Anarchist Commentary

Underlines Degeneration of Socialist Thought

ordinary people in different parts of cannot be provided very soon without from Germany and Italy, not to the world. The universal food short- cutting rations in return, one American mention the almost permanent famine age is terrible enough. But in another official says "it is inevitable that there conditions among Indians and Chinese, way the indifference of men- will be a tremendous wave of sickness or among the native population of especially those who claim to believe and epidemics this winter. The S. Africa. in what used to be called the "brother- children are obviously underweight Once again the destruction of fisherhood of mankind"-is scarcely less and undernourished and will not be men's catches shows that the market terrible or sinister. Let us look at the able to withstand the rigours of the economy of capitalism lies at the root world.

Hunger' and 'We're hungry, give us skin disease due to malnutrition." which is too often overlooked. Bari sacked shops to-day in a demonstration against the high cost of living. Police in light tanks fired at the rioting crowd, killing one and injuring 14. Reinforcements of troops and armoured cars have been sent to the

The old, old story; they asked for bread and got-bullets.

Robert Root, Worldover Press correspondent in Berlin (27/12/46),

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MEETINGS - ANNOUNCEMENTS LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP SOCIALIST PARTY OF GT. BRITAIN DEBATE will be held on the motion : "SHOULD THE WORKING CLASS CHOOSE SOCIALISM OR ANARCHISM ?" Monday, 20th January, 1947, LARGE CONWAY HALL at 7 p.m. CLIFF GROVES S.P.G.B .: LA.G .: TONY GIBSON Chairman: J. ALLEN SKINNER Admission Free **GLASGOW ANARCHIST MEETINGS** Sunday 19th Jan. BRIDGETON PUBLIC HALL Sunday 26th Jan. KINGSTON PUBLIC HALL Sunday 2nd Feb. WOODSIDE PUBLIC HALL SPEAKERS FROM PRESTON CLEMENTS STIRLING CREIGHTON JOHNNY GAFFNEY FRANK LEECH JIMMY RAESIDE EDDIE SHAW All meetings commence at 6.30 p.m. Doors Open 6 p.m. CHORLEY, Lancs. A Series of LECTURES at the ODDFELLOWS ROOMS. 9 Cunliffe St. Will begin at 6.45 p.m. on Sunday 26th Jan, GERALD VAUGHAN Social Implications of Wilhelm Reich's Sexology All enquiries to :- J. A. BOOTH, II, Ribblesdale Place, Chorley, Lancs, The LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP SUNDAY

EVENING LECTURES Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. at 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.I ANUARY 19th F. A. Ridley Is Britain Moving Towards Socialism

JANUARY 26th Isa Gourley Futility of the Labour Government FEBRUARY 2nd S. Watson Taylo The Revolutionary Ideas of the Marquis de Sade

Admission Free. Questions invited

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out winter clothing.

"Two fishermen made a catch of 100 stones of sprats at Folkestone yesterday. But there were no buyers and the whole boatload was dumped back into the sea. News Chronicle, 28/12/46.

price of food to be lowered. But con- which is basic to the original socialist Germans and others should be main- have to-day.

Letters to the Editors

HERE are some scattered obser- describes the hunger of school children gratulation on the score of this increase vations involving the feeding of in Germany. If a hot daily lunch is out of place in view of the news

oncoming cold weather. In my of the famines of to-day. But this work in the schools I have noticed an has been pointed out too often in News Chronicle report (28/12/46): alarming increase in the number of this paper to require elaboration here. "Rome, Friday. Carrying banners cases of children who have broken out What we are concerned with is an saving: 'We don't want to die of with an ugly-looking and irritating ethical aspect of preventable misery

food', housewives in the seaport of Root goes on to remark that one Socialism, by its very name, affirms bad effect on morals has been the the feeling of kinship with one's conceptions. Charles James Fox, the tained just above the danger line. stimulation of food thefts. "In some fellow men, and it is this feeling, Whig leader of Pitt's time, expressed These are their arguments when they areas, half the delinquencies among this direct apprehension, which under- the same feeling when he said on are in favour of humane measures. school children have been such thefts. lies socialist internationalism. The seeing a man driven to Tyburn to be But much more often they ignore the In the Kreuzberg district, 62 per cent. anti-militarist tradition, once common hanged, "There, but for the grace of famines, remarking that "they have no of the delinquencies were of this type to the whole of socialist thought, but God, go I." The anarchist insistence reason to love the Germans". in the first six months of the year." now upheld almost solely by on international solidarity represents The collapse of Socialist Inter-51,580 children, or 40 per cent. of Anarchists (and not, alas, by all of the strongest statement of this feeling. nationalism in 1914, and the increasing the children in the United States' these who describe themselves thus), Unfortunately, the liberals aban- development of Socialist Nationalism sector of Berlin, are without shoes. was erected on the knowledge that it doned universal kinship in favour of since, shows the degeneration of Almost as many are completely with- was wrong for men to engage in the national loyalty long ago, and the socialist thought since Debs' time. mindless mass destruction of their socialists have now followed them and Significant of the general trend, the fellows. There is an element of intel- surpassed them in rapid nationalism. "Communist International" (which lectual casuistry in the conceptions of Almost the only other body which was neither Communist nor interwhich led Marx and some of his fol- human solidarity is the Quakers, who ethical feeling, and its theoreticians lowers to take the German side in the explicitly keep free from politics. derided any such as "bourgeois Franco-Prussian war of 1870. Such Throughout the period of European illusions". The lack of this warmth niceties may apparenty suit the im- starvation, socialists have been most of feeling, only too starkly shown by mediate programme of politics, but careful, on the rare occasions when the socialists of to-day, is mainly they are alien to the ethical traditions they have advocated mitigating the lot responsible for the emptiness, the Now it is gratifying to know that of socialism. The great American of the starving "ex-enemies", most disillusionment, the impotence of the food situation in this country is socialist, Eugene V. Debs declared: careful to insist that they do not do political socialism. But for people improving, even if one knows that "While there is a lower class, I am so for humanitarian reasons. Mass with revolutionary conceptions, for the prime cause of malnutrition here in it; while there is a criminal starvation breeds epidemics, they anarchists, for anyone with any depth is the inability to buy what food is element, I am of it; while there is point out; and our troops may be of humanity, such warmth is an inavailable, so that increased supplies a soul in prison, I am not free," and infected. Indeed the sickness may tegral part of their make-up. For such from abroad only filter through to he was affirming the sense of kinship spread over here. Self-interest de- people Debs' words have never had those most in need if they cause the with other men-all other men- mands, therefore, they declare, that such poignancy and relevance as they

> DEAR COMRADE. of Cowley, goes to show:

service." (Emphasis mine.)

As the army has an expressive word, beginning with "b" and ending with "t", the printing of which might bring down upon us the colleague of Lord Hard Work Never Hurt Pakenham who suppresses things un- No-one! favourable to Ministers, we may safely leave it to "the soldier" to treat this A fine piece of early nineteenth century fresh piece of idiocy with the scorn i

DEAR COMRADES, far as it goes. The "puppets" however, following:are not wholly to blame for their conformity with the system which governs and directs them from the womb to the grave. Surely, it is because the Left Wing parties in each country in which they have gained power, have constantly adopted the manners of the masters they deposed, and having become the "State", have acted in accordance with all the infamous outrages so easily linked with that allinto office to water down, to shout down phenomenal increase in production.

workers. They have either sunk once work on Saturday mornings. brains". In Spain, this was not the case, 1 five-day week.

Evidently our pro-conscription Labour- anarchist movement, ready and willing to persuasion are scratching bewildered heads stated in his evidence that he had been ite politicians are still not quite easy in explain the inevitable end of all reformist at the monstrous Conscription Bill, which brutally treated when under investigation their minds, despite "reading in bed" and governments, trying to build a workers' demands the bodies and minds of their and awaiting court martial. After the the other innumerable sops, as the follow- society upon the same lines as the former children; now that they are wondering how meeting of soldiers which was the subject ing masterpiece from Baron Pakenham society of oppression. The anarchist "nationalisation" became a purely of the charge, Saunders and some sixty (who, as Mr. Frank Pakenham, fared movement in this country, whether we like socialist measure; now that they are other N.C.O.'s were put on board the badly in the late General Election, but is it or not, is an esoteric circle of in- drowning in a sea of bureaucratic paper tanker Victory, under guard. Then, said now Parliamentary Secretary, War Office), tellectuals for the most part (and I mean and listening to "fighting" speeches urging Saunders, "I was refused water and forthe word in its kindest and widest sense), them to work twice as hard without any bidden to go to the latrine. We had no-"Lord Pakenham" (the quotation is which is not in touch with the workers hope of sharing the result of that labour- food for 19 hours and no blankets." The from the Times report of Dec. 6th) "said at all. To the average worker in England, there is our opportunity to show that what | next day he and some others were released, that the War Office intended in future to the name "anarchist", if it conveys any we have always maintained was true. Let but he was subsequently re-arrested, and lay increased emphasis on the soldier as image at all, suggests a cloak-and-dagger us gods come down from Olympus! Now placed in solitary confinement for 29 days a man with an immortal soul and a per- character, with a smoking bomb and a is the time for us to preach the Dignity in a cell measuring six feet by four feet sonality of great value . . . There was no long beard, at which one dutifully laughs of Man and the Freedom that is the dream | by eight feet. intention of tampering with discipline, in comic papers. If anyone derides this of every "puppet"-then, V. Wilson, per- This is merely one of the barbarities which was the life-blood of any fighting then they really are out of touch with haps the dream will become the will and which are continually practiced in the "proletarian thought".

industrial philosophy was brought out by gusta have threatened to strike unless their tried is treated as badly as one who is Sir Robert Jackson, the head of the demands for more pay are satisfied. Birkenhead shipbuilding firm of Cammell Lairds, when his firm declined the appli- day which they receive is only sufficient of terror and revenge in maintaining cation of their workers for a five-day week. for bread.-(Reuter.) The letter signed "V. Wilson", in Among the edifying remarks made by this Freedom for Dec. 46, is fair enough as apologist for Spartan capitalism were the

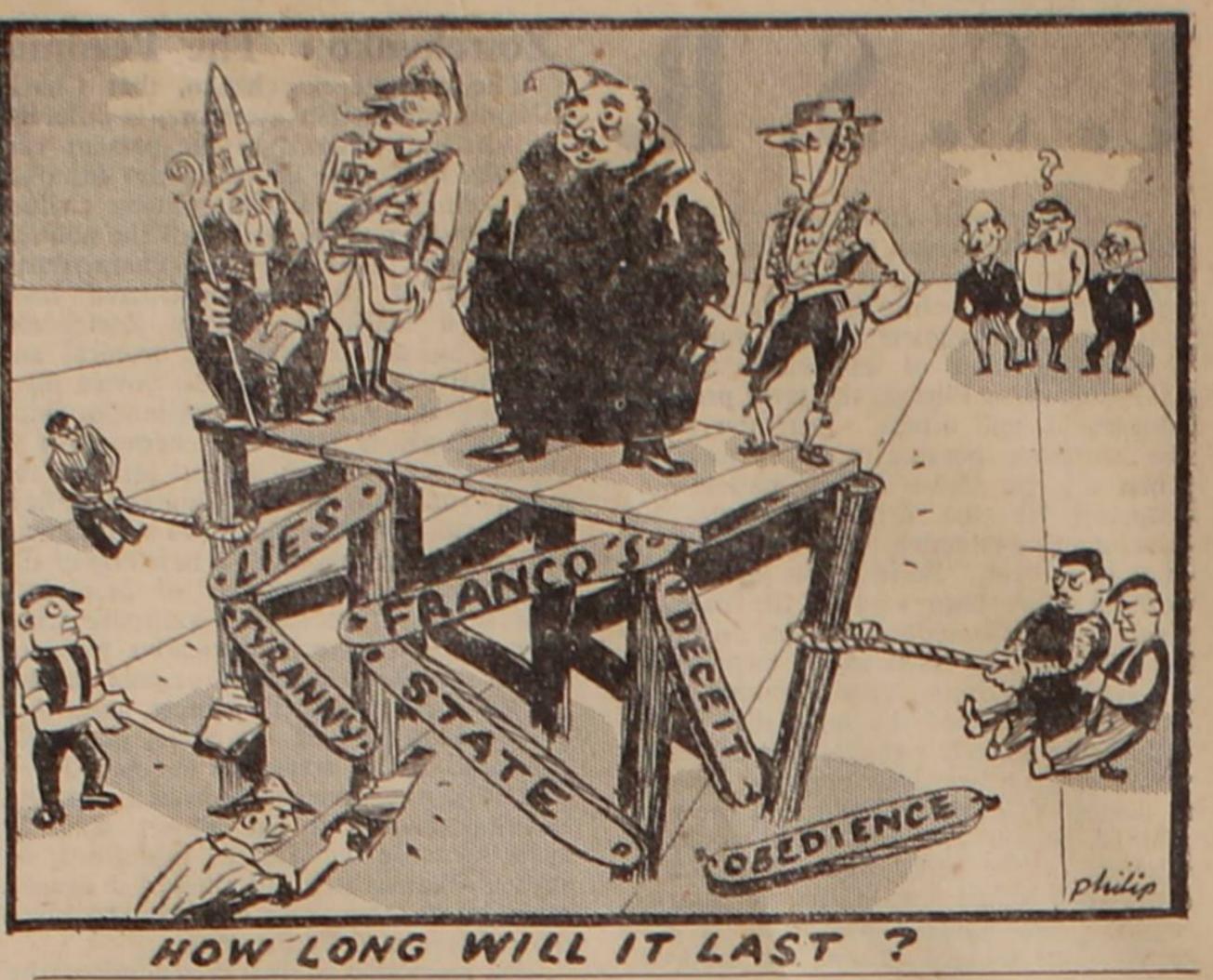
> "I think the trade unions are pursuing a short-sighted policy. It will have a serious effect on production and idleness does."

pervading power. It is not necessary for even up-to-date as a capitalist. He should crammed. This is a criticism which the their contributions large and small will make me to tell of the many apostasies of the go to school with some firm like Standard Editorial Board also had to make when they our next Press Fund list a much more imcaucuses who have gone to the House of Motors, who discovered that the intro- saw the first copies from the Press. It was pressive one. Send your contributions NOW. Commons-the Diet-the Douma-the duction of a five-day week, with its oppor- in part due to a technical hitch whereby the and at the same time let us have your views-Cortes-sung their somewhat naive trans- tunities for the lazy, idle workers to loaf column length was reduced by nearly an about FREEDOM and your suggestions. lations of "The Red Flag", and settled on Saturday mornings, resulted in a linch, but also because too much small type and finally to beat and shoot down, the Meanwhile, the men, unimpressed by know that the last issue contained 30,000

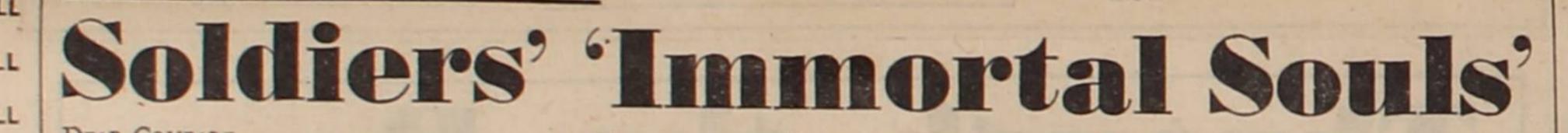
principles for which their supporters sent such reasoning, have taken matters into words, or the equivalent of a 80-page book!) their own hands, and have decided to We have attempted to remedy this fault In this country, there has been no establish the five-day week by the simple in the layout and hope to have the general alternative to offer the disillusioned direct action method of not arriving for approval of our readers with the current more to their former apathy, or rushed This action coincided with the direct into the ever-open arms of the Communist action of Clydeside shipyard workers, who Party, having "nothing to lose but their last Saturday held a token strike for the FREEDOM have not yet been worked out.

FREEDOM

World Food Situation



'progressive" and "reactionary" wars, maintains the feeling of practical national) never had even a spark of



let's get on with it.

Monks Threaten Strike

- -----

ABBOTT.

Monks of a monastery outside Fama-

FIRST REACTIONS

was used (readers may be interested to number of FREEDOM.

The extra costs of producing the new I but as we have told our readers, they will Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1, and published by Freedom Press, London; W.C.1

PERSECUTION OF ACCUSED SOLDIER

trial at Port Said for conspiracy to mutiny in connection with the military as there was a virile and sympathetic Now that socialists of the "libertarian" strikes in Egypt, Corporal J. C. Saunders,

the will will forge the reality. Righto- army against men who dare to defy the authorities on any point. Men are continually being kept under such conditions, and it is this which has been responsible more than anything else for the continual risings in army detention camps. The army legal system has nothing to do with justice. A man who has not even been found guilty. The whole system is quite The monks say that the 8d. to 1s. 4d. a evidently based on nothing but the value

FIRST reactions to FREEDOM in its new exceed £10 per issue, and we rely on the lower the whole standard of the work- "get up" have been generally favour- solidarity of all comrades and sympathisers man . . . The proposal will eventually able. Some readers have told us that to meet these new liabilities. Contributions bring disaster to Birkenhead. I think it the contents of the paper was of a high to the Press Fund to date have been diswill be bad for the men themselves, standard and that we have succeeded in appointing, and but for two large donations. because work does none any harm, while using the extra space to give more variety would have been disastrous! But we are to the paper. The more critical readers confident most of our readers will want us to Sir Robert Jackson quite evidently isn't have complained that the paper was too continue with the enlarged paper, and that

PRESS FUND

Ist-10th January: Ontario: F.A.P. 6/-; Blackpool: E.R. 1/-; Ashton: J.P. 6/-; London: D.G. 5/-; Fulham: W.E.D. 5/-; M.E.F.: A.M. 1/-; Ilford: A.S. 2/6; California: Libertarian: Group (per A.M.) £12/8/0: London: V.T. £2/10/0.

> -----Total to date £16/4/6



OUR politicians have become very modest now that the war is is to be really effective, would mean sideration of keeping the promises atom bombs will not be used in the over. No longer has war been fought to end wars and establish freedom and plenty all over the world. Starvation is accepted as a natural post-war phenomenon and even the meagre and inefficient help of UNRRA has been stopped. Future wars are openly discussed and the most daring plans merely consist of controlling and limiting armaments and armies.

No one talks now of abolishing war, but merely of reforming But even supposing that inspection career is at an end. it, and the reforms suggested are part of the political game, a means for weaker nations to wage a demagogic struggle against the stronger. For example, Russia can play the role of the innocent lamb threatened by the American big bad wolf who does not wish to give up the secret of the atomic bomb which Russia claims to ignore.

some of her weapons.

Disarmament would only be possible in a world where absolute confidence existed amongst nations, in other words, ament is pure hypocrisy. It is no use vituperating against the selfishness of the United States; in a world where might is right the attitude of America is a logical one.

It is easy to make capital out of the The U.S.A. have rightly pointed out unwillingness of the United States to at U.N.O. that there could be no aboliabandon the production of atomic tion of the atomic bomb without hombs, but no one can seriously suggest effective inspection and sanctions. But that, in a world where the possibility of as these are impossible, discussions war is not ruled out, a country can are bound to reach a deadlock. Plans voluntarily weaken herself by giving up for international disarmament are even more unrealistic now than they were in the past. It is no longer a question of controlling the numerical strength of armies or the number of guns manuwhere there are no possibilities for war. factured; the production of modern But in a world filled with suspicion, weapons of warfare can be carried out political and imperialist competition and by a very small number of people and nationalist rivalries, to talk of disarm- in complete secrecy. Inspection, if it would miss it out of the stupid con- illusions about it. It may be that we can be at peace with one another."

Russia, the U.S.A. and Britain would capable of such sincerity in the shadow when it becomes expedient to do so. never agree to it.

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were possible, it would be useless unles sanctions could be applied to those countries violating their agreements. And who is to apply sanctions when a Great Power has a right of veto against them?

Shades of Goering

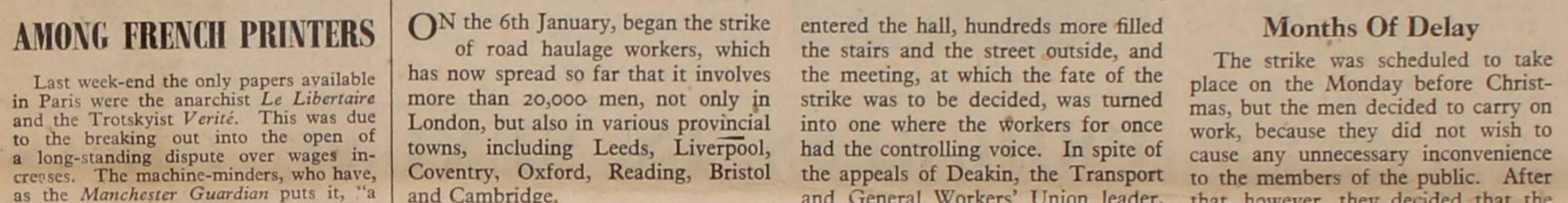
All this talk about disarmament is pure farce. The politicians who make it are fully resolved that any plan for disarmament will not weaken the strength of their own country. All of them could subscribe to the words Goering uttered in the dock at Nuremberg: "You may well talk of honour in business but, when the interests of a nation are at play, there can be no

ANARCHIST DIRECT ACTION AMONG FRENCH PRINTERS

to the breaking out into the open of as the Manchester Guardian puts it, "a | and Cambridge. long-established anarchist tradition" decided that they had waited long enough for a consideration of the workers demands for a 25% increase in wages, and carried on against the advice of the started a go-slow campaign, significantly enough, began in the printing works of the Communist papers, L'Humanité and Ce Soir. The movement spread to the other papers, and, in retaliation the National Federation of the Press, the employers' organisation, decided to declare a lock-out.

The fact that the go-slow movemen should have taken place in defiance of official C.G.T. policy and should have been directed against the Communis papers first of all, shows that the printing workers are becoming steadily more discontented with the official leadership and are returning to their traditional syndicalist attitude towards workers' action.

American



The strike is unofficial, and has been unions, and against the threats of the government to use all their powers to break it. But the fact that the rank and file are solidly behind the strike and that it is not organised by any committee of a few agitators was shown by what took place at the The Reasons For The Strike delegate meeting on Sunday, 12th

of road haulage workers, which the stairs and the street outside, and and General Workers' Union leader, that, however, they decided that the who endeavoured to persuade the men nine months they had been waiting for to return to work, it was decided by an improvement in conditions must be an overwhelming majority to continue brought to an end, and when the the strike, in defiance of the hostility drivers in East London began to come of the union leaders and the threats out, the strike spread rapidly, and was of the government to use troops for taken up throughout London with strike breaking.

The reasons for this strike, which January, at Stratford Town Hall. has now assumed such proportions that There the union leaders were due to it is the largest transport strike since address a select conference of delegates, 1926, are set out in the following but the meeting was invaded by the statement, which was issued by the rank-and-file, hundreds of drivers committee on the 10th January, and which has been ignored by most of the pitalist press.

> should be acquainted with the reasons that have prompted the drivers to dis- against the strikers. Statements chairman indicated the way he would are becoming used to this kind for or against the operatives' proposals. being to reject the owners' offers and make a further application with its attendant delays.

"The main grievance is the cumulative week which allows an owner to days, eight hours on the fifth, and to stand off on the sixth day, thus losing conditions. the one and a half hours' overtime they should have been paid on the first four days. The concessions granted by the employers in their last proposals affect only one in one thousand drivers, and considered by the men as an insult

satisfied that he has given no assurance to them that he will take steps to modify out-of-date and cumbersome. The men claim a 44-hour week, abolition of the

official conformation for this view has

MILITANT SQUATTERS

A fine example of t ting has been given by a family Southend. These people, William Clarke, mandated islands of the Marshalls. his wife and two children, moved into a corporation requisitioned flat ago. Proceedings were taken against them, and Ryukus." and a county court order for eviction was obtained. Accordingly, they moved out of the flat in question, but immediatel squatted in another empty flat some way off. This place is also council requisitioned but in order to eject the Clarkes, the council will have to go through another entirely new county court case to obtain their ejection.

A really enterprising squatter could keep himself provided with homes by this method for an almost indefinite period, so long as there were empty flats available and in the long run the patience of the authorities might well be worn down by a series of court cases. It yet remains to be seen whether the family in question intend to carry on in this manner.

In an article in our last issue, George appeared, in the form of a report of Woodcock pointed out how the the Naval Committee of the House of American imperialists are attempting, Representatives, made public on the with considerable success, to transform 2nd January. The clauses of this report the Pacific into a closely guarded dealing with the "security" occupation American lake. Since that article was of the Pacific islands are sufficiently important to quote in full, as clear evidence of the intention of the American ruling class to maintain its continued hegemony in the Pacific.

Imperialists

Stake their Claims

1. "For our own security, the security of the Western hemisphere and the peace of the Pecific, the United States should have at least dominating control over the former Japanese-Carolines, Marianas, and over the outlying Japanese islands of Izus, Bonins,

2. "The United States should be given specific substantial rights to the sites where American bases have been constructed on island territories o Allied nations."

3. "With respect to the Manus, Noumea, Espiritu Santo, Guadaleanal and other sites of American bases on islands mandated to or claimed by other nations, full title should be given to the United States because of our chain of

4. "The United States must not permit its Pacific bases to lapse back into the state of unpreparedness as in the instances of Guam and Wake prior to the present war."

of the gallows, when their political

To believe that plans for international disarmament will stop war is pure nonsense. Armaments are not the cause of war: they are merely a symptom of a society which cannot live at peace. This is a result of the capitalist system, but to abolish capitalism alone would not eradicate the causes of war. Wars existed before the birth of capitalism and the first country of the world to destroy the old capitalist system-Soviet Russia, has created one of the most powerful armies in the world. A class society where a minority rules over the majority has always needed an army and has waged wars whether under private or state capitalism.

the power of any nation to thoroughly given? It is the duty of a statesman next war for strategic reasons, just as aspect not only war plants, but also to take advantage of that situation for poison gas was not used in this war, factories and laboratories, and in fact, the good of his country!" This is not but of one thing we can be sureany house or building of another nation. cynicism; it is a simple statement of facts. bacterial warfare, poison gas, long-This can be attempted in the case of The whole of history is there to confirm range rockets will be used in spite of defeated nation, but countries like it. Unfortunately politicians are only all international laws and agreements

TA BRECK

The problem of war is not one treaties signed over green tables. In the words of Herbert Read:

"There is no problem which leads so inevitably to anarchism. Peace is anarchy. Government is force: force is repression and repression leads to a reaction, to a psychosis of power, which in its turn involves the individual in destructive impulses and the nations in war. War, therefore, will exist so long as the state exists. Only a nongovernmental society can offer those economic, ethical and psychological conditions under which the emergence of a pacifist mentality is possible. We fight because we are too tightly swathed in bonds-because we live in a condition of economic slavery and of moral intalk of morality! When a State has an Short of abolishing the class society, hibition. Not until these bonds are opportunity to increase its strength by that is to say the State, there is no loosed will the desire to create finally taking advantage of the weakness of means of abolishing war. And war can triumph over the desire to destroy. We another state, do you really think it only be total war. It is useless to have must be at peace with ourselves before



Months Of Delay

The strike was scheduled to take place on the Monday before Christenthusiasm. The result has been an as taking supplies to hospitals, and providing for such essential food requirements as bread and milk.

The methods with which we have become familiar during the tenure of "We are anxious that the public the Labour government have been used regard the advice of their unions and government departments and articles withdraw their labour. They are not in the capitalist press have tried to confident that they will get an impartial hearing at the meeting of the Central stir up feeling against them by exploit-Wages Board to be held on Monday, as ing the fact that food services will be vote before the workers cast their vote thing, and, while very many people Thus the unions were forced to second have indeed been put to considerable the employers' proposals although they inconvenience, there has been much were not acceptable, the alternative less evident hostility towards the strikers than on previous occasions. The fact is, probably, that most workers are beginning to feel the pinch nowadays so much that they work his men ten hours a day for four have a greater solidarity for men who are ready to strike for better

Government Bad Faith

London, so that the soldiers could start to work on the Monday morning. This kind of bad faith undoubtedly has had an effect in embitering the

Market Workers Walk Out

Meanwhile, considerable solidarity is coming from men in other industries. The porters at Covent Garden, Smithfield, Billingsgate and other markets have refused to work while soldiers are engaged in transport from the market and actually walked out of the market as thet troops went in. It almost complete tie-up at the Docks is also possible that passenger transport and the railway goods depots, the para- men, including London busmen, may lysing of the big markets, and the act in sympathy. A statement from the suspension of most of the Lendon busmen, printed in The Star, 11/1/47, carrier services. On the other hand, pointed out that they were the strikers have specifically avoided becoming discontented because they interfering with essential services, such had waited seven months for satisfaction or even proper consideration of their claim for a five day week of 40 hours instead of an unregulated 48-hour week.

The strike of the road transport drivers shows the distrust for the government which is rising among the workers in general. It is very significant that these men are employed by the industry which is next on the list to be nationalised. But they have at the previous meeting the independent interfered with. The public, however, evidently now so little faith in the benefits that nationalisation will bring them, that they prefer to gain them for themselves by direct action, in defiance of bosses, unions and the state

The Growth Of Discontent

Such incidents as this and the Stratford go-slow campaign, coupled with the lessening enthusiasm among the workers for the closed shop, seem to show that there is growing up a very considerable force of opinion in many industries that the present so-called labour movement is totally unsatisfac-Threats having failed, the Govern- tory, and that the time has come for the three additional days' holiday are ment has brought in soldiers to break the rank and file to play its full part · the strike, just as it did during the in industrial activities. The action of "In spite of the fact that the Minister dock strike. The threat was first made the drivers in seizing the delegate of Labour has intimated his intention on the 10th, but it was then announced meeting last Sunday and turning it to break the strike, the men are dis- that the authorities would wait until into a general meeting of the aggrieved the decisions of the conference on the men is only one sign of this new consor in any way improve the negotiating 12th. But the authorities, while they ciousness of the need for direct action machinery of the Central Wages Board, have not actually used soldiers for among the workers to-day, diswhich the unions and the men agree is transport before Monday, took advan- contented and disillusioned as they are tage of the interval to get their men becoming with the mountebanks who cumulative week, introduction of the and lorries together, and actually to pretend to represent them in the regulated week and a 12-day holiday." establish camps at various parts of government and the T.U. executives.

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 18 17 18 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

Londoners are said to be proud of their city. and expansion, even in a free society? Or is it Have they, in fact, anything to be proud of? Is symptomatic only of a centralised governmental the nature of the biggest city in the world such society, doomed to destruction whatever the future that we should hope to see its continued growth holds for us?

with it!

know, is not confined to criminal investi- useless, crowded, frustrating travel, I leave gation, however. The policeman's lot is to a real mathematician to work out! And not a happy one when he has to deal with these leave out the suburban train services the killed and maimed on London's roads. of the main line companies, who daily



Some of the 3,658,236,000

Stumbling-Block

Present Law A Fundamental January 6th, two days later, it carried a special article headed "If You Refuse to Save a Life". This article explained the law regarding altruistic behaviour. Two IT is often assumed that an apparent progress in men had stood on a bridge over the river Colne and field of ideas represents an actual progress, and nowhere watched a boy drown in four feet of water. The coroner more fallaciously than in the realm of sexual ideas. Public explained that they had committed no crime, for no one opinion may advance, but the unseen and too often unis in law bound to intervene for the purpose of saving lives recognized framework which the law imposes on conduct in danger. "Your social duty may be obvious, but failure substantially checks any widespread application of broader in it has never been made punishable by law." (The ideas. Thus, more and more people to-day regard as article points out, however, that "a person who refuses unnatural the lag period between sexual maturity at to assist the police in making an arrest when called upon, puberty and the actual beginning of hetero-sexual exand who is not prevented by infirmity, can be indicted perience. An increasing body of opinion regards the for a Common Law misdemeanour".) repression or denial of adolescent sex life as the prime Now this attitude towards altruism does not apply breeding ground for a subservient attitude, both politically where a person has a special responsibility such as the and socially, in adult life. This is not the place to go care of a child, and it is this fact, no doubt, which brings in detail into all the evils that spring from this denial of this particular mother into the law's net. Yet obviously life; it must suffice to note that probably the bulk of prothe moral position is the same whether family relationships gressive opinion in this country regards it as unnatural as well as increases in population. In the to defer sexual life for from five to ten (or even more) exist or not. According to the law, this mother should have prevented her daughter from engaging in sexual years after arriving at puberty. Man alone among the activity, for the defence established that she had warned animals-or, at least, civilized man-practices this unher "of the dangers of associating with men at her age". natural restraint. Almost everyone who observes life with The law thus underwrites the whole of reactionary sexual an uninhibited and unprejudiced eye can recall within their attitudes when they inculcate into girls a fear of sexual own experiences cases in which the repression of adolescent activity and a conviction that it is wrong. Every thinking sexual urges has had deleterious, if not tragic, results. person knows what havoc and misery this attitude creates, **Repression Founded in Law** how it ruins many marriages from the start, and lays the Yet, this repression is backed up by law, for it is a foundations for much ill-health in later life for women. misdemeanour to have sexual intercourse with a girl under But the law is the law.

sixteen. Quite recently a woman was sent to prison for The whole of London, too, enjoys a higher two years for permitting an offence (sic) against a girl death rate (by 30 per cent. in 1930) than under 16. The girl in question was her daughter. The that among dwellers in small towns and woman herself may be assumed to have rejected conventional ideas of morality, for she was unmarried herself and had five children, not all of them by the same man. The chairman of the court described the mother's offence Yes, it is dangerous to be ill in London, as "incredible". In the newspaper reports there is no in spite of our 145 Voluntary Hospitals. indication that the girl was asked her opinion, nor any suggestion that she was unwilling. The fact that a girl view of that fact, one has to admire that under sixteen should engage in sexual behaviour is regarded they do a very good job in patching up by the law as a punishable wrong. She is now being the ever-ailing Londoner. It's a pity their "taken care of"-which probably means being sent to a reform school for three years.

Now this case underlines the real position quite because he happens to be 70 yards on the clearly. One may think adolescent repression productive of endless misery and even crime, one may feel glad when one sees adolescents enjoying a happy and carefree sexual life; but one advocates such a life, such a remedy, only behaviour. at peril; for adolescent sexual life is not merely conventionally "wrong", it is legally a crime.

It has not been the purpose of this article to suggest remedies; if those who hold progressive ideas in the field A Legal Principle Reversed of sex realize that they have in the legal system their most But the law also reverses one of its principles in such formidable adversary; if something has been done to sexual cases, showing that it attaches particular importance destroy the illusion that advances in "public opinion" of to the enforcement of adolescent continence. The News of themselves effect changes, the writer will be well Chronicle reported the above case on January 4th; on satisfied. ANARCHIST.

habitants. In more modern times the in the West to Plumstead in the South great French architect-planner, Le East (16 miles) and from Holloway in Corbusier, laid down 3,000,000 as a limit. the North to Streatham in the South Greater London had a population in 1937 (11 miles), but that Greater London is of 8,655,000-about one-fifth of the vaster than that, covering 693 sq. miles, entire population of Great Britain. Are and that there are no less than 355 local

on practical grounds or any other, the regulations, to minister to the needs existence of this monstrous desert of bricks London's teeming millions. (Perhaps it is and mortar, this plague-spot on the green unkind to mention that in spite of that, in and pleasant face of England, this inferno every year between 1925 and 1935, 16 of stink and smoke and dirt and noise? human beings died of starvation in Are there any who can live in it and not London's streets.) be dehumanized, robotized, reduced in stature and dignity from the human level to something less than human-at least

to some extent? Do I exaggerate? Do I look with a jaundiced eye at the greatest city in the world? Because I look forward to a new society, am I unduly prejudiced against the city in which I was born-this brave capital of the greatest empire the world has ever known-the empire on which the sun never sets?

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I don't think so. London is an institution based on a lie. Her grandeur a myth, her prosperity a thin facade, her culture non-existent, she is the ugly offspring of an abominable social order, doomed, l Babylon, to crash in dust and ashes and vanish from the memory of man. But let us, if you are dubious, look at

the conditions which exist within these

ANARCHISM Interpretations

"Anarchism had its origin in the same creative constructive activity of the masses which has worked out in times past all the social institutions of mankind-and in the revolts of both the individuals and the nations against the representatives of force, external to these social institutions, who had laid their hands upon these institutions and used them for their own advantage. Those of the rebels whose aim was to restore to the creative genius of the masses the necessary freedom for its creative activity, so that it might work out the required new institutions, were imbued with the Anarchist spirit.

"In our times, Anarchy was brought forth by the critical and revolutionary protest which gave rise to Socialism in general. However, one portion of the Socialists, after having reached the negation of Capitalism and of society based on the subjection of labour to capital, stopped in its development at this point. They did not declare themselves against what constitutes the real strength of Capitalism: the State and its principal supports -centralization of authority, law, always made by a minority for its own profit, and a form of justice whose chief aim is to protect Authority, and Capitalism. As to Anarchism, it did not stop in its criticism before these institutions. It lifted its sacrilegious arm, not only against Capitalism but also against those pillars of Capitalism: Law, Authority, and the State."

and Anarchism.)

there any who to-day can defend, either authorities with statutory powers of public

What Hopes for Homes?

The most pressing problem facing the metropolis today is-how to house its citizens? And it is easy to blame the war and the bombing for the housing shortage. But what was the position before the war? In each of the last pre-war years, an official census discovered between 14,000 and 15,000 homeless men, women and children every night. In 1931, 540,000 persons in Inner London were living at a rate of more than two per room. 60,000 Londoners were living in 20,000 basements condemned as unfit for habitation. Families were discovered living as many as ten to a room. Here is an instance of [a house in South London-"In the basement are four rooms, in which live three families numbering sixteen persons. On the ground floor are four rooms-one a bathroom-holding three families who number eighteen persons. On the first floor five rooms, some of them small, contain sixteen persons in three families. The three small attics overhead are occupied by thirteen persons in two families. We have not finished. In the garage lives a family of nine."*

It has been estimated that Britain needs now something like 10,000,000 dwellings to satisfactorily house everybody. If we remember the exceptional losses through bombing London has sustained compared with the rest of the country it is not at all unjust to say that 2,500,000 of these are needed for the Metropolitan area. At the height of the pre-war building boom, 80,000 houses a year were going up in that area. At that rate it will take over 30 years merely to catch up with arrears of to-day-and every year 10,000 houses in London become more than 100 years old, obsolete and decre another 300,000 houses to catch up with, last 32 years we have had, not one, but two world wars.

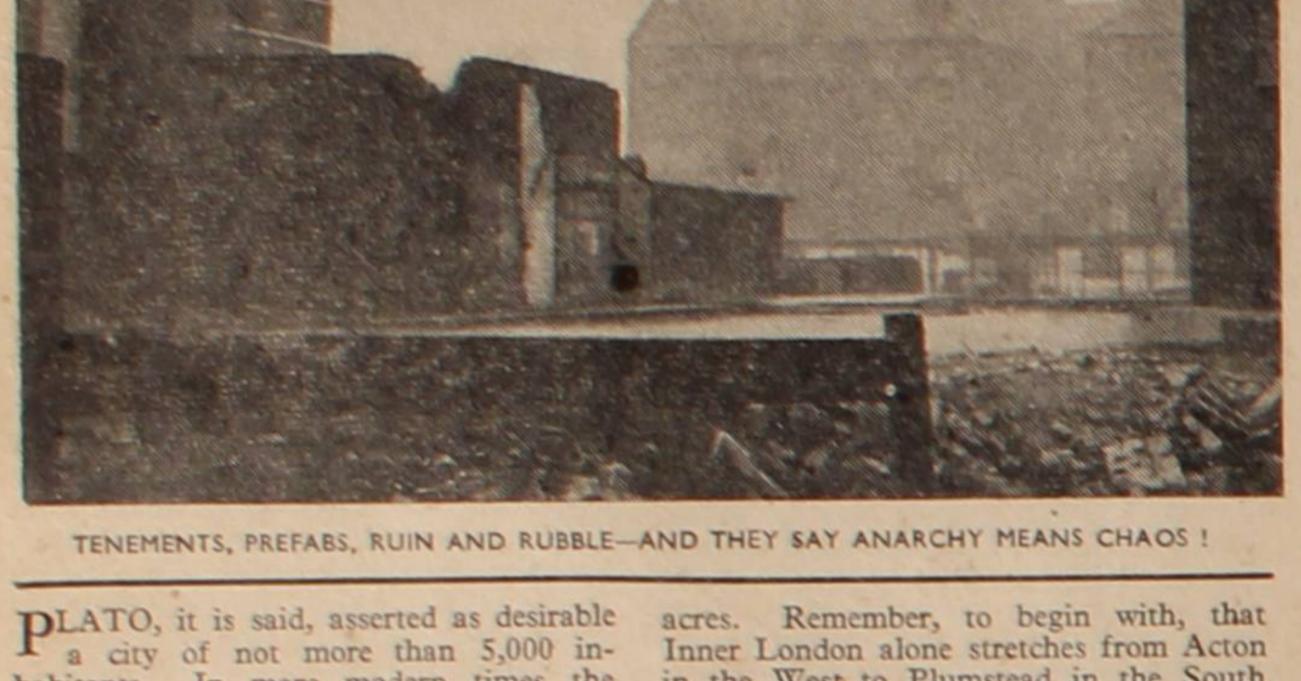
Health, Wealth and Happiness

And what does slum dwelling and overcrowding do to the unfortunate denizens the jungles of London's "black boroughs"? It kills them off. Comparison of the death rates of these boroughs with the general death rate for the rest of London, tells us that 2,700 Londoners die every year because they commit the indiscretion of living on (or below) the poverty-line. the country, from the "Social Index" disease of Tuberculosis. Four thousand of my fellow citizens cough their lives away in Inner London every year.

hampered by debt, incidentally, and in Borough Council regulations that an injured man can be left to bleed to death wrong side of a borough boundary But there's always a coroner to describe it is "accidental death".

"Your Police Are Wonderful"

London has been treated to several "Crime Waves" during the past few " *This quotation, and most of the facts I quote for pre-war London, are from "Metropolitan Man", by Robert Sinclair (Allen and Unwin), to whom-my



(KROPOTKIN: Modern Science

FREEDOM



be!) But this in spite of the fact that available.

months. Which is rather disconcerting siderably thinner than before, and despite when one discovers that, in proportion, military convoys, etc., the casualty rates there are two and a half times as many fell sharply (in 1943 they were less than licemen in the Metropolitan area as in half those for 1939), but now they are the provinces-and that the cost per cop beginning to show an increase again, paris more, without their being, in fact, any ticularly noticeable since June, 1945, when more efficient! (Not that I want them to the basic petrol ration again became

one in every sixty-five to seventy Every twelve hours throughout October, Londoners has (in Inner London) been to 1946, there was a screech of brakes on a prison at some time or another. Our London road and a human being was Capital can boast of five prisons, carrying killed. Every forty minutes the screech a constant population of about 6,000 men of brakes announced the maiming, or at and women (excluding prison officials). least the scarring, of another human Did I say they were not efficient? The being, man, woman or child (10 children Report of the Commissioner of Police of killed, 473 injured). Perhaps these figures the Metropolis for the year 1945 gives are not surprising when one considers the following illuminating figures: -Out the weight of traffic, though. In any of a grand total of 128,954 "Indictable" one daylight hour, 6,000 vehicles can pass crimes, 31,690 were cleared up, a percent- Hyde Park Corner (more at peak hours). age of 24.6. This proportion has not The London Passenger Transport Board varied more than a few per cent, over a employs an army of 83,610 persons connumber of years, although the total of cerned expressly with the job of carting crimes committed is constantly increasing Londoners from one side of their city to (1945 had 25,150 more than 1944, for the other-and back again. Passenger instance). So if you are thinking of journeys in 1945 totalled 3,658,236,000, cracking a crib in London, the chances nearly twice the entire population of the are three-to-one that you will get away earth. Passenger miles travelled totalled 9,805,501,000-over 41,000 times the dis-"Keep Death Off The Road!" tance to the moon! How many poten-tially productive man-hours these astro-The work of the police, as we well nomical figures betray as being wasted on During the war, with road transport con- bring passengers into town from anything up to 50 miles out!

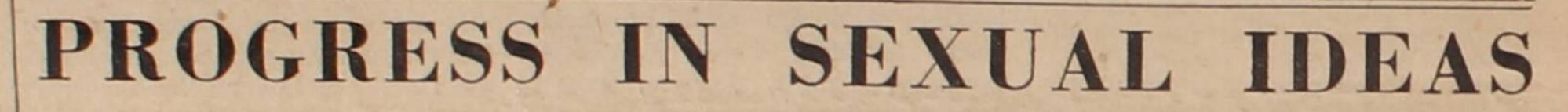
Culture

and the second s

My space is beginning to run short, but we must, for a moment, look at the opportunities for education and cultural advancement the world's richest city offers One year behind . its children. In Greater London there are Two years behind . 1,000,000 children who will receive Three or more years behind ..

BARRACKS FOR CIVILIANS

.....17% nothing but elementary education, and to This enquiry was taken among children show how elementary it is, here is a on their last year at school-so that 11% table showing attainment among 2,000 of children leaving school at 14 years old children from 48 London County Council may be said to be only at the standard Schools chosen as normal and represent- expected at 11 years old. Only 3.9 per atve (i.e., free from slum or "problem" cent. of London children before the war found their way into secondary schools-



Breeding Irresponsibility

Leaving aside the question of the desirability or otherwise of adolescent sexual activity, the whole legal attitude towards the duties of parents is destructive. Below the age of sixteen, a court does not consider a child's opinion; regardless of the child's wish, it is the legal duty of parents to enforce a certain code of behaviour. If the child engages in certain activities, it is the parents whom the law brings to book. Inevitably such a position inculcates irresponsibility in a child. Nobody behaves responsibly if they are not treated as responsible beings. This does not mean that children should be indicted for legal offences, as happens in the Soviet Union. But it does mean that a child should be free to conduct its sexual life as responsibly as its parents-whom the law doesn't interfere with. The sexual life of children is sufficiently thorny and beset by incomprehensible miseries without the law hardening these difficulties into statutory codes of



ation of the mines took place officially, in just the same manner as under and the nominal ownership passed out capitalism, they will begin to see there of the hands of the capitalist mine- is a wide difference between nationalisowners, and into the hands of the Coal ation and real workers' control. people. We use the word nominal the workers under the new arrangement. shareholders will still draw dividends, general secretary of the Lancashire the variations in trade. The active ceremony in his area in which he viothey are indispensible, while Lord claring "we are past the days will rule, but as managers instead of any individual or group of individuals." ning of the present century.

place is the substitution of the Coal the mines, which will help to prevent Board and the various regional boards the rise of a really militant body modern industries, has tended more and improvement in negotiating machinery. more to be ruled by the managers, and This has since been denied very violently shareholders and directors who were not by Arthur Horner, but-"methinks thou also active managers have tended to dost protest too much!" recede into the background as mere Generally speaking, the miners seem L.N.E.R. Depot at Stratford has already on the 17th December, they informed the the country are considering following the sleeping partners. The condition is not to regard the changeover with almost caused considerable discomfort to the rail- company that they would see the men lead of the Stratford men, and an unlikely to be changed, for it is hardly complete apathy. Otherwise, how can way company, and threatens to involve with a view to discussing a return to normal official co-ordinating committee has been to be expected that the managers will one explain the fact that the two days railway workers on a much wider scale. Working. However, the bureaucrats, founded entirely outside the official allow any real power to rest in the following the Christmas holidays saw hands of the strange collections of dis- record absenteeism, reaching as high as The dispute began as long ago as the of rank-and-file members to strike-breaking organisation, which is called the Motorcredited politicians, retired generals, 50-60 per cent. in some pits? It is 4th November, when the 290 shopmen officials has been hardening of late, were power Co-ordinating Committee, and financiers, trade union bosses who have clear that the enthusiasm for national- presented their wages claim for an increase very anxious not to give the impression which is worth watching as a body with crept into the peerage, and other odd isation which was whipped up among the of 30/- to their basic weekly rate of that they were working against the men, great possibilities of militancy, held a fauna of the political and financial miners during the war has very much £4. 17s. 6d. They asked to meet L.N.E.R. and when the railway headquarters issued a recent meeting at Crewe, at which fifty jungle, who compose the nominal rulers died down now that they realise how officials to discuss the matter. On the premature statement that the union in- delegates from all parts of the country of the industry. Clearly, these men little change this will mean in their 18th November, after the meeting had tended to tell its members to resume nor- took part. They decided to agitate for are merely highly paid figureheads who actual material position. Already they taken place, the L.N.E.R. replied that the mal working, this was hotly denied by a improvements in conditions and wages know next to nothing about mining, and are beginning to see, in the lack of any matter raised wider issues, and promised member of the union executive, who said increases of 30/- a week. They intend to are likely to be directed in all important real workers' representation or control, a reply at a later date. The men an- he merely intended to talk to the men. demand a ballot for strike action within decisions by the managers and bureau- a sign that they have been led up the nounced their dissatisfaction, and threatened He did not say what he intended to talk the unions, and a delegation of two N.U.R. crats of their offices, who know at least garden by their own leaders. This to impose an embargo on all overtime, about, but his disclaimer indicates clearly men, two A.E.U. men and one boilerslightly more than they do.

and first-hand knowledge of mining, the evident self-satisfaction with which some the men imposed their embargo on the criticism within the unions. colliers themselves? All their dreams of the owners handed over to the state. 25th November, and began to work slow. of workers' control have been dashed Typical of this attitude was an address to the ground in this nationalisation to the miners by Sir Francis Joseph, The effect very soon became apparent, campaign, The Star remarked, "The Strat- railwaymen face nationalisation with little scheme, where they do not have any chairman of a large group of Stafford- and the railway company had to cut its ford men must know the only sound confidence in its value as a means of even nominal say in the questions of shire collieries, who sent a message to train services from Liverpool Street policy is to cut out anarchical action improving their conditions. production. A few trade union bosses the miners saying: play some part in the activities of the "On New Year's day the collieries officials tried to use the union officials in Stratford men have found "anarchical coal boards, but the actual men at the become the property of the nation. order to end the strike. The officials of action" a good deal more effective than face have no say. For them it is merely changing an old boss for a new one. The coal-owners were among the most ruthless of capitalist employers, and the miners may think that the state cannot be other than an improvement However, when they find themselves driven in the same way by the same

THE BIG CITY

(Continued from page 2) and it is very interesting to note that percentages of entry (via examination course) are much higher in middle class districts than in poor districts. poverty which stints the London kid's body also renders his mind uneducable.

The story, too, of London's university is a miserable one, and too long to detail here, but it is a degrading tale scramble for funds, a reliance on rich American donors, a slip-shod organizatio for which a public hall (usually used for boxing, etc.) has to be hired in which to confer degrees. To say nothing of the Great Hall of London University being wooden shed erected as a "temporary measure nearly 50 years ago!

The City of London has no orchestra of its own and no municipal hall for it to play in if it had. Thousands of pounds may be spent in maintaining a police force, millions raised during "Warship Week" and the like, but no national theatre offers great theatrical art to the citizens. Do artists flourish in the big city? For every artist nationally known, London has 1,000 certified lunatics . . .

What's To Be Done?

our urban civilization, and how all the briefly in many other countries as well. ignorance and disease dovetail inescapably statement is sometimes rather staggering, capitalist society.

carries within itself the seed of its own being a professional economist, he tends destruction, in wartime the destruction | to look upon human beings, and especially is a world social revolution-after which | now and then, "natives" show a deplorthese monstrous cities, based on centralism, able lack of understanding of the benefits cently, since the capitalist era, that land will be as extinct in purpose as a dinosaur. of capitalist economics and money values has been regarded as a commodity, like that we are keeping our standard of living photographs on this page were taken in surprised and shocked-quite genuinely dividual as at his sole discretion he may our agricultural resources, and by ex-Southwark, South London, one of the so. "black" boroughs, and that in the next issue of Freedom I will give a short peasant economy under Capitalism, its author would delight the heart of James food that could be produced here. Clearly teachers have a real interest in the actual picture of what happened in a big city in almost unbelievable indebtedness, he tells Burnham, and one is forced again to there is a danger that the whole of the conduct of their profession and are anxious wartime (and leave to your imagination us that, "it is frequently necessary for him realise that no modifications or "develop- elaborate process of foreign trade is de- to gain as great a part in its control as what may happen next time) and give, as (the peasant) to borrow in order to live. ments" of our present society can offer signed to benefit the traders only, as possible, while their attitude on the closed far as I am able, some ideas on the shape This, of course, is no reason at all (!): any solution to the problem of land tenure distinct from the manufacturers of goods shop issue shows an independence which of the large community in a free society. it is tantamount to the proposition that -nor for that matter, to most other and their workers and food producers." has seemed lacking in so many other

On the 1st January, the nationalis- officials, and treated as mere employees

Board, which is supposed to administer The union leaders are already beginthe industry in the interests of the ning to show their own attitude towards deliberately, because the changeover in They are using nationalisation as a fact makes little actual difference to the further excuse to impose their own administration of the industry. The discipline over the workers. Edwin Hall, from fixed-interest stocks instead of area of the National Union of Minefrom shares whose return fluctuates with workers, made a speech at the vesting owners and former managers remain, lently attacked strikes and absenteeism, and, indeed, Shinwell has remarked that describing them as "cankers", and de-Hyndley, Chairman of the Coal Board, settling disputes by withdrawing our has remarked, "At most pits, managers labour." He further expressed the and agents will not be changed." In typically totalitarian approach of the other words, the same people will draw modern trade union official by saying the cash from mining, the same bosses that "the industry matters more than

Already, moreover, the union leaders The only change that is really taking are pressing hard for a closed shop in

Land notes

All employed at the pits will then become the servants of the State. Will the change help the country? The answer is 'Yes', but it can only to serve the State to the utmost your power."

This is hardly the speech of a man suffering from ruin as the result of expropriation. He sounds as though he has plenty to be pleased about. And what pleases a man like this is not likely to please the workers.

bitter experience for the miners. They forcement of the closed shop in industry. will find themselves indeed 'servants of In this issue the unions are being even to a head among Merseyside sailors, and the State', and very far from being their more totalitarian than the government at two recent meetings in the area, one own masters. But we can hope the old dares to show itself. We have no doubt attended by 500 seamen and one by 150, militancy of the colliers will live on, and that the cabinet regards the closed shop resolutions have been passed demanding bring them back to the revolutionary as a very useful aid to its schemes for the resignation of officials of the National ideas of workers' control which had a imposing a complete organisation of indus- Union of Seamen, on the grounds that great influence on miners at the begin- trial discipline. But fortunately there is they have denied members their democratic



A slow working campaign among the the A.E.U., however, were cautious, and the usual "constitutional channels". railway locomotive repair men at the only promised an investigation. Later, Meanwhile, railway shopmen all over

drastically. Meanwhile, the company's altogether." Our suggestion is that the

Land Tenure in the Colonies

CEVERAL weeks ago I was lent a book his income and, moreover, there is an Government and Property everywhere between contemporary social and political institutions and land tenures. npress upon the forms of tenure".

It only remains for me to say that the in general, the writer seems to be both

PHILIP SANSOM. | the peasant must borrow to live beyond social "problems".

It to read, and like most people who ever-present temptation to borrow in order In the last issue of Freedom, in comare given books to read irespective of to maintain a preconceived standard of menting on the new Farm Bill, I said, whether they have either the time or living." It is, of course, quite true that, the inclination to read them, I put it even if you and your children are likely since the proposed scheme for increasing neatly on one side to be studied if and to starve, it is not "economical", in the the facilities for men to obtain smallwhen I had time to do so. The book capitalist sense, to borrow money to help holdings seemed, superficially at least, to in question is "Land Tenure in the Col- them keep alive. It is also possible that be rather at variance with the main trend onies" by V. Liversage (stamped as in such circumstances one might conceive of policy as advocated in the Bill, that i Colonial Office Library") and I am glad of a standard of living somewhat higher was difficult to avoid the conclusion that that I did manage, even if belatedly, to than one's present one and be tempted purely political motives were not entirely read it. The question of land tenure is, to try and achieve it by "uneconomic" absent when these clauses were inserted. or should be, of interest to people who means. Even our economist might be As some readers may have thought that themselves may have no practical interest tempted to forego his rinciples if he were this was a rather uncharitable attitude on , or connection with, the land, for the hungry enough. The uneconomic and my part, I will quote a passage from the reason given by the writer of this book barbaric attitude of some Javanese peas- above-mentioned book, pointing out at the in his Foreword. "The forms of land ants is also very disturbing. "A Javanese same time that the book is sponsored by the Colonial Office and that therefore the tenure are closely related to and in fact has a repugnance to the formation of any form one aspect of social institutions in sort of capital. A man of the people is views expressed in it may be taken as general. A close correlation will be found willing to sacrifice all his earnings except having on the whole official support. "Owner-occupation (to which category what is strictly necessary to procure himself some luxury, and first among these many, if not most small-holders belong) is Feudal society, democracy, aristocracy and is repose." Obviously, a very regrettable commonly regarded as the highest and local authorities to force teachers to accept modern totalitarianism each stamp their state of affairs showing that apparently most desirable form of land-holding for the closed shop and become members of there are still some parts of the world agricultural areas. In its favour it is held, a single recognised union also came in Written, as indeed one would expect a on which the full light of civilisation has firstly, that it promises a stable and con- for a great deal of criticism. The Associabook sponsored by the Colonial Office to not yet fallen. Again, speaking of the tented rural population and a bulwark tion of Assistant Masters in Secondary be written, from the orthodox bureaucratic advantages of a certain form of labour against subversive elements. The man of Schools, which contains 90% of the property is naturally interested in the teachers in the grades it covers, protested standpoint and having that complacent tenancy in Kenya, we are told "employers maintenance of a strong government. In against such attempts, and recommended Well, that is my picture of my home | naivety towards alien cultures which is who have sufficient unutilized land can the West Indies peasant settlement is teachers to refuse to give information town. I have necessarily had to cut down one of the more charming characteristics obtain labour on more advantageous terms, looked upon with favour by the adminis- when approached with such requests. on much I could have said, and left out of Englishmen, the book nevertheless con- owing to the incidental advantages enjoyed tration because experience teaches that They went on to proclaim their belief in many interesting figures-on lunacy, tains much interesting information on the by the tenant. A supply of women and labourers with nothing to fall back on not the voluntary organisation of all teachers suicides, sterility, etc., etc. But I hope I | history of land tenure, not only in the child labour is made available on the infrequently break out in riots and dis- in their appropriate associations. have said enough to show the nature of colonies (as its title would imply) but also spot." Any advantages that may accrue turbances . . . This point of view has to the wretched coloured worker are of coloured the land policy of many governelements I have mentioned-slums, crime, True, the writer's capacity for under- course merely "incidental", especially when his wife and kids can be compelled ments. to form the character of the big city in as when he refers to the singularly brutal by economic pressure to work also for Food and Trade and ruthless conquest of India by the next to nothing. And one might question And what is its future? As I see it, British as "when the British took over whether it is in the best interests of In Notes of this type it is difficult to the big city is doomed. In peacetime, it the administration of the country". Also, "economics" for employers to have land avoid a perhaps unduly large number of quotations, but at the risk of being told they don't utilize,

important fact that it is only quite reany other, to be bought or sold by an in- low by failing to make the fullest use of think fit. The remedies for the present posting manufactured goods which we so



rejected a claim by the National Union resistance to their schemes. of Post Office Workers for an exclusive right to negotiate on behalf of post office

This decision follows hard on the abandonment of the closed shop position Seamen Disourn [°] by Bevan, Isaacs and Morrison when the resistance of the Willesden nurses aroused Undoubtedly, nationalisation will be a such a storm of protest against the enstill enough power in strongly expressed right of appeal under the union rules.

The first practical signs of a sell-out public protests to make them withdraw, by the Labour Government of their T.U.C. and their attitude in this matter shows allies on the question of the closed shop that encroachments on liberty succeed, do so with your help . . . I ask you has come in the form of a recent ruling not so much because of the power of the by the Postmaster General, who has encroachers, but because of a lack of real

Official Unions

Leaders

Discontent with union leaders has come



having evidently realised that the attitude structure of the unions concerned. This feeling of "being had" must have been including Sunday work. No further reply the more cautious attitude which union maker was formed to represent the men. But what of the men who have a real increased for many miners by the being received from the railway, company, officials are being forced to adopt by It is estimated that at least ten thousand men are involved in this movement, which looks like presenting a fair problem to Incidentally, commenting on the go-slow the employers, and which shows that the

TEACHERS ATTACK **GOVERNMENT POLICY**

The recent conferences of various teachers' organisations have shown a very strong spirit of discontent with the present state of the teaching profession and with the educational policy of the government. Particular criticism was levelled at the proposals for dividing children into three educational groups at the secondary level. A speaker at the conference of the Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools pointed out the evils of trying to force children into predetermined vocations, and said:

"Are the children of eleven who come to us of three fundamental differing types, or is there a hangover from the past to train children to be members of particular classes of society with particular economic functions? To what extent is this vile vocationalism perpetuated in current circulars in order

to aid administrative convenience?" Similar complaints were made at the North of England Education Conference, where delegates described the new policy as "not Socialism, but National Socialism".

The recent attemps by a number of

A similar protest was made at the conference of the National Union of Women Teachers. This conference also brought forward once again the demand for equal pay for women teachers, and further registered the complaint that in modern secondary schools there was a real discrimination against girls in that the opportunities plaints were made of the inadequate staffing, buildings and amenities of the feeding arrangements for children who had meals in schools.

Generally speaking, while one may disagree with much of the transactions of the various teachers' conferences, the fact Speaking of the fundamental basis of state of affairs that are examined by the badly need at home, in order to pay for remains that they show a great many workers' organisations.

But if you manage to ignore the attitude that I cannot think of something original they were offered were considerably less comes from outside as well. If there is coloured ones, merely as units, even if of mind portrayed by the above quotations, to say, I should like to finish off with than those given to boys. Further comanother war, the cities of our "civilization" admittedly very important ones, that some- you will find much interesting information a quote from a long letter in The Farmers will go down in blood and agony. The how or other have to be fitted into an in this book concerning primitive and Weekly (8/11/46) because it puts fairly only thing that will prevent another war conomic plan, and when, as will happen feudal forms of land tenure, including the well a point I am always making. Here new secondary schools, and also of the bad

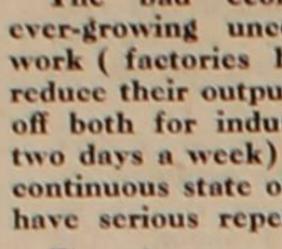
"Likewise, it might be said of to-day, G. V.

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ON two occasions during 1946 the the most difficult so far experienced. The bad economic situation, the Italian people have gone to the Rations, already reduced to a minimum, ever-growing uncertainty of obtaining polls: for the general elections and the are difficult to obtain. And there is the work (factories have been obliged to local elections. From the results we can continuous threat of a further reduction reduce their output because power is cut draw certain very definite conclusions. in the bread ration of 240 grams (11b.), off both for industrial and private use The Republic, which has replaced the while the prices of unrationed goods two days a week) keeps the people in a

- 132 A

age in Naples do not go to school.



shown itself impotent with regard to the In the past few months all we have limited to strikes. A general strike was more immediate national, as well as been able to obtain on the ration cards declared in Naples and lasted from the elections have already shown that no ration and an emergency supplementary succeeded in completely immobilizing the city as well as the suburbs. All standstill, and all shops (with the ex ception of food stores), factories and workshops were closed down. The demands were so obvious and modest that not even the reactionary elements dared to oppose it.

> The demands were firstly, that Naples should not be excluded from the distribution of rationed goods; secondly, that the prices of goods should be checked and should not be higher than the prevailing prices in Rome; thirdly, that some monetary assistance should b given to the unemployed and the exserviceman. How impossible the material conditions in Naples are can be gathered from the fact that during the strike measures were taken to prevent the "export" of potatoes to other parts of Italy and to fix the maximum price at 42 lire a kilo, or 5d. per lb !

The Camera del Lavoro (Communist dominated) organized and directed this strike and many people tried to explain it as a lightning protest by the workers against the installing of a Monarchist-Common-Man Municipal Council. However this may be, one cannot feel comforted by the results of the strike. Whilst the workers have to make up for the work days lost during the strike, the authorities have promised that we shall have our rations, that prices will be kept down and that some small relief will be given to the ex-service men. But these are measures which do not in any way improve the terrible conditions in which the people are living. parts (the latest is at Bari) will not radical reforms, the suppression of the privileges which in many parts of ration of 1 lb. of macaroni, decreed by Southern Italy retain a feudal character. the authorities to keep the people quiet. All these measures are included in the In spite of all the promises of the The unemployed man, then, in order to electoral programmes of the various GIOVANNA BERNERI.

Monarchy but which has left untouched increase daily. Unemployment is on the continuous state of agitation, which may the former state of affairs, is becoming increase and there is no relationship have serious repercussions. daily more unpopular because it has between wages and the cost of living. For the moment this agitation international, problems. The Municipal is 300 gr. of sugar a month, the bread 17th to the 19th of December. party in Italy can claim to represent the Italian people and take over the running of the country unaided; nor even can the two Left wing parties jointly. As a result, in many towns and villages in Italy, the election of Municipal Councils has proved a difficult task, because all the possible combinations of the different blocs of the Right and Left, did not succeed in giving an absolute majority to either of the blocs. It is not surprising therefore that in Naples, where the Socialists and Communists presented joint nomination lists. and had the largest number of votes, there should be a Monarchist-Common-Man (neo fascist party) administration. The dishonest methods used at elections are generally known. In Italy to the usual intrigues is added the disgraceful exploitation of the people's hunger and their national or traditional sentiments. For instance, Togliati, the Communist leader, played the Trieste card very cunningly. He returned from Jugoslavia just at the time of the municipal elections and made the sensational statement that Tito was prepared to give Trieste to Italy. So that this news should appear as a Communist victory, it was said that the negotiations with Tito had been conducted secretly, unbeknown even to the fellow traveller Foreign Secretary, Nenni. And, of course, the Communist paper in Naples [Unita carried the news exclusively! For their part the Monarchists tried to spread a rumour about the death of Victor Emanuel III, because the death of a king in exile deeply moves people who cannot free themselves from feelings of adulation for a Royal House!

Letter from Italy

But all these electoral intrigues This little Neapolitan boy spends his day neither hoodwink nor interest anybody any longer, and the feeling of disgust budget. Two-thirds of the children of school at such tactics is reflected in the 50% abstention at the elections in S. Italy.

Material Conditions in Naples

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politicians, the Italian people find them- live is obliged to beg, steal or engage parties but forgotten once their most selves, at the beginning of 1947, in such in the black market, because the pittance vocal exponents have won their seats terrible material conditions that it is to he gets is totally inadequate to maintain in Parliament or on the local Council. be feared that this winter will prove life.

Germany

Russian Colonization Of East Prussia

According to a recent report from Alexander Werth, the Russian authorities THE Rome correspondent of the New dicated in a dispatch by the Rome corres- From the same paper we learn that bers to make use of the land.

The German peasants and workers, in this opening up of Russia's Wild West, are Red Indians without even bows and arrows, and their subordination into a servile population seems to be well under way.

The Destruction Of Hamburg

dependent for their livelihood on the con- able shoes. maintained by these plants. To this factor and the destruction of Hamburg cannot strike in these terms: must be added the steady destruction of but have the most widespread effects on Hamburg's shipbuilding industry, which the economy of the whole of North has been consummated by the blowing up Germany, and even the other neighbouring of the Blohm und Voss shipyards and the countries. prohibition of the building of all but small coasting vessels.

see a revived coal industry, but the for the new occupants.



But it must not be thought that the tenced by a Rome court to 2 years oppressed German rural workers of that imprisonment for "offences against the province are gaining any benefit from Religion of the State". His "crime" was this procedure. On the contrary, a great that he was responsible for two anti-clerical proportion of the land is merely passing cartoons which appeared in the newspaper delivered! into the hands of the state as landlords, Il Pollo (The Chicken) published in Rome. and thirty gigantic state farms are being | The first cartoon showed a priest in the set up on some of the larger estates. | act of strangling a chicken, representing Elsewhere, collective farms on the Russian the Italian nation; the second was of a model, to the number of some 200, are "licentious monk". In the dock Maccari being formed. But we hear nothing of admitted being responsible for these the German peasant being given back the drawings, and defended his right to combat land of which he has been starved for | "not religion, but that section of the clergy

The recent statement that fifty per cent. definite future of unemployment and stary- wounded when shots were fired.

Germans Resist Eviction

are going ahead with the destruction of I York Times reports (Dec. 23rd) that pondent of the Christian Science Monitor "since the end of the war there have been the big Junker estates in East Prussia. a 27 year-old cartoonist has been sen- who writes that Don Basilio (the anti- general strikes in Stamford, Connecticut; last time) is selling like hot cakes. To York; and now in Oakland. These actions obtain a copy one must be at the news were generally successful-in Rocnester, stand at the moment when supplies are conspicuously so, in forcing the city to

GENERAL STRIKES ARE NOT NEWS

The English press has recently been so concerned with reporting events in centuries. On the contrary, a regular which interferes in politics". Such Australia where the prestige of the mother process of colonisation on the traditional, repressive measures by a government which country has been bitterly defended on the the progress manifested by these demonscale seems to be going on, and Russian professes to uphold the freedom of the playing fields of Sydney and Melbourne strations: from the general strike against settlers are being imported in large num- Press and of speech will, we hope, be and somewhere else (a task made even a city government to the general strike resisted by the Italian people. The more difficult by the Australian fifth against the national government. The Maccari case is the thin end of the wedge column among the umpires) that events workers have taken a step; it is time to for the restoration of Fascist censorship of lesser importance such as general strikes show them the ultimate logic of workinglikely to find themselves in the position of and intolerance. To let the challenge go have been crowded out of the papers. class solidarity." unheeded is to encourage the Vatican and Our Italian correspondent refers elsewhere its stooges inside the Italian Government. on this page to the General Strike in Meanwhile, an ever-increasing interest Naples during December, and the Italian in anti-clerical propaganda in Italy is in- press has devoted much space to another general strike which was declared in Bari. It was much less pacific than the Naples people of Hamburg seem to face an in- strike and one student was killed and many

of the power plants of Hamburg are to be ation. Already the signs are becoming From the land which many people

dismantled and their machinery removed obvious, in the starvation of the people, (thanks to Hollywood's glamour films) to Germany represents a final great blow and the poor condition of the school- think flows with milk and honey comes at this city of more than a million people, children, of whom, according to a recent news of a general strike in the city of of whom a very large proportion are survey, no more than 26% have service- Oakland. Our information is obtained from the December issue of the New York tinuance of the city's industries which are Meanwhile, no city lives in isolation, Anarchist paper Why which refers to the

other city in Europe. Even the Ruhr may parting, so as to make them unserviceable pany for which the cops had smashed way or another." a picket line."

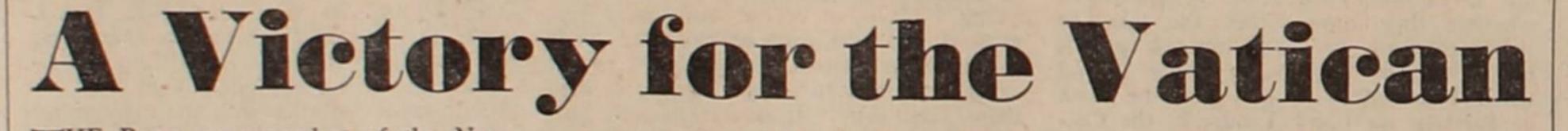
The General Strike in Naples

cal implications, and involve their respective governments, willingly or unwillingly, in new imperialist adventures and changes of policy.

New Oil Intrigues

The principal participants in the American companies agree to purchase gain in dollar exchange. large quantities of Persian crude oil from the British company over a Arabia to the Mediterranean.

tain their ascendancy as the great oil British government policy in that area. providers in the Far East and also East affairs in the near future.



recognize unions. "It seems that the war, and the break-

down of collective bargaining, has again increased the workers' feeling of solidarity-as did the first World War, which was followed by the Winnipeg and Seattle general strikes. These strikes are the one hopeful news in America at this time. The task now is to develop further

LIBERATION OF AN ITALIAN VILLAGE

l'Adunata dei Refrattari (4/1/47) quote from a Rome dispatch by the American Overseas News Agency giving another example of what liberation has meant for some people. According to a statement made by the mayor of the village o Esperia (Frosinone) "Out of a population of 2,500, 700 women have been assaulted that is to say almost the whole female population of the village; all have been contaminated, some have died, others are dying. Of these women, many are young, "For two and a half days, the city of others very young, and become in their man and Italian prisoners has opened the Oakland, California, was brought to a turn propagators of the disease. To all eyes of many people in a very similar dead stop by a general strike of AF of L this, must be added the problem of the manner, and made them realise that the workers. For two and a half days nothing children born as a result of these assaults." moved. City officials howled. Dan Tobin Apparently Moroccan troops are officially and Dave Beck, bosses of the striking blamed, but the Adunata points out differences are merely fictions created by But Hamburg is not only destroyed as According to recent B.U.P. reports from Teamsters Union (the most viciously anti- they are no worse than others and con- their leaders. It is one of the many ways an industrial town. Its other great source Munich, Germans in that area have begun strike international union in the country), cludes "this is an old story; conquering in which the state unwillingly works of activity, as a seaport, is made useless to resist eviction to make way for raved. But the city of Oakland stood still armies can call themselves what they will, against its own interests. by the virtual destruction of Germany's American soldiers' families. Some have till the local authorities agreed to withdraw but even when they call themselves mercantile marine. Indeed, the future of threatened suicide, and others have de- police protection from the professional democrats and liberators they still wreak Hamburg seems gloomier than that of any liberately damaged their homes before de- strike-breaking 'veterans' trucking com- havoc on the conquered peoples in one

LIBERTARIAN.

TWO new international oil deals, is of vital importance in fulfilling concluded on Boxing Day, give British military and industrial requirean indication of the possibility of ments, and for this reason it is vital changed Anglo-American policy in the that the British control over Southern Near East. They show that, in spite Persia should be maintained. Moreof the great parade of reducing the over, British interests in this area are influence of capitalism, the large oil further complicated and strengthened orporations, and no doubt many other by the fact that through Persia lies capitalist bodies, can still carry out the only practicable route by which policies which have undoubted politi- Russian imperialism could approach India and the other British spheres of influence in the Indian Ocean. Therefore, to have implicated America heavily in the Persian gulf provides an additional deterrent to Russian penetration, which has retreated connew deals are the Anglo-Iranian Oil siderably in Persia of recent months. Company and a number of American A further element of practical business organisations, of which the Standard policy is that the Anglo-Iranian Com-Oil Company of New Jersey and the pany have neither the means of re-Socony-Vacuum Oil Company are the fining all their output nor adequate principal. The first deal is between means of getting it all away from the these two organisations and the Anglo- area, so that to sell it to American Iranian Company, by which the companies which will refine it is a

FREEDOM

A further important factor in this period of twenty years, and to investi- agreement lies in the fact that the gate the possibility of a pipe line to projected pipe lines will end in the Mediterranean. By the second Palestine. This will give American agreement these American companies imperialism a direct interest in acquire a substantial interest in the Palestine politics, and, as the potentially rich American concessions *Economist* puts it somewhat smugly, in Saudi Arabia, with the proposal "it will certainly help in persuading to build a second pipe line from the American public that there is something to be said against the Zionists." It is a fairly safe bet that These new agreements will un- within a few weeks there will be a doubtedly prove beneficial to both marked change in the American atti-American and British imperialism. tude towards Palestine, accompanied The Americans are anxious to main- by a considerable whitewashing of

in parts of Europe. But their own But, of course, all the advantages of wells are rapidly drying up, and their the deal are naturally not with the production is at present hardly suffi- British. The Americans gain the raw cient for internal requirements. So materials for maintaining their spreadthey must obtain their oil for trading ing economic imperialism, and buttress begging in order to supplement the family And these sparodic strikes in different elsewhere, and have consequently their control of the Far East by gaincome to the rich fields of Arabia. ing a good half-share in the control solve our difficulties. A solution is only With this economic interest in the of the Middle East. From now on Middle East, there naturally ensued any attack by the Russians on a politcal interest, and no doubt the American interests in the Far East Americans will take a much more is outflanked by the emergence of active interest in influencing Middle America as a significant power in Persia and the Arab countries.

> For British imperialists the new How long British and American deals are, in the near run at least, interests will rub along amicably in very advantageous. Middle East oil the Near East is difficult to say. At present, and for a long time ahead, they can help each other out economically in this area, and they are also united by the common threat of Russia, which both desire very strongly to keep away from active influence over India, the Suez Canal area or the Eastern Mediterranean. The Persian Gulf has, indeed, become a king-pin in present-day power politics clerical weekly mentioned in these columns Lancaster, Pennsylvania; Rochester, New and any political events that occur in that area should be watched carefully for the ulterior imperialist motives they may disguise.

Where Races Mingle

Why Governments, in their own interests, always try to segregate prisoners of war as long as possible from their own people, can be seen clearly enough from the results of the mingling of people of two theoretically hostile nations. An example of this was shown recently in the case of a young farm labourer, who appeared recently before a tribunal for conscientious objectors. The man in question said that his work on the land had brought him into contact with men of other nations, whom he found to be similar to Englishmen. As a result of this experience, he said, "I could no more bring myself to fight them than I could to fight British people."

fundamental interests of the workers of all

Incidentally, the conscientious objector in question was turned down by the tribunal, to whom human solidarity seemed no real reason for refusing to fight!

18th January, 1947

pletely on its last legs and likely to decline into nothing in the very near port goods. Exports are nearly future. It is, indeed, true that Britain no longer holds the great double sway between exports and imports is already of colonial and trading imperialism about £60,000,000 less than it was she maintained before 1914 and even, to a great extent, between 1918 and is not wholly due to increased prices 1939. The dollar has ousted sterling is shown by the fact that 39% more from its pre-eminent position in world workers are employed on export trade finance, British investments in foreign than in 1939. countries have been sold out to provide credit abroad during the war vears, many British colonies have been devastated and much of the British merchant navy has been sunk in hostilities. These factors, together with imperialism based on property holdings the more rapid powers of expansion throughout the world, British imperialism of the American export industry and is being increasingly based on markets. the penetration of American power into the Far East, have tended to give world except Africa, its own peculiar remains the economic province of Britis the British Empire an aspect of pale trade province, now there are favourable imperialism. sickness besides the formidable growth balances with Africa, the whole of Europe, of American imperialism.

But the indications from day to day show that British imperialism is in consumption of goods and at the eventual fact far from down and out, and that risk of war, if their interests are vitally under a government of the theoretically anti-imperialist Labour Party it the British are also endeavouring to gain is rapidly adapting itself to changed once more the world ascendancy in merworld circumstances in such a way chant shipbuilding and shipping. This that we can be sure there's still more life in the old dog than we would prefer to admit. The British Empire million tons of shipping, or about 521% may have entered on its age of decline, but it is still a good way off its real fall. If historical analogies are of any this total, no less than 1,488,000 tons are value, it might be remembered that for British shipping lines, and in this the Roman Empire was a good four respect also Britain is far ahead of the centuries on its decline. The tempo of historical events has increased in ing less than 300,000 tons to their merour own day, but the fact remains chant marine. It therefore seems as that the British Empire is still show- though, even if the British capitalists ing signs of life which tend to lessen the hopes of its disintegration in any as possible, and get their rake-off in this near future.

The first thing to be noticed is the revival of British economic imperialism. The diminution of interest payexports than imports, has created a dwindled in others. In the Far East, large adverse balance of imports over American imperialism has pushed the exports, and in order to make up for British almost completely out of the this the British producers are striving picture; recent figures published by the for, and for the present gaining, exports ten times as much goods to that



£300,000,000 up on 1939, and the gap before the war. That this increase

Britain Fights For Markets

The result of this increase in trade has relationship towards various parts of the adverse trade balance with all parts of the Asia and Australia. All these are markets which the British imperialists will be forced to defend, at the expense of home

In addition to striving for new markets, objective also has been partially achieved. On the 30th September last, British shipyards had under construction nearly two of the world total. The next country, America, had less than a fifth of this quantity of shipping on the stocks. Of rest of the world, since France and America, the next countries, are each addcannot rival America in trading returns, they intend to carry as much of the goods

The Colonial Situation

In the more direct forms of imperialism, Chinese government show that America

Circus

limited amount of spoils that the the inspecting officials do not meet the British government propose to hand being present. over to them as a pretence of inde- "Absenteeism is considerable-25 per has been revealed very emphatically during discussions that have been held 13 for a woman, and six for a child. various departments and organisations on the problem of plantations labour. An article in the Manchester Guardian and eight shillings monthly. recently, from a correspondent in imperialism has meant to the Indian on the overcrowding in single roomed

1,000,000 workers, while the coffee and plantations have failed to provide lavaper cent. of the tea workers are women and 15 per cent. children. Though the system of indenture has been abolished in practice, the workers enjoy little freedom of movement and association. In-

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workers without their employers' agents

age monthly cash earnings according to latest reports, are 21 shillings for a man, such as land for cultivation, free housing, capitalist imperialisms. nedical relief, maternity benefits and clothing and food at under cost price,

"The committee governing the lower inclusion that "the real wages tenements in which eight to ten persons were living. Sanitation is equally unsatisconsequently extremely high." Manchester Guardian, 10/1/1947.

National independence can mean nothing to these people, for it will only give them new masters in the same conditions of exploitation. The only satisfactory struggle for colonial peoples, if they will only realise it, is that which means an end to native as well as foreign masters, and ends such disgusting exploitation for ever

Bulgarian Press Censorship of the Democrat Party.

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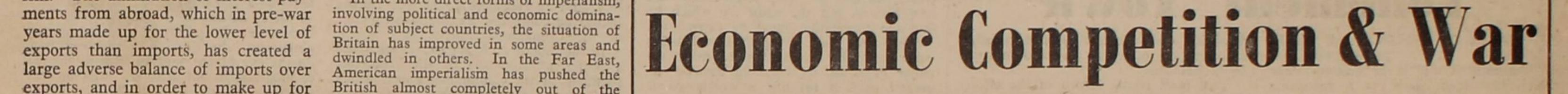
mains there is tending to become political ation in another and less direct way. rather than economic. In the West Indies, also, British influence has declined since State Capitalism In Colonies the granting of American naval bases in that area during the war.

But in other parts of the world British omination seems once again on the ascendant. In Malaya, for insatuce, the British controlled rubber plantations are once more in a prosperous state, while the output of British owned tin mines, which at the beginning of the present year was only that of native and Chinese-owned ines, has in a year risen to more than

by spreading American imperialism, ex- pansion of the East African earth nut cept for American domination of Liberia industry through the United Africa and increased trade with South Africa, Company, with the likelihood of its later that British imperialism is still dominant, and has even increased its spheres of influence. Italy, one of the only serious nperialist rivals on the African continen has been expelled, and the former Italian colonies, Libya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, have all become dominated by British influence Egypt is about to gain nominal political ndependence of Britain, but the years of association have left Egyptian economy so bound up with British that it is likely that the mere withdrawal of British troops will

African Soldiers in Kenya Shot For Protesting

African native soldiers at Gilgil amrecently in protest against delays in demobilisation. Other troops were brought in, and in the firing that followed six of the soldiers in question were shot dead and ten more wounded.



(The following article appeared in Worldover producing only 238,000 tons, only a fraction of the amount Press, 11/12/46, from the pen of the editor, required. France was the largest producer, with 505,000 largely increased markets for ex- country as Britain does. In India, British Devere Allen. It draws attention to the solid tons-one reason, if hardly mentioned, why both Russian materialist economic factors which underlie the and American industry watch French political trends surface appearances of diplomacy. That economic with keen interest. competition is the main cause of wars has been It happens that in the early days of the war, new Behind Indian Political the contention of Freedom and its predecessors bauxite deposits were discovered in Yugoslavia, already throughout the recent war. We print this article a heavy producer. Hungary is also a large producer, throughout the recent war. We print this article a heavy producer. Hungary is also a large producer, in order to show that this is no mere doctrinaire turning out some 25,000 tons in 1938. You'd never know bee in the bonnet of anarchist and socialist anti- that the problem of Trieste had anything to do with these militarists. It is the sober conclusion of any realist facts, but very definitely it does. And so does the future While Indian politicians struggle for spection of the tea estates is extremely who honestly looks below the superficial slogans of German industry, since Balkan countries, lacking electric power, and intrigue to divide up the infrequent-once every two years,-and and national loyalties of the political press.-Eds.) power and technical experience, usually shipped the ore to Germany for refinement.

World War I began at Sarajevo. World War II Turkey has the Straits, a bone of contention for warbegan at Danzig. Draw a line between the two, extend time strategy. But there's more in Turkey than meets the pendence, the Indian people continue cent. in Assam and 30 per cent. in Bengal. it north and south, and you have a sort of economic eye. That country is the largest producer of chromium, to struggle in a condition of life that Malaria, hookworm, and malnutrition slit trench between the commercial strategies of East and needed for steel alloys and a multitude of other industrial seems almost beyond endurance. This are among the causes. The highest aver- West. Russia needs goods and trade no less than Britain uses. While the Russians turn out 129,000 tons a year, and America. The ideological conflicts are easier to Turkey's production is 151,000-for the Soviet expanding resolve than the commercial competition, which resembles economy a tempting consideration. But the United States recently between representatives of Certain concessions are given in addition with striking fidelity the struggle between two old-time is the world's greatest importer, and gets much of its chromium from the Turks.

America's aim, of course, is rehabilitation, but it is Imperial Russia between 1500 and 1917 expanded its hardly unadulterated. Senator Elbert Thomas put it territory from 425,000 to 8,723,000 square miles. Under clearly in The American Magazine: "While our policy the Soviet system, so critical of western imperialism, India, gave something of the back- price at which food is sold to the workers of dollar democracy aids our foreign policy, it is not a expansionism has been thriving with a vitality worthy of ground to these discusions, and the of low-paid plantation workers have gone bald business of buying friends. It represents a valiant the Czars. It has been slowed up, but the pressure still following passage is sufficient to show, down since the beginning of the war." effort by America to assist Allies badly hit by the war continues, partly because Russian economy is in bad shape. without any other comment, what The committee also commented adversely back to their feet, so that they can prosper, enjoy Production has suffered mainly from the war, but not a little also from unrest, graft, and a widespread discontent democracy-and buy our products." This dual programme is neatly tied up in our loans. which official spokesmen no longer try to conceal. Witness "The tea industry alone employs nearly factory-90 per cent. of North Indian We offered Norway \$50,000,000 to restore that country's the remarkable statement of the Soviet Finance Minister, economy, but attached a condition-all goods from the Arseny G. Zverer, on October 16th, in a months-late rubber estates employ 165,000. Forty-five tories, the incidence of hookworm being U.S. must be carried in American ships. This struck so budget speech: "Unless moral deterioration is checked, the serious a blow at Norway's prime industry, her merchant Soviet financial system threatens to become unmanageable."

shipping, that although the government dared not refuse, and put all pressure on reluctant Norwegian opinion, it only by a margin of three votes.

Decisions on foreign loans are largely in the hands of and Monetary Problems. The State Department's repreentative on this body is the Under-Secretary, William L. Clayton. In a recent press interview he declared that "the time has come when the United States should give greater support to foreign investments of its nationals in strategic minerals that are in short supply domestically."

These differences are the real causes of conflict and danger, not the old and overstressed differences in political He mentioned bauxite, manganese, tin, chromium, copper, ideas. The question we have to answer is not the common material of atom bombs," he said, "might be included." one, "Can democracy exist beside communism?" but These minerals in many cases are needed urgently be adapted to each other without war?" The freeing of friend? (Special rates for 2 been carried a stage further by the essential for aluminium; aluminium is essential for both is perhaps a portent of a new accommodation. At least, The suppression of free opinion has both by Russia and the U.S.A. Bauxite, for example, is the Danube for trade through a late concession by Russia copies: 5/6 for 6 months, Communist government of Bulgaria, wartime and peacetime production. On the eve of the it goes to the roots of the issue, which is chiefly a race for which has recently suppressed per- war, Russia was producing only 130,000 metric tons per goods, raw materials, and (once Russia satisfies more of her manently the newspaper Zname, organ vear, an amount far below her needs. The U.S. was basic consumer needs) world markets.

Within the British colonies themselves,

a process of consolidation is going on. A Office to all Colonial Governments is become centralised, either directly in the creasing their trade with the Congo. hands of the state or in those of large This tendency is also to he fusion of the Malayan states, with its elimination of what remains of local autonomy, in the virtual control of the Malavan rubber and tin industries by the British government agencies, and But it is in Africa, largely untouched in the recent decision to conduct the exbeing taken over by state agencies.

individual capitalist in the colonies tend to become absorbed or to fade out of existence, and there is a general attack being mounted on the dividual native cultivators. In East Africa, since before the war, there has been in operation an iniquitous system of pooling trade with native growers and ollectors of jungle products. This was started with the ostensible purpose eliminating the bad effects of competitive trading, but it has resulted in considerable lowering the position of the native who trades with the pool. The pool is administered by the government and the big trading concerns, and it has always attempted to give the lowest possible price, which, backed by the fact that it munition base in Kenya went on strike has an almost monopolistic control of the market, has forced the natives to accept steadily worsening terms.

In West Africa, the land is mostly held Six thousand miners at the Jharia coal struggling for years against the domination strike for improved conditions.

interests have sunk to a record low level, cause a financial and employment crisis in of the buying organisations of the big and have been replaced by native capital- Egypt which will give the British an cocoa combines in England. Now they have ism, so that what British domination re- opportunity to re-establish their domin- gained a nominal victory, in that the trading organisations will be run on a more co-operative basis, with native representation and partial control. But the large trading concerns have already begun to circumvent this situation. The Unileve large concessions in the Belgian Congo, legislation vesting all mining rights in labour. The climate of the Congo is colonies by which such products as Nigeria and the Gold Coast, dency for British colonial imperialism to growers of the British colonies by in-

> A similar picture of increasing power for the state and the large trade monopolies could be seen in almost every colony and it is clear that the British imperialist are doing their best to consolidate their conomic and political power so as to mpose on the colonies a totalitarian organisation that will counter native attempts at dependence.

> The British Empire is fighting hard for its existence, and looks like living on for a good many years yet. But always, in the background, there is the shadow of American imperialism, which controls so many of the purse strings. How far does the British Empire in fact exist as an dependent entity? How far does it exist as a proxy for American imperialism which cannot bite off all the world in one mouthful? It is clear that the British rulers have succeeded in retaining more ndependence than at one time seeme likely, but whether the British Empire will in the long run avoid being absorbed into ascendant American imperialism is another and more doubtful question.

> > GEORGE WOODCOCK.

Indian Mine Strike

by native proprietors, who have been mine in the Province of Bihar went on

Free enterprise, so-called, is insisted upon by America, while the Russians adhere to a rigid state monopoly. The was able to get acceptance through the Oslo parliament two systems can hardly be intergrated. Where they do not meet, the basic conflict does not show; but now, in Europe and elsewhere, the two are meeting, and each is striving for the advantage. Thus the Soviets are out of the Bretton the National Advisory Council on International Financial Woods agreements; they fear, as did the American Bankers' Association, managed currencies on a world-scale. And in Russia's case, the U.S.S.R. can export enough gold to cover their import purchases, and naturally prefer monetary agreements tied to the yellow metal.

British Anarchists

TOM

Sixty years ago, in 1886, Kropotkin weekly paper as well as the monthly gathered around him a few devoted com- Freedom, a weekly dealing largely with rades and started Freedom. To-day, is is industrial matters, for at that time-son one of the longest-lived papers in our years before the 1914 war-there was great movement. Yet how many realize what industrial unrest. In this way, he started a struggle it means to keep a paper alive, the Voice of Labour. After a useful bu what hard, unremitting work, what self- arduous career it had to be dropped, not sacrifice and what often ill-deserved due to Keell, but to lack of energy on the criticism falls on those who give all their part of the comrades, who failed in their scanty leisure and money to keep the selling efforts and did not always renew paper alive! It is safe to claim for their subscriptions when due. Freedom Freedom that no paper of the "left" has meanwhile kept an even way, always in ever had more unpaid workers, whose debt, the printer, editor and publisher names are not merely forgotten, but were always the chief sufferer. never generally known. Nearly all the Then came the war of 1914. Keell former ones are now dead and remembered and some of the comrades organized themby few, for the Anarchist movement of selves into a "No-Conscription League" today is not only composed of new and and carried on a vigorous anti-war cam-

Freedom going through its most eventful tried. Keell got six months, comrade and best-written years was certainly Tom Wolfe three months. The comrades kept Keell. Keell avoided the lime-light; he Freedom going whilst they were in prison could never be induced to go on the plat- but as soon as he was out, Keell was back form, although he possessed a very keen again in harness, carrying on the fight sense of humour and a wealth of spon- with the same courage and vigour. The taneous illustrations and stories with which war had scattered the movement and scatto underline his points. For years he tered the comrades. To add to the diffi wrote one of the most characteristic culties there was internal dissension on the features of the old Freedom, the "Notes", war issue which split the movement into These dealt with the events of the day two distinct sections. It was the acid test and were always trenchant, often witty- especially for a man like Keell. He was but never signed. Indeed his name is on the most intimate terms with Kroscarcely mentioned except as printer and potkin, and like all of us who knew him,

ducing and printing the paper, even to him went Tcherkesov and several others of the dispatching, fell entirely on him, the old members of the Freedom Group making his working day often 14 or 15 Some of these had played only a small hours. Only those who knew him well part in the movement for many years. know how goodhumouredly and uncom- leaving Keell to carry on almost singleplainingly he worked. He knew what all handed. To his eternal credit Keell recomrades should know-that the move- fused to move from the unpopular, but ment depends on our individual efforts. nevertheless the historic anti-militarist

not enough, and that we should have a there can only be one war, the class war.

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KEELL

Of the little-known who helped to keep companion Lilian Wolfe were arrested and he loved and respected him. But For years the entire work of editing, pro- Kropotkin supported the war, and with Despite all this work, he felt it was position of Anarchism, that for Anarchists



NOBODY would actually deny in Russia that literature is there considered never ceased to function; as for the individual liberty of writers, it was no more: as being a very important institution destined to participate in the work respected than that of other citizens, of government. Thus, recently, the editorial of the Literary Gazette of Moscow eproduced under the date of the 24th August, 1946, the resolution of the The Purge Begins Central Committee of the Party according to which the responsible contributors In 1929 two astounding expulsions shook the Soviet literary world: Boristo the reviews Zviezda and Leningrad "have forgotten the conceptions of Lenin following which our reviews, whether they are scientific or artistic, cannot be Pilniak and Zamiatine, renowned writers, were forced to leave the Pan-Russian apolitical. They have forgotten that our reviews constitute a powerful means Association of Writers. Pilniak was reof the Soviet state working for the education of Soviet men, in particular the proached for the publication in Berlin of young, and should therefore take for directive that which constitutes the vital a novel entitled Acajou; in this he allowed to appear a too marked sympathy for the basis of the Soviet regime: its politics." It is always necessary to have in mind idealism of the militants in the first epoch this essential consideration when one examines the latest changes which have of the Revolution. As for Zamiatine, he taken place in the Russian literary world. had allowed to be published in a Russian It is true that the subordination of Soviet writers has known many variations review in Prague some fragments from his literature to the governmental necessities according to the different phases of post- Utopian romance, "We others"; in this young comrades, but of entirely new paign. The Voice of Labour was of Soviet power has been established he depicted life in a centralised state revolutionary history. Thus, during the first years of the Revo- society which was completely regulated. prosecuted, and Tom Keell and his gradually; the liberty to create among After these incidents there was let loose lution, the Soviet state and the governmental Party exercised no direct control a polemical dispute around the theory over literary production. Far from of "social commands", according to which attempting to instal such a control, Lunat- the writer should work on subjects which n the true spirit of Anarchism, he charski, the first Commissar for National were fixed for him by the state. At first threw open the columns of Freedom to Education even opposed the futurists when this theory was combatted not only by the those who, by supporting the war, had they attempted to become the official "Fellow Travellers", but also by Comon their splendid munist writers like Gladkov (author of school directing Russian literature. pagandists, men who undid Later, the movement of the Proletcult Cement) and the Communist critic Viata lifetime's work in a week. Keell was (Proletarian Culture), created by Bog- cheslav Polonski. But this latter was deno speaker; but as a clear logical thinker danoy, one of the oldest Bolshevik prived, as a Troskyist, of his functions as endowed with courage and sincerity he militants, was combatted in a lively man- editor of several literary reviews, and the was not quite alone, for Malatesta conner by the two chiefs of the Russian theory of "social commands" was officially tributed some of the best articles he ever revolution, Lenin and Trotsky. Bogdanov approved by the government. It was wrote for Freedom in answer to Kropotkin. and his adepts thought that the proletariat, decided to put literature in the service Jean Grave and others who supported the

History has since proved how right Keell was, and has strengthened the antimilitarist position of Anarchism. One feels proud that the same anti-militarist attitude has been maintained by the Freedom of to-day, and was carried on throughout the 1939 war by its predecessor War Commentary, in the spirit that goes back to the heroic days of Anarchist

I know of few men who did more quiet indifferent to praise or blame, or yet so who called on him from all parts of the world can testify. Tom Keell has passed laid the foundation must be carried on. No better or more fitting memorial to his to the Communist Party. Jason Press, 2/6. a society out of which war and injustice work could be raised than to make the

spite of initial apathy and hostility. And means the least is he whom I am proud fate of Soviet literature until 1929. Built on "an island site bounded by it tells too of the survey which the Unit to have known as a comrade and a friend was an epoch of literary liberty which



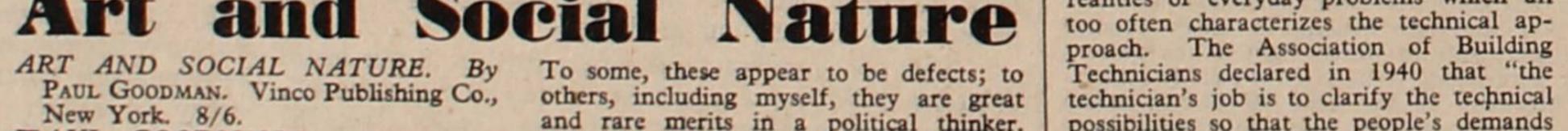
HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE: How modern building technique can provide high standard dwellings quickly; how they could be planned and built; what they could look like; and how we can get them. By a committee of The Association of Building Technicians. (Paul Elek, London. 2/6.)

Capitalist economy only provides comfor a "revolutionary situation" to arise; modifies if there is a market for them, of the tasks of an organized workingclass revolutionary movement is to en-

estate built some ten years ago as part of these pacifists to create among the on a sound financial basis. It can be done, elaborated a resolution that served later sentiment surged up truly and spontanof the L.C.C. slum-clearance project. And people of "Tenement Town" the social so, comrades let it be done. bearing "Tenement Town" as its title an relationships which would aid the develop- In conclusion, if these brief sketches 1925 by the Political Bureau of the Com- one of the principal factors in victory. interesting little book by L. E. White has ment of responsibility and initiative and have succeeded in lifting the veil of un- munist Party; it is necessary to note that recently been published, telling of the lives neighbourliness. It tells of the attempts deserved obscurity from some of the this Bureau refused to recognise the Official Attitude During The of the people on the estate and the work to form a community association and a pioneers of Anarchism in England, I shall supremacy of proletarian and Communist of a small group of social workers amongst youth club, attempts which succeeded in be satisfied. And among them, by no literature. This resolution governed the

inspire others to take up similar work. In 1941, to this breeding ground of For too long have the more short-sighted sought to express their resistance to war tain the seeds of revolution. If we follow those who see the transition to a better society as the sudden throwing of a switch, after which everybody will be good and happy and free; if we are content to wait the positive concomitants of freedom.

then we are ignoring the challenge to and design and materials are strongly in- to be done. express our anarchism now in work to fluenced by costs, patent rights, and many develop co-operation and responsibility, other arbitrary restricting factors. One P. W.



many otherwise equable people. Con- influenced by his ideas, where it has not, tempt, ridicule, indignation. I, too, find independently, come to conclusions similar Goodman's style for the most part to his. bourgeois.

emotions. It is, I suspect, his ideas not quite simply insist on this commonplac

mannered and irritating-though he is It is his practicality, this getting down capable on occasion of masterly effects and to cases without the usual palaver, that eloquence concentrated to the point of really gets under people's skin. For we epigram. I, too, wish he would write less all know that we live in a corrupt and and better, would put more flesh on the alienating socity, and that we don't really apodictic bones of his ideas, and would get much pleasure or satisfaction from the haul down the banner; Pour epater les things which our social institutions, from the business world to the colleges and But these are the defects of his qualities, government bureaux trap us into doing; and in any case hardly justify such violent and it makes us angry to have some one his manner, which "puts off" people. and unmentionable fact. As I have noted Partly the insistence on sex as a primary in these pages before, the Marxist is refactor in our lives-or rather the concrete volutionary only in one walled-off part attempt to work out specifically just what of his life, and for the rest thinks and this primacy implies, for after Freud sex behaves just like other people. The sort in general has been, so to speak, accepted of revolution Goodman proposes involves in the best intellectual circles; it is only not only political institutions but also our when some one insists on getting specific everyday, personal way of living and about it that everyone gets angry. But thinking. These essays contain some hints more generally what "puts off" people is as to how it may be done, and some Goodman's habit of following his ideas arguments as to why it should be done. to their rational conclusion no matter They are seeds rather than fruits, but

of speculating imaginatively and freely on every possible and impossible occasion. (Reprint from Politics (November), U.S.A.) penny that is necessary for decency and health—yes, and comfort and beauty—for

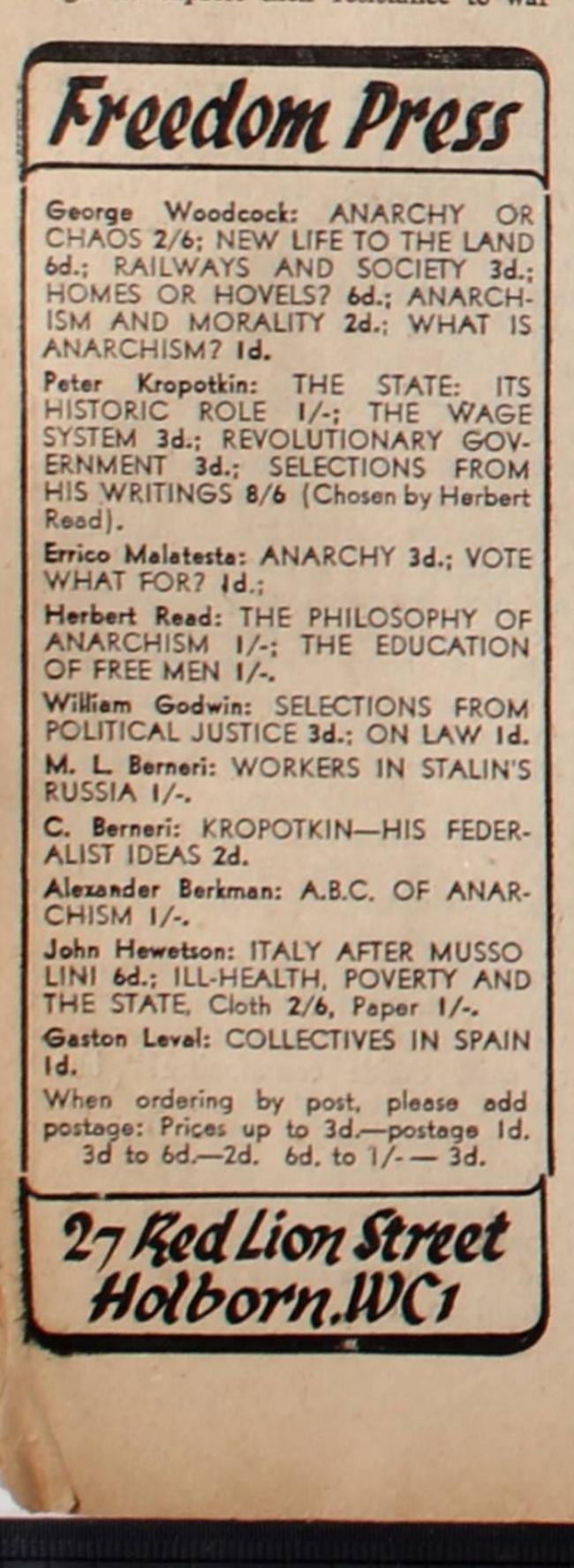


LIVING IN TENEMENTS. By L. E. in social work, directed towards building WHITE.

"Tenement Town" is the fictitious name could not arise. which has been given to a rehousing This book is the record of the efforts

three railway lines and a cemetary", the made, inviting the criticisms and sug- -the man Tom Keell. estate was designed with little understand- gestions of the people of the estate. ing of the needs of the folks who were Resulting from the survey came many to live upon it. Physically segregated from criticisms of the badly-planned barrackthe existing local community, and socially like blocks of flats, and constructive sugoutcast from it, the inhabitants of "Tene- gestions for improvement, with a widely ment Town", without shops, cinema, pub expressed desire for a community centre. or communal centre, were soon longing One hopes that this book, "the sober nostalgically for the comparatively rich record of an achievement", as George social life of the fish-shops and pubs of Macleod describes it in his foreword, may the slum districts they had left.

apathy, ill-health and conflict came a revolutionaries dismissed social service as Pacifist Service Unit, whose members "merely palliative". Such work can con-



FREEDOM FATE OF LITERATURE IN

MAT KAVANAGH.

Homes be Built



in order to become the dominant class, of the Five Year Plan.

The Fellow Travellers

When, towards the end of the Civil lished that in this process the principal epoch of "socialist realism". In my long experience of the movement | role was played by a group of non- It is now a well-known fact that a great

was, however, only of a relative kind, since the preliminary censorship of books

visage the concrete problems which will ourseives and our children." Nor do they economy and the profit system are of high rents in producing ill health. which is dominated by anarchist ideas, and all this important preliminary work is yet

this little book on the problems of building does a good deal to fill the gap as far as this very important questions is concerned. Compiled by a committee of technicians, it yet remains free from that remoteness from the Art and Social Nature realities of everyday problems which all too often characterizes the technical approach. The Association of Building New York. 8/6. PAUL GOODMAN'S writings seem and rare merits in a political thinker. possibilities so that the people's demands Naturally, I'm prejudiced in Goodman's can become more precise and lead to to arouse the most violent feelings in favour, since my own thinking has been action", and this is the spirit in which the book is written.

> From the outset it avoids that spurious practicality which consists in meeting administrational difficulties halfway; what is demanded is the best that is technically practicable. The Ministry of Health's overcrowding standards as laid down in the Overcrowding Act of 1936 are strongly criticised. "The standard adopted was, roughly, two people to each room, including living rooms. Children under 10 counted as half and babies not at all. So four children under 10 could sleep in one room. There could be added a couple of babies and it would still not be overcrowded! A family of nine, including a baby, could occupy a two-bedroomed house without over crowding!" The committee's own minima are much more in line with

A similar attitude is adopted towards rents. "Must finance be the governing factor in determining the standard of our future housing? We answer with an emphatic 'No!' We do not want to waste how "absurd" it may turn out to be; and seeds from which something may grow. a single penny, but we will spend every penny that is necessary for decency and

should create its own culture. But this This situation lasted until 1932, when thinker insisted on the fact that according the Central Committee of the Communist to his conception culture should not Party resolved to dissolve the organizations be controlled by the Communist Party. of proletarian writers and to group all literateurs in a single association: that of of Soviet Writers.

From that time ceased the existence of War, a considerable development of the literature of the Five-year Plan and Russian literature took place, it was estab- commenced, by decision from above, the

Communist writers who, nevertheless, part of the Russian population, and gave their adherence to the revolution. notably the peasants subjected to collectiv-Trotsky called them "The Fellow Travel- isation in the Ukraine and White Russia, free of personal feeling. Keell was always | lers". As these writers gained influence, awaited the arrival of the Germans in ready to help others, the Freedom Press they encountered an embittered opposition the hope of seeing a change in their hard being always open for all to call coming from another group of proletarian ' destiny. In other social strata the hostility and ask for advice. It was always wise writers who called themselves "Na Postou" towards the regime was no less negligible. and safe advice that they got, as comrades (To the post). These also pronounced But the savage conduct of the German themselves in favour of the creation of a occupation troops and their openly pubproletarian culture; but differed from lished contempt towards the native popuinto history, but the work for which he i Bogdanov in considering that this culture lations-a contempt based in the domain should be controlled by and subordinated of theory on the racist delirium-had the immediate effect of bringing forth a sincere In the month of May, 1924, took place patriotism; the Russian government had, paper Freedom, to which he devoted the a conference convoked by the Press De- on the eve of the war, in vain attempted greater part of his life, a weekly paper | partment of the Communist Party, which to inculcate it, but after the invasion this as the basis of the resolution adopted in eously. It is this patriotism which was

War

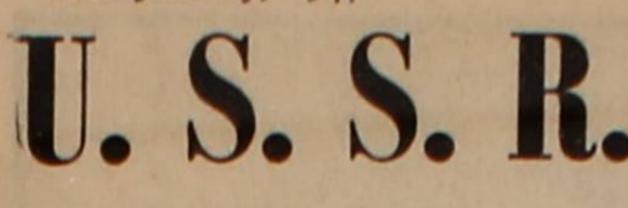
What was the attitude of the government towards literature during the war? From the beginning the bodies charged (Continued on page 7)

face each industry when the market show themselves unaware of the effects abolished, and production is under The book deals with problems of flats workers' control and directed towards or houses, of construction, decoration, supplying the needs of all. Surveys of sound and heat insulation, drainage and such problems were made by the anarchist refuse disposal, site-planning, costs. Altosyndicalist workers in Spain, and were gether it is a thoroughly practical survey, put to remarkable use when the revolution and the fact that the authors seems to of 1936 gave an opportunity for their think education of public opinion is all realization. The Anarchist movement in that is needed in order to get rational Italy has made a start on similar prepara- building does not detract from its value. tory work in recent months. But in this A series of admirable illustrations are country there is no section of industry provided, each one of which illustrates the points made in the text.

The second se

. . . .

Freedom Bookshop
ENGLISH SOCIAL HISTORY G. M. Trevelyan 21/-
BETWEEN MAN & MAN Martin Buber 12/6
BALLETOMANIA Haskell 9/-
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(Continued from page 6) with repression began by causing the disappearance of numerous writers who were already in exile before the war; it is thus that the most complete mystery surrounds the disappearance of the celebrated poet Mandelstam, of Pilniak, the great producer Meyerhold, and others. But later, when the situation became very critical and when all the forces of the nation were absorbed by the armed struggle, the government pretended to allow something of a loose rein. Besides, the writers did nothing more than express the patriotic sentiments of the country; those in power had thus every reason to let them alone. As for the writers, certain among them doubtless nourished the hope that at the end of this gigantic struggle the authorities would make concessions opening the way to democracy; they believed that the contact of Russia with the West would be salutory in the sense that the U.S.S.R could no longer retain its totalitarian This opinion was held not only by Russians wedged betwen two totalitarianisms, but equally by numerous political and literary personalities in Europe and America.

The recent attack of the Central Committee of the Communist Party against Akmatova and Zostchenko marks the commencement of a new turn in the literary politics of the Kremlin. The poetess Akmatova was already patriotic and anti-German during the first worldwar; she was so with the same sincerity during the war of 1941-45; at this moment such an attitude could be useful to the Russian government; also, Akmatova has sion arose in the case of Pannerov (author many times been classed as a "celebrated poetess"-it is necessary to remember that already before the first world conflict the real architect of the victory? The the critics had accorded her that dis- fact of merely establishing this query was tinction. If to-day she is put in the rank sufficient for the official critic to slate of a "drawing-room poetess" propagating the insolent inquirer, for this would have "art for art's sake", according to what is meant to discussing the fundamental dogma said in the governmental organs, it is of the role of the Party and its leader simply due to a new volte-face of the in the organisation of the triumph. government. Akmatova has committed the crime of not understanding, or at least of having the air of not understanding, that the patriotic line of the government was itself only a manoeuvre, and that this line could change.

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS-LABOUR VERSION Mr. Charles Dukes-"Charlie" to trade

unionists all over Britain-once earned 4s. The literary and political conditions a week as a part-timer in a Lancashire under which these men must live are such forge. To-day he becomes a baron.

has led him, after years of manual labour and strenuous trade union work, to the most powerful position in the union movement and now to a seat in the House of

"What title shall I take?" he said. "Well, I think it will just be Lord Dukes. There doesn't seem much sense in covering up your own name when it is fairly well known." The name of Charlie Dukes has been

well known among trade unionists for some 40 years.

Westminster as a peer. I am looking forward to getting back to political life, All both fourteen, have and to helping the party I helped to build CAMERICANS been sentenced to hang into a government. "There used to be a great deal of

criticism of the House of Lords among having been indicted, You never seem to hear it tried and convicted on TO HIM THAT HATH nowadays. "We have moved away from the idea

of abolishing the Lords. In the last century the House of Lords has restored its

now with splendid records in public life gaol were demanding that the boys be and very high qualifications, and it seems turned over to them. to me that most of the work is being After the boys, James Adams and carried on by that type rather than by Robert Truesdale, were sentenced to death, those who are merely there through

But Mr. Dukes says he does not object The appeal was dismissed. even to the hereditary principle. "I've an At their trial both boys pleaded not open mind," he says.

SEEING THE LIGHT

The 1,700 miners at Whitburn Colliery, South Shields, will not take part in the ruled a defence motion that the rest of New Year celebrations to mark the the jury be dismissed. nationalization of their industry.

Mr. J. E. Edmondson, secretary of the Marsden Miners' Lodge, which represents HAPPY DAYS ARE HERE the workers at the colliery, said yesterday: AGAIN "We have taken this action because we are disappointed with the Coal Board mem-

"In the man, they are the same persons who were responsible for the former chaotic conditions in the industry. The play has been changed but not the cast." Daily Mail, 30/12/46.

1945 Walker worked for only four days Harrods, 1s. 6d. in Gamages, and the winner will be from a mining family. and was still unemployed in February, 2s. 10¹/₂d. in Cossor on reports of new radio the winner will be from a mining family. It works out at £1,507,000 gross, or worried than the U.S. market, because it But a South Wales miners' leader said only £16,000 less than 1945, when the is committed to buy up the surplus, and 1946. He had four previous convictions developments. for theft. Celanese went ahead with a rise of This is a serious business." distribution of £500,000.

Zostchenko : The Pessimist The case of Zostchenko, that Charlie Chaplin of Russian literature, is different; Whitehall Meddles in Medicine he was and remains to the present very popular in Russia; he has always described

henceforth writers should extirpate from and the doctor claims that the action of their heads the torch of creative freedom which they have dared to acquire during the war. At present they must, according to the exigencies of the State, put their capacities at the service of the new Fiveyear Plan and become permeated with the essential idea that the Soviet state is again menaced by Western capitalism; in such a situation it is not allowed to accord attention to other ideas and thoughts than hose formulated by the state.

The resolution of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Writers of the 4th Sept., published in the Literary Gazette of the same date, accuses the writer Petro Pantch of having elaborated a "theory" on the "right of the writer to commit errors." The resolution says on this subject: "This theory opens the door for the penetration into literature of foreign influences."

The Writer Who Dared To Inquire

Another important point in the discusof the well-known novel Brouski) who presumed to pose the question: Who is

To this must be added the numerous resolutions stigmatising writers and poets guilty of "bowing too low" before western literature; in this there is a kind of preparation for the war against the spirit of the west.

The alarm sounded by the authorities has immediately borne its fruits; everywhere there is a quasi-unanimity of thinkers who are ready to confess, repent and recognise their own faults, at the same time as pointing out those of their

that people from outside cannot judge their At his home in Amersham, Bucks, conduct. In their case the Russian to-day he looked back over a life which proverb rests true: Do not strike a beaten



the ordinary man and his passive attitude Considerable comment has been caused in the Ministry expedited his death. towards the revolution and all the political the press recently by the action of the Naturally the case has been taken up convulsions. He uses the characteristic | Ministry of Food in cancelling an allow- as a foretaste of the bureaucratic contra language of that half-instructed man. ance of 2 ozs. extra butter per day of the medical profession by medical Under a mask of naivety Zostchenko granted by a local food office on the appli- advisory committees in Whitehall. One allows himself to adopt an ironical and cation of the patient's doctor, after con- writer (a doctor) wrote to the Observer pessimistic attitude towards Soviet man. sultation with a surgeon and a dietician. that: "As Dr. Foxell points out, if a Fundamentally, it is this pessimism which The man had an incurable fatal disease, medical practitioner gives certificates withis held against him; it is because of it and the doctor applied for the extra fat out seeing a panel patient, he is struck that he serves as a target for all the in order to prolong his life. The Ministry off the Register. It will be interesting to arrows of contemporary literary policy. after cancelling the allowance made by see if the General Medical Council takes But this attack against two well-known the local Food Office, "on compassionate any action against the medical advisers of writers merely announces a new line of the grounds" allowed him 2 ozs. per week the Minister, who, without seeing Dr. government in the matter of literature; extra. A few weeks later the patient died, Foxell's patient, advised against the

DEATH'S GOOD BUSINESS

DEGINNING March 15th this D year every American family who has a Service member buried overseas will get a questionnaire from the Government asking them whether they wish the body to be disinterred and shipped home at Government expense. The U.S. Army will organise

the collection and transportation of the coffins, in special ships repainted black. There was a good deal o

pressure, not so much from the bereaved as from the morticians to get this Bill passed, for burial is Big Business in this country, and, of course, Government money stops at the ports, and from there on the home burials will be at the individual's expense.

And the big morticians, many o whom own up to 40 or cemeteries, organised on some thing like a chain-store basis, are a very lively group, full of cute and colourful ideas for decking-up death.

I spent Christmas Sunday at the famous, much-satirised, Forest Lawn Cemetery, here in Los Angeles. I and about a thousand other visitors, for Forest Lawn attracts more visitors than any art gallery or cultural showplace i the States.

In some of the pricier sites, as, for instance, the "Mystery of Life Garden", hidden music drips out perpetually, the showy flower shop sells not only Christmas trees and costly arrangements but also does quite a business in orchid and gardenia corsages for the decoration of the resting places of past beauties.

> Zoë Farmer in News Chronicle, 6/1/47.



"Now," he says, "I'm going back to AMERICAN JUSTICE



Two Negro boys in Jackson, chief city FREE HALL OF Mississippi State cent. the same day.

According to their According to their defence lawyer, a con-fession that they shot their employer, a farmer, was wrung from Sand and Mrs. Ernest Bevin "There are a great number of men there them while an angry mob outside the

> Mr. W. D. Coleman, their lawyer, appealed to Mississippi Supreme Court.

guilty, but were given little opportunity to Evening Standard, 1/1/47. defend themselves. When the jury was being chosen one

juryman jumped up shouting: "I say kill them. I say hang them." He was discharged, but the Judge over-

Daily Mirror, 1/1/47.

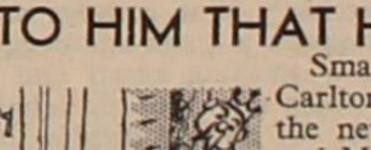
The old year went out in a blaze of

immediate 1947 prospects. All round reports of record order books are sufficient to encourage holders of in- A SERIOUS BUSINESS dustrials, but the fuel shortage threat is a The miners are to

The miners are to dust not net class. Daily Mail; 30/12/46.
PRISON OBVIOUSLY REFORMS LAZY MEN!
When Kenneth Walker, aged 20, of park-road, Wallsend, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment at Oxford to-day for stealing a sports jacket, a grots jacket

Evening Standard, 1/1/47. 1s. 6d. after knocking off the dividend, and

1s. 3d. in response to higher prices authorised by the Ministry of Supply Distillers at 138s. 6d. remained a dull maket with whisky supplies cut 10 per





desolate facade of cracking stone, this with a bright blue balcony.

A tarpaulin covers the outside workers to prevent rain from hindering what is obviously an urgent job. A tarpaulin covers the outside workers as a token acknowledgment that they are the victors, they might grant them-BOMBS I understand that Mr. and Mrs. Bevin selves the right to retain a few kites intend moving in next week-end. Their and balloons. lebensraum is practically complete. Grev curtains have been hung and all the furni-ture that can be spared from their Ken- BUSINESS LIKES sington flat has been installed under Mrs. NATIONALIZATION

Bevin's eye.

and speculators alike were optimistic on while thousands of people have neither.

last night: "We want no circuses here. operating company made a special tax-free at very high prices, to prevent the market Daily Express, 31/12/46.

opinion of the doctor, the consultant surgeon, and the dietician."

Breaks Law For Patient

Similar cases, including another one of Dr. Foxell's, have since been reported. In one of these, the doctor found that the only thing an old woman with cancer carrying it a stage further. could retain was cream. His application to the Food Office was refused on the grounds that "cream was not essential in cancer cases". The doctor replied that "any person with any knowledge of sick nursing would know that. I further pointed out that in my own capacity as a doctor I had obligations to my patient, to my profession, to my own conscience and sense of humaneness: and I gave notice that by hook or by crook and a all hazards I would obtain cream for this case. This I did, and she had cream daily until the day she died.

"In other words, I was compelled break the law in order to maintain my own integrity, and-what was just as important -to preserve my patient's trust in me that I would not let her down. That is how bureaucracy works, has always worked, and will always work . . . "

Now there has not been a lack of correspondents to point out that in times food shortage, it is more important to look after the young and healthy than to prolong by a few weeks or months the lives of the aged sick. This view correspond to the "individual-exists-for-the-State" point of view of the advocates of state control. It does not seem to occur to its exponents that the very extremity of the moribund makes the provision of extra for them a negligible burden on the community at large.

Central Issue An Ethical One

interference by unseen committees of the civil service between a doctor and his patient. Since the time of Hippocrates that relationship has been held to be an important one, and to concern no one else cured from the Japanese Government, and except the patient and doctor. The very disciplinary measures which the medical requests by officers for such things as

the new home of Mr. and of future Foreign value."



Richard Hill, steel wire makers, jumped GO AND DO LIKEWISE Atom bombs, rockets, and all forms of actual XXX

and potential war war weapons are outlawed Daily Graphic, 1/1/47. for ever in Germany. A decree published by the Control Council last night grants a Carlton-Gdns is No. 1, reprieve only to items of "historic

Among the articles which, from now I can imagine some onwards, no German can manufacture, Il other tenants of the store, import or export, are all types of street may be feeling aircraft, including kites, balloons, gliders. a little jealous, for Penalties for evasion include hard among the grey and labour for life, or death.

Daily Herald, 31/12/46. house is now creamier than T.T. milk, We suggest that the victorious Allies with a bright blue balcony. A score of workmen, paint-pots in now follow up this decree by them-hand, are hard at work inside and out. selves doing likewise; though perhaps, PROGRESS CONTINUES

The old year went out in a blaze of glory on the Stock Exchange. Investors Bevin can have a house and a flat Wilshaw, the Cable and Wireless chief, who tomorrow hands over his £30,000,000 operating company to the State, pleased the market yesterday with his last dividend announcement.

The Company is paying a "further The Americans have grown far more

probation officer told the court that he was "just lazy". The officer said that in London Brick, 1s. in Lever and Any girl may enter, but it is hoped a "special dividend." flow of the huge grain surplus. The U.S. Government is even more

Daily Express, 31/12/46.

profession sees fit to invest the General Medical Council with, have as their object the maintenance of high ethical standards in that relationship.

Because of this personal relationship, doctors are invested with full responsibility, which is another way of saying that they are given a high degree of freedom from external interference. For this reason, in the past, medical certificates have been treated with respect by official bodies. Now the incursion of the State into the field of medicine has been detrimental to this extreme decentralisation, for one of the bad effects of the National Health Insurance (among some undoubted benefits) was that it tended to accelerate the disappearance of the "family doctor" who had a very close personal relationship indeed with his patients. These recent cases, and many other instances incidental to wartime, indicate a further interference, with the foreshadowed State medicine

State Medicine Dehumanizing

It is no good saying that full freedom and responsibility for doctors may result in plausible bedside men abusing it. There is no need for State protection in these matters, for patients are not slow to criticize their medical advisers, being less dumb than the state planners like to think.

Without romanticizing the question, or taking an unduly rosy view of doctors, there is no doubt that their personal relationship with their patients is one of the more valuable human contacts which urvive in an increasingly dehumanized world. It has diminished somewhat in the last half century. State control of doctors (and patients) may see its total extinction. And these recent cases, despite their being used in the battle between the B.M.A. and the Health Ministry, do clearly show once again how inhuman officialdom is, even when questions of the last comfort of the dying is concerned. The first allegiance of a doctor is to his patient; not the 'state", 'the "war-effort", the "community" or any other abstraction, but to the man, woman or child under his care.

IT'S THE SAME THE WHOLE WORLD OVER Luxurious demands of officers in the

Nevertheless, the central issue is the occupying forces in Japan were to-day ended by an order from Supreme Head-

Officers have been living in mansions splendidly furnished with materials prothe order now made follows hundreds of

Super-luxury furnishing and fittings for Materials for bars;

Subdued lighting for houses on a nightclub scale;

Construction of gardens and goldfish Flowers for huge banquets;

Porcelain, draperies and rugs.

The bill for flowers alone has run into thousands of pounds. Installation of fireplaces, kitchen heating equipment, and a new roof for one lieutenant's house alone cost £4,000this being 20 times the original cost of

of the building News Chronicle, 31/12/46.

Headaches, "round tummy" and asthmatic or anæmic conditions among Soviet Army staff officers are criticised by a medical officer in the Red Star.

The cause: Lack of exercise. The only chance most staff men have of stretching their muscles is by crossing the sidewalk to their cars.

The cure: Two or three hours' exercise every day. Officers, says the writer, should be able to run up five flights of stairs at any time, instead of waiting ten minutes for the lift. News Chronicle, 31/12/464

New and improved processes in handling Uranium 235-a primary element in the release of atomic energy-have been introduced at the U.S. War Department's plant at Oakridge, Tennessee.

They offer the prospect of a "considerable reduction in operating costs and personnel."

Daily Mail, 28/12/46. PLENTY IN THE MIDST

OF STARVATION

Sunday Despatch, 22/12/46

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