"Liberty without socialism means privilege and injustice,

Socialism without freedom means slavery and brutality,"

BAKUNIN.

Vol. 9 No. 7

April 3rd, 1948.

Threepence

66 STATE SECURITY DEMANDS DENIAL

OF JUSTICE"

IN 1937, when the case of the five workmen employed at the Royal dockyard, Devonport, who were dismissed on the grounds of security, was debated in the House of Commons, the present Prime Minister—then in the Opposition—attacked the Government's justification for its action in these forceful words: "In the main, it is that defence which has been put up through the ages by every tyrant and dictator, namely, necessity. The security of the State demands the denial of justice to these men."

To-day, Mr. Attlee, as Prime Minister, justifies the dismissal of Communists and Fascists from the Civil Service on the grounds of security and adds that "the procedure must be fair to the individual. It must be fair to the State." Mr. Attlee was much more honest eleven years ago, when he realised that this was impossible. Either one or the other, but not both!

Since 1937, we have had the example of the Defence Regulations (1939), and particularly of Regulation 18B, which had no pretence of offering justice to the individual. And again, in Palestine thousands of men and women suspected of working for, or being in sympathy with, the Jewish terrorist organisations have been held for years in prison, without trial and without being offered an opportunity of denying the information which led the Government to detain them as suspected persons.

The step taken by the present Government is a quite logical one. Mr. Attlee has declared publicy the Government's intention of earrying out a purge of the Civil Service though this was not necessary, since the Government already possesses dictatorial powers over Civil Servants, described by Mr. Attlee in these terms:

The civil servant holds office at the pleasure of the Crown. He can be dismissed. There is no remedy at law if he is dismissed if his conduct and efficiency do not come up to standard. Further, he has no right to occupy a particular office and to be in a particular Department. Even promotion does not come of right. A man can be transferred from any part of the Civil Service. I put those facts because we might as well be clear what the facts are. Dismissal means forfeiture of pension rights. Pension rights in the Civil Service are not on a contributory basis. They are acquired after a certain amount of service, If someone is dismissed or leaves the Service before those rights have accused, he has no remedy.

With such powers already in existence, against which, to our knowledge, no voice has been raised in the House, the present outery, particularly in the reactionary Press is just sheer hypoerisy, and it would be foolish for us to accept this sudden rallying to the defence of the freedom of the individual, as anything but a manocuvre by those who seek to make political capital out of the Government's present predicament.

the Government's present predicement. The Beaverbrook Press now champions the rights of the "oppressed" minorities. The Daily Express is now-easerly quoted by the Daily Worker (18/3/48):

Yesterday the Daily Express broke the united front of the capitalist Press with a declaration that "Mr. Atthee has altered the British way of life for the worse . . . Hitherto it has been broadly true that a man may be made to suffer for his actions but never for his beliefs. It is true no langer."

This statement unquestionably exhoes the thought of millions, including vast mumbers who voted Labour at the last election. The decision to victimise men and women for no other crime than that of being Committee.

undefinable category of "fellow-travellers", will be fought to the last

And the Evening Standard's leading article "Witch Hunt", 16/3/48, in which the purge was described as being "monstrous, with the possibilities of injustice, oppression and private revenge" has resulted in a crop of letters, some of which were published under the heading "The Poison Spreads" (19/3/48). The leading letter begins: "How right Mr. Churchill was when he forecast the coming of the police state under Socialism . . ."

THE Communists, who should be the last persons to complain at the

THE Communists, who should be the last persons to complain at the purge are, of course, using every argument in their propaganda bag to expose this "undemocratic" manoeuvre! Their "anti-fascist" campaign of the past months, in which they sought to establish themselves as the only active opponents of the fascist revival in this country and thereby confuse the issue as to the totalitarian and undemocratic nature of the C.P. seems to have com-

THE BOOMERANG

IN an article, "What is this Fascist Menace?" published in Freedom, 4/10/47, the two following paragraphs have topical interest:

But if now we turn to the practical aspects of legislation against fascist organisations the danger which it presents is so enormous that the good that is claimed for it becomes insignificant (and were it not for the fact that we believe the Communists feel that as a result of the powerful Russian backing they are no longer a minority force in this country and cannot be the victims of the boomerang effects of the kind of political legislation they propose for the fascists, their proposals, if accepted, could prove fatal to their very existence if and when this or another Government chose to use it against them as well).

A law may succeed in banning fascist or anti-Semitic propaganda from street-corner platforms, but it will only drive the propaganda underground, to carry on its work in a far more insidious manner.

If only Mr. Pollitt read

pletely misfired. At the Co-operative Party conference this Easter, though the Communist-inspired resolution, calling for legislation to make it a criminal offence to preach racial hatred and anti-Semitism, was carried by a 2 to 1 majority, the other Communist-inspired resolution calling for the rescinding of the Government Civil Service purge was defeated by a 10 to 1 majority.

The weakness of the Communist case

The weakness of the Communist case is clearly revealed in the Daily Worker's leading article, "The British Gestapo" (18/3/48). The title alone, in view of their unqualified support of (Continued on page 8)

Trade Unionism The Last Lap

THE Trades Unions, with only one or two exceptions, have never been anything else but wage-bergaining organisations. Avowedly reformist in aim and character, they have never represented any threat to capitalist society, never shown any desire to make any attempt to bring about a revolutionary change in our social system. They have been, at the best, insurance societies negotiating for the workers under capitalism, at the worst—and this increasingly in recent years—machines through which to discipline the workers for the stabilisation of capitalism.

workers for the stabilisation of capitalism. It says much for the agility of the T.U. leaders and little for the militancy of the workers that for so long the unions have managed to combine both these functions.

The advent of the Labour Government,

The advent of the Labour Government, however, threw more and more accent on the worst aspect of the unions—the disciplinary side of their activities, and with the steady worsening of Britain's economic condition, the representation of the workers against the employers has taken a completely secondary importance in union function.

union function.

This trend reached its last lap on Wednesday, March 24th, when a special conference of T.U. executive committees agreed to accept the Government's proposal to peg wages. The decision, of course, was no surprise. It was barely news. The T.U.C. had already accepted the proposal in principle from the Cabinet, and the special conference was called just to give the stamp of democracy to one of the biggest sell-outs even British Trade Unionism has produced. Not that there was no opposition at all. The final voting came out at 5,421,000 in favour of the policy, 2,032,000 against, with the big unions—Mineworkers, Transport and General, Municipal and General—supporting, and the smaller, C.P. controlled unions against the policy.

Lip Service—and a Letter

Lip service was also paid to the Government's "firm assurances" to stabilise or even reduce prices and profits, and the conference also announced that if the Budget does not tackle this problem it will meet again to reconsider its action.

George Isaacs, Minister of Labour, had rather embarrassed the T.U.C. by, a fortnight before the conference, sending to all wage councils a letter stating that he would have to be satisfied that they had taken the White Paper (The Economic Survey, the "crisiv" story) into full account when considering confirmation of wages proposals. This letter, which was withdrawn on the eve of the conference, to be replaced by a fuller document, shows that, whenever the unions submit a claim to arbitration by a wages council, it will almost certainly be rejected, which will let the union out nicely!

The Unions, in fact, are now falling into their pre-destined places. As the industrial wing of the political Labour Party, they are tied to the Government, which is in turn tied to a policy of stabilising capitalium. In a capitalist society it is the worker who always—always—suffers first and benefits last. And the unions, compelled to support the State, have now openly deserted the workers, which is perhaps the best thing that could have happened. For if the workers will now learn the lesson in all this, withdraw their support from re-formism and create revolutionary organisations under their own control, we may yet avoid the apparent degredation before us.

Communists & Censorship They Believe in it When Applied to Others

IN view of the Government's proposed purge of Communist and Fascist Civil Servants and the Communist protests this has aroused, we would remind our Communists of the proposals put forward by the C.P. controlled N.C.C.L. and by the fellow-traveller-independent-M.P., D. N. Pritt, K.C., for legislation against so-called Fascists. The extracts given below are taken from an article "Mr. Pritt and Civil Liberties", published in Freedom,

At the Annual General Meeting of the National Council of Civil Liberties held in London last Saturday, amongst many resolutions passed was one which—to quote the Manchester Guardian report—called on the Government to introduce legislation immediately to make the propagation of Fascist donarines and of racial hatred illegal. In fastness to certain members of the Council it should be stated that there was opposition to this resolution, which nevertheless was passed.

6/4/46.

What Mr. Pritt Would Do

Mr. D. N. Pritt, M.P., replying for the Executive Committee tool that he was convinced that it was not technically impossible to draft a Bill which would have the effect desired by the council. Now Mr. Pritt-whom reader will remember as a leading light in the People's Convention which disappeared as soon as Russia entered the war on the Allies' side, but which previously existed to plug the C.P. anti-war line—debated with Mr. John Maude, Conservative M.P. for Exese only a few weeks ago on the subject "Can

We Outlaw Fascism?" In this debate Pritt explained the legislation he wanted:

"The first thing I want is legislation that fascist organisations like the B.U.F. and the Imperial Fascist League, and a good many other well-known old organisations and some new ones that are beginning to get known, should be made illegal; it should be made punishable to be a member of them, and, just as we did in 1937 with very much less important organisations,

we should legislate to wind them up... I think that we ought to add, too, quite ordinary moderate criminal punishments on trial for specific offences such as helping to run these illegal organisations, propagating respect or veneration for the fascist leaders, dead or alive, using fascist slogans, and symbolis, and, above all, what has been demanded frequently for a good many years in a great many different quarters, including very moderate ones, legislation against anti-Soviet propaganda. And, secondly, I want—and here I think we can fairly say this is outlawing fascism, which I want to do—that—individuals who have been proved to have fascist connections, fascist activities, fascist connections in either sense of the word, should be barred for a period of several years from any form of political activity, literary activity or publishing activity, "(Our italies.)

publishing activity." (Our italics.)
As to defining what he meant by
Pascism, and whom he proposed should
decide which were the Pascist organizations, let us listen to what Mr. Pritt had

But you did ask me to define fascism. Now I don't believe it is necessary to have a general definition of fascism, but I do agree with you it's necessary in your legislation to have a definition of what you are dealing with. And I think it's quite easy to

define the organisations by the offensive operations they carry on. If an organisation exists to help any of the fascist tricks I was suggesting before, those organisation should be illegal. I think we should go further. I think that we should give the Home Secretary power to schedule fascist organisations. He had far more serious powers in the war; he locked people up on the basis of what he understood to be their beliefs or activities or faiths, and this is just to wind up an organisation. And let's wind it up. If you want me to define fascism as such I will, but I don't think it's very important to the legislation."

legislation."

One further quotation from Mr. Pritt. Mr. Maude asked him: "Wouldn't you like to introduce penal laws to punish people who were vilifying existing democratic organizations?

"PRITT: In a way, yes. As for minorities, I have got no use for minorities who are murderers, felons, treasonable minorities or fascists; they are all to me something that should be got rid of, and if you asked, would I be prepared for legislation of that kind—if I learnt that the effect of the legislation I want was to stop that vilification, I shouldn't worry in the least."

Mr. Print's philosophy of Freedom calls for little comment. But we cannot omit to stress that for Mr. Print and his Communist friends "Fascist" is a label which covers all those people who, irrespective of their political sympathies for or against Fascism, oppose the rigime in Russia.

Mr. Pritt, in 1948, has put his name to a motion "regretting the statement made by the Prime Minister and feels it constitutes a departure from the principles of democracy and civil liberty."

MORE DEPORTATIONS IN U.S. WITCH-HUNT

A NEW wave of deportation hysteria sweeps the United States, similar to that following the last war. Between October and December, 1946, there were 21 active political deportation cases, involving allens in 11 states and 14 different nationalities.

Many of these are related to the anti-Communist drive, and include leaders of the Communist Party. These are Claudia Jones (British West Indian), Dr. John Greenberg (Rumanian), Alexander Bittleman (Russian), secretary of the Jewish Morning Freiheit Association, Joseph Knerly (Hungarian), James Crain (Irish). But anybody who knows the American set-up will realise that under the general heading of "Reds" the F.B.I. will lump all who are not entirely in accord with Big Business, from mild liberals and radicals leftwards.

In the last century, America was a symbol to Europeans of escape from European tyranny. To-day, the desire to go there is probably as great but there are few illusions left about its relative liberty. It is a symbol of escape from Europe and hunger. People in this country who are not down to the level of desperation of Central Europe, may well see from the "alien red" witch-hunt, the sham behind the tinsel of American life to-day.

THE FRENCH BOURGEOISIE not the only would-be leaders who looked with disfavour on

the initiative of the workers. Marx and Engels in London may have internationalism, but when the French and German militants of the International Working Men's Association sent fraternal greetings and an anti-war message another on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war, they merely sneered. The French internationalists h

declared: "Brothers, we protest against the war, we who wish for peace, labour, and liberty. Brothers, do not listen to the hirelings who seek to deceive you as to the real wishes of France." And the German workers had replied: "We too wish for peace, of France. labour, and liberty. We know that on both sides of the Rhine there are brothers with whom we are ready to die for the Universal Republic." These inspiring words have their message as true to-day.

MARX AND ENGELS ON THE WAR

But Marx and Engels wrote to ach other of "the imbeciles of Paris each other of and their ridiculous manifesto"! In their letters they referred to the French workers as "the frogs" like any English public schoolboy.

For Marx desired the victory of Germany. For him, Bismarck's ex-pansionist war which added Alsace and Lorraine to Germany for fifty years, was a war of defence. When his friend Kugelmann suggested that the war had ceased to be a war of defence only, he was severely rebuked by Marx and told that it was only his deplorable ignorance of dialectics which prevented him from seeing that

THE PARIS COMMUN

We are publishing below the second of two articles on the Paris Commune. In the first, printed in the last issue of Freedom, the author, by way of introduction, pointed to the fact that unlike 30 years ago, the Commune had become merely a tradition, and accounted for this by the fact that the Russian and Spanish revolutions had robbed it of its uniqueness. He noted with regret and concern that the events of 1917 and 1936 had not received the profound study past generations had devoted to the Paris Commune. Without such a study, it would be impossible to find practical solutions for to-day. The author then proceeded to give a general picture of the Paris Commune and to draw parallels between it and the Russian and Spanish revolutions.

a war of defence was bound to have

aggressive features in it.

Marx regarded even international solely from the point of view of whether they advanced his par-ticular theories within the socialist movement or not. Here is what he wrote to Engels on 20th July, 1870:

"The French need a thrashing If the Prussians are victorious, the centralization of state power will be helpful for the centralization of the German working class; further more, German predominance will shift the centre of gravity of West European labour movement from France to Germany. And one has only but to compare the movement from 1866 till to-day to see that the German working class is in theory and organization superior to the French. Its dominance over the French on the world stage would mean likewise the dominance of our theory over that of Proudhon."

There speaks the leadership con-ception, and utterly sectarian at that. No wonder Marx and Engels de-Plored the seizing of initiative by the French workers. "If one could have any influence at Paris," wrote Engels to his friend, "it would be necessary to prevent the working folk from budging until the peace." Even when budging until the peace." the workers took open revolutionary action, they still opposed them and Marx cried: "Tell the working men of Marseilles to put their heads in a bucket!" How little he understood For if the inworking class action! surrections at Marseilles and Lyons and Narbonnes had been successful, the Commune might not have been destroyed.

In view of his attitude towards working class initiative, it is not sur-prising that where Marx's ideas have triumphed, as in the Russia of the Bolsheviks, working class revolutionary initiative has also been crushed out by the most oppressive of all dictatorships.

It is necessary to point out that if Marx's ideas are attacked here it is not from any mere partisan spirit. Those who know Marx only through his report to the General Council of the International, called "The Civil War in France", may have formed a different view of his attitude. But the letters quoted above were written at the time of the events, or just be-fore them. The views expressed there would hardly have gone down well with the International after the brutal

massacre of the Communards. Marx's own prestige in the revolutionary movement required that he change his tune a little.

But it is extremely important to recognise how inadequate were Marx's revolutionary ideas, founded as they were on ideas of leadership, proved in the event of an actual working class uprising. It would not be necessary to deal with them, but for the baleful influence they have achieved in socialist theory.

Kropotkin has summed up three major theoretical conceptions of the Commune. First the idea of decentralization, as opposed to the centralized state beloved of the First the idea of decentralization, as opposed to the centralized state beloved of the bourgeoisie and the "scientific socialists". This was embodied in the idea of the autonomous commune, freely federated with other autonomous communes. But one must realize that autonomy is not the same as isolation, and this was how the revolutionary government of Paris understood it, for when a neighbouring commune asked for ideas and material help, they refused on the grounds that they would not meddle in other towns' business! Similarly they failed to recognize the need for the revolution to spread, so essential for its success. This primary lesson was not even fully grasped by the Spanish revolution in 1936, but only by a few of its most advanced anarchists theoreticians. More than ever to-day should we declare for an unstinted internationalism embracing the workers of Britain and France, Germany and Russia, America, Asia, and Africa, without exclusions whatsoever. The only nationalism which can have any mentionalism which can have any mention he thoroughgoing and integral.

ABOLITION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

PRIVATE PROPERTY

Kropotkin's second point was the idea of abolishing private property altogether. Proudhon had proposed the same measure to the Assembly in 1848, but had been reviled for it even by the so-called socialists like Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin. And a few years before the Commune, Bakunin's adherents had succeeded in committing the International to a resolution denouncing the principle of inheritance of private property, despite the fierce opposition of the Marxists (after the Congress, the Marxist tailor, Eccarius, had remarked "Marx will be most displeased"). And in 1871, the scientific socialists advocated a limited collectivism which made only machinery socially owned.

The Commune assuredly recognized the

which made only machinery socially owned.

The Commune assuredly recognized the class character of its revolution, for the Council declared: "Workmen, do not deceive yourselves about the import of the struggle. It is the engagement between parasitism and labour, exploitation and production. If you are tired of vegetating in ignorance and wallowing in misery... if at last you want the reign of justice, workmen, be intelligent, rise!"

But despite this, the Commune failed to cut away the economic base of bourgeois power by expropriating the Bank of France and all economic undertakings. Left with his economic powers virtually unimpaired, Thiers was left strong enough to exact his brutal revenge. Yet Proudhon, facing this very Thiers in the Assembly of 1848, had put expropriation of the banks as the first act the revolution must accomplish, and almost the only one which could not be allowed to wait.

ABOLITION OF GOVERNMENT

The final lesson was the abolition of government. This also the Commune only dimly grasped. The real heroes of 1871 on the theoretical plane were The final lesson was the abolition of government. This also the Commune only dimly grasped. The real heroes of 1871 on the theoretical plane were almost anonymous members of the Central Committee of the National Guard, a body of workers who undertook to frustrate the treacheries of the military and political leaders of the bourgeoisie. It was they who armed Paris, who took all the necessary practical steps, and who proclaimed the Commune in March. That done, however, they wanted to hand over to a revolutionary government, the Council of the Commune.

The Council sought to take the initiatives. But surrounded by all the trappings of offiialdom and, worse still, cut off from the fructifying contact with the mass of the workers, they lost themselves in trivial details. Nevertheless, though they did nothing themselves, they deprived the workers of the initiative and hence put the brake on revolutionary action. The existence of a government brought the revolution to a standstill.

The devotees of "strong government" attack the members of the Council for their inertia. But their so-called weakness has virtues for us. For example, they reduced some savage court-martial sentences and prevented the execution of the death penalty. "Strong government" men declare that they thereby undermined discipline; for us, it shows that office had not yet brutalized them.

Ultimately, the inertia they threw over revolutionary events made inevitable the development of the semi-dictatorial Committee of Public Safety—a disguised form of police—and paved the way for defeat. Let us not blame them, many of them honest and courageous men; let us instead learn to fight against the misconception of a "revolutionary" government. This idea

Let us not blame them, many of them honest and courageous men; let us instead learn to fight against the misconception of a "revolutionary" government. This idea was still strong enough to play a big part in destroying the Spanish revolution, and early vitiated the apparent success of the Russian revolution. The lesson of the Commune is to seek a revolutionary form which will retain initiative in the place where it properly belongs, in the working masses themselves.

TRIBUTE TO THE **COMMUNARDS**

We are celebrating the Commune. Let us never forget the heroic and unknown—the workers, both men and women, of whom Louise Michel stands as the symbol. From them emanated the constructive ideas of the Commune; on them fell the main fury of the vengeance of Versailles. I cannot better conclude than with the great words of Delescluze at the funeral of the first victims of the struggle with Thiers' troops, some of them prisoners who had been massacrd in cold blood.

"I will make you no long speeches; these have already cost us too dear ... Justice fo rthe families of the victims; justice for the great town which, after five months of seige, betrayed by its Government, still holds in its hands the future of humanity ... Let us not weep for our brothers who have fallen heroically, but let us swear to continue their work, and save liberty, the Commune, the Republic!"

The Oldest Paper of the Left:

Some interest was caused by the publication on this page our last issue, of a quotation from an article by Peter Kropotkin in Freedom for March 1890, and it has evidently been a surprise for some of our readers to learn that ours is the oldest of the papers of the Left in this country.

We intend to make a regular ature of "Flashbacks" to early feature of issues of Freedom which have interest and relevance at the present day. And it may interest our newer readers to learn something of the history of Freedom

When Kropotkin came to England after his release from prison following the Lyons trial, he was invited to join the "English Anarchist Circle", a group which had gathered round Benjamin Tucker's follower, Henry Seymour, who had already founded an active journal, *The Anarchist*, in March 1885, to express their liber-tarian ideals and aims. At a conference held at the house of Serge Kravchinsky (better known as "Stepniak") it was agreed that the paper would henceforth be issued under the joint direction of Kropotkin, Tchaikovsky, Dr. Merlino, Dr. Gibson, Mrs. C. M. Wilson and Henry Seymour.

"FREEDOM"-Oct., 1886

After a short time, however, funda-After a short time, however, fundamental differences of principle caused a majority portion to break away and found a new journal whose first number appeared in October 1886 and bore the title "Freedom: a Journal of Anarchist-Socialism, founded by Mrs. C. M. Wilson and Peter Kropotkin." In 1893 the sub-title was changed to Anarchist-Communism"

Police prosecutions in 1894 caused suspension of publication until May 1895, but the general editorship re-mained the same until the late neties, when it was taken over by Alfred Marsh, while the composition and technical side was done by Tom Cantwell, another member of the

group. In this work he was to an increasing extent assisted by Tom Keell, a professional compositor on a well-established weekly. The spreading distrust and impatience with parliamentarism and political social-ism (the policy of the S.D.F., the Fabians, etc.) attracted anarchist-communist teachings of Kropotkin, and in 1895 elements of the old Socialist League, of the group and Independent of the teaching the same at the same a "Commonweal" group and Inde-pendents had joined hands in the preparation of the London Inter-national Conference of the following Following on the revelations the tortures undergone by the Spanish Anarchists in the castle of Montjuich in Barcelona in 1896-97, libertarian enthusiasm increased still further, and Freedom became the organ round which such activities centred.

When Cantwell died, Tom Keell, on Marsh's invitation gave up an excellent permanent job to become compositor, manager, and eventually effective editor (and contributor) of a precarious anarchist monthly. Under Tom Keell the paper was very well printed and edited, and he, too, was responsible for the pamphlet and book publishing activity. The Free-dom Pamphlets were excellently turned out reprints and original matter in a period of much poorly produced and cheaply printed produced socialist" matter.

1914-18 WAR RECORD

The War of 1914, however, produced a schism in the group. Kropotkin (for a time), Turner, Wess, Tcherkesoff, and others favoured the Allied cause, but Keell remained consistently anti-war, refused to be considered a paid servant of the pro-war section, and with a growing inclination towards Malatesta's ideas, printed the latter's articles on war throughout 1914-16. For the publication and circulation of antiwar and anti-conscription material, both Keell and his companion Lilian Wolfe, who manages Freedom Bookshop, served terms of imprisonment.

Shortly after the first World War, the death of W. C. Owen deprived Freedom Press of another staunch supporter, and libertarian ideas were also affected by the post-war depression and disillusionment. Publication

FLASHBACK-I

"T is the Strike and not the Ballot
Box which terrorises the exploiter and makes him see the
shadow cast before by the coming
Revolution.

Revolution.

Here, in England, there are many amongst the exploiting classes who see dimly the danger ahead, and the capitalist press (and more especially that portion which circulates exclusively amongst the capitalist class, such as the trade journals) contains many articles just now urging the most drastic measures against their will and feebly ask for a higher wage or a shorter working week. The will and feebly ask for a higher wage or a shorter working week. The interference of the State is loudly demanded to put down these troublesome strikes and labour unions. The strong arm of the law is to be invoked not for, but against the worker. "We have too much liberty," one trade journal of the "highest class" shrieks in terrified tones; and indeed we shall not be surprised if the workers speedily have to guard against attempts upon such feeble rights of combination and free action as they possess. as they possess.

rights of combination and free action as they possess.

There is perhaps no safer rule of thumb for the worker than to do that which his enemy most denounces and to avoid that which his enemy least objects to. To be a State Socialist, to advocate legislative restriction and to pass resolutions at mass or other meetings is sneered at generally and sometimes faintly praised by the capitalist press, but hold an unemployed meeting or two in Trafalger Square, organise a strike, or initiate a no-rent campaign, and the enemy unmasks himself and charges the workers, who do these dreadful but practical things, with being Anarchists, enemies of society, disturbers of the public order. Long screeds are written, showing the terrible loss entailed on the community by this action, the selfishness of the strikers, the awful suffering of their families (which is never thought of under other circumstances) and so on.

—"FREEDOM". April. 1890.

-"FREEDOM", April, 1890.

was suspended in 1927, but Tom Keell published some further issues (Freedom Bulletin 1928-32) from Whiteway Colony, Gloucestershire.

But the Spanish Revolution of July 19th, 1936, brought new life into the movement and within a month or two of the July rising, a pamphlet entitled "The Struggle for Liberty in Spain", was the signal for renewed activity of Freedom Press. In November 1936, the first issue of Spain and the World was published, and for two and a half years this fortnightly paper continued to support the struggle of the revolutionary workers in Spain, and warn the workers in this country of the impending dangers of another world

At the end of the war in Spain was changed to Revolt! and with the outbreak of Second World War, Freedom Press, strengthened by a growing circle of young and enthusiastic supporters began the publication of War Commentary, first as a monthly, then as a fortnightly.

A severe blow was suffered when, on May 10th, 1941, the Freedom Bookshop in Red Lion Passage was burnt to the ground in an air raid, but since then a continuous stream of books and pamphlets has been published.

In 1945, three members of the editorial group were sentenced at the Old Bailey to nine months imprison-ment for "incitement to disaffection" and though, at one period, five of the editorial group were in prison and the files and records were held by the Special Branch of the C.I.D. paper continued without a b reverting to the old title Freedom at the end of the war. Since then the size of the paper, and the scope of our publishing activities have been enlarged, but we are anxious to increase the scale and extent of our

work far more.

With your help we can. And we think that the past record of the Freedom Press deserves it.

COMPULSION WILL BE USED

again for a renewal of his suspension

and machinery will be available to

could obviously attract young men into

the industry—not a very bright idea, but an obvious one if the industry is

so vital-and it is so hedged around with

conditions and if's and but's that its

application is uncertain and offers no

direct incentive. How many anomalies

are going to erop up in the application

of such a half-hearted measure? And

how many lads of call-up age are really

indispensible, but whose usefulness is

seriously affected by a period of service

in the Forces at a most important time

Should the Government make a bold

(well, bold for them!) gesture definitely

calling off the call-up for young oper-

atives in cotton, it might have some

effect, but as it is, most youngsters will

be content with blind-alley jobs which

pay better for three or four years before

going into the Forces. But Govern-

ments don't think in bold and imagin-

ative terms; they are always too concerned with safeguarding against

'abuses" of any such concessions (the

impudence of it!) to conceive of any

measure unhampered by conditions. As

for the abuses of government itself-

Incentives for Women

textile industries, however, is tradition-

ally female, and it is in this direction that the Government's main efforts to

recruit workers are being made. But

the women are remembering the bad

old days in the industry, when, as in

coal-mining, conditions were such as to

make many workers swear that their

children would never follow in their

recruit or bring back women to the

mills resulted in only 7,000 going into

the industry in the last quarter of 1947,

and many of these left again at Christmas. Many of the younger girls and

women are going into the newer industries, such as electrical component

manufacture, or plastics, attracted by cleaner working conditions and lighter

To attract married women with

families to return to work, factory

nurseries have been established at some

mills, relieving the mother of many of

her problems regarding the care of her

children. But nothing has been done to

relieve the strain of running a home as

well as going out to work-of coping

with shopping and rationing while do-

ing a job, which if taken full-time,

entails leaving home at about 7 a.m. and not returning until 5.30 or 6 p.m.

Compulsion will be used

in to start up again the idle looms, and

many problems arise from this which

Some foreign labour is being brought

A vigorous publicity campaign to

The main source of labour for the

that is a different matter!

footsteps.

in their development at work?

Well, there it is. An idea which

deal with such applications.'

After pre-war depression and neglect, the cotton industry has sprung into the essential work category. Cabinet ministers, bosses and union officials discuss the trade's labour requirements. But what are the incentives to attract workers into cotton? How long will it be before compulsion is used to gather the 60,000 workers the industry needs to reach the export target set it by the Government?

DURING a recent question time in enough for that, the employer can apply

the House of Commons, the following piece of back-chat was

"Mr. George Isaacs, Minister of Labour, said that a total of 15 people were directed into employment during October to December, and one

was directed in January.
"Mr. A. R. Blackburn (Soc., King's Norton) asked whether it was the intention-as suggested at the week-end-to direct 15,000 women to the cotton industry.

"Mr. Isaacs replied that they did not intend to direct people from one job to another, because they thought they could fill jobs by other means.

"Workers had been co-operative when asked to take important jobs. 'Mr. H. F. C. Crookshank (C., Gainsborough) asked it that was so, was it necessary to keep these controls?

'There was no reply."

We have pointed out before why the Government has instituted the Control of Engagements Order, and why, when asked the necessity for it, there has been "no reply". Although at the moment the Order seems to be superfluous, a gross piece of bureaucratic machinery grinding away and producing nothing, nevertheless, the Government obviously is looking ahead for once to the time when it cannot fill the jobs it wants filled "by other means" and will have to use compulsion.

The cotton industry, unlike most other industries, is lacking only one thing to enable it to deal with the evergrowing demands of the export drive. It has the materials, it has the machinery, it has the markets. The one thing lacking is the labour and the Government is trying many means—what is calls the "other means" from direction-to fill the 60,000 vacancies it claims there are in cotton mills.

Half-Hearted Measures

One of these means is the suspension of call-up for National Service of young operatives. This generous concession, however, is not to be a "block" suspension to cover all cases, but only to be granted in individual cases where the circumstances conform with three conditions. First, he must be engaged in actual production; second, his call-up interfere with production; and third, he cannot be replaced im-mediately by the Labour Exchange. And then the suspension of his call-up will be for six months, during which time "every effort" (to quote the Ministry of Labour Gazette) will be made either to replace him or get round the difficulties entailed by his going. If six months is not long

THE POOR RICH AND ...

Climbing over the roofs of Upper Grosvenor Street, W., cat-burglars early yesterday entered the fifth floor penthouse of Miss Raemond Rahvis, the dress designer, by way of her roof garden and escaped with furs, clothing and jewellery worth £5,000.

Two maids asleep on the premises were not disturbed.

News Chronicle, 15/3/48.

Sir Harry Oakes, mining engineer, who moved first from the United States into Canada, then from Canada into the the Bahamas, left money in all three places when he died. In the Bahamas alone his estate amounted to nearly £3,500,000. News Item. £3,500,000.

... AUSTERITY

A private dress show has just been given specially for the Duchess of Kent by Molyneux.

Her eye was taken, I am told, by parasols and frilled ankle bootees shown with Ascot and garden party frocks.

The bootees either button up the sides or lace up the back. Black satin was used for these shown to her.

They can be made in any colour and material to match an outfit. White piqus is suggested for small feet.

Evening Standard, 18/3/48.

As a social spectacle the Grand National has never been outstanding.

But to-day there was some luxury for those who paid six guineas to sit in the County stand. There were salmon lunches and a special champagne bar. Champagne sold briskly at £3 a bottle: corks were popping regularly from 11 o'clock.

Id 20/3/48.

will be dealt with by us another time. At the moment, we are concerned with the fact that the incentives to attract workers to the cotton indusry are few and ineffective.

The importance of cotton products now is in their value as exports. This means that women are being asked to produce more goods which they themselves need badly, but which they will not be allowed to get. The clothing ration is dropping, the prices of cotton goods are rising (and so is the price of clothing coupons!) more and more the workers are being divorced from the products of their labour, poorly compensated by the fleeting advantage of higher wages.

There are many other measures the Government could take, but, for lack of real human incentives, it will fall back on direction. The workers will be forced into support for the export drive, competing with other countries for the world's markets, sweating for capitalism in the competitive scramble which leads to unemployment and war. P.S.

WHO IS CRAZY?

Two summonses about a crazy paving made without a licence failed at Jarrow yesterday.

bonded with cement a licence is required."

The defence said: "The highest official

of the Ministry of Works in Newcastle stated that no licence is needed provided cement is not applied with a trowel but

at Hove last night: "There has been a welcome return of discipline among the bulk of productive workers.

"If from the other section of society the same response does not come, we shall have to take steps by one means or another-and I have no doubt we shall hear something when the Budget is presented—to see that discipline is

The prosecution said: "The Ministry of Works has ruled that if stones are

through a water can."

Daily Express, 19/3/48.

THE BIG STICK

Mr. Chuter Ede, Home Secretary, said

Daily Express, 20/3/48.

GOVERNMENT WORKERS'

Guards and One Stoker Blackleg

OUR Socialist Government wasted no time in drafting Coldstream Guards to Buckingham Palace recently in an attempt to break a strike of Ministry of Works employees there and at other Government establishments.

Altogether, 1,850 workers came out on a strike which lasted six days, and in which the Government were forced to withdraw their troops in face of a challenge from the workers that the strike would spread.

It was, of course, an unofficial strike, following the delay of negotiations for a wage increase of no less than eighteen months! The original claim had been for an increase of 3d. per hour, but since then had risen to 6d. per hour to meet the increased cost of living over the period and to line up with other engineering grades. The Treasury had finally rejected the claim on March 4th, "hiding", as the strikers pointed out "behind the White Paper", which had appeared seventeen months after the original claim had been

Workers in 45 of the 53 establishments maintained by Ministry of Works employees responded to the call sent out by the strike committee of 10, which, though included branch officials of T & G.W.U., was not in contact with the union. The places affected were Buckingham Palace and other Royal Palaces, Houses of Parliament, Law Courts, the Tower of London, and most of the Ministries. The workers were mainly heating and maintenance workers, and liftmen.

Of the thirty stokers at Buckingham Palace, one remained on duty, working with the soldiers to keep Their Royal Majesties' bath water hot.

Ministers Send in Troops

The decision to send in troops was arrived at in consultation between Messrs. Attlee, Isaacs and other Ministers, and was taken without consulting the unions. It was a false move by the Government, for it only strengthened the strikers' resolve, and gained for them much support and sympathy.

What amounted to an ultimatum was sent to the Government after a four-hour meeting of the engineering section of the Ministry of Works. It stated that if the troops were not withdrawn "all industrial grades employed at the Ministry will cease work". Which would have meant electricians and fitters at the Palaces

coming out, together with over 4,000 other workers, affecting all water supply, heating and other types of domestic appliances and transport in all Governments departments in the London area.

It did not come to that, however. The troops were withdrawn and the men went back to work on the understanding that negotiations will be re-opened on the basis of a 22s, a week increase (6d, an hour over a 44-hour week).

Repercussions

The strike had one or two interesting repercussions. In the chilly House of Commons, Mr. Churchill took the opportunity to nag at the Minister of Labour, and, the Manchester Guardian told us, Because of the unofficial strike of the boilermen, it was so cold in the Law Courts yesterday that Mr. Justice Humphreys left his King's Bench court and continued the hearing of a case in his private room, where there was a fire. To sit still hour after hour in a court in which the temperature is only about 55 degrees is intolerable,' he said.'

Mr. Justice Humphreys could be advised to sit still hour after hour in a cold, damp prison cell, to which he has so often condemned prisoners, and in which the temperature is so often below 55 degrees. He might find that intolerable,

POOR BOYS WHO MADE GOOD!

Sidney Webb, Lord Passfield, was a poor boy who married a rich girl. Beatrice died in 1943, left £24,000practically all to her husband. Now he has left £59,000.

Webb's mother kept a barbers' shop in Cranbourne-street, Leicester-square; as a boy he lived about the shop. His wife was daughter of the president of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada. They, married in 1892, spent their honeymoon investigating trade unions in Dublin.

Evening Standard, 15/3/48.

The £14,899 will of a man who started

as a pithoy at the age of 12 and became an M.P. and Under-Secretary Home Office is published to-day.

He was the Right Hon. William Brace, of Allt-yr-yn-avenue, Newport, Mon., former president of the South Wales Miners' Federation. Socialist M.P. for South Glamorgan 1906-18 and for Abertillery 1918-20 who died has October Abertillery 1918-20, who died last October,

Land notes

THE LAND OF BRITA

I HAVE recently read a pamphlet which I think is worth mention in these Notes. It is not outstanding but it is better than most of its kind. It is called The Land of Britainand how it is used, by Dudley Stamp (published for the British Council by Longmans, 2/6). It consists of a brief and well-written account of how this country came to have the largely man-made surface features that it now has. Inevitably, most of the space is devoted to the history of the agricultural occupation of this island, but reference is also made to the influence of minerals, and above all coal, on the present distribution of population. It is made abundantly clear that physical environment and, in particular, local topography have been the two strongest conditioning forces in man's social, cultural and technical development. Man, in fact, cannot move mountains. On the other hand, he could make a much more sensible and less chaotic use of natural resources than has so far been done.

A booklet of this size cannot help but be little more than an introduction for what is called the layman, and those acquainted with the subject will, it is true. find little here that they did not know already. Nevertheless, it is beneficial to be reminded of certain facts, the significance of which one may perhaps tend to forget. For example, the fact that to-day nine-tenths of all the people of Britain live on one-tenth of the land parface. Out of 41,000,000 people in England and Wales (a density of over 700 to the square mile) about 4,000,000 live in villages and 2,000,000 in scattered residences in the open countryside.'

The impression, therefore, that one of en gets when travelling, that industrial civilization is like a series of ant-hills interspersed with almost uninhabited country, corresponds more or less to the facts. Except perhaps that ants, unlike many human workers, do seem to get around a bit.

FACTS OF INTEREST It comes, therefore, as something of a surprise to be reminded that, even so, there are more people employed on the

farms of Britain than in the whole of Canada, or in the whole of Australia and New Zealand together" and also that "the value of the produce sold off the farms (of Britain) reaches a higher total than all the coal from all the coalfields of the

At a time when much is said about making the most of Britain's farming acres, one should bear in mind the fact that "the Air Ministry is the largest landowner in Britain except for the Forestry Commission" and that, apart from land already previously occupied by the Air Ministry, "in the 12 years preceeding the outbreak of war, 100 square miles or 64,800 acres were taken for aerodromes. In the war years this was increased to a figure which has not been disclosed but was certainly over a million acres.

Note that this is naturally exclusive of all Army camps and battle-grounds and also, incidentally, that the best farming land in any given district is nearly always also that most suitable for aerodromes and that it is this land which, under "military necessity", is accordingly taken. The loss in actual food production is therefore considerably more than a study of average crop yields would seem actually to indicate-a fact which the writer does not emphasize.

I will round off these quotations with two I reproduce largely because of their relevance to some comments I made in the last lot of Land Notes.

Speaking of future plans and prospects, Dudley Stamp writes:

"There have been tendencies, both of which must be reversed—one is the deterioration of the standard of conduct of these urban visitors to the country (perhaps due rather to ignorance and to increase in numbers) and the consequent re-action in a greater

degree of prohibition of access."

He then says, half a page later: "Simply stated, there is nothing incompatible between use and amenity. The countryside of Britain owes its beauty largely to the man-made fields, farms and villages. It is what it is because it is farmed and used. It is a mistaken idea to try and 'preserve' a piece of land as if it were a specimen in a museum."

and analyses their effects, Dudley Stamp does a good job even though, when dealing with the enclosures, he tends to minimise the human suffering involved and emphasize solely the technical advantages thereby gained.

ON DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

Unfortunately, however, it has become increasingly the custom for writers of such factual books and pamphlets to conclude with a little chapter most often called "The Future", "Looking Ahead", or some such title, wherein the expert procedes to try and draw conclusions from the data he has accumulated and usually careful to say that it is not a plan at all but merely some observations for the future. This habit, natural though it may be inasmuch as there are few pleasures in this life more popular than that of stating one's opinions to other people, is nevertheless to be deplored and should be discouraged. Historical surveys of this type should not end up with the writer's personal opinion. In most instances, the effect produced is one of anti-climax. If the facts have been clearly and honestly portrayed, the reader should be able to draw his own conclusions from them. If he cannot, no-one else can do it for him.

I, at least, do not draw the same con-clusions from Mr. Stamps' booklet as he does himself. For one thing, he seems to regard a money economy not only as inevitable (that, unfortunately, may possibly be so) but also as actually desirable as a guide to the exploitation of the earth's That certain marginal arable land should be cropped only when prices are high seems to him natural and sensible. My own conclusion, after studying the facts accurately given by the writer, is that the profit motive (to use a rather hackneyed phrase) has frequently had a disastrous effect on the earth's surface and in fact has as often been a factor limiting the sane use of natural resources as it has been a stimulant to using them fully and constructively.

But, of course, if you read the pamphlet your conclusions may be different from mine.

G.V.

JOIN TRAMWAYMEN THREE busmen took militant action

LIVERPOOL BUSMEN

recently on an issue which showed the necessity for an industrial syndicate among passenger transport workers.

70,000 municipal transport workers in Liverpool had demanded £1 increase. They had been awarded 7s. 6d. and the increase was being reported to them by their union leaders of the Municipal and General Workers' Union. The three busmen, members of the Transport and General, borrowed M. & G.W.U. cards and got into the meeting by a side door, whence they got onto the platform and took over the meeting from the leaders.

They called for a joint meeting -of busmen and tramwaymen to protest against the new awards, and were received with cheers and enthusiasm,

These three busmen will have done their fellows a tremendous service if out of their action is formed an organisation which does not separate workers in the same industry because they have different bosses, but joins them for numual aid and action because they have the same

DUST TO DUST

interests.

Grave-diggers, on sympathy strike with West Ham council's dustmen, are being asked to return because all the graves dug have now been used. The strikers are holding a meeting this morning.

Daily Express, 15/3/48.

Letter from France

HE HOLY ALLIANCE

fight. I do not want to know who amongst you will be the dead and who will be the victors. I only want to see fighters here." This speech in Mussolini's best style was delivered by André Malraux, the novelist turned political adviser to General de Gaulle, when he was addressing the "defence groups" of the R.P.F. (the Gaullist

The Gaullist Party is methodically building its fascist façade and Malraux's style brings a note of adventure to the rational construction of the movement. But while the attraction of power makes itself increasingly felt, the R.P.F. is abandoning many of its original slogans and ideas. De Gaulle no longer denounces Germany as the "hereditary" enemy, and abandons his claim of making France again a first-rate Power. He no longer demands that the French should control the Ruhr and guard

Recent international events have obliged the General to reconsider his policy. The Conference of the Sixteen and the Brussels Pact have decided the rôle which France could hope to play in international politics: that of a simple partner in the Western bloc, first or last line of defence against the Soviet advance.

Australia

RACE HATRED

IN the last issue of *Freedom* reference was made in "Though the Press" columns to the statement by Mr. Arthur Calwell (Australian Immigration Minister) that Australian soldiers and citizens were forbidden to bring any Japanese wives or children of such marriages into Australia Australians could live with Japanese in Japan but Mr. Calwell could not allow Japanese to enter Australia "while any relatives remain of Australian dead in Pacific battlefields". The excuse is, of ractine battleheids. The excuse is, of course, nonsense, since relatives remain in Australia of those who died at the hands of Germans and Italians and yet no such exclusion law relates to them. The law is directly aimed at Japanese.

Why? We can soon answer that question by asking whether the most consistent enemies of Japan could enter the shores of Australia. What is Mr. ell's reactions to Chinese im-Calwell's reactions to migration to Australia?

Not only cannot Chinese come in, but the Daily Telegraph (22/3/48) reports that Mr. Calwell "has ordered 600 that Mr. Calwell "has ordered 600 Chinese war-time refugees of both sexes, now living in Australia, to leave the country. They are the remainder of the 3,000 evacuees from Hongkong, Singapore, Indonesia, and the New Guinea islands." Surely it cannot be "gross public indecency" to allow these Chinese refugees from Japanese imperialism to

In the case of the refugees from Hong-kong, it may be noted that these are British citizens. However, while im-migration authorities search for British immigrants to Australia which they cry

out is under-developed and needs man-power, Chinese cannot be allowed. It is clear that the pretext of the war with Japan hardly convinces even those who make it—the whole point is that the doctrine of white supremacy, as upheld by Mr. Calwell, demands that Chinese and Japanese should be kept out of and Japanese should be kept out of Australia. They want immigrants, but they want to be assured of their racial

Precisely the same thing happens in South Africa, where the authorities tighten the screw on Indian immigrants and residents; and would dearly like to keep out the Africans themselves! In yet another "great free Dominion" yet another "great free Dominion", Canada, the questionnaire for immigrants insists on knowing the racial origins so far back as it can. And immigrants who fall into one of the "lesser breeds without the law" are just not admitted.

fall into one of the "lesser breeds without the law" are just not admitted.

The theories of Dr. Rosenberg and the Nazis—classifying mankind into superior and inferior races—was admitted to be unadulterated nonsense. This is generally admitted. Then why is it practised in the Dominions? And how can those who oppose discrimination according to race, colour, religion or nationality, uphold the pretence that the Dominions represent a form of freedom?

In these circumstances de Gaulle can no longer put forward an expansionist imperialist policy and is obliged to concentrate his efforts on home affairs. Unfortunately for him he has failed to gain, in spite of all his efforts, a working class following. The Government, on the other hand, remains in the hands of the old, Christian and Socialist Parties. He can no longer hope to seize power in a swift and spectacular way and must turn his attention to less glamorous

One could, of course, trace a parallel with pre-fascist Italy and with the Weimar Republic and conclude that the Gaullist Party would be able to eliminate the remnants of parliamentary democracy. But the situation is not so simple. In the first place, Washington has its hands full with Greece, Italy, Germany and Palestine and it not inclined to launch a new adventure in France.

While Malraux makes inspiring speeches, de Gaulle negotiates with the third force, that of parliament The holy and the bourgeoisie. alliance is now possible and is further imposed by the growing pressure of the United States. In this alliance de Gaulle would contribute his prestige and his shock troops (which in Marseilles, for example, are recruited in the same milieu where Doriot and Sabiani used to assemble theirs). The parties now in power would provide the administrative machinery, the confidence of the foreign powers, and the support of a section of the working class.

What characterises fascism is the voluntary participation of part of the workers to the actions of a party, or movement, whose aim is to destroy freedom. In this respect, the Gaullist movment has not succeeded in gaining a working class support. But an alliance between the Social-Christians and the Gaullists could count on the Christian trade unions.

The government has already begun to put into practice some features de Gaulle's programme, such as the deportation of foreign political Up to now only Poles, elements. Russians, Hungarians and Yugoslavs have been expelled but it is not unlikely that the same measures will be applied to Spaniards and Italians.

On the other hand, all the unions, except those controlled by the Communists, are being pressed to agree to the lowering of prices. And finally, the government is helping the Christian unions and the trade unions belonging to the Force Ouvriere to obtain posts in the organs of economic collaboration which have been, up to now, almost exclusively in the hands of the Communists.

The Holy Alliance is taking shape with the more or less open complicity of all parties with the exception of the Communists. Its success depends not on the Communists who by their violence, their demagogy, their somer-

THE NEW MASTER RACE

I'm afraid a lot of our married families in Germany are a very poor advertisement for our way of living. It often seems to me that they cause more trouble to us occupying forces than the Germans themselves.

Here are three things the Germans note, not in our favour. Wives walking the streets with cigarettes dangling from their mouths—they don't need a smoke, its just swank. (2) Supercilious attitude of wives toward German domestics—most of whom have forgotten more about housework than the wives will ever know. (3) The snobbishness of the British children—whatever may be said of adult Germans, their children are completely natural, friendly and unspoiled.—SGT. MAJOR, Bournemouth.

Letter in The Leader, 20/3/48.

Letter in The Leader, 20/3/48.

saults and their dictatorial methods antagonise the workers, but on the energy with which the organisations which have remained faithful to a libertarian socialist ideal, will react, and the audacity with which they will propose and impose progressive solutions against the decadence of the bourgeoisie.

The capitalists are conscious of the ineluctable defeat which threatens them and many industrialists are trying to devise reforms which will lead to a modus vivendi between owners and producers. In the Christian movement we see progress being made in the ideas of workers' communities in industry as well as in agriculture. And the reformists favour a greater bureaucracy and technocracy in the control of pro-

The bourgeoisie is moribund and waits for an heir. The question is to know whether its place will be taken by the organisations which have remained faithful to true socialism and which will preserve the liberty of the individual while at the same time putting a rationally organised economy at the disposal of all.

S. PARANE.

Revolution in Russia?

SOME unconfirmed reports say that the Americans and their satellites have the idea of distributing propaganda in Russia. For instance, the News of the World (21/3/48) states that the Americans "are toying with the idea of bringing to the Russian people concrete evidence of their firmness by distributing pamphlets in the industrial areas of Russia. Already the moustrial areas of Russia. Already the possibilities of a department for propaganda in 'enemy' territory are being worked out, but the position is still in the exploratory stage." In such matters, the News of the World is usually flying a kite rather than having concrete facts, but it remains true that many official sources are considering how they could carry out propaganda against Stalin as they did against Hitler, when the last war to end war was on.

It is certainly a tough nut to crack, because they have previously thought of Russia as a revolutionary country rather than as one in which a revolution might ain occur. But only the blind dupes propaganda will persist in believing again occur. of propaganda will persist in believing Russia to be a revolutionary country. The people who are behind the slogans know better. Just as revolution against Hitler might have helped Western Imperialism, so might revolution against Stalin.

Or, if not revolution, then at any rate sabotage and industrial unrest. Stalin will play it with his Fifth Column, who will disguise themselves in the being "anti-war" (when in reality they will be merely "pro-the-other-side"). Can it be done in Russia?

Of course, the brilliant people who haunt the B.B.C. and like forward areas of psychological warfare, are not going to go into industrial areas of the enemy and give out illegal pamphlets themselves. They will issue directives and give

general encouragement. What is wanted is a revolutionary opposition inside Russia.

What Happened to the Opposition

But to what extent does this exist outside prison? In the prison camps of Russia, the revolutionary movement has flourished in discussions between political prisoners. Outside the prison camps no open discussion exists. It was the same open discussion exists. It was the same in Germany, but in Germany the last open non-Nazi meetings were in 1933—six years before the war. In Russia, the last open non-Bolshevik meeting was the gathering of Anarchists released for Kropotkin's funeral in 1921.

When the Anarchists were liquidated by the Bolshevik dictatorship, there were few protests outside Russia. The Right stood by the Tsarists and welcomed the suppression of anti-Tsarists by the Bolsheviks; the Left stood by the Communist apologies for the Soviet.

There was a widespread movement of opposition to Stalin in the working-class movement, but its only source of practical support could come from abroad. What has happened to the exiled movement for which the imperialists will soon be looking? In thirty years it is worn out and exhausted just as is the entire pre-Stalin generation of revolutionaries within Russia. This is due in part to the Ogpu and its relentless search for its opponents; in part to the Fascist liquidators; and in a part, too, to the "democratic powers" who made it impossible for them to live. Driven from country to country, forbidden to work, deprived of passports, forced to dependency, living always in despair, drove many good ment for which the imperialists will soon always in despair, drove many good

(Continued on page 5)

Foreign Commentary

Are We Helpless?

THERE are some readers who in I the past have written to say that we publish too many anti-Communist articles, and that Freedom's space could be better used. Actually the space given to this subject is an indication of the important rôle socalled Communism is playing in European and world politics to-day.

From the point of view of the Left, Stalinism, to give present-day Com-munism its real title, represents a greater danger than Capitalism, for, whereas the latter is known for what it is, Stalinism pretends to be what it is not. The great danger of Stalinism is its pretensions of being anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and for the working classes wherever they may be. Nothing could be farther from the truth, and it is the duty of the genuine Left to warn the workers of the Stalinist myth to prevent them from leaping from the frying pan of capitalist imperialism into the fire of Stalinist despotism.

Whereas the immorality of capitalist imperialism has been in the past an incentive for the building up of working class organisations based on a noble conception of human values (viz., that the means are as important as the ends) the growth of Stalinism (which is the inevitable development of the totalitarian ideas propounded by Lenin) has almost completely destroyed all moral values in the Left in their struggle for Power. There is a kind of double faced morality in the Left to-day. One set of values are applied to criticise "bourgeois capitalist society" and the very same values are discarded to justify the iniquities of Stalinist dictatorship.

It is not so long ago that the Left were exposing the horrors of German Concentration Camps and the savage suppression of all anti-Nazis in Germany. We joined in this campaign, and since 1939 the Left has been exposing the horrors of Franco's Spain, its prisons filled to suffocation and its firing squads making new victims daily.

But that equally gruesome things are happening in the world to-day in the name of the working class seems not to concern large sections of the working class movements. It is all passed over with the comforting assurance that those who are being liquidated are Fascists. And this

explanation seems to satisfy many people in this country. Yet it is a lie as we will attempt to demonstrate by three

BUCHENWALD **CONCENTRATION CAMP**

We have all heard of the Buchenwald Camp and the horrors perpetrated there in the name of racial purity. Buchenwald has not been razed to the ground. It is even occupied by human beings. Listen to what the correspondent of the Swedish Socialist daily Arbetet de Malmo wrote of this camp, situated in the Russian zone, and which he visited in February: "To-day the Nazi regime of reprint terror has been liquidated but the concentration camp of Buchenwald still exists. It is surrounded by barbed wire and boarded up to a height of about 10 feet. At the entrance to the camp is a large picture of Stalin. During the night the whole camp is floodlit, and one hears the barking of hunting dogs. In Buchenwald there are still, of course, some Nazi prisoners but they represent an in-significant minority. The majority of the resignificant minority. The majority of the internees are anti-Nazis, mostly Socialists. According to estimates, 12,000 anti-Nazis or thereabouts are at present interned in this concentration camp, and the general opinion is that the vast majority of the prisoners have never been tried. have been interned without being charged and without being sentenced.

"There are also women in the camp. Their heads have been shorn like the men and they wear men's Conversation between men and clothes. Conversation between men a internees is strictly prohibited. and women

"The physical and moral condition of the prisoners is terrible beyond des-cription. Suicides and attempted suicides are the order of the day.

"In cases where prisoners have ceeded in escaping. it is not beyond the Russian guards to just arrest any man in the street and put him in the camp in the place of the escapee, so that the numbers will agree with those at the control office. In this way 17 persons have already disappeared in the vicinity of the Buchenwald camp."

BULGARIAN ANARCHIST PRISONERS

The International Working-Man's Association (I.W.M.A.) announce in their latest Press bulletin having received a report from Bulgaria which gives detailed information on some of the anarchists who are interned in the Communist concentration camps in that country. A list of 25 names of comrades and details of their past records is given. We quote two typical examples: "Guéorguie Dimitroff Kurtoff, Karamiayloff, journalist, former editor of Rabotnichesca Misal. He spent many years in fascist prisons.

been interned at Cuciyan for the crime of sending articles to the foreign anarchist

"Vassil Todoroff Jordanoff, 44, printing worker, anarchist militant. For many years he lived either illegally or abroad. He was twice tried, by the democrats and fascists respectively. Released from prison on September 9th, 1945, he has been in the camp of Cuciyan-Pernique, for the past nine months, for having spread anarcho-syndicalist ideas among the workers of Sofia."

THE PRISONERS OF KARAGANDA

We have already written under the heading "Spain's Forgotten Men" (Freedom, 7/2/48), of the Spanish Seamen who are interned in Russia. Their case, and that of a number of Spanish airmen who were sent to Russia by the Republican Government to be trained by the Russians, and who have been held prisoners ever since, have been vigorously taken up by all sections of the Spanish Press in France, with the exception, of course, of the Communists who, true to

form, have declared that the interaction, have declared that the interaction form, have declared that the interaction form, have declared that the interaction form, have declared that the french Socialist paper Le Populaire has taken up the case of the Karaganda internees, and in a recent issue quoted by the I.W.M.A. Press Service, reports that there are about 900 prisoners in the Karaganda camp, of the majority are Jews. The daily prisoners in the Karaganda camp, of whom the majority are Jews. The daily food rations of these prisoners consists of 600 grammes (21 ozs.) of bread, 10 gr. ($\frac{1}{8}$ oz.) margarine, 17 gr. ($\frac{2}{8}$ oz.) sugar for lunch and for supper, as well as a vegetable soup which is so bad that it is almost impossible to swallow.

These are the three cases we promised readers. They contain all the injustices which the Communists loudly condemned in their anti-German propaganda. And now they are being perpetrated by the Communists to the slogan of "for the benefit of the working class everywhere". The answer to all this is not an "atomic crusade" against Russia. Wars

"atomic crusade" against Russia. Wars create many more problems than they solve; that, with the recent crusade against the "Nazi beast" still fresh in our minds, cannot surely be disputed. The solution is to be found in developing our sense of individual responsibility. This idea is brought out in a Manifesto by a number of French left-wing Socialists and journalists, reprinted in Politics (Winter 1948) and we will conclude with two sentences from this lengthy Manifesto, and leave it to our readers to work out the problem for themselves.

"Man is most vulnerable when he is convinced of his own helplessness."

"War can be avoided. But only if we men of France and of Europe do not consider ourselves innocent victims."

consider ourselves innocent victims."

LIBERTARIAN.

Drinking Rum and Coca-Colaa Hey—Go Down to Mona
Both Mother and Daughter
Working for the Yankee dola-a-a. (American Folk Song circa,

1944)

ONCE again the newspapers of New York, engaged in a perpetual war for circulation amongst themselves, have come up with a real thriller: The Great Puerto Rican

PUERTO

level. Of island's 400,000-odd families, some 340,000 (85%) have an income of only a few hundred dollars a year—probably less than \$400. (It should be remembered that much food and clothing is imported and that prices are generally higher than in the U.S.—J.G.) There is a small wealthy class and a growing but still relatively unimportant 'middle class'. Poverty in Puerto Rico is accompanied by the problems of poverty everywhere."

This in Glorious America! The richest country in the world. This is a permanent and not a temporary condition.

Wenzell Brown, who also spent long ars in China, describes the slums of

our Puerto Rican fellow workers. We welcome our comrade workers. Perhaps they will bring a little colour to the drab grey tomb that is New York.

To those bigoted and frightened workers and petty bourgeois of N.Y.C. we say: Look out, that soon you may have too much work—too much money and too juicy contracts building war goods, the tools of your own destruction.

To the poor and faintly burning

To the poor and faintly burning researchers of all the esteemed universities, we say: Your researches will show that the people of Puerto Rico emigrate because they are starving and sick, and overworked and unemployed (yes, both!)

RICAN PROBLEM

(From a New York Correspondent)

In mixed and complicated poses of horror, fear and shame and why did it happen to me attitudes they have series on the "Puerto Rican Problem": that is to say the developing fact that from the backward hell-hole of United States, Puerto Rico, thousands upon thousands of Puerto Ricans in search of a decent existence are coming North to the Great Steel Hell-holes of United States New York City. Into the dirty, tiny stinking flats of East Harlem, the South Bronx, Red Hook, and the Lower East Side.

This writer has never seen worse slums than the blocks of tenements about 101-105 Street in East Harlem (but, after all, I'm young yet)

Colombia University, and Princeton and City College and New York University—Oh, and everybody are all doing studies on it.

The 1940 Census showed 150,000 Puerto Ricans living in New York City. By April, 1947, the total came to 231,302. It is now probably over 300,000 (a tremendous gain in the last year) and police estimates are said to place it nearer 600,000. The Health and Welfare Dept's are said to accept the 300,000+ figure. This 300,000 figure, if correct, is probably greater than or at least as great as the present population of Puerto Rico's largest city San Juan which had an estimated 215,447 in 1946.

Puerto Rico, that lump of sugar in the Antilles which dropped into the U.S.'s hungry mouth in 1898, after the Spanish-American War and 400 years of Spanish exploitation, has what perhaps may best be called a zombie economy. An island of 2,100,000 inhabitants, it has (with the possible exception of Barbados) the densest population per "tillable acre" of any agricultural country in the world. It has amongst the highest, in fant mortality rates in the world.

The official Government publication, Puerto Rican Handbook for 1947, states: "At present, a vast majority of Puerto Ricans live not far above the starvation

REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA?

(Continued from page 4)
comrades to suicide or an early grave;
some to compromise or surrender.

Revolutionary Ideas

Revolutionary Ideas

But revolutionary ideas have made an impact on Russia, however distorted by Stalinist propaganda. The Anarchist teachings of Russians like Bakunin, Kropotkin, Makhon and countless others are not entirely forgotten and only such libertarian teachings will replace the authoritarian communism of Stalin. It would be unthinkable for the Russsian masses to go back to the Tsar and feudalism or to adopt capitalism in its Western brand. In an overthrow of Stalin which might grow from a warweary impulse, the original ideas of the Revolution might be re-created—the land to the peasants, the factories to the workers, and not to the bureaucrats of the Party. Revolution against the Stalin regime and the entire Communist Party set-up may always be considered a possibility, should a revolutionary situation in the break-down of Russian economy arise. In such an event Anarchism must once more raise its head from out of the prison camps of Siberia to repeat its warnings of not entrusting the revolution and the management of things to any political party whatsoever. But revolutions cannot be created because imperialist powers want them to, as the war against Germany showed; and for that matter, the fact that the parties created by the Russian Government only take power when backed by external force.

San Juan and its workers' suburbs as worse than anything he ever saw in

The island is overwhelmingly agricultural and with things as they have been brought to be, it would possibly take some years to bring the island up to a decent self-supporting level. There is an average of ½ an acre of "tillable land" for each inhabitant. But what crops do they grow on this land-pressed isle?

Sugar cane constituted 31% of all land harvested in 1939 (the best land—no doubt). In 1942-43 sugar products totalled 64.6% of the total exports. Second in acreage is . . . coffee! Tobacco is also a big crop. What meal that makes. Only 40% of the crop land is regularly devoted to food crops for local consumption. Puerto Rico grows 50% of her own food by value and 65% by bulk. (It should be remembered, however, that they don't eat much.)

that they don't eat much.)

Some idiotic things happen on this island. The island grows and exports sugar, molasses and rum and buys back (the people do, that is) rice. From America, of course. It grows and exports fresh green beans to America and it imports dry beans, also from America. (Rice and beans are the two great staple foods of P.R.) It grows and exports tobacco and imports codfish. It grows and exports coffee and imports wheat and meat. The island has a large Needle Goods industry and they make what . . . tremendous quantities of fine handkerchiefs and fancy undies . . . for export, of course. The island has practically no basic industry whatever.

Of course, these "cash crops" are

of course. The island has practically no basic industry whatever.

Of course, these "cash crops" are praised to 'heaven as an untold blessing and a providential solution for this "landpressed island". They do bring in the cash—to the absentee sugar barons. Life is sure sweet for them.

"Year after year, diseases directly traceable to faulty sanitation and to malnutrition lead in the causes of death. Hospitals and other medical facilities are not available to most of the people" (P.R. Handbook, 1947). The rate of illiteracy was somewhat less than 31.5% in 1940. About one-half of the child population is not going to school.

The United States has an almost 100% monopoly of Puerto Rica trade. In 1940 Puerto Rico was ninth on the list of receivers of U.S. exports and tenth on the list of importers into U.S.

The island was under the administration of the U.S. War Department until 1934. For years a great controversy has been raging as to whether Puerto Rico is a good defence base for the Panama Canal or whether the Panama Canal is a defence base for Puerto Rico. There are some who maintain that the United States is occupying the United States as a strategic base for the protection of Puerto Rico. At any rate, it has been asserted that the atom bomb increases the strategic importance of the island.

Ever since the first indentured slaves were brought from England to America at the very beginning—there has followed a parade of hard-labouring immigrants: Negroes, Irish, Chinese, Jewish, Polish, Italian, South Slay, Mexican, and most recently, Puerto Ricans. It has been on the backs of these immigrants that the Great American Empire was built. There has always been a place for someone at the bottom—to do all the dirty work and each late group starts at the bottom (and many remain there). The ethnicity of the group has always changed. But one thing has been constant—the need for an underdog to do the hard, dirty work. In Russia, there are slave labour camps and in America "free" Negroes and Puerto Ricans, American "citizens".

The cockeyed American economy has become very sensitive, however, to any unbalances whatsoever and "everyone" is afraid of to-morrow, of depression and of their jobs (and why should these "foreigners" get an apartment?). Well, the employers and the poor servant-seekers of New York are not complaining. There is a shortage of servants (at certain wages) around the city. (The total domestic service workers, private family housekeepers, laundresses and servants in the U.S. was 2,349,394 in 1940!)

We workers of New York, however, are not frightened by any "competition" of

and that the New Yorkers resent them because of their own frustrations. You will recommend that the state or the city or the Congress be better to them. We know what these great institutions are worth. For 50 years we have had this problem with us. And now that the stench of the open sore which you never dressed begins to reach you, you are going to do something about it:—turn your noses away from it; put a Band-aid on it, or if the worst comes to the worst, amputate. You cannot cure it because you are the disease yourself.

tate. You cannot cure it because you are the disease yourself.

To those Europeans who have shaken off the enticing arms of the brown bear of Russia—let them think twice before they embrace the slim, lanky figure of Uncle Sam. Let them look closely at that Island Paradise—"The Pearl of the Caribbean". Let them look at the stinking blossom of 50 years of American Imperialism. Let them beware of this black shadow of the future.

JACK GALLEGO.

SOLIDARITY!

POR some months now we have been doing our best to send regular food parcels to comrades in Germany who are in need, all of them without sufficient food, some without The parcels which clothing. have sent have done their limited amount of good, and we could reproduce a page of letters from comrades telling of the encouragement it means to receive a token of solidarity in a world where they feel completely isolated. Owing to lack of cash and items of food and clothing, we have never been able to send more than a fraction of the parcels that were urgently needed. But we have been able to help a few of the more extreme cases of comrades with large families, or whose health has been broken by years of concentration camp ife and who now, in their 'liberation'', still have to starve.

But in recent weeks the assistance we have received readers has dwindled almost to nothing, and, unless we receive some substantial increase in contributions, we shall have radically to cut down the number of comrades whom we assist. We leave it to your imaginations to consider the effect of the disappointment this will mean to them.

We know that there are many calls on your spare cash, and that under present circumstances there is very little cash to spare. But if every reader could go without an occasional visit to the pictures, an oc-casional glass of beer or packet of cigarettes, it would help us vastly to provide what are absolute necessities for these people who have already endured so much for the anarchist

Readers, it rests with you. If you have any feeling of solidarity at all for your comrades abroad, send us what you can to help provide for their basic material necessities and to give them the knowledge that, however the governments of the world may try to isolate them, their own comrades are ready to show practical solidarity.

FOOD FUND to March. D.N. 2/6; F.T. 9/-; H.A.A. 10/-; Anon 2/6. Previously acknowledged, £31/1/6. Total

Government by Repartee

THERE are always crusaders ready to spring to the Press or microphone to attack iniquities. Especially if they are fairly harmless unassuming iniquities that can hardly break a lance, like the New Look, or the Influence of Dick Barton. In a Third Programme talk (reprinted in The Listener, 4/3/48), Helen Arbuthnot, decrying "Democracy by Snap Judgment", condemns the public opinion polls.

In Brief

PICKING UP A FEW TIPS

A curious light is thrown on the pretentions of the Argentine within the Antarctic Circle by a brief news agency item circulated by a German news agency in the British Zone. This announces that President Peron has become a subscriber to a small journal entitled Polar Exploration.

This is published in Holzminden, a town of 20,000 inhabitants, 40 miles south of Hanover. I suppose Gen. Peron is hoping to pick up a few tips on the administration of Antarctica.

Daily Telegraph, 15/3/48.

AMNESTY IN EIRE

All political prisoners in Eire have been released on an amnesty "to avoid the perpetuation of resentfulness and unrest."

Daily Telegraph, 10/3/48.

When will the Home Secretary decide

that it is time the I.R.A. prisoners in Britain were released?

RETURN TO PEACE

Westminster City Council yesterday proved expenditure of £41,750 on civil

Daily Express, 14/3/48.

AMERICAN D.P.'s FOR EUROPE?

EUROPE?

What a mighty miaow there might have been if an American scheme to send a million stray cats to Europe had come off! Now that the Marshall Plan nears finality, it is safe to talk about it.

The idea, originating with the American Feline Society, was to clear the U.S. of strays by dumping them in our ratinvested wharves and warehouses. The cats (on the rats) would be self-supporting and put an end to the billions of dollars' worth of food-pilfering by rodents.

Fortunately, the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals intervened. They had the million cats cut down to 5,000.

Then they revealed: "The cats could not exist on rodents. They'd need supplementary feeding which Europe couldn't afford . . . it would be foolhardy to ship thousands more animals to the distressed Continent."

So the Cat Plan is off.

News Chronicle, 18/3/48.

Let me say at once I quite agree with her. Once opinion polling leaves questions of fact, she says (such as "do you cook by gas or electricity?") the answers are easily influenced. The mere form of the question dictates the answer.

"It is extremely unlikely that you will get the same answers whether you ask the question 'Should Britain increase her exports?' or 'Should the working day be lengthened by one hour?' and yet they may in effect be the same question."

That may be true by capitalist economics but by common sense the shortening of the working day increases human happiness and the increase of the exports does not do so visibly.

exports does not do so visibly.

With most of these questions the whole point is to whom they are put. If you ask whether conscription is good, bad, or indifferent, the answers may differ and be varied, but surely the thing to do is to explain whether conscription affects the person concerned. Admittedly, everybody has not the information of the "experts" as to whether or not it is considered necessary; however, they do know whether or not it is to their advantage. I quite agree the wording of the question might affect the answer—for instance, in answering the question: "Whom would you like to be the next Prime Minister?" my answer is "Nobody", and accordingly ruled off; but in answering the question: "Do you puefer Mr. Churchill to Mr. Attlee as Prime Minister?" my answer "No" might be interpreted as confidence in the latter whereas it would still be "No" if the question was put the other way round.

However, all the arguments against this democracy by snap judgment—people answering questions of which in many cases they know nothing—apply equally to democracy by the snap judgment of the House of Commons—in fact, more so, because the decisions in many cases are made by Party ties. "The widely-publicised results of such polls may obviously have important effects on Members of Parliament and public opinion" (so, of course, may any expression of free speech). "Is it right that unelected private bodies responsible to no-one should have such powers as these?" Miss Arbuthnot suggests the supervision of public opinion polls by "a body responsible to the House of Commons". She can hardly realise that members of Parliament are often more ignorant of the issues than the public whose irresponsible answers she condemns. They, too, may be influenced by the way in which the questions of the day are put. Just as, after the decision to impose conscription, there was a 58% swing-over to support it in the public opinion polls, so there was in the House of Commons.

Public opinion is bought and sold in However, all the arguments against this

Public opinion is bought and sold in a democracy by Press, Radio and Parlia-ment and the auxiliary means of pro-paganda. A vote on war in August, 1939, would have brought an overwhelming

"No". After war was declared and the Public Opinion Moulding Machine was at work, a similar vote in October, 1939, would have said "Yes". The polls could only record this fact (needless to say they are timed to take place afterwards and Miss Arbuthnot's concern is that this should always be so).

We do not believe in government. People can decide their own actions well enough. When the Public Opinion Moulding Machine has ceased manufacturing opinion, it will be able to form its own judgment on questions that really concern it.

A.M.

Politics

After difficulties of various kinds, Politics has at last re-appeared, this time as a quarterly of 72 pages. The new issue is remarkably good—it contains, among other things, an expose of the F.B.I. by Clifton Bennett, which reveals the steadily growing influence of this "democratic" political police, a documentary study of the Macedonia Community, a study of Alexander Herzen by Dwight Macdonald, with copious extracts from Herzen's own writings, and an ex-tremely interesting analysis, by Don Calhoun, on the recent Kinsey report Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male. It is encouraging to see that this excellent libertarian magazine has surmounted its recent difficulties and seems now to be even better than

In two issues of *Politics* last year, its editor, Dwight Macdonald, made an intensive and destructive study of Wallace. He has now expanded these two articles into a fulllength book which has just been published by the Vanguard Press in New York, under the title of *Henry Wallace*, the Man and the Myth. As the case history of a politician, this is a first-class piece of work, and Wallace's present bid for political Wallace's present bid for political power gives its great topicality. It is unlikely that many copies of the American edition wil find their way to England, but there are hopes of its eventual publication here, and it is certainly a book to acquire and read with attention whenever it becomes available.

Third List of shop-soiled books

and surplus stock at reduced

(Published prices in brackets)

from Spain, V. Marcu (7/6) 3/6

Tom Clarke

David M. Cole

Spain To-day Conze (3/6) 2/-

Powys Greenwood (3/6) 2/-

J. C. Miller (16/-) 10/-

Ronald Peacock (10/6) 5/-

Policies. Eva Hubback (2/6) 1/6

Postage is not included in above

prices, and should be added.

Please send all orders to

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

27, RED LION STREET

LONDON - W.C.I.

O. y Gasset (7/6) 5/-

John T. Flynn (10/6) 5/-

Morris L. Ernest (15/-) 10/-

B.A.A.L. (1/-) 6d.

3/6

prices:

Invertebrate Spain

The Expulsion of Jews

As We Go Marching

The First Freedom

Report on Nutrition

My Northcliffe Diary

Blood Is Cheaper Than

Rebuilding Family Life in

Employment and the

Depressed Areas

Origins of the American

The Poet and the Theatre

Population Facts and

Revolution

Charles Duff:

Rudolf Rocker:

the Post-War World

Joseph Stalin

Water. Quincy Howe

A Volume of George Woodcock's Poems

AGINE THE SOUTH. George Woodcock (Untide IMAGINE Press, California. Obtainable from Freedom Press, 2/6).

GEORGE WOODCOCK's latest book, Imagine The South, contains twentyfive poems. Five of these poems are new; the remainder are selected from his two

previous volumes: The White Island and The Centre Cannot Hold. In The White Island (Fortune Press),

Woodcock showed himself to be a careful, sometimes a too cautious, craftsman. His approach to experience and to poetry seemed predominantly an intellectual one, but this disciplined rather than stifled his emotional and sensuous discoveries, and his style was extremely direct and free from obscurity. Caution inhibited his technique: the few poems that attempted technical experiment were hastily brought to an end; others were held within a formal structure not always appropriate to the matter requiring expression. Caution also kept him to the ruts worn by the heavier vehicles of his Thirties predecessors. Social distintegration, loneliness, individual frustration, were his subjects, and they were treated in a manner owing a great deal to Auden and other poets of the Pink Decade. One field, that of the macabre fantasy, he did fence in for his own, and it is significant that on the whole these poems are his best. Several of them, notably Memorandum from Arcadia, and The Island, are included in the present volume. Though by no means a major poet, Woodcock was perhaps the best writer of his particular late-Thirties group-Symons, Todd and a few other figures transitional between the old 'social realists' and the Forties romantics represented by the New Anocalypse.

His second book, The Centre Cannot Hold (Routledge), showed several changes in technique and attitude. The approach was not so cautious and the poetry more open to extremes of pessimism and hope; the choice of subject-matter itself was considerably more ambitious. Many poems, such as the title-piece of the book under review, profited from the less guarded influx of emotion-

Imagine the South from which these migrants fled,

Dark-eyed, pursued by arrows, crowned with blood,

Imagine the stiff stone houses and the

Blessed with wine and salt, the quivering tips
Of spears and edges signalling in the

-but too frequently the early balance was lost: there were some unhappy verbal lapses, and the macabre fantasy had been brought to a pitch of horror beyond which it seemed impossible for it to go: the emotion felt seemed too great for the words to hold. This book contained Woodcock's most ambitious poem to date, Waterloo Bridge, a long, semi-philosophical meditation which is included in Imagine The Some passages in this work have a lucidity giving immediate pleasure, and

there is an epigrammatic quality which at

the very least makes the poem readable. On the whole, however, Waterloo Bridge is not successful. The writer's intellectual struggle to resolve the prob-lems suggested by the subject-matter engages a disproportionate amount of the reader's attention; like the horror in other poems, it overflows the verse. The Centre Cannot Hold showed Woodcock as a less even, but more promising poet emea before general, his emphasis had been shifted towards the positive rather than the negative in content and treatment; a tendency very evident in the progression through these two books from orthodox pacifism to the anarchism implied by the second title. Imagine The South is representative of

contains some of his best poems. Reading through these three books, one feels, as in the case of other comparable poets, that Woodcock's frustration as an individual in a world hostile to the development of individuality (and therefore to poetry) has first forced him to retire behind his intellect and, secondly, has laid him open to a rebellion of the emotion thus suppressed. This process is reflected in his poetry, and while it has enabled him to achieve a greater power in his recent work it has also pressed him to the brink of horror expressed in The Centre Cannot Hold and to the pessimism very evident in nearly all the poems in Imagine The South. Woodcock writes with competence and his poems are memorable; an underlying sincerity gives individuality to the work. He has been jibed at by a reviewer who found his verse 'respectable', and it is true that these poems are not songs of hope or paeans of anarchy. But the main function of poetry is not to propagate a political or social view. Poetry s important less for what it says than for what it does: by stimulating the imagination it extends the personality of the reader; by setting up an internal order it challenges the chaos of the world. Every good poem, whatever its 'message', releases the anarchist in every

THE quantity of interesting literature coming from America has been mounting for some months past, and, since there is not always room to devote individual reviews to these books in a paper like Freedom. I have decided to devote these notes to a short selection of four recent interesting items from America, of which three, fortunately, are now available for English readers .

The first two books are rather massive anthologies of contemporary work from the other side of the Atlantic, published by the avant-garde house of New Directions and distributed here by Falcon Press. One is Spearhead, an anthology of American experimental writing over the past thirty years, the other is An Anthology of Latin-American Poetry, edited by Dudley Fitts.

Spearhead (21/-) contains work by all the famous American experimentalists-Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein, William Saroyan, William Carlos Williams, Henry Miller, etc., and many writers less familiar to English readers who are, however, well worth attention. Some of the more celebrated writers have worn badly with the passage of time: one wonders, for instance, why there was ever all the fuss about that most incompetent and banal of literary old dears, Gertrude Stein. Others, like William Carlos Williams, seem to have matured in flavour with the years, and the large slice of Henry Miller's early and-until now-banned book, The Tropic of Capricorn, still makes exciting reading.

An interesting point about this collection is the number of libertarian

Literary Notes AMERICAN LITERATURE

writers it contains, a sign of the interesting than Spearhead, since it amazing turn towards anarchism that has taken place among younger American writers in recent years. Apart from Henry Miller, whose recent statements have been pure anarchism, there is work by Kenneth Patchen, and by two declared anarchists, active in the movements in San Francisco and New York respectively, Kenneth Rexroth and Paul Goodman. The whole of Rexroth's excellent meditative poem, The Poenix and the Tortoise, is included, and this, to my mind, is one of the best poems that has been written in America in recent years. Paul Goodman is represented by three sketches satirising life under capitalist and authoritarian societies, of which The Commodity Embodied in Bread is particularly good.

Among the other interesting work in this collection, I have only space to draw attention to Georg Mann's very amusing anti-Communist allegory, Azeff Wischemeier-the Bolshevik Bureaucrat, which, although perhaps a little overdone in parts, is generally good and effective satire.

Anthology of Latin-American Poetry

The Anthology of Latin-American Poetry (21/-) is perhaps even more



opens up a field up to the present almost completely unknown to English readers, that of the fertile growth of poetry in the South American countries during recent years. The anthology contains the work of almost a hundred poets, from all the countries of Latin America, with both the original Spanish or Portuguese versions and translations which, in general, preserve an unusually high standard, as well as adequate biographical notes on the various poets. The impression one gets from these

poems is one of great vitality and richness. These poets have not neglected the European traditions, or the various experimental movements which have proceded in North America, England and France in recent years, but to these external influences they have joined a native character which makes their work really new and independent, while at the same time drawing what it needs from the older cultures. Out of this synthesis has sprung some really remarkable work, and writers like Pablo Neruda, Jorge Carrera Andrade, Conrade Nale Roxlo and Francisco Mendez, all in their different styles, are poets who deserve to stand with the best contemporary English or American poets. Sometimes, as in the case of Neruda, who has been rather taken in by Stalinist propaganda, they lapse into mere political ranting, but this should not allow us to ignore the merits of the better work, for Neruda himself has written also some remarkable works, such as his poem of loneliness, Walking

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

Freedom Press

A HANDBOOK ON HANGING

NATIONALISM & CULTURE	21/-
George Woodcock: ANARCHY OR CHAOS 2/6, O NEW LIFE TO THE LAND RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY	Cloth 4/6 6d
HOMES OR HOVELS?	6d
ANARCHISM AND MORALIT	
WHAT IS ANARCHISM?	Id
THE BASIS OF COMMUNAL	110
Peter Kropotkin.	NG I/
THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC RO	3d
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNME SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRIT	NT 3d
(Chosen by Herbert Read) C	loth 8/6
Errico Malatesta:	
ANARCHY VOTE WHAT FOR?	3d.
Herbert Read:	10.
THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCH	
Stiff C	over 2/6
THE EDUCATION OF FREE ME POETRY AND ANARCHISM C	N 1/-
William Godwin:	loth 5/-
SELECTIONS FROM POLITICA	1
JUSTICE	3d.
ON LAW	Id.
A. Ciliga:	
THE KRONDSTADT REVOLT	2d.
M. L. Berneri: WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA	A 1/-
C. Berneri:	
KROPOTKIN-HIS FEDERALIST	
IDEAS	2d.
Alexander Berkman: A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM	1/-
John Hewetson:	1/-
ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI	6d.
ILL-HEALTH, POVERTY AND TH	
STATE Cloth 2/6, PA	aper I/-
EVOLUTION	1/-
Gaston Leval:	
COLLECTIVES IN SPAIN	Id.
John Olday:	1/6
THE MARCH TO DEATH THE LIFE WE LIVE, THE DEATH	1/0
WE DIE	2/6
P. J. Proudhon:	
	loth 5/-
F. A. Ridley: THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHUI	RCH
AND THE MODERN AGE	2d.
"Equity":	DV -1
THE STRUGGLE IN THE FACTO	KY 3d.
THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT	6d.
110	

THE FRENCH COOKS SYNDICATE 3d.

27 Red Lion Street Holborn.WC1

TWO BOOKS ON WILLIAM MORI

WARRIOR BARD: The Life of William Morris, by Edward and Stepheni Godwin (Harrap, 8/6).

ART AND SOCIALISM. Essays and Lectures by William Morris. Selected by Holbrook Jackson (John Lehmann, 8/6).

"IT is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor overanxious. Turn that claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can, I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim; yet again I say if Society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed; discontent and strife and dishonesty would be ended. To feel that we were doing work useful to others and pleasant to ourselves, and that such work and its due reward could not fail us! What serious harm could happen to us then? And the price to be paid for so making the world happy is Revolution: Socialism instead of laissez faire.'

WILLIAM MORRIS spoke those hatred of the machine which in turn words to the Secular Society of Leicester sixty-four years ago at a time when the British Empire was at the height of its "glory" and expansionism, when British commerce was straddling the world and when art in Britain was at its lowest the dreadful tyranny it was imposing on sentimentality and vulgarity.

There are two mental approaches to an unhappy present. One can determine to work for a better future, or one can seek escape in resurrecting the past. It was extremely unfortunate in some ways that William Morris in his student days at Oxford came into contact with members of the Pre-Raphaelite movement in Art—a movement which was based upon the idea that "something went wrong" with art after Raphael and that the way to put it right was to return to the idiom and Romanticism of medieval art and start again from there. It was a retro-gressive and thoroughly decadent theory, and it is mildly astonishing to realize that this return to the past was going on in England (and labelled as revolutionary!) at the same time as, in France, the Impressionists were creating a real revolution in painting and being reviled for their efforts. While, sixty-four years ago, Morris's life-long friend, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, was making stained glass windows of angels in medieval dress, Vincent Van Gogh was entering his terrific mature period, creating the paintings which to-day glow in the hearts of

I say it was unfortunate, therefore, that Morris became tied up with the Pre-Raphaelites because they fostered his own innate romanticism and love for the Middle Ages at a time when he, like many another artist, was ripe for rebellion against the base commercialism of Victorian England. And it was this romanticism (together with his love for craftsmanship) which led him into his

provides the grounds for his detractors to-day, with the machine triumphant, to sneer at him as a failure, or as a cranky Utopian. It was not until he was nearly fifty that he entered the Socialist movement, when he gradually came to realise that the machine *could* be used for the benefit of mankind instead of perpetuating ebb, smothered in a welter of the shockingly exploited workers of his Morris's work itself had a profound in-

fluence on his time, however. A superb craftsman and designer himself, the firm he established (originally with Rossetti, Burne-Jones and others, later on his own) raised the standard of craftsmanship in textiles, wallpapers, furniture and floorcoverings, illumination and the art of book production, bringing back much of the strength and quality of medieval craftsmanship.

A POOR BIOGRAPHY

But this biography of Morris, Warrior Bard, does him no service. Written in a flowery, would-be poetic style that succeeds only in being irritating, it presents a mass of prettily-invented detail and description with very little solid fact. The two authors are themselves artists, live in Morris' house at Kelmscott, knew May Morris, William's second daughter and, it is obvious, on the question of Morris' life, cannot see the wood for the trees. In other words, they have accumulated much material on their subject, but have presented it in such a vague manner as to leave no real impression of the value of William Morris for us of to-day. And they are so politically naive that, although one can (magnanimously!) forgive their inaccurate references to the anarchists with whom Morris associated in the Socialist League and while editor of The Commonweal, it is impossible to stomach their reference to Ramsay MacDonald, who, they say, "realized that day his calling, and, throughout the long years of strife that were to follow for

by Morris on that hopeful day. That may be a detail, like their drag-

ging God in here and there, although Morris himself rejected religion, but it is all unhelpful to Morris in that the book builds up that impression of him which can only do him harm to-day. Instead of a portrait of a thoughtful revolutionary, a man in revolt against ugliness and realising that a social revolution is the only means of destroying ugliness; instead of a visionary looking forward, we are presented with a vague story of a romantic who never quite grows up, looking backward to the days of knights-atarms and maidens in distress. A story which plays into the hands of the smartalicks who cannot see the value of Morris's life and ideas.

A GOOD SELECTION

It was, therefore, with a sense of relief that I turned to the writings of William Morris himself, selected by Holbrook Jackson. Here in one volume are gathered together the most important of his essays and lectures on art and its relationship to work, and on socialism. A short Preface and Introduction are all that stand between the reader and the enjoyment of this good, sound commonsense of Morris. And the Introduction itself, by Holbrook Jackson is a sane, down-toearth assessment of Morris's position in regard to the conditions of to-day.

Possibly, as Mr. Jackson says, Morris may be remembered as a glorious failure. Certainly, the return to handicrafts he both desired and prophesied has not come to pass. Far from it; and possibly never will, even when the stupidity which is the cause and basis of much production to-day has vanished. But I cannot help feeling that it is not Morris and his life who failed, but all of us who have come after, and have still not been able to even check the rush to ever more slavish mechanisation. It is we who to-day are the slaves of the machine and of the machinery of government who are failing.

With regard to that, it is interesting to read how Morris says the Anarchists are impractical, and comes down on the side of the "practical" socialists. That was in What would he say in 1948? Would he look at the socialist states of the 20th century with satisfaction, finding them both practical and ideal? One can hardly think so, any more than he would find any connection between his conception of Communism then and what it stands for to-day!

This selection is worth having. Together with News from Nowhere, one would have a complete idea of the aspirations of this remarkable man. A child of his time, yet he represents what Victorianism hated—an artist, a lover of truth, a fighter for justice.

PHILIP SANSOM.

Anarchism & Eugenics

IT is perfectly fitting that M.A.P. of Ontario (Letters, Freedom, 7th Feb.) should find no serious consideration of eugenics in anarchist writings. It is true that man should be morally fit for liberty, and it is also true that his moral freest councils attained mercals by a fitness cannot be attained merely by a revolution on the social level of his existence, though many libertarians make the mistake of assuming this. But neither can it be attained by biological experimentation-and God forbid that anyone mentation—and God foreid that anyone should discover a means of selective breeding on a world scale! Any such activity, on however small a scale must be revolting to the anarchist.

By denying the efficacy of purely social teasures in the search for moral health, wish to imply that many anarchists tould find difficult to accept: i.e., that the problem is primarily a spiritual one. the problem is primarily a spiritual one. The materialist-atheist (spirit denying) approach makes difficult the necessary differentiation between freedom and liberty. Freedom is a primary reality, while liberty is a relative condition—relative, that is, to the loss of freedom. There is a widespread tendency to attach precisely the same meaning to each word, so that the use of either one or the other becomes merely a matter of presponal becomes merely a matter of personal

Liberty can be created, but not freedom—since freedom is the source of all creativeness. This, of course, implies that creativeness. This, of course, implies that the very fact that anything can be consciously created proves the primary existence of freedom. Man creates his own oppression, but it is because of a spiritual defect and not a biological one. Such a defect can only be corrected by a profound act of faith, the nature of which is essentially religious. It involves the realization by man of the true nature of his existence, which springs from creative

Religious Truth in Anarchism

This view is ably expressed by Nicolai Berdyaev—perhaps the greatest philo-sopher of true freedom in our age—and he asserts that there is religious truth in anarchism; a statement which is sup-ported by Herbert Read in his passage on religion in *The Philosophy of Anarchism*. By religion, neither Berdyaev nor Read mean the objectified systems which pass for religion in society. Merely to accept for religion in society. Merely to accept the reality of the spirit with its generative and regenerative power is to discover religious truth. I don't wish to imply that this acceptance is easy—nothing worth while is easy—but it does not depend on complicating theological and ecclesiastical systems.

Read, who styles himself "agnostic" is, in fact, profoundly religious in the above sense—and would surely admit it. The choice as he has shown in his fine essay "Political Power and Human Values between the acceptance of political

power-the evil illusion of sovereigntyand the acceptance of the power of the spirit—the eternal reality. It is on the second of these only that the liberty of mankind will follow, and it is the only true source of moral fitness.

The rôle of those who wish to liberate themselves and their brothers should first be to seek the realization of their poten-tialities for freedom and creativeness by tearing away the false projections of spirit by which all men are enslaved. And this is the end by which all their means should be judged.

It is not a rationalistic approach. Accepted theological and ecclesiastical systems are highly rationalized, and are often as much the enemies of true spirituality as are the intellectual champions of materialism and atheism. But on the other hand, there is no call to "animal faith"—but rather a call to total response; the response of the whole personality.

This alone is morally transforming.

In any case, surely the Canadian comrade can see that any system of eugenics would involve an authoritarian attitude; and even the largely depersonalized masses of to-day would not submit to anything so impersonal, and alien to human

ERIC THACKER.

The articles on this page are contributions from readers to our new monthly feature

Readers' Opinions

The Editors welcome discussion on the controversial questions raised for publication on this page in the Letters to the Editors feature which is published alternately with Readers' Opinions.

Letters should be limited if possible to a maximum of 350 words and articles to 700. May we remind comrades and readers that letters and articles need not necessarily deal with topics discussed in Freedom. Indeed, the aim of Readers' Opinions is to give space to articles on subjects not dealt with in Freedom and which readers may think deserve comment.

Send us your articles and letters now, and make this halfpage a lively commentary by Freedom's readers!

Crime and

IN the review of a Handbook on Hanging (Freedom, 7/2/48) it is suggested that people would not support capital punishment if they could visualize the mental suffering the subject undergoes. Surely it is precisely because 65% of the population do recognise their suffering, that they support capital numbers. that they support capital punishment. There are only three possible motives behind punishment: reform of the criminal, as a deterrent to others, and a gratification of our own sadism. The latter is the of our own sadism. The latter is the most common; the feeling is that "he ought to be punished"; while the deterring of others is really only a justification for of others is really only a justification for gratifying our own inherent sadism, which our conscience prevents us from doing in real life; although it does permit "phantasy expression", i.e., in dreams, etc. That leaves the reform of the criminal; the only rational motive of punishment, which is rarely successful in

The problem on the whole then, is not simple. It is not subjective, and not objective as is generally supposed. It is as if we recognise in the criminal some part of ourselves; we are slightly envious of him because he has "defied his considerate." We have hope appreciated the science". We, too, have experienced the same urge and are guilty of the same

Punishment

desires. We identfy ourselves with him; if the criminal is allowed to get away with it—so can we! Such a course, however, is contrary to our "ideal self" and here is the stumbling block. The mind does not differentiate between thought and action. Guilty thoughts bring forth a "need for punishment". The criminal must be punished as an example to our own ego—and the suffering he undergoes is felt by and the suffering he undergoes is felt by ourselves and used to atone for our own

guilty desires.

It is this "need for punishment" which underlies the whole problem of crime. Indeed, in the subtle psychological relationship existing between self and conscience, lurks the root of the social science, lurks the root of the social institution of punishment. A penal code which is based on such inner relationships is difficult to disrupt without altering the basic form of human behaviour. The key to the door of crime is, how-

The key to the door of crime is, however, provided, and if used wisely will open the way to a brighter future. Ironically, it is the "need for punishment" which follows a sense of guilt or sin. The offender should "pay" for the crime in reparation and thus eliminate his own sense of guilt and the sense of sin in others. Such a system should not be difficult to introduce and would do a difficult to introduce, and

COUNTER

AS legislation chokes liberty like a bindweed and civil servants multiply like maggots in a dungheap, even that poor animal, the lawabiding citizen, finds himself a desperate criminal. All the old idols remain and everywhere new shrines are under construction.

The rich and new-poor moan for the days of servants in caps and aprons and errand boys for orders at the back door. The workers for the most part are content to become zombies on the State's plantation. The trades unions play whore to the government, and the radio, newspapers and cinemas spew out their drugged vomit. Royalty plays its shabby pageant to divert the mobs, and "staunch old republicans" cheer in the illustrated weeklies.

It's no use beating your heads against brick walls, besides most of them are covered with bye-election posters. As centralisation increases, the individual is not certain of the existence of his own shadow. "They", the persecutors of Lear's characters, become omnipotent in conversation. "They say", "They tell us", They ask us" and soon "They kill us", "They allow us to live".

Are any weapons available? Let us utilize a savage humour. Against laughter there is no defence and nothing is too disgusting to feed the roots of this hardy plant. I see that in the remake of "The Three Musketeers" the villain is made a court official instead of a Cardinal, for fear of offending the Catholics. Excellent! A procession is called for coupled with a distribution of French postcards, withered violets and the bottled spume of dead carthorses.

This evening, sitting in the cinema, I watched a newsreel. Has this

great deal in the matter of reform. It would also pave the way for a more humane treatment of "defective citizen-ship", especially in conjunction with psychological treatment, without isolating the subject from society and destroying his trust in us.

HUGH MORGAN.

OFFENSIVE

official voice a body and does it make love to its wife? It has several intonations; one reserved for disasters, floods, earthquakes and the like, another applicable to the armed forces.. Royalty and the empire on which the sun never sets, another, playful and arch, for fashions and the 'world of sport", and yet another sarcastic and superior for such feeble activities as exhibitions of modern art. This is the voice of the enemy. Rally to the cry of "Long Live the Marx brothers!"

A man my father knows had a pig which he fattened for killing. Just before the official rations ceased, he applied to the slaughter factory. An official told him that they had to be given a fortnight's notice. But, said the man, in that fortnight my pig will starve. That could not be helped, he was told, no extra rations could be granted, that was a regulation. The pig could not be killed for a fortnight, that was another regulation. The man became angry. He threatened to bop the official on the nose. Officials do not like being bopped on the nose. He got the extra rations. Let everyone do a bit of bopping, or better still throw custard pies.

The enemy sit in restaurants trying to persuade the proprietors to give them illegal meals as a basis for prosecutions. The enemy try to buy clothing coupons, or to catch people chalking on walls. The enemy crawl like body-lice on this unfortunate four hundred square miles of land.

The primary needs of life are simple: food, clothing and a house. The shops are full of radiograms and pigskin cases for identity cards.

When will we have achieved our object? When the radio announcer's 'Ladies and Gentlemen, the Prime Minister" is greeted by a roar of laughter.

When is the offensive to be launched? To-morrow morning. The enemy is always in sight. Be pre-pared. You may even weep in your dreams to-night. It can do no real harm.

GEORGE MELLY.

WISHFUL THINKING

The film agreement makes the Government look ludicrous. First, they decide not to import U.S. films; then they reverse the decision—because the American film magnates disapprove. The people of this country could get some real benefit from the return of basic; but what benefit do we get from American films? Which would we prefer—basic petrol or celluloid drivel?

Letter to Evening Standard.

Since over 20,000,000 people in Britain go every week to the cinema there will be general satisfaction that the Anglo-American tax dispute has been settled and new films will soon be coming into the country again.

Listener, 18/3/48.

Fact: The Annual Abstract of Statistics gives the number of private cars with licences current in 1946 as 1,770,000, and cycles and tricycles 462,000, which goes to show that for the majority of people it's not a question of preference.

A DUCHESS' NEW CRUSADE

A new publishing company, Regency Publications, has been formed with a capital of £6,000.

Main figure behind it is the Duchess of Atholl. The company will publish books to combat Communism.

"As to the widespread fear of a Communist Spain . . . the extreme individualism of the Spanish character has been shown to be a strong safeguard against this, while the alleged Communist plot this, while the alleged Communist plot appears to have existed only in the brains of propagandists . . . She has intervened in the Spanish war only because she sees clearly the Fascist danger. Who are we, so much more immediately threatened than she is, to blame her for picking our chestnuts out of the fire?"

Duchess of Atholl in Searchlight on Spain (Penguin special, 1938).

What does the Duchess say now about events in Spain in 1938?

Through the Press

"DEMOCRATIC MONEY"

Lord Woolton announced to-day that the Conservative Party Fighting Fund has

five months after its

launching

MOSCOW 'MISQUOTES' FELLOW-TRAVELLER

Here is the text of a letter I have addressed to the Chief Correspondent of the Tass Agency in London:-

The Tribune, in its issue dated 5th March, 1948, has drawn attention to a passage from a Tass message from Bucharest. I have checked the reference, and although I find that Tribune correctly quotes Soviet Monitor, taken from Moscow Radio, there are two passages underlined by Tribune which do not represent what I said. The first is 'The Labour Government had done nothing to improve the conditions of life of the population.' The second that 'the living conditions of the working-class in

living conditions of the working-class in Britain are appalling."

"As to the first, what I said was that the Labour Government had done nothing which represented a major step towards Socialism of the character that inspires the people with enthusiasm..."

"Far from saying that our living conditions were appalling, I showed that they were higher than those of most people in Europe, but that they were gravely endangered by the foreign policy which our right-wing leaders were pursuing in our right-wing leaders were pursuing in our

"While I recognise that your agency can only report what appears in the Bucharest papers, I would be most grateful if you would draw attention to this correction if it is possible."

Mr. J. Platt-Mills in Tribune, 12/3/48.

ESSENTIAL PURPOSES

Mrs. Beatrice Wimbush, as Master of Quantock Staghounds, Taunton, Somerset, has been allotted 30 gallons of petrol a month for purposes connected with the

This was stated yesterday by Mr. Robens, Parliamentary Secretary to the Fuel Ministry.

The petrol is used in arranging for the collection of deer killed and noting any

damage caused, so it may be repaired. Daily Express, 17/3/48.

reached its target of £1,000,000. is good democratic money," he said, "not a political levy—and it has no qualifications or conditions attached to the acceptance of it. The money was sent in unreservedly by patriotically-minded people who believe that by so doing they could assist the nation in its present plight, and I intend to use the money for just that purpose."

Manchester Guardian, 18/3/48.

Before believing the "democratic money" story we would like to see a list of contributors of £1,000 or more.

THOU SHALT NOT COVET THY NEIGHBOUR'S HUSBAND

The view that nowadays the stealing of men by wives has taken the place of wife-stealing was expressed by Judge F. Raleigh Batt in Manchester Divorce

The subject came up when he granted limited costs of £25 against a corespondent who, it was urged, had "stolen" a wife while her husband was

overseas.
"This idea of stealing wives is out-of-date," the judge remarked. "It is 100 years old. Who steals wives these days? It is wives who steal men?"

News of the World, 14/3/48.

CANONIZATION

Mr. Chetty, Finance Minister of India, announced to-day that in the near future the Dominion's one-rupee notes [about ls. 6d.] would bear the effigy of Mr. Gandhi instead of the King's as they do now. Mr. Chetty said the rupee note was chosen because of its large circulation among the masses.

Daily Telegraph, 20/3/48.

"WHEN I WAS IN POONAH ...

The club of Western India, founded in the early forties of last century and one

of the oldest European clubs in India, is closing its doors shortly.

The club, with its residential buildings, is in Poona Cantonment, surrounded by 16 acres of grounds. To-day, only 15 residents remain out of the hundreds who used to make the Western India one of the centres of British social life in the country. The others have gone home, and the few who remain have booked

The club's assets, amounting to nearly £115,000, are to be disbursed among the 325 living members as far as they can be traced. Most of them live in England.

Evening Standard, 8/3/48.

MIGHT IS RIGHT

The world's biggest bomb, an unarmed 21-tonner, has been dropped by a super Fortress in a penetration test at Muroc, Callfornia, it was stated last night.

Daily Herald, 11/3/48.

THE RIGHT IDEA

They could not decide in Washington a-day, what to do about Mrs. Caroline

Mrs. Urie, a war widow, of Yellow Springs, Ohio, did what millions of other

Springs, Ohio, did what millions of other Americans did, and filled up her income tax return. But she sent a cheque for only 65.4 per cent. of the tax due.

In a covering letter to President Truman, she explained that she worked out that 34.6 per cent. of the taxes Washington demanded were earmarked for were supressed. for war purposes.
"As a Christian," she wrote, "I refuse

to contribute to war. If you want to send me to jail, all right. But I will never pay any more money for war."

any more money for war."

She enclosed receipts from four pacifist organisations for the sum she kept from the Government.

Daily Express, 16/3/48.

PENNY WISE . . .

Nurse Edith Fickling was shadowed by a police car on her rounds last week. The nurse, a Norwich Corporation midwife with 27 years' experience, said later: "The chief constable said the police were asked by the health committee to check my mileage."

check my mileage.
"I want to know why I have been singled out for this snooping. Nurses have been allowed 1½d, a mile for journeys in our own cars since Nov. 1st, but we were not told of this until Feb. 10th.

"My 2s. 6d. claim for 20 miles to visit various addresses has been checked by police who make the distance 13 miles, although they overlook the fact that I

have to visit some houses twice.
"The health committee is considering prosecuting me for claiming 11½d. too much. Other midwives say that if I am victimised they will withdraw their services with me.

"I shall lay my car up, and the corporation will have to provide transport when

apparatus is needed in the middle of the

Daily Express, 3/3/48.

... POUND FOOLISH

In the Government's official car services pool there are 625 cars. This figure is given me by the Ministry of Supply, who run the pool. The cars are available to all Government departments, headquarters and regional offices in Great

Britain and in Paris.

When the pool was established in June, 1946, there were about 450 cars; at that time it included only Ministry of Supply and Ministry of Aircraft Production cars; other Ministries have come in since. Latest figures put the staff of drivers and maintenance workers at 784.

Londoner's Diary, Evening Standard, 15/3/48.

PLAYING SOLDIERS

With red pins for Russia and blue pins for America, officers at Washington's War College have been fighting a war on their large manœuvre boards for three months. "Neither side is yet close enough to the other's vital targets to be able to hit them with an atom bomb," says Aviation Week.

Daily Express 17/2/448

Daily Express, 17/3/48.

Cenarchist Commentary By A. MELTZER

IS 'UNITY' POSSIBLE?

AN article in the Socialist Leader (20/3/48) raises again the question of unity of approach between Socialists, Pacifists and Anarchists. In "The Libertarian Approach—Hope of Mankind", J. H. Moorhouse urges "a common platform where speakers of the different groups would work together for freedom and for peace". He asks the I.L.P. to take the lead in "unifying the libertarian groups" and for "all people of libertarian convictions and leanings to realise their oneness and unity in this hour of necessity". From the article no-one can doubt Moorhouse's sincerity, even if we question some of his assumptions.

question some of his assumptions.

But reduce it to hard facts and it will be seen to be not so easy. It is easy to say that this is not the time for sectarianism, but "sectarianism" is based on convictions. The sincere elements in the I.L.P. and similar socialist groups cannot be expected to surrender their convictions for unity with pacifists and anarchists; Anarchists will not surrender theirs and support elections, etc.); many pacifists (religious as opposed to "political") will not support the industrial struggle. Most elements are genuinely "libertarian" insofar as they believe in freedom of thought for their opponents; likewise in maintaining liberty of speech and association and the rights of conscientious objectors even during war-time. Hence it would be a more realistic approach to say that they can work together "on a common platform" in the sphere of defending civil rights against the encroachment of the police state. The means for this already exists. Without surrendering our differences with Parliamentary Socialism, Anarchists agreed in war-time with Parliamentary Socialists to the extent of co-operating in resistance to arbitary authority.

In the Special Branch attack on the

In the Special Branch attack on the Trotskyists in Newcastle, socialists, pacifists and anarchists found common ground in protesting against the attack on free speech while recognising that the Trotskyists themselves were not convinced supporters of the decimal transfer kyists themselves were not convinced supporters of this doctrine. In the later attack on the Anarchists in London, it was recognised that a standing committee

meetings and Connouncements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

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

APRIL 4th
"Objections to Anarchism"
and Answers).

APRIL 11th "Nihilism"

NORTH EAST LONDON

7.30 p.m. APRIL 6th Alex Comfort
"Scientific Method in Political Thought"

APRIL 20th Sidney Hanson
"The Menace of Free Masonry (2)"

Comrades interested should ring WAN 2396.

WEST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETING
on Tuesday, April 6th at 7.30 p.m.
Tony Gibson on
"Education and Anarchism".
All welcome.
Any enquiries to:—

J. Brown,
211F, Guinness Bldgs., Hammersmith, W.6.

BIRMINGHAM

A meeting will be held on Sunday, 11th April, to consider the re-formation of the Birmingham Anarchist Group. All readers and comrades who are interested should communicate with:—S. E. Parker, 72, Coldbuth Road, Billesley, Birmingham, 4.

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.

OXFORD

Anyone interested in the formation of an Oxford Anarchist Group should get in touch with John Larkman, Ruskin College, Oxford.

was necessary. The National Council of Civil Liberties was too much under the influence of the Stalinists to consider defending anti-Stalinist minorities.

The Freedom Defence Committee has The Freedom Defence Committee has received support from precisely the elements Moorhouse calls on to form a "common platform". Surely the F.D.C. is such a platform insofar as it consists of the lowest common denominator between members of the left of the Labour Party, the I.L.P., P.P.U., Anarchists and many others without party labels but concerned to defend the freedom of the individual from the petty and greater restrictions imposed on him from above. This, I suggest, "should be our answer to party machines and totalitarian complexes".

STATE THEATRE?

THE Government is to seek powers to grant up to a million pounds on the establishment of a National Theatre. A site has long been prepared among the museums of South Kensington, but the plan is now that it should be built on the South Bank of the Thames. This follows fifty years of agitation by theatrical bodies and playwrights, for a State Theatre. How valuable will it be? That is to say, who is it intended for? Lillian Baylis built a theatre South of the Thames, which for generations was truly "national"—it brought the drama to the reach of thousands of Londoners who could not afford it. The Old Vic as she established it—with its absurdly low prices—was worthy of the heritage of Shakespeare. The blitz put an end to the generations of the Old Vic at Southwark.

The Old Vic exists in name insofar as a star-studded company plays under that name at the New Theatre in the West End. But it is difficult to distinguish the New Theatre company from any other West End company except that its policy is less comercial. Even this is debatable since there is obviously, from the attendance, a big demand for the plays they do present. But they can afford to take risks on Shakespeare and other playwrights the commercial managements would not, because they receive what is in effect State subsidy, for an exclusively West End audience.

Since the destruction of the Old Vic heatre, the experiment of a State

Theatre, insofar as it is represented by the present company, is not to my view, particularly encouraging. Why subsidise a theatre for West End playgoers? The genuine national theatre cannot be housed in a building in London. All over the country there is an equal demand for drama—this has been discovered by the experiments in war-time. The inevitable controllising trend of the State would come drama—this has been discovered by the experiments in war-time. The inevitable centralising trend of the State would coop up dramatic developments to a house in London. This is in large part true of the Shakespeare Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon. A better memorial to Shakespeare would have been to have taken the companies around the country. At present Shakespeare is idolised as a name and unknown as a playwright to the vast majority of the contemporary English public.

Instead of encouragement to the bricks-and stone of a State Theatre, presenting what a "distinguished committee of patrons" (bet your life) wishes to show those who can afford to come, it would be far better to give encouragement to the enthusiasts who have taken the theatre around to the mining towns and country villages—even into factories—and right away from the conventional few square miles of the centre of London or the few theatres elsewhere.

Dr. Jekyll & Mr. Hyde

even a prominent Communist from the Party would have received little attention from the Press. But Mr.
Hyde, 20 years a member of the
Party and eight years on the "Daily
Worker" executive, of which he was
News Editor, resigned just when Mr. Attlee had dropped the purge bomb-shell into Mr. Pollitt's lap. The result was that the B.B.C. took it up in the news bulletins and the Capitalist Press splashed it. But the "Daily Warker" was not going to get "Daily Worker" was not going to get excited. The cricket scoreboard was news and it went on the front page, with the equally exciting news of a "Submarine Crew's Dash for Pints," but Mr. Hyde who until a few days previously had been Editor was news no more, and he was given 3½ inches on page 3, alongside given 3½ inches on page 3, alongside an advertisement for a lavatory cleanser which guaranteed "clean and white" with "just a sprinkle overnight". That was on Friday, March 19th. But by Saturday, when Mr. Hyde had spilled the beans, the "Daily Worker", over the initials of its editor, William Rust, let Mr. Hyde have it on the front page. A man who had become "a tool of the Catholic reactionaries a long time, yet disguised his views from his colleagues Catholic reactionaries a long time, yet disguised his views from his colleagues on the Daily Worker had to be exposed! They gave him 5½ inches and this time a flag fluttered over his head. No, not the red flag, but another advertisement: "Flag Sauce—of course". Now, Mr. Rust, is a capable journalist. He knows how to present the news with the same party

twist as any Capitalist editor. There's nothing wrong in that: after all, that is successful journalism. But Mr. Rust can also use his pen with telling effect when it comes to exposing traitors, and he does not spare his punches where Mr. Hyde is concerned. He is called a "renegade", "this individual", "a tool", "a petty renegade", an "unclean thing" and has "turned turtle", "arouses disgust", is responsible for a "noxious incident"—all in 5½ inches. But the is responsible for a noxious in-cident"—all in 5½ inches. But the unkindest cut of all is when he is hurled at the Capitalist Press with the words: "It is welcome to him", in very much the same spirit as the early Christians were sacrificed to the hungry lions.

And all this fuss because Mr. Hyde

had abandoned the Red Church to join the Black International.

Press Fund

I5th—22nd March
B.A.O.R.: W.C. 1/11; Rosyth: V.W. 5/-;
New Earswick: H.A.A. 10/-; Withernsea:
J.M.D. 7/-; Glasgow: M.D.T. 1/-; Los
Angeles: R.B.G. 15/-; Yonkers, N.Y.: B.M.
2/-; London: N. £5/0/0; London: M.J.P.
1/6; Edgware: L.A.P. 9/-; London: G.G.
2/6; Newark: per "l'Adunata" * £22/10/0.

1948 TOTAL TO DATE ... £100 19 11

*Detroit, Mich.: L.L. \$2: Toronto: R.B. \$2.50: E. Boston, Mass.: Circolo Aurora \$12.73; Detroit, Mich.: Refrattari group social 17th Jan., \$72: Allentown, Pa.: W.S. \$2. Total \$91.23.



'VICIOUS CIRCLE

the sinister activities of the Russian "Gestapo", within and beyond its frontiers, is the first indication that they have learnt the lessons of Hitler's Mein Kampf. But let us examine their

A

Do they admit owing allegiance to Russia? Their position is explained in these terms: "But a Communist, says the Herald, may be the agent of a foreign Power, meaning by this the Soviet Union. This is an offensive way of saying that a Communist supports the first Socialist State in the world. Is this now to be made a crime?" In 1939, when the "first Socialist State" and Hitler's beasts (to use Daily Worker phraseology) were allies and Britain was at war with the latter, did the Stalinists support British or Russian policy? The Communists, then, by their declarations and by their actions have shown that their first loyalty is to Russia. We see no crime in this. (Obviously, we regret that they are unable to exercise the same powers of criticism in regard to Russia as they do in the cases of British and American Imperialism. They might then end by having no national loyalties!)

The Communists again seek to confuse the issue by declaring that their support of the "first Socialist State" is, to quote Mr. Gallacher, synonymous with "loyalty to the working-class and no other." Once more their record exposes the falseness of their claims. The "working-class" is an International class.

Those who support wars in which the workers of different countries are made to kill one another, are not loyal to the working-class. Do the Communists deny that not only did they support the slaughter of workers by workers during the late war but that they supported the slaughter only when the Soviet State was threatened? And is one not justified then in drawing the conclusion that the Communist leadership in every country of the world (including Russia) is prepared to sacrifice the workers for the defence and the extension of the Russian State?

WE return to the Daily Worker editorial. "If these papers—writes the D.W. referring to the Daily Mail and Herald—regard all purges as wrong, why do they hysterically support them in Britain when applied to Communists and oppose them abroad when applied to Fascists?" Admittedly there is an inconsistency in the Daily Mail and the Herald argument. But, since the Czech, Polish, Rumanian, Bulgarian and Hungarian Communist purges of their political enemies meets with loud approval in the British Communist Press, why do they object when the Labour Government proposes to purge the Civil Service in this country of Communists and Fascists? The Communists complain of the decision to victimise people who "come within the undefinable category" of "fellowtravellers". But is this term any more "undefinable" than the Communist term "fascist" as applied by them in Eastern European countries and in the Soviet fatherland itself?

They write of "the violation of human rights in Britain" as "a step

along the road that leads to the denial of all rights". And yet for months they have been urging the Home Secretary, both directly and through their fellow-travellers and stooge organisations such as the National Council of Civil Liberties, to introduce legislation against "fascists" in this country; legislation which (as readers can read for themselves elsewhere in this issue) if put into effect would give the government unlimited powers not only on the choice of its employees but on the most elementary human rights of opinion and expression in the whole country.

IT was necessary to analyse in some detail the various reactions to the proposed Government purge in order to draw our conclusions. It would not have been sufficient for us to declare simply that we are opposed to all infringements on the freedom of the individual. For in certain circumstances, the Home Secretary and the Prime Minister have also said this; and on the present issue both the Conservatives and Communists declare their concern for the sacred Rights of Man. It was necessary to show that "the security of the State demands the denial of justice" applies equally to Fascist and Communist, Tory and Socialist.—In a word, all those individuals and organisations who believe in the concept of the State (permanent or transitional) can have no real belief in Freedom and Justice. Anarchists have no loyalties to States. By definition and in fact, anarchism recognises no frontiers. Anarchists refuse to participate in wars which are ostensibly ideological but in fact are nationalistic, imperialistic or racial.

We declare now to the purgers

We declare now to the purgers of M.I.5 and their underlings of the Special Branch that as we refused to support the recent bloodbath, so we reaffirm our determination to resist the atomic tragedy of to-morrow.

Our loyaties are neither to Britain or America or Russia. Our allegiance is to those men and women who know no frontiers and who aspire to the liberation of humanity from the bonds of Statism and the spectre of war.

FREEDOM
Anarchist Fortnightly
Price 3d.
Postal Subscription Rates
6 months 4/6 (U.S.A. \$1)
12 months 8/6 (U.S.A.) \$2)
Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies,
6 months 7/6 (\$1.50)
12 months 15/- (\$3)

12 months 15/- (\$3)
All Chaques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers

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

Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1, and published by Freedom Press, London, W.C.1