

In this Issue :
 The Labour Party
 Balloon p. 2
 Women Leaving
 Industry p. 3
 Who Rules Russia? - p. 5
 Where The Real
 Danger Lies p. 5
 Literary Notes - - - p. 6

Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

"After all, the Anarchists
 are right: the poor have
 no country."
 CLEMENCEAU.

"Patriotism is the most
 foolish of passions, and the
 passion of the foolish."
 SCHOPENHAUER.

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Threepence

GUILTY MEN IN PRAGUE

IMPERIALIST UNITY

AS the conflict between America and Russia grows in acuteness, as the Communist power sweeps across Central Europe and penetrates ever deeper into China, as Czechoslovakia changes from a pretended democracy into an open dictatorship of the Communists, as America consolidates her own bloc by making friends with Peron and stepping up aid to the Greek reactionaries, it is inevitable that the various Governments and political groupings of Western Europe should begin to make their plans for the coming conflict.

Inevitably, since all the countries of Western Europe are economically and militarily weaker even than when they made their half-hearted resistance to Nazism, these plans all take the form of some kind of union of Western Europe, allied economically, politically and/or militarily.

Already, there are three prominent projects for this "union". One is Churchill's United Europe Committee, a mixed collection of Tories, Liberals, with a few Labour M.P.'s and an odd collection of independent writers and public figures, who are taking an active part in a Congress of Europe, to be held at the Hague shortly. This organisation is openly anti-Russian and pro-American.

Another is Bevin's rather vague proposal for a Western Union. And a third is the recent proposition by the Belgian Prime Minister that Britain and France should work in conjunction with the Benelux countries; in raising this question, Spaak said openly that he considered economic co-operation was not sufficient, but that military alliance as well was necessary. The same conclusion, if not openly stated, is at least implicit in the other proposals.

Opposing Groups

These proposals all differ in details, and in the particular intentions of the

persons who put them forward. But in the last analysis, they boil down to the same thing. Europe is once again dividing itself into opposing groups of powers, preparing for the next conflict. On one side stands Russia and her group of satellite powers, with energetic fifth columns in France and Italy. On the other side stand the so-called democratic countries of Western Europe, uniting under various pretexts to preserve their own particular systems of exploiting economy against the rival Russian system of state capitalism.

At first, the set-up looks unequal. Russia, and the whole of Eastern and half of Central Europe, against the eco-

nomically exhausted countries of England, France and Italy, with a few small nations clinging to them. But, in fact, the emphasis of all the plans for Western European unity, either openly or disguisedly, rests on American support in the background. All of them are based on the assumption of aid under the Marshall plan, and behind this lurks the expectation of American military aid. This can be seen both on the left and the right of the various camps of Western European unity. For example, an article in the *New Statesman*, February 21st, suggests that Western Europe should have a common economic and even defence policy but the Americans should be expected to bear the brunt of the military containment of Russia. On the other side of the fence, an article from the Washington correspondent to the *Sunday Times* (Feb. 29th) remarks that:

"Mr. Bevan's Western Union and the Marshall Plan, it is increasingly realised here, will be an effective barrier to Russian expansion only if both are backed by United States guarantees for military security."

Marshall and Militarism

All this makes clearer than ever what we have always contended, that the Marshall Plan and American military intervention in Europe for the "containment" of Russia are inextricably bound together. The Marshall Plan is merely the carrying on of war by another means, in just the same way as the campaigns of the Communist Parties in Western Europe. And, whether or not America is made to bear the brunt of initial military preparations against Russia, the peoples of all the countries of the Western Europe will find themselves plunged willy-nilly into the conflict. The advocates of all the policies that talk of a Western Union, whether, like Churchill and de Gaulle, they are openly pro-American, or whether, like Bevin and Bidault, they talk of a Third Force, are playing on the American side in the already-existing struggle of the two major imperialist powers. The capitalists of Western Europe have sold themselves to American capitalism as the lesser evil to being swamped by the Russian form of imperialism.

We desire nothing more than a true internationalism, a breaking down of all the barriers that divide the peoples of Europe and the rest of the world, but for the fake "federalism" that comes in the form of a bloc of capitalist states to preserve their own existence we have no use. The workers should be ever distrustful of any sham "internationalism" that will merely lead them into being the puppets of one or another side in a dog-fight of rival military states.

Real Internationalism

The real peace and security of the ordinary men and women of Europe will only come when they themselves realise that all governments are their enemies, and when they resolve no longer to support wars and the states that lead to war, but instead oppose militarism in any shape or form and begin their own struggle against the states that divide them and exploit their divisions, the struggle that, in abolishing exploitation and oppression at home, will abolish the national rivalries that spring from such a condition. Against such powers as overshadow the world to-day, such a struggle may seem hopeless. But the struggle of the men and women who themselves provide the means of production is never hopeless, and to-day is necessary to avert further disaster. History shows that no tyranny is as secure as it seems, that sooner or later the spirit of freedom always bursts out in an oppressed people and undermines its masters. Such an outburst of disobedience and rebellion against the idea of war is the one thing that can save us now.

AS Communist shock-troops parade in Prague, the cold war shows signs of warming up. In less than ten years Czechoslovakia, hailed as a paragon of democracy, has fallen under a totalitarian rule without opposing any considerable resistance.

Unlike the great majority of the British Press and apparently even our Foreign Office, we cannot pretend to be surprised or shocked by the Communist seizure of power. Czechoslovakia has been under virtual Communist domination ever since the Red Army walked through the streets of Prague for purposes of "liberation". This dramatic show of Russian power was done with the consent of the Allies. What has taken place since—a gradual and systematic consolidation of Communist control, has been watched in silence by the "great democracies".

Up to a few months ago most of the articles about Czechoslovakia which appeared in the British Press claimed that it was a true democracy, that freedom of speech and of the Press were respected, that Benes and Masaryk were great democrats who knew how to preserve the independence of their country. And yet now that the showdown has taken place we see that these two great statesmen have acted little better than quislings. Benes has accepted the new government, which has thereby been formed in "a constitutional manner", Masaryk has retained his post of Foreign Minister, and then conveniently retired to the country with an illness which made him speechless. On the other hand, his private secretary, Dr. Prokop Drtina, is in hospital with a fractured skull—whether he attempted to commit suicide or was made to appear as if he had, he is at least cutting a less cowardly figure than his boss.

The Communists are very anxious to demonstrate that everything in Czechoslovakia has been carried out in the most constitutional way. The Communist Party, they say, is the largest single party in the country. What, then, is more natural than it should have a little say in the affairs of the country? It is strange, however, that it could not wait until the elections, which are to be held in May, to get things right. In forcing the election issue it lays itself open to the suspicion that it was afraid of getting less votes than at the last elections, and that it was safer to seize power by force, disguised or otherwise.

Logical Conclusion

To assert, as the *Daily Worker* does, that it was thanks to the militant action of the Czech workers that the government was changed is a huge joke. To marvel, as the British Press and even diplomats (according to the *Sunday Times*) have done, at the swiftness with which the putsch was carried out, is to forget the trend of events which have taken place in Czechoslovakia during the past few months. What has happened during the past week is merely the logical outcome of a systematic infiltration by Russia.

In October, 1947, the Communist Party began to unearth plots against the Government, a sure prelude to the seizure of power. They struck the first blow in Slovakia, where the Communist Party was in a minority. They arrested about 150 Slovaks and accused them of preparing an armed uprising, and, curiously, the assassination of President Benes (presumably they thought public opinion would feel more indignant at the projected assassination of a democrat than that of Communist Premier Gottwald). They arrested leaders of the Slovak Democratic Party and obtained the resignation of Czechoslovakia's Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Jan Ursiny.

This was followed by the discovery of a series of plots in Bohemia, and widespread arrests. When it is remembered that the Communist Party controlled the Ministries of Interior, Information, Agriculture and Social Welfare, that the Prime Minister was a Communist, and that he had placed at the head of the army General Svoboda, who was commander-in-chief of the Czech corps in

(Continued on page 4)

Secret Trials

TWO days before Xmas, a large number of men who were serving prison sentences at Dartmoor demonstrated against the poor quality and amount of their food, particularly the potatoes. Their "demonstration" took the quite passive form of standing still on their lines in the prison yard and refusing to move off to the workshops. No violence was offered at all to the prison staff, a fact which was commented on at the time by the authorities concerned. The men were eventually taken back to their cells, and a report on the matter was submitted to the Home Secretary, Chuter Ede.

On Feb. 12th, full details were published regarding the punishments meted out to the men who were involved. The bald facts are as follows:—

83 of the men were dealt with by the Governor himself and of these 53 were cautioned and dismissed, and the other 30 were punished; no details of the sentences were published.

22 more of the men were remanded to be dealt with by the Board of Visitors on charges of mutiny, the most serious charge that can be made in a prison. These 22 prisoners received the following sentences:—

| Number sentenced. | Loss of stage. | Exclusion from associated work. | Deprivation of mattress. | Loss of earnings. | Restriction of diet. | Cellular confinement. | Loss of Remission. |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 18 | 360 days | 28 days | 15 days | 28 days | 57 days | 28 days | 4 lost 360 days |
| 2 | 180 days | 14 days | 8 days | 14 days | 29 days | 14 days | 14 lost 270 days |
| 2 | 90 days | 7 days | 4 days | 7 days | 14 days | 7 days | 135 days |
| | | | | | | | 90 days |

As I have said, these are the bald facts; what it represents in human misery and degradation can only be appreciated by those who have undergone similar treatment. The sentences are the most vicious and cruel that the maximum permits, and to the majority of the public mean little or nothing. A little explanation of what the various terms mean may enlighten our readers further.

Loss of Stage means that the small privileges which are eventually gained by a convict for good behaviour, and which make a bleak existence a little more bearable, are now withdrawn for the period stated—for 18 of the men, it will be for a whole year; an eternity to them.

Exclusion from associated work means

that a man will be shut away in his cell to work on sewing mail bags all day with no sense of companionship to be found in working alongside his fellows.

Deprivation of mattress ensures that a prisoner does not get a night's sleep after his day's work. Only blankets and a hard bed-board are allowed him, and the long nights of twisting and turning with sore hip bones to remind him during the day of another night to come.

Loss of earnings. The few coppers he was previously able to earn (the maximum is about 1/- per week) and which enabled him to buy a very small amount of tobacco each week, are now absent. Most men are smokers, and one of the hardest things for a prisoner to bear is the entire lack of tobacco when he first enters the prison. The urge is so strong that men will sell even their very meagre rations of food in return for a few strands.

This scarcity is, of course, traded on by the "screws" (warders) who will smuggle in tobacco at a very exorbitant price, usually 2 ozs. to £1, the money being collected from friends of the prisoner concerned.

Restriction of diet. This punishment and the last one are the most cruel and vindictive that can be inflicted on a human being. I describe the usual prison diet in a brief article on page 5 of the issue of *Freedom* dated Nov. 29th, 1947.

Restricted diet is in two stages—a period of bread and water (No. 1 diet), and then a longer period, with a little extra (No. 2 diet), as follows:

No. 1 diet—
 Breakfast 6 ozs. bread. Dinner 3 ozs. bread. Tea 6 ozs. bread.
 No. 2 diet—
 Breakfast 6 ozs. bread. Dinner 6oz. bread, a small amount of porridge, 2 or 3 small potatoes. Tea 6 ozs. bread.

(Continued on page 8)

PERON'S PROGRESS

THE flare-up of demands by South American countries on parts of the British Empire which survive in odd corners of that continent is not wholly a question of old-fashioned nationalism. This may apply to the Guatemalan demands for British Honduras, an unhealthy area whose main products are mohogany, tropical fruits and *chicle*, the basis of chewing gum. But the Falkland Islands dispute involves a great deal more.

Clearly, Guatemala, with its tiny army and few aeroplanes, cannot seriously hope to carry out a really successful war against Britain. The Argentine, on the other hand, with the largest army, navy and air force in South America, and with the support of Chile, is a more formidable proposition, and Peron evidently thinks he stands a sporting chance of getting at least part of what he is asking for.

To Peron, the Falkland Islands dispute is firstly a question of prestige. Having built up the largest military machine and the most efficient industrial system in South America, he is beginning to feel the need to expand. Already the United

States authorities have changed their attitude towards him from hostility to tacit friendship, and he is now setting out to make himself the undisputed leader of Latin America, in an attempt to make the rest of the sub-continent militarily and industrially dependent on the Argentine.

Like a clever politician, he sees that nothing is so likely to unite the South Americans under his leadership as a campaign against British imperialism in South America. Even if he fails, he gets the prestige of having tried; if he succeeds only partially, his leadership will be even more undisputed. And, as a final bait, there are talks of uranium deposits in the Antarctic areas. What could be more attractive for a latter-day dictator and a budding Empire-builder?

As for Britain's claims on these areas, they are as ridiculous as all imperialist claims. The only people who have any real interests are the local inhabitants, while such uninhabited regions as the Antarctic should really be free to anyone who wishes to go there. But in an era of imperialism and uranium politics such a rational solution is hardly likely or possible.

ARCHITECTURE AND ROMANTICISM

It is evident that modern society is experiencing a revulsion from the vulgar idea of material progress. The B.B.C. has launched its most ambitious programme on this theme, in an attempt to revalue the Victorians. Architecture as the most social of the arts cannot avoid being affected by social and artistic trends, and it is our object here to examine some implications of this impact of new judgments upon the profession. It is natural that after such a vastly destructive mechanised war as the last, there should be an instinctive reaction against the "Machine Age", and that artists should be first to register this reaction. That such an instinctive revolt exists is proved by the immense demand for art books of all kinds, by the popularity of country subjects, and of novelists of the type of Trollope; by escapism of every form as we know it to-day. Nostalgia for the past, as they imagine it, has strengthened its hold upon the people, as any optimistic view of the future has become more untenable. The machine now seems to offer not life, but death, and the reaction is complete in the major industrialised nations; only in the undeveloped Eastern countries is optimism about the machine still possible.

Some consideration of the mood following the first World War is essential in this context. Then, despite the slaughter and destruction, optimism about the future was real. The '20s' evidenced a general acceptance of the machine age and this was reflected in art and architecture very strongly. The seeming triumph of the people of Russia over their past, and the fall of feudal dynasties throughout Europe released men's spirit and the arts blossomed in a strange new way. By the end of the first productive period a new architecture had been born, which had been carried for many years in the body of society: crude, elemental, functional. Le Corbusier and Gropius represented the triumph of the machine—the house had become "a machine for living in". The '30s' saw a steady growth of this new architecture and

its development until the present war halted it. (Space compels a very generalised treatment of a very complex process).

Solutions Examined

To-day, with the experience of optimism passed and with pessimism prevailing, architects have to offer some solution to the artistic problems presented to them. The question is—what solution is proposed, and is it satisfactory? In attempting to answer, we must refer again to the Victorian era. John Summerson, in a recent broadcast, expressed the prevailing view that Morris and Ruskin contributed more to 'progress' than did Paxton and his prototypes, and without debating this here, we should like to draw a parallel between the machine optimism of the '20s' and the 'Crystal Palace' type of optimism of 100 years ago. Then the future seemed to lie with the new forms of construction and enterprise. The reaction which produced the Gothic Revival and the new romanticism seems to bear a resemblance to the modern reaction which has produced its own new forms to-day. Ruskin saw the sordid results of industrialism and Pugin sought to change

the spirit of the age by reviving past architectural forms. How futile such attempts were is evident to us. We realise that they were superficial, and that the life of the people continued to deteriorate in quality. Modern appreciation of Morris is usually confined to his artistic qualities—that he was a revolutionary who recognised the necessity for a change in the social order, is quietly ignored. This is to make nonsense of his life and views.

In a similar way now, our architectural leaders are infected with the 'Romantic Spirit'—witness the title of an address to the Royal Institute of British Architects, by Nikolaus Pevsner, 'The Picturesque in Architecture', and the Baroque style of the Chelsea Arts Ball. Sentimental 'back-to-naturism' is rife—country traditions, informality, green spaces, 'small scale', are popular concepts. Town Planning, while designing for industrial society, has based its aesthetic on Ebenezer Howard, with his idealistic longing for a "wedding of town and country", and the eclectic Mumford is a minor prophet who, like a sausage machine producing the goods, grinds out an unholy mixture of ideas from Geddes, Kropotkin, Howard and Marx, and terms it an organic architecture. All this 'progress' is in accord with the instinctive revolt, but will, we believe, prove as abortive as the Gothic revival, and as ineffective in halting the deterioration of human life.

"The State and Capitalism are inseparable concepts. In history these institutions developed side by side, mutually supporting and reinforcing each other. They are not bound together by a mere coincidence of contemporaneous development, but by the bond of cause and effect, effect and cause."

KROPOTKIN.

Basis for Integrated Architecture

It is, perhaps, no accident that the leadership of the modern movement in architecture has passed from the industrial nations to the still predominantly peasant. Scandinavia with a tradition of craftsmanship which this country has lost, has appealed to the aesthetic intelligentsia, without reason entering into the matter. If only they could create here, and out of our own traditions rediscovered and revived, an organic architecture of beauty and elegance! The more valid does this argument appear when they realise that the Swedes have assimilated English design traditions. Can such an archi-

ture be created? We believe it cannot, as our economy now stands; save only as few isolated examples—not as an integrated national school. We believe that only a revolution in the social organisation of Britain can provide the basis for such an integrated architecture.

Without attempting here to do more than suggest the future form of society, we should like to indicate how we think architecture would become vital once more. A radical change of outlook is essential; the need is for a re-organisation of society in terms of productive units utilising all the modern power sources at our disposal. It is necessary to cease to think in terms of industrial production and agriculture; the synthesis of town and country must be complete. Kropotkin in *Fields, Factories and Workshops* made the whole position clear; a new form of productive unit based on that complete synthesis of agriculture and industry, and in line with all balanced economies of the past must be the next step. Only by such means can the life of the people be rescued from the death of the spirit in the desert of industrialism. What such

a new productive form would mean to architects is a fascinating speculation. We envisage a re-colonisation of Britain leading to a vast redistribution of population evenly throughout the country, relying on local power units. Under such conditions architecture would become once again a vital factor in each individual unit, which would lead to a communal appreciation of social arts. In turn, of course, this would lead to the disappearance of specialists of all kinds, ultimately of architects as we know them. It would also mean the end of the industrial designer, and would return art to the people whence it has been derived. If Eric Gill was right when he called every man a special kind of artist, and denied that the artist was a special kind of man, then the re-birth of the social arts would give men a chance to express that latent art. We believe that only on some such social revolution can a true architecture arise once more in Britain. The sentimentalists, without such a pre-requisite will be forced back upon themselves to the detriment of art and society.

J. PHIL HARRISON.

Editorial Comment

Phil Harrison's insistence that only new social orientations will bring new orientations in architecture, that only the social revolution will shape a new epoch of fine building, is welcome, especially when so many architects (and not architects alone) approach their vocation and attempt to practise it, as though it were isolated from the sociological and technological crisis of our time; but it seems to us that he is in the position of a man climbing a ladder and knocking out the rungs beneath him.

We feel that his disparagement of Ebenezer Howard is deserved rather by the very partial attempts to put into being the Garden City idea within our present social and industrial conditions (Letchworth, Welwyn, Hampstead Garden Suburb, Quaker manufacturers, etc.), than by Howard himself, whose famous sentence: "Town and Country must be married, and out of this union

will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilisation," indicates a rather broader vision than that of the sentimentalists whom Mr. Harrison castigates; surely it implies just the synthesis that he envisages. His attitude to Lewis Mumford is difficult to understand, especially as he seems to woe a great deal to him. Mumford does not claim to be the evangelist of an organic architecture (that is the task of Frank Lloyd Wright); his sphere is rather larger. From Geddes he learnt his biological approach, from Kropotkin the conceptions of mutual aid, decentralization and the reintegration of agriculture and industry, from Howard, the translation of these conceptions into terms of physical planning, and from Marx the insistence that social systems are determined by their modes of production. This is Mumford's "eclecticism", and it does not seem to us to merit the epithet "an unholy mixture".

C.W.

The Labour Party Balloon

FATE deals unfairly with the Labour government. Faced with an approaching capitalist slump, a "buyers' market" in their ambiguous jargon, they hastily prepare for it in the traditional capitalist manner—by demanding further sacrifices from the worker. From such a foundation it is not difficult to foresee the eventual end. If the world shortage of consumer goods cannot be maintained, if British economy is forced into a system of undercutting in order to compete with other producers, then we may see a repetition of one of the worst aspects of the thirties. Redundant workers, and cargoes dumped into the sea rather than sold on a losing market. This reliance on a world shortage, by a Labour government, is yet another instance of the betrayal of principle by these bourgeois administrators.

There are two parallel aspects of the present crisis. On one hand we have the hypocritical astonishment of men who, before taking office, reviled against capitalism because of the inevitable series of slumps and booms. Now, involved themselves in this economic madhouse, they show a self-righteous surprise. The unforeseeable phenomena of drought, flood, Ice Age winter, extends now to a perfectly normal capitalist crisis. From this comes the most significant aspect of all—the replacement of the ideal of 'Workers Unite' by 'Workers compete'. The bread and butter ration of the British worker, with the Government's connivance, may well be snatched from the mouths of workers in France and Italy in the backwash of 'free' competition. Labour policy becomes abundantly clear. Their handling of the present crisis, their freezing of legitimate demands, means only one thing. Churchill's 'Let the best man win', is the most concise description of the motives behind the Government ex-

port policy. Capitalism cannot mean prosperity for all. The day that the British motor car exporters capture the world market will coincide with the laying-off of workers at the Renault, Fiat and Lancia factories.

Useless Ballast

One is reminded, in looking over Labour policy, of a balloon trying to climb through a heavy cloud formation. Its means of buoyancy (or helium) is the purity of its ideals. In the gondola of the balloon are sacks of useless ballast. When the balloon begins to lose height the pilot, rather than jettison his ballast, opens the helium valve. The balloon loses height more rapidly. The ballast remains where it is. One might think, from this, that the pilot was quite mad. Yet that is precisely what Labour has done. Its buoyancy lay in its faith in Socialist ideals. Its danger lay in the weight of the ballast. The helium valve was opened and away hissed the brotherhood of man, opposition to militarism, an ethical approach to royalty and the church, abolition of capital punishment and other enlightening decrees. Hiss again, and the very claims of the workers themselves are sacrificed. The balloon sinks lower but never a thought of jettisoning those sacks of useless ballast—the capitalist speculator, the vampires of militarism, monarchy and church religion.

Looking at the scale of sacrifices demanded of the various sections of the community one can perceive the outline of a policy. The sacrifice will be in inverse proportions to the individual's sympathy for the Labour government. The greatest sacrifice is to be demanded from the most faithful supporters of the government, the workers, a section unlikely to turn to the Conservatives. The scale of sacrifices then diminishes with increased hostility to Labour. The shareholders and directors of firms making 'controlled goods' will have to be tolerant of a fixing of their profits at the present record ceiling. In the case of 'non-controlled goods' the shareholders and directors are merely placed on their 'gentlemen's honour' not to increase their profits. While, finally, Elizabeth Mountbatten is saved the indignity of managing on an annuity of £35,000 instead of £40,000.

Three points emerge from this. The

readiness of the Labour government to make the workers the first sacrifice to inflation. Secondly, the docility of the duped workers. Thirdly, and touching upon a sacred principle, the indifference towards any ideal of international brotherhood. About this Labour has no sentimental illusions. Self-preservation is the keystone of their policy; good old cut-throat competition its practical form. And, behind it all, the sorry sight of the British worker co-operating in the reduction of the living standards of his foreign comrades.

Ends and Means

It may be, of course, that the government are merely the victims of circumstance. That, inwardly, they are horrified at the prospect of competing in a capitalist world. But can any of their actions warrant such faith? The situation of the Labour apologists to-day is no different from that of the Soviet apologists. Always the sacrificing of means to an end, always a seemingly water-tight argument for more betrayal of faith and principle. A short while ago, it was fashionable among those renouncing their faith in Stalinism to observe that if only one spark of allegiance to the original idea could be discerned, one might still have faith. Koestler, etc. But not even one spark was visible. It seems that the humble and patient supporters of Labour will soon be faced with the same predicament. The prevailing scare of a world glut of things that men are at present short of, has shown the real depth of Labour's socialism.

The most frequent criticism of Anarchism is based on the impracticability of ever achieving such an ideal. One can ask, with some justice, whether the supposedly practical approach of Labour is ever likely to achieve Socialism. As long as Labour gives us this demonstration of travelling from London to Birmingham via the backstreets of Istanbul, Bombay and Los Angeles, anarchists will have ample grounds for returning the charge of impracticability.

To return, however, to the 'sellers' market, things are not as black as they seem. One wit even suggested that we could start balancing our books by auctioning the crown jewels in America, together with certain old paintings and objets d'art which have neither beauty nor purpose but fetch high prices because

of the snob value of antiquity and tradition. There is also a ready market for cathedrals and 'quaint places' to be transferred stone by stone, for all the precious stones and metals that people have been hoodwinked into believing to be of value, for the use of battleships as purveyors of coal and wheat.

The same well-meaning wit, when asked how to reduce production costs at home, suggested a not unfamiliar solution—to each according to his needs, from each according to his ability. It is said that the Labour minister who overheard this took the arm of the person nearest to him, a Conservative, and together they retired to the bar to share the joke.

CHARLES HUMANA.

THE DANGERS OF DEPORTATION

NINETEEN cases involving deportation for subversive activities have been opened in fourteen different states in the past fifteen months. The aliens concerned are being held for deportation on the ground of political belief and membership in the Communist Party. At least two are headed for the prisons or firing squads of Spain and Greece. There is real danger, because of the current war hysteria, that the deportations will be carried out without any serious protest being made.

As anarchists, as human beings, we are opposed to all totalitarians, including the Communists. As those who have read Cilia's *The Russian Enigma* know, many anarchists are in Stalin's prisons. American Communists have never protested the specific barring of "anarchists" in the immigration regulations.

But as anarchists, as human beings, we are, on principle, opposed to the State's immigration and deportation powers. We believe that all people, whatever their place of birth, should have the opportunity to live where they wish. And that includes D.P.'s, Zionists, Communists and Anarchists.

Moreover, if the current deportation drive succeeds, it will be an open invitation for the authorities to close the door on anyone who does not have the State's stamp of approval. Fear and hatred of foreigners will be stimulated, the blind identity of being foreign and radical underscored, and the country further strengthened in its nationalism, further readied for war.

Resistance, U.S.A.

When an Anarchist was Waiting for Execution

Even if they will kill us, they cannot kill all of us; all the working-class; all the good men and women, and still less, kill ideas, rights, necessities, aspirations and ideals. So the cause of freedom and justice, of class and of human emancipation will not be destroyed nor stopped by the bodies, burnt, of two more victims of our foes.

As long as the several schools of socialism will look for power to themselves, be fatalist and authoritarian, and the workers follow their leaders, there will always be brotherly strife and hatred among them, instead of fraternity and harmony. This was clearly seen at the beginning of the Socialist movement, by men who had eyes to see.

Power and abuse of power are synonymous. The working-class shall smash all the powers against it, not create a power for itself, except for self-defence.

Now, I am confined in a cell of Cherry Hill wing, an anti-chamber of the death-house, waiting for my doom. Next Saturday we will be sentenced, then we will be executed as quickly as possible, for, as Mr. Wilbur (District Attorney of Norfolk and Plymouth Counties) said publicly a few months ago, "the sooner Sacco and Vanzetti be brought to their ultimate justice the sooner the agitation we see will stop."

Most of the people, of the good people, are with us it is true; but the forces of reaction are still and more than ever against us. As they have found me guilty two times of two crimes which I never committed, through two trials, cannot the executive act as the judiciary acted? In spite and through whatever formality? I believe that the Governor will never appoint an investigating commission. That would impose freedom; and the men of the judiciary and of the executive want to save America by dooming us.

BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI
(Letters from his death cell, 1927)

Women Leaving Industry

IT seems that working-class women who do not actually have to work for a living—for an employer, that is—are not responding particularly well to the Government's plea for them to go into industry.

Quite the reverse, in fact. The Ministry of Labour employment returns for December show that no less than 47,000 women walked out of industry during that month.

This is, of course, a seasonal trend—especially among the married women. Many of these no doubt went to work to earn something to buy a few luxuries for the kids for the Christmas holidays, or wanted to

be at home full-time over what used to be called "the festive season". Many of them may trickle back if the family budget makes it necessary.

What is worth noting is that, although no one would dare to call the women lazy, they prefer their leisure to working for the extra money. Or should one say, prefer freedom to working for a boss, for there is not really a great deal of leisure when running a home, but one is one's own boss.

Why Work For Capitalism?

The point is that these are working-

class women, and a government which is supposed to have the interests of the working-class at heart is appealing to them to go back into industry—and they are ignoring the call, except when it suits them. Not, we hasten to add, that we are in favour of unbridled individualism, wherein all suit themselves and ignore the rest of society, but if this indifference on the part of the women is an indication that they are not prepared to be willing wage slaves to save something that only works against them—then well and good.

After all, the arguments which are being used by the Government now are the same in essence as those used during wartime. "Our country is in danger", and so on, does not, and cannot, mean anything for the workers. We have no country, to begin with, and the danger is to the capitalist system—which is why the Government is so worried, and why it is so anxious to get us to work for it, as it got us to fight for it. Or some of us, anyway . . .

True, in the coming crisis the worker is going to suffer, but it would be extremely short-sighted because of that to think that we must work like mad to get capitalism out of the mess it has got itself (and us) into.

The work we are doing to-day is all subordinated to the export drive—this frantic effort to reclaim for Britain the position she once held as a producer for the whole world, and the women who have saddled themselves with another job (besides running the home) have no doubt realised that the real value of the extra money they bring into the home is very little. In many cases women must be making goods which they

themselves need, but which they cannot get because they are all exported. This must be especially true in textile and clothing trades—and in the latter, if the goods are not exported, they are rationed severely.

So that what the women are working for is purely a little extra cash—and it is little after P.A.Y.E. has bitten its chunk out of it—with which they cannot buy the things they need because they are too dear or unobtainable, and which, if put in the bank, only deteriorates in value.

Hence the seasonal nature of their going to work, and of their leaving. And who can blame them?

No Choice For Some

It must be understood, of course, that these remarks apply to those women who are not bread-winners of the family.

Those who are, like the men, cannot pick and choose when they work and when not, but have to keep on grinding away, day in, day out, at the monotonous round of earning enough to keep alive to enable them to continue earning enough to keep alive.

But only because we tolerate it.

P.S.

UNION TO SABOTAGE STAY-DOWN MINERS

THE alliance of Union and National Coal board against the militant miners went an important stage further last week, when a South Wales conference, at the instigation of the National Union of Mineworkers bureaucrats, decided to penalise stay-down strikers by instructing the local branch of the union to see that no food is sent down in future to miners who stage stay-down strikes.

It is significant that this reactionary move has the full approval of the Communist and ex-militant Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Alfred Horner, who told a newspaper correspondent:

"The majority must rule underground and on top—and dramatic actions like the recent stay-down strikes produce no good result for the mining community.

"I offer the most complete support to the courageous action of Mr. Alf Davies (area president), and I urge the men to listen to the advice of the delegate conference.

"The old stay-in strikes were for different conditions than those of to-day. I was one of the original organisers of the stay-in strikes to prevent the owners from introducing black-leg labour to defeat essential strikes.

"There is no possible excuse in doing this to-day, when every grievance can be discussed through the National Coal Board. Stay-down strikes are a menace insofar as they are an attempt to impose the will of the minority."

There are plenty of things one could say about this. Firstly, the discussion of grievances through the National Coal Board has already been tried and found wanting; that is why miners have been striking in pits up and down the country ever since it was instituted. Secondly, the only real difference between to-day and the days of the original stay-down strikes is that there has been a change of bosses, and Horner and his friends are now at the top. Thirdly, the talk about majority and minority is

drawing a red herring across the track; in an industrial dispute the men on the spot are the only people with a right to decide. Even if the rest of the members of the union do not agree with them, they have no right to interfere; the tyranny of a majority is as bad as that of a minority, and Horner, who has himself been a minority man in his time, should be the last to bring forward the argument, so often discredited, that the majority is always right.

However, union decisions do not always represent the decisions of the rank-and-file, and it remains to be seen whether the men of the local branches will carry out the betrayal of their militant comrades which is envisaged in this resolution.

LandNotes

FOOD, HEALTH AND WORK

IN the last issue of *Freedom*, I commented on the contrast between some of the hypocritical utterances of our own political leaders with the open, if unconscious, cynicism of some of their American counterparts. Judging by what I have just been reading, my comparison was somewhat premature; which proves once again the dangers, even maybe the falsity, of making comparisons at all in terms of national characteristics. I also feel that I have been a trifle unjust to the English administrative class in implying that they lack the ruthless honesty of the Americans.

I am moved to withdraw my unfavourable comparison after reading the Winter Number of *Soil and Health*, which contains much material on the relation of health to the productive efficiency of the working-classes of several countries, and which makes the statement of the American Minister of Agriculture, which I referred to, seem almost discreet.

I have seldom come across a better example of the appalling social irresponsibility of the Scientific Mind which, while pursuing research ostensibly in a "pure" and disinterested manner, at the same time willingly places such knowledge at the disposal of the governing classes, thereby enabling them all the better to maintain their domination by making it, to use a word of the moment, more "efficient". Given the existing social order, an increase in scientific knowledge (using the word scientific in its widest sense), if divorced from any social conscience, has a stabilizing effect and is, to say the least, very much a two-edged weapon. The fact that such knowledge often enables the ruling class to improve the conditions of the workers in numerous minor ways is not the least of its dangers, inasmuch as the rulers are the more easily able to pacify the masses of exploited people and minimise the more trivial causes of their discontent.

Health and the Worker

You might be pardoned for thinking that the workers are entitled to the good health that comes in the first instance from fresh, healthy food grown on a sound, healthy soil for the simple reason

that good health is one of the prerequisites for human happiness and an enjoyment of life on this earth. But, dear reader, you would, it seems, be wrong in this assumption. The real reason, according to the editor (Sir Albert Howard) and the contributors to *Soil and Health*, why the worker should have good food and enough of it is that thereby he is enabled to work more efficiently, his output is increased and, what is of course equally important, he is more contented. Workers suffering from malnutrition, a useful scientific euphemism for semi-starvation, don't, in fact simply cannot, work so well as if they have an adequate supply of food of good quality.

"What," asks Sir Albert Howard, "can be done to help our workers to perform willingly and cheerfully the mighty tasks on which our immediate salvation and our future prosperity alike depend?"

Sir Albert, with the most religious faith common to most scientific specialists, has the answer. "Labour unrest," he admits sadly, "is the order of the day". But he then in effect says; feed the buggers properly on healthy food and "we shall then begin to hear less about labour unrest and strikes."

"Malnutrition Means Insufficiency"

This rational and realistic approach to pressing social problems is brought out even more clearly in an article on "Labour in Africa." Under the sub-title "Malnutrition means Inefficiency," the writer says that, "A prominent South African agricultural paper recently called attention to the increasing sickness among native employees on farms."

This in itself obviously does not worry either the prominent South African agricultural paper or the writer of the article in the least. What, however, does concern them very much is the sick natives' "consequent inefficiency as labourers". The writer then adds that "a well-known doctor in one of Southern Rhodesia's oldest-established farming districts said recently that he was appalled at the shockingly poor physical state of farm labourers in that area; the majority were literally starving [i.e., suffering from malnutrition—G.V.]. Even without such evidence the appearance of the average working native is sufficient proof."

That, of course, would not greatly matter were it not for the unfortunate fact that starvation "results in slackness and inability to endure prolonged muscular effort". Furthermore, the natives' susceptibility to disease, and in particular to

bihartzia and hookworm, is greatly increased, not only by his malnutrition, but also by the fact that "during the fifty years or so of white settlement in this Colony no successful legislation has ever been established to ensure proper sanitation for the native."

This, in the writer's eyes, seems to be an understandable, even though regrettable, omission. But what does shock and anger him is that neither has anything apparently been done to ensure "a proper protection for Europeans (my italics) from the results of this neglect." That is indeed really shocking, even, one might think, unbelievable.

It Pays to Feed Your Workers

The conclusion that the writer reaches, after considerable analysis, is that employers must see that their native workers get a bit more to eat, otherwise they "must face the consequences of continued inefficient labour."

"Farmers who feed their natives generously," he assures us, "find that it pays to do so, even to the extent of allowing them land to grow their own supplementary supplies" (my italics). Comparatively few employees, however, do in fact adopt this far-sighted policy of enlightened self-interest. "Many and perhaps most farmers allow only the bare minimum of food laid down in the regulations; in consequence their labour is much less efficient."

How stupid some people are!

One great advantage, however, of keeping native employees in a state of semi-starvation is that they are less likely to be troublesome. This is shown clearly in another article dealing with a certain tribe in Tanganyika called the Machuswa who, it appears, have, for some unaccountable reason, a certain amount of their own land still left to them which they cultivate in a highly efficient manner and which provides them with an adequate supply of food of first-rate quality.

The members of this tribe "are notably well-built, vigorous and aggressive . . . A bullying overseer might hit a native of another tribe and the boy might either submit to the treatment or lay a charge with the District Commissioner. Not a Machuswa however! If a Machuswa is struck by a Black or White, there is no running off to the D.C. Instead, every one of his fellows down tools, gangs up and pitches into the offender. If it is a White man, he is challenged to 'do it again!'"

A truly alarming state of affairs which makes one think that maybe there is something to be said for a little healthy malnutrition after all.

"But," says the writer, "if you can handle them there are no better workers to be had."

The same applies to stallions who, if you can handle them, normally work much harder than geldings. Nevertheless, it is normally thought wiser in most countries to castrate them. They are then docile, even if they don't usually fling into the collar with the same zest, and you can rely on them. Perhaps this is the solution for the male members of the Machuswa if they continue to sometimes behave in a disrespectful manner towards their white masters. A sufficient number of well-bred males would, of course, be left entire to ensure an adequate supply of workers for the future.

To Each According to His Yield

But it is not only niggers who suffer from malnutrition. That would seem to be more or less in the natural order of things and of little consequence apart from reducing their efficiency.

"At the present," Albert Howard informs us, "our miners are sadly undernourished. One of the consequences of poor feeding is the five-day week, which one gathers that Sir Albert, like most energetic sedentary workers, regards as very retrograde. But, once again, if only "the men could be induced to replace their present ration of murdered bread by the best (i.e., wholesome) bread this island can provide . . . it would transform the present unsatisfactory state of affairs in the provision of fuel."

This attitude to the workers, that they exist not in their own right but solely as the producers of commodities, and that the main justification for keeping them healthy is that they produce more, is simply the mentality of the stock-breeder. Indeed, the style in which most of the articles, to which I have referred, are written would be eminently suitable in, say, a book on the Scientific Management of Dairy Cattle; how to increase output with a minimum of expense and how it pays to feed your beasts well on balanced rations.

There is, nevertheless, one important difference. If an English farmer treated his cattle in the same way as African farmers treat their native labourers, he would be liable to prosecution.

G.V.

MORE PARASITES

UNPRODUCTIVE workers employed by the Government and local authorities have increased by 48 per cent. on pre-war figures.

While the Government makes a fool of itself, therefore, in launching schemes on a nation-wide scale which result in roping in a mere handful of unwilling individuals (fifty-five direction orders were issued during December) the clumsy machinery necessary to work these bureaucratic blunders itself swallows up more and more potential producers.

We do not believe, however, that the Control of Engagement Order was brought in merely to deal with spivs and drones—that was just the excuse. As the Government puts more pressure on the workers to man the basic industries, so direction will be used more and more. The Order is on the statutes; it will be used when necessary.

Unemployment Increases Again

Meanwhile, unemployment continues to increase. In January the figure rose to 318,247—an increase of 41,000 over the mid-December total.

THE GENERALS TAKE OVER

THE danger of defending this country into dictatorship, into a land ruled by a military High Staff, has become so great that not only radicals but some of our most "respectable citizens" are alarmed.

Recently, in a report entitled *The Militarization of America*, Albert Einstein and 20 other educators, clergymen and prominent public figures pointed to the "militarized states" which arose in Japan and Germany, and said:

"The same pattern already exists in large measure in our own land."

In one of those rare reversals in the history of American journalism, a newspaper thought twice about a matter and changed its editorial position. The *New York Post*, up to now a strong supporter of U.M.T. (*Universal Military Training*), has gone on record against this step to further militarization. Wrote Publisher Thackrey:

"We are no longer willing to see this added regimentation of our national human resources in a programme already beyond bounds in its emphasis on war, and its neglect of equally determined effort to win the peace."

Even a man on the inside—that unusual creature, a civil-minded general—has spoken up against the military menace. Quoted by Military Analyst Hansom Baldwin in a recent *Harper's* article, *The Military Moves In*, Brig.-Gen. Edson of the Marine Corps complained that things had "reached the point where the military are directing instead of supporting this country's policy." A general who did not have to fear the truth, he was retiring!

And, remember, this rather intemperate language is not the condemnation expected from "impractical idealists" but from accepted citizens. That is how obvious the danger is.

What is the pattern of militarism that already exists?

Here are some relevant facts:

Key positions in the Government are now held by military men. Adm. Leahy is Truman's personal aide; Gen. Marshall is Secretary of State, Marshall's assistant is Brig.-Gen. Carter, Ass't Secretary of State Puerifoy is a West Point graduate, and former Brig.-Gen. Saltzman is Ass't Secretary of State for Occupied Areas; Japan is under the virtual control of Gen. MacArthur, Lieut.-Gen. Clay

heads the American Zone of Germany, and Gen. Keyes that of Austria; the diplomatic corps is staffed with such military figures as Lieut.-Gen. Bedell, Ambassador to Moscow, and there are 13 military missions in South America alone. In addition, a little known but highly influential body, the Central Intelligence Agency, headed by the military, prepare daily reports for Truman on the international scene.

Exclusive of atomic bomb expenditure, 79% of Government spending in the next fiscal year will, directly and indirectly, be used for military purposes. This will further accentuate such trends as:

Military control of scientific research. (Already, most of the country's leading laboratories are operating under contracts from the armed forces.)

Military influence over high school and college education. (Students are being baited by plump R.O.T.C. scholarships, and school policies are influenced by the fear that the military gravy train will pass them by.)

Increase of military economic power. (Military orders even now amount to a sizeable share of the production of certain industries, particularly in aircraft.)

Military infiltration of civil groups. (Twelve Air Force officers have already been detailed to help develop the "Air Scout programme" of the Boy Scouts of America. According to Victor Riesel, *New York Post* labour analyst, branches of the War Department, since last May, "have been conferring quietly with key labour chiefs, including A.F.L. and C.I.O. officials, in an effort to get unions to 'sponsor' and organize military outfits for the U.S. Army." First unions to sponsor such units are Locals 132 and 175 of the A.F.L. Operating Engineers in Charleston, W. Va.)

Strengthening of military propaganda groups. (A large contingent of officers maintains contact with Congress, some say the most efficient lobby in Washington. Rep. Engel (R., Mich.) calls their efforts to influence legislation "downright vicious". In addition, more than 1,300 uniformed soldiers have been assigned full-time jobs of wooing favourable press and public opinion.)

The military hopes for a tremendous broadening of influence with the passage of U.M.T., preferably now—otherwise, in a non-election year. The proposed plan would, in the words of Gen. Devine of

the Army ground forces, "inculcate military virtues, military skills," so that the 17 and 18-year-old boys would become well-rounded privates in the National Guard, or go back into civilian life as "a trained and disciplined citizenry".

But, even now, without U.M.T., the military, according to Hansom Baldwin, is directly responsible for the seizure of the Japanese-mandated islands and the recent shift to an outright pro-Peron policy. John Foster Dulles, Republican policy adviser, has intimated that the military is taking a decisive rôle in the European Recovery Programme, and Secretary of State Marshall has admitted that a representative of the Army is included in the steering committee for work on the E.R.P. Not much conjecture is needed to determine what part the War Department branches played in the decision to send 1,000 Marines to Greece, equipped—as one armed force journal boasted—"with battle wear, flame-throwers and arms".

No wonder the gentlemen with peaceful sentiments are worried. They fear what may happen to our so-called "American way" if this pattern of militarism continues. They fear the spectre of military dictatorship. And with good reason.

What these gentlemen fail to realize, however, is that militarism has become an essential part of "the American way". The American State, for all its federated trappings, is still a State. A state's chief function has always been war, and a military establishment the very root of its prestige and sovereignty. In all the six major wars this country has fought in its brief span of history, and into which the people have been led by a long series of steps, decided on at secret councils, the military traditions and power of the American State have been invigorated. Immensely contributing to the growth of militarism has been the necessity of monopoly capitalism to rely on war as a method of protection against ever recurring economic crises and as a legitimate means of expansion. With or without the atomic bomb, whether or not we go to war with Russia, the outcome of this process is a militarized society.

This militarization of America is not inevitable. But it is probable unless those who realise the danger deepen their knowledge of the causes and pass from words to active resistance.

(Resistance, U.S.A.)

Czechs Oppose Conscription

PILSEN, which boasts the honour of being the seat of the Skoda munitions works and the Pilsen brewery, recently was the scene of the first spontaneous demonstration against the military draft and compulsory labour in Czechoslovakia. This has created one more violent pre-election issue between the Communists, and the National Socialist (President Benes's) Party and People's (Catholic) Party.

On January 22nd, several dozen soldiers, both men and officers, gathered in the old city square to protest peacefully against the two-year compulsory military service as well as the six months that soldiers must now work in the mines.

Though entirely non-violent, the meeting was broken up at once by the authorities. Several persons expressing sympathy with the demonstrators were also arrested. All the soldiers involved will be tried for mutiny before a court martial.

A similar demonstration took place a few days later in Prague, on St. Wenceslaus Square, the city's busiest thoroughfare. All participants were arrested. These outbreaks are symptomatic of the discontent of young men who protest that they are playing the rôle of scapegoat for ambitious politicians bent on militarizing the country in order to "preserve" a precarious peace.

Worldover Press.

Guilty Men in Prague

(Continued from page 1)

Russia during the war and reputed to be a Communist, it will be seen that the vital conditions for seizure of power had been created, and, as we wrote on the 15th November, 1947: "Czechoslovakia will soon be ripe for a series of trials (with possible executions), the banning of newspapers and parties, and a régime of police terror."

Purge Ahead

Thanks to the collaboration of Dr. Benes, the Communist Party was able to seize power with little show of violence, and the *Daily Worker* proudly announced that "Czechoslovakia has passed through the second phase of her national revolution without the loss of a single citizen's life". But the Communist Party will not be cheated out of a full-scale purge. The Communist-controlled Czech Central Action Committee has already issued a warning that decisions of the National Front will be binding on all, and that "it was absolutely necessary to purge the political parties of the enemies of popular democracy". Many members of the National Socialist Party have been

arrested; in short, Czechoslovakia has gone the way of Rumania, Hungary and Poland.

Police measures have left Mr. Gottwald time to announce that all private enterprises employing over 50 people would be taken over by the State, and the splitting up of estates of over 125 acres would begin at once. This, it is hoped, will gain the Government some popular support, as the Prime Minister has emphasised that he does not wish to introduce collective farming: "In future, when someone whispers something like this to you, chase him out of the village," he said, addressing a meeting of farmers. Thus, we shall have the creation of kulaks, and Communist enthusiasts who would wish to establish in Czechoslovakia the wonderful system of collectivisation which exists in Russia will be "chased out of the village". But this, we like to believe, is only a phase in the dialectical process: when the kulaks have settled down they will be eliminated "as a class", as they were in Russia.

What of the Future?

Russia has now established political and economic domination over seven countries with a population of 90 millions, and her appetite shows no signs of being satisfied. Having carried out her job in Prague with remarkable efficiency, Russia turned her interest to Finland where the forthcoming elections are expected to show a drop in the Communist vote and where, therefore, swift action may be necessary.

Austria is also beginning to feel distinctly uncomfortable, caught between Russia and Yugoslavia. In the general elections of 1945, the Austrian communist candidates won only four of the 165 electoral districts. The behaviour of Red Army troops did not seem to have won the affection of Austrians to communism. But here also this may be one more reason for acting quickly. Russia is applying strong economic and political pressure on Austria, while Tito has launched a full-scale propaganda campaign in Sloven territory and in other parts of Austria.

The iron curtain shows itself to be extremely elastic.

How helpless the "democratic" powers look in these events! They shout "murder", "rape", when Czechoslovakia falls a victim to totalitarianism. They sadly remember Munich, and feel as helpless to check Stalin as they did to check Hitler. If Britain finds itself at war with Russia in the near future, the government now in power will be blamed for having stood by while the "rape" and the "murder" were carried out. Yet what could the democracies do to prevent them, short of going to war with Russia?

It is a sinister reflection on democracy that her only victories are won thanks to machine guns, planes and atom bombs. The victory of totalitarianism in Czechoslovakia is not only a measure of Russia's strength; it is also a demonstration of the weakness and ineffectuality of democratic governments.

WANTED: 2,000 New Readers!
Are you helping to introduce new readers to FREEDOM? Have you asked your newsagent to stock the paper?

Can you sell a few copies among your friends? We can supply you with copies of the current issue (6 copies 1/6, 12 copies 3/- post free).

LIBERTARIAN.

NOTE.—The following papers are in stock at Freedom Bookshop, price 3d.: *Le Libertaire*, *Resistance*, *L'Adunata* and *Volontà* (1/-). We will welcome orders for any of the other papers mentioned in the article.

Foreign Commentary

THE ANARCHIST PRESS

And a Word to Our American Comrades

TO adequately review the Anarchist Press is a task which cannot be undertaken in this column both for space reasons and the physical effort that this would require. In the last issue of *Freedom* we gave a brief outline of a World Anarchist Congress, and readers will, we hope, have gained the impression that though relatively weak in numbers, the Anarchist movement is truly international and autonomous. This autonomy expresses itself not only in the publication of anarchist journals in almost every country in the world, but also in the publication of more than one journal in a particular country. The result is that, to adequately review the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist press of the world, would require time and patience (neither of which the writer of this column possesses) and a whole pamphlet at one's disposal. But it is a task a linguist and anarchist of the calibre of a Max Nettlau should undertake, for the results would be of great value and of general interest to the movement and its sympathisers.

We shall limit ourselves to brief references to some of the more important anarchist journals in the French, Italian, Spanish and English languages.

FRANCE

In France, *Le Libertaire* (weekly, 4 pages) is the organ of the French Anarchist Federation. The front page deals with topical questions in a forceful and lively way. The centre pages contain book reviews, film and literary articles as well as historical and theoretical material, much of which is of considerable interest. In the current issue (26/2/48) there are a number of contributions on the work of Randolph Bourne whose pamphlet *The State* (recently published in America by *The Resistance Press*) is shortly to appear in French. An addition to these pages of *Le Libertaire* is a short story, which, like much so-called "proletarian literature", is very bad! Page 4 is the Industrial Page. Until recently the revolutionary syndicalist movement (C.N.T.F.) relied on this page for announcements of its activities and the discussion of its problems. But it

has at least succeeded in obtaining official recognition of its right to re-issue *Le Combat Syndicaliste*, the pre-war organ of the revolutionary syndicalist movement in France. It is appearing only monthly at present and we have so far only seen one issue. The pacifist Anarchist trend is represented by a monthly *Ce Qu'il Faut Dire* (a literal translation of this title would be "What One Must Say") and the individualists by E. Armand's *L'Unique* which appeared for a number of years before the war with the title *Un Dehors*.

ITALY

In Italy, the principal journal of the Anarchist movement is the weekly *Umanità Nuova* (New Humanity). Our Italian comrades are very conscious of the Anarchist tradition in their country. Many of their groups bear the names of pioneers or martyrs of the Italian movement, and similarly, their periodicals bear the names of their predecessors in pre-Mussolini days. And the most important newspaper was *Umanità Nuova*, which was edited by Malatesta after the 1914-18 war and appeared daily until its suppression by the forces of reaction. This name, therefore, was the most fitting for the paper of the post-Mussolini period. The contents are, broadly speaking, on the lines of *Le Libertaire*. But there are a number of other Anarchist papers in Italy, though fewer than after the "liberation" when it seemed as if a new one was appearing every month! Of those that have stayed the course we should mention *Il Libertario*, 2-page weekly, published in Milan, and *Era Nuova*, 4-page fortnightly, published in Turin. The movement's theoretical journal *Volontà* (monthly, 64 pages) contains the most important theoretical material published by the Italian movement.

SPANISH LANGUAGE PAPERS

The list of newspapers in the Spanish language is unending! In France there are *Solidaridad Obrera* (weekly, 4 pages) published in Paris, *G.N.T.* (weekly, 4 pages) published in Toulouse and *Ruta*, the 4-page youth paper published in Paris every fortnight, to mention only three.

These papers deal mainly with news from Spain and of the Spanish exiles, and much space is given to internal polemics. They are, indeed, movement papers which came into existence after the mass exodus from Spain, and their main appeal is to the Spanish anarchists in exile. They are lively papers, and show much more sense of journalism in their lay-out than most anarchist papers. In Mexico, besides the monthly of the Mexican movement, *Regeneracion*, there are at least two published by the Spanish Anarchists in exile: *Solidaridad Obrera* and *Tierra y Libertad* (Land and Liberty) the former is the organ of the Spanish Libertarian movement in exile, whereas the latter is an anarchist paper published by the group of the same name as the paper. In the United States there is the fortnightly *Cultura Proletaria*, now in its 20th year of publication. In Argentina, where there is a strong syndicalist movement, there are a number of local newspapers besides the organ of the F.O.R.A., *La Protesta*, to whose glorious history we have already referred in these columns (*Freedom*, 26/7/47). The Anarchist movement in that country is represented by the monthly *La Obra*, which has published some important theoretical articles on anarchism which should be more widely read and discussed.

L'Adunata dei Refrattari (The Call of the Refractories) is the Italian language 8-page weekly in the United States, published in Newark, and is now in its 27th year. We would describe it as being a paper for anarchists rather than a propaganda paper for non-anarchists. *L'Adunata* represents the anti-organisational point of view, and is supported economically and morally by a large number of groups in all parts of the States. Since the "liberation" it is widely read in Italy.

But what will be the fate of such papers as *L'Adunata* in the years to come? *L'Adunata* came into existence at a time when many comrades were forced to leave Italy on political grounds. They are now 25 years older, and their children, if they are interested in anarchist ideas, will turn to English-speaking groups rather than to the Italian groups of their fathers. If there is large-scale immigration into the States from Italy, then an Italian lan-

guage anarchist paper can expect to survive (so long as it adjusts its presentation to attract these newcomers to its ranks). Otherwise, it must eventually disappear, its work well and truly done.

But, what of the children of these Italian comrades (and, incidentally, the children of the Spanish, Jewish, Russian comrades who also publish their language papers in America). Surely the only guarantee for the continuation of their ideas lies in establishing an English language paper in America on a sound basis. This has been courageously attempted by the Resistance Group who publish the monthly magazine *Resistance* (formerly *Why*). The Jan.-Feb. issue just received is a double number (16 pages) and contains some very interesting material. The article *Anarchism and/or the Family* discusses a fundamental problem which we have not seen discussed elsewhere (including *Freedom*!) That article alone makes the current issue worthwhile.

But to come back to our main argument. *Resistance* is a small magazine; during the past year it has appeared irregularly. This can only mean that our comrades who support the publications published in Spanish, in Italian, Russian and Yiddish, are not looking to the future, and we cannot help thinking it is a great pity.

The foregoing has been written because *Freedom* has many readers in America, with whom we have maintained contact for many years and who will not resent, we hope, this apparent incursion into "American affairs"! And we do feel that in a survey of a section of the Anarchist Press it is admissible that we should discuss what we consider our weaknesses as well as our strength. And so long as it is not generally realised that *Resistance* deserves to become a strong anarchist voice in the United States, then this will represent one of our weak spots!

WHERE THE REAL DANGER LIES WHO RULES RUSSIA?

SINCE 1933 it has become a stock stand-by of self-styled progressives to display their liberalism by adopting stereotyped phrasing deploring the growth of anti-Semitism and, since 1945, by advocating the suppression of the small bodies of openly anti-Semitic fascist and semi-fascist sympathizers.

Although it cannot be denied that these cause irritation, and that their speeches and writings are annoying, it cannot be seriously alleged that they have any great deal of influence, and the fact that they are known at all is due to the National Press, which has undertaken their publicity free of charge, and to the fact that so many of them have adopted the policy of holding anti-Semitic meetings in districts where they can be sure of a large number of Jewish people in the audience, thus ensuring a certain amount of argument which is the main way open-air speakers can maintain crowds.

However, does the danger of anti-Semitism come from these small groups of obsessed cranks? How many are influenced by them? The fact that the majority of their adherents were under a cloud during the war years owing to their pre-war and in many cases war-time support of the Nazis has removed them from serious public attention. They are very easy "Aunt Sallies". The usual Parliamentary questions to Mr. Chuter Ede on the subject produce the usual Parliamentary answers that the police are keeping an eye on them and if he wants further powers he will ask for them.

However, we would be more interested to know who is keeping an eye on the police? We have not the slightest doubt that our old acquaintances of the Special Branch have their noses in the activities of the remnants of the fascist movement. It might also be pointed out that, owing to the situation in Palestine and the wild Press allegations about terrorists coming to London and so on, their noses also poke into the affairs of Jewish organizations.

According to the *Star* (24/2/48): "Special Branch and C.I.D. men were trying to-day to get a detailed description of a woman who, it is believed, put a home-made bomb behind a swing-door of Palace Chambers, Bridge-street, Westminster.

"Yard officers to-day examined records for names of Jewish sympathisers in Britain with organisations in Palestine."

Not only is Scotland Yard beginning to attribute every affair of this kind to "Jewish terrorists", just as forty years ago it would automatically have been attributed to "foreign anarchists" or twenty years ago to "Russian Bolsheviks", but it is noticeable that their records extend to Jewish sympathisers in Britain with organisations in Palestine, which must include a large majority of the Jewish community, beginning from the Chief Rabbi, and which incidentally has up to now always been considered per-

fectedly proper (but all the time the Special Branch was compiling its records). It may also be remarked that among the organisations which up to the time of General Election was 100% sympathetic to Zionism and which had an affiliated body in Palestine, was the Labour Party; however, no doubt Mr. Chuter Ede, if he cares to take the trouble, can look up his own dossier in the secret political records of Scotland Yard, where it is in all probability resting quite comfortably until Mr. Pollitt becomes chief of police, when it will come in handy!

It is extremely necessary to keep check on the activities of the police in this direction since the secret watch on extreme Zionists can quite easily develop into general anti-Semitic tendencies (which are already noticeable in other branches of the police, particularly in Board of Trade prosecutions); it is not a new development since precisely the same situation developed regarding Irishmen following the Republican incidents. Irishmen even to-day are in many cases checked and viewed with suspicion by the police authorities and this was very noticeable in the war years.

This tendency has also been noticed in the army, for instance in the tendency of many company commanders to look on Irishmen as potential deserters. Mr. Shinwell might perhaps take note of anti-Semitic tendencies in the army. In the present situation perhaps this is unavoidable in Palestine itself, where there is the artificial tension between the local Jewish population and the Armed Forces, but it is a sad commentary on the bid for support the Labour Party made on Jewish voters, that such discrimination exists inside the British Army for the first time since feudal days, insofar as British soldiers of Jewish faith (not race—yet) are taken from their units when they go to Palestine, and this is spreading beyond the borders of Palestine itself. (Incidentally, precisely the opposite sort of discrimination is said to have existed when the war-time campaign in Italy was on—the aircrews that bombed Rome are said to have been exclusively Roman Catholics, an indication that no attacks on the Vatican were intended.)

In the face of the serious innovations of the Government which before the war would have aroused a storm of protest, especially from the left, but which now pass unnoticed, it seems to be time responsible people were abandoning the belief that one can legislate against anti-Semitism without legislating against anything else, and examining the present drift of the Government. And it is even more important to think of the present plight of European Jewish survivors. These have to face the relentless pogroms carried out in Stalin-controlled territory, from which they are escaping to nowhere. Frozen out or driven out from the Stalinist-controlled countries of Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and so on, they must read with grim irony that Stalinists here think anti-Semitism will be con-

CAPITALISTS and Proletarians: these two "classes" are the only two decisive social forces which Marxism recognises. The State was for Marx nothing but the instrument of political power of a class; and its "class nature" would sufficiently define the nature of its policy. For a strict Marxist, there does not, then, exist a third way out of the dilemma: either a bourgeois-capitalist regime or a proletarian-socialist regime. What is the class in power in the U.S.S.R.? "It is not the bourgeoisie," say the Stalinists, "for they were dethroned and expropriated in 1917; it is therefore the proletariat." "It is not the proletariat," reply the social-democrats, "for they are exploited and oppressed by your dictatorial regime; it is therefore the bourgeoisie."

From Marx to Burnham

From 1921 to 1930 it was possible to believe, from the appearances of the New Economic Policy and the partial restoration of private property in the means of production, that the Marxist analysis would suffice to interpret the Russian phenomena of revolution and counter-revolution. The Russian trinity of the bourgeois specialist, the speculator and the Kulak (joined to the spectre of foreign capital, proprietor of mining and industrial concessions, and creditor of the Soviet State), could at a pinch pass as the incarnation of

trolled by banning a few small fascist societies. Cooped up in Displaced Persons camps it is only natural they should fall in with Zionist plans to get to "life" in Cyprus concentration camps or death in the streets of Palestine. There is a serious manpower shortage in many countries, and the large open uncultivated lands of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, cry out for immigrants and more immigrants; but these Jewish D.P.'s can only be illegal immigrants, because of the accident of birth—our great free Dominions have the racial theories of Dr. Goebbels and Ellis Island, and the "down-trodden millions who cry from the garrets of Europe that they too were created lords of the earth and demand its division" cry in vain to the "democratic" elements as to the Stalinists, as to the Nazis. The "right sort of immigrants" come from the countries that have a manpower shortage themselves. So "illegal immigration" continues.

INTERNATIONALIST.

bourgeois capitalism in Russia, as a threat or a reality.

But when the programme of the annihilation of the neo-capitalist classes, formulated by Trotsky, was put into full application by Stalin, even to the extent of destroying the last petit-bourgeois artisan, shop-keeper or individual peasant with private property, it became impossible to explain in a Marxist manner the exploited and oppressed condition of the Russian proletariat. The theory had lost all contact with reality.

It was then that there was sketched a neo-Marxist theory of the third possibility: the "techno-bureaucratic" regime with its "managerial" State. The class in power in the U.S.S.R. was that of the functionaries of the totalitarian State which was the master of the economy. Contrary to the classic theory which makes of the State the expression, the "reflection" of a class, this time it was a question of a new class engendered by the State!

To face up to realities, this reversal overthrew all the philosophy of economic determinism, but it utilised, while bringing it up-to-date, the traditional terminology of the working-class movement, unconsciously permeated by Marxist political education. Prisoners of this vocabulary which is foreign to realities, anarchists, like Garcia Pradas in his book *La Crisis del Socialismo*, have embroidered with brilliant variations the theme of the State, new class of contemporary society; they have described true observations in false terms.

As for Marxist socialism of the neo-Leninist persuasion, it has found in the twisted formula of Burnham a way out of its contradictions, a cheap explanation of social evolution in the Twentieth Century.

Classes or Castes

But it is impossible for us to admit this by-pass, which leaves standing all the powerless and deceitful Marxist theory of "classes" and of "the class State" (while all the time implicitly contradicting it).

Besides, the anarchists did not wait until 1948, or even until 1848, to formulate very precisely three fundamental truths which are to-day confirmed by the ideological rout of Marxism.

1. The placing under tutelage of productive society and the hierarchisation of the social strata is of religious and military origin, not of economic origin.*

2. All social revolution consists in an effort to achieve the suppression of the State and the equalisation of all classes as well as their liberation.

3. It is not a class phenomenon, but a universally human libertarian phenomenon, an integration of society and the individual.

To-day we have the pleasure of beholding a stampede of the really clear-sighted Marxists, who are rallying to the anarchist theory.

Whether it is Aimé Patri in *Paru*, Michel Collinet in *Masses*, Dwight Macdonald in *Politics*, or even the old social-democratic theoretician Hilferding in *La Revue Internationale*, this rallying is general; to the question: "What is the dominant class in Russia?" the liberated Marxists, advancing towards a new truth, to-day reply resolutely, "The question is badly put, and historical relativity forces us to abandon the theory of the Class State to return to the notion of hieratic castes."

This is the first great theoretical advance introduced by the Russian experience. Let us acknowledge it, and work for the rapidly spreading recognition of the three anarchist postulates of the Revolution.

A.P.

*The existence of Marxist "classes" is founded on the division of social work between several types of productive relationships (food-gatherers, hunters, fishers, herdsmen, landowners, artisans, transporters, artists, scholars, etc.). In our eyes that division does not in itself allow of any factor of subordination of one category to the other, unless religious ideology intervenes to hierarchise social functions and values to its own profit, with recourse to armed force to maintain that hierarchy.

Governments Let Them Starve—Show Your Solidarity

Letter from Hamburg

Dear Comrade,

I have had a very busy fortnight; that is why I couldn't write to you before and acknowledge receipt of the parcel. It was very welcome just now, for our fat rations were cut by half of late and we now receive only 2½ ozs. of fats a month instead of 5 as it was up to recently. 5 ozs. of fat a month was too much you see, that is why it had to be reduced by half.

Please do not think I am complaining. With your generous help I have hardly suffered any hardship in this respect. Moreover, I am in the happy position of being able to feed and help other friends about me and in other zones. If I mention to you the cuts, it is, so to say, for your information.

I have just written to R., declining his offer to send me a parcel. He had written to me some time ago explaining to me the advantages of vegetarian knowledge in cultivation and use of vegetables. I told him then that this knowledge is of no great avail, seeing that we get 5 ozs of fat a month, 4 lbs. of fruits a year and 3 eggs a year. He seems to have been shocked by this horrible reality and offered to send me something, but I declined, telling him that there are other people in greater want than myself.

We are in a very unpleasant situation, for we cannot criticise the present food situation in Germany without creating the impression of asking for help. And yet I cannot help writing about it, because I see everything with my own eyes and suffer with the sufferings of others.

Best wishes to all from your Hamburg. T.



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LITERARY NOTES

on the part of the Nazis to regiment the Norwegian people was rendered fruitless by these methods.

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CONTROL OR CONSULTATION A Labour Party Apology

A RECENTLY published pamphlet from Transport House, entitled "Industrial Democracy", sets out to discuss the amount of responsibility industrial workers should have for their industries under nationalisation.

It turns out to be a rather shame-faced confession that the "Labour Movement"—meaning the Labour Party—has now deserted its original aim of Workers' Control and is now demanding nothing more than "workers' participation in control", a very different kettle of rather smelly fish.

The introduction will raise a bitter smile or two, to begin with. "Fortunately," it says, "the workers of Britain . . . have asserted their dignity as human beings by building large and powerful Trade Unions. In contrast to industry, control in Unions is exercised from the bottom up, rather than from the top down. Every member can have a voice in determining policy." Is that so? The T.U.C. made sure of the approval of every trade unionist before accepting Direction, or wage pegging, we are asked to believe.

The story opens with a very cursory survey of the ideas of workers' control in various forms. Syndicalism is looked at rather distastefully, because "Syndicalists rejected political action, whereas the workers were already building the Labour Party and finding it brought them very real benefits!" And Guild Socialism is briefly discussed, but when looking for examples of workers' control in action, the author skips over the early months of the Russian Revolution, although admitting that in the first nine months the Government seized only 72 out of 521 large "nationalised" factories, the rest being captured by the direct action of the workers. The gradual encroachment of the Bolshevik government is, in some queer way, used to indicate the impracticability of workers' control.

*Labour Publications Department, Transport House, Smith Square, London,

A NEW and interesting book by Henry Miller has just appeared in America, and, while a full review must wait for the appearance of this book, *Remember to Remember*, in England, I cannot resist a reference to its excellent introduction, in which Miller criticises the contemporary trend towards totalitarianism in world society, and then goes on to a full-scale attack on the State as the leading enemy against which we have to contend.

"To-day, the world is bound, cramped, stifled by those existing forms of government known as the State," he says. "Does the State protect us or do we protect the State? Whatever form of tyranny exists to-day exists by our consent. No matter in what corner of the globe we cast our eye to-day, we see the spectre of tyranny. Perhaps the worst tyranny is that which is created for our own good. There can be no common good unless the individual is recognised first and foremost—and until the last, the weakest of men is included. Everything proceeds from the living individual. The State is an abstraction, a bogey which can intimidate but never convince, never win us over completely. . . . No State ever had humanity in mind, only the interests of the State . . ."

"To preserve its interests, the State is perpetually obliged to make war. The chief concern of a State is to be ready and fit for the next conflict. The important thing, which is the enjoyment of life, now, this moment, every moment, is constantly postponed because of the necessity to be prepared for war. Every new invention is appraised from this standpoint. The last thing which any State thinks of is how to make its citizens comfortable and joyous."

He goes on to attack politics and the politicians, their concern with self-interest, their ignoring of the common man, who is conditioned to accept their rule. But out of all this, he maintains, will come the eventual and complete revolt of the oppressed.

"The little man, the man who does the dirty work, the producer, is of no importance, receives no consideration, and is always being asked to make the greatest sacrifice. Yet everything depends on this forgotten man. Not a wheel could turn without his support and co-operation. It is this man, whose number is legion, who has no voice in world affairs. These matters are beyond his grasp, supposedly. He has only to produce; the others, the politicians, they will run the world. One day this poor little man, this forgotten son, this nobody on whose toil and industry everything depends, will see through the farce. Uninstructed though he may be, he knows full well how rich is the earth, how little he needs to live happily. He knows, too, that it is not necessary to kill his fellow-men in order to live; he knows that he has been robbed and cheated from time immemorial; he knows that if he can't run his affairs properly, nobody else can. He is suffocated with all this bitter knowledge. He waits and waits, hoping that time will alter things. And slowly he realises that time alters nothing, that with time things only grow worse. One day he will decide to act. 'Wait!' he will be told, 'Wait just a little longer.' But he will refuse to wait another second.

"When that day comes, watch out! When the little man all over the world becomes so desperate that he cannot wait another minute, another second, beware O world! Once he decides to act for himself, act on his own, there will be no putting him back in harness. There will be nothing you can promise him which will equal the joy of being free, being rid of the incubus. To-day he is still yours, still the pawn which can be shuffled about, but to-morrow there may be such a reversal of all precedent as to make your hearts quake. To-day you may still talk in the absurd language of the Stone Age; to-day, you may still coerce the young into preparedness for the next conflict; to-day you may still convince the blind and the ignorant that they should be content to do without the

The achievements of the Spanish workers are completely ignored.

We do not intend to waste much space on this pamphlet. It turns out to be a sorry apology for reformism, about as uninspiring as a wet blanket, with one or two little gems of understatement, such as: "In later years, the approach of actual power had a sobering effect." (We'll say it did!) Or again: "We must live by buying food and raw materials from the rest of the world, and selling . . . manufactured products at the lowest possible price. We must manage our shift from Capitalism to Socialism with the least possible clashing of gears."

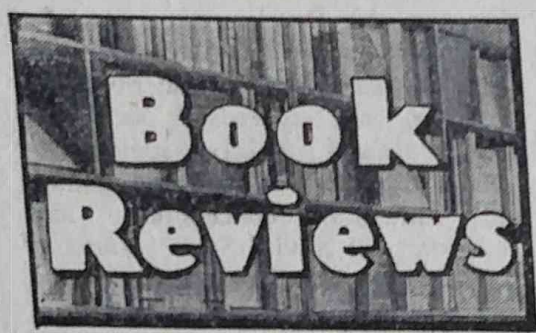
In fact, if nobody notices the difference, the better will the Labour Party like it!

things you find indispensable; to-day you may still talk about your possessions, your colonies, your empires. But your days are numbered. You belong in the museum, with the dinosaur, the stone axe, the hieroglyph, the mummy. The new age will come into being with your disappearance from the face of the earth."

There is plenty more in the same spirit in this excellent book, for which you should look out when it comes to England, including the whole of that fine attack on war, *Murder the Murderer*, which has already appeared in this country, published by the Delphic Press.

THE ROOT IS MAN

Another good piece of work by an American libertarian radical is *The Root is Man*, by Dwight Macdonald. This originally appeared as two very long articles in *Politics*, and has now been published in book form by Modern Publishers of Indore City, India. Macdonald calls for a re-



New Penguins

Among the new batches of Penguins, still good value at the increased price of 1/6, there are three titles of particular interest.

The first is *Penguin Island*, by Anatole France. This book is a great social satire on the history of mankind, conceived in the form of a Penguin Utopia. It has some similarity with Orwell's *Animal Farm*, but the canvas of *Penguin Island* is much larger, embracing the whole of human history. It is an absorbing, but a depressing book, a book which everyone should read or re-read to refresh his consciousness of the monstrous extent of human folly and villainy, but which should not be allowed to influence our actions over-much. For there is a bitter river of fatalism running through it and one gets a Nietzschean feeling of the cyclical inevitability of human misery. It is essentially and grimly pessimistic, and this largely because of the generalising tendency of such fictional or factual surveys of human collectives rather than the individual man.

The balance is to an extent rectified in Ford Madox Ford's two novels, *Some Do Not* and *No More Parades*. Ford is a novelist whose merits have never been widely enough recognised. He gives no evidence of any particular social consciousness, and his values at best are liberal, but he does succeed in conveying convincingly the unhappy position of the individual in relation to the idiocy of war.

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examination of our ideological presuppositions, and subjects the Marxist theory of dialectical materialism and nineteenth-century scientific materialism to a rigorous examination, in which he shows that the current political concepts of economic man and collective man have completely swamped the idea of the whole man with individual rights and needs. He demands a retreat from the idea of the supremacy of the collective, the mass, and concludes:

"We must emphasise the emotions, the imagination, the moral feelings, the primacy of the individual human being once more, must restore the balance that has been broken by the hypertrophy of science in the last two centuries. The root is man, here and not there, now and not then."

ALFRED NOBEL

To-day, we are much concerned with the question of the responsibility of the scientist, and it is therefore an opportune time to see a new biography of that classic instance of scientific irresponsibility, Alfred Nobel. This is *Alfred Nobel*, by Herta Pauli (Nicholson and Watson, 12/6). It is not a particularly good biography, being marred by sentimentality and a desire to say the best for its subject even when nothing good should be said. But it does draw some attention to the general issues involved in Nobel's career.

Nobel was not a simple war-monger of the crude Zaharoff type. He seems to have had, indeed, a general personal loathing for violence and the stupidity of war. But he always squared his conscience with the theory that the scientist is not responsible for what people make of his inventions, and the even more fatuous theory that every scientific device in the long run must work for the benefit of humanity, until one day the scientist will invent a weapon so horrible in its effects that men will no longer make war.

The age of atomic weapons have shown us that governments and militarists are proof against the persuasions of the most horrible weapons, and even towards the end of his own life Nobel seems to have recognised the fallacy of his attitude, for he made a half-hearted attempt to atone for his disservice to humanity by founding the famous Nobel prizes. But the Nobel prizes did just nothing to prevent the two most frightful wars in history, which were largely made possible by his inventions, and in which munition trusts based on his companies—Imperial Chemicals and I.G. Farben—played a leading part.

The moral is clear—that science does not lead an existence independent of human society. The scientist has a responsibility, like every other man, to see that his inventions are not used for destructive purposes, and his responsibility is all the greater insofar as he stands at the vital point and can most effectively prevent such use. To-day, atom bomb scientists are still trying to justify themselves with the same specious arguments as Nobel used. His career and its disastrous consequences should be a lesson for others to follow in their own way.

New Way in Norway

New Way in Norway, by A. K. Jameson, a Peace News pamphlet (2d.), gives some interesting details of the direct action practiced by Norwegians against the Nazis, some of which was very successful.

Mass sabotage and boycott were used by the Norwegians to a far greater extent than the conspiratorial terror methods of the French resistance, with its strong Gaullist and Communist elements. This pamphlet reveals how one effort after another

Nazi sports organisations were boycotted to such an extent that, after one or two unattended competitions, there were no organised sports meeting during the whole of the occupation. Lecturers at the universities in Nazi doctrines were completely boycotted and eventually resigned; a Nazi Students' Union failed for lack of support. When the teachers were instructed to join a new totalitarian organisation, 12,000 out of 14,000 refused; the schools were closed for months, 1,300 teachers were taken to concentration camps, but in the end their resistance prevented the Nazi organisation from coming into being.

An attempt to form a Labour Front by uniting the existing Trade Unions under Nazi leadership was foiled when the workers left the unions in mass, leaving them with no members to incorporate in the totalitarian body. In the end the situation became so ludicrous that Hitler intervened personally to cancel the whole idea of erecting a Corporative State. When Labour conscription was adopted, the men took to the hills, and the Oslo Registration Office, containing the records for the whole country, was burned to the ground.

In all this, the Allied authorities had very little part, being themselves concerned more for military advantages than to liberate the Norwegian people.

This is a pamphlet well worth reading; you may not agree with its conclusions, but the story of Norwegian direct action has a message of its own, in teaching that even a small population can successfully resist totalitarian invasion, if it uses methods of direct action and does not fall into the error of itself adopting totalitarian military methods.

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ANTI-SEMITISM

"WHO knows the sum of tears yet to be shed, the storms that wait to beat upon your head!" Thus wrote C. H. Bialik, raising his anguished voice on behalf of the pogromed Jews in Czarist Russia. As one can see, anti-Semitism never was and never will be a definite characteristic of certain so-called races. August Bebel, the German Marxist, I believe once said that anti-Semitism is the socialism of the fools—whatever that means. It would be more exact to state that anti-Semitism or any other racial hatred for that matter is the radicalism of the cowards and the curs. These Yahoos are dissatisfied with their material circumstances and other evil conditions brought upon them by their rulers and the system of society in which they live but are too scared or too small to challenge or offend that system, because after all, it is the brave man and stout heart who will stand up for justice and challenge all the rotten system of lies, dictators, police, etc.

A coward always picks on someone smaller than himself. If it is not the Jew, it is the Negro or some other section of slavdom of which the anti-Semitic coward is himself part. At close observation, one will find that the anti-Semite is in most cases a blackguard, a fink, a bootlicker of the bosses. It is his own oppressor whom he admires and whom he fears to offend. One may take as an example the Negro-hating poor white trash in the South. Now there is a section of slavery which is materially and culturally just as badly off as its Negro companion. But in order to take stock of his misery and its causes, he would have to admonish the feudal vested interests of the South and its politicians. To resolve on a procedure of offence, one requires the manliness and courage of a rebel. Such qualities are not to be found, however, in the Negro-hating white trash. Therefore, in order to boost their own twisted ego and to cover up this degradation, they inflict their hatred and anger upon their coloured brethren. But instead of being compensated for their efforts, they earn the contempt of the mighty and the lowly.

Historians and Murderers

Perhaps the historians themselves are not free from this streak, because in most histories which are recognised by the state and its rulers, the historians just gloatingly eulogize the murderer, thief, and liar. They portray these men

as great statesmen, warriors, shrewd, realistic, etc. For instance, according to the history books, the crusades were an attempt to liberate the holy city of Jerusalem from the anti-Christ, and only glory is bestowed upon the crusaders. Nothing is said about the murdering, raping, and plundering of Jewish families and communities throughout Europe carried out by the glorious Christian men who would have crucified the Nazarene carpenter as another infidel had he risen again and stumbled into their path. Nothing or very little is said of the fact that the paramount objective of this so-called military mission was to break through the Mohammedan barrier of the trade roads to the east and thus assure the profits and sinister dealing of the pious Christian merchants of Europe.

One system comes and another passes away, but oppression and tyrants somehow remain. The same tricks in the tyrants' stock-in-trade that were used of yester year are used to-day. One should not be surprised that anti-Semitism is raising its ugly head again in Stalin's Russia. For in a society where there are social and economic inequalities and special privileged State flunkies, the ground is fertile for all kinds of hatreds and the pitting of one part of the slaves against another. Stalin the terrible is a tyrant, and through strange coincidences most tyrants and oppressors have been anti-Semitic. But Joe, unlike his competitors, has his own machiavellian method for utilizing anti-Semitism in another way. While in other lands, the forces of reaction and vested interests are pitting the dissatisfied masses against Jews, radicals, Negroes, foreigners, or what have you, Joe is exiling and murdering millions of rebels and radical elements, labelling them Trotskyists, Fascists, and foreign plotters.

Anti-Semitism has always flourished in all countries and in all ages during the Christian era. It is not a chance phenomenon. It is an effect due to certain causes embodied in this present decadent social system. As in the past, so in the present. Anti-Semitism is the watchword of a great many small men and intellectuals without intellect, who hail from that infamous "neither fowl nor fish class" called the "middle class". Small business men, small intellectuals, and small politicians always dream of becoming big. That is their nature. Their hatred of Jews gives them a feeling of being rebellious when they are really incapable of rebelling. But by transplant-

Readers' Opinions

is a feature which will alternate with "Letters to the Editors".

There are many topics which *Freedom* does not deal with and which readers may think deserve comment. Here, then, is the opportunity to make good our omissions.

Articles should, if possible, not exceed 700 words, so as to allow the publication of at least three articles.

Readers' Opinions, like *Letters to the Editors*, are features which can only be kept going by *Freedom's* readers supplying us with material for publication. So it's up to you!

Anti-Semitism and Reaction

Anti-Semitism carries a certain kernel of danger which might be destructive to the pious and honest good Christian capitalists. For when the ignorant and moronic mob is imbued with hate against the Jewish capitalist and when such hatred is turned into expropriating action, such action is unlikely to stop at the Jewish capitalists' doorstep only. Hence the anti-Semitic lumpen intellect devised and inserted certain precautionary watchwords in their paraphernalia which consists of hating not only the Jewish capitalists but also unionism, radicalism, and reds in general, portraying these as Jewish inventions and so forestalling the dangerous threat to capitalism in general.

The modern Nazi anti-Semitism is complying to this new method. Anti-Semitism is always and always will be used by the tyrannical forces that govern society, a society founded on lies, egoism, injustice, and parasitism. Such a society shall be destroyed because, ruled by authoritarian and tyrannical forces, it signs its own death warrant, however luxurious and well-intentioned it claims to be. It is diseased and stricken with

The Servile Army

THE feeling of active and conscious resistance towards the superior authority is probably at its lowest ebb—in the Armed Forces—since the State began its mass enslavement call-ups in the Imperialist slaughter of 1939. With a very youthful Army, in the main politically inexperienced, the Regulars find it only too easy to put the screws on their bewildered "inferiors". Everywhere the attitude is to return as near as can be dared to the pre-war condition of servility and caste rule.

The free-thinking National Service man is in continual struggle against the mass acceptance of intolerable living conditions, the direct denial to the rank and file of any voice in their Unit affairs, dictated by the "orders is orders" N.C.O. and the divide and rule system of demobilisation imposed by the Socialist leaders.

But the victims are learning. Every day the outrageous bullying of the State is making it crystal clear that the governmental power is merely using them in its various adventures: in Greece as a possible base against Russia, in Palestine under the pretence of keeping the peace when actually the two warring races—Jews

and Arabs—are only using the arms and methods taught them by their guardian (Bulldog) Angel over the past 30 years.

In fact, everywhere the boundless enthusiasm of Britain's youth is harnessed to useless and thankless labour. The importance to any sane community of thousands of men route marching, fatiguing and wasting months in detention prisons (now named corrective establishments) has never been explained by our civilian politicians. They seem to be particularly gifted in the gentle art of draft-dodging themselves. Suggestions are invited.

The problem of the Anarchist and the Army is one which must be settled by individual decision, of course, but it may be argued that the idea of a serving Anarchist in the present situation is no more an anachronism than an Anarchist working in a capitalist factory engaged on the present export drive. Both might be an equally important influence in explaining the Anarchist alternative, of society without force, to the very victims and agents of that force and authority.

It would be impossible for any free-thinking man, however, to engage in the current suggestions for improving the present enslavement called the New Army. The present ruling class has done its utmost to sell the product through the newspapers, radio and the inevitable brass band parades. Their success can be seen from the figures published recently: 133 volunteers for the entire Southern Command in 3 months! This ludicrous failure is a great victory for the Anti-Militarist forces who realise quite well that only the complete elimination of the military caste from our midst can bring real equality and safety to the working-class.

FRANCIS WEBB.

death. It has been morally weighed and found delinquent. Anti-Semitism is just one of the many schemes employed by such a society and used for the sole purpose of diverting the attention of the oppressed from the real causes of their plight. It directs the confused anger of the ignorant mass away from the vested industrial interests and towards the scapegoat—the Jew, the Negro, or any other one available. Thereby the weak take it out on the weak and the weak remain weaker, while the industrial barons wipe the blood off their gold discs and put them in their pockets and grow stronger. Although anti-Semitism is one of the oldest manifestations of tyrannical or authoritarian forces, it is doomed to death as these forces are, with the coming of a new society and the death of the old.

FRANK FLAGLER.

BRAVE NEW WORLD

Mrs. Lillian Rossington, a war widow and mother of nine children, tonight started serving a sentence of three months imprisonment for not paying her rates.

She is in Birmingham gaol. Her children—their ages ranging from 12 to 2 years—are in a county council home.

Before she was taken from the court here she said: "I can't afford to pay." (The amount due is £25 10s. 9d.)

Mrs. Rossington denied saying she would not pay. "I just could not keep up the payments," she said. "Last week I had to pay 15s. for a pair of boots for one of the children, and already they are worn out.

"I cannot afford to smoke, and I drink nothing stronger than ginger beer and only then when it is bought for me."

There were two women on the bench. One of them, Mrs. S. Porter, of Bilsby, Alford, said to me: "Mrs. Rossington has been up before us two or three times before, and has made no effort to pay."

"We decided that imprisonment was necessary. I agree it sounds very hard on the face of it, but things are not always as they sound, you know."

News Chronicle, 18/2/48.

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN

Cardinal Schuster, Archbishop of Milan, to-day made it clear that Catholics could not be Communists.

With the electoral campaign in full swing he denounced Communism and said: "Those who belong to the Communist movement or other movements contrary to the Catholic religion cannot receive absolution when on the point of death."

News Chronicle, 24/2/48.

Now, perhaps the Communist Party will return the compliment and declare that Communists cannot be Catholics. . . . Yet they have so much in common!

POETRY

An ideologically pure song for Soviet citizens goes:

Urals! Urals!
Iron ore, watch out! . . .
By the Party's orders,
Pig iron must be got!

Time, 23/2/48.

BATTLE OF THE BOOKS

When Oxford Union last night debated whether its library should buy the Bishop of Birmingham's book *The Rise of Christianity*—

CRITICS said: "It has been condemned by three regius professors and two archbishops. It is on the same footing as *Forever Amber* and *No Orchids for Miss Blandish*."

SUPPORTERS said: The senior librarian, Canon Jenkins, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, recommends we should buy it. It is the only readable book published by the Church in the last century.

The "Ayes" had it.
Daily Express, 20/2/48.

ANTI-MILITARISTS (I) SPANIARDS

Local workers in Seattle are extending a helping hand to six young Spanish refugees who refused to serve in Franco's armed forces and arrived here on Columbus Day as stowaways on the lumber freighter *Arthur P. Farfield*. The authorities have placed them in an immigration-detention camp, but are willing to let them continue to a South American country, which has offered haven, if they obtain passage fare—otherwise, it's back to Franco. Seattle workers have taken up a collection for them.

Resistance, Feb. '48.

(II) AMERICANS

A *Resist Conscription Committee* has been formed in New York, the main purpose of which will be to stimulate direct action against any conscription law. Started by pacifists and libertarians, the group intends to take a personal stand against militarism and will counsel those of draft age to refuse to register or to comply with any provisions of the law.

Resistance, Feb. '48.

SAVAGE SENTENCES

Aged 17, a Glasgow boy was sent to penal servitude for 12 years at the assizes here yesterday.

Sentenced at the same time with the boy, John McKenzie McPike, were Hugh Docherty (20), 15 years; John Anderson (20), 5 years; and John Docherty Calikes (19), 3 years.

Their offence: One night in Glasgow Green they were members of a gang which stopped two young couples. The girls were taken away and raped while their escorts were held back.

News Chronicle, 27/2/48.

A WAY OUT

JERUSALEM.—A squad of Jewish labourers went down a manhole just outside the barbed-wire perimeter of the central prison here last night, and started digging.

To-day, 12 top-terrorists, including two convicted murderers, climbed out of the manhole and disappeared. They got a two-hour start before police realised the "labourers" had dug the last few yards of an escape tunnel from the gaol.

Evening Standard, 20/2/48.

The old method still works!

CASUISTRY

The Archbishop of Canterbury affirms that the refusal to have children against the will of one of the contracting parties is a "grave sin". At the same time he states that the decision of the House of Lords against Mr. Baxter's appeal is "salutary in the public interest". The inference can only be that "a grave sin" is "salutary in the public interest". Could casuistry go further?

(Rev.) H. Mudie Draper in a letter to *Daily Telegraph*, 10/2/48.

LITTLE STALIN

Prince Lascaris, who traces his royal line back to 1,500 B.C., laid claim, in Rome yesterday, to the throne of a Middle East and Balkans empire.

Previously, this 26-year-old descendant of 100 emperors was pretender to the thrones of Turkey, Bulgaria, Jerusalem, Cyprus, Armenia, and Britain.

Now he claims Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia, Rumania, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Dioclea, Toplitsa, Albania, and Dardania (the Dardanelles).

Sunday Dispatch, 22/2/48.

Through the Press

THE BIBLE ON QUEUEING

An exhibition opened to-day at the St. Bride Foundation presents the Bible with a skill in display that the Council of Industrial Design might envy. "Is this the way?" it is called, and it is the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society. One pictorial section which the highly orthodox may not approve relates a number of texts to everyday life of the moment. To illustrate rationing—"They shall eat bread by weight, and with care," from Ezekiel. A photograph of a bridal couple is captioned: "Two are better than one," from Ecclesiastes. And thus, in Proverbs, is the housewife in a queue summed up: "She is like the merchant's ships; she bringeth her food from afar."

Manchester Guardian, 27/2/48.

"ABSOLUTE FREEDOM"

The United Nations subcommittee on Freedom of Information, which has just completed its work here, has defined the rights and responsibilities of journalists and of newspapers. It suggested penalties for journalists who divulge matters which must remain secret in the vital interests of the State; who by their writings incite persons to alter by violence the system of government except in cases of resistance to oppression; who directly incite persons to commit criminal acts; or who defame the reputation of other people without benefiting the public. Within the limits thus broadly described, the right to freedom should be considered legally absolute.

Manchester Guardian, 11/2/48.

PRICE UP

"In these days of rationing a good, competent housewife may be worth her weight in gold."

This was said by Judge Kirkhouse Jenkins at Bristol Divorce Court yesterday when he ordered a co-respondent to pay £500 damages for wrecking a marriage.

Daily Herald, 18/2/48.

REMORSES

Scientists vigorously deny any responsibility for the war, but many of them have a bad conscience about the part that science played in making the atom bomb. Science's sense of guilt was frankly admitted last week, in *Technology Review*, by Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, wartime head of the Los Alamos (atom bomb) Laboratory and now director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

"The experience of the war," Dr. Oppenheimer wrote, ". . . has left us with a legacy of concern. . . . Nowhere is this troubled sense of responsibility more acute . . . than among those who participated in the development of atomic energy for military purposes. . . . The physics which played the decisive part in the development of the atomic bomb came straight out of our laboratories and our journals. . . . In some sort of crude sense which no vulgarity, no humour, no overstatement can extinguish, the physicists have known sin; this is a knowledge which they 'cannot lose.'"

Time, 23/2/48.

SOVIET PAINTERS CONFESS FIRST

Russian painters are taking no chances. They have confessed, without waiting for a castigation such as the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet gave composers for ideological failures and decadent work.

To-day, the *Moscow* magazine *Bolshevik* reported that 25 leading Russian painters decided, at a two-day meeting, that "the spirit of decadence and bourgeois aestheticism has pervaded our ranks." Their art had been veering away from Russian classical traditions. They blamed the art critics.

News Chronicle, 26/2/48.

SOCIALISM MUST WAIT

Premier Nehru told the Indian Parliament to-day that a policy of increased production must come before a Socialist economy or plans for nationalisation of India's key industries.

Daily Express, 18/2/48.

Is this because nationalisation does not bring an increase in production?

DIRECT DISTRIBUTION

Moses (that is his only name) has gone to jail for three months, a puzzled African. He stole corrugated iron and asbestos sheets from the National Housing Board, and built himself a house.

Daily Express, 14/2/48.

Anarchist Commentary

LIVELY OLD DOG

"THERE'S life in the old dog yet," is a proverb which continually recurs to one's memory in considering the amazing success with which the more venerable imperialisms of Europe, having over centuries learned all the subtle as well as the brutal tricks of domination, manage to cling on to their territories.

The British Empire, whose decline and fall has been foreseen by two generations of leftist intellectuals and continental politicians, still survives and makes of compromise a means of continued rule. The British Army leaves India, but Lord Mountbatten and British capitalist interests remain. Similarly, the Portuguese and the Belgians still retain their large empires for small countries in Africa and the East.

And now Holland, which two years ago seemed almost certain to lose all her empire on the East Indies, is sitting pretty, and profiting by the clever use of a policy of divide-and-rule between the various sections of East Indian nationalists.

As a result of this policy, the Indonesian republic has found large chunks of its territory cut away into separate blocks, dominated by movements subservient to Dutch interests, and the Indonesian nationalists have been forced to accept the compromise of an East Indian federation, which will remain under Dutch dominion and will preserve Dutch economic interests from the threats that seemed to menace them almost to extinction only a short time ago.

So far as the East Indians are concerned it will make little difference whether they are governed by Dutch stooges or Indonesian nationalists like Sjahrir. But the whole incident is a significant example of the fact that in their old game of politics the old imperialists are still sufficiently acute and experienced to preserve their own interests.

Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS:

CENTRAL LONDON

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.

MARCH 7th Bert Smith

"The Last Oven."

A Survey of the Baking Trade.

MARCH 14th Tony Gibson

"Anarchism and the Left"

MARCH 21st Margery Mitcheli

The Position of Women in Society

NORTH EAST LONDON

MARCH 16th Jack Brewer

The Artist and the Free Society

MARCH 23rd 7.30 p.m.

"Discussion of NELAG Manifesto"

APRIL 6th 7.30 p.m.

Alex Comfort

"Scientific Method in Political Thought"

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

Public Meetings at

CENTRAL HALLS, BATH ST.

will be held every Sunday evening.

Speakers:

John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Eddie Shaw.
Doors open 6.30 p.m.

CHORLEY

PUBLIC LECTURE

SUN. MARCH 7th Mat Kavanagh

"Anarchism—the Positive Way"

(in the Oddfellows Rooms,

9, Cunliffe St., Chorley, Lancs.

Commence at 7.15 p.m.

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP

Meetings at COOPERS HALL, SHAW

STREET, LIVERPOOL, at 8 p.m., from

MARCH 7th, and fortnightly until the end

of April.

Comrades are asked to note the

NEW ADDRESS for

U.A.G. (Lancashire):—

17, Chester Avenue, Duxbury,

Chorley, Lancs.

PALESTINE AND OIL

THE recent accusation of the Jewish Agency that British soldiers played a part in the big explosion which killed many Jews in Jerusalem may or may not be true; more unlikely things have happened in power politics. However that may be, recent events seem to make it evident that there is a closer link between the British authorities and the Arab ruling class than at first seemed apparent.

The recent negotiations behind the scenes on the Partition arrangement seem to indicate the likelihood of an Anglo-American sell-out to the Arab rulers, and this, in its turn, is closely linked with the need to keep on the right side of these rulers in order to retain control of the vast oil deposits of Arabia and Iraq.

In the last few years the consumption of oil in the United States, military, commercial and domestic, has increased to such an extent that, although American wells produce 250,000,000 tons of oil a year (50% more than in 1938), it still falls short of consumption, and, particularly since the American deposits will not last for ever, it is necessary to find new sources of supply elsewhere. Hence, the stepping-up of American power politics in the Middle East.

But another country ravenous for oil is Russia. Russian production of oil is now only about a tenth of American (26,000,000 tons), and the Russian-controlled deposits in Rumania and Austria are extremely insufficient to meet the deficiency. Russian eyes are also, therefore, turned towards the Middle East as the only possible source of oil, and this explains the Russian probe through Iran towards the nearest fields to the Russian border. Up to the present, Iranian resistance, strengthened by Anglo-American support, has been sufficient to warn the Russians off. But Russian demands for oil are bound to increase with further industrialisation, military speed-ups, and increasing segregation of the dependent countries of Eastern Europe from trade with the West.

Sooner or later the conflict in the Middle East is likely to intensify in one way or another. And it is for this reason that the English and the Americans are anxious to make their peace with the Arab rulers—at whose expense makes no matter.

Successful Boycott in West Africa

THE people of West Africa have just concluded a successful campaign of boycott against inflated prices of consumption goods. They were objecting to the high prices of clothing and manufactured goods recently imported from Britain.

The streets of the towns were picketed, and when one of the local chiefs was prosecuted for his part in the campaign, the people smashed the windows of the stores in Accra as a protest. The campaign was carried on for three weeks, and then ended in complete success, for it has now been announced that cotton and textile prices will be reduced by a third throughout the Gold Coast.

British consumers, faced with rising prices for inferior goods, should take this example to heart. A strike of shoppers against high prices and purchase tax on essential goods, if carried out effectively, might bring the manufacturers and the Treasury to a reasonable state of mind in a comparatively short time.

STARVATION IN JAMAICA

A RECENT report by the Associated Press announced that during last year a total of 186 people died of starvation in Jamaica. This is an illustration of the kind of misery which exists among the depressed populations of the outlying parts of the British Empire.

A paragraph in the *Daily Herald*, in discussing these figures, stated that the island could not feed itself because of over-population, having 1,250,000 people for 4,500 square miles. This reasoning, however, is completely defective, since Jamaica, with a fertile climate, has a population density of only just over half that of Britain and less than that of certain European countries, like Holland and Denmark, which contrive to feed themselves and have a surplus for export.

The real cause of the starvation in Jamaica lies, clearly, not in over-population, but in an unbalanced agriculture, by which the full potentiality of the soil is not realised. If the emphasis on sugar production were changed to one on all-round subsistence production by scientific methods, there is no doubt that Jamaica would have little difficulty in producing enough food to maintain all its present population in comparative plenty.



"WON'T YOU JOIN US?"

THE POLICE STATE

Excuses for Hanging

THE recent murder of Police Constable Edgar is being used by advocates of capital punishment as an argument to reinforce their claims of the necessity of hanging as a deterrent. The *Daily Express*, for instance, says: "Is there any doubt left of the folly of seeking to abolish the death penalty for crimes such as this? It is the only deterrent possible for men of the killing mentality."

The advocates of judicial murder must be in a bad way if they descend to such bad logic as this. Did the death penalty deter the killer of Policeman Edgar? And, in that case, what value has it as a deterrent?

It is also time to protest against the unprincipled way in which the police and their friends are making a martyr of Edgar. No-one can justify his death; on the other hand, he was doing a dirty job with an occupational risk attached to it, and he must have taken the chance when he entered the police force. He happened to be unlucky, and to use this fact as a means of building up a legend of police heroism is merely another part of the present attempt to increase the prestige and influence of the police.

Meanwhile, the increasing number of totalitarian regulations, and the continued exacerbation of conflict between society and the misfits, the men and women who just don't and won't fit into the regimentated society, has brought the prison population up to 18,000, the highest since before the 1914-18 war. Wandsworth prison is so overcrowded that there are three prisoners sleeping in some of the cells.

Overcrowded Prisons

This increased prison population, itself an indication of widespread social unrest, is breeding its own unrest within the walls. On another page we print an article on the recent protests at Dartmoor. But this is not the only incident. A whole series of minor troubles in prisons throughout the country draws attention both to the inhumanity of prison conditions and the fact that the patience of men in prison is drawing to an end.

CENSORSHIP IN TOKYO?

The working press has never known quite where it stood with General Douglas MacArthur. Zealous public relations officers, by fending off reporters in his Far East Command, have kept the press from finding out.

Last week, the Tokyo Headquarters Press Corps was angered and surprised by a new shift in "policy". First sign of a change came when the London *Daily Herald's* Hugh Hessel Tiltman, who had criticized some Occupation policies, applied for round-trip orders to Malaya and the East Indies. He was told that, if he left the area of the Far East Command, he would lose his credentials and his family its quarters. He left anyway. Hitherto, correspondents had been allowed to leave the theatre on repatriation assignments and re-enter without trouble.

Like Tiltman, McGraw-Hill's Alpheus Jessup wanted to visit Malaya and Burma. Ex-General Frayne Baker, MacArthur's P.R.O., ruled Jessup would have to take his wife, who is expecting a child in a month, with him.

When a correspondents' committee asked who was cracking down on whom and why, Baker said: "Every time [you] have pressed for a clarification of policy, the policy has grown tighter." To correspondents, the latest turn of the screw seemed to mean that the squeeze was on to write only good news about MacArthur.

Time, 2/2/48.

Further Police Powers

But the only answer that an authoritarian government can give to this condition is an increase of police powers in every way, and a retention of the regulations against personal liberty which still exist.

One of the most sinister features of this tendency is the clause which the Home Secretary wishes to insert into the Criminal Justice Bill, allowing the police to take finger prints of persons who have been arrested but not yet convicted. This, of course, will be a matter of great assistance to the police in their efforts to keep a record of all people who might be opposed to the government, since, however ridiculous the charge on which they may arrest a man, they will be able to use it as an excuse to build up a dossier against him, which may be of use in some later period of repression. This should clearly be resisted as a flagrant attack on personal liberties.

Meanwhile, the police are carefully conserving the powers they hold over the individual. You may not have been asked for your identity card for some long time. But that does not mean that identity cards have gone out of fashion, with the authorities at least. They still attach

great importance to the retention of the regimented mentality, which is shown by the fact that only recently a Hendon man was fined £50 for failing to produce an identity card.

★

EVIL THINGS

IN our last issues we drew attention to the case of Philip John Guard, the young actor who was prosecuted for refusing to fulfil his condition as a conscientious objector. Since then Guard's case has come up again and he has been sentenced to a fine of £20.

But the sensational fact about the hearing was a vicious attack by the magistrate, Ivan Snell, upon John Fletcher, the Quaker war-resister who has done much to help and encourage conscientious objectors for many years.

Commenting on the fact that Fletcher had influenced Guard, Snell said: "There are evil things in this world, and it strikes me that you can be numbered among them."

If Snell, with his active participation in a war-mongering and authoritarian State, represents the good things of this world, then we are glad to stand with Fletcher on the side of evil!

Secret Trials in Prison

(Continued from page 1)

The maximum period for restriction of diet that can be given is 57 days made up of 15 days No. 1 diet followed by 42 days of the No. 2 diet. The 15 days No. 1 is made up of 3 days bread and water followed by 3 days ordinary prison fare and so on for the period. The 42 days No. 2 is composed of 21 days bread, potatoes and porridge, then 7 days ordinary, followed by 14 more days of bread, potatoes and porridge. This maximum was inflicted on 18 out of the 22 men who were charged with mutiny. It means that in the depth of winter, in a notoriously cold and damp area of England, these men will have to subsist on a diet which, fed to a dog, would place one in danger of being charged with cruelty and neglect. It means that, when during the 3 weeks stretch of No. 2 diet, they will not have a hot-drink at all during the whole 21 days!

Cellular confinement means isolation from all others, with only one hour's exercise each day. No conversation is allowed with anyone. For some of these unfortunate men, it means complete lack

of any contact with their fellows for a whole month. Let my readers imagine what that means and what it might do to a man.

Loss of Remission. This is a threat held over every prisoner—a remission of one-third of the sentence is given for good behaviour and the judges in giving the terms of imprisonment know this and are therefore likely to give longer sentences to make up for the amount allowed off. To lose even another week is to add to one's misery—to lose a whole year is to feel damned.

The most sinister aspect of this whole affair is the secrecy of the trials of these men. The trials take place within the precincts of the prison and no member of the public is allowed to hear the cases. Just imagine a trial where everyone in the court room is ranged against you; where you know that it is just a question of how much to give you, and not whether you are guilty or not.

Readers must campaign against these secret trials and exert every effort to see that the vicious sentences wreaked upon these men are withdrawn. Only the vilest aspects of totalitarian rule could justify what has happened.

RUSTICUS.

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February 13th—29th

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