "intimidated and badgered", a press censor under Communist orders.

2nd Movement: When the above conditions are obtained the Communists are ready to strike; they: "First—Accuse the opposition of plotting civil war, foreign (American) military intervention, and economic sabotage . . . Second—Ban the opposition press . . . Third—Now go ahead and make your arrests . . . Fourth—Ban the most powerful opposition party . . . Fifth—Now stop and digest your gains. Hang the opposition chief . . . and your work is complete."

Though the chronological order might not always be rigorously observed the pattern is fundamentally the same for every country. We have seen it applied in its last stages in Rumania and Bulgaria and we are seeing the first phase unfolding itself at present in Czechoslovakia.

PATTERN FOR THE TRIALS

THE trials themselves are carried out according to a well-known pattern as it has been pointed out by a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* (4/11/47):

It has been clear for some time that the numerous political trials that have taken place in Eastern Europe during the past couple of years have all followed closely a single pattern. It has been equally obvious where the original for this pattern was created. Apart from the striking similarity in the phraseology of the indictments and in the general conduct of these trials there is one specific charge, the intrinsic unlikelihood of which has not prevented its being preferred against the accused with a monotonous insistence. This is the charge of acting for, or receiving aid from, a foreign Power against the interests of the State. The foreign Power, though rarely mentioned, is invariably Britain or the United States, or both.

This charge was one of the central aspects of all the great Russian trials before the war. It was fundamental to the State prosecution's technique. For instance, it featured largely in the trials of Bukharin and the leading Trotskyists. They were said to be in touch with reactionary forces abroad.

Though in all these cases much weight is given to that aspect which relates to activities of, or on behalf of, some foreign Power, the evidence adduced is invariably somewhat vague and indirect. Nor has the attention of the Government of the foreign Power mentioned ever been formally drawn to the alleged evidence connecting it, or its nationals, with the illegal activities of the accused. This step would seem to be normal if concern was really felt at the "evidence".

The bringing into these trials of the foreign threat is just part of the inevitable

THIRTY years ago the Russian workers revolted against the capitalist system and war and fought to establish a society based on freedom and justice. Workers all over the world watched their struggle and hoped it would be the prelude to their own liberation. The October revolution seemed to inaugurate an era of fraternity among the workers of all nations.

These hopes were short-lived, the Bolshevik dictatorship soon established itself and crushed any movement which remained faithful to the ideals of the revolution. At the same time it became evident that the new leaders of the Soviet Union were not concerned with promoting world revolution but merely used revolutionary movements in other countries to further their own interests.

Russia's policy opened the gates to Hitler's rise to power, it led her to conclude a pact with the Nazis, to attack Finland and later to invade Poland and the Baltic States.

The war has strengthened Russia's power and her imperialist policy has assumed a more definite form. In his report on the conference which gave birth to the Cominform, Zhdanov declares: "The international significance and authority of the U.S.S.R. grew immeasurably as a result of the war . . . Instead of becoming weaker, the U.S.S.R. was strengthened. Of six so-called great imperial Powers (Germany, Japan, Britain, the U.S.A., France and Italy), three exist no longer as a result of military rout . . . France is also weakened and has lost its former importance as a Great Power. Thus, only two "great" world imperial Powers remain—the U.S.A. and Britain. But in one case, that of Britain, its position is undermined . . ."

technique, or pattern, for their conduct. It has been found in Russia, since the days of Denikin, Kolchak, and Wrangel, that nothing so much provoked popular condemnation and hatred of a man as to charge him with working with foreign assistance against the people and the State.

SHEEP TO THE SLAUGHTER

IN spite of the inexorability of the Communist conquest which always leads to a complete crushing of the opposition, this opposition has, in the first place, collaborated with the Communists and failed to oppose the framing of repressive legislation. Members of the socialist, liberal, agrarian parties have, at the beginning, nourished illusions as to their country's independence and have even strongly denied any interference from Moscow. Whether willing or unwilling tools, whether sincere or hypocritical, they have helped the Communists in the hope that they would save their skins by doing so.

By a stupid policy of compromise, these politicians have not only forfeited their positions, their freedom and lives, but have allowed hundreds of people to be arrested and judicially murdered. For each case which hits the headlines there are hundreds of obscure opponents who are imprisoned, sent to concentration camps or killed. Our own comrades of the Bulgarian Anarchist Federation who have been amongst the most steadfast opponents of their country's long series of totalitarian regimes, have been rigorously suppressed (see the "Appeal for Justice" manifesto in *Freedom*, 31/5/47).

USE OF THE RECIPE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

IN Czechoslovakia the Communists have created the *vital conditions* which make their complete seizure of power necessary. They have the majority in the Czech parliament, they control the Ministries of Interior, Information, Agriculture, Social Welfare and the Prime Minister is a Communist. At the head of the Army they placed General Svoboda, commander of the Czech corps in Russia during the war and reputed to be a Communist.

In Slovakia, however, the Communists are in a minority and the machine of plots and trials has been set in motion to transform this minority into a majority (the general elections are scheduled for next May, but the C.P. prefers not to have to rely on them). They have therefore:

Zhdanov may have reasons to be satisfied by the results of the war; the death and sufferings of millions of people do not count since they have helped Russia to become the greatest Power in the world next to the U.S.A. A few days after he made this statement, Molotov pronounced a speech on the anniversary of the revolution; his birthday present to the Russian people was the atom bomb.

Thirty years ago, Russian soldiers laid down their rifles and held out a fraternal hand to the German workers. They believed that international solidarity was the weapon of the working-class against capitalism and wars. To-day, the Russian people are asked to be prepared for an atomic war.

In preparation for that war Russia has set herself the task of dominating and enslaving Europe. We are not using the word *enslaving* lightly. We charge the Soviet Union with wanting to establish her rule over Europe by methods as ruthless as those employed by Hitler. Until the time comes for an open clash with the U.S.A., Russia will establish her domination as far as she can in Europe, by terrorist methods.

For those who still have illusions about Russian democracy we have reviewed in these pages the methods employed by Russia in establishing her control over Eastern Europe. Anyone who believes that these methods will not be used in his own country when the Communists acquire sufficient power, only fools himself. The Czechs thought that in their country "things were different", yet they are falling too, under Communist dictatorship.

Terrorism has been used in Russia to crush any opposition and forestall any discontent.

Terrorism was used in the countries occupied by

by Russia during the war.

Terrorism is being used in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, the Eastern zone of Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Terrorism will be used to-morrow in any country where the Communist Party is strong enough to bid for power.

Terrorism means the physical elimination of any political movement which refuses to submit to Moscow or which may provide a rallying point for discontent. It means the suppression of any individual who dares to criticise the Party line.

Terrorism means prison, concentration camps, forced labour for workers who refuse to starve and accept inhuman methods of exploitation and for writers, artists and scientists who attempt to give free expression to their creative needs or discoveries.

Russian domination is the end of every freedom; it brings poverty and famine; it is the prelude to another war.

This conviction does not lead us to seek refuge in the arms of British or American imperialism. We realise, on the contrary, that Russia's strength lies in the fact that her only opponents are as corrupted and ruthless as she is herself. As long as Socialist and other parties will fight Communism hiding behind America's skirts, they are bound to be defeated.

In 1917, the Russian workers relied only on their own strength. They gave us a lesson in internationalism which we must remember to-day. Our solidarity must go to the workers who are being deprived of their most elementary rights. To stand by them is not only a duty of human solidarity, it is a measure of self-preservation.

1. Discovered a plot involving about 150 Slovaks and accused them of preparing an armed uprising and the assassination of President Benes.

2. Deprived two Slovak M.P.s of their Parliamentary immunity.

3. Arrested the Lord Mayor of Slovakia's capital, Bratislava, Dr. Josef Kysely, and Dr. Jan Kempny,

former secretary of the Slovak Democratic Party.

4. Obtained the resignation of one of Czechoslovakia's deputy Prime Ministers, the Slovak Democrat Dr. Jan Ursiny.

5. As we go to press, the third secretary of the Democratic Party, Mr. Hodza, is expecting to be arrested

(the two other secretaries are already in prison) and two Communist nominees are going to be appointed to the departments of Justice and the Interior in Slovakia.

Conclusion: Czechoslovakia will soon be ripe for a series of trials (with possible executions), the banning of newspapers and parties, and a regime of police terror.

Record of Repression

HOW systematic the repression has been in Eastern Europe is forcibly demonstrated by a list of the principal political arrests and trials of the legal opposition which have taken place in countries dominated by Communist or Communist-controlled governments and which has been published by *The Times* (8/11/47). This is an important document which should dispose once for all, of the myth of Russian democracy and we reproduce it therefore, in full:

● Poland

JANUARY 14, 1947, by a Warsaw military court.—Count Ksawery Grocholski and two others—death. Charge: Serving as liaison officers between an underground movement and a foreign ambassador. (British ambassador mentioned in court.)

JULY.—M. Galaj, Social Democrat leader, and six members of the illegal organization "W.I.N."—five to 10 years. Charge: Acting on instructions of a secret right-wing Socialist organization.

AUGUST 6, by a Warsaw military court.—M. Augustynski, editor of Polish Peasant Party's organ.—15 years. Father Leon Pawlina, director of Catholic organization Caritas—10 years; Sgt. Maciejec, of the Polish Security Police—death. Charge: Sending military information abroad and receiving money from a certain foreign Power.

SEPTEMBER 10, by a Cracow military court.—University professors, leaders of "W.I.N.", and Peasant Party leaders—eight death sentences and eight sentences of imprisonment. Charges: Espionage and secret plotting against the "people's democracy of Poland".

OCTOBER 2, after trial in camera.—Professor Tarnawski, Lecturer in English Literature at Cracow University—10 years. Charge: Spying for England, anti-Soviet attitude, and "attempting to turn back the will of history". Father Grudzienski—six years. Charge: Spying for England.

PENDING.—M. Puzak, former socialist deputy and party secretary, and about 25 other Socialist leaders, arrested in June for subversive activity and propaganda and contact with secret organizations abroad, including Polish Socialists in London.

● Hungary

JANUARY and FEBRUARY.—One hundred and fifty political arrests, including 13 members of Parliament, principally of the Smallholders' Party.

APRIL 16, by the Budapest people's court.—M. George Donath, former member of Parliament—death. General Louis Veres and General Andras—death, commuted to 15 and 12 years' hard labour respectively. Ten others Life imprisonment to one year. Charge: Conspiracy to overthrow the democratic State.

AUGUST 29, by a Budapest people's court.—M. Andre Misteth, Smallholder, and former Minister of Reconstruction—three and a half years' hard labour. Charge: Conspiracy to overthrow the democratic regime. Forty-three other accused—sentences of nine years' to three months' imprisonment. Some acquittals.

AUGUST.—Ernest Peter and 21 other accused—10 to one years' imprisonment; 39 lesser sentences. Charge: Attempting to revive the anti-State "Hungarian community".

OCT. 22, by the Budapest People's Court.—24 accused—sentences ranging from four years to one year. Charge: Conspiracy.

PENDING.—M. Bela Kovacs, former secretary-general of the Smallholders' Party, arrested by the Russians in February, fate unknown.

● Yugoslavia

JULY 15, 1946, by the Supreme Military Tribunal of Yugoslavia.—General Mihailovitch and nine others—death. Several heavy sentences of imprisonment on other members of the Government in exile. Charges: Following a Fascist policy, collaborating with the invader, and acting under instructions of British and American officers.

OCTOBER 11, by the Supreme Military Tribunal of Croatia.—Mgr. Stepinac, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb and Primate of Yugoslavia—16 years' imprisonment with hard labour. Charge: Crimes against the State.

JANUARY 6, 1947, by the Supreme Court of Serbia.—M. Milos Trifunovitch, formerly Prime Minister of the Yugoslav Government in London—eight years; M. Stefanovitch, a former journalist and employee of the United States Embassy in Belgrade, and two others—death; three other sentences of seven to eight years' imprisonment. Charge: Disclosing State and military secrets to the United States Embassy.

AUGUST 12, by the Supreme Court at Ljubljana.—M. Nagoda—death; Professor Boris Furlan, former Minister of Education in the Yugoslav Government in London, and M. Sirc—death (commuted to 20 years' imprisonment); 12 other accused, principally Slovenes—sentences of imprisonment. Charge: Giving information on the political, military, and

economic situation to diplomats of foreign Powers, including the British Consul at Ljubljana.

OCTOBER 2, by the People's Tribunal of Pisanò, in Istria.—Mgr. Jacob Ukmar, Pontifical delegate, Don Stefan Cek, parish priest, and eight peasants—sentences of six years to one month. Charge: Provocation, when another priest was murdered at a confirmation service. (Two men charged with the murder got five and three months' imprisonment respectively.)

OCTOBER 2, by the Supreme Court of Belgrade.—Dr. Jovanovitch, leader of the Serbian Peasant Party—nine years; M. Franco Gazi, formerly Government official—five years. Charges: Organizing a peasant bloc on the orders of the former British Press attaché in Belgrade and a British journalist.

● Bulgaria

FEBRUARY, 1946.—M. Pastuhov, Socialist leader—five years' imprisonment. Charge: Criticizing in an article a speech by M. Dimitrov, the Communist leader.

FEBRUARY, 1947.—Mlle. Lulchev, daughter of the Social Democrat leader, and others—three to six months. Charge: Circulation of a false copy of a speech by Mr. Byrnes.

JUNE 14, by the Sofia district court.—M. Peter Koyev, Agrarian Party deputy—12½ years' imprisonment. Charge: Supporting a military Fascist conspiratorial organization.

AUGUST 16, by the Sofia district court.—M. Nicola Petkov, leader of the Opposition Agrarian Party—death. Charge: Supporting a subversive military organization known as the Military League, through which he planned to seize power by force. M. Dimitar Tsvetkov, organizing secretary of the Agrarian Union, and three Army officers—sentences of five to 15 years' imprisonment. Charge: Playing a part in forming the league.

AUGUST 28, by the regional court of Plovdiv.—Three members of the Agrarian Party—life imprisonment. Charge: Espionage. Three other defendants—sentences of five to 15 years' imprisonment. Charge: Espionage involving contact with Greek monarchists.

SEPTEMBER 28.—M. Tomcho Tanev, former Opposition deputy, and two others arrested. Charge: Supplying information to a certain foreign Power.

OCTOBER 21.—General Stanchev, Commander of the Second Army, and liberator of Sofia, after 16 months in prison—life imprisonment. Thirty-eight other officers—sentences ranging from 15 years to one year. Charges: Organization of "Military Union" to overthrow the State.

ates The October Revolution

MANIU'S TRIAL

IN Bucharest, Dr. Julius Maniu, the veteran Peasant Party leader, and eighteen of his supporters are being tried on charges of high treason, conspiracy and fomenting armed insurrection with the aid of a foreign Power. Widespread arrests of members of opposition parties began in March, culminating in the arrest of Dr. Maniu, M. Ion Mihalache, vice-president, M. Nicolas Penasco, general secretary, and about 100 rank-and-file members of the Peasant Party on July 15th.

The trial shows the usual signs of intimidation. Only a fifth of the witnesses called by the defence have appeared in court and one of the accused found that all the eighteen witnesses he had called were imprisoned. Other political leaders refused to give evidence for the defence and the defending counsel prudently asked "that justice be done" and not for the acquittal of his client. Among the defendants themselves are obvious provocateurs.

Dr. Maniu "confessed to being prime organiser of the unsuccessful attempt by

four party leaders to escape from Rumania". What a conception of freedom it is that regards it a crime for politicians to go abroad! He is accused of collaborating with the British. One might ask how he could have avoided doing so since Britain was one of the occupying Powers.

The breaking-up of the Peasant Party was followed by a motion in the Chamber of Deputies accusing Tatarescu, the leader of the National Liberal Party, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, of treasonable acts and of stealing Foreign Office documents. Tatarescu and the other three Liberal Ministers have resigned and we may conclude that their trial will follow when Dr. Maniu's is completed. The government is now completely composed of Communists and their puppets. Communist circles in Budapest are reported as saying: "Rumanian Communists are not prepared to continue playing the Parliamentary game. The march of time forces us to face our enemies in an open struggle."

Tatarescu's place as Foreign Minister has been taken by Mmc. Anna Pauker, the Rumanian delegate to the Cominform.

So much for the politicians, but what of the Rumanian people? The *Manchester Guardian* reported earlier this year:

"the peasants are moving away in gangs in search of food, meanwhile eating grass and acorns and even chewing clay-bearing soil to assuage their hunger."

POLISH LEADER ESCAPES

WE need not remind our readers of the circumstances of Mr. Mikolajczyk's flight from Poland. The Catholic paper *The Tablet* remarks that his departure has been reported "both inside and outside Poland exactly as though he were a prisoner making a daring escape from a concentration camp, instead of a former Vice-Premier and the present legitimate leader of the Parliamentary Opposition leaving the country as he has a perfect right to do." There is little to surprise us in this, since it is virtually true that he was in fact a prisoner escaping from the concentration camp that is Eastern Europe to-day. It is not, however, with Mikolajczyk that our sympathies lie. He is in safety, he had a comfortable home waiting for him in this country, and, as the *New Statesman* says, he "is assured of a substantial fortune from the proceeds of the memoirs and so forth that American publishers are begging him to write." He was, moreover, just as much the nominee of Britain as Gomulka (the present Polish Vice-Premier, nicknamed "the little Stalin", who is expected to become first Chairman of the Cominform), is the nominee of Russia.

Our sympathy is with the suffering masses of Poland, who have probably been the hardest hit by the war of all the European people. Their position as a "buffer-state" has always brought them devastation and oppression. Now they are pawns in the undeclared war between Russia and the West.

In our last issue we reported the plight of the Poles who, while making tremendous efforts at reconstruction, have to put up with a legal black market on which butter is 12s. 6d. a pound and a pair of shoes £50. To these material hardships are added the net of denunciations, informers, censorship and political kidnappings, a new master-class and a ruthless secret police.

The long struggle for political and economic freedom for which the Poles have sacrificed so much has been in vain.

"DISAPPEARANCES" IN BERLIN

IT is not only political leaders who are liquidated as occasion arises to suit the requirements of the Soviet political police.

A fortnight ago, Dieter Friede, a well-known Berlin journalist and correspondent of *Der Abend*, received a telephone call at his office in the British sector of Berlin, telling him that a friend had been involved in a street accident and was at a house in the Soviet sector. He left to catch a train to take him to his friend and has not been seen since. Two days later, a man called at his home, saying that he had been sent by Herr Friede from his office to pick up his mail and papers. Enquiries showed that Herr Friede had not been to his office, and that the visitor was not known. The Berlin police are taking no action.

Two more German journalists have recently disappeared in similar circumstances. How many other cases have there been which have not been publicised?

Friede, it is reported, was "opposed to Soviet administration and methods".

Germany—6

IMMEDIATELY after the occupation most of the great industries in the Russian zone were taken over and placed under the control of Moscow. Medium industry was submitted to Russian supervision. Small industries were left in private hands—theoretically to produce supplies for the German market!

The position is now somewhat changed: all important heavy industries are entirely under Russian control and working as units of the Russian planned economy. Though the workers and engineers are German, these industries may be considered as mere branches of Russian industry. Industries of secondary import-

machinery, casting, chemical apparatus and, in Thuringia, synthetic benzene, resin and glass. We are also not told that certain great industries and a number of smaller ones have escaped collectivisation and remain in private hands. Socialisation has been avoided in order not to jeopardise production. The factory chimneys smoke; industry works at full speed; nobody is unemployed! But the factories have become the State property of Russia; the workers' councils are functionaries of the Moscow-tied S.E.P.; the masses are reduced to slaves sweating in the service of the Soviet Union.

Dismantling of Factories

The S.E.P. attack the British and Americans for their ruthless dismantling

THE RUSSIAN ZONE

ance are collectivised under German control—under this heading come great and small industries of varying natures; the administration is in Germany but under Russian supervision which naturally reduces German 'control' to a mere farce. In those industries remaining under the 'control' of German workers, the workers' councils are restricted to S.E.P. members.

The Russians tell us that there are only seven potash factories out of twenty-one under direct control of the S.M.A.—they do not publicise the fact that these seven factories produce eighty per cent. and the remaining fourteen factories only twenty per cent. We are also told that many of the small factories of Magdeburg and Halle are not under Russian control but again with no mention of the fact that these industries are of no value to the German workers since they are working entirely on 'reparations'. They include

of Germany industry—but make no mention of the dismantling of factories to be seen everywhere in the Eastern Zone. According to our latest information, received in September, 1947, dismantling was still proceeding in mines, electricity works, sugar refineries and timber mills. The loot goes directly to Russia!

After the Russians had carried away most of the machinery from the Borsig works in Berlin, the workers began reorganising on their own initiative and succeeded in starting production on a small scale. The Russians came a second time and took away the rest of the machinery; the frustration of the workers can easily be imagined. In other parts of the Eastern Zone workers dug bombed machines from the debris, repaired them and put them into operation, with the result that they were taken away. Only

in a few cases were they allowed to carry on and propaganda made excessive use of these proofs of reconstructive initiative on the part of the workers.

In June, 1945, Marshal Zhukov gave the workers permission to organise Trade Unions. After eight months there were 800,000 members in Greater Berlin and in the Eastern Zone 1½ millions. At present the Free German Trade Union has 500,000 members in Berlin out of 1½ million inhabitants and in the Eastern Zone 3,300,000 members out of 7,500,000. From the outset the Communists were dominant, and, with their dictatorial tendencies and belief in centralisation, the Trade Union is exactly what the Labour Front under Dr. Ley was—an instrument in the hands of the State. At present the

Free German Trade Union has a fund of 66,500,000 marks; its income in 1946 was 52 million marks, its expenses 18 million. The Berlin F.G.T.U. has an income of 17 million marks, and expenses of 6,300,000. It is unnecessary to emphasise that all rights of the Trade Union depend on the special laws of the occupying power.

While, according to the Institute of Economic Research for Berlin, the cost of living has increased since 1944 by 30 per cent., the F.G.T.U. of Greater Berlin states that basic wages have declined considerably. While we are told repeatedly that there are no more employers in the Russian Zone, we read in the instruction pamphlet of the F.G.T.U. for shop stewards (Jan. 1947) that it is a practice of the stewards not to use their rights to influence production and price matters, but instead merely to sign their employers' suggestions. Pollitt assures us that there are no strikes in the Eastern Zone, which proves that he does not read the yearly reports of the F.G.T.U., for, according to these, up to December, 1946, there were three strikes in Berlin and a report of the Eastern Zone Woodworking Branch states that eleven strikes were necessary to gain success in the workers' demand for participation.

Socialist-Communist Fusion

The unification of the 129 unions of pre-Hitler days into 'one big union' will not bear close examination. The fusion of the Socialist Party with the Communist Party was the result of Communist pressure and most of the Social Democratic functionaries joined in the S.E.P. and the Trade Union. Of thirty members of the Trade Union executive only three were Socialists and three Christian Democratic Union. The Free German Trade Union, ruled by Communists, is launching an attack against the 'enemies of the working class' (Social-democrats). Meetings were organised by the F.G.T.U. providing a platform for the S.E.P. only. The Trade Union paper, *Die Freie Gewerkschaft*, attacked the Social-democrats. The latter, now within the Union, are trying to break the domination of the Communists, and to gain the support of the workers by propagating democratic rights, such as the right to strike, etc. There are indications that the workers are forming their own views on totalitarian and democratic Trade Unions and we hope that they will boycott these futile institutions and, as soon as the opportunity arises, form their own unions on revolutionary and syndicalist lines.

When the Russians occupied the Eastern Zone, landowners who owned more than 250 acres of land were expropriated without compensation. In some cases big estates were divided and shared out to small farmers and farm labourers: in most cases the estates became State collectives, run not by the labouring rank and file but by Communist Party managers. On entering a village the Russians would explain this new situation. The villagers had to collect all their agricultural tools and machinery, and were told that these things were no longer private but State property. The best tools and machinery were sent as reparations to Russia. Second-rate equipment was distributed to the 'collective' farms. The rest was left to the villagers. Expropriated farmers and their labourers were told that they could join the collectives or would be directed to industry.

The loudly acclaimed land reform has, as yet, not even passed the stage of theory, with the exception of East Prussia, where the Junkers owned all the land. It is to these districts that thousands of *Umsiedlers* were directed, and they represent nothing other than the traditional imported cheap labour which in the old days the Junkers hired from Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc. The only doubtful advantage is that they are now permanently housed or billeted in camps and officially recognised as citizens. The disadvantage is that, if they are discontented with their conditions, they can-

(Continued on page 8)

France

The Triumph of Confusion

IN examining the political scene or in trying to understand the nature of the social tendencies of today, the one characteristic we find common to them all is confusion. It appears in their ideologies, in their organisations, and in their deeds.

As a result of the municipal elections, the Communists now appear isolated. They have lost almost all their strongholds in the famous "Red Belt" of Paris, and their advance in the peasant areas has been checked, and, in many regions, replaced by an overall loss.

They are paying the price of their own duplicity: on the one hand, their demagogic and opportunist exploitation of the workers' struggle and, on the other, their subservience to the middle classes and their cult of nationalist and patriotic illusions.

Communists Pay for Neglect

They are paying too, for their deliberate neglect of opportunities arising immediately after the liberation, when an overwhelming majority of the French population wished for, and would have supported and participated in, far-reaching changes in the country's social and economic structure.

The capitalist structure which the Communists sought to reconstruct; the State which they sought to strengthen; the parliamentary machine which they wished to utilise; all these factors to-day combine in an attempt to eliminate them from French political life.

The electoral victory has been that of General de Gaulle and his party, the *Rassemblement du Peuple Français*. And it has also been a victory for the forces of confusion, since the votes cast for the R.P.F. link together all sorts of conflicting and mutually hostile elements, united only by their hatred of Stalinism.

De Gaulle's Imperialism

The General has not the vestige of a programme, whether economic, financial, constitutional or social. The only vague ideas which emerge from his speeches are a belief in private enterprise, in a paternal corporative industrial organization, and in the defence of the French Empire.

His "general staff" presents a motley aspect: André Malraux, ex-revolutionary adventurer; Jacques Soustelle, ex-Communist; Baumele, ex-Socialist; with generals, businessmen and Catholic leaders.

The one common denominator is the influence of America and the desire to be rid of Stalinism inside France and of Russian external pressure. Or, from another angle, the Gaullist dreams of grandeur are limited only by the exigencies of American policy (notably where it concerns the German question and the control of colonial possessions).

The first aim of de Gaulle and his organisations seems to be to wait until the Government, and the cabinet reshuffling which will follow, have given proof of their powerlessness. Then will follow the hour of a government of "National Unity", grouping together, no doubt, several representatives of the old parties—M.R.P., radicals, and socialists, with the new leaders of the R.P.F., with as its corollary, the banning of Communist organisations.

Rival Imperialisms

That which we have denounced ever since the liberation—the fact that French political forces are merely the allies of one or other of the foreign imperialist blocks—has to-day become quite evident. Thorez illustrates it all at length in a speech occupying eight columns of *L'Humanité*. De Gaulle has revealed it in announcing that the part to be played by France in a future armed conflict is already decided.

But both are careful to advance "patriotic" reasons to justify their choice of alliances. Both laboriously recall memories of the Resistance, of the struggle against Nazism, of national traditions. Both seek to keep or to capture the support of the working-class.

The Transport Strike

Better than long explanations, the history of the Paris transport strike will serve to illustrate the extraordinary confusion which reigns in working-class politics.

Reacting against the bureaucracy and the Stalinist control of their C.G.T. affiliated union, the drivers and employees of the Metro. and the bus company, decided to create an independent autonomous union. The company and the Government were not willing to admit its delegate to the wage-increase negotiations which were to be held.

The independent union, unable to participate in the wage commission, feeling a growing discontent among its members, and assuming that the Communists would not take part, in view of the coming municipal elections, decided on a strike.

On the first day it gained the support of important elements from the C.G.T. union. But one train in three was still running. At the general meeting of the C.G.T. union the opposition intervened to reproach the Stalinist bureaucracy for sabotaging the workers' struggle. For three days the confusion continued with the independent union and the militant elements from the C.G.T. union ranged against the company, the Government and the C.G.T.

Then the C.G.T. decided to take the movement in hand and gave the order for a general strike. The Government replied with mobilization measures and the organ-

ization of car and lorry services to break the strike.

As the next move, the independent union, judging that the strike had taken on a political character, decided to end it. After 48 hours, agreement was reached between the Government, the company and the unions.

Thus, out of a genuine grievance, came a whole series of purely political manoeuvres bringing about a complete dissipation of the workers' strength.

Multiply this example by a thousand others, in all regions, and all occupations, and you get a picture of the absurd and contradictory background of the French social struggle of to-day.

It is evident that the strike would have kept its working-class character only if political factors, interior and exterior, had not been the predominating influence in the decisions of the various participants.

Moreover, the independent union did nothing to explain to the Parisian public the reasons for the strike and the explanation for the existence of a union outside the C.G.T. The hundreds of thousands of workers who travel on the Metro every day will have judged harshly a movement which has caused them so much inconvenience.

The correct tactic for this situation is that of the *grève gestionnaire*, the administrative strike—that is to say, to continue to run the underground and bus services, but to refuse to take the fares.

This sort of action which the libertarians have always recommended, and which was used a few months ago by the Marseilles tramway workers, would have rallied the vast majority of the Parisians to the cause of the strikers and would have obliged the Government, the company and the C.G.T. to adopt a very different attitude.

To choose tactics which unite the workers on a genuinely working-class platform, without ulterior political motivation, and which serve to educate a still higher number of workers and technicians, to free the workers' organisations from the Stalinist poison and from reformist languor, the instruments of the rival imperialisms of Moscow and Washington, these are the urgent tasks before the revolutionary movement.

It is in this spirit that the campaign has grown for the refusal of payment of taxes (taxes of which the wage-earners bear by far the greatest burden). The *Union Départementale de Maine et Loire*, animated by libertarian and syndicalist militants, has taken the initiative in this movement which is gaining the support of all the workers and whose repercussions may lead to widespread strikes in the French provinces.

S. PARANE.

Freedom Press

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

27 Red Lion Street
Holborn, W.C.1

Literary Notes

Wildman and Wollstonecraft

THE celebration of centenaries is a somewhat equivocal process; it can be used to perpetuate the inflated reputation of completely worthless figures or positively harmful events, and, on the other hand, is a means by which neglected men and women can be re-presented with at least a shadow of topical interest. Of no real intrinsic validity, this kind of celebration has at least some practical use when applied in the latter way.

This is all by way of excuse for the fact that I am bestowing centenary wreaths in two consecutive instalments of these literary notes. It is a practice which I am unlikely to make into a habit, but the years 1947-48 happen to be fairly closely packed with commemorative dates which have some interest for anarchists. Last time I mentioned Cervantes; there are two others of fairly immediate interest which I shall mention in this article.

The Putney Debates

The first is that of the Leveller movement. Some readers will have heard the broadcast reconstruction of the Putney debates, which took place in October, 1647, between Cromwell and the Generals of the New Model Army on the one hand, and, on the other, the "agitators" who represented the rank and file of the army and who strove to preserve for the English people some of the egalitarian liberties for which the Parliamentarians pretended to have fought the war. The Parliamentary and Army leaders, having gained their middle-class object of defeating the absolute monarchy and destroying the main vestiges of the feudal system, sought to crystallise their gains in a social system based on privilege and property, in which the landowners and merchants would keep the power taken from the king and his feudal supporters, and the common people

would merely be exploited by new masters. This system was later established by the Cromwellian dictatorship, but not without great opposition from the common soldiers and the working people of London. Out of this opposition arose the Levellers, an egalitarian movement which played into Cromwell's hands by relying too much on political means, and the Diggers, the one really anarchistic group of the period.

The first major brush between the authoritarians and the radicals took place at the Putney debates, at which Cromwell and his officers pretended to accept the demands of the agitators, at least in part, only to revoke their undertakings as soon they had sufficient power to establish a dictatorship. From these events followed the tumultuous career of Lilburne and the Levellers, the mutiny of the more radical sections of the Army, the conspiratorial activities of the Fifth Monarchy Men, and the isolated libertarian experiment of Winstanley and his comrades. All of these activities were crushed in Cromwell's rise to power, and their fate shows how, in a political revolution, the authoritarian elements, having used radical forces to gain their ascent to power, invariably turn against them and destroy them ferociously in the establishment of a "revolutionary" dictatorship.

John Wildman

The history of these events can be

read in Edward Bernstein's *Cromwell and Communism*, but further light is thrown by a recent book, *John Wildman*, by Maurice Ashley. Wildman was a leading figure at the Putney Debates, and took part in almost every conspiracy against established authority for nearly half a century, plotting impartially against Charles I, Cromwell, Charles II, James II and William of Orange. He was an odd figure, a sort of seventeenth century Frank Harris who occasionally got himself involved in shady financial dealings, but he had a genuine passion for personal liberty and a kind of instinctive resentment against any person in authority which compensated for his personal unpleasantness. Not a great deal is known of Wildman himself, but this makes Maurice Ashley's book all the more interesting, as he ranges widely over the radical movements of the time and does succeed in giving a good picture of the political intrigues of the period. Unfortunately, he makes no mention of Winstanley, which represents the one major omission in an otherwise useful and interesting book.

★

Mary Wollstonecraft

A hundred years from the Levellers, the men and women who played a great part in the radical movements of the French Revolutionary period were beginning to appear. In 1747 itself was born Mary Wollstonecraft, the companion of William Godwin and mother of Mary Shelley. Mary Wollstonecraft was the most influential of the active early defenders of women's rights to equality with men, though by no means the first, as is commonly supposed, since Aphra Behn, a hundred years before, had already taken up the cudgels for this cause with much violent eloquence.

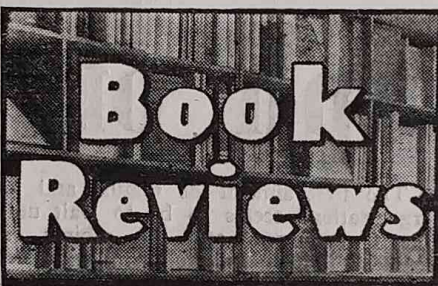
But Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* was the first book to put all the important arguments for women's equality in reasoned and forceful language.

Her opinions and the personal freedom of her life led to her vast unpopularity among the respectable English of the day, but most of the really important writers held her in great esteem, and Godwin's relationship with her, although it lasted little more than a year (she died giving birth to the girl who became Mary Shelley), was the only really happy period of his unfortunate life. He wrote a very restrained and moving account of their relationship, called *Memoirs of Mary Wollstonecraft* (which can still be found occasionally in second-hand bookshops; there was a reprint as late as 1928). Here is his account of her character, which shows that her personality was at least as interesting as her writing:

"Her feelings had a character of peculiar strength and decision; and the discovery of them, whether in matters of taste or of moral virtue, she found herself unable to control. She had viewed the objects of nature with a lively sense and an ardent admiration, and had developed their beauties. Her education had been fortunately free from the prejudices of system and bigotry, and her sensitive and generous spirit was left to the spontaneous exercise of its own decisions. The warmth of her heart defended her from artificial rules of judgment; and it is therefore surprising what a degree of soundness pervaded her sentiments. In the strict sense of the term, she reasoned comparatively little; and she was therefore little subject to diffidence and scepticism. Yet a mind more candid in perceiving, and retracing error, when it was pointed out to her, perhaps never existed. This arose naturally out of the directness of her sentiments, and her fearless and unstudied veracity."

It is perhaps fruitless to speculate, but one cannot help thinking that, if Mary Wollstonecraft had survived, Godwin might have produced further works of the calibre of *Political Justice* and never have declined into the comparative mediocrity which attended his marriage to Mary Jane Clairmont, "that infernal devil" as Francis Place called her.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.



RUSSIAN NIGHTMARE

"I CHOSE FREEDOM", *The Personal and Political Life of a Soviet Official*, by VICTOR KRAVCHENKO* (Publ: Robert Hale, 15/-).

THIS month being the thirtieth anniversary of the October Revolution, we have been regaled with more than usually enthusiastic panegyrics of Russia, her regime and her leaders, by Communists and fellow travellers and with the even more irritating half-truths of those who damn with faint praise. Those seeking an antidote to the outpouring of lies and misinformation should read Kravchenko's book *I Chose Freedom*, which was published at the beginning of this year and has been recently reprinted. Though an account of personal experiences, it contains a great deal of valuable information as to the true nature of the Soviet regime and the latter part of the book offers many clues to questions now being discussed on the international plane.

There is no need to apologise for recommending yet another book about Russia. The Soviet experiment has proved to be the most fascinating of our times; it dwarfs Mussolini's and Hitler's efforts for the domination of Europe. It will affect our lives deeply in the very near future and it has already radically altered the lives of people in most European countries. Wisdom demands that we should take more than an academic interest in Russian methods of government. For many European workers to know how the Russian workers live to-day is to know how they will live to-morrow.

THE AUTHOR.

It is a coincidence that Kravchenko should have been born in the year of the 1905 revolution and therefore the life of his father and his own reflect both the revolution and counter-revolution. Son of a railway engineer who took an active part in the revolutionary struggle and spent many years in tsarist prisons, Kravchenko was brought up in the hatred of oppression and inequality. The Bolshevik revolution appeared to him as the realisation of his father's dreams which had in-

stinctively become his own. At eighteen he becomes a miner because the revolution needs coal; he joins the Comsols and soon becomes a Party member. He is singled out for his energy and enthusiastic activity and sent to a technological institute where he qualifies as an engineer. He is given responsible posts, eventually becomes a factory director and during the war head of the Department of War Engineering Armament in the Sovnarkom (Government of the R.S.F.S.R.). When he broke away from his party and country in 1944, he was in Washington as member of the Soviet Purchasing Commission.

His book is an explanation and justification of his desertion which was not due to a sudden impulse but the result of his experiences, which fill nearly five hundred pages. A child of his time, Kravchenko has, at the age of forty, experienced revolutions, wars, famines, he has been tortured in mind and body by the G.P.U., he has seen his friends disappear one after the other and even his book was written in the shadow of the axe of Trotsky's murderers.

THE CHOICE

The title of the book is misleading; it seems to imply that he has chosen "American freedom" but that impression is dispelled in the book itself: "The newspaper reports of my break with the Soviet regime said that, having tasted American democracy, I became disillusioned with Stalin's Communism. . . . That made a more dramatic story, as well as a pretty compliment to the U.S.A. But it wasn't true. The truth is that I had made up my mind long before to throw off the totalitarian straight-jacket at the first chance wherever and whenever it might present itself. Had I been assigned to China or Patagonia rather than the United States, I would have made the self-same attempt to achieve freedom for the task I had set myself."

The choice lay between a privileged but insecure situation in Russia and life in exile with the possibility of exposing the cruelty of forced collectivisation, the magnitude of the employment of slave labour, the farce of Stakhanovist methods, the iniquity and extent of the purges, the many propaganda lies which

covered up Stalin's policy towards Germany. Many of these facts have been described before but few observers have had the opportunity to see the inside of the Party machinery as intimately as Kravchenko; few have been able to travel so extensively inside Russia, to come to know Russian life both as a miner and as a top bureaucrat, to judge the results of Stalin's economic policy both from a technical and human point of view.

SEEDS OF HATRED

No less interesting is the account of personal reactions to the purges to which he was submitted. To have gone through purges and to have come out of them alive and free is no mean achievement, but to have achieved the freedom to tell the tale is almost unique. Our knowledge of the reactions of men, who month after month are submitted to questioning and torture by the G.P.U. is acquired chiefly second-hand through

FILM REVIEW

"FAME IS THE SPUR."

IT is interesting that our second review in this series should again concern a film which, in its theme, would seem to serve as an admirable illustration of anarchist philosophy. Hamer Radshaw is a Labour politician who betrays all principles because of ambition. His career is typical of many of his colleagues of real life—a gradual "sacrificing" of general aims in order to gain just a little more personal power, to advance just one more rung higher up the political ladder. His life begins in a Midland slum and ends in a wetter of evening dress, banquets and generally anything but a "scorning of delights and a living of laborious days".

In its philosophy the film is sound, but, as in "Captain Boycott", any suggestion that the factors involved are universal is avoided, and we are once again too tied up in the personality involved to pay much attention to the underlying principle of the corrupting influence of power.

In its treatment I find "Fame is the Spur" to be but mediocre. The first half-and-hour or so was well directed and screened but the rest was merely pathos petering out in much the same anemic and uninteresting way as does the character it represents.

RON LANDER.

novels of the *Darkness at Noon* type. The first-hand account of these ordeals turns out to be sensibly different. When confessions are extracted it is through physical violence or blackmail and not thanks to philosophical or ethical arguments. The idea that a confession of guilt, which would bring about his own destruction, could serve the Party never enters Kravchenko's head. It is clear to him, and to his friends who undergo similar experiences, that the purges will not serve the Party but only the lust for power of a few individuals and their henchmen. The reactions are of fear and hatred; elementary fear for one's life or for the greater sufferings in store and an immense, though carefully suppressed, hatred for the torturers, from the G.P.U. agents who carry out the inquisition to the great master, Stalin. No-one sees in these purges the expression of an esoteric Party policy, no-one believes the charges; they are considered as part of the naked struggle for power, not in the sense of acquiring power, but of consolidating it in such a manner that the flimsiest possibility of insubordination is eliminated.

The popular conception is that the twists and turns of the Communist Party are executed with as much ease as soldiers' exercises on the parade ground. In fact, each *volte face* is accompanied by purges whose magnitude has never been fully grasped. The policy of forced collectivisations, the concessions of autonomous rights, as to the Ukraine, the introduction of Stakhanovist methods, the pact with Germany, the entry into the war have all been accompanied by widespread purges which aimed at silencing eventual opposition and providing cheap slave labour.

The survey of Stalin's terror would drive one to utter despair if it did not offer a proof that only by ruthless force can dictatorship maintain itself. However powerful Communist propaganda may be, it is not with speeches or articles in *Pravda* that Stalin rules but with his vast police apparatus.

"RUSSIA'S PREPAREDNESS"
Regarding Russia's foreign policy, Kravchenko attempts there again to explode a few myths. In view of the

(Continued on page 7)

Freedom Bookshop

FROM OUR STOCK:

- FREEDOM AND CIVILIZATION 16/-
Malinowski
THE LOOM OF LANGUAGE 15/-
Frederick Bodmer
WHEN THE CANDLE WAS BURNING 9/6

- Yehuda Yaari
THE NOVEL SINCE 1939 2/-
Henry Reed
POETRY SINCE 1939 2/-
Stephen Spender
BETWEEN MAN AND MAN 12/6
Martijn Buber

- THE IDIOT 4/-
Dostoevsky
GERMINAL 4/-
Emile Zola
WALDEN 4/-
H. D. Thoreau
SELECTED ESSAYS 4/-
Havelock Ellis
A WORLD TO WIN 15/-
Upton Sinclair
OUR GOAL WAS PALESTINE 6d.
Claire Naikind

WE ALSO DISTRIBUTE:

- "The Indian Sociologist" 6d.; "Le Libertaire" 3d.; "Resistance" 3d.; "Industrial Worker" 3d.; "L'Adunata" 3d.; "Volonta" 1/-; "Politics" 2/6; "Senstatano" (Esperantist) 2d.

Specimen copies of papers sent on request.

Postage is not included in above prices, and should be added.

JUST OUT!—NOW 9
72 pages 2/2 post free

★
List of "Freedom" Publications, etc., on request.

★
Please send all orders to

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP
27, RED LION STREET
LONDON - W.C.1.

*Obtainable from Freedom Bookshop, 27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

RUSSIAN NIGHTMARE

(Continued from page 6)

recent controversy which has taken place at U.N.O. his remarks on the Stalin-Hitler pact are particularly interesting: "The theory that Stalin was merely 'playing for time' while feverishly arming against the Nazis was invented much later, to cover up the Kremlin's tragic blunder in trusting Germany. It was such a transparent invention that little was said about it inside Russia during the Russo-German war; only after I emerged into the free world did I hear it seriously advanced and believed. It was a theory which ignored the most significant aspect of the Stalin-Hitler arrangement: the large-scale economic undertakings which drained the U.S.S.R. of the very products and materials and productive capacity necessary for its own defense preparations."

Kravchenko draws a shattering picture of Russia's unpreparedness; he was very close to the defense industries, attended dozens of conferences at the Kremlin during the war and formed the opinion that Russia was not in the least prepared for a defensive war.

TOWARDS THE CONQUEST OF EUROPE

What of Russia's future? As far as her hold on Europe is concerned, Kravchenko believes that there are no limits to her expansionist policy and one must grant him that he has been right in his predictions: "At the very time when the supposed dissolution of the Communist International was announced, bringing joy to the hearts of more naive capitalist allies, I happened to visit the cellar storehouse of 'International Book', an organisation publishing foreign language propaganda. There I saw great stacks of freshly printed Party-line literature for distribution in the countries which the Red Army was about to enter. In theory the International was dead; in fact, the Central Committee of the Party was hastily preparing for the ideological conquest of Europe along with the military conquest. The personnel of the 'abolished' International was being feverishly reorganised for the immense jobs ahead in Germany, France, Poland, Hungary, Italy and all other countries. The hoped-for conquest of Europe would be achieved by a potent mixture of faith

and force. In an array of buildings in the heart of Moscow, selected Chekists were being trained intensively for work abroad, in the liberated Soviet areas and non-Soviet countries as well. These men were all of officer rank and Communists. They were the cream of the police élite. They were being prepared for the historical task of 'purging' the populations which had been under German occupation and influence—and in the N.K.V.D. lexicon 'purge' is a word of terrifying import."

AN ENSLAVED NATION

In Russia itself the regime of terror is being followed by one of slavery on a gigantic scale, and Kravchenko stresses particularly the magnitude of forced child labour: "If the system of child industrial conscription continues, and there is every indication that it will, the Soviet State by 1960 should have at its disposal from thirty to forty million workers trained on this regimented basis. It will be a new kind of 'proletariat'. Home influences reminiscent of a freer past and intellectual influences beyond those prescribed by the authorities will have been reduced to a minimum. Fully indoctrinated with Communist tenets and the Stalinist theories of world revolution, they will be people without a memory of personal freedom, slaves, willing or unwilling, of the State. These morally and politically maimed Russians will represent a formidable force in the hands of the regime, whether for use at home or in foreign countries."

"This carefully conditioned body of citizens will be supplemented by perhaps twenty million N.K.V.D. forced-labour prisoners and by a huge standing army of career soldiers and officers, trained from childhood on the basis of Stalinism solely for defense of the Soviet set-up, over and above the ordinary conscript forces and military reserves. Nor should it be forgotten that tens of millions of other children meanwhile will have been indoctrinated in the ordinary Soviet schools, where devotion to the regime and its methods holds first place in the curriculum."

This is the nightmarish picture drawn by Kravchenko of the Soviet brave new world which will be made up of people born as slaves.

M.L.B.

Letters to the Editors

To Catering Workers

DEAR COMRADES,
The need for a movement which will express the struggle of the workers was never more paramount than at the present time. In our own industry, the economic crisis, the Control of Engagement Order and the findings of Communist-capitalist Wage Boards have reduced to chaos all our conditions of labour and threaten the security of any worker who imagines he has such a thing.

Already, thousands of catering workers have been thrown out of work, many have had to leave the industry and take up jobs which they cannot do, at poor wage rates. Employers are refusing to engage men.

Against this, the Catering Union in the London area has split the workers in the hotels and has organised them alongside roadsweepers, sanitary workers and lamp-lighters, etc. (N.U.G.M.W.).

The initial agreement between the Union and a group of employers has been violated by leading hotels, and political parties wait to snatch the body of the betrayed workers.

Conscious of the futility of this split-trade organisation, we of the C.A.M. dare to hope that the common-sense methods of industrial autonomy, basic federation and direct action will prevail, in the spirit of the old "French Cook's Syndicate".

We have a huge struggle ahead. We have a Manifesto to put out, posters to put up, indoor and outdoor meetings to organise. Every worker in hotel, cafe, restaurant or bar, must organise. Every catering worker joining the syndicate will be another blow against charlatanism, serfdom, disunity and the fraudulence of politicians.

Catering workers, join the syndicate! Whether in the N.U.G.M.W., E.T.U., A.E.U., U.S.D.A.W., or no union at all: GET IN YOUR OWN ORGANISATION!

Yours fraternally,
RAYMOND UPTON,
Sec. C.A.M.

P.S.—Information, Aims, Bulletins, etc., are available on request to R. Upton, Secretary, 159, Ledbury Road, London, W.11.

Free Schools

COMRADES,
K.A.B. refers to the important problem of association between progressive schools and their environment. It might be useful to note two examples of such association in the nursery-school field. The Viennese Municipal Kindergartens, which in 1918-31 contained an average of 9,600 children between the ages of 3 and 6, were run in close conjunction with Parents' Associations. Though controlled by the State, these kindergartens were in some ways progressive. In the Palestine Jewish Collectives the children's creches were (and probably still are) run in very close association with the other activities of the community. Children spent seven hours a day in the communal nurseries and the rest of the time with their parents. The parents gave assistance to the staff on a rota system. The principles of education here were not a long way removed from those approved by anarchists. (Maurice Pearlman gives a few details in *Collective Adventure*.) Possibly association of this kind could be extended to progressive education for older children. I have an imperfect recollection of at least one such school run in the East End during the war by C.O.'s. It was attached to a land community and was supported by voluntary subscription.

My own observations do not tally with K.A.B.'s suggestion that children are sent to progressive schools because they are 'sensitive' and that later they have more class-prejudice than other adults. This disparity in impressions emphasises the urgent need for a factual survey of the situation by someone with practical experience and with an anarchist outlook—a kind of companion pamphlet to the theoretical one by Herbert Read.

Cornwall. L.A.

Ex-Italian Colonies

DEAR SIR,
I wonder whether there are any of your readers who still believe some form of socialism can settle the fate of the ex-Italian Colonies, or who have any faith in the Labour government doing the

right thing. In case there are, may I put the matter very briefly as follows?

How can the future of colonial "possessions" ever be settled by present methods? It is impossible because behind the States' men, who may justly be labelled as a Trade Union of taxing authorities, are their masters. Who are these? There are not only groups of militarists, the bigwigs of the various War Departments, our own included, whose influence is more permanent than that of the evanescent politicians, but also a number of persons with vested interests. By far the most important of these are those with interests in large combines and in ground rents.

The States' men, however much they may try to keep promises, made when wars were being waged or to grant independence to small nations, can do neither, for they find themselves discussing the ceding of strategic bases and the control of ports. This is as usual, as too are the squabbles which arise; and the discussions go on for years while the victims suffer. It is paramount to remember that the bases in case of future wars are no less dangerous for the victims than the control of ports and the sea lanes and airways (for keeping open lines of communications in so-called peace-time) which suits the merchants in combines and the ground landlords. Amongst the latter, even when thinking about places in Africa, do not let us forget the ground landlords of London and New York and such centres.

Mundesley. S.V.P.

ANOTHER RITUAL MURDER CASE

Seventeen negroes in Basutoland have just been condemned to death for alleged ritual murder of two other men. Cases of this kind reveal the death penalty in its worst light. In the first case, as was evident in the Gold Coast case when a number of men were judicially murdered for an alleged ritual murder, it is very difficult to be sure of evidence where tribal rivalries are concerned. And, secondly, it is difficult to see how the British authorities, who themselves indulge in the ritual murder of hanging, and who in warfare kill off millions of innocent people without even ritual reasons for doing so, are in any moral position to dispense what they call justice among the African population.

WE DIDN'T SAY IT!

Mr. Bernard Rees, chairman of the National Union of Mineworkers' lodge at Arrail Griffin Colliery, Abertillery, where 16,000 miners are on strike, said this afternoon:

"Surface workers are still being paid wages at starvation level and the National Coal Board's policy of subjection has been worse than anything we ever experienced under free enterprise."

N.C.B. officials are standing over men to time their movements, and the miners say that they are turning our colliery into something which resembles a concentration camp."

Evening Standard, 24/10/47.

JAPANESE DEMOCRACY

Crown Prince Akihito of Japan (and brother Masahito and three sisters) gave a farewell tea for some 40 young princes and princesses. It was a farewell because of the new, democratic spirit: hereafter host and guests would not be on equal footing, since the guests were all becoming commoners.

Time (U.S.A.), 3/11/47.

UNWANTED CHILDREN

Describing a visit to a class for mentally defective children at the occupational centre at Old Hill, Staffs, Ald. A. G. James alleged to-night at a meeting of Rowley Regis Council that the school was "a gaol". His "inescapable impression was that the children were unwanted and an embarrassing nuisance to be concealed".

He said that 15 pupils were taught in a dingy room in which the temperature was down sometimes to 30 deg. There was only one slow-combustion stove for heating.

"The windows are cleaned only once every twelve months," he continued. "The children are shut from the sunshine in summer and are perishing cold in winter."

"There is no playground. The children work, eat and play at the same rough deal tables and wooden benches for the six hours they are there."

Daily Telegraph, 28/10/47.

OFFICIAL POETRY

To pray, that She, our future Queen, may hear
Through many happy years, the bells rejoice,
Telling of People glad, a Sovereign dear,
A Land restored, a Purpose again clear,
With wind-delighting clamour of glad voice.

From the Poet Laureate's *Offering to Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth*.

Daily Telegraph, 30/10/47.

Yes, Mr. Masefield, "wind-delighting" is the right word!

Through the Press

WHAT ABOUT THEM, CRIPPS?

Despite the publication of an increasing number of trading results reflecting losses due to the February fuel crisis, aggregate profit figures continues to run well ahead of the previous year. *The Economist's* totals for the first 37 weeks of 1947 shows that 1,431 companies which published their balance sheets between January 1st and Sept. 17th achieved a total trading profit of £394.7 mn. against £376.4 mn. for the corresponding period of 1946. Net profit after taxation and debenture interest shows proportionately an even greater gain at £168.1 mn. against £134.3 mn. reflecting the lower incidence of the now abolished E.P.T. upon the later figures.

Labour Research, Oct. 1947.

BEER STRIKE

Ever since white men crossed the Grey River, the coal port of Greymouth, on New Zealand's South Island has been "wet". But by last week it had practically run dry.

There was plenty of beer. It was just that Greymouth's 8,000 inhabitants objected to a rise from sixpence to sevenpence a pint in the price of beer. They were joined by miners from neighbouring Blackball, Runanga, and Wallsend.

Rising costs forced the increase, claimed the trade, but the Miners' Union pointed out that the local Westland Breweries had increased its dividend from three to ten per cent. in a year.

Backed by Greymouth Trades Council, representing all unions, the miners officially boycotted the pubs, and called on other unionists for support.

George English, grizzled miners' chief from Runanga said: "The pubs tried this business once before. We boycotted them, and they caved in. We mean business."

News Review, 6/11/47.

CANDID ADMISSION

What London plays do the Public Morality Council frown on? I put the question to-day to fresh-faced, balding George Tomlinson, their secretary, who reported on them at the council's annual meeting yesterday.

But Mr. Tomlinson would not tell me. "If I did so, he said, it would defeat our object. More people would go to see them."

Evening Standard, 31/10/47.

AMERICANA

Forever Amber (20th Century-Fox) is every bit as good a movie as it was a novel. But it may not be as sensationally popular as Kathleen Winsor's account of a Slut's Progress.

Amber enthusiasts may not realize that they are not getting what they paid for. By way of insuring a reputed \$6 million investment in the picture, Darryl Zanuck & Co. have performed near-miracles of cinematic legerdemain that distract attention from *Amber's* uninteresting innocence. Chief distractions:

The picture is mounted with a radiant opulence. Items: \$250,000 to recreate and cremate 17th Century London; \$100,000 to reconstruct a wing of Whitehall Palace; \$90,000 for *Amber's* wardrobe; \$100,000 to film one kiss (which was later cut).

Time (U.S.A.), 3/11/47.

NAVY INSULTED? TELL IT TO THE MARINES

Lord Teynham declared in the House of Lords that the sudden depletion of the Home Fleet was due "to the usual muddle-headed and hasty planning which has become associated with the administration of his Majesty's Government" and lack of regard for the effect of the speed-up of demobilisation.

"The Royal Navy has never been so humiliated in the eyes of the world since De Ruyter sailed up the Thames and bombarded our laid-up ships. It has been said if the Russian Fleet came to Dogger Bank again there would be little more than a fishing fleet to meet them."

Manchester Guardian, 29/10/47.

WHY SO TACTFUL?

A "large fine" and a "serious reprimand" have been imposed upon the Russian-licensed newspaper *Berlin Zeitung* by order of Marshal Sokolovsky, Soviet Commander-in-Chief, for its publication two days ago of a slanderous reference to Princess Elizabeth.

Complaints were raised from the British side at both a Berlin Kommandatura meeting and at the Allied Control Council. The Russian Commanders wholly concurred.

The article, which was headed "Cinderella gets married", contained slighting references to the wedding austerity, which "disgusted the British delegation".

News Chronicle, 1/11/47.

Sneers and insults can only be used against peasant leaders.

THIS COMRADE BUSINESS

Thirty or forty years ago we, in the movement, wore red ties and called each other "Comrade"; or, if we were Fabians, by full carefully pronounced first names—no conventional titles such as "Mr." or "Esq.". We were proud, even griggish, about our differences from other men.

But times and fortunes have changed. Our Party is no longer a small band of early Christian zealots defying the world; our adherents number half or more of the population. Our new recruits feel there is something stilted and "sniffy" about our old conventions. Even our best friends poke fun at This Comrade Business.

What do you think—Comrades—er Chums—er Gentlemen? Should we chuck it?

PARTY WORKER.

Letter in *Labour Organiser*, Oct. 1947. Our advice is: chuck it! It does not seem right to say Comrade Bevin, or Comrade Attlee or Comrade Morrison.

WASTE AND WANT

The Argentine Government said last night that Argentina has been forced to burn more than £125,000,000 of crops because an "economic blockade unjustly imposed on us" prevented the import of machinery and transport material. Ports and railway terminals were jammed with grain.

Last week the U.N.O. Appeal for Children Committee reported half the people of the world are living close to the starvation line. Of these, 426,000,000 children (40 per cent.) had little hope of survival.

News Chronicle, 30/10/47.

SOCIALLY USEFUL OCCUPATION?

Five thousand specially selected uniformed police and about 700 C.I.D. men, including 200 members of the Special Branch at Scotland Yard, will be on duty for Princess Elizabeth's wedding celebrations on Nov. 20th.

Cmdr. Burt will be responsible for the safety of the many Royal guests from abroad and other distinguished visitors. They will be met at the ports by Special Branch detectives, who will act as their personal bodyguards and will accompany them on all public and private visits.

Daily Telegraph, 27/10/47.

FREEDOM TO STARVE

London's costermongers and "down and outs" found a new champion last night in Mr. Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council.

The romance of the past was disappearing, said Mr. Morrison, and if we didn't look out we should soon have no costermongers left, no sellers of matches and those odds and ends on the kerbside.

"I like those individuals who believe in freedom and practise it," he said.

"Even the people who have a habit of sleeping on the Thames Embankment night after night. You cannot stop your admirable night welfare office in Charing Cross Bridge chasing them around, getting them to go to institutions."

"But they don't want to go and they don't like it. I have a lot of sympathy with the people whom the modern social reformer is gradually eliminating."

News Chronicle, 1/11/47.

PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT

Mr. Frank Hodges, of Rotherwood, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Soc. M.P. for Lichfield, 1923-24, and formerly general secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, left £132,959.

Evening Standard, 31/10/47.

A POLITICIAN—BY HIMSELF

Of course we had a lot of silly talk in the press about speeches I have made. Why don't people show some sense when they talk in that way? I had to address hundreds of meetings. At whose request? Sometimes the Government's request, sometimes the miners' leaders', miners' lodges', Labour parties', or local authorities'. I never spared myself. And when you go to a meeting you have to adapt yourself to the conditions. If I went to a meeting of mine managers it was not always advisable to praise the miners, if you understand what I mean. (Laughter.) On the other hand, if I went to a meeting of miners it was not advisable to praise the mine managers, if you understand what I mean. (Laughter.) If I addressed a meeting of electricity committees and there was some difficulty about plant for which I certainly was not responsible, they could not pin that on me whatever else they did. If that had to be done I had to adapt myself to the kind of people at the meeting. Sometimes it was a dinner, and you know what happens when you make an after-dinner speech. You have to be nice to the people particularly when they provide you with a dinner, and so I had to adapt myself right throughout the two years.

Shinwell in a speech at Blackhall, Durham, on October 12th, quoted in

Manchester Guardian, 20/10/47.

Anarchist Commentary

The I.L.P. Trapeze

The disintegration of the Independent Labour Party as a political force has recently been carried a step further by the decision of its last M.P., James Carmichael, to resign from the I.L.P. and join the Labour Party.

We will not waste time in discussing the particular case of Carmichael. It is the only too familiar one of the politician who supports a revolutionary or pseudo-revolutionary line while he is seeking position, and then, as soon as he has reached parliament, drifts rapidly into a reformist position where his sympathies lead him logically to attach himself to the herd.

But it is desirable to point out that, in spite of the avowals of the remaining members of the I.L.P., it is no accident that the leaders of this party, McGovern, Brockway, Stephen, Carmichael, have one by one dropped away into the Labour Party. It is not wholly the appeal of the mass; it is the fact that logically the I.L.P., as a political party seeking to gain power, can in reality offer nothing fundamentally different from what the Labour Party offers.

The I.L.P. claims, in the words of John McNair, to be "an independent Party, pledged to international, libertarian Socialism". So far so good, and we grant that the majority of I.L.P. members quite sincerely believe in this. But, in spite of this fact, they still try to gain their end by political means; they hope, in some distant and ever-receding future, to be able to set up a "revolutionary socialist" government. They are not content that the workers should gain their own objectives; they long for a government, just the right kind of government, to do it for them.

And when the I.L.P. government comes into power, how will it gain its objectives? By coercion, just like any other government. Thus, the whole I.L.P. position of trying to reconcile governmentalism and libertarianism is wholly illogical; government does not mean freedom—it means direction and conscription of one kind or another, and the acceptance of coercion as a principle of administration is a first step on the slope towards state slavery.

The politicians who have left the I.L.P. or some of them at least, may have been self-seeking; they have also been logical, in realising that the position of the I.L.P., of trying to have the best of both worlds, is untenable and romantic. They found it impossible to continue swinging on the I.L.P. trapeze which is suspended between revolutionism and reformism. Being politicians first, they naturally chose reformism.

Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS:

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.
NOV. 16th. Marjorie Mitchell
"The Limitations of State Education."
NOV. 23rd. Philip Sansom
"What is Anarchism?"

N.E. LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

At Flat 3, 43, New Wanstead
(Nr. Green Man, E11)
NOV. 18th. Gerald Vaughan
"The Sexology of Wilhelm Reich."
DEC. 2nd. Bill Anglis
"Arab Unrest in North Africa."

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP

Sunday, 7.15 p.m.
NOV. 30th. J. H. Moorhouse
"Anarchism and Health."
Coopers Hall, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
7.30 p.m.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

Public Meetings at
CENTRAL HALLS, BATH ST.
will be held every Sunday evening.
Speakers:
Preston Clements, John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Eddie Shaw.
Doors open 6.30 p.m.

Comrades interested in the formation of a Discussion Group in the Addlestone area should write to:
Constance Stork,
55, Byron Road, Addlestone, Surrey.

TO READERS IN NORTH LONDON

A preliminary meeting to discuss the formation of a FREEDOM DISCUSSION GROUP in North London will be held on Thursday, 27th November, at 7 p.m., at FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE, 594, High Road, Tottenham, N.17.
All are welcome.

Enquiries to:
Ron Lander, 613, Finchley Road, N.W.3.

American Anti-Anarchism

ANARCHIST agitation in the U.S.A. in the early part of the century scared the U.S. Government into passing the immigration laws designed to keep out "foreign anarchists". These were not opposed by the so-called 'liberals' and 'socialists', and many of them at the time went so far as to blame the Anarchist movement for the repressive measures levelled against it. Invariably, however, repressive measures are used not only against those they are originally directed against, but also towards anyone else the Government does not wish to admit.

The State Department the other week barred Henri Reynaud, General Secretary of the Paris Federation of Trade Unions, and his colleague Pierre Lebrun, who had been invited to the States by the C.I.O.

Atomic Victims

In an article on the Russian zone of Germany on page 5 of this issue of *Freedom* a reference is made to the conscription of German workers for the uranium mines, where the Russians are extracting their raw materials for atomic warfare. A Reuter message from Germany gives some idea of the conditions of working, for it reports that some eighty workers in the closely-guarded uranium mine at Aue in the Russian zone have been killed when a shaft caved in on them. The whole affair is naturally being hushed up by the Russian authorities, partly, no doubt, because of their desire to keep their war preparations secret, but also partly owing to a wish to hide the conditions under which such an obviously avoidable accident must have taken place.

The Reuter report further adds that some 30,000 workers have been drafted into the uranium mines, and that many refugees crossing the zonal frontiers have stated that they are escaping from conscription in these mines.

Freedom to Cost 3d.

(Continued from page 1)
of the paper, have urged us to increase the price, and we have come to the conclusion that few readers will have a conscientious objection to paying an extra penny for their copy of "Freedom"! (And, besides, those comrades who cannot afford the paper know from past experience that in such cases we have supplied it free of charge.) Our aim is to have as many readers as possible and not to make "Freedom" a profitable proposition. But we are also faced with the hard facts of having to pay for the raw materials that go to make up the paper, and our decision to charge 3d. a copy for "Freedom" has been reached only after having explored all other alternatives.

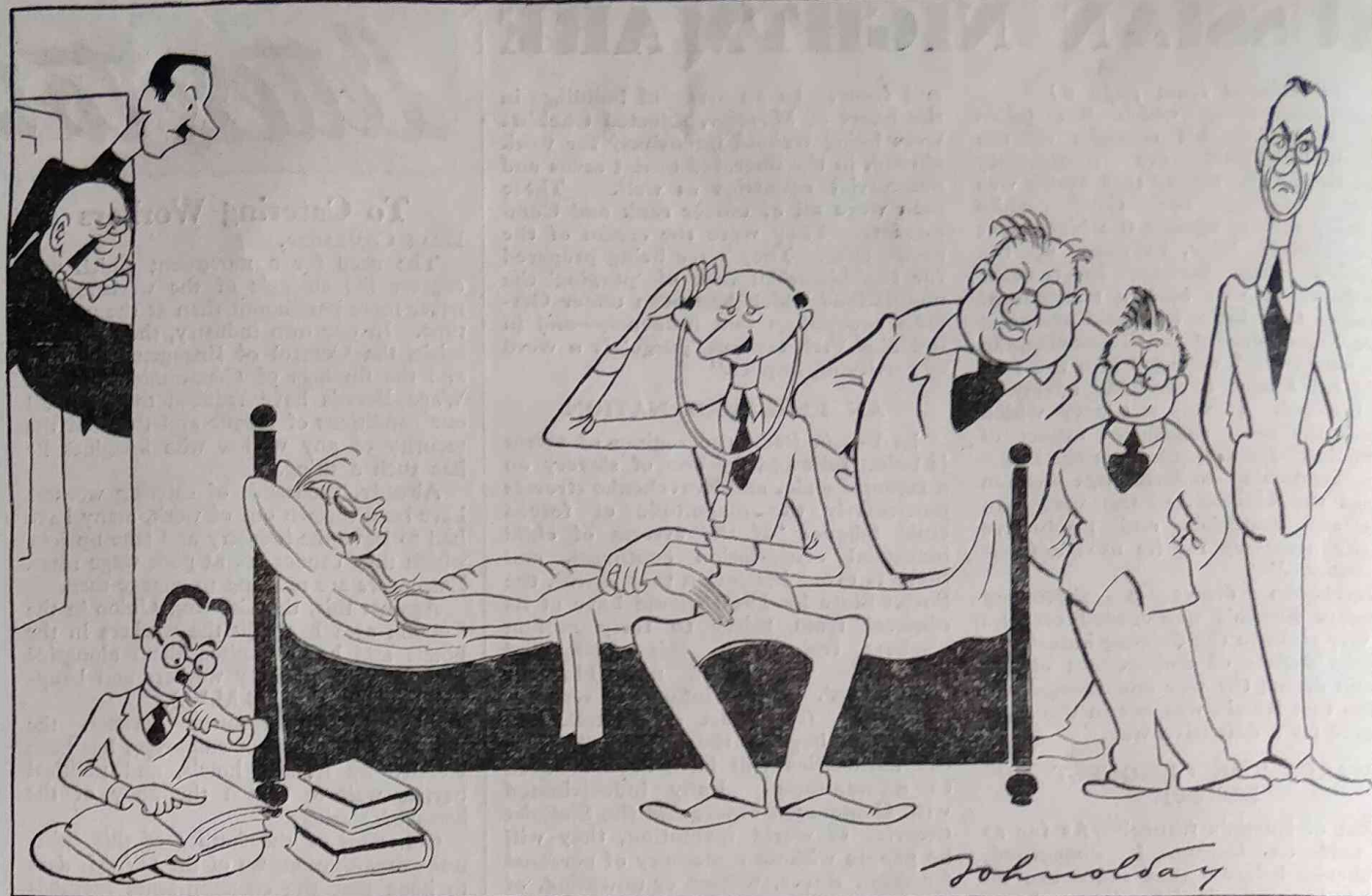
But we must make it clear to our comrades and sympathisers that the needs of the Press Fund in the coming year will be as great as ever, and the need to increase our circulation imperative, both for the development of the movement and for our economic stability.

Press Fund

September 25th — November 7th

Inverness: Anon 5/-; Anon 1/8; Ann Arbor: A.I. £2/9/4; Liverpool: S.J.T. 1/-; Stratford-on-Avon: C.C. 6/10; Macclesfield: H.W. 15/8; London: H.B. 2/6; Bexhill: P.S. 1/-; Sheffield: C.H.G. 3/9; Bardney: W.A.L. 1/-; Weston-super-Mare: F.D. 3/9; Wadebridge: F.E.R. 1/-; Horley: B.G. 2/6; Bredbury: V.W. 4/-; Fulham: F.C.D. 1/-; Whitway: L.G.W. 5/-; Stirling: R.A.B. 10/-; M.E.L.F.: A.M. 1/-; Manchester: H.F. 4/-; Manchester: H.F. 4/-; Aberdovey: J.M.W. 1/-; Coventry: A.B. 15/2; Mundesley: S.V.P. 3/6; Anon 10/-; London: 18/-; New York: per O.M. £18/13/9; Madison: W.L.A. 6/6; Olympia, Wash.: E.W. 2/6; Yedder Crossing: H.K.L. 10/-; London: G.B. 1/-; Abercrombie: G.B. 1/3; Hampstead: P.W. 1/-; Whitway: L.G.W. 5/-; Spokane, Mundesley: J.G.P. 4/-; London: R.H. 2/6; Wash.: T.H., R.F.W. & R.B. £1/9/8; London: E.L.D. 2/6; Chicago: T.B. 5/-; Norfolk: S.V.P. £5/0/0; Anon 10/-; Cambridge: A.D. 10/-; London: A.M. 2/-; Spokane: I.W.W. Branch (per C.M.) £1/4/8; Cambridge: J.B.W. 10/6; Whitway: L.G.W. 5/-; London: V.T. £1; London: R.H. 2/6; London: E.L.D. 2/6; Durban: D.W. £1/10/0.

Previously acknowledged ... £39 19 4
1947 TOTAL TO DATE ... £261 7 8
1947 TOTAL TO DATE ... £301 7 0



DOCTOR'S DILEMMA

THE RUSSIAN ZONE OF GERMANY

(Continued from page 5)
not refuse their labour and simply walk out: they must accept excessive work or drastic punishments.

The Black Market

Private farmers have become as corrupt as the farmers of the Western Zone; their black marketeering is silently protected by German administrators, Russian officials and Red Army men. We give below a list of food prices on the black market which will show clearly that workers cannot afford to buy these goods.

100 lb potatoes	... 800 marks
1 lb butter	... 500 "
1 lb tea	... 1,000 "
1 lb coffee	... 800 "
1 litre oil	... 280 "
1 lb sugar	... 40 "
1 lb flour	... 40 "

While the average income is 200-400 marks a month, specialists and teachers earn up to 1,500. These figures make it obvious that only the privileged may enjoy the benefits of the black market—party functionaries, administrators, police, specialists come in this category. There are four sorts of ration cards, classified for Heaviest, Heavy and Ordinary Work, and Unemployed. The unemployed card is called, by the people, the 'card to the cemetery'—it is issued to housewives, the old and disabled.

There are a large number of men on the run—deserters, Poles and political outlaws. It is one of the most significant points about the Russian zone that, in spite of all the moral corruption, G.P.U. and police methods, the 'enemies of the State' still find protection by the people. These people are regarded by the authorities as a constant menace to the State and as dangerous nuclei of rebellious tendencies. The police president of Chemnitz made a regulation that a house-book must be kept by house-confidencemen, which it to be open for inspection by police officials at any time. House-confidencemen are servile creatures of the State eager to create a proof of their loyalty by informing; the type was known only too well as *Hausblockwart* in Hitler's Germany, the greatest asset of the Gestapo in trapping members of the underground and delivering them to the hangman.

Denazification in East

We hear much about the 100% denazification in the Eastern zone; in reality large numbers of notorious Nazis are not only left unharmed but have been advanced to become members of the aristocracy of specialists and enjoy special privileges. We assume that our readers will remember the Soviet-admitted fact of von Paulus and other ex-Nazi officers now working in the Soviet Union. The list of artists, lecturers and intellectuals includes a remarkable number of known Nazis and is headed by Berlin's most prominent actor and stage-manager, Gustav Grudegens, a close friend of Goering and a Nazi State Councillor—the Russians gave him permission to carry on. Why, then, do the Russians try so violently to incite public opinion in the Western zone to demand merciless denazification? The explanation is simple—denazified artists, scientists and technicians, after having lost their jobs in the West, are received with open arms in the East. It is only the most insignificant Nazis who are thrown to the revengeful 'anti-fascists'—the big fish receive greater courtesy than they do in the West. Thousands of less important scientists have volunteered for Russia. The Russians have a number of V.2 and Panzer experts. Leading inventors such as Dr. Zorn, inventor of synthetic resin and Dr. Repp, inventor of new gases, are

in Russia too.

The Stalinist Press reports that German ammunition, chiefly grenades, and loads of German army horses are being shipped from Bremerhaven (August, 1947) to Greece.

It has long been part of Communist strategy to point the finger of accusation at the other party in order to draw unwelcome attention from themselves. The whole sickening hypocrisy of the Russian and S.E.P. policy becomes apparent when one knows of thousands of unhappy people expecting at any moment a direction to the deadly uranium mines. There is no escape. The S.M.A. has announced its intention of forcing families to act as hostages for those who escape from the mine. Recently a number of unfortunate victims of this new Bolshevik 'atomic' fascism who were slaving in the mining district of Oberschlema committed suicide. Mining was stopped when it became apparent that there would be no results. The workers believed this to be the end of their sufferings, but were informed that they would remain confined until they could be transferred to an unknown destination to fulfil other obligations. At present industry is being combed, in order to reinforce the army of galley slaves. It is obvious that in the process all those elements will be selected who have, in one way or another, proved less submissive than the majority.

Anti-Soviet Feeling

Facts show that the Communists have failed to win majority support—on the contrary there seems to be a strong anti-Soviet feeling. Purges began in Saxony in July, 1947, and a completely free hand was then given to sixty commissions to remove from public life any person "assisting insufficiently the democratic development," without explanation. We can do no better in closing this outline than to quote a letter received from Germany in the Eastern Zone.

"We are expected to produce 100% and even more of our pre-war output. Schumacher recently stressed that owing to the present under-nourishment workers cannot possibly produce more than 40%: he stressed that more than 40% of the people live on and below a Belsen standard (400 calories in many districts). They have robbed us of everything: our working power is all that remains. With this we are supposed to accomplish a task surpassing any achievement of the past when our strength was complete. Of 22 million men, 17,600,000 survived the war—we have lost half our work-hands. Only four out of ten between 20 and 60 years old returned. 60% of all working persons are over thirty and lack vitality. The number of industrial workers has sunk by 10%. Women and old men are filling the gaps where strong and skilled workers used to be—hungry women and worn-out old men! Beside ourselves, we must feed an army of disabled, sick and D.P.'s, in spite of the fact that the Russians have deported ruthlessly to the West as many of the old and weak as they could. The industrial plants have been transferred to Russia. Being robbed of our best skilled labour, of millions of P.O.W.'s, we are driven not only to reach but to surpass pre-war production. The country bears the cost of military occupation—42% of the country's total wealth. For every Red soldier we feed, four of our children die of starvation or T.B. Russian expects us to pay 2,500 millions in reparations. While we freeze, our coal goes to the Western zone, in return for which the Russians get steel and iron. We were to abolish

all war industry; the Nazis were to be exterminated. Meanwhile, every ton of steel which pours into the Eastern Zone, every brain and hand, voluntary or forced, that works for the 'reconstruction', brings nearer a disaster of unimaginable proportions—war!"
JOHN OLDAY.

BUY, BEG, BORROW
Food for our starving Comrades!

IN seven weeks Christmas will be here. But, whatever the season, they will continue to be hungry, unless we can send help immediately. We know that millions are starving and if it were in our power we would like to help them all. At least, since we cannot perform this impossible task, let us bring some relief to our comrades in Germany, many of whom have served years in concentration camps and have been hungry, not only since the end of the war, but also for all the years of oppression and persecution under the Nazi terror. It is only when one has met these comrades that one can appreciate their joy when some practical manifestation of solidarity, such as a food parcel, shows them that they do not stand alone but have brothers in England who will help them in their need.

The comrades of Freedom Press are organising now a collection of food to be sent to our most needy German comrades, and we beg all who still have a feeling of responsibility, a soft heart or just a sentimental kink to assist us in this work. The packing and despatch of the parcels will be done by voluntary workers. All kinds of rationed foods, as well as soap, are needed; we also need monetary donations to carry on this work, as the postage charges are very high—3/9 for a seven-pound parcel, which, when adequate packing is used, contains only about 5½ lbs of food!

Please borrow, buy or beg for our comrades abroad. This is urgent!

FREEDOM
Anarchist Fortnightly
Price 2d.

Postal Subscription Rates
4 months 3/- (U.S.A. 60c.)
12 months 6/- (U.S.A. 1\$)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies,
6 months 5/6 12 months 11/-

All Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers

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