Are You Spiv-Conscious?

press now prints the word remarkably to fill up forms, he evades conscription heated and personal controversy in the cussed figure; he has become, in fact House if he had

much in the limelight, and who lives, as the same old exploitation of his labour it were, on the fringe of everyone's con- plus the added dreariness of increasing sciousness? Some attempts have been regimentation by the State, is naturally made to define him, but such definitions coming to regard the spiv with envy and tend to be contradictory and, moreover, admiration. He too will act spivvy if he unable to explain the sudden appearance can; it seems the natural way of avoiding of the spiv as a public figure. The word the full weight of the State's exploitation 'spiv' itself is of dubious etymology. Ten of the individual. years ago it was a little-known word in In byegone capitalist society, few men cockney slang meaning nothing more than cared to or dared to avoid economic exa professional thief. To-day, who can ploitation of their labour by becoming say exactly what it symbolizes in the professional thieves, but under the new public mind? Figures which take a sud- economic and political system which is den and powerful hold on the general being ushered in, a great many people consciousness and imagination have a not are prepared to take the way of the spiv. inconsiderable significance.

The all-pervasive influence of the spivvy world was shown recently in an amusing instalment of "Jan's Journal" in the Evening Standard. Jan, the farmer, related how his bank manager (and local J.P.) pressed him to supply black-market milk, how a touring dealer invited him to sell eggs profitably but illegally, how the local police sergeant blackmailed him to supply black-market cream, and how when he unburdened his soul to the local vicar about all these many temptations to illegal profit, the man of God promptly outbid the egg-dealing spiv in an offer for the

The modern spiv, it seems, is not the humdrum thief in the old sense, but one who is seeking to profit by evading th numerous controls which affect our lives so closely to-day. Spivs work the black market, they deal in profitable goods in short supply, they manufacture and sell identity cards, discharge papers, etc., they run the various gambling rackets, and still continue the old lines of forging cheques picking pockets, raiding shops, etc. The spiv type has always been with us; it i only in these recent years of tighten State control, however, that he has becom an outstanding public figure. Respectable citizens like the banker and the clergyman find that they too are impelled to indulg in spivvy tactics when their personal

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UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS :

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Sunday Evening Lectures Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. at 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.I There will be NO meetings during the whole of August. Watch this column for the announcement of the re-commencement of the lectures with an entirely new series.

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### AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE

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In the last couple of years the spiv comfort is affected. The erstwhile thief, seems to have been steadily claiming the low and contemptible, is now becoming a public attention. Some reference to spivs figure to envy and emulate in his modern may now be heard daily on the lips of guise of the spiv. The spiv is unconthe most conventional people; the national cerned with controls, he does not bother frequently, and without inverted commas; he does not queue up at the labour exthe Prime Minister recently announced change, his clothes are colourful, his sex that part of H.M. government's future life is not austere, he holds in contempt drones and spivs". He did not define associated with "honest work" to-day. N either term-there might have been a wonder the spiv has become a much dispopular figure in the true sense of th What is this figure who has come so word. The man in the street, reacting to

Government and Trades Union dignitaries are well aware of this, and hence the drive against "drones and spivs" (which no-one imagines to include the bourgeoisie who live on unearned income). We have yet to have an Act of Parliament or a pronouncement of a High Court Judge to define just what a spiv is. Perhaps it is being left purposely vague in order that anyone the authorities dislike may be dubbed a spiv. Mr. John Sands, late of Scotland Yard

swift action is needed.

in the spivs to do a real day's work | ting off of the electric light. useless occupation.

sibly, a least-any criminal law, so that a number of Poles. the task of tracking and arresting them case of the crook." You do not need to break any law.

It would be a gross over-simplification to suggest that the Labour Government nearer the mark to say that the Labour bureaucratic control there is, the more the point of view, the spiv has some meri the spivvy way of life becomes an he is less willing to be used as a to

making various forms of 'fiddling' and destroying the system itself. black market dealing their real occupation.



SQUATTERS MOVE AGAIN

"big five" is clamouring for a veritable The squatter movement continued to and demonstrations, and seem to be is no doubt for the most part an excuse police carte blanche to stamp out the spiv. show sporadic signs of life which demon- determined to stand their ground. The for this eviction. In any case, by falling "I would have a routine notification autumn is by no means lost on the home- has been a certain amount of prejudice workers always do harm to their own of the local Labour exchanges, but I less. In Shropshire last week, for instance, against the Poles as such; clearly the Poles cause and play into the hands of the strongly advocate immediate police seven families moved into some of the fifty cannot help the fact that the authorities ruling class. It is not the Poles, but action at both ends of the enquiry and empty huts in the military camp at wish to evict the squatters, and the whole the authorities who should receive the una short circuiting of all official channels, Donnington, making their way through question of using the hostel for trainees diluted resistance of the squatters. for in the capture of the spiv 'time is | the fences when the sentries' backs were \_\_\_\_\_ of the essence of the contract'. They turned. Up to the time of writing, no ANARCHIST SUMMER SCHOOL are wily and elusive birds to catch, and attempt has been made to evict them; the soldiers have not interfered with them, An Anarchist Summer School will be held in Hampstead, "That, in my opinion, is the only and the only action taken by th London over the weekend of September 6th and 7th. A limited procedure likely to be effective in roping authorities against them has been the cutamount of accommodation will be available for comrades out of instead of their present worse-than- Meanwhile, at Bentley, near Doncaster London, but enquiries must be made IMMEDIATELY as time the authorities are attempting to evict . "For, remember, these people cannot squatters who occupy a hostel which the is already short. be run down and arrested as criminals. Ministry of Works are demanding for the A programme will be available on application to:-PIP WALKER. 5, Villas On The Heath, Hampstead, N.W.3.

They are careful not to break-osten- accommodation of pit trainees, including The County Court Judge has, naturally is very much more difficult than in the enough, decided in favour of the Crown, and ordered the squatters to leave within four weeks. The squatters, who in any case have nowhere else to go, are pre subjected to "tracking and arresting" by paring to resist the decision, and are calthe police simply because they say you | ling for help on the local trades union are one-so demands ex-superintendnt | rank-and-file. They have held meetings

has given rise to the spiv; it would be The writers of this article on Russia commented that the resistance of Government and the spiv are both sym- Russian workers is without any apparent toms of the same trend, the trend of ideological consciousness. That is to be increased direct State control. Many expected, and the same goes for our own people think that if the State succeeds in spiv type of individual's actions. The consolidating a real totalitarian grip over spiv is subversive in tendency, a practical the community, the spiv will be done for. enemy of the State, but without conscious This is a very mistaken idea; the more revolutionary will. From the anarchis avenue of escape to a large number of of the State machine than is the average 'honest' working man, but on the oth In a recent article entitled "New Forms hand he is not a dependable factor in of Resistance in Russia" (Freedom, building up direct revolutionary opposition. 3/5/47) the writers, Rainer and Cantine, It is our task, therefore, to see that our revealed some remarkable facts about the propaganda presents people with a pracdegree of 'fiddling' which the average tical alternative to mere 'spiving and fid-Russian worker engages in to-day to make dling when faced with the formidable life tolerable. The Russian State, having weight of State monopoly. The spiv quite brutally suppressed most of the usual rightly seeks to assure for himself comforms of working mens' defence and re- fort, personal freedom and a bit of fun; sistance, the workers were now forced to this he hopes to achieve by evading the resort to an oblique line of resistance, restrictions of a stupid, drab and hypoconstantly evading anything like hard critical system. The anarchist can ensure work for their exploiter, the State, and these natural rights for everyone, by

## DIFFERENT CRISIS!

have been hearing so much about lately. Every four or five weeks the Freedom Press state of perpetual crisis.

group holds a debate, not on the state of the nation, but on the state of Freedom Press, and we can assure you that it is a pretty depressing business to discover every time that we are rather more in debt than before. Depressing because it means like-and as we think you would like, too,

writers, no ideas, no enthusiasm, or no We are prepared to do all the work of J.W.F. 10/-. production-are you prepared to share a little of the cost and assist if possible with the distribution? If you distribute a few copies of FREEDOM, could you not have a little collection, say once a month among those readers? We are not asking much-

Press Fund

Anon 2/6; Putney: W.G.A. £1/0/0; Thornton to natural temperance even than unintel-Heath: L.H. 4/-: Bradford: N.N. 4/-: lectual sensuality; it strikes at the root of that our work cannot develop as we should E. Ham: E.P. 8d.; Blackpool: K.B. 4/3; all domestic happiness, and consigns more Anon 2/8; London: H.B. 5/-; London: E. & than half the human race to misery, that All this year we have produced only one D. 2/-; Catford: D.E.S. 2/6; Anon 2/6; some few may monopolize according to new booklet. Not because we have no Coventry: A.B. 8/6; Anon 5/-; London: law. A system could not well have been E.L.D. 2/-: Addlestone: C.S. 2/-: Vallejo, devised more studiously hostile to human ability; but because we have no money. Cal.: J.N. 5/-; Anon 2/-; Carlton, Victoria: happiness than marriage. \_\_\_\_\_ £4 11 1 Previously acknowledged £241 7 0

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1947 TOTAL TO DATE

How to deal with Bureaucrats! In England we are very conscious of delay.

rid themselves of this nuisance.

account in the New York Times, was The gendarmerie fished him out, almost afflicted with a tax collector who made drowned. a particular nuisance of himself:

across with the tax without further away."

SHELLEY ON

(Continued from page 7) tuous matron, who casts her as an appears, from the relation of parent to abortion from her undefiled bosom! child, that this union is generally of long. Society avenges herself on the criminals duration, and marked above all others with is two-fold. Young men, excluded by the be exempted from restraint. fanatical idea of chastity from the society In fact, religion and morality, as they Frank Leech tion to a different crisis from the one you the difference between our being able to ness. Their body and mind alike crumble mirror of nature! go ahead with that work, or being in a into a hideous wreck of humanity; idiocy and disease become perpetuated in their miserable offspring, and distant generations suffer from the bigoted morality of Anarchist Fortnightly their forefathers. Chastity is a monkish Gt. Yarmouth: L.F.B. 4/-: Anon 2/6: and evangelical superstition, a greater foe

### Abolish Marriage

<u> 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 16 17 18 19 </u>

\_\_\_\_\_ no means assert that the intercourse would

I conceive that from the abolition of \_\_\_\_\_ marriage, the fit and natural arrangement of sexual connection would result. I by

suffering from a plague of unwanted "A group of the persecuted compared civil servants. In other countries it is notes and determined on reprisals. They much the same, and at least one French constructed a strong wooden cage, intown has found the attentions of the serted the obnoxious collector into it, tax collector so irksome that its inhabi- attached a sign to the bars reading tants have resorted to direct action to "Wild Pig", rode him through town atop a hearse, and then dumped him, Chalons-sur-Saône, according to an cage and all, into the Saône River.

"The embattled citizens will be "He would ring up delinquents in the prosecuted for attempted murder. But middle of the night, badger them at their not one takes that seriously-any places of employment, write them scur- magistrate imposing sentence would rilous letters and, in several instances, probably get the same treatment. The threaten exposure of a citizen's extra- tax collector, who is slowly recovering, marital attachments if he didn't come will take up another profession-far, far

be promiscuous: on the contrary, it

MARRIAGE

of her own creation; she is employed in generosity and self-devotion. But this is anathemizing the vice to-day, which a subject which it is perhaps premature vesterday she was the most zealous to to discuss. That which will result from teach. Thus is formed one-tenth of the the abolition of marriage will be natural population of London: meanwhile the evil and right; because choice and change will

of modest and accomplished women, now stand, compose a practical code of associate with these vicious and miserable misery and servitude: the genius of beings, destroying thereby all those ex- human happiness must tear every leaf quisite and delicate sensibilities whose from the accursed book of God ere man' existence cold-hearted wordlings have can read the inscription on his heart. VOU ARE probably just as tired of the a few coppers REGULARLY from every denied; annihilating all genuine passion, How would morality, dressed up in stiff word "crisis" as we are, but we should reader who thinks that the work of and debasing that to a selfish feeling which stays and finery, start from her own dislike for a moment to draw your atten- Freedom Press is worth doing, will make all is the excess of generosity and devoted- gusting image should she look in the

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THE economic crisis has been officially declared open by govern- into paper and cardboard; in England ment representatives. The Prime Minister has made a pompous and uninformative speech, and parliament has departed for a long holiday, but not before passing the Supplies and Services (Transitional Powers) Bill, which once again vests in the ministers and the civil service all the powers of governing by decree which they possessed during the war. Once again an economic crisis has been used for the purpose of attacking the freedom of the workrs.

There is no doubt that a real crisis of under-production does exist in this country. There is also no doubt that, while it could have been prevented, and could still be surmounted by radical social measures, it could not have been prevented and can only be halted temporarily and partially by the kind of action which the government, or any other government, can take. British capitalism is, in fact, reaching a stage when crises will be come steadily more severe, and will, in addition be seized on with alacrity by the ruling class as means to consolidate their weakening hold over society.

The capitalist economy of an indus- methods of industrial and agricultural trial country like England depends on production had been used and if the export. At an early stage in the in- workers had been given an incentive dustrial revolution the home markets for to induce them to work with real industrial products became glutted. It enthusiasm. was then that the capitalist governments pursued a deliberate policy of making Britain dependent on foreign sources for foodstuffs and raw materials in order British farming presents the most that markets abroad could be created for amazing picture of deliberate under- armed forces, bureaucrats, financiers, industrial goods. Up to 1939, with production. If the intensive methods etc. The fact that the government ever-deepening crises, this arrangement used in such countries as Belgium and agreed only very reluctantly to a token continued to work.

### The "Dollar Crisis"

But the war, with the resultant rise of America to the highest position among war, although a larger area of land was which are inevitable in capitalism, and miners lay pinned inescapably under hunworld imperialisms and the industrialis- cultivated, these intensive methods which the ruling class choose quite dreds of tons of jagged rock, and seventy ation of semi-colonial countries like were not applied, so that our land still deliberately because an abundance of others sat on their haunches coughing their Argentine and Brazil, has destroyed the produces only a fraction of what it goods would defeat their own profit lives away in the poisoned air. markets for British capitalism. The bal- could. Not only is this the case, but motives. ance of exports and imports can no longer where too much food is actually pro- Another important element in the mining village of Whitehaven in Cumberbe maintained, and British capitalism has duced to suit the profit-making motives crisis has been the fact that there is land has known the terror of a pit become inevitably the debtor and poor of our present society, it is allowed to no real incentive to work with any en- disaster. For the fourth time the women relation of American imperialism. The waste. Examples have been the thusiasm. Of course, the workers are and children of miners have heard the so-called dollar crisis represents the vegetables ploughed in and fruit allowed apathetic and irresponsible; how can dread alarm and gone running to the pitsituation seen through capitalist eyes. to rot because a so-called "glut" pro- one expect them to be otherwise, when head to anxiously wait for news of their To continue its present system of ex- vides more food than the shops can sell state socialism gives them no more hope menfolk down below. ploitation and ownership, the ruling at the high prices they insist on of a better life than capitalism did beclass of England has to continue with charging. the pattern of financial and industrial Other examples of the way in which last. imperialism which it has always main- capitalism deliberately restricts protained. It is the only way in which duction can be found in the industrial it can keep its power, and in order to field. Capitalists, instead of installing adjust itself to the altered situation it new and efficient machinery into such is bound to impose steadily heavier establishments as textile mills, prefer to burdens on the workers.

concrete terms. As it affects the their profits by paying wages of someworkers, it consists of a chronic scarcity of food and consumption goods; its cause is a vast underproduction in this country, and a draining of essential machinery and other goods into the ex- could easily be turned over to manu- not provide these natural incentives to effort to save the men below. port market in order to maintain the capitalist economy.

In fact, there was no need for such a crisis ever to have arisen, if efficient In Holland surplus straw is turned government undefined rights over the

### Agricultural Efficiency

As we have always maintained, fertile land of Britain, the result would is clear indication of this. be ample food to provide abundantly The crisis has thus arisen out of for all the people. But even during the tendencies towards under-production the waters of the Solway Firth, thirty-four

work the old obsolete machines, in order But the crisis can also be seen in to avoid the expense of new, and to get times \$4 or less to their employees. Wartime factories, such as those for manufacturing magnesium out of seawater, and the nitrates factories which facturing fertilisers, are allowed to go work, they are trying to make up for derelict, because their use would con- them by the methods of force and flict with established chemical interests. starvation. The new Act gives the

five million tons of surplus straw, enough to supply our whole paper inuse in this way would interfere with existing arrangements. Patents of simple and efficient processes of production are bought up by the capitalists and not even used, for fear of interfering with the restricted production which gives scarcity value to their products. The Fiction of Manpower

## Scarcity

a million people in wholly futile em- for that purpose. unfair to attack the spivs. They are \_\_\_\_\_ merely the independent minority in this great mass of useless workers. The manpower crisis exists because it is necessary for the present system to have Holland had been applied to the equally reduction of 80,000 in the armed forces

fore it. As we pointed out in January

"Solidarity, interest in wrok, the capitalists, are totally lacking in work ever dangerous the work of rescue un- but a memory of a less enlightened past. to-day."

They Want The Power! As the ruling class cannot and will trapped men offered their lives in an

# INDIA-A CHANGE OF

have fought and suffered for this day, not fight and die for the clerico-feudalism

### Useless Words

In his speeches Pandit Nehru has championed the Indian masses. He declares that his government aims

workers of India."

THE transfer of power in India has from their backs? We have heard much Those sincere and genuine elements in I taken place, with pomp and pageantry, of the hauling down for the last time of India who really believe in the possibility saffron, white and green of India, and the people;-first the throwing off of foreign "colours of liberty"? The streets of Ireland and reflect on the shameful be-Delhi ring with the crv Jai Hind- trayal of the Irish working class. For Victory is Ours, but will it not be a we may be sure that James Connolly and hollow victory for those who for years Padraig Pearse and countless others did to find that they have exchanged sub- that is the only result of their sacrifices. ploitation under the nascent Indian or factory-worker whether his exploiters skin is white or brown--what does concern him is the fact of his exploitation.

### **No-one Mentions Them**

That is why, in this "historic moment "To bring freedom and opportunity to our thoughts and sympathies are not with the common man, peasants and the astute politicians of New Delhi, dividing up the spoils of effice, or with But Nehru's government depends on the "British Quislings" of Pakistan, the support of the Indian industrialists swearing the loyalty to 'George VI, his Emanuel Shinwell, had this to say of the whose interests are inevitably directly heirs and successor", but with the disaster: ". . , whenever you think of Thus is power transferred, but what opposed to such a policy, and since the poverty-striken and half-starved toilers in coal, remember there is blood on it. of direct action by primary producers of the Indian peasants and what of the first concern of every government is to the fields, baza: rs and factories, whose Whenever you are resentful about the to distribute necessities direct to where workers in the great industrial cities? Can perpetuate its own power, Nehru will find aspirations and whose interests are the miners because you think they are not they are needed without the help (?) they now feel that the country is theirs, an ever-greater pressure upon him to pay same as thos. of the "left-out and shut- pulling their weight, you must reflect on | of middlemen, and to prevent the inthroughout the world. their toil."

20

and a rather too self-conscious atmosphere the Union Jack and the hoisting of the of a "two-stage" liberation of the Indian of "being in the presence of history". Viscount Mountbatten, the Viceroy, be- green flag of Pakistan, but for the name- domination and, secondly, defeating native comes an earl and Governor General. less Indian masses will these prove the capitalism; should study the experience in Pandit Nehru's position is unchanged as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. Mr. Arthur Henderson, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India, doubles his salary and becomes Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs. But the highest slice of the political spoils goes to jection under British Imperialism for ex- It does not matter to the Indian peasant Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the Governor-General of the new Dominion of Pakistan capitalism? and President of its Constituent Assembly, which has given him the title "Quaid-e-Azan", while Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Pakistan Prime Minister referred to him as "the Ataturk or the Stalin of our States"-a remark the appropriateness of which depends upon your evaluation of these figures.

### No End to Poverty

starvation and ignorance will be lifted of his inaugural statement.

that the burdens of poverty, squalor, no more than lip-service to the high ideals out millio is of the weak and poor" the arduous and dangerous character of famous ploughing back of good food



in the House of Commons:

"We have no preconceived notion

being employed. It is significant that The end of this process will inevitably the really important cuts will be in food be war. It is significant that the armed imports, which affect the workers' stan- forces receive the slightest cut of all. dard of living, in timber, which will Capitalism and state socialism alike affect their chance of getting a new lead to scarcity and war. They prepare The man-power crisis is a complete house, and in films, which may well the death of the workers and make what fiction. In fact, there are 1,400,000 deprive them of one means of amuse- is left of their lives not worth living. idle men in the armed forces, more than ment-however inadequate it may be The only way out of this crisis and of

brokers, etc. It is unnecessary and out, those which led in Germany to the venience of the ruling class.

Causes Not Known—

Officially

doubtedly was, there was no lack of

went out. The fellow-workers of the

volunteers when the call for rescue workers

Lord Hyndley also arrived on the scene.

But The Men Will Know

and the officials to discover the cause of

know the cause, and they will probably

know what might have prevented it, just

as the men on the spot know the causes

of disputes and what might have prevented

them. But the men on the job have been

told to let nothing interfere with their

work, to sweat and slave as never before

to rescue the state from its economi

And they are told to believe that, even

if Lord Hyndley does get £8,500 (and

never risks his skin) and even if Sir

Ben Smith does go round the country

buying up mansions for N.C.B. officials,

still the miners must not question the

and working conditions. Even if the

bodies of 104 men are dragged out

through a 100-yard wall of broken rock,

while the noble lord flies to shake hands

with the rescuers, miners everywhere must

believe that equality of sacrifice is a prin-

tiple and a fact in our new Socialist

Shinwell's Hypocrisy

That other gallant arm-chair miner

disaster, one thing is

now. The men working on the spot

But however long it may take the experts

another disaster.

The Path To War

as to how we propose to utilise the But the Tories themselves would do no Bill, but what we want is the power." different, and, indeed, they may be the Indeed, they want the power! And inheritors and completers of the Labour dustry, is allowed to waste because its that power will be used, as has already Party's policy of totalitarianism. For been shown by the new Control of British capitalism to-day has reached Engagement Order, to tie the worker that stage of recession when it can only down to his job and prevent him be- exist by imposing steadily heavier burcoming a free and responsible being. dens on the workers, and enforcing these Similarly, the whip of necessity is by more and more violent repression.

the permanent crisis in which the ployments in the civil service and local The Tories, using the privilege of a workers of Britain are involved to-day. government, many hundreds of thou- party out of power, have for once lies in the ending of the systems that sands of people engaged in completely spoken the truth. The Labour Party need scarcity and conflict for their perunproductive and unnecessary work con- are indeed preparing the basis of a petuation, and the establishment of a nected with the financial system, totalitarian order. The measures they society where men will control their including bank clerks, insurance em- are taking are indeed, as Lord own lives and produce for their own ployees, middlemen of all kinds, stock- Vansittart and Churchill have pointed use rather than the profit or con-



In the blackness of the pit, deep under What hypocrisy! Does Shinwell think of that when he is reviling striking miners,

calling them, with his confederate Will · Lawther, "criminals, saboteurs, irresponsibles." etc.? For the fourth time in 37 years the

No, Shinwell sets the targets, but the miners pay the price, and we prefer the blunt challenge of our miner comrade Tom Carlile (Freedom, last issue) when he said: "Our lives are at stake; for our lives we will fight and strike!"

We do not go so far as to say that in the free society which is our goal, workers will never have accidents. But we do say that in that free society human lives will be valued more highly than profits and market economies, and that The causes of the terrific explosion in men and machines will not be worked sense of social responsibility, the the William pit, on Fiday, August 15th, beyond their capacities in an unequal and direct control of industry by the are not vet known. It is another fortnight frantic chase after superficialities. When workers, and all the other factors before the experts and the officials will workers control their own lives and work, that give men the feeling of working have made their inspections, after the pit and the welfare of each is the concern of for their own good rather than the has been made safe for them to venture all, the needless sacrifice of working profit of the state or of private down. But whatever the causes, and how- people-either in peace or war-will be

### Stop Press

### Direct Distribution HOUSEWIVES FIX OWN **PRICES** !

THE incident referred to briefly on page 3, of the grower who distributed his produce from a lorry at cheap rates, shows every promise of developing into something really important. He, and other growers in his locality, have banded themselves together into a Direct Trading Association. and have already established their own market in Crovdon.

There, they have the use of the areade of a large store, where they set up long stalls and started off by asking the housewives to fix what they thought was a fair price for the vegetables. This the women were not slow to do, and prices were agreed upon from one-third to two-thirds of the current prices in rightness of the State to order their lives | London shops.

Naturally, the stuff has sold, and the growers are making a fair profit. By afternoon that day, the stall was bare and overjoyed housewives were going home laden with fresh vegetables they would not have been able to afford at ordinary market prices.

At the moment of writing, it is indicated that not only these Sussex farmers, but growers in the Midlands and Suffolk are forming their own trading groups. It is a fine example for the sake of high prices.

23 1 24

# 8 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 18 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22





"If it had not been for these things I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have died unmarked, unknown, a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life can we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as now we do by accident. Our words-our lives-our painsnothing! The taking of our lives-lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-pedlar-all! That last moment belongs to us-that agony is our triumph."-Vanzetti's final statement.

The Red Scares of 1920. During 1919 and 1920, the United States Attorney General Mitchell Palmer carried out a carefully planned and publicized campaign for the wholesale arrests and deportation of "Reds". Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were deported to Russia under this campaign Its source was the fear excited by the Russian Revolution in the minds of the American ruling class. Among its effects was the legal murder of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, in the State of Massachusetts, one of the most con servative and diehard strongholds in the whole of America.

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The brutality and lawlessness of th Palmer raids on radical agitators, specially on anarchists and IWW literature. These untrue statements were militants, were authoritatively condemne by decisions of the United States courts which severely criticized the Department of Justice. The Attorney-General never ventured to contest these findings in the higher courts. Meanwhile, his department had achieved its aim in creating a hysterical middle class opinion which ensured that any man or woman of revolutionary opinions was unhesitating found guilty of any crime they were charged with, whatever the evidence On April 15th, 1920, two employees of the Slater and Morrill shoe factory were shot dead by two men in the main stree of South Braintree, Massachusetts, the wages money which they carried amounting to £3,000 odd, stolen. murderers escaped by a car. Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on May 5th and charged with the killing. The killing was

### Vanzetti On Sacco

obviously the work of a professional gang.

I have talk a great deal of myself but I even forgot to name Sacco. Sacco too is a worker from his boyhood, a skilled worker lover of work with a good job and pay, a bank account, a good and lovely wife, two beautiful children and a neat little home at the verge of a wood, near a brook. Sacco is a heart, a faith, a character, a man; a man lover of nature and of mankind. A man who gave all, who sacrifice all to the cause of Liberty and to his love for mankind; money, rest, mundain ambitions, his own wife, his children, himself and his own life. Sacco has never dreamt to steal, never to assassinate. He and I have never brought a morsel of bread to our mouths, from our childhood to today-which has not been gained by the sweat of our brows. Never. His people also are in good position and of good reputation.

some have put it, I am a better babbler than he is, but many, many times in hearing his heartful voice ringing a faith sublime, in considering his supreme sacrifice, remembering his heroism I felt small small at the presence of his greatness and found myself compelled to fight back from my eyes the tears, and quanch my heart trobling to my throat to not weep before him-this man called thief and assasin and doomed. But Sacco's name will live in the hearts of the people and in their gratitude when Katzmann's and yours bones and bias. will be dispersed by time, when your name, his name, your laws institutions, and your false god are but a DEEM REMEMORING OF A CURSED PAST IN WHICH MAN WAS WOLF TO THE MAN . . .

The two arrested men had never been associated with crooks and had a steady record of work. Sacco and Vanzetti were anarchists. The day before their arrest they had learned that a comrade of theirs, also an Italian, named Salsedo, who had been held for some days incommunicado by the New York police, had been found dead on the pavement outside the fourteenth floor offices of the Department of Justice. When they were arrested, they assumed that it was for being radicals, and they were not immediately told of the murder charge. Accordingly, they made certain untrue statements with the object of covering up certain of their comrades who

evidence of "consciousness of guilt". were the grounds for condemning them to death. They were electrocuted after 7 years in prison, on 22nd August, 1927. Framed

To explain these untrue statements. Sacco and Vanzetti's defence had to show that they were anarchists who were alarmed by the Palmer raids. Seizin this opportunity, the prosecuting con Katzmann, played on their revolution anti-militarist and atheist opinions for they were worth. The jury were specially selected by the sheriff's deputies from persons whom they deemed "representativ citizens", "substantial" and "intelligen in a word, middle-class and conservative The foreman of the jury, before the trial began, was heard to say, "Damn them, they're Reds: they ought to hang anyway, even if they're innocent."

The judge was Webster Thaver. During the agitation for a re-trial, reputable witnesses deposed that Thaver had declared to them privately, speaking of the anarchists, that he would "get them good and proper". After the verdict he said, "Did you see what I did to those anarchist bastards . . . ?" Of the defence counsel he said, "No long-haired anarchist from California is going to run this court." In his summing-up, he referred to Sacco and Vanzetti as "conscious of guilt as murderers or as slackers and radicals"-the term "slackers" referring t their evasion of military service during the 1914 war. Of Vanzetti, he said to the jury, "This man, although he may not have actually committed the crime attributed to him, is nevertheless morally culpable, because he is the enemy of our existing institutions."

The District Attorney, Katzmann, who prosecuted, made use of expert opinion favourable to the prisoners in such a way that it appeared damning to them. The expert involved, a police gun specialist named Proctor, subsequently Oh, yes, I may be more witfull, as publicly put on record his actual opinion and expressed his view that it virtually exculpated the two men. But when the Defence Committee sought to bring new evidence and challenge the false evidence by getting a new trial, the judge who heard the plea was . . . Judge Webster Thayer. He found no reason for a new trial.

When a Commission censured Thaver for his obvious bias and prejudice, this was made the basis of a new plea. But the judge who heard this new plea was . . . Judge Webster Thayer. He found that he had not shown prejudice

### Governor's Advisory Committee

Nevertheless, the miscarriage of justice, the manifest frame-up, was so obvious

dent Abbott Lawrence Lowell of Harvard before his execution on hearing that the Sacco and Vanzetti were executed!' Ad-University and President Samuel W. governor had rejected the last appeal: mittedly, that would have been horrible, Stratton of the Massachusetts Institute of "We are not surprised for this news be- but the truth is worse-the facts were Technology as "an advisory committee in cause we know the capitalist class hard known before the execution, were heard men denied the defence's demand for and fall as all the anarchist can fall. all to no avail." public hearings. They interviewed the It is up to you now, brothers, comrades! In retrospect there is yet another dreadpolice, 11 of the jurors, the District as I have tell you yesterday that you only ful aspect of this case which is more Attorney, Katzmann, and Judge Thayer can save us, because we have never had apparent now than in 1927. If the legal in private, without the presence of the defence counsel. They took no account of a confession by a Portuguese gangster named Madeiros that he had participated in the crime and that Sacco and Vanzetti had not, even though the defence were to show that the gang to which he belonged fitted every detail of the murder, while dozens of loose ends were left in the identification of Sacco and Vanzetti as the killers.

Of the Governor's "investigation" an American journalist said: "Governor Alvan T. Fuller never had any in-. . but to put a new and higher polish on the proceedings. The justice of the business was not his concern. He hoped to make it respectable. He called old men from high places to stand behind his chair so that he might seem to speak with all the authority of a high priest or a Pilate . . . If this is a lynching, least the fish-pedlar and his friend may unction to their souls that they will die at the hands of men in dinner-coats or academic gowns . . ."

Katzmann are the murder." John Dewey wrote of these men: And the class oppression that lay behind Without disrespect to the important activities which are identified with the this judicial murder was clearly stated by names of the men who formed the com- the Boston Herald after the executions. mittee, it is no exaggeration to say that "The chapter is closed. The die is cast. their place in the historic memory of man- The arrow has flown. Now let us go kind will be settled by the document they forward to the duties and responsibilities have written. And in justice to them, the of the common day with a renewed deterfuture will recognize that the document is mination to maintain our present system something more than a personal expres- of government and our existing social sion; that it is typical and symbolic, a order. representation of the state of mind that Value of "Democracy" must be widespread in the educated leaders After Sacco and Vanzetti had been of the American public in the third decade of the twentieth century." Dewey was murdered, Arthur Garfield Hays remarked, only saying in obscurer words what Sacco "'How horrible,' says the reader, 'that



IN expressing certain disagreements with to make confusion worse confounded. practicioners. For this reason I think my comrades of the editorial group, To begin with a subsidiary point, I fail that violence is such a danger to the I must point out that I do not regard to see how anarchism can stand if it revolutionary cause that we should disthese disagreements as in any way fails to recognise the fundamental card it as far as possible, and in no fundamental; they are differences of brotherhood of man. Certain individuals circumstances should indulge in the kind emphasis rather than principle; perhaps may violate that brotherhood, and then of romantic glorification of it which they arise from a slightly less rosy view it is necessary to act against them, as seems to tempt many revolutionaries. one would act against a man who enof past events. In general, while I found Herbert deavoured to murder one. But, just as Does Violence Succeed ? Read's discussion of the need for closer we do not accept the theory of punish-Personally, I think these dangers outattention to psychological and socio- ing the murderer or the necessity of weigh all the supposed advantages of logical research extremely important, I hating him, so, while it may be necesviolent action. For the pursuit of the agree with the main criticisms of his sary to act against the ruler or the class struggle the workers already have attitude, and particularly of his tendency capitalist, it should be only to deprive vast resources at their disposal in the to accept the growing strength of the him of his power to harm us. Once form of strikes, sabotage, etc., and their State, which, as has been pointed out, the tyrant is displaced and rendered true strength lies in the field of militant seems rather to show the signs of weak- harmless, he should be allowed the industrial struggle. It would not be ness than stability. On the other hand, same choice of realising his brotherdifficult to interpret revolutionary histhis very fact renders the task of edu- hood as any other man. Otherwise, by tory in such a way as to show that the cation all the more important, since, a logical process, our whole attitude toactual fighting on the barricades signalif, as we believe, the workers still have wards crime is destroyed, and we are ised a time when the revolution was althe necessary strength to overthrow the forced back on a new system of disready in decay. The great moment of State by militant direct action, it is crimination between man and man. the Paris Commune, for instance, was more than ever important that they when the fraternisation of the soldiers Violence should do so with the full consciousness with the populace took place. The inof the opportunities this destruction will On the question of violence, I do not troduction of fighting destroyed that open up to them. deny that there are occasions when brotherhood in an instant; the time of thre may be no way of stopping it the barricades coincided with the steady **Revolutionary Situation** taking place in a revolutionary situation; internal degeneration of the commune For this reason I think we should not there may even be occasions when in- into an authoritarian form. Similarly, expect too much from revolutionary dividual acts of violence are justifiable. the great moment of the Russian Revosituations as such. A working-class But it seems to me that the attitude lution was when the soldiers accepted may become sufficiently conscious of of my comrades shows too great a ten- the brotherhood of the workers; the its opportunities to throw off its present dency to accept violence, not as some- subsequent periods of violent action rulers, and sweep the slate clean. But thing that is occasionally unavoidable, coincided with the assumption of power a vacuum can attract evil as well as but as rather a virtue and a necessity. by an authoritarian party. The whole good, and, if I may be excused for My contention is that violence is history of the European resistance moveusing a Biblical analogy, the workers in never a virtue and rarely a necessity, ment during the war was a melancholy most historical revolutions have found and I think that its practice will always one; violence merely led to greater viothemselves like the madman from whom be a danger to the cause in which it lence on the heads of the people the a devil was cast out and seven other is used. We should never forget resisters were trying to free, and the devils, finding his mind clean and Bakunin's warning that violent revolu- only really important victories won by empty, promptly entered in. The tions are "always an evil, a monstrous the resistance were those produced by negative consciousness that precipitates evil and a great disaster, not only with the great strike movements of the a revolutionary situation is not suffi- regard to the victims, but also for the Danish and Dutch workers, which comcient. There has to be a positive cons- sake of the purity and the perfection pletely defeated the resources of the SS ciousness that is aware of all the pit- of the purpose in whose name they take and the Gestapo. The results of periods falls, that can distinguish the genuinely place." That is the warning of a man of prolonged civil war on the revolutionrevolutionary tendency from the who has too often and too easily been ary cause have been even more depresspurious revolutionism of political accepted as the prophet of violence for sing; in their "military" aspects even parties and careerists, and so far most its own sake. the Machnovist movement and the of the workers in times of revolution The connection between violence and Spanish revolution began over a long seem to have lacked that consciousness. power is an intimate one. Psycho- period of time to show symptoms of This applies even to the workers in the logically, the man who wields violence authoritiarian tendencies. We accept Spanish revolution who, in spite of long tends after a time to be corrupted by the axiom that "power corrupts"; the anarchist traditions, allowed themselves it in the same way as the man who corollary is that violence, which is ultito be taken in by specious contentions uses power; the brutalising effects of the mately a form of power, also corrupts. of the need for transitional government. constant use of violence were one of Therefore, while I acknowledge that at This is no counsel of despair; it is the most evident features of the resist- times there may be no means of premerely a reason for a completely realis- ance movements during the last war. venting it, and even that isolated acts tic attitude towards the collosal work A spontaneous burst of violence may be of violence, such as assassinations, may that will be involved in awakening a harmless; the kind of continued and have actually had good effects, violence really widespread revolutionary cons- organised violence which exists in pro- in general is too great a danger for our longed civil wars inevitably tends to own cause to justify any calm ciousness. that to meet general uneasiness Governor On the question of non-violence, I crystallise into inhuman shapes and to acceptance of it.

FREEDOM



### Vengeance of a Class

### Sacco To His Son

It is true, indeed, that they can execute the body, but they cannot execute the idea which is bound to live. And certainly, as long as this "But remember-always, Dante, in the play of happiness, don't use all for yourself only, but down yourself one step, at your side and help the weak over that cry for help, help the prosecuted and the victim, because they are your better friends: they are the comrades that fight and fall as your father and Bartolo fought and fell yesterday for the conquest and joy of freedom for all and the poor workers. In this struggle of life you will find more love and you will be loved.

faith in the governor for we have always know that the gov. Fuller, Thayer, and

consisting of Judge Robert Grant, Presi- wrote to his friends and comrades 18 days the truth should have been discovered after connection with the Governor's Investi- without any mercy the good soldiers of by Judge Thayer . . . were presented to gation of the Sacco-Vanzetti case". These the rivolution. We are proud for death the Supreme Court of Massachusetts . . .

> machinery had been twisted in a totalitarian country, that would be just part of the nature of the regime. But America is not regarded as a totalitarian country. It has a famous constitution, is one of the "freedom-loving nations", a defender of democracy. Yet in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the American ruling class sistem of things, the exploitation of manipulated all the "safeguards" of man on other man reign, will remain justice to the individual, and ruthlessly always the fight between those two extinguished these two anarchists after opposite classes, to-day and always. seven years of suspense. They did this without the obvious trappings of fascism. Such things are even more appalling in a "democracy".

> > And the powerlessness of a nonrevolutionary working-class in such a situation is also appalling. Almost 100 per cent. of the presidents and teachers in some women's colleges supported a petition in favour of the two men. Demonstrations, often of an almost violent character, took place all over Europe and America. Men of the eminence of Shaw, Einstein, Rolland cabled appeals to Governor Fuller. And 50,000 people followed the funeral at Boston's Hanover Street-to be charged by mounted police as it turned into Tremont Street, and dispersed. The "conscience of the world" was stirred, but the American ruling class carried on unperturbed with its calculated killing-just as it had done 40 years before in Chicago, or 10 years before with Mooney and Billings. As Sacco had maintained throughout, only direct action by a determined working-class could save them.

### Greatness Of The Men

To look back on the seven-year-long agony of these two men is a painful, an upsetting experience. It leaves one with a terrible sadness and also a great anger. (Continued on page 5)

# ANARCHISM: PAST & FUTURE

### The Editorial Minority's View

Alvan T. Fuller appointed a committee cannot help feeling that the reply tends produce power complexes among its

G.W.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22 23 1° 24

NE of the many degrading aspects of wage work under capitalism is that the vast majority of workers take their jobs for economic rather than vocational reasons. That is, that they have to take some kind of a job in order to live, without being able to make a choice or ever discover (in many cases) what occupation suits them best or what kind of work they find most interesting.

prise, when there were long dole to show the effects of putting square queues, the worker on leaving school pegs into round holes on the health of gravitated into some dead-end job where the workers concerned. he was welcomed because, being young, Between September, 1942 and he would be cheaper to employ than an December, 1944, three doctors of the older man. Reaching manhood, when Medical Research Council's Industrial he could claim man's pay, he would find Health Research Board surveyed a crosshis services "no longer required", when section of the British working-class, he would join the grey army of unem- mainly in the Birmingham engineering ployed. And then began the depressing, industry, but also checking one factory demoralising search for work-any kind in Liverpool and three in London, of being needed, of being useful, which each case. is the fount of the dignity of labour.

To-day, in spite of appearances, the situation is not so very different. Youngsters leaving school with the propect of being conscripted a few years later, before they have time to learn a trade-which make no difference as far as being called up is concernedcan hardly be expected to take a longterm view in choosing an occupation. They will take a job which will pay them most for the few years before their call-up and leave their future to the Labour Exchange. For with the new re-imposition of labour direction, very nearly all choice in occupation is going to be in the hands, not of the worker himself, but of the man behind the grill at the Labour Exchange, through whom all jobs will have to be obtained.

### The Results

There are plenty of arguments on questions of principle against both these influences against the workers' chances of full employment in occupations o their own choice. Leaving those aside

## In Brief

### **KEEP MOVIN'**

 $\Delta$  S a postscript to our recent article on the London Evening Standard may be of

"Mrs. A. M. Steavenson, a Cambridge taxi-fleet owner, starts radio-telephone control of her vehicles on Monday and plans thereby to carry more passengers despite the 10 per cent. cut in petrol allowance.

The taxis will not return to her head office, but will be diverted to fresh cus- "Remaking the Village Capitals of tomers through orders given over the air. "Mrs. Steavenson, who owns the 'Camtax' taxi service, said to-day:

### 'Camtax Calling'

"'After some difficulty the Post Office granted me a wavelength, and have allotted 'Camtax' to us as our call-sign. "'So on Monday, when 12 taxis go out fitted with radio-telephone, we shall calling No. 60. Go to such-and-such states : an address and pick up Mrs. Smith." "'The range of the transmitter is 1

"We have taught our drivers to use the sets. For the past week they have been trained in a taxi fitted with the first set'. No more cups of tea on the way back boys!

Meanwhile, the 10 per cent. petrol cut will affect the earnings of taxi driver. who haven't the advantages (?) of such an efficient organiser as Mrs. Steavense as their boss.

The cabmen claim that the cut mean that their cabs will have to stan in the garage three days a month. Present petrol allowance is 150 gallons, which will be reduced to 135. An attempt to obtain the exclusion of the cab trade from the cuts will possibly be made by the cab section of the T. & G.W.U Failure to prevent the cuts operating may result in increased fares to offset loss of working time.

### SUSPENDED FOR **WORKING OVERTIME !**

The T.U.C. are cooking up laws and itself, says Portsmouth, and the disharder and longer hours, the Hastings branch of the Bricklayers' Union has distinguished itself by suspending seven | the village community. bricklayers for working overtime!

We should like to think that this action | listeners that: is a deliberate resistance to the Government's more-work-for-less-return policy, but we know the Unions a bit better than

The men say: "We feel the union should allow us overtime during the summer months. It would give us some compensation for

the wages lost during the winter." Apart from that, the men are working

on new housing for the Hastings Corporation, and we should have thought housing was fairly urgent, but, of course the union knows best!

In the days of haphazard free enter- for now, evidence has now come to light

They found that ten per cent. (9.1 ten. per cent. of men, 13 per cent. of

Neurotic illness caused between a their best.

During the hardly remembered early days of the war, plans and blueprints, reports and recommendations for the bright future were as plentiful and as soon forgotten as New Year resolutions. In view of its long and disastrous neglect, agriculture was one of the most discussed and debated of these hobby-horses of morale-boosting publicists and guilt-striken politicians. A more intelligent, though unrealistic group of writers on country topics was that known as the "pioneers of rural reconstruction"-such people as Adrian Bell, H. J. Massingham, Lord Northbourne, Rolf Gardiner, Sir R. taxi drivers, the following quote from G. Stapleton and Lord Portsmouth. The last-named, who was the author of the prophetic pre-war book "Famine in England", gave two broadcast talks recently, the first of which analysed "the Anatomy of Rural Melancholy", while in the second, he discussed the task of England.

Lord Portsmouth first asks the question, "Why are some forty-two million people concentrated in cities, or what to Cobbett were the great wens of Britain?" He denies that depopulation was due to the reasons usually given: bad housing, low be saying over the transmitter: "Camtax | wages, and lack of amenities, and

> "The flight from the land is far more truly a flight to false values than anything else. I do not mean that all townsmen's values are false, but that our civilisation is sick because it has accepted wrong material and mechanistic standards and these, among other things, are depopulating the land. The skill, creativeness and responsibility involved in a job are not the criterion by which it is judged. The world, which wanted cheap food for the industrial millions all engaging in a war of exports, never cared to put right the wrongs of the countryman. It relied on his love of the land or his peasant ownership to make him work, and then exploit the land. At the same time denigrated all the things he stood

The fact that the one main rural A T a time when the Government and industry that survives is farm work directions to compel workers to work appearance of various village trades and crafts, have destroyed the basis of

In the second talk he reminded his

"from Anglo-Saxon times, it was the individual village, decentralised for nearly every purpose, that had so much to do in moulding institutions forming the English sense of independence and self-reliance; in deed this helped to give the Englishman his capacity in times of stress and disaster to work in close loyalty and self-help with his neighbour."

work due to illness.

their husbands showed 15.5 per cent. the abolition of money or individual In this report,\* which has only just profit as an incentive to work: "if there True for To-day been published, the doctors disclose that were no advantages to be got from each of their 3,000 "guinea-pig" sub- working and studying, everybody would iccts was examined twice over a period want to be a road-sweeper, or some of some months; firstly, for physical thing equally easily mastered, and strength and intelligence, and secondly, would not bother to study to become for psychiatric and physical upsets. In doctors or technicians." An argument the second examination the doctors patently absurd and part and parcel were assisted by trained social workers. of capitalist mentality.

Effect of Disliking Work **Domestic and Sexual Causes** The effect upon mental health of Domestic circumstances also had a having to do work which they actually strong bearing on neurosis. Among dislike is shown by the fact that of widowers, or those separated from their men who dislike their work, or found wives, "definite" nerve trouble was it boring, 18.3 per cent. had neurosis. commonest (18.8 per cent.); it was \*The Incidence of Neurosis Among Among men who like their work, the lowest among the normally married comparative figure was 7.4. For men (8 per cent.). Among married Office-1/-, of work-to give him back that feeling finding practically the same results in women also this was true, the corres- women carrying on full home duties it pondiing percentages being 21.3 and was 7.9 per cent., though the same group showed the highest rate Boredom and discontent were com- absenteeism.

women) suffered from definite and dis- monest where workers had more skill These are figures which illustrate abling neurotic illness, while a further and intelligence than they were called pretty definitely the healthy effect of a 20 per cent. (19.2 per cent. of men, upon to use, a fact which indicates stabilised sexual life, although in the 23 per cent. of women) suffered minor that workers are happiest when working cases of widowers and men living alone to their fullest capacity, or giving of they might have the added responsibility

> and deploring the disappearance of organic communal village life, went

community, and, therefore, in the He tended to contradict the remarks he made in the previous talk,

> DIRECT DISTRIBUTION

**COLLOWING** on what we had a say in 'Land Notes' in our last issue about ploughing in farm pro duce and the alternatives of direct distribution, we were very pleased to see this news item in the "News Chronicle" of 15th August: Cucumbers at 3d each and cab-

bages at 2d. a lb. were sold from a lorry at West Crovdon last night. The seller was Mr. J. F. Addison, East Grinstead, owner of 18 acres of market gardens.

"I expect I am contravening all sorts of regulations," he said, "but this stuff is due for the plough at the end of next week. This is the only way to get it to the public. "When I sent two tons of cucumbers to the market last week all they could offer was a shilling for a 56lb. box, and <sup>3</sup>d. for cabbage. Nearly all my beans had to be ploughed back

this season because I could get nothing for them. "To-day's expedition is an ex periment, but I think something of this kind is required from the

growers," he added. [Hear, hear!-Eds.] (See Page 1)

more amenities would be a factor in one of his prophets, William Cobbett: Arbitration Tribunal. repopulating country districts, by ad- "There is in the men calling them- He was suspended for alleged indisapproach to the whole problem. when he very sensibly observes that: cruel, the most unfeeling, the most In the opinion of the union, at whose Tennessee Valley merely by exploiting it for aluminum and phosphates. The rivers were harnessed to stop erosion and help navigation. disgrace the human shape." based on specialisation, but putting evolution.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 16 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60



out by medical opinion, for it refutes Widows or women living apart from one of the commonest arguments against

of fending for themselves in the home.



first things first and branching from them along every natural opening. The talk ended with a rather lame ". . . I don't agree with certain appeal for the lifting of death duties. that, as farmers, we ought simply a sense of social responsibility, like unofficial strikes. to mechanise to the nth degree and (one imagines) Lord Portsmouth himso produce a very high output per self; it would I think, be incorrect to man, leaving output per acre to merely to dismiss him as just another take care of itself. But this could diehard old aristocrat born a few only happen on about half our hundred years too late, even though acreage, even if it were possible; he is a onetime Tory M.P. and Chairthe rest is too steep, or wet, or man of the Central Landowners' Moreover, in the half that did rely view (witness the quotations above). on machines only, the village his attitude must be regarded as far Portsmouth's group of writers, including even that first-rate agricultura authority, Sir R. G. Stapleton, that they leave completely out of account the economic basis of society. neither plutocratic nor equalitarian' want more charity but not more property. In other words, they want basis is not yet clear. a better world with the same people at the top'

> others who worship a quite false and ortsmouth is an inveterate mediwhen, in his view "Countrymen of all agreed upon. classes were intensely conscious of their personal standing and individare, I sincerely believe, the most was dismissed.

so too were trees planted and It is a pity that such a perceptive farmers taught to farm to save the observer, and such an intelligent soil. But, because the approach farmer, so much of whose social was organic, the water power from criticism is valid and correct, should the harnessed river brought elec- be unable to free himself from the tricity to the farm and made local arrogant assumptions and traditionminerals available for conversion alist preoccupations of his class, which The point is that the Tennessee is doomed by its own folly, by Valley redemption scheme is not economic changes and by historical if they tip them for extra work. C.W.

Almost alone among social movements to-day do anarchists stress the importance to health and independence of a free sex life, and although there is nothing in this report advocating the freedom we demand, the figures do show that an insufficient home life is destructive of nervous health.

Although the survey was made in wartime, the doctors are of the opinion that their findings still hold good for the peace. Of course, they do. In fact, the disillusionment and disappointment spreading among all workers to-day could be calculated to increase neurosis and unhappiness.

Our future is dark and unsettled, our work monotonous and unsatisfying. The wonder is that neurotics are still in the minority!

Factory Workers, H.M. Stationery

## Catering Workers Strike

IN our last issue we drew attention to discontent in the catering industry and the threat of a week-end strike by Lyon's Corner House workers. On Saturday lunchtime a lightning strike was held by 1,000 Lyon's workers at the Cumberland Hotel, Marble Arch and the neighbouring Corner House.

At the Cumberland, the reason given for the stoppage was a threatened action by the management against the secretary of the workers' action committee, J. Hogarth, who is also the union representative on the job. He had been served with an injunction by the company to urban-minded theorists who think especially in the case of landlords with restrain him from inciting or organising

> The workers also claimed they had been promised a discussion on the question of tips, which had not taken place.

### No Warning

A strike at a meal-time, however, is always calculated to make a catering management jump to it, and the workers were only out about three hours before cut off into odd shapes for it. Association. From some points of the company agreed to withdraw the injunction. No warning had been given to the management of the workers' intention to strike. Indeed, the decision would have lost all hope of organic more enlightened than that of many was only taken a few minutes before they 'progressive' politicians. But the walked out, leaving the tables half-laid end become impossible to populate." real and fatal weakness of Lord and 720 hungry customers without their

### The Company's Offer

The Corner House strike was equally unexpected. The threat to strike given the week before had been withdrawn pending negotiations, but when the staff As G.V. said in these notes a year heard the Cumberland were out on ago: "they appear to be genuinely another issue they did not hesitate to unaware of the fact that under the join them. And although the company existing Capitalist-Imperialist set-up for £4 per week, excluding tips, on the had only agreed to consider their claim it is just not possible to have a pros- understanding that the strike threat was perous home agriculture". Or in the withdrawn, the strike probably had the words of George Orwell: they want a good effect of underlining the determin-"kind of moralised feudalism, a society ation of the workers. For only three days after the strike, an official of the National Union of General and Muni-They "are aware that laisser-faire pal Workers announced that waiters and capitalism is finished but are fright- waitresses at Lyon's Corner Houses had ened of the real alternatives. They been offered "floor money" varying from 15s. to 25s. a week according to the floor on which they were working. Whether justice-redistribution of income, for this is going to be accepted by the workers instance, but not a redistribution of on anything but a "to-be-going-on-with"

The dropping-off in tips following the report of the Catering Wages Commission on tips arose out of confusion over what Like Massingham, and like many class of establishment was to be affected by the new wage scales for catering idealised picture of the past, workers. These affected workers in unlicensed premises. Lyon's Corner Houses, of course, are licensed, and wage scales aevalist. He yearns for the days for this class of establishment are not yet

### their responsibilities and aware of FRANK PIAZZA AGAIN

THE case of Frank Piazza, the Savoy uality". But in his nostalgia for the Hotel waiter and shop steward, whose days of noblesse oblige and the res- suspension in March led to strikes in when he pooh-poohed the idea that pectful touching of caps, he forgets several London hotels, has been brought to the front again by the fact that he improved housing, higher wages and the picture drawn of his own class by has now won his case before the National

vocating all these things. Then fol- selves 'English country gentlemen' cipline, and was kept on the payroll withlows an appeal for an integral something superlatively base. They out working until only a few weeks ago,

"Life was not brought back to the brutally insolent; but I know, I can request the dispute was referred to arbiprove, I can safely take my oath. tration, the award in his favour obliges the Savoy to reinstate him in his old job. that they are the most base of all The Savoy management, however, have creatures that God ever suffered to shown themselves to be singularly unaffected by what the union thinks, and will most probably refuse to reinstate Piazza.

A little direct action will do the trick ....

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### **INCENTIVES ?**

Kent farmers have been warned by the County Agricultural Committee that prisoner-of-war lobour will be withdrawn Evening News, 6/8/47.



# REBIRTH OF REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM

noticeably declining, with the loss of the first to combat Stalinism in the pro- emancipation; the possibilities of as we fight against all tyranny, prestige of the Soviet Union in French letarian arena. It was a young metal- capitalist or imperialist intervention governing circles; organised labour is worker named Bois who led the Renault were reduced.

unionism.

climate has had its effect on the trade Federation to negotiate. union movement.

It would, however, be an obvious over-simplification to explain these tendencies solely in terms of internal or foreign politics. For working-class affairs have also influenced it.

All those minority groups which have continued to fight against Stalinist intrigue, in spite of the patriotic chorus, and the "Holy Alliance": have done so under the harsh imperatives of the class struggle.

### STALINIST BETRAYALS

We have previously mentioned the Livre strikes, those of the P.T.T. em- caution is needed in attempting to inployees, of the railwaymen and Renault terpret the real meaning of the differworkers. All these took place against ences of opinion within the trade union the will of the communist bosses of the movement. those who have remained faithful to the principles of independent militant unionism, of solidarity and of free expression at working-class meetings. But these strikes have clearly posed the problem before the eyes of a mas of wage-carners, duped by demagogy and Communist propaganda. More than the reviews and weeklies of the various minorities, the actual example of industrial struggles wittingly broken up and betrayed by the "Party of the People", will open their eyes. The minorities do not lack voices.

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They have not only the organ of the old federation, Force Ouvriere, strongly influenced by the socialists of the S.F.I.O., and destined to link all the supporters of a democratic trade union movement, but also L'Action Syndicalist, organ of the old minority of the Democratie Ouvrière; without taking into account the Cahiers C.E.T.E.S. circulated amongst tradeunion groups, other bulletins, periodicals and various more or less cphemera eaflets.

They all have one characteristic in common, an equal hatred of communist dictatorship, a common desire to break the Stalinist stranglehold of the C.G.T.

### "CASHING IN"

Imperialist influences (American and British) have made themselves felt in opposition circles. Thus, the U.S. diplomatic service, has a trade-unio attaché, closely connected with certain of the opposition leaders. The C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. have their delegates in Paris, plentifully supplied with instruction and funds As for General de Gaulle's Rassemblement du Peuple Francais, they too are busy trying to build up little circles of sympathisers within the big industrial unions.

freeing itself from Stalinist clutches. strike committee, which, thanks to the When the veteran strikers of the

### THE FRENCH C.N.T. The libertarian and anarche syndicalist forces had already started

the C.N.T. (Confédération Nationale du Travail), linking together all the main groups of workers, in the building trades, the metal, railway and food industries, etc. The successes won by independent

working-class action, without political support or external help have aroused great interest amongst the French bourgeoisie, the adherents of the "Marshall Plan", and the imperialist groups. That is why considerable

At the same time as Communict Nevertheiess, there are genuinely re- society of producers as the first aim of the union bureaucracy. influence in French political life is volutionary elements, which have been the whole movement for workers' We are anti-communist only insofar

Changed conditions, not entirely in solidarity of the foundry-workers, has P.T.T. decided to leave the official working-class affairs only, have favoured struck a resounding blow to the formid federation, where they no longer had the birth of an independent trade- able political-industrial apparatus of the the right to express themselves and C.P. It was the rank-and-file militants where they had to put up with officials The great swindle of Resistance who organised the postal-workers' strike, who preached class collaboration; we "Unity" has ended, both in people's despite the opposition of the Federation. could not but applaud. When the actions and in their mental attitudes. And it was a minority committee out- catering workers and Metro employees On the other hand, the "Western" re- side the union which started the first of Paris, disgusted with reformism and grouping favoured by the Marshall railway strike at Villeneuve Saint with the political trickery of the Plan, has resulted in an anti-Soviet line- Georges, which in turn brought out Stalinist bosses, started their own inup. The anti-communist political all the railway-workers, forcing the dependent unions, we supported them. But when we see certain reformis leaders, ousted from their union jobs by the Stalinists, dreaming of a govern mental or corporative unionism on the "Labour Front" pattern, and hoping to fool the workers into forming new reganisations on these lines, we must put the workers on guard against them. We must not put ourselves in position of defending, under the pre text of anti-Stalinism (which in France, as in America, is a magnet for all sorts of adventurers and would-be dictators), the "Christian" unions, reserved for trike-breakers, or company unions,

State syndicates.

The only safeguard, far more than all the statutes and rules and regulations, and maintained, through 40 years of workers was received by the Director of which are always open to juggling and struggle their intellectual honesty. And the Government Public Works Depart-C.G.T. The strikers have been de- But one thing is certain. When the evasion, is to keep up our activity in there is no greater solidarity than that ment at which the workers' demands were nounced as provocateurs, as agents of C.N.T. clearly defined its revolutionary the factories, dock-yards and offices, our of people who remain true to their ideal, again put forward and immediate Governthe trusts, as diversionists. Insults, position; unequivocally condemned all participation in all revolutionary move- those who are known as idiots by the ment intervention with the military threats and shady manoeuvres by the compromise with the State; called for ments, our patient work of education political careerists, because they will authorities requested. Stalinist bureaucrats have hampered direct action and declared for a free and enlightenment, our struggle against not capitulate.



d from a Dutch comrade of a conference held in Brussels at Whitsun to discuss the question of revolutionary sent its declaration of principles and working-class organization. The confer- French group sent its best wishes. ence was organized by the group of Dutch paper "Spartakus", advocating antitory communism. ress was invited to send a representative this conference, but was unable to do so. Our Dutch correspondent advocates Council Communism"; that is to say, the organization of revolutionary workers in committees ("councils" or "soviets", in the old sense), aiming at the taking over of the means of production by the workers themselves, and the total abolition of the wages system. In a covering letter he writes: "We go on slowly but surely in the cause of council-communism. We are convinced that much hard work and continued propaganda of an uncompromisingly revolutionary and non-party nature is necessary and that a labour movement does not grow up in a single night. We entirely concur in this opinion.-EDS.]

The object of this meeting was a disission of mass movements, the various problems which centre round this phenoand the possibilities of a better The discussions were attended stenbond Spartacus Holland, the Belgian Bordigist Party, the Belgian Union of Council-Socialists, Gauche Communiste de France, which publishe

What a Surprise for



The discussions were held in an atmosphere of good comradeship, though there was quite a range of opinions. The subjects overlapped and were not treated in a systematic manner. It was unfortunate that the constitution of the Belgian Union of Council-Socialists, which was rejected by all the other groups, was treated here as it took much precious time and hampered a regular discusion on far more important subjects. The points view diverged too much or were not suffi ciently co-ordinated to gain the desired result, so the conference did not lead to very concrete results.

Though the Anarchists were not represented, the chairman was one and he said articles. that we could not, at present, expect anything from the mass, but that there was The stand this old comrade takes is the clear that behind the difference in terms which, however well done, can never have there is also a lack of common opinion. the quality of the original. The Leninists of "Internationalisme" overthrow capitalism, but they could not Duce ary party is the necessary condition for revolutionary development. This point of Wilbert MacQueen were stopped by two have committed was released from prison view was given in a clever, thorough and

in a revolutionary direction. to our Argentine comrades languishing in ism, many contrary views were pressed. An insult to her would-be hosts here, political prisons, to know that Peron's A representative from Brussels thought it

who had prepared so much and swallowed ambassador-wife is too conscious of his as dead as a doornail, while others were of opinion that it was still going strong. MacQueen, has proved that the gun unlikely because it is stated that Senora It is unfortunately true that Eva may A Belgian Council-Socialist had little Harris carried could not have fired it, Peron's "postponement" of her visit may have a bit too much of the jitters; there confidence in the masses but wanted to cobe due to "hostile Press comment". We is not that much militancy in the workers operate with the middle-class in a plan have not seen much hostile comment in in this country these days; too many for socialism. He advocated free schools

fear of a hostile reception which obviously the cancellation of La Peron's visit will Spartacus wrote a pamphlet "The where large newspapers will be published many years, there must have been very would not have come from the upper crust give hope to that minority who are con- New World" for this occasion which was in press "palaces" within a stone's throw many men who were executed or who of business men and Labour peers who scious of the need for workers' solidarity also translated into French and will soon of each other, says Reuter. would have greeted her. It rather looks with the downtrodden in other countries. appear in English. Its central point is as if Eva Peron was afraid that being the Let us hope that it may be the forerunner the significance of the mass movement, wife of a dictator she might have had of a future when never more will London which was explained here in all its effects taken sites, and an evening paper plans cases in England in recent years in which a hostile reception from the working-class sit idly by while in its midst the gilded on the various aspects of class struggle. an up-to-date building-with an entrance men have been sentenced to death when scum of Society outvie each other to Le Proletaire joined our views. As a hall, capable of seating 300, dining rooms, some kind of doubt existed of their actual To her perhaps the "uncultured Anglo- entertain apologists for murder such as reconciliation of class-contrasts is impos- drugstore, hair-dressing shops, and a guilt to realise how enormously unjust,

sible, the aim of the masses will develop prayer site. M. accordingly.

the (Argentine) CENORA PERON will not, according Perkins, draymen who, recognising in interesting way. to the latest reports, visit us after all. London, the notorious Austrian General With regard to the spontaneous strikes After the Government decided to give her Haynau who had flogged Italian women they and the Bordigists were pessimistic what practically amounted to a State rebels, flogged him with their horsewhips; as they did not see in it a new course reception-the Cabinet to have met her, or the demonstrators in Trafalgar Square or a way in which the independent control the Queen to have received her, a long who scared the Tsar of Russia from of social life by the workers would ripen, programme mapped out for her by in- coming and at another time prevented the but merely an expression of international dustrialists and the like, Senora Peron an- Italian Anarchist Malatesta from being disorder without any guarantee of leading nounced that she would not visit England deported. after her friendly visits to Franco and the What an inspiring message this must be With regard to the situation of capital-

so many insults on her behalf? This is unpopularity to come to London. the Press, which has fawned upon her, would in ignorance even believe the fairy and universities so that proletarians could **COMPLETE** her reception in Spain; surely this means Lord Strabolgi. Still, let us hope that the social life.

Saxons" are still of the breed that last another Ribbentrop. century produced the Barelay and

### **OUR TASKS**



exploitation and dictatorship,

Otherwise, we would run the risk of being made use of by any Right-wing organisation, seeking for working-class cannon-fodder for a war against Russia.

That is why the anarchist groups must keep up a constant fight on two fronts, ceaselessly working to build up the political police.

theless happy to work side-by-side "de facto" basis. whenever possible, and in mutual esteem. There are not many revolutionaries who have kept their faith intact S. PARANE.

### TENSION RISING AMONG JEWISH AND ARAB WORKERS

FREEDOM

Following on a demonstration strike of 40,000 Jewish and Arab workers employed by the War Department in Palestine in protest against the non-recognition of their trade unions and against the conditions of employment, tension is again rising among the Jewish and Arab workers. Negotiations entered into between the General Federation of Jewish Labour, Arab Trade Unions and representatives of the War Department have resulted in deadlock, as the War Department representatives announced that they had no power to negotiate or come to any decision.

an independent revolutionary conscious- The facts of the case are that, after ness, looking neither to Moscow or to the outbreak of the war, when the military Washington, free from the deception of began to employ civilians on a large scale, capitalist "democracy", and from the a new sector of employment was created slave mentality of the technocrats and where thousands of Arabs and Jews worked together. From the very begin-Young forces are joining us and ing the Histadruth set out to promote neighbouring groups, matured by long co-operation between all War Department and hard experience, are linking up with employees and to further their common interests, and from the outset the em-Thus we greet with pleasure the re- ployees have made constant and repeated appearance of the syndicalist review, representations to the appropriate military La Révolution Prolétarienne, which rep- authorities. In spite of continuous repreresents the views of hundreds of septations these demands have not vet seasoned militants. We do not subscribe been fulfilled. Moreover, recognition for to what we consider to be the illusions | the Jewish and Arab trade unions in which of Pierre Monatte (the adversary of | War Department employees are organised, Malatesta's ideas at the Amsterdam has been consistently withheld, even Congress) on the rôle on the syndicate, though it is they who have conducted and its possibilities, but we are never- negotiations with the authorities on a

> Following the strike, a joint delegation of Jewish and Arab War Department

> Finally, last week, a joint delegation representing all organised War Department employees was received at the military headquarters in Jerusalem. In negotiations lasting a full day, the representatives presented their demands for basic rates of pay and other improved working conditions, since the conditions for War Department employees are far below those accepted and generally practised in industrial and Government

The struggle of the War Department unions, they want to form in- employees for their rights is noteworthy dependent strike-committees from the for the co-operation between Jews and rank-and-file. Greater clearness has to Arabs, not only as fellow-employees, but through their respective trade unions which, despite differences of a political nature, have jointly undertaken to bring about an improvement in the workers'

Jewish Labour News, 10/7/47.

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## The Socialist Party of Great Britain

The subjects for consideration were the present situation, new forms of class

struggle, task and organisation of the vanguard, the State, dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian democracy, and

The various groups agreed that classresistance against the employers, State, trade unions and social democratic and Stalinist parties is imperative. A they do not believe in revolutionising i come on this point as some are still satisfied when a committee declares itself to be such and is really a party formation of Trotskyists or other left groups.

A subsequent conference will be held conditions in Paris at Christmas. Some groups o invite only those tendencies which are against the imperialistic war, while Russia was looked upon as an imperialistic power. The difficulty was that the ruling classes often turn a civil wan imperialistic one if they have chance. For this reason no resolu was made, but at present all groups interested in the mass movement will invited, as this subject was far from being exhausted.

It was a pleasure for our bureau for international contact to meet several com rades whom we knew only by letters of

The time lost by translation aga proved how good it would be if mor still work for the militant individuals. workers learned Esperanto so that they could all follow the various speeches and

## The Fallacy of 'Justice'

policemen in Philadelphia, and shots were -his only compensation a suit of clothes exchanged between the two pairs of men, and ten dollars, less than half-a-crown a In the fray, MacQueen was killed, while year for his sufferings. Harris and one of the policemen were Apart from the intrinsic interest of the

the murder of MacQueen. The police of unjust imprisonment, this case offers evidence was piled up against him, and an interesting vindication of one of our the court brushed aside Harris's pleas of criticisms of State "justice". A fact innocence. He was sentenced to life which the law always fails to recognise

Star, 9/8/47. law is.

Twenty-one years ago an American and the man who had served 21 years'

case, and the kind of treatment which is Harris then found himself arraigned for meted out to a man after half a lifetime is that evidence is always suspect, and At last, after twenty-one years, a that a man can often have the most comfriendly lawyer, by securing an expert promising facts against him and yet be examination of the bullet that killed completely innocent of the crime of which he is accused.

It is merely another example of the impossibility of gaining justice through the law. Even if there were anything to be said for punishment, the impossibility of deciding with any real objectvity the merits of a case of this kind is such that for Cairo plans to have its "Fleet-street", one man who finds himself released after so served long terms of imprisonment for Plans are already taking shape. One crimes which they did not commit. One paper is in operation; two others have has only to consider the number of murder even according to its own standards, the

Can you sell a few copies among



a once active people is completely degenerating because of lack of food and are already being rebuilt out of material evidence, except among isolated indi- to Russia for forced labour. its consequences. Most of us know that salvaged from bombed sites. And, of viduals, of any positive rejection of Another interesting fact is that the could not keep it up. the Germans are under-nourished and course, as the wages are so pitifully small political leadership as such. The condi- Russians continue to use the underground The same applies to German industry. half-starved, but to have been amongst them and seen it is another story. I was prepared to believe that conditions were frightful, but not quite as bad as they actually are.

The majority of people live on a diet which we would not feed our animals with. Nearly every meal consists of some kind of brown mush, cereals or beans cooked in water. The fat and meat rations are so minute, that they contribute almost nothing. To feed in a restaurant a German has to give up fat, bread and cereal coupons, although his meal never contains a gram of fat, nor does he get any bread. A restaurant meal usually consists of stayed, which could accommodate twelve be the sufferers; that does not seem to ANIOTLICD ONIC boiled potatoes and one vegetable, such as carrots, turnips or brown beans. There is nothing else to be had, no bread, no meat, no fish, not even a cup of tea or

### The Food Shortage

how to manage, and many with whom I cellar, the British tommies had their own inspired militarist propaganda. talked said that they had been hungry dining room on the ground floor; but I for two or three years. And even to get was glad to see that they all cared little their miserable and totally inadequate about these regulations, and fraternised quantity of food entails whole days of admirably. On the whole the British effort, standing in endless queues, going private soldier is liked in Germany, but out to the country or carrying on barter the personnel of the Control Commission trade for tiny quantities of food which the civil administration, are hated by to us would not seem worth the trouble. British soldiers and German civilians alike. But many are far too weak even to leave their houses. In the streets one only sees the comparatively healthy. The really sick and the old are never seen; theirs is a fate of death by slow starvation.

Combined with this there is an almost complete lack of other consumption goods. Even the smallest items like cotton or shoe laces have enormous scarcity value, while new clothes have been almost unobtain able since the middle of the war. German people look surprisingly neat and clean, but their clothes are always old and mended in the most complicated manner The lack of good shoes is particular noticeable. I saw many women going bare-footed, and soon became consciou of the envy with which people noticed my own comparatively new shoes.

Of course, as usual, things can bought on the black market. But black market prices in Germany are not like those in France or England. The prices of foodstuffs have risen out of all proportion; a pound of butter costs 200 marks-the monthly wage of a skilled worker, a pound of coffee 500 marksabout 250 times its value in normal times Ten cigarettes cost between 60 and 90 marks-approximately £2-£3 in English This black market is carried on initially by occupation troops-British American, Belgian, Danish, Norwegian, etc., who for some reason are all in evidence in the British zone. But after this the goods are sold from German to German, and many of the young people follow no other occupation but buying and selling these black market goods all day long. The moral degeneration resulting from this kind of life is only too evident. Yet to be able to live every German has to indulge in some kind of black market

### German Youth

In fact, the question of German youth is a very critical one. What future they heads about politics, all we want is some close them down. Government measures



work for their living.

ment, as drivers, mechanics, cooks, porters, on this ground. going on all over Germany.

The Universities

## To return to the question of the Ger-

man youth. The manual workers are at a loose end, with no future before them, and the students and intellectual workers are in no better position. For instance, at Göttingen University only 8 to 10% of the applicants can be admitted study. The examinations are made particularly difficult, to avoid having too many students. The great problem her is again how to house and feed them. Göttingen used to have a population of 47,000 inhabitants; now there are 100,000 mostly refugees from the Russian zone. Furthermore, the British army school occupies 33% of the University lecture rooms. Then there is a drastic lack of during the war. On the whole study difficult that the young people give up in desperation. Despite the two student restaurants and the 4,500 meals which are served every day, under nourishment is so devastating that almost all the students are under weight, particularly the men; the average deficiency in weight is 10 to 15%, but in some cases it is as much as 30%. And medical evidence shows that 5 to 6% suffer from uberculosis; this means that the percentage among the workers is probably even higher

According to many Germans, the universities are still the strongholds of Nazism, or rather of militarism, although I was assured by the rector of Göttingen kind of social responsibility. cussion it often boiled down to the if his mills did not make at least 100

employed by the Allied military govern- countered little reason for undue optimism guess.

cleaners, etc. The British occupation Social conditions on the whole are so particularly difficult time. 90% of all transport. authorities, of course, much prefer to depressing that many people fall a prey goods produced have to handed over to employ these Germans, as their wages are to the tendency to put their hope in the Russians. This allocation is made at low, while economic insecurity and the another war. Over and over again I the beginning of the year, and has to be them often subservient. The British offi- not declare war soon on Russia, we shall cials positively enjoy themselves in the be completely lost." It was little use rôle of sahibs. At one hotel where I pointing out that any case they would e, but where usually only two or matter in the slightest, and many people, ANOTHER ONE ... three people stayed, there were employed workers and intellectuals alike, say they Gen. Dornberger, who during the war, thirteen Germans and five English would join up in a war against Russia, was in charge of German experiments on soldiers. This waste of manpower is although so many of the young men are rocket bombs, has been flown to the wounded and maimed (I was struck by United States from No. 1 P.o.W. Camp Officially, the German workers and the the number of crippled young men one at Island Farm, Bridgend. British soldiers were supposed to keep saw in the streets); in this mood they be-The town people simply do not know apart; the Germans had to eat in the come any easy prey to Anglo-American

### The Russian Zone

The Russian menace is a word in constant use by British and Germans alike; every day one hears new stories of terror and persecution, and people from the Russian zone continue to stream across the frontiers illegally into the British zone. Many of them prefer to start again with nothing rather than live in their homes. From many refugees to whom talked I got the impression that unless you are a Communist life is hardly worth it?

to filter through from Brazil, where at all; on the contrary, while it was changes of government have made no operation, the prices of clothes jumper alteration to the vast exploitation of the about 7%. The textile manufacturers workers and peasants. A recent report preferred to manufacture fewer goods in The Economist (9.8.47) backs these a higher price, in order to ensure their stories with some quite startling inform- profit, and merely sacked their employees ation about the actual conditions of living some 50,000 men being thrown out

According to this report, the standard f living of many of the Brazilian urban themselves poor is now little higher than that c verage German, while prices have risen to such a catastrophic height that it has come one of the most expensive counries for living in the world Food prices in the cities are now more have certainly risen, but not to nearly the flats.

before the war; clothes cost almost same proportion, and the gap between costs and wages is growing steadily.

### **Capitalist Greed**

Behind these figures lies an almo fantastic story of capitalist greed and incompetence. It was recently revealed by kind of politics. Unfortunately, this re- deputies in the Brazilian Congress that jection of politics is not of a positive kind, foodstuffs, imported duty-free from abroad but usually indicates a desire to evade any were being sold by speculators at a profit I came of no less than 500%! One Brazilian across it again and again, but after dis- textile manufacturer stated publicly that attitude: "We don't want to bother our profit on costs of production, he would

Middle East Notes (Liberating' Italian Colonies

desert known as Libya; with the excep- their plight as best they can, without on the route to which, lies Tobruk! tion of those who may know it as the being subject meantime to foreign last resting-place of their lost in the oppression. Eighth Army. And yet Libya, useless and unprofitable, is costing you a miltion pounds a year and will sooner or which "liberated" the Fezzan, is hold- wants trusteeship-either for herself or rebuilding agriculture and equipping raillater cost more lives, while, for the ing on to it; Britain which "liberated" the Arab League, Britain holds on, and privilege of looking after this waste of the rest of Libya, has divided it into even Russia has put in a claim. All for space, the Great Powers will soon be two parts, (to the indignation of the an arid desert and a backward populasnarling like dogs.

### EMPIRE OF SAND

gigantic triumph of colossal waste. Mohammed El-Senussi, that the Senussi less desert; it will also, in the course Money poured into Libya like "gold on people, who had suffered so much under of years, face an Arab rising. All the is increasing steadily, and the time is apsand" and there is nothing to show for Fascism, would never again be subjected political parties are anti-foreign. Anti- proaching when Brazil will accept an even it. It possesses nothing of value, ex- to Italian rule if they helped the Allies. foreign riots have been called by the greater economic dependence in the new cept Tobruk, which is a natural harbour, This is the sort of promise often made Kotla Party of Ali El-Fighi Hassan; the American empire. a lone port for a thousand miles of by Britain! It will probably be kept. Arab Liberation Committee is working Mediterranean, and for this strategic It would apply to Cyrenaica but not for independence in Cairo; the United spot the Great Powers are prepared to necessarily to Tripolitania). carry the burden of the rest of Libya. Meantime the British Military Ad- party, are turning more extreme. The occupying power has to look after ministration controls both these artifi- WHITE MAN'S BURDEN hold schools to "indoctrinate" the fortress. This is in spite of the fact

TEEDLESS to say, the average per- Arabs, who would, however, prefer to that we are supposed to be giving up son at home is not in the least see the whole lot clear out and leave "LIBERATION"

our Mediterranean interests in Palestine interested in the sandy, arid, trackless them to themselves to struggle out of and Egypt, and our interests in India-**OUEUE FOR THE SPOILS** 

in Tripoli. France wants to keep Fez- a quick return rather than concentrating The present situation is that France, zan (next to French Tunisia), Egypt | first on the more basic requirements of Libvan Arabs), Tripolitania and Cyren- tion which must be supported but would aica-no doubt with an eye on future prefer to do the job itself, at whatever sharing-out. (A wartime promise was suffering. Whichever power wins will the shadow of American economic im-Mussolini's former Empire was a made to the Grand Senussi, Sayed not only squander money on the thank- perialism. 60% of Brazilian imports come Nationalists, at present the dominant

the population, at present in the grip of cially created states at a terrific cost to You, who are doing without at home amply endowed with valuable natural prostarvation, and a recent Egyptian "Red the British tax-payer and consumer, and have taken over Mussolini's bank- ducts. But even in such a land the in-Crescent" Mission said that its mental who has to forego so much to "save" in rupt empire on the strength of your evitable tendencies of capitalism create starvation after years of Fascist Imper- view of the crisis, and yet sees what is sacrifices, will one day be asked to go a scarcity that is wholly artificial and ialism, was worse than its physical mal- saved, squandered on such enterprises over the sands on which so many British | could be remedied almost immediately by nutrition. Whichever Power gets Libya as this gigantic "white elephant", in soldiers perished, to see that these a rational social reconstruction. It would even over the horrors of their case, and will have to look after the Libyans; order to get, if possible, another Singa- "backward Arabs" do not prevent us be difficult to find a more terrible example needless to say they are all prepared to pore or Hong-Kong-another useless from wasting our money on them. of the complete inefficiency of the before the greatness of the human spirit. A. M. capitalist system.

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He is to assist American scientists. Dornberger had been at Bridgend

camp for only about three months. He was taken to Germany about three weeks ago to see his family and obtain cuments and files.

After returning to Bridgend to collect his luggage he was flown to America. He is understood to be receiving an dditional allowance from the American

Government for his collaboratio News Chronicle, 7/8/47. Some go to Russia, some to America.

Ah, well! That makes it fair, doesn't

Brazilian Exploitation



News of social unrest steadily continues cheaper domestic supplies, had no effect work in Sao Paulo alone, while retaining

other ways Brazil remains a speculator's paradise. Interest rates on loans pushed up to 15%, as against about 3% here, which means a larger share than ever for the capitalists. In Rio, where there is a desperate housing shortage andowners have pushed the price of sites up to £500 a square metre, making it impossible to build anything but luxur

### Food Shortage

This wild capitalist carnival has resulte not merely in a vast rise in prices, but also in a positive fall in the productio of food and other vital necessities. The opulation of Brazil has risen by more hat 10% between 1939 and 1944, bu he actual volume of food production has fallen by about 5%. In the mining areas and in the north-eastern districts there really bad food shortages, and malnutrition exists over large areas of the country. The shortage is due largely to the fact that, as in England, land workers are paid such miserable wages that they are forced to go into the slightly better aid industrial occupations, but there they become entrapped in a vicious circle, since the rising cost of living nullifies wages and is only aggravated by the shortage of land workers and consequent under-

proving wholly inadequate to convey food applies from areas where they are relatively abundant to those where they are needed. This again is due to capitalis greed-since money has been spent on The United States are also after bases | equipping factories which would provide ways and ports.

### **American Imperialism**

Meanwhile, behind the rapaciou activities of native capitalists, there stands from the U.S.A., the adverse trade balance

It is a grim story of greed and ruthless exploitation behind which we can discern the terrible sufferings of an oppressed people. Brazil is, potentially, a land of plenty. There are few countries more

LAVING just returned from a visit to normal occupations and crafts hardly power, and if the Germans continue in living there. The old concentration camps stock die or crops fail. This means often Germany, one cannot help feeling the exist any longer, because of lack of raw this way of thinking they will get a new used by the Nazis are still standing, and that the peasant has to buy milk and eggs tremendous waste of human activity; how materials and the destruction of factories Nazism. Naturally, they see democracy packed full, while many thousands of on the black market to make up his quota, and houses, although some of the latter as the farce it is, but I could see little Germans are regularly being spirited away and many have had to leave their farms and flee into the British zone because they

> and the black market provides a far tioning of generations has still a very factories built by the Nazis for manu- Most of the factories are being discasier source of income, many of the strong hold, and is encouraged by the facturing flying bombs, rockets and other mantled; the machines go to Russia, and younger people do not feel inclined to conditions of occupation, and, while the war material. These factories work 24 are completely useless by the time they only hope is that the German people will hours a day. Nobody knows what is being get there. Even railway trucks and tele-A considerable number of Germans are think and act for themselves, I en- produced, but one can make a reasonable graph cables have been taken up, so that almost all the railway lines work on single Under the Russians, the peasants have a tracks, with a consequent dislocation of

### End Occupation

Clearly, the only move that can make possibility of getting extra food renders heard, "If the Americans and British do fulfilled, no matter whether their live- any immediate effect on the German problem would be for the occupiers to get off the backs of the people and leave them to carry out their own reconstruction without the crippling burdens that are laid on them. This also is the only way in which the resurgence of Nazi ideas is likely to be halted.

But a great deal can be done if workers elsewhere will show their solidarity with the Germans. It is surprising how even the smallest act of friendship helps them to overcome their feeling of isolation. Food parcels, for instance, have a moral effect out of all proportion to their material value, and action on the part of the British people to demand an end to the occupation and the zoning system would undoubtedly help vastly to counteract the spreading of despairing doctrines of authority and war. INGEBORG WOODCOCK.

### Sacco and Vanzetti

(Continued from page 2) When Vanzetti was in the electric chair he said, "I wish to forgive some people for what they are now doing to me." He had been urged by his lawyer, W. G. Thompson, only a few hours before, to forgive all, and not to ask for any vengeance. Clearly, Vanzetti meant that he could not forgive Fuller, Thayer, Katzmann, and the cold-hearted old men of the governor's advisory committee. Nor can we forgive them. These men are damned forever, and properly so. Doubtless it is the operation of the system of society in which they held key positions which warped them from being feeling human beings into cold, vicarious hangmen. But men are first of all men, and only secondarily the products of society. That they forget their humanity and willingly assume the role of supporters of n unjust society is the reason for all the cruelty and pain and injustice in ociety, and they cannot be absolved from esponsibility. Such men make the violent cleavages in society inevitable; they are the true authors of the brutality of class struggle. This was surely what Vanzetti meant when he wrote:

"There is no spirit of sacrifice in this deed. I simply realize to be in merciless hands and do my utmost to say to my enemy that he is wrong.

"Authority, Power and Privelege would not last a day upon the face of the earth, were it not because those who possess them, and those who prostitute their army to their defence, to suppress, repress mercilessly and inescapably every efforts of liberation of each and all the rebels.

"The struggle for the liberty, between the oppressor and the oppressed, shall continue beyond the life, beyond the graves. I know what they have done and are doing to me and to thousands of others. rebels and lovers. And I know that they are and will always be ready to d against us. I know the millions of youth that they slandered, the virgins that they have torn in the breast; the millions of wives that they have widowed; the millions of bastards that they let to miasma in the gutter, or grown to fabricide. I know the old fathers and mothers whom they killed by breaking their hearts; and all the children that they starved and are starving to death; and the hospitals and the crazy houses filled of their victims, and the little criminals, victims, irresponsible and semi-compelled to crime that they mercilessly executed and entombed alive. They have never had pity . . . and they never will have it.

"Until not a man will be exploited or oppressed by another man, we will never bend the banner of freedom.

"I will ask for revenge . . . The only vengeance that could placate me is the realization of freedom, the great deliverance which would beneficiate all my friends as well as all my enemies . . . But till that, the struggle goes on, till we are breath to breath with the enemy, fighting with short arms, till then, to fight is our duty, our right, our necessity . . . Justice is suppressed with fire and iron, by the tyrants and their blackguards, and for iron and fire the liberation calls.

"This is war for plutocracy against liberty, against the people. "We die for Anarchy, long live

The pity, the humanity, the selflessness of these two workers in the end triumphs one's final feeling is one of exaltation

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sent to us by a German comrade who large coal shovels. While both comrades went to my neighbours to see what he himself underwent ten years' confinement in Nazi concentration camps for his anarchist opinions. For obvious reasons, as he is still in Germany, we cannot give his full name.

Twelve years ago the following report appeared in the official German press: "The social-democratic (sic) writer Erich Mühsam, known for his activities in connection with the Munich hostage murder, who was in custody, has ended his life by committing suicide.'

Those of us who knew Mühsam knew also that a vile murder had been committed. A few months later, we received a detailed report, which appeared in the illegal newspaper The Black Front, concerning the occurrences immediately pre- Mühsam!" been in custody in Germany knows what was meant by the official report "Committed Suicide".

### Mühsam's Death

I would like to reproduce an account given me by a friend of mine who shared Mühsam's imprisonment. He wrote:

"With Erich Mühsam I often talked and came to like him very much. In the prison of Sonnenberg he was never left alone. He had to live through dreadful days there; nearly every day he was beaten. One day Mühsam and the former deputy to the Berlin Diet, Kasper, had to dig their graves in the



### PRIMITIVE FOLK A BOOK AND A FILM A SOUTH SEA DIARY, by S. H.

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Powell. Peguins, 1/-. The Eskimos and the South Sea romantic thought on the part of Western Europeans; the Eskimo in his igloo is usually a slightly comic figure, the South Sea Islander a noble and enviable savage living in complete idleness while the coconuts and breadfruit drop down from the trees to feed him. Both views are completely wrong; nevertheless, the lives of the Eskimos and the Polynesians have a great deal to teach us, both sociologically and in the realm of the values of ordinary

### FROM OUR STOCK HOMAGE TO CATALONIA 10/6 George Orwell THE DISTRESSED MIND J. A. C. Brown EDUCATION Herbert Spencer SHORT HISTORY OF THE WORLD H. G. Wells EASY OUTLINE OF ASTRONOMY M. Davidson SELECTED WRITINGS Giuseppe Mazzini A WAR WITHIN A WAR (Poems) Herbert Read THE FIRST FREEDOM Morris L. Ernst POLITICS-Back Numbers. Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., 1946, 2/- each Jan., 1947 Mar.-Apr. and May-June, 2/6 each 1947 ANNALS OF THE ORGONE INSTITUTE Including articles by Wilhelm Reich, Walter Hoppe, Ilse Ollendorf, etc., reviews, notes, etc. Over 150 Orders can now be taken for the above at 10/- each. NOW-8 64 pages + 4 illustrations 2/-The following volumes of NOW are still available: 4, 5, 6, 7 each 2/-List of "Freedom" Publications, etc., on request. Please send all orders to FREEDOM BOOKSHOP 27, RED LION STREET

LONDON - W.C.I

This article on Erich Mühsam has been middle of the prison court-yard with official was not satisfied with this, and were being tortured in this way, we could find out. His success was nil, and other prisoners had to form a circle he had to be content with "A good friend round them. It nearly broke our hearts, of mine." With the picture and some One of our comrades said to the cruel books under his arm, he climbed with me S.A. bandits: 'You criminals, here is into the car, for a journey which was to my breast-shoot me. You are sadists end only in May, 1945. Mühsam played and not human beings.' This comrade a fateful role in my trial, and to-day I was immediately taken away. When am still grateful to the judge who recited Mühsam and Kasper had finished the Mühsam's poem, "Long live the noble digging they were told: 'We won't shoot warrior tribe!" If I say to-day that Erich you to-day; that death would be far too Mühsam's life was a deciding factor in easy.' After this occurrence Mühsam my own, I am not exaggerating. endeavoured to get a transfer from Sonnenberg. A short time afterwards why Mühsam preferred to remain in Gerhis death was reported in the press. many although he was already in posses-Tortured to the point of desperation, sion of a ticket for abroad. Erich hated and then a cowardly murder, this was nothing more than avoiding danger, when the fate of our comrade Erich his conscience opposed it.

> was a precious surprise for me when at Christmas, 1945, my wife gave me a picture of him. To avoid unnecessary danger I used to remove this picture from the wall in special circumstances and hide it behind the chest of drawers. But once, after the visit of my comrade Otto Schuster, who had come to see the picture, I got so annoyed at this game of hiding that I swore not to remove the picture any more. The next day my fate was sealed. The secret police arrived, and their first move was towards the picture. "Who is this?" was their first question. "A good friend of mine," I replied. The

book and the revival of a film that give some really honest attention to these matters are therefore to be welcomed as he was sentenced to a long term of hard

The author of A South Sea Diary went to Tahiti, and took a coconut plantation. Instead, however, of cultivating it with hired labour in the European way, he | in Mühsam. In Max Holz's fight for entered into a relationship with a liberty, in the campaign against the official native girl and lived in the Tahitian murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, everymanner, cultivating his own plantation and mixing freely with native society. As a result his book contains some very he stood in front. and the freedom of personal activity which is its charateristic feature.

The Tahitians are fortunate among the South Sea Islanders in having failed to succumb to any great extent to the influence of the missionaries. They are the history of a betraval, and then nominally Christian, but have not let it community of property within the family shrewd observations on the artificiality of impact on the peoples of the South Seas. He also draws an interesting comparison between South Sea Islanders, like the human intercourse. The reprinting of a Pitcairners, who really submitted to Christian dogma, and the Tahitians with their freer attitude. The Pitcairners, in reaction against their religion, develop a really pathological sexuality, while the sexual relations of the Tahitians are natural and unexaggerated.

NANOOK OF THE NORTH. London Pavilion.

More than a glimpse of a harsher and more primitive form of communal life is given by Flaherty's film, Nanook of the North, which has just been revived. Flaherty escaped from the sham backgrounds of Hollywood into the real frozen north, and went to live among the Eskimos, so as to record their real day to communist relationships which exist in the larger units of Eskimo society. But the amply, and one is left with an admiration -almost envy-for these people who can seem so much more contented with their simple life than the majority of prosperous civilised people and who manage with such scanty means to order their lives with such a specialized capability. G.W.

### Alec Craig: "THE VOICE OF MERLIN" The Fortune Press, 7/6. Alec Craig, better known for his books,

Altogether an agreeable volume.

Let us remember the usual criticisms ceding Mühsam's death. Whoever has Mühsam had won our hearts, and it of the bourgeois and even left-wing press about his person, which found expressi in the most contemptuous terms, such as "coffee-house philosopher" and "idea. anarchist". Not even with the report of his death did they honour the truth, but instead transformed him into a "socialdemocratic writer". A social democrat of all things-when he had poured out his scorn at them in his poem, "The revolutionary

We old comrades knew the circumstances that sealed his doom. The Munich hostage murder, of which Mühsam could not approve, was revenged on his person. As always, it was the tragedy of anarchist fighters to pay other people's bills.

under the amnesty.

ing the workers in the fight for socialism, illuminating observations on Tahitian life Whoever had the opportunity of hearing Mühsam speak will never forget the experience. At anti-militarist meetings he castigated most strongly the position of the social-democrats. Later, his plays appeared, first Judas

well-known play on Sacco and Vanzetti. Islanders alike have become subjects for interfere in any way with their rational In reading his magazine Fanal, one attitude towards life; they worry very learned to value the realism of his articles, little about marriage, and, if common and there was no problem he could not ownership as a whole has died away, tackle in a masterly fashion. One of his



Africa, where copies of the works of news that Lautreamont's Lay of Francois Rabelais, one of the classic Maldoror has been seized by the French authors, have been seized by police, while in America a large numthe customs authorities at Port ber of books are still intercepted by Elizabeth on grounds of indecency. the Customs or postal authorities.

and Pantagruel is, of course, one of this moralistic censorship has been the the most amusing books in literary recent action against Henry Miller history, as well as being a masterpiece in France, which at one time was of style, and the seventeenth century regarded as an example of tolerance English translation of Urguhart, which in a dark world. Now, however, the is probably the one that has been combined Communist and Catholic seized, has the rare distinction of puritanism has started a campaign day life. The result was one of the first being almost better than the original. of bigotry even there, and while documentary films; it is still one of the It had a very profound influence on Miller was tolerated so long as his cribing a real section of human life, Joyce in Ulysses and his subsequent works appeared in English only, their without sentimentality or padding. The work. But it has also a particular recent translation in French and the Eskimos are shown in their hard daily life interest for anarchists, and at the popularity they have achieved has of hunting, fishing, building snow huts, same time an added reason to be un- scared the authorities so much that in their own frozen land. Perhaps not sufficient attention is given to their actual popular with reactionaries, in that they are attempting to ban his works social organisation-the film is concerned Rabelais was an early libertarian in both languages. merely with one family, and we are told thinker. The motto of his philosophy Nor is the drive against literary nothing of the interestingly libertarian and was "Do what you will!", and in his freedom carried on wholly in the field little fantasy of the Abbey of of moral censorship. There is also regular tasks of obtaining food and shelter Theleme, he envisages a community a determined tendency to interfere in these miserable wastes is shown very of men without laws, based merely with the freedom of the critic. This on freedom and mutual trust, and puts has long been exercised in a veiled forward the fundamentally anarchist way by advertisers in various periodpoint of view that men are made vio- icals, but a more sinister gesture was lent and evil by force, and that if they that of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in trywere allowed to develop in freedom ing to interfere with a B.B.C. film they would naturally tend to live in critic's freedom of expression. In a peace and justice. government is, of course, merely part they have by no means thrown in the of a general campaign in many coun- sponge, as has been shown by their Sex and Revolution and The Banned Tries against any work that offends the lodging an appeal.

Books of England, here tells in verse form dictates of conventional morality. 'All these are signs of a tendency the story of Merlin. But he makes it also the story of Arthur, the legendary first Such Catholic countries as Ireland towards totalitarianism of expression king of a united Britain. In a highly have long had enormous lists of ban- as well as opinion. We are not far personal treatment of the theme, he con- ned books, taken from the papal off the "degenerate art" campaigns of trives to discuss matters of politics, of war, Index, while in England it was only the Nazis or the party-lining of art and of the relationship between the sexes, recently that Ulysses could be pub- by the Soviet authorities, when such which are extremely relevant to our own time. That this is intentional is indicated lished, in a suitably expensive edition, incidents take place. They should be by the author in his preface, and his and such books as Lawrence's Lady resisted by every possible attempt to treatment adds to the perennial interest Chatterley's Lover and Miller's Tropic enforce the freedom of the written and which is intrinsic to the legendary tale. of Cancer remain on the banned list spoken word, which is, after all, the I.H. | and have to be smuggled into the foundation of more concrete freedoms.



Many a comrade could not understand

### The Münich Rising

For taking part in the Munich rising, contributions to a balanced social outlook. | labour, of which he served more than four vears. Part of his sentence was remitted

The Red Aid had a valuable co-worker where, when it was a question of mobilis-

last works was The Liberation of Society from the State, in which, as a pupil of Gustav Landauer, he contributed valuably to the discussion of the problem of socialism and the state. In an article appeared a volume called Collections, which gave a valuable survey his literary and poetic works. Erich struggle for freedom and against the op- who are aimed at. pression and exploitation of the international proletariat. To work in his spirit should be our future task.

### **On Bravery**

I will conclude by quoting some Mühsam's own words on the subject "It is not he who is forced into

danger that is brave, nor he who runs towards danger wantonly, but only he who takes on himself because of his and the glory of an upright conscience danger for worldly honour is brave beconscience. Bravery is ruthless right- America. doing, it is unquestioning submission to self-recognised morals. Whoever obeys those which the world praises as heroic. To fight without the motive in one's courage with courage.

"The courage of death, which dares living or dying is it seemly to be brave, but for the sake of conscience and numanity.

world is pregnant with it-the time that of humanity.

W.R.

## FREEDOM

## THE FILM IMPORTS CUT

Perhaps the austerity cut in American films is not of great imcalled Bismarxism, he pointed out the portance. But the likely effects of devastating consequences of the Marxist it on British film production will serve dogmas. At his 50th birthday there to illustrate how the universality of capitalism makes any arbitrary move rebound almost as much against the Mühsam was a courageous fighter in the mover as against those competitors

It is inevitable that the American industry will retort by banning English films-closing their American market in fact. Now, I am informed by a worker in the industry that it costs about £300,000 to make an average film in England. About £200,000 are expected to be recouped in England; the remaining £100,000 is sought in the receipts beliefs what his conscience demands. from showings abroad—that is, in the Therefore do not praise dangerous deeds, Dominions and America. The loss will arise. The bravery of unconditional of the American market is therefore acknowledgement does not need any serious, and will result in attempts to danger, just as it will not allow itself | cut down the cost of film production. to be frightened by it. Whoever seeks But even then the home market will cause he fears the judgment of the not provide all the receipts to cover world. The truly brave man does not costs, some of which must still be fear any judgment but that of his own sought abroad—but still abroad minus

Then there is another serious disan external moral code, whoever follows ability. The British film industry commands which crush his own cons- cannot provide enough output of ciousness of good and evil, is not films to supply the needs of the brave, even if his deeds are equal to cinemas in the country. These will therefore look around for old filmsheart, only to avoid recriminations and in short-the quality (as the presentpunishment, is to be brave because of day picture-goer understands it) of cowardice, it is to shield the lack of cinema entertainment will go down. Thus box office receipts will fall, and everything even when there is no pros- since it is box office receipts which pect of saving life, has nothing to do provide the basic finance for the prowith bravery. Not for the sake of duction of films, the home industry will be proportionately crippled.

Thus the effect of the American "When the time comes-and it must film cuts will not be what the come, for it is dawning already and the optimists think-a great opportunity when the fight of the people is for difference of the foregoing moral values and their consciousness analysis is correct, it will mean a desupplies the weapons, only then can cline in the standard of film enterbravery come to its true recognition. tainment and a slackened interest in Because then it will be revealed that the fighting man is only brave when the the cinema. And it will demonstrate cause for which he fights is at the once more how tightly the meshes same time his own personal cause and of capitalism are drawn, and how little play is given to those who imagine they pull the strings.

## mechanical civilisation, and the corrupting power of money values, as shown in their impact on the peoples of the South Seas. CENSORS RUN WILD : Freedom Press THE latest news in the world-wide country by those who wish to read

morality drive comes from South them. From Australia comes the Rabelais's masterpiece, Gargantua Perhaps the most startling example of

recent libel action, arising out of this This action of the South African incident, M.G.M. lost their case, but

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### A Lost Cause ?

DEAR COMRADES, Enclosed my annual subscription for Freedom. It is the only paper that I Vichyist judges for reforms such as to subdue the involuntary affections entertain at the present time, yet I am holidays with pay and shorter hours in of our nature. Love is inevitably fully convinced that anarchism is a lost the face of German rearmament, by ask- consequent upon the perception of cause. There are two chief factors that definitely control and shape the lives of that France was on the verge of Revo-that France was on the verge of Revomankind, namely, "working-class ignor- lution in 1936 and the "Popular Front" straint: its very essence is liberty: it ance" and "upper-class power". There is measures successfully frustrated the revo- is compatible neither with obedience, not a revolutionary organisation in exist- lution more effectively than his accusers ence that can even hope to combat these could have done. two human forces. Governments are The logic of M. Blum in showing the pure, perfect, and unlimited, where its placed in power at one time, then kicked alternatives to the workers of social- votaries live in confidence, equality out of office by the ignorant masses who democracy or Anarchism-while it is a and unreserve. know not what they do, poor fools. I complete defence of his position from the have lived long enough to remember the point of view of the accusing bourgeoisie glorious promises of the socialists of 40 or the would-be left politician, is one that connection to last? What law ought years ago, and to witness the pitiable is most instructive to the politically cons-grovelling of the socialist leaders to cious worker who has the experience to to specify the extent of the grievances every wordly feeling! of the opinion that anarchism is unable, be most instructive if any of our French husband and wife ought to continue to eradicate these two great forces from comrades would compile some of M. so long united as they love each human procedure that the future gener- house between sheer political opportunism after the decay of their affection would game of life is a farce, yet most the other. fascinating and pitiable.

We do not agree with this pessimistic point of view, but welcome the comrade's letter because it indicates the magnitude of revolutionary tasks.—EDS.]

### Blum On The Socialist Dilemma

DEAR COMRADES,

to reject political action altogether and penned as a note to Section V of Queen admit the Anarchists were right-as Mab (1813). His thesis, "A system could quoted in the article from the Libertaire not well have been devised more studiously in the last issue of Freedom. M. Blum hostile to human happiness than marhas put the logical alternatives of social- riage", is as valid to-day as it was in democratic reformism or Anarchism in a Regency England and, later, in the ranks plain fashion before-I recall that at the of Owenite Socialists, whose lineal and (British) Labour Party Conference in 1940 spiritual descendents accept as sacrosanct he vigorously defended the French the institution most inimical to the Government's suppression of anti-war and diffusion of libertarian philosophy. "unofficial" movements, by pointing out that democracy was not the freedom to

### MARRIED BLISS : TIRED

Mrs. Katherine Franklin, 47, of Indianapolis, drenched her husband with petrol, threw a match at him, and stood aside as he died. "I got tired of arguing with him," she said. Mrs. Franklin's 10 children were also left homeless, for their father, in his struggles, set the house on fire.

### -AND SCARED

A special guard was put on a prisoner at Neuengamme internment camp who declared him an "upper SS group leader, defiant and unrepentant". Then it was discovered his "record" was false. He was hiding from his wife. Both from Evening Standard.

### LORD JOE ON HIGH

Marshal Stalin was present at an air pageant, held near Moscow yesterday in celebration of Russia's Aviation Day, says Moscow radio. Squadrons of planes spelled out "Stalin" in formation flight. Latest types of jet aircraft then took part in mock air battles, and the pageant ended with a mass parachute descent.

News Chronicle, 4/8/47.

### AN EXAMPLE

what he thinks people will fall for. and healthier.

of the country, he explained later, was too child. "pacific" to warrant any such candour. The Observer 3/8/47 But my doctor friend stressed that these MUCH?

### TRYING TO BE HELPFUL

Mr. N. Bower (Con., Harrow W.) said we should take a leaf from Russia's book With modern knowledge, he said, there Kolitch married a Russian girl while by trying to make available additional is no reason why a woman should not quantities of rationed goods at higher have an easy birth of her first baby when with the Canadian Embassy in 1944. FOR YOUR with the leaving for home he asked why he

People ought to be allowed to get such additional goods in this country if they market.

is not difficult to get clothes without up the average age of motherhood. leave the country. The duty of Russian told, has just been to Utrecht where he coupons if one is prepared to pay the price," Mr. Bower added.

within the precincts of the Palace of The simultaneous explosion of two of are of the wrong type to be examples of as a victory gift. it, where he can get almost unlimited inhabitable, Mr. Robert Hutchins, Chan- for the ease of other countries. prepared to pay the price. speech here. News Chronicle, 7/8/47.

that is anarchy".

Again, he silenced opposition from the Right at Riom, when, challenged by the

### Fraternally yours, K.A.B.

### Marriage

DEAR COMRADES.

In view of the unremitting and systematic toil of Clergy, Magistracy, and Sexologists (Reich and Hodann are notable exceptions) in the cause of Com-

Yours fraternally,

SHELLEY ON MARIAGE NOT even the intercourse of the much would the fetters of love be Persons of delicacy and virtue, unhappily do as one wished-"that is not democracy, ciplined wanderings of passion, to put reason, and, by appeals to the will, jealousy, nor fear: it is there most

> How long then ought the sexual most unworthy of toleration. How its benefits. There is nothing immoral in basis, each would be assured that habitual odious an usurpation of the right of this separation. Constancy has nothing ill-temper would terminate in separation, private judgment should that law be considered which should make the

the issue before socialists-either to com- pamphlet or article in Freedom the in- which suffers only insofar as it accepts promise and play the political game, or spired and radiant diatribe of Shelly the bugaboo of venereal disease which has been the moralist's great weapon since Columbus. However, we have no doubt that with the advantage of more recent knowledge on this question Shelley would have put it into its proper proportion and we therefore reproduce the whole of his essay on this page. In justice, however, it must be remarked that, if Shellev were inspired, it was by his friend Godwin, the influence of whose Political Justice is evident in every line of Queen Mab.-EDS.]

Through the Press

### ECONOMICS AND MOTHERHOOD

There is general agreement, I find, with Dr. Robert Sutherland, who has been telling health experts at Oxford that 20-25 is the ideal age for motherhood. Some doctors would lower the age to

18. This makes it all the more tragic that economic necessity means that most women have children nowadays after those age limits have been passed.

A Harley-street specialist told me to-day the reasons for estimating that age as the ideal time. It is not merely that bones are adult but supple and muscles are Go, if you're riders, get horses, cut more elastic.

From 18 to 25, he said, a woman's interest in the opposite sex is at its healthiest. She is toned up, feels and Go where a Lobby's a place for the looks at her best, is not exhausted by years of work in factory or home and, it seems to her, if ony subconsciously, the natural and desirable thing to have Go where to graft is the gardener's children.

This is ideal for the baby as well as Go where a racquet's no word of the mother. Babies born to youthful Candidate .- A politician who stands for bone formation and be generally happier

Evening Standard. An important point in their well-being, in your place. if only psychological, is that they are far At the election of 1935 he refrained more likely to have brothers and sisters. Go to-Anarchy, in fact! from putting the full rearmament pro- A first baby who arrived when his mother gramme before the electors. The temper is 35 is obviously more likely to be an only WHO TALKS TOO

> The Observer, 3/8/47. views are relative and general. The Andrei Vishinsky, Russia's Deputy Romans thought fifteen was the ideal age; Foreign Minister, has told George Kolitch, in Victorian times it was not unusual for former Canadian Military Attache in girls of sixteen or seventeen to have Russia, why Soviet wives cannot join children.

> > she is 35. Star, 6/8/47. When ica was not Canada.

could get them at present in the black economics conflicts with Nature. The marry.

### "Clothing coupons are offered for sale BIGGER AND BETTER

### GOOD ADVICE Out of our sight! We're depressed and

half killed with Your antics Oh vanish, the citizen begs. Go where a Board is something to build with.

sandwiches. the sea.

Go where the Commons are nice bits of end to all this. land, which is Open to all for a stroll after tea.

Go where the Whips in the stable are

sports-tackle, Go where Bill is a bloke or a countryman's blade.

disgrace, a sin, go

Observer, 27/7/47.

foreign husbands abroad. was not allowed to take his wife to INFORMATION

give a wrong impression of the Soviet Evening News, 6/8/47. Union." Evening Standard, 1/7/47. As if you cared!

20

sexes is exempt from the despot- heavier and more unendurable than united to one whom they find it impossible the object.

### Christian Morality

pleasure it confers, and partakes of the dangerous propensity. f more worth than its belief?

### Hypocrisy and Hatred

The present system of constraint does no more, in the majority of instances, than make hypocrites of open enemies.

ism of positive institution. Law those of friendship, as love is more life in unproductive efforts to appear pretends even to govern the indis- vehement and capricious, more de- otherwise than they are, for the sake of pendent on those delicate peculiarities the feelings of their partner or the welfare fetters on the clearest deductions of of imagination, and less capable of of their mutual offspring; those of less reduction to the ostensible merits of generosity and refinement openly avow their disappointment, and linger out the remnant of that union, which only death can dissolve, in a state of incurable bickering and hostility. The early edu-The state of society in which we exist cation of their children takes its colour is a mixture of feudal savageness and im- from the squabbles of the parents; they perfect civilization. The narrow and un- are nursed in a systematic school of illenlightened morality of the Christian humour, violence, and falsehood. Had religion is an aggravation of these evils. they been suffered to part at the moment It is not even until lately that mankind when indifference rendered their union have admitted that happiness is the sole irksome, they would have been spared end of the science of ethics, as of all many years of misery: they would have other sciences; and that the fanatical idea connected themselves more suitably, and of mortifying the flesh for the love of would have found that happiness in the God has been discarded. I have heard, society of more congenial partners which indeed, an ignorant collegian adduce, in is for ever denied them by the despotism favour of Christianity, its hostility to of marriage. They would have been separately useful and happy members of royalty, and to financial bosses. I am draw the obvious conclusions, and it would which should limit its duration? A But if happiness be the object of society, who, whilst united, were miserable morality, of all human unions and dis- and rendered misanthropical by misery. unions; if the worthiness of every action The conviction that wedlock is indissoluble the set-up of human ways of life. The Blum's statements of this nature showing other: any law which should bind pleasurable sensation it is calculated to to the perverse, they indulge with resformulated and consolidated highways of in private-that there is no half-way them to cohabitation for one moment produce, then the connection of the sexes traint in acrimony, and all the little is so long sacred as it contributes to the tyrannies of domestic life, when they know ations are predestined and condemned to and authoritarian social-democracy on the be a most intolerable tyranny, and the dissolved when its evils are greater than this connection were put on a rational dissolved when its evils are greater than this connection were put on a rational virtuous in itself, independently of the and would check this vicious and

temporizing spirit of vice in proportion Prostitution is the legitimate offspring ties of friendship indissoluble, in spite as it endures tamely moral defects of of marriage and its accompanying errors. of the caprices, the inconstancy, the magnitude in the object of its indiscreet Women, for no other crime than having choice. Love is free: to promise for ever followed the dictates of a natural appetite, fallibility, and capacity for improve- to love the same woman is not less are driven with fury from the comforts "Welfare" Workers, Professional Moralists ment of the human mind. And by so absurd than to promise to believe the same and sympathies of society. It is less venial creed: such a vow, in both cases, excludes than murder; and the punishment which us from all inquiry. The language of the is inflicted on her who destroys her I was interested to read the French pulsive Marriage, would it not be possible [We thank Comrade D.O., for reminding] votarist is this: The woman I now love child to escape reproach is lighter than Socialist leader Leon Blum's remarks on for Freedom Press to issue either as a us of this excellent attack on marriage, may be infinitely inferior to many others; the life of agony and disease to which the creed I now profess may be a mass the prostitute is irrevocably doomed. of errors and absurdities; but I exclude . Has a woman obeyed the impulse of unmyself from all future information as to erring nature;-society declares war the amiability of the one and the truth against her, pitiless and eternal war: she of the other, resolving blindly, and in must be the tame slave, she must make spite of conviction, to adhere to them. no reprisals; theirs is the right of perse-Is this the language of delicacy and cution, hers the duty of endurance. She reason? Is the love of such a frigid heart lives a life of infamy: the loud and bitter laugh of scorn scares her from all return. She dies of long and lingering disease: yet she is in fault, she is the criminal, she the forward and untamable child,and society, forsooth, the pure and vir-(Continued on page 8)

### WHAT HOPES?

"I must make the frank statement that I do not think there is a hope of getting them out," said Mr. Bevin in Parliament yesterday when asked about British wives n the Soviet Union.

He told Cmdr. J. F. W. Maitland (Con., Horncastle) that while the British Government had every sympathy with the wives the Government could not undertake to pay on their behalf the Soviet tax levied for childlessness, if indeed they were called upon to pay such a tax.

News Chronicle, 7/8/47. What hopes for peace if even such <sup>\*</sup> Donald Parry, the Cambridge cricketer an affair as this cannot be achieved?

## **REALLY NECESSARY ?**

Thirty men will walk 200 miles from Bishop's Stortford, Herts, to the shrine Agitated officials called him back and of Our Lady of Walsingham, Norfolk, explained that the promise was only a and back, next month, carrying an 8ft. cross of ash weighing 90lb.

Afterwards the cross will be erected in Bishop's Stortford as a memorial. Evening Standard, 25/7/47.

THAT WOMAN AGAIN Ten people have been detained for Alexandra Palace-home of television- questioning following incidents during you must wear a collar and tie, and you Senora Peron's tours here. A tomato was thrown at Senora Peron's car in mothers are more likely to have proper Where breaking a promise is still deemed Mr. F. Gomez, manager of Alexandra Berne and stones were thrown in Lucerne. Palace, told me that the idea was to keep To-day Senora Peron was going to St. And give us a month with just peace undesirable people out of the rink, and Moritz. Evening News, 6/8/47.

Although Eskimos live on fish and seal meat and never touch bread, the religious as old fashioned, and another as "being are obliged under pain of heresy, to ask Heaven each day for their "daily bread". To overcome this paradoxical situation the Vicar of Christ, Pope Pius XII, has issued a Papal Bull (Decree) for the benefit of Catholic Ekimos.

> In future when Eskimos recite their Reynold's News, 10/8/47. Pater Noster (The Lord's Prayer), they will ask for their "daily fish" instead of the mysterious "bread". News Review, 14/8/47.

### **VOTE FOR WHAT?**

About 6,000 negroes, expected to vote in to-morrow's Mississippi Democratic primary election, must, under a new State law, swear their disapproval of Federal anti-lynch laws and Federal laws helping them to vote.

About 12,000 negroes are registered to vote in Mississippi-which has more than 1,000,000 negroes.

Negroes in Mississippi voted for the first time in sizeable numbers last year. Some later testified that they were bullied after expressing a desire to cast their ballots. Evening Standard, 5/8/47. Ain't Democracy grand?

### JOKE OVER

It's an old Johannesburg custom to show the tourist looking at a gold mine, a brick of gold, worth perhaps £8,000, and tell him that if he can carry it away it is all his. Princess Elizabeth and the Go where a Sitting may lay a few eggs. king are among those who have made Take your White Papers to wrap up the the attempt unsuccessfully.

Go where the Piers run their heads in who all but played Rugby for England (he was reserve three times), has put an IS YOUR JOURNEY

He succeeded without any apparent difficulty in heaving a brick on to his shoulder and marching off with it.

Evening Standard, 5/8/47.

### MANNERS MAKYTH SKATERS

If you want to go roller-skating at cannot skate in your shirt sleeves.

also to preserve a certain amount of ACCOMMODATING But some male skaters to whom I spoke

had other ideas! One described the rule extremely silly, because skating is hot

Mr. Gomez intends to keep up the ban and told me there is nothing unusual about it. "Lots of dance halls have similar rules," he says.

One break with tradition which we shall Vishinsky replied: "We have no racial see at the royal wedding is the bridal were prepared to pay for them, for they Not the only way in which Capitalist prejudice as to whom our women may coach drawn by six dapple-greys instead of the stately Windsor greys of other days. "I do not know if it is known, but it law, too, has played its part in pushing "But it's up to us whether or not they One of the King's representatives, I am women is to produce Soviet children-not bought two more dapple-grey horses. children of the Canadian Government. These will be used with the six sent to

"Most woman who marry foreigners the King last year by Queen Wilhelmina Westminster at 2s. each, and I can tell the atom bombs which can now be Russian womanhood. They try to ex- Traditional Windsor greys are now few. the Minister of Food, if he does not know manufactured could make the U.S. un- change the hardship of building Russia The Royal stables have been cut by twothirds since 1939, and the dozen or so left quantities of rationed foodstuffs, if he is cellor of Chicago University, said in a "Women talk too much and thus they will be required for other Royal carriages. Star, 6/8/47.

25 27 28 28 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22