

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

He who lets the world, or his own portion of it, choose his plan of life for him has no need of any other faculty than the ape-like one of imitation.

JOHN STUART MILL

THE PARTY-LINE INTRIGUERS

DOCKLAND'S POLITICIANS

THERE is no spectacle that annoys us more than that of honest and sincere people being used to make political capital for some group seeking power or privilege over them.

During the recent election campaigns, for example, both the Labour and the Conservative parties sought to make capital out of the plight of the old and poor—the old age pensioners. The Tories pulled their trick of announcing an increase in the pension just before the election was announced; the Labourites conveniently forgot how they had refused the old folks a rise when they were in power. Both were most vociferous in their show of concern—vociferous but not very convincing.

We find equally disgusting the antics of political groups which try to muscle in on workers' struggles—supporting a strike here and soft-peddalling one there in accord, not with the needs of the workers concerned, but with a political line.

Political Gain the Motive

This is the typical tactic of the Communist Party, which we have seen supporting strikes and opposing them according to instructions from King Street and, beyond that, the Kremlin. On the international field we have seen the C.P. denounce the strikes and riots of two years ago in East Berlin and East Germany as the work of fascist agents of the West, while a short time afterwards they strenuously defended the strikes in France.

In this country we saw their immediate post-war policy of 'Don't embarrass our Government' when they attempted to hold back strikes for the sake of the Labour Government (and the two Communist M.P.'s), until the needs of the cold war made agitation and militancy the correct tactic once again.

And in the present strike in the docks the Communist Party has shown that its first interest lies in operating tactics that will bring political gain for the Party. The principles involved and the workers sincerely struggling for them are of very secondary importance for the vanguard of the working class.

For the issue in the dock strike is plain. It is a strike to win the recognition of the National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers as a negotiating body for its new members in provincial ports. As far as the rank and file of the NASD—and those of the TGWU who are striking in sympathy with them—are concerned, that's all there is to it.

They Don't Care

But we don't see the Communists, sturdy fighters for the working class, stating without any ifs or buts, that they support the right of workers to belong to the organisation of their choice.

Why? Because they do not want to see the dockers going into the 'blue' union—especially in the Northern ports. The move from the Transport & General Workers' Union, particularly on Merseyside, is the culmination of a long period of agitation by a very good unofficial Portworkers' Committee, from which the Communist Party was very definitely kept out. Whereas in London the unofficial committee was very early on captured completely by the C.P., they had no such luck on the Mersey.

Hence the indifference on the part of the Communists to the struggle in the Northern ports. Add that to the C.P. position against the shift of membership

from white union to blue, as expressed during the overtime strike last autumn, and the lack of support for the present strike is only to be expected.

As we explained last autumn, the Communists have done a great deal of boring away within the Transport & General—and their activity was so welcome that the union now has a rule forbidding Communists from holding office. An attempt is apparently going to be made at the next appropriate conference, however, to get this ruling rescinded. It would be very galling for the party-liners to find themselves able to take office in dock branches, only to find no members to manipulate because they'd all left to join the blue union!

So the party is very strongly trying to hold back the swing-over, with cries for 'Unity', 'Don't split the ranks', and a few other battle-cries that are adding up to nothing.

C.P. Exposed

Nothing, that is, except that London's dockers have seen very clearly in this strike just what kind of game the Commies are playing. They have seen, as we have said before, the well-known party members coming out on strike and the lesser-lights going to work—black-legging is the dockers' word for it. They have seen Vic Marney and the fellow-travellers on the Liaison Committee (the unofficial committee of TGWU members) wriggle and squirm and refuse to answer point-blank questions on their policy. They have seen that the C.P.'s cries for unity mean only unity in going back to work.

It might be premature to say that the Communist Party has 'had it' among the dockers. But its position on this strike is going to take some living down. The

more intelligent and forward-looking docker can see for himself that for the C.P. the political game comes before working class solidarity. And he is not going to forget that in a hurry.

Trotskyists Also

But it should not be thought that the Communists of the Stalinist variety are alone in getting their fingers in the workers' pie. Their half-brothers, those unemployed Bolsheviks the Trotskyists, are also, believe it or not, fishing in the troubled waters of dockland.

There are those among the dockers who are more than suspicious that the political strings behind the blue union are being pulled by followers of the ill-fated Trotsky. And certainly the poor timing of the strike and the seeming lack of enthusiasm for it among the executive of the blue union, would point to the fumbling hand of an amateur politician rather than the guidance of experienced trade union leaders.

The first two weeks of the strike in London were distinguished by a lack of organisation and preparedness on the part of the NASD. There were no pickets, meetings were sporadic and uninspiring, and even the sudden appearance (and disappearance) of Harry Constable (a London docker now organising for NASD in Birkenhead) caused no more than a ripple.

It was not until Albert Timothy, a well-known militant and member of NASD executive, came back to the dock gates from his holidays that the strike began to look organised. By the third day back, Timothy had pickets by the hundred outside the dock gates, and for the first time the number of white union strikers began to creep up. He was joined by other militants and it was

soon quite clear that the initiative and leadership in the strike had slipped from the official leadership into the hands of this unofficial group.

Executive Loses Grip

Then we began to hear speeches by the executive suggesting a return to work—with nothing gained. Dick Barrett, Gen. Sec. of NASD, who had been ill all during the first two weeks (though well enough to open a garden party) made this

suggestion, but it has been repudiated by the strikers, and especially those up North. For a return to work would mean capitulation to the TUC's terms: return to the TGWU the 10,000 'poached' members. (For the TUC, workers can be regarded as rabbits or partridges, not as humans with minds of their own).

In other words, it appears that as soon as the strike looked like coming to life, the NASD leaders thought it time to pack up—because they had lost the initiative. A typical political act, of people more concerned with their positions than with the rank and file getting what they started the struggle for. A move which might have been advised by a politico

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PERON versus THE CHURCH THE CHURCH WINS ROUND 2

IN this country we think of Catholics as an orderly minority who offer due respect to the Crown and have a regard for order. They are granted freedom of worship, although according to the "Protestant underworld" too much freedom, and when the Pope makes embarrassing pronouncements these can be interpreted in many ways. In this respect the Catholic Church keeps pace with its secular equivalent in the Kremlin!

In countries however, where there is active opposition to Catholics we find that their behaviour, encouraged by the priests, can be very un-Christian indeed.

A few weeks ago we discussed in FREEDOM the changing attitude of the Peron Government to the Church which, among other things, we suggested was a result of the new "dollar diplomacy".

The methods used by the Argentine State have been calculated to discredit the Church but, true to the nature of totalitarianism, in such an unskillful way that they have justified the violent reaction of the Church militants.

The latest attempt by the Government during the celebrations of the *Feast of Corpus Christi* to minimise the effects of the Church took the form of a ban on open air celebrations. In spite of this ban 100,000 Roman Catholics filled the Plaza de Mayo in front of the Cathedral in Buenos Aires, and, according to reports afterwards, marched to the offices of the *General Confederation of Labour* and other Government buildings and smashed the windows. This, in spite of a Government order to substantially reduce train and bus services and backed up by statements in the Government press and on the radio that the ceremonies had been cancelled. It is also an interesting pointer to the Church's bitterness against "sectarianism" that attacks were made on the Yugoslav Embassy, presumably an innocent party in relation to this particular domestic upheaval.

The important point in this latest skirmish is the official attitude of the Church. To those people who believe that the Church is a passive victim to the brutalities of Government the events in Argentina show but another example of how violent the Church can be when circumstances demand it.

In Buenos Aires, priests from the pulpits openly told the flock to defy the Government ban and presumably made no attempt to pacify the violence of the demonstrators, under the slogans of "Long Live Christ the King".

In this latest conflict between Church and State we offer little sympathy to either side. When expediency demands it the Church is always prepared to collaborate with the most brutal State, and, when suddenly a conflict of interest throws them into temporary battle it in no way means that either side have changed their ideas, but only shifted their allegiances.

Refrain or Refrain?

The election is over and the chorus, singing with one voice, may now disband. Part songs are in season once more, most of them in near-harmony of course, but not all. Anerin Bevan—from the Land of Song—now performs the inevitable solo, with accompaniment from a small orchestra.

During the election the Labour Party choir, performing under its revered conductor, Clement Attlee, succeeded in smothering the discordant notes by singing strictly non-controversial music—the whole chorus joined in but the Welsh counter-tenor agreed to remain *sotto-voce*.

However, on Saturday, 11th June, Bevan produced his real theme-song before a Cardiff audience of 30,000: "The best thing the Labour movement can do is to make up its mind from now on that it is never going to win any general election in Britain, and it will not matter if it does win them, unless the movement is going to dedicate itself to the accomplishment of a Socialist society." This is precisely what FREEDOM has said he would do so very often.

Providing the Labour Party is not in power, nor in the process of trying to get it, the soloists and small groups are allowed to sing Socialist anthems; when in power the only permissible rendering is of the *National* anthem. W.

The Schluter Row

Adenauer Backs Down

THE appointment of the neo-Nazi, Herr Schlüter, to Land Minister of Education at the Göttingen University has led to the resignation of the Rector, eighteen professors who sat in the University Senate and many of their colleagues. In addition, over three thousand pupils out of 4,800 took part in a torchlight parade through the streets to protest against the appointment, which has direct bearing on the German rearmament programme.

The case put by the University staff against Herr Schlüter is based on his past and present record. When he became the first post-war Chief of Criminal Police in Göttingen, it is claimed that he ordered the unlawful arrest of citizens and had them detained for weeks without trial; he is closely associated with the leaders of the *German Reichs Party*, and is the real leader of the *Free Democratic Party* (sic!) which, according to a *Manchester Guardian* reporter has been "systematically infiltrated by ex-Nazis since 1950". It is also reported that the British authorities had him removed from his post as Chief of Criminal Police and barred him from speaking at public meetings, presumably because of his opposition to the German Government's line up with Britain, and not because he is a Nazi as such.

As the head of the publishing firm "Göttinger Verlagsanstalt" he has been instrumental in placing before the German public books written by Nazi supporters. He is also closely associated with another publishing firm whose authors include General Hauser of the Waffen S.S.,

and Professor Grimm, an "unrepentant defender of Nazism".

It is reported from Hanover that most of the German press comment is unfavourable to Herr Schlüter's appointment, but in spite of this and a popular feeling of sympathy for the University staff, Schlüter's appointment is likely to be upheld by Bonn. The reason becomes clearer when we consider the "political realism" behind it, which is that the Federal Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, needs a two-thirds majority in the *Upper or Lower House of Parliament to over-ride all opposition which claims that rearmament is unconstitutional*. The administration in Hanover secures that two-thirds majority. This type of administration depends on the F.D.P., and their support is only forthcoming if Herr Schlüter remains Minister of Education.

With the fading out of the recent German popular protest against rearmament still fresh in our minds (accelerated by some of the political leaders who realised they had started something which would be difficult to control) we cannot help feeling that Dr. Adenauer's two-thirds majority will be the deciding factor in this issue, unless he can secure it by some other means.

The genuine revulsion against the re-emergence of the Nazi creed felt by so many Germans and epitomised in this recent protest by the personnel of the University of Göttingen, faced with the political necessities of the German Government, may well degenerate into apathy.

Meanwhile, reports from Bonn tell us that Adenauer has chosen the Commanders of Germany's armed

forces (all with excellent war records) and has ordered a speed-up of rearmament plans. Recruiting centres will be set up as soon as Parliament passes a temporary law allowing for recruitment of volunteers.

He 'Resigns'

Since writing the above we learn that Herr Schlüter has resigned from the Lower Coalition Government of Saxony, and has been "placed on leave at his own request".

The Chief Minister of Hanover, Herr Hellwege, set up a committee of the coalition parties to examine Schlüter's record. The report maintains that there is no substantiation for the accusations made against him, and it says little for parliamentary democracy that, according to the committee's findings—

there was nothing in his parliamentary record to disqualify him as a democrat, and that the Social Democrat opposition had got on perfectly well with him on subjects on which he and they were agreed!

This we can readily understand, and the fact that Schlüter's appointment was made in the first place is an indication that Adenauer's Government has no real quarrel with his allegiances.

Schlüter's "resignation" does not mean that the Government deplore his ideas, but that public opinion (as well as consideration for the reactions of Britain and America) was too strong to be ignored on this issue. As we suggested however, the two thirds majority needed by Adenauer to support the rearmament programme has been unaltered by the change of events. All that has been done is to remove one man while the party remains intact.

Further, there has been no official condemnation of Schlüter; when the fuss has died out therefore, we can expect his re-emergence in some other Government capacity. M.

SUMMER SCHOOL August Bank Holiday

The London Anarchist Group have agreed to hold the 1955 Summer School at the Malatesta Club in London.

Arrangements can be made for those taking their holidays at this period to spend the following week at Communitas, in Gloucester.

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THE SECRET ROADS, by John and David Kimche. (Seeker & Warburg, 15s.)

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THE SECRET ROADS

I RECENTLY saw the celebrated Yiddish film "The Cantor's Son" with the singer Moishe Oysher. The story of the film (which was made in America in the mid-thirties), opened in the Galician village of Belz years ago. The cantor is upbrooding his son Schlomele, who is always hanging around the booth of a travelling theatre company. That night the boy runs off with the company which wanders around Eastern Europe and eventually emigrates to America where it does not succeed. Schlomele, now grown up, gets a job sweeping the floor in the Rumania Restaurant, where Helen the star of the floor show, hears him singing, and of course insists on him joining her in a double act. Mr. Podrowski hears it and insists on Schlomele appearing on his radio hour. Schlomele does, and sings one of his father's religious compositions, and sends his earnings back to Momma and Poppa in Belz, who rejoice to hear that he is alive and successful. The radio programme is heard by the elders of a New York synagogue who decide to employ Schlomele as their cantor, and this leads to him touring all across America singing. When he comes back he is going to marry Helen, but his parents write to ask him to come home for their golden wedding. Back in the village (which hasn't changed a bit), he meets again his childhood sweetheart Revkele and forgetful of Helen, he falls in love. Fretfully Helen scans the shipping news in the *New York Times*, and turns up in Belz in pursuit, on the eve of the wedding. Schlomele does a bit of slick double-talk, and Helen, heartbroken but resigned, sets off home alone. Schlomele succeeds his father as cantor, and he and Revkele live happily ever after in their little grey home in the East.

This film must have jerked many a nostalgic tear in the Bronx among those who were thankful that they had got out of their particular Belz, and who in real life would never dream of going back there. To us to-day it brings a different kind of sadness, sadness at the thought of a narrow and doomed society where nothing was secure except family affection, and at the thought of its ultimate destruction. For if the fairy tale of the cantor's son were a true story, its sequel, a few years later, would find Schlomele and Revkele and their parents in the death camp Belzec, a few miles from the real Belz.

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WE reviewed last January the autobiography of Joseph Baratz who emigrated from his Belz (in his case Kishinev in Bessarabia), and became one

of the pioneers of a new kind of life in the Jewish communal settlements in Palestine. The present book has a related theme, the illegal immigration of well over a hundred thousand Jews into Palestine between 1938 and 1948 when the British Mandate ended and the independence of Israel was declared. The organisation which achieved this, the *Mossad le Aliyah Bet* was set up in 1937 when it became clear that, in spite not only of the racial policy of the Nazis in Germany, but also of the increasing political and economic pressure on the Jews in Poland and Rumania, the Mandatory Government was not prepared to increase the quota of immigration certificates.

In 1936 Chaim Weizmann told the Palestine Royal Commission that "today almost six million Jews are doomed to be pent up in places where they are not wanted, and for whom the world is divided into places where they cannot live and places where they cannot enter". The one place in the world, as the Kimche brothers say, where there was a possible future for them was Palestine, and the Mandatory Government's immigration policy was "the weakest link of the chain that held European Jewry in its grip; and it was with the inevitability of a law of nature that the pressure of

the Jewish masses was directed on this weak Palestinian link."

Three emissaries are sent to Europe from the Union of Collective Settlements and set up their 'Apparat' in Paris, which gradually developed a network of agents in the European capitals including Berlin and Vienna, where Moshe Bar-Gilad, a farmer from Kfar Giladi, negotiated with the Nazi 'specialist on Jews' Karl Eichmann who, before he disappeared in 1945 boasted that "he would leap into his grave laughing because the feeling that he had five million people on his conscience would be for him a source of extraordinary satisfaction."* At this time Eichmann was extorting money from well-to-do Jews in return for facilitating permission to leave Greater Germany. That the emissaries of the Mossad should be permitted to work in Nazi Germany up to the outbreak of war was due to several reasons, the internal rivalries and antagonisms within the party, the SS and the Gestapo, the fact that it was lucrative for some party officials, and that it would sharpen the tension in Palestine between the British,

* See Gerald Reitlinger's *The Final Solution: The attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945.* (Valentine, Mitchell, 1953).

the Arabs, and the Jews. "The Jewish emissaries were not unaware altogether of these German calculations. But they did not care. Their end was to them far more important than the means which they were now compelled to employ; and though they could not see the future, nor imagine what it would bring, they had no qualms about the price they had to pay so long as they managed to get their Jews to Palestine."

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IN the early war years there was a continuing stream of immigrants through Roumania and the Black Sea in Greek ships, and the Mossad sent Ehud Avrieli back to Vienna to arrange for the transport of 600 German, Austrian and Slovakian Jews (whose deportation to the Lublin 'reservation' had begun in October 1939), down the Danube. But the Palestine Government announced in 1940 that it could only regard the revival of illegal immigration as likely to prove a serious menace to British interests in the Middle East. As a result the Greek Government issued a decree forbidding Greek sailors to make the illegal run. One ship, the *Hilda*, was left without a crew and in the cold of January froze to the quay at a village on the Roumanian-Bulgarian border. Eventually, 107

days after they had left Berlin the passengers arrived at Haifa. "Some died from the exceptional hardships; two babies were born. But with all the hardships, with the diseases, the filth, the insanitary conditions of the boat and the lack of food, one cold fact stands out; these refugees are alive today, members of the prosperous communal settlement of Na'an. Without the *Hilda* and her hardships there would have been 600 additional victims of the Nazi's final solution of the Jewish problem".

It was a different story with the next group, 1,100 members of pioneer training farms. The Mossad got them out of German territory to Yugoslavia where the river-boats were ice-bound on the Danube, while Bar-Gilad was finding a ship. Then the Wehrmacht invaded Yugoslavia and all the 1,000 were murdered. Further tragedies followed: that of the *Patria*, the ship which was being used by the British to deport illegal immigrants to Mauritius, which blew up in Haifa harbour, and the *Salvador* which sank in the Bosphorus with 300 refugees, no lifeboats, no map, and no compass, and the *Struma*, an unseaworthy boat which "crept into the port of Istanbul in the autumn of 1951 with a cargo of 769 immigrants on board. . . . The refugees were refused permission to enter Palestine by the Mandatory authorities though there were still many thousand unused immigration certificates under the policy of the White Paper. Two months of pleading were of no avail; finally, on February 23rd 1942, eighty Turkish policemen forced their way on to the boat, tied her by a cable to a tug, and the *Struma*, without fuel, food and water was tugged through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea. No-one had taken any notice of the large S.O.S. signs the ship had hung out on sheets; it was, after all, only a refugee boat. She sank several hours later. All but one of her 769 'passengers' were drowned". There were other successful journeys, but the rule of the Iron Guard in Rumania and the intransigence of the British immigration policy resulted in the gradual petering out of organised illegal immigration of North African Jews, and then in 1943 Lord Cranbourne, the Colonial Secretary, wrote to the British ambassador in Turkey to say that Jews in occupied Europe should not be encouraged to escape, nor should they be organised or helped. But if, despite all, some Jews should succeed in reaching the shores of Turkey, they should be given entry visas into Palestine. News of this instruction reached the Haganah and the Mossad set up a base in Istanbul and in face of extraordinary difficulties got over 4,000 Jews out of Greece and Roumania in a few months. The Red Army was now advancing into Roumania, and in its wake came Bar-Gilad into the chaotic conditions of 'liberated' Bucharest. "The Red Cross organisation in Bucharest had

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Freedom of the Press

IN this day and age when we are allowed just about as much freedom as is convenient to the Government, it is perhaps begging the question to go too far into the control which the public has over its own freedom. Nevertheless there are certain specific freedoms which can be and are encroached upon purely gratuitously unless a watchful eye is constantly trained in their direction.

Perhaps the freedom of the Press is the most important single issue to which this applies, wielding as it does enormous power over all our minds. Whether we regard what they tell us with vigilant suspicion, or merely come into the category of those who say, "It must be true, I read it in the paper," we should always be prepared to do what we can to protect those rights which are allowed the Press by their Lordly owners and the Government.

A particularly disturbing attitude towards Press freedom appears to be growing amongst the population—apathy. Currently this is a most prolific weed, but nowhere does it flourish so well as in this sphere; the feeling that probably the authorities are right, and there must be good reasons for doing what is being done is only too attractive a line for those who cannot be bothered to think and do not realise that they have a responsibility in these matters.

The report of the Commonwealth Press Union informs us that: "Nowhere should freedom to speak and print be assumed to be completely secure." It further adds: "In its monthly reports during the past year the council has noted more or less disturbing incidents in these Commonwealth countries: Australia, India, Pakistan, Kenya, Singapore, Southern Rhodesia, Uganda, Zanzibar, Cyprus and Hong Kong." Whilst these remarks are almost classic understatements, particularly in regard to Kenya and Cyprus, at least they are recognition by a responsible body that all is not well! The report also refers to some of the ways in which freedom of the Press may be undermined—some of them subtle, others more direct.

The Justification

It is probable that the indirect methods of bringing pressure are more sinister than those of an obviously totalitarian nature, in that being less noticeable to the general public they have some of the characteristics of the secret police against which there is little to be done because one cannot see exactly from where the danger comes. The principal methods adopted by the authorities are: the withholding of official advertising, denial of information from critical newspapers, subsidies to news agencies, discriminatory rationing of newsprint, insistence upon revelation of sources of information, withdrawal of registration for newspaper postage, claiming doubtful breaches of privilege, restriction of reporting facilities to journalists on police registers. But if none of these measures has the desired effect then there is very little hesitation in resorting to the direct approach—suspension

of the newspaper in question, or if the occasion demands, imprisonment of journalists without a public trial. This is generally when there is some sort of 'emergency' which must be dealt with immediately. The justification is invariably a state of war or some serious (for the authorities) internal strife which may impede the efficacy of the State's efforts in keeping its people in a suitably befuddled condition. For example it is fairly certain that if *this* newspaper were to become any sort of real threat to the State as it exists to-day, it would be suspended in very short order.

The fact that the *Daily Worker* (a newspaper for which we have very little sympathy), was banned during the war, and miraculously revived when 'our glorious allies the Russians joined with us in the fight for freedom against totalitarian aggression', is an interesting example of expediency in emergency measures in relation to the Press. The sudden reversal of tactics is not easily explainable in terms of Press freedom!

However, in many instances censorship in journalism has become quite unnecessary, and for a reason which may

not at first be apparent. The journalist, whom one likes to think of as an outspoken and fearless individual is just as conditioned to the present mode of existence (or co-existence) as anybody else, and since he tends to think along the sort of lines which it is intended that he should, he becomes to a great extent his own censor. The idea of railing against some of the encroachments upon his freedom would never occur to him, for he probably has not noticed that it is in danger.

It is difficult to know what conclusions we may draw from the existing state of affairs, except perhaps that all of us—readers and writers alike—have some responsibility to maintain as much of the so-called freedom of the Press as we can. But in the last analysis Thomas Jefferson had the answer when he pronounced his well-known dictum that if he had to choose between a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government he would unquestionably choose the latter. He did not perhaps say this with quite the meaning which anarchists could have wished, but he was right for all that. H.F.W.

THEATRE

FREUDIAN TRILOGY

LOOKING anew at Eugene O'Neill's "Mourning Becomes Electra" (Arts Theatre Club), it is interesting to note that, apart from Giraudoux, who, before 1935 confined himself to comedy, this grand old man of the American Theatre was the first of the moderns to rewrite the Greek tragedies, a practice which has now become an accepted fashion. This monumental trilogy is based on the three Agamemnon plays by Aeschylus, with the action transposed to a New England family in the year 1865. Lavinia, the daughter, frustrated, unloved and father-fetted, avenges his murder by exposing her mother's adultery to a brother mad with possessive jealousy of his mother. She persuades him to shoot her mother's lover and thereby drives the mother to suicide. Ultimately the crazed, guilt-ridden brother puts an end to his own life and Lavinia is left to work out her own punishment, a living death in the shattered house, watched by the ghosts of the accursed dead.

The trouble, as usual with O'Neill is that his theme is too vast for his inadequate means of expression. It is chiefly the lack of poetic grandeur which makes us unsatisfied. Undoubtedly, with more discipline he could have said the same things in a much shorter play, but we must allow for the fact that, in 1934, when the plays were written, the Freudian theories had not yet been absorbed as common coin by the average theatre-goer. O'Neill was at some pains to expose this Freudian 'hinterland' and bring it to its bitter conclusion.

In the first two plays of the trilogy the banal glossiness of the prose has the effect of belittling the processes in which we are participating. It lulls us into the sort of acquiescence with which we take up a macabre magazine story without

getting emotionally involved. But the last of the three rises magnificently to its climax. This is undoubtedly O'Neill at his best and comes nearer to poetic prose than anything else he has written. Some of the phrases are haunting. This is worth the plodding through of the others, though it should be made clear that the evening never becomes tedious and does not drag, although the entire performance takes over four and a half hours. The author's tremendous vitality is enough to carry us along.

I cannot praise Peter Hall's production whole-heartedly. There is a tendency by most of the principals to declaim their parts. This was particularly blatant in the scene where Orin talks to the body of his dead father, laid out in the library. He should really be talking to himself, for the first time voicing his inner secrets. A low, intimate tone would have been magnificently effective particularly as he is surprised by the sudden entrance of Lavinia catching him out on his thoughts, intruding on his privacy. Mr. Ronald Lewis, as Orin, spoils a very moving and subtle performance by this declamatory tendency and I blame the producer for not putting the damper on this. Another strange phenomenon is the diversity of accents. Mr. Peter Hall never seems to make up his mind whether the play should be done in an American idiom or not. Thus we have Miss Ellis, who is actually American, at great pains to conceal any such origin, and Miss Morris uncompromisingly Kensington. The local yokels, and the handy-man Seth keep a sort of New England brogue, but this is not a convention for merely differentiating the classes, for Joseph O'Connor as the lover, has a near American lilt, while the family friends Hazel and Peter also

make a half-hearted attempt at it, though two thirds through the play it became clear to me that Hazel (very well played by Anne Bishop) is merely Irish. This is a minor point with such an excellent all-round cast, but the inconsistency is worrying. The lighting in the first play is relentlessly cruel and makes both the women look cadaverous when they should be radiantly beautiful, one, though tight-lipped and repressed, an unawakened bud, the other in full bloom.

Miss Mary Ellis gives a very effective stage performance of the mother, well-timed, well posed, but somewhat lacking the inner fire which consumes her. Somehow we cannot help but see the wheels go round. Miss Mary Morris, as Lavinia, on the other hand, has such a burning passion within her that when she gives voice to it she is jerky and at times grotesque. Hers is an uneven performance with moments of great clarity and revelation and others, in which she becomes a cross between Beatrice Lillie and Katherine Hepburn. One can believe in the awkward, prim, unwanted child, not in the abandoned woman seeking for love. Particularly in the last play she is so mannered as to become at times almost comical. The climax of the play where Orin appeals to her to give herself completely to him to save him from himself should make us writhe with agony for the two doomed souls. Here, Miss Morris instead of being appalled by the prospect of eternal damnation, the unbreakable bond of blood and crime, with no chance of ever drawing a free breath of life, seemed merely shocked at a suggestion that went beyond the pale.

I am grateful to the Arts Theatre for a timely revival of this play, which is the best monument to its author. D.

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NO POLITICS IN THE DOCKS!

THE strike in the docks approaches its fourth week of stalemate. In the Northern ports the strike is practically solid, for there the enthusiasm for the National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers is sustaining its new members and their demands for recognition are finding much sympathy among their fellow-workers still in the Transport & General.

In London, unhappily, the story is different. Although the 7,000 members of NASD are solidly out, there has been no great response from the rank and file of the TGWU. This is a disturbing factor, for it means that for the first time since the war, appeals to dockers' solidarity have fallen on deaf ears.

The reason is not hard to find. The Liaison Committee within the TGWU, the unofficial committee which lined up solidly with the Blue (NASD) union last autumn during the 'overtime' strike, is Communist-dominated. And the Communists, as we explain more fully elsewhere, are against the swing of dockers from the TGWU to NASD. Hence they would be pleased to see this strike fail, for it would be a very severe setback to the NASD.

This attitude we find disgusting. Not that we are in any way starry-eyed about the leadership, structure or function of the Blue union. It is a reformist trade union which can just as easily develop all the faults of the TGWU; it suffers from an antiquated sense of 'craft élite' on the part of the Stevedores, and it has a political smell about it just now which could equal the Stalinist stink if it became strong enough.

Nevertheless, the principle for which this strike is called remains the same—that dockers should be free to join the organisation of their choice and that organisation should have the same rights of negotiation as any other.

In the establishment of that principle, politics should play no part. Those who do choose to play politics with workers' hardship—for this dock strike is bringing real hardship to the strikers, none of whom receive strike pay—those who do this expose themselves for the opportunists and charlatans they really are.

Industrial struggles should not be contaminated by political trickery—should not be used for political ends. That way lies apathy and disillusionment with the only true means of working class struggle.

Anarchists and syndicalists maintain that it is only through our own conscious direct action that we can move towards a free society. Only by the assertion of our strength through solidarity can workers overcome the forces lined up against us. The trade unions were built upon the idea that 'unity is strength', but they proceeded to go the wrong way about it when they built up leadership organisations and when they turned to political action.

Leaders and politicians are out for themselves. They achieve their personal ambitions by using the strength of the ordinary people, and climbing on their shoulders to the top. Or they achieve their party's ambition by playing with the aspirations, hopes and desires of numbers of ordinary workers. And if they use the language of revolt in order to do this, it doesn't make it better, it makes it worse.

The dockers are having an object lesson at the moment. Their experiences can prove of lasting value, whatever the nasty taste they leave in the mouth, if they lead to the

THE lives of more people have been saved by the clinical use of radio-isotopes than were destroyed in the bomb explosions of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and we have almost reached the point where the annual saving is greater. The balance sheet of the effects of nuclear energy is even to-day balanced precariously on the side of life. It is against the background of this amazing information that one must survey these effects.

Atoms for Peace

The peaceful uses of atomic energy are being demonstrated in an 'Atoms for Peace' exhibition which is touring this country in five grey trailers. The main contribution is from the use of radio-isotopes in every conceivable field from medical research to discovering leaks in underground pipes. From measuring in a few hours the wear on bearings or moving parts, to removing the ill effects of atmospheric electricity when cloth is being woven on a loom. Isotopes are being increasingly used to discover how things work and why they go wrong. A local example of this occurred in Islington where radio-active phosphorus was put into the drinking water of blow flies at a dump. With the aid of fly traps and geiger counters it was shown that flies from the dump reached shops, hospitals, schools, and restaurants within a two mile radius.

In the future the most important aspect of nuclear energy will be the use of reactors which will lessen our dependence on exhausting supplies of coal and oil, and nullify the pessimistic predictions of geologists about the available undeveloped coal and oil resources of the world.

Naturally enough the Russians are reported to have developed atomic engines for cars, but later accounts suggest they have not got beyond outlining the principles on which such an engine would work. The Americans have also done this but neither are known to have tackled the radiation problems involved.

Atoms for War

On the debit side, the lethal effects of atom bombs from blast and heat need no repetition, and even the American passion for exploding these devices in isolated areas has had ill effects. Besides the Japanese fishermen, three hundred Marshall islanders and task force personnel were injured by radiation, eighty-four severely, in the Bikini explosion.

It is claimed by some that these have a pronounced effect on the weather. The World Meteorological Organisation meeting in Geneva in April naturally enough

The Secret Roads Continued from p. 2

practically collapsed. It had ceased to function. Its pro-German sponsors had disappeared, so had its cash. The staff were unpaid and wondering what to do." Bar-Gilad went to the Red Cross offices, announced that he was the new head, liberally paid off the staff and moved in, and set about the rescue of Roumania's surviving Jews. The Kimche brothers remark that "It is a matter of doubt whether in that grim winter of 1944-45 any genuine Red Cross office in the world saved more lives than this self-confessed camouflage organisation in Bucharest".

★
THE next few years saw the Mossad's most extraordinary achievements. It met in Paris in March 1945. "Order and direction had to be given to the chaotic symphony of movement which had taken hold of the Continent. The one almost intuitive action of these liberated millions was to move from their place of compulsory residence, their camps, the forced labour hostels, their prisons. Those who had homes somewhere made for home; the Jews who had none, began to drift in their thousands across frontiers, into towns and villages, as if driven by some blind urge. They had no precise destination, no clear purpose, no hope for the future. Now the *Bricha*—the Escape—stepped in to give them all three. The policy had been agreed in Paris; the emissaries had departed to their posts; soon they were stationed at every key point in every part of Europe. Conditions were favourable. Frontiers were unguarded. The Germans were cowed into passivity. A burning bitter, all-consuming hatred drove the Jews of Eastern Europe. They hated the Germans who had destroyed their corporate life;

ability to see through the political tricksters who try to use them.

And then if they build their fighting organisations upon the conscious rejection of political action and reliance upon themselves, they can achieve the economic goal of workers' control of industry.

SCIENCE NOTES

Use and Abuse of Atomic Energy

suggested to governments that first priority should be given to the study of the meteorological aspects of atomic energy due to the widespread tendency to associate experimental explosions of the hydrogen bomb with the apparently unusual weather in various parts of the world. But it is our belief that the weather always has been unusual, at least in this country.

A New Disease

We are indebted to nuclear energy for the disease known as radiation sickness. The Röntgen is the commonly accepted unit of measurement of radiation dosage. A dose of twenty-five Röntgen received over a brief space of time will produce temporary changes in the blood. A dose of one hundred Röntgen received in a short interval may produce nausea and other symptoms of radiation sickness. About 450 Röntgen delivered over a day or so might be fatal to about half the persons exposed. If the radiation dose is spread over a longer period the effects are rather less.

The greatest radiation danger, and therefore interest, is in the relatively long-lived radio-isotopes produced in nuclear explosions. The most important is Strontium 90 with effects lasting over thirty years. Being chemically related to calcium, it tends to collect in the bones and is a potential source of bone tumour. Radio-iodine 131 the other principal product lasts for only a few days but would tend to accumulate in the thyroid gland.

The final new hazard of life on this planet is genetical. More is written and less is known about this than any of the other effects. As the concern about this is greatest the suppression of available information is probably greatest. As the radiation dosage required to induce such effects is unknown but is obviously much less than that required to induce radiation sickness speculation is rife. The U.S.A. atomic energy commission report in February relegated a discussion of genetic effects to three short paragraphs near the end of the report concluding "The small amount of additional exposure of the general population of the U.S. from the nuclear weapon testing programme will not seriously affect the genetic constitution of human beings. We are continuing our thorough study of the entire question and will continue to report our findings to the American

people".

The total amount of radiation received as a result of all tests so far is claimed to be one-tenth of a Röntgen which is about one-hundredth of the average radiation received from natural causes by a person during his or her reproductive lifetime. It is about the same as the exposure received from one chest X-ray.

The only published evidence of the genetic effects of atom bombs comes from the United States atomic bomb casualty commission, which has been studying for the last ten years the populations in Hiroshima and Nagasaki that survived the two atom bomb explosions. They recently reported that they had observed no significant genetic effects so far among the first generation offspring from exposed parents. But they would make no comment or prediction as to future generations.

This month Dr. Libby a member of the Atomic Energy Commission in a lecture at the University of Chicago is reported in the *Manchester Guardian* as saying: "The radiation produced by fall out from atomic weapon tests as well as from present and future peaceful applications of nuclear energy will result in additional mutations in human genes. The number of these cannot be estimated accurately at the present time. At the current rate of irradiation from fall out, among the four million children born

each year in the U.S. perhaps one hundred to several thousand may carry as a result of this irradiation a mutated gene.

"At most a small percentage of these genes will produce any noticeable effect in the first generation. Only slowly over hundreds of years will the majority of these radiation-induced genes become apparent in a few individuals at a time, usually by causing a less than normal development or functioning of the person concerned. It will be impossible to identify these individuals among the large number of similar ones affected by genes already present in the population due to accumulated spontaneous mutations.

"No measurable increase in defective individuals will be observable at any time as a result of current weapon tests since the few radiation-induced defectives will not change measurably the number of about 40,000 defectives who will occur spontaneously among the four million annual births in the U.S.A."

Finally, to the credit of nuclear energy is the resulting intensification of fundamental research in genetics. None of its undesirable effects seem to have been sufficient to stimulate public opinion to agitate against the use of nuclear energy for war. Possibly its negligible effect on the weather may be successful in this when blast, heat, radiation sickness, and mutations have failed. Bios.

BUDDING POLITICIANS

THE Oxford Union debated the following motion on 9th June: "The right to strike must be restricted". The motion was carried. This result could be regarded as an ill-omen for the well-being of those workers whose only real defence against exploitation is the right to withdraw their labour. For it is quite probable that a good many of those present at the debate will become M.P.'s in the not too distant future, for the Oxford Union may be looked upon as something in the nature of a kindergarten for budding Parliamentarians.

In fact of course it is only too likely that strike restriction in one form or another will have come into being before most of the undergraduates have time to take their degrees, let alone get themselves into Parliament. Already there

are ominous mutterings from all sides and from representatives of most shades of political opinion, and it can only be a question of time before the motion before the House, in real earnest this time: "The right to strike must be restricted", will be bandied about by supposedly well-meaning politicians in pursuance of what they conceive to be their bounden duty to the national interest.

There are four principle positions which may be adopted in regard to this question, and indeed when the matter comes up for official action it seems likely that these will be the main lines of argument which will be put forward. There is the extremist element which holds that strikes should be banned altogether, the over-nationalistic element which argues that State-controlled enterprise should be subject to compulsory arbitration, the moderate element which believes that the right to strike should not be abolished but the methods by which strikes may be obtained should be modified, and lastly—the anarchist position—which upholds the absolute right of all workers to withdraw their labour at any time as being the only effective pressure which may be brought to bear upon employers of any sort.

It can be, and has been argued that the authorities gain nothing by banning or restricting strikes, in that the act of making a strike illegal does not necessarily mean that one will not take place. There is some justification in this view for if the would-be strikers have sufficient reason they will strike whether it is legal to do so or not, but nevertheless there is bound to be a deterrent effect, and there will not be so very many prepared to face such things as prison-sentences, fines and unemployment—certainly the inevitable results for strike-leaders—unless the issue at stake is of the foremost importance.

But one may reasonably expect the result of a debate in the House of Commons to be to the effect that restrictions upon the right to strike are 'not really a good thing, but in certain instances become necessary when the country is held to ransom by a minority'. This is a conclusion for which a great deal of support will be found from all quarters, including the large mass of the population, who are strongly in favour of not being inconvenienced by a few thoughtless railwaymen or a handful of recalcitrant dockers. Support would naturally be forthcoming from most Conservatives and many Labourites, who have their own interests to protect; but worst of all we have the prospect of some Trade Union leaders and officials selling their followers up the river, and giving every reason but the right one for their actions.

It is as well to remember that the mainspring of any policy put forward by any Government is that the *status quo* must be preserved at all costs. If the price for the continuity of the existing system is a further withdrawal of freedom from those who endanger that system, then it is quite certain that it will have to be paid, one way or another, by those who can least afford it—unfortunately the gentlemen-debaters from Oxford will not be called upon to contribute. H.

arranged with the Jewish Agency: "The two ships would sail straight for Cyprus without going first to Haifa, and they would offer no opposition to internment. It was in fact no compromise. This was what the Mossad aimed at: Cyprus would be 'flooded'. With this compromise the game was over. The British had given up." The Kimche brothers comment that subsequent British withdrawal from Palestine, "was the recognition that British rule in Palestine had been broken, not by the terrorist, but by the almost despised illegal immigrant. He—and the men and women who brought him—had undermined the moral claim of the British to rule in Palestine, and this was the root of all else that followed. It was the homeless wanderer returning to Zion with neither visa nor passport, other than those indelibly stamped upon him by history."

★
THIS fascinating book serves to complete the picture drawn by Mr. Gerald Reitlinger's sombre chronicle *The Final Solution*. Reitlinger after describing the sources of his account of the Nazi attempt to exterminate the Jews, writes: "I have spent close on four years among these documents and I have found their company neither gloomy nor depressing—for on many pages darts and gleams that thing which prevents all governments becoming a living hell—human fallibility. Eichmann fails to fill his death trains, the satellite government ministers refuse to answer letters, someone gets the figures wrong, and someone else gives the show away too soon. And so the immense disaster was partly whittled down. How much worse it would have been if the French had not been inconsistent, if the Italians had not been easygoing, the Hungarians jealous, the Roumanians corrupt, and the Germans themselves wedded to protocol. It is possible that murderous racialism is something ineradicable in the nature of ants and men, but the Robot State which will give it full effect cannot exist and never will."

In the same way *The Secret Roads* is a testimony to the ultimate weakness of governments in the face of a handful of devoted and courageous men and women.

COMMENT Recent Trends in Psychotherapy

I HAVE long regretted that the circulation of such an intelligent journal as FREEDOM is so limited.

There is no need to defend Freud against the crudities levelled against him and the work of the psychoanalytic school in this century.

Let us recapitulate some of the opinions and sentiments expressed by Bob Green about Freud and the Freudian

school, and then compare them with the opinions of those authorities which he mentions as if to support his point of view.

"From a practical point of view it was an open secret that as a therapeutic agent psychoanalysis was a failure."

"... a psychiatrist who qualified by his six months concentrated reading of Freud and fortified by his unique skill in clapping on electrodes and wielding the insulin syringe."

"Naturally he [the non-medical psychologist] can fight back through his own Trade Union but short of going into private practice there is no way that he can escape the supervision of the psychiatric Commissar who knows next to nothing of psychotherapy."

"Freud abandoned hypnosis early in his career... Freud's reasons for dropping it are largely derived from his inadequacy as a hypnotist and the restrictions imposed by his theories."

"Freudian bric-a-brac... mélanges of hocus pocus... the party line... the woolly entities of Freudian melodrama... Freudian claptrap."

This recapitulation of a few of Bob Green's statements makes his attitude to Freud clear. Now let us turn to the authorities whom he mentions with approval as if they shared his view of Freud.

Franz Alexander writes:

"At the International Congress of Psychiatry in Paris in 1950 one of the keynotes of the meeting was the recognition of the fact that in the U.S.A., not in Europe, psychiatry has assimilated Freud's principles and has become what one may call a psychoanalytically orientated psychiatry."

T. M. French writes:

"In my opinion, Freud's discovery of the psychoanalytic interpretive method was his basic contribution to the science of psychology. His new method, like many basic scientific discoveries, was really a very obvious and simple one."

Carl Rogers writes:

"In this broadening stream of interest in and development of psychotherapeutic procedures, non-directive or client-centred counselling has had its growth, it is a product of its time and its cultural setting. Its development would not have been possible without the appreciation of man's unconscious strivings and complex emotional nature which was Freud's contribution to our culture."

J. Dollard and E. Miller dedicate their book Personality and Psychotherapy to "Freud, Pavlov and their Students". (This is the book which Bob Green mentions and claims that "it is forcing many of the coming generation of American psychotherapists seriously to question whether it is worth loading themselves

with the deadweight of the woolly entities of the Freudian melodrama.")

Dollard and Miller write:

"Working for half a century under the favourable conditions of psychotherapy, Freud and his brilliant students have collected much significant information about human behaviour and personality. They have advanced the most fruitful hypotheses which exist in this field. Freud insisted upon the lawfulness of mental life, even in the most bizarre bits of human behaviour. He emphasised the importance of motivation and conflict, the rôle of the family in early childhood, and discovered the significance of unconscious mental life. This is the reason why we emphasize the importance of experience with psychotherapy for experimentalists. The hypotheses of Freud are a rich source of significant research problems."

I have quoted enough from these writers to show that they do not, in fact, share Green's crude anti-Freudian prejudice. On the contrary they all pay Freud the considerable respect which is due to him and seek to build much of their work on the commonsense foundations which he laid down, in the true spirit of science. Anyone who is so ignorant as to sneer at Freudianism as "hocus pocus" must also reject the work of these later workers.

The bulk of Green's article is ill-informed, and I would take this opportunity of pointing out a few pertinent facts.

(a) Regarding the boggy of the psychoanalysts with their alleged racketeering fees, every member of the British Psychoanalytical Society undertakes to give a minimum of five hours per week of treatment without remuneration. As

far as the public are concerned their services are also available free at the various hospitals and clinics under the National Health Scheme.

(b) Regarding functional disorders, which Green would remove from the province of medical practice. A functional disorder is simply a disorder of bodily function where there is no change or disease affecting structure, as contrasted with organic disorder. The non-medical man is not qualified to distinguish between functional and organic disorders; he might, for instance, be treating the manifestations of tertiary syphilis with hypnosis or the effects of a malignant tumour with psychodrama. This is the reason why non-medical psychotherapists choose to work under medical supervision—unless they are irresponsible quacks.

(c) All psychoanalysts are not medical men. There are qualified lay analysts who work under medical supervision. That was one of the distinctive innovations of Freud to the technique of healing.

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PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

Table with 2 columns: Description, Amount. Rows include Deficit on Freedom (£345), Contributions received (£299), and DEFCIT (£46).

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INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS
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Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.
MANETTE STREET (Charing X Road)
Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

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THE Germans call themselves a people of thinkers and poets; non-Germans speak of German militarism, atrocities, etc.—a very different judgment. But after all, most peoples have quite another opinion of themselves than their neighbours. Yet it cannot be denied that almost all existing peoples have combinations of characteristics which are not to be found in the same combination in any other peoples.

NO ESCAPE

ON April 26 the House of Lords rejected the Wedgwood Benn Renunciation Bill, condemning Mr. Benn to become Lord Stansgate on his father's death. To renounce a peerage seems to us a very reasonable idea; but Mr. Benn's bill has the peculiarity that the renunciation would apply only to himself as an individual, not to his heir.

This seems rather like having your cake and eating it, not only to us but also, for instance, to Lord Hastings, who said: "One could not create a family sitting in one generation in the Commons, in one generation in the Lords, and in the next generation in neither. The appropriate supporter for a peerage of that kind would be a jack-in-the-box. (Laughter.)"

The Lord Chancellor made a long speech of sympathy, but ended up saying the Government "believed that the remedy must be a remedy which was general in character. It must, in view of the Government, be arrived at not by a side wind, but by full and frank consideration of all its implications."

It was for that reason that he could not advise the House to do anything other than reject the Bill."

Viscount Stansgate, who introduced his son's bill, said the Lord Chancellor's speech filled him with despair; but Mr. Benn, more optimistic, is now thinking of introducing the bill himself, in the House of Commons.

For the reason he wants to renounce the peerage, we find, is only that he has a good job in the Commons, and can't be a commoner and a peer at the same time.

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Letter from Germany BACKGROUND TO REARMAMENT

step with a band, then the average German will forget his reason and follow his sentiments, even when it means hardships and sacrifices for him.

This seems childish, and it certainly is, but it is nevertheless true. I have observed it many times. Not that these men are patriots, they just like soldiering, they would fight for any country. For instance 25,000 German volunteers fought for France until last year in the war in Indo-China. I have heard prisoners of Hitler complaining, not because they had been sent to prison for many years by the arbitrary justice of the Nazis, but because having been political prisoners they could not become soldiers in Hitler's army.

The experiences I have had in this line make me doubtful about the result of the current campaign in Germany against rearmament and militarism.

This campaign is the consequence of the German people's experience of war, it is the voice of reason, but when reason is over-ridden by sentiment, the campaign will become a thing of the past. And this swing can happen as soon as the first German battalions march through German towns and villages. Yet it is not only this deep-seated German sentiment which may frustrate the ohne mich ("count me out") campaign, there are also the churches on the side of re-armament, and most of all, the Roman Catholic church which can whip its members into line by means of the confessional. What will be the results of the crime of German rearmament? Rearmament will bring back militarism and with it the rule of the military caste. In the event of an atomic war hardly anyone in Germany will escape with his life because Germany will be the battlefield.

after our victory at the end of the war, we never recovered from this feeling of military inferiority. The Soviet leaders are simply expressing the opinion of the people and especially the opinion of the veterans of the last war, when they say that Germany, as soon as it has started to rearm will once more be the strongest military power in the world, and a menace to its neighbours in the East. The Kremlin is convinced that once Germany has obtained twelve divisions it will soon have a much bigger army."

Colonel Valkow has of course written his article in a vein to suit his landlord, the U.S. government, and it must therefore be read with caution, but nevertheless I believe that it is on the whole true. And for once I even agree with the opinion of the Kremlin.

WHETHER the bosses of the Kremlin fear German rearmament or not, they will in any case intensify their own rearmament. The armies of the East and the West will be bigger but their forces will remain balanced, neither of the two will have gained an advantage over the other. But the Russian as well as the German people will have to pay the bill.

Menacing language over the frontier is very often, if not always, a godsend to the politicians and militarists on the other side. It provides evidence that they are justified in their demand for more and more armaments to "defend the country". This is a sort of solidarity game between "statesmen" to let the probable opponent of the future know

that their armies may come to blows soon, therefore build up a bigger and better army!

Molotov's menacing speech against the West, on the day when Malenkov had "abdicated" was such a solidarity speech. It was a godsend for the German government, and a terrible blow to all the people in Germany who are against rearmament. Molotov's speech was the water which set Adenauer's mill in motion. Adenauer declared that this speech was the proof that he was, and always had been, right with his rearmament plans and that the German opposition to rearmament was as good as smashed by this speech.

The government was jubilant: Molotov's speech had fortified Adenauer's position, members of the government's coalition in the Bundestag who had previously declared themselves against rearmament, fell into line again.

Apart from convinced anti-militarists, many people's opposition to rearmament was affected by this speech. Hitherto the main argument against rearmament had been that it would be better to negotiate with Russia and not to menace it with German militarism and an alliance with the West. The Malenkov régime had brought certain relative relaxations and it was thought possible that the Stalin system was a thing of the past in so far that people could now live side by side with Russia. But many Germans now think that to be a miscalculation.

(To be continued)

Dockland's Politicians

outside the industry trying to manipulate forces he couldn't control and getting out of his depth because human factors had not entered his intellectual exercise.

They're All At It

Nor are these two Bolshevik factions the only ones trying to use the dockers as tools in their struggle for control. One tends to forget the Labour Party in this sort of context—but of course it is there all the time, its moderating influence and the needs of the political game being expressed mainly through union officialdom. Since the Trotskyists disintegrated as an open, separate organisation (the Revolutionary Communist Party) in 1949, the Labour Party has provided the happy hunting ground for a faction of them who conceived it as the correct, revolutionary tactic to enter the party and bore from within.

Then there the religious bodies. The Catholics have a fairly firm hold on at least one sector of London's docks (Tooley Street) and are also strong in Liverpool. Catholic trades unionists of course have their instructions from Mother Church to vote for and support Catholic candidates for offices in the

unions, and are as much concerned as the Communists to use the unions to gain further influence for their dictatorship.

And the Moral Re-Armament movement has claimed more than one militant docker, and with trips to Switzerland and weekends in country houses so added his pate that he gets all sentimental about his dear old pal the boss, and becomes useless as far as the struggle on the job is concerned. Which is what MRA is after. At least one member of the Blue union executive has fallen for this stuff.

Thus we see a picture of intrigue and counter-intrigue going on in dockland which is perhaps not paralleled in any other industry. The peculiar nature of the dock industry—its location in the hearts of big towns, for instance—and the class-conscious nature of the dockers as a whole, have made them a sitting target for every power-hungry clique looking for advancement. The Communists have been the most successful at this game—but have now been caught in their own net and have exposed themselves. Dockers are not slow to notice these things.

(See Editorial Comment page 3)