

Preserving Oxford Decencies!

AN Oxford student paper, the *Cherwell*, has been banned by the university proctors because it circulated a questionnaire designed to get some factual material on the sex life of Oxford students. Among thirty questions were two to which the proctor took exception: "If unmarried, have you experienced sexual intercourse?" and "in Oxford?" Undoubtedly these are matters which many people prefer to keep private (though there was no suggestion that anything beyond statistical analysis of the replies was intended), but there is also no doubt that some factual material about the sexual lives of undergraduates (men, incidentally, as well as women) would be of considerable interest. Since there was no compulsion to answer, one would have thought that proctorial intervention was not necessary. But clearly the university authorities were afraid that the replies would reveal what "ought to be concealed" and the credit of the university with prudish parents might fall with undesirable economic effects on the colleges.

Actually the reply of two girl undergraduates to the *News Chronicle* reporter was quite revealing in a very amusing way. "We found nothing objectionable in it. In fact, we think it an excellent idea and we should very much like to read the results. Naturally, we did not fill in the questions referring to unmarried women." One is left speculating what construction one is to put on the "naturally" which looks as if the attack which Tom Harrison made as a young man (in his *Letter to Oxford*, 1933) on the sexual development of undergraduates is as justified to-day as it was a dozen years ago.

Meetings and Announcements

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES

FEB. 16th. Geoffrey Pittock Buss
The Drama as a Social Force
FEB. 23rd. Alex Comfort

Sexual Delinquency

MARCH 2nd. Paul Rotts
Ignazio Silone
MARCH 9th. Bill Mansbridge
Tito's Aims in Trieste

MARCH 16th. Bert Smith
God and the State
MARCH 23rd. Laurie Hisslam

The Freedom Defence Committee and Civil Liberty To-day

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
at 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1
Admission Free. Questions invited

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS (Lancashire)

PUBLIC LECTURES in CHORLEY

at the ODDFELLOWS' ROOMS,
9, Cunliffe Street, Chorley
at 6.45 p.m.
Sun., FEB. 23rd. Albert Smith, B.A. (Oxon.)

THE USE OF HISTORY

Sun. March 9th. Mat Kavanagh
THE WORKER AND NATIONALISATION
Descriptive leaflets from—
U.A.G., 11, Ribblesdale Place, Chorley

ARTISTS' COOPERATIVE

The Second Meeting will be held at
8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1
on Wed., Feb. 26th at 7.30 p.m.

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Arbitrary Power Of Proctors

But the important point which emerges is the enormous power wielded by the proctors. Not only did they ban the *Cherwell* (they have now announced that it may resume publication in a month) but they forbade the Editor or any of the staff, to discuss the ban with advertisers, subscribers or anyone else, thereby preventing any kind of protest against their ruling, even of the mildest kind, to be voiced.

If any struggle against this kind of obscurantist dictatorship is to be undertaken, it can come only from the people who suffer under it—the students themselves. Unfortunately, the level of thought on sexual matters in the universities, and in the social class from which students mainly spring, is so elementary that the proctors' action will probably receive support from student ranks. On the other hand, there could be no more auspicious moment for an attack on university restrictions, for the colleges are filled with returned service men, older than the usual run of undergraduates, and vastly more experienced. These will be much less willing to be treated like irresponsible children than the students of three and four years ahead.

Dutch C.O. Hunger Striker Forcibly Fed

When Nol Kneulmans, a 20-year old conscientious objector, recently went on hunger strike, behind Dutch C.O. tribunals refuse to recognize his objection, the authorities ordered him to be forcibly fed.

The Dutch Government did not recognize conscientious objection to military service until 25 years ago, when a 19-year old war resister named Herman Groenendaal went on hunger strike to prove his sincerity. His action caused the whole of liberal opinion in Holland to put pressure on the Government to introduce conscience clauses into the Military Service Act. Now it seems that the same drastic methods are required to make the government operate the conscience clauses.

Revolutionary Applications of Psychology

THE work of psychologists is concerned with the maladjustments between their patients and the social environment, and the amelioration of their condition depends on modifying one or the other of the patient or his environment. Of course, it is much easier to 'adjust' a man to his social surroundings, than to make criticisms and effective changes in the latter, and it is disappointing to find psychologists in general quite unconcerned about social change. They are apparently content to try and make the individual fit society, instead of seeking to modify society to the maximum good of its component individuals. Thus most psychology becomes entirely reactionary. For this reason the work of a psychoanalyst who not only sees the cause of much psychic illness in the economic,

sexual, and social frustrations to which we are all subject in varying degrees, but goes on from there to propose radical changes in economic and social customs, is of immense importance. Wilhelm Reich, whose book *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* is reviewed on another page in this issue, has done much to reveal the mechanisms whereby the authoritarian principle in society is maintained and reinforced by such social customs as the denial of sexual gratification to children and adolescents, and such social institutions as monogamous marriage and the family. These institutions and customs have been instinctively disliked and fought by anarchists for generations (Emma Goldman went to prison for her determined advocacy of knowledge about birth control 40 to 50 years ago). But it has been left to Reich to provide a detailed account of the exact function of anti-sexual concepts in authoritarian societies.

Do Workers Accept Fascism?

Reich claims to be a Marxist. Yet his characterological studies have driven him to advocate individual responsibility and complete rejection of the leader principle—though Marx and his followers regarded the first as Utopian and, in practice, were thoroughgoing believers in the latter with their determined devotion to political forms of action. Studies of life, of what really happens, have driven Reich into what amount to Anarchist concepts. Even so he retains some of the Marxian habits of thought, and these colour the expression of some of his ideas. Thus, it is true that Fascism has a mass support, and that its causes lie in the frustrations of every one of us—before it takes power. But while any regime depends on a more or less passive acceptance or resignation on the part of the working-class as a whole, it is surely unwise to take too little account of the means which totalitarian regimes adopt to secure that general resignation. Large sections of a population may indeed accept Fascism; but the existence of vast concentration camps, and a permanent pretorian guard of SS men, NKVD officials, etc., indicates that the regime is taking no chances. No one can say that Franco's Fascism was willingly accepted by the Spanish workers and peasants. And the revolts of the Italian workers, which were crushed Mussolini down in the summer of 1943 show that even 21 years of Fascism could not get itself accepted with any finality.

These are lessons from the history of Fascist administrations, and they are important ones. But that does not diminish the importance of Reich's demonstration of the factors which prepare the soil for the successful development of Fascism, or whatever other name (e.g. Communism, Titoism or what you will) extreme authoritarianism adopts. And it does not in the least degree lessen the necessity to fight for full biological freedom for every individual at all ages, so that fully responsible men and women may develop; for only on sexual frustration and resulting irresponsibility can Fascism erect itself.

Point of View

Hope for Individualists?

Individualist anarchists appear to have no hope of working-class activity as a means of social change. In fact some of them seem to deprecate any activity. When this idea is persisted with, the active minded individual of this type just argues the opposite side, actually or potentially, or believe they are, which comes in small, practically closed, groups and with little effect on the large-scale life around them. Such, could be classified with all sardonic pessimists, I can understand certain types of 'Marxists' and others, waiting for the revolution or evolution to happen in time! But what these individualist anarchists fail to realize is that they are evolution, along with the people of less or slower perception. From time to time enthusiasts stir the mass of people into awareness and give them hope and vision. Some of this remains, but most dies away due to the pressure of everyday life. The pessimists then blame the workers. The workers in everyday life find nearly all 'clever' people on the opposite side, actually or potentially, or believe they are, which comes to the same thing. (That there are opposite sides in life is obvious to anyone from all real experience.) The workers after being let down by the 'clever', impatient people, get despondent, apathetic or cynical, according to temperament. The 'clever' ones get disgusted (or become discouraged). The anarchist, having deeper and fuller knowledge, should be the one to inspire and encourage and break this vicious circle of despondency. His ideas should appeal to the instinctive good in people. His appeal should be specially to the workers as they are more the creatures of

instinct than the 'clever' 'get-onners'. We are familiar with modern educational ideas where the teacher is 'on the side of the child'. The same applies to the workers and their natural teachers the anarchists and people who have anarchist ideas without label. The ordinary workers crave to exercise their consciences at work, etc., but are frustrated by managers, officials, efficiency experts, etc. In spite of this, any good work achieved is usually the result of a worker's individuality. This is admitted on occasion by managers and realized by workers. If the anarchist is to get his message over he must be 'on the side of the workers'. The important thing is to gain the worker's confidence, and then, choosing the psychological moment, get the ideas into their heads. The right moment is most important. Religious and State organizations know this, which is why they seek to control people at their most reasonable periods to have their ear at the right moment. Most real knowledge does not come from long study but from flashes of insight. The 'clever' minds are so cluttered up with long study and unnecessary facts that they are almost impervious to new ideas, especially simple ideas. The dumbest man I ever met and with whom I worked for years, nearly made me lose faith in my powers of persuasion, till one day I gained confidence by making him some mental shades to protect the bloomers from carnations. In this way I found he had a passion for carnations. He grasped the essence of anarchist ideas in no time. His former resistance was due to not trusting me (or anybody else).

A. WRIGHT.

INSTEAD OF A CARTOON

(With Philip's and Editors' Regrets)

NO LIMIT TO FRATERNISATION!

A German prisoner was recently convicted at a military court because an A.T.S. girl was found hiding under his bed. He was charged with "conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline in that he improperly consorted and associated with the girl".

This shows just how shallow the "liberties" recently granted to the German prisoners are in fact. They can walk the streets, clad in uniforms which brand them immediately, they can carry on very limited polite conversation with a few English people, but they can do nothing about fulfilling their natural inclinations, which years in prison camp must have aggravated.

In this case it is clear that the girl, the only person with a right to object, was quite willing to associate with the prisoner in question, the interference of the military authorities therefore shows just how ridiculous are the pretences of granting extra freedom to the German prisoners, when they are still kept away from any really close relationship with English people.

DIRECT ACTION AGAINST FRANCO

The 6,000-ton steamer Marie Jose, from Bilbao, Spain, bringing the first Fascist flag into the Manchester Ship Canal since 1939, berthed yesterday at the Lancashire Steel Corporation berth at Irlam.

This has aroused a storm of protest from local trade unionists. The local men may refuse to unload her.

After many protests last night at a meeting of the Irlam and Cadishead Trades Council, the secretary was instructed to convey the unanimous feeling of the meeting to the T.U.C. in London and ask for guidance on what further action they should take.

"Our men have been unloading the ship to-day, but we didn't recognise the flag," declared Mr. H. Taylor, of the National Union of Blastfurnacemen.

"The question will be raised at a union meeting tomorrow. We didn't realise it was a Fascist ship."

News Chronicle, 23/1/47.

Lectures in C. London

The war has seen the break up of many conventional conceptions, and has at the same time created new problems for solutions. Such material conditions have inevitably formed a ferment in ideas and a need for discussion for the purpose of clarifying and sharing views about these new problems. For more than a year now a focus for the discussion of some of these problems has been provided by the Sunday evening lectures organized by the London Anarchist Group at 8, Endsleigh Gardens, London, W.C.2. It is encouraging to see that a similar need is being met in Lancashire by a series of lectures organized by our Chorley comrade, Alfred Booth, at the Oddfellows' Rooms, 9, Cunliffe Street, Chorley, Lancs. Public meetings on a larger and broader scale are regularly held by our comrades in Glasgow.

All this is evidence of the need to present an Anarchist approach to current problems, Anarchist conceptions to take the place of the old conventional ideas which have been shown to be inadequate by the social changes brought about by the war. And it is clear that there is a ready audience who want to hear the Anarchist approach to these topics and weigh it up in the context of actual conditions.

It is the aim of the London Anarchist Group's lectures to meet this need. Current problems and the growth of this weekly series. It does not aim to provide an academic textbook course of lectures 'on Anarchism'. The philosophy and doctrine of Anarchism do not readily lend themselves to this schematic kind of treatment, and thinking people to-day are less interested in cut-and-dried political systems than in finding out how 'an approach' such as Anarchism regards the concrete problems of to-day. They want to know, in fact, whether Anarchism will help them both as individuals and as members of society to overcome the difficulties of living in the mass which is politely called the post-war world.

The lectures, therefore, are mainly delivered by Anarchists; but not solely for there are many problems on which factual information is required, and an

expert's account is more satisfactory than an exponent of a particular social philosophy. Among non-Anarchists who have lectured in the past few months have been George Orwell, F. A. Ridley, George Padmore, and Alec Craig. Lectures have dealt with British, Russian, and Vatican foreign policy; with Imperial problems; with agriculture, industry, the wage system, the growth of huge urban centres like London; with sexual ideas and progress, crime and its causes and "treatment", medical aspects of poverty; with the Anarchist movement in other countries; with social contributions of various literary figures such as the Marquis de Sade and William Blake; with various practical and philosophical problems raised by Anarchist theory itself. These varied subjects have been treated by members of the London Anarchist Group, and by many other Anarchists, among them Eddie Shaw, Alex Comfort, Geoffrey Pittock Buss, R. Rices and T. W. Brown—to name but a few.

Readers of *Freedom* in the London area are cordially welcomed to these lectures. Discussion and questions are a feature; the meeting place is central and the most important these days—warned by a large stove! Lectures are advertised in *Freedom*. They are free, but a voluntary collection is taken to defray the rent and other costs. Handbills announcing future lectures are issued from time to time.

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HARD FACTS

(Continued from page 1)
2000 to 1½d., by 3000 to 1½d. per copy.

PURPOSE OF THE PRESS FUND

We are anxious to achieve economic stability by increasing our circulation rather than by continuously drawing on the PRESS FUND to meet the deficit. The fact that we have hitherto been drawing on the Press Fund has affected our output of *Freedom* Press books and pamphlets, because without capital we are unable to meet the immediate outlay required when bringing out new publications. This particularly applies to publications which will sell over a period of years. In such cases one is tying up sometimes large sums of money for 2 or 3 years, and therefore if the money is not available we cannot undertake the publication of these works which do not bring a quick return.

SOLUTION IN YOUR HANDS!

We feel sure that our comrades and friends will welcome this detailed statement of the present situation of *Freedom* Press and we are confident

THE BLUM EXPERIMENT

After a month of homogenous socialist government, France has gone back to a tripartite and even quadripartite coalition. The whole parliamentary rainbow, except the reactionary right (Republican Party of Liberty), is represented inside the government. This means that the new cabinet also represents all the main imperialist currents which divide the world to-day.

During the formation of the new government, difficulties were encountered in naming the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, National Defence, and Home Affairs. The Communists wanted at least one of these essential posts. After many discussions, they finally obtained that of National Defence, and will be able, in that way, to carry on unhampered the work of infiltration of the Army which they started on the morrow of the liberation.

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HARD FACTS

There are a sufficiently large number amongst our readers who are as anxious as ourselves that the work of *Freedom* Press shall continue on an ever increasing scale. To those comrades we ask for immediate action: support the Press Fund by sending regular contributions however small, and help to secure the 2000 new readers we need. By so doing you are helping both to stabilise our economic position and to increase the sphere of influence of "Freedom", and the social ideas it defends.

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Vol. 8 No. 4
15th February, 1947
Twopence

FUEL CRISIS CONDEMNS CAPITALISM

DURING the past week or so we have been involved in the culmination of an industrial and economic crisis of the greatest magnitude. A spell of bad weather, by interfering with the transport of coal and causing a heavy drain on electrical power, has precipitated a fuel crisis which has largely halted industrial production, has thrown many men out of employment, and has threatened the supply of domestic electricity and even the many essential services which now run on electrical power.

The exceptional weather of recent weeks has obviously not in itself caused this state of affairs. It has merely provided the last extra strain which brought about the culmination of an already deepening crisis. The fuel situation was already so grave that any responsible individual in touch with its actual statistics must have realised that the situation this winter was touch and go. Whether the government actually knew this we do not know, but if they did, they were evidently bargaining on being able to scrape through on a narrow margin and so conceal the critical situation they and their predecessors had produced from the attention of the people.

The weather, however, was against the Cabinet, and the results of their muddling policy have come home with a vengeance, except that it is the people, not the government, who have to suffer the inconvenience. Naturally enough, the Cabinet are trying to make use of any excuse they can to save their own reputation. They blame the weather, they blame the low rate of rate of coal consumption, they say that if only the miners had worked a bit harder and the consumers had used a little less electricity, all this would not have happened.

Real Cause Of The Crisis

But the real causes of the present situation are not the weather, or the miners, or the consumers. All these are just the scapegoats of a series of inept governments, and of a whole capitalist system which is efficient at destruction that it fails always to provide adequately for the positive needs of life.

In the first place, the present crisis would never have taken place if, before the war and in the early days of the war, the authorities had not seriously reduced the number of coalminers by taking them into the army and war factories. It would also not have happened if they had made any real attempt to modernize the coal mines and to give the miners labour-saving machinery and better conditions of working. But all the efforts were directed towards producing war machines, and the miners were expected to carry on with old methods, working on seams which have become steadily more difficult because of the age of the mines and the bad underground travelling facilities. Now, according to the latest appeal from the

Attorney General, the miners are asked to produce another 5%, but still they are not promised better conditions, and we hear nothing of any immediate drive to modernise the mines.

But an even more grave indictment of our present social system lies in the fact that, with all the resources of modern science, our fuel and power system should continue to be dependent on an industry based on such hard and ungenial toil as coal mining. While the miners produced sufficient coal for all our requirements, no attention was paid to providing any alternative system of power production, and now, when the supply is actually drying up at the source because men can do no more than their physical powers allow, it is of course too late to improvise any alternative source. This fact demonstrates how capitalism, whether of the private or the state variety, fails completely to provide adequately for the constructive needs of human society.

It may be argued that England has not the water power of a country like Switzerland. But what of the tides? The Irish harnessed the power of the Shannon estuary and produced electricity to serve a vast area of hinter-

land. In England there are many sources of tidal power as strong as the Shannon. And this is only one possible means of providing additional power. The use of the sun's rays, of atomic force applied to industry, of cosmic rays, are still unexplored; the discovery of how to use any one of them fully could hardly be more costly than the discovery of the atomic bomb.

On the other hand, capitalism always succeeds in producing bigger and more efficient instruments of destruction in a surprisingly short time. During a war, no expenditure is too great to enable scientists to find a new means to outwit or destroy the enemy. But during peace, only the pitiful fragment of the resources of science are turned towards reducing toil and harnessing the various sources of power which would free men from their economic bonds. It is fairly safe to say that had only half the scientists and half the money used on atomic bomb research been used on making an efficient system of electric power production in England, based on natural sources of power, not only would the present crisis not have arisen, but sources of industrial power would have been tapped which would have already opened up to the workers the immediate reality of a steadily decreasing requirement of work for an increasing production of material goods.

Only when vested interests have been destroyed, when neither private capitalism or the State keeps its stranglehold on industrial life, can we hope for the full resources of nature to be utilised in such a disinterested way that we shall not be faced with such stupor and avoidable crises as the present fuel shortage.

Only 3 in 11 of the native children get any schooling at a cost of £3 per year, compared with the average of £20 per year for each white child. 60% of the children die before they reach the age of 18. By exploiting this source of cheap labour, huge profits have been made for many years from the diamond and gold mines. Yet when the coloured workers dared to strike, as they did some weeks ago, armed police were used to shoot them down, and to drive them back into the compounds like so many cattle.

This is the scene, and the background, against which will be flaunted the pomp and opulence of the regal visit. Just the right sort of thing to show the workers of S. Africa, just how "Socialist and democratic" our labour lords are! It is nothing less than an outrage against human decency that such an exhibition should be staged. Let us make this particular export a permanent one!

Intimidation Of Court Martial Witnesses

Threatening witnesses is a thing Britishers deplore in less civilised countries like America, not to mention Russia and the Fascist countries. "It can't happen here!"

In the Cairo Court Martial which is now trying ten soldiers for alleged conspiracy to cause a mutiny, prosecution witnesses described threats used against them to make them talk. Brigadier Coleman said to Cpl. Lawson in the course of an argument about the meaning of "Strikes and mutinies, you can be shot." Lawson made his statement as a result of threats, and declared in his witness-box that Brigadier Coleman had said, "If you don't make a statement and tell the truth, I'll give you seven years." It can't happen here.

Capitalist Wastefulness

The reason why new and more reliable forms of power have not been tapped does not lie merely in the stupidity of capitalists. They are wise in their generation, and it is perhaps not surprising that the owners of coal mines should not want to see coal become obsolete, that the owners of electricity undertakings should not wish to adapt their plant to new methods, and so on. An infinitely complicated series of vested interests in normal times protects industry from any innovation that might prove financially ruinous. It is one of the great evils of capitalism that it should so often need the extraordinary chaos of war to bring about the social values of invention to the fore—and an added evil that the invention should then appear in a perverted and destructive form.

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"Government and law, in their very essence, consist of restrictions on freedom, and freedom is the greatest of political goods."

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

Vol. 8 No. 4
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Twopence

FUEL CRISIS CONDEMNS CAPITALISM

HARD FACTS

It is not surprising that many comrades and friends take it for granted that "Freedom" will appear each fortnight. After all we have been bringing out a paper regularly for the past 10 years, so that some 200 issues have appeared in that time. But for those comrades who have been responsible, it has never been an easy task. Ours has been a hand-to-mouth existence, which with the periodic increase in production costs has made our task of regular publication a source of continuous anxiety.

Consider for one moment some of the problems we have had to face in production costs during the past few months. When we considered the question of the 8-page "Freedom" we estimated that there would be nearly 40 per cent. more material than in the 4-page paper. But at the same time the trade charge for typesetting were increased by 33½ per cent! The result is that our typesetting charges alone have nearly DOUBLED! What this means in more concrete terms is that with our present circulation the cost of composition alone has increased from 2d. to 1½d. a copy. The cost of paper has increased as well as the quantity used for each issue of "Freedom". The cost of blocks has in the past few months risen by 33½ per cent. Ink costs more, and wages in the printing trade have increased. "Freedom" as presented to our readers to-day costs approximately 75 per cent. more to produce than it did two years ago. And though our actual printing costs are maintained at the lowest level possible, the cost per copy is now 2½d. This is a very low price as costs go to-day and is accounted for by the fact that our contributors receive no remuneration, nor do the Editors or administrative group, and the printing charge are kept to a bare minimum. Furthermore, the overheads, rent, postages, telephone, etc., are not included in arriving at a figure of 2½d.

EFFECT OF CIRCULATION ON COSTS

It is our opinion, in spite of the apparently insuperable gap between costs and income, that "Freedom" could be made to pay its own way, without abandoning our policy of refusing paid advertising and of maintaining the selling price at 2d. The solution lies in the ability of our comrades to increase the circulation of "Freedom", and for the following reason.

There are certain production charges which remain the same whether we print 1,000 or 10,000 copies of each issue. They are the typesetting, the cost of blocks for the illustrations, the making-up of the pages in type, placing these 'forms', as they are called, on the machine and all the necessary work involved in "making ready" for printing. Now the cost of printing "Freedom" is in the region of 1½d. per copy and that is a cost which we must face whatever the quantity. But the fixed initial production charges which have to be added to the 1½d. will diminish with the increase in the number of copies printed. What this all boils down to is that at present "Freedom" costs us 2½d. per copy to produce. By increasing our circulation by 1,000 copies the cost is reduced to 2d., by

(Continued on page 8)

DURING recent years one's mind has been so saturated by accounts of atrocities, war massacres and famines, that one's powers of indignation, sensibility and anger have been considerably blunted. One feels so powerless against the accumulated lunacy of the whole world that one is tempted to look at it with an almost fatalistic eye. But reading a book like Victor Gollancz's *In Darkest Germany* shakes one with disgust and rage.

This book deals with a visit to the British Zone, and therefore the flimsy excuse that it is no concern of ours cannot be brought forward. It deals with conditions existing not in faraway India or China, not behind the well-guarded frontiers of Russia but on the other side of the North Sea, right under our noses.

The material contained in this book is not entirely new; part of the information has been published in various newspapers. But the mass of information is greater than can be found anywhere else and has been carefully checked by the author during his six weeks' visit to the British zone. This, Gollancz believes, is the longest visit paid to the zone since victory. Mr. Hynd, who is Chancellor of the Duchy, has not spent more than twenty-eight days in Germany during the past twelve months.

That a socialist Government should be responsible for the conditions existing in the British zone is a tragic irony. You need all the hypocrisy and callousness of our politicians to deny that millions of people in Germany to-day are starving. In Hamburg 100,000 people are suffering from hunger oedema or the equivalent, and in Regierungsbezirk Dusseldorf 13,000 people were being treated for this illness during the month of September (the number will be much greater during the winter). Active lung tuberculosis in Hamburg is at least five times as prevalent as before the war.

"All this doesn't mean," says Gollancz, "that people are dropping dead in the streets. . . . The point is that a very great number of people feel wretchedly weak and ill, and that the health of the population as a whole is being undermined with such startling rapidity that, unless radical measures are taken to effect an improvement, the toll in one, two or three years' time will be appalling. It must be remembered that mortality from tuberculosis did not reach its climax until five years after the last war."

The Calories Myth
The Government has been carefully hiding behind the myth of the calories ration distributed to the German people. When Mr. Hynd declares in the House of Commons that the Germans are getting 1,550 calories, everybody feels satisfied.

The point is, as Gollancz abundantly proves in his book, that people do not get their full ration. In the Ruhr he found that people were getting 8,500 grammes of food in the pre-war days, the ration of 10,000 in 28 days. The cereal ration was not distributed so that the 1,548 calories were already reduced to



1,206. In other parts he found that only 65 and 50% of the ration was obtainable. The same applied to skimmed milk. In the whole North Rhine region the deficiency since October 14th had been about 50%.

It is quite clear that in many cases a large number of calories received in fact is a very great deal more on paper.

"The Misery of Boots"
If lack of food undermines the health of the nation the absence of consumer goods and in particular shoes and clothes, has also terrible consequences. In the schools he visited Gollancz found a large proportion of children with completely ruined shoes, and when at home many people were going bare footed. The official figure of the number of children's shoes needed for the period from July to December was, at the very minimum 6,200,000 but the total number of coupons issued for their purchase from May to December was 1,771,000.

Napkins, baby clothes, overcoats, blankets, mattresses are almost impossible to find. The children are the worst victims but it won't prevent people from justifying the inhuman treatment of the German people by saying: "They've brought it on themselves."

Several chapters of the book and a large number of photographs give a terrible picture of the housing conditions. Out of the 23 million Germans in the British zone several millions live in the atrocious conditions Gollancz describes, many more live in reasonably decent rooms but badly overcrowded. In Dusseldorf the average living space per person is 3.2 square metres, but there are still people living in extremely comfortable establishments and when Gollancz spent a night in a particularly ruined city his bedroom measured 720 square feet.

More Destruction
The demands for sending more food to Germany are met with the excuse of world shortage, but what explanation can the Government give for the senseless destruction which is still carried out at

the present time? The application of the Potsdam agreement, which is supposed to prevent a rebirth of the German military machine, plunges the German people still further into ruin.

Fertilizer factories are being destroyed when German agriculture needs them most urgently, and so are factories producing soda which would be a first necessity in a country where soap is a rare commodity. Cement factories are being closed down, though, as Gollancz remarks, cement can be used to build Siegfried lines, but also to repair houses and build new ones.

Kiel harbour is scheduled for destruction. If this is carried out it will be impossible to build up a whole series of light industries and the resultant unemployment has been estimated at 150,000 out of a population of 250,000. Thirteen fishing vessels were blown up at Bremerhaven because they had been used as mine layers. They could have been converted into fishing boats and helped to alleviate the food position but

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"Unity is the goal towards which humanity is inevitably attracted. But it becomes harmful, destroys the intelligence, the dignity and prosperity of individuals and peoples, once it is achieved without liberty, but through violence, under the influence of the church, politically or even economically."

BAKUNIN.

ANARCHISM - Interpretations

"The whole case for anarchism rests on the general assumption which makes detailed speculations unnecessary. The assumption is that the right kind of society is an organic being—not merely analogous to an organic being, but actually a living structure with appetites and digestions, instincts and passions, intelligence and reason. Just as an individual by a proper balance of these faculties can maintain himself in health, so a community can live naturally and freely, without the disease of crime. Crime is a symptom of social illness—of poverty, inequality and restriction. Rid the social body of these illnesses and you rid society of crime. Unless you can believe this, not as an ideal or fancy, but as a biological truth, you cannot be an anarchist. But if you do believe it, you must logically come to anarchism. Your only alternative is to be a sceptic and authoritarian—a person who has so little faith in the natural order that he will attempt to make the world conform to some artificial system of his own devising."

(HERBERT READ: "The Philosophy of Anarchism").

"WHY GOVERNMENT POLITICS?"

WHILE attempting to circulate this paper round a rather hardboiled bunch of men I was asked, "Why the devil do people go in for politics anyway?" This course I could not explain satisfactorily. It is easy enough to explain why certain people adopt a political career. I remember early in the War hearing a couple of officers discussing their post-war future, and one of the Military Gentlemen stated that he was doing that. "Oh," asked the other, "in what interest?" Note the answer: "I haven't quite decided yet. I've been out of touch with things abroad and I want to look around me first." Obviously one party was as good as another as regards principle—he was looking at it from the plainly sensible angle, he wanted a respectable career as an M.P. with early demobilisation and a settled future. From the capitalist point of view, he was quite as justified as any other bourgeois who went in for Law or a career, and would be quite indifferent to the rights or wrongs of cases; whether he was a prosecuting counsel or a defending counsel would depend on which brief was offered. In the same way, whether Labour or Liberal or Conservative, depends a lot on what prospects of advancement are offered. We are not so simple as to blame the respectable middle-class for adopting such a career, to which their whole training is directed. When they go in for politics, they are adopting a profession, just the same as if they went in for the Law, or went in for the Church, if incapable of adopting any other profession.

However, while the attitude of the gentlemen who learn economics and philosophy at the university, and adapt our lives to what they learned, can readily be understood, it is a little more difficult to understand the attitude of those who give their time, energy, health and money

to the advancement of somebody's personal career who is far from standing in need of philanthropy. At one time English politics used to be taken perfectly seriously. When the rival candidates, Whig and Tory, came down and wrangled for votes, it was taken as a good excuse to get drunk at their expense, and thoroughly enjoy the fun in all respects. Gradually, however, a comic element was introduced whereby the voters got the delusion that the candidates got into power without asking more than a kiss for the baby. Even then the growth of Liberal and Conservative political associations still had some point in them. The social life provided was to a certain extent in advance of anything else in the pre-war days, and a change from the parochialism of church societies. The willingness of candidates to pay large sums to local associations, in return for selection, led to an increase in the social amenities available, and many workmen's clubs would never have been founded had it not been for this spirit of give-and-take which the political racketeers were well enabled to provide, since they did not depend on politics for a living directly but indirectly. (The social entrée it gave to the new rich, the tradition which the political racketeers were well enabled to provide, since they did not depend on politics for a living directly but indirectly.)

However, quite a new element arrived in politics with the growth of the Labour movement. The early Socialists used to pour scorn on the idea of voting for the Liberal lawyer or the Tory landowner, and told people to vote for the working-man's candidate instead. When the Anarchists prophesied that the working-man's candidate would only go the same way instead, they weren't pro-

phesying far ahead enough—we have seen that in the period of the first Labour Government with full power, not only have the working-class candidates become quite absorbed in the social structure of the upper-crust (trade union leaders going as naturally and consequently to the House of Lords as the Liberal 'captains of industry' went in the beginning of the century), but the Socialists have attracted to themselves the very element that made up the Tory and Liberal lists; the professional and business men, the Army officers, the scions of the aristocracy. Although this has happened, and nothing made it plainer than the last Election, the sincere rank-and-file in the Socialist movement is limping badly behind events, and taking refuge from confusion in the various red-herrings of modern politics, such as foreign policy and personalities. They do not realise that they have by their devotion and hard work built up a machine that has been captured precisely by the other class, any more than the early Christians perhaps realised what they were letting the world in for when they built up a new religion.

An ardent Socialist worker of my acquaintance was very depressed after the landslide at the Election. I asked why. Election asking, quite in the Churchill style, for renewed confidence in 'him'. She wanted to know, was all her work for 'him'? Surely he was only a figurehead, a representative. . . . But of course such an idea was twenty years out of date. When they first made him a Councilor he began to get the pompous ideas those funny little men have, and as he

gravitated to Parliament in a safe Labour seat and got enormous majorities Election after Election, he naturally adjusted himself to thinking of himself as a little tin god, devoted to the public interest. In fact, all politicians, even the most ambitious young man making up his mind whether to be a Socialist or a Conservative candidate and wondering which is the quickest, think of themselves as devoted to the public interest, and the apparent discrepancy of this belief with the lining of their own pockets is one that most people can explain away to their own personal satisfaction.

Preservation of Capitalism

However, what is this 'public service' after all but the preservation of the present capitalist system? How much anyone may think up schemes for reform here and patching-up there; transference of control from the State to the capitalist or the capitalist to the State; whether one should extend the olive branch here or rattle the sabre there; the whole of politics is in reality devoted to preserving the present system of disease, unemployment, war, poverty, and class privilege. No matter what plans or what good intentions a politician may have, the fact is that his career is bound up with the preservation of the system, and if by any chance he happens to act in such a manner as to endanger that system, his political career is finished. How many will take that chance with their jobs?—and least of all will a professional man whose interests are entirely bound up with his job. A displaced politician is at a better end than a debarred lawyer or an unfrocked priest or a doctor stricken off the list. He usually finds business to enter (and we may mention that no working-man's candidate has even been

(Continued from page 6)

*Report of the Committee on Anarchism in the Brick Industry (H.M. Stationery Office—3d.).

THE death of Jim Larkin sees the removal of an historic figure from the Irish industrial battlefield. Jim lived to be 68 only because of an American prison—for there can be no doubt that if he had been in Ireland in '16, he would have shared the fate of his comrade Connolly.

His meteoric career was not of his own choosing, for he would have remained content to continue his work as a Liverpool docker, had it not been for the tyranny of Sexton, the head of the National Union of Dock Labourers. Larkin had brought the men out in an unofficial strike and had carried them to victory. The men would not return to work without Larkin, and the bosses would not give way, so Sexton found a solution by appointing him organizer in Belfast, the graveyard of all previous organizers. But Larkin surprised Sexton and the whole Labour world of the day, for he not only brought out the dockers, but held up the whole port in a general strike—even the police came out!

Larkin Joins Connolly
It was in Belfast that the great

Conditions in the Brick Industry

MEMBERS of governments and their satellites are continually puzzled by the reluctance on the part of the workers to enter the stable and essential industries instead of the more unnecessary ones. Figures have been given recently showing there is a total of between 300,000 and 400,000 workers engaged in the betting industry—that the football pools represent the seventh largest industry in the country.

It is interesting to discover, then, that the total number of workers in one of the community's most essential industries is a mere 62,000—but a fifth of those engaged in the get-rich-quick industries. The recently-published report on the Brick Industry, however, gives one a fairly broad hint as to the reasons for the preference shown by workers for non-essential occupations, which are usually indoor jobs. The conditions shown as obtaining throughout the brickyards are certainly not such as would attract labour when—as at present—we are going through a period of labour shortage.

The "blue spot" of the industry is shown to be in the sanitary conditions. Most brickyards are located in rural districts, without access to main sewers, but little attempt has been made to provide alternative forms of sanitation. Similarly, in most yards there is a lamentable lack of washing facilities of an adequate nature.

Similarity With Agriculture

Several times the committee pointed out the similarity between the brick industry and agriculture, and certainly from the point of view of the actual conditions of working on the job there may be many points in common. Work is done in the open, or under open-sided shelter, for instance, and as already mentioned, most brickyards are in rural districts. Like farms, too, the majority of yards employ relatively small numbers of workers. There is one advantage, however, which the average farm worker has over the average brickyard worker, and that is that he lives on the job. Admittedly, few people would want to live on a brickyard, but the point is that when a farm worker is soaked through by working all day in the open, he usually only has to go a few yards to be indoors and changed into dry clothes. Not so the brickyard worker, and the stress the committee put upon the necessity for providing drying rooms for clothing, and protective clothing, is a pointer to the uncomfortable conditions of work and the lack at present of any such facilities.

On the matter of canteens, the committee is puzzled by the fact that even the best workers in the industry do not eat the full mid-day meal is seldom more than 30. "The reasons for this," they say, "include the economic life of the home, tradition of food supply and the conservatism of the older workers who still prefer their accustomed places round the kiln or near their place of work." Obviously the first thing that springs to mind is the observation that even where the canteen facilities are "good" they are still not good enough. The second factor is the "economic life of the home," merely included by the committee is a very important factor indeed. In these days of extreme rationing few workers are not prepared to forego the pleasures of the kitchen and eat their meals at the canteen.

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A PIONEER OF IRISH TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION

partnership with James Connolly started. Both recognized that the old form of craft unionism was outworn, and that the workers must organize on a modern basis. Hence the Irish Transport Workers' Union was born. Larkin was involved in expensive litigation with official Trade Unions, but despite vicious legal persecution he fought on and triumphed.

The union grew. It appealed to the Irish because it was a union that would fight, and because it did not rely on money so much as on strategy and tactics. If there was not an early victory the men went back to work, only to come out again the next week, or at whatever time would disorganize the boss' plans.

The Great Strike Of 1912
In 1912 came the great test. The boss class saw the menace of "Larkinism" and W. M. Murphy, Dublin's

richest man, Chairman of the Tramways Co., issued an ultimatum that all tramwaymen must leave the union, or leave their work. The ITW took up the challenge and supported the men. The dockers and carmen, the seamen and all the waterside workers came out in sympathy with the tram-men, and for twelve months the strike pursued its bitter course. Starvation was the general rule; ruin faced the city. Landlords got no rent, and the small shopkeepers were broke. Neither side would give way. Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the ITWU, was turned into a soup kitchen. Meanwhile, Larkin toured England and Scotland, holding gigantic meetings, collecting money and food. The British workers showed their solidarity and responded generously. The British government, through its agents in Dublin Castle, naturally took the boss' side. Brutal attacks

on strikers' pickets by the police, backed by the military, were a daily occurrence. The strikers enrolled a large number in a defence body armed with bludgeons to defend their open air meetings from such attacks. This body was the germ of the Irish Citizen Army, the first Red Army in Europe. Larkin was active in its formation. In order to raise money for the strike and the union he went to America, and while there he got a year's imprisonment and so missed the Rebellion of Easter Week and its tragic consequences in the execution of its leaders.

"Larkinism"
"Larkinism" has been dead for some years, and now that Larkin himself is dead too, it will soon only be a memory. The contribution of Roman Catholicism, Nationalism, and Industrial Unionism was only possible in an oppressed country like Ireland. Conditions have changed politically; economically they are just as bad. The worker finds that the Irish capitalist can be, and is, just as rapacious as the English. Larkin, like most rebels of the time, was swept away by the Russian revolution, but he was soon disillusioned by a visit to Russia, and he turned inward to purely Irish affairs. . . . As an Irishman, he was instinctively a rebel, always ready to make any sacrifice for the cause of Humanity, but also, like so many Irishmen, he failed to see that the soul-destroying principle of Authority must first be fought and completely eliminated. Until men see that Freedom is the end for

Land Notes

LAST time I put forward the view that for most types of farming the medium-sized family farm was probably the best social and working unit. By "medium-sized" I am thinking of a farm of 100-200 acres, and by "family" farm I mean a holding held and worked by a man and his family. The greatest disadvantage of this social and economic set-up is the undoubted fact that it provides for an authoritarian family basis of rural society. There is, however, no inherent reason why a family unit must be authoritarian, but when it is an economic unit as a social unit there is no denying that it has a tendency to become so. But I think this is a risk that is worth taking, particularly in a libertarian society where that tendency would not be so strong, because the advantages that accrue from this form of social organisation in farming. To begin with every land-worker has a strong and deep-rooted desire to have a place of his own, and for myself I cannot see anything regrettable or anti-social in this. To place a man who runs his own farm with the help of one or two sons, in the same category as the owner of a large concern which employs hundreds, or thousands, of workers is manifestly absurd, and due to a doctrinaire outlook which bears little relation to actual social conditions.

The vulgar-Marxist concept of 'private enterprise' is irrationally interpreted to mean that the revolutionary development of society would bring about the abolition of all private property. Of course, the political reaction made capital out of this misinterpretation. As a matter of fact, the development of social and individual freedom had nothing to do with the so-called 'abolition of private property'. The Marxist concept . . . referred, exclusively, to the private possession of the social means of production which determine the social process, such as railroads, power plants, mines, etc. (The Marxist Psychology of Fascism by Wilhelm Reich). A small farm can hardly be placed in the same category as 'railroads, power-plants, mines, etc.' The type of social organisation, then, that would be likely to evolve in a revolutionary situation would be in most districts, probably consist of agricultural collectives made up of individual holdings. According to some theorists this ought not to happen, but nevertheless, through co-operation with larger delegate organisations, based roughly, say, on the present parish, rural district and up the scale to the county, would organise production in the sense of finding out what particular products, and in what quantity, were required by the nearby urban consumers, and arranging for their production, in so far as their production was suited to the soil and climate of the district. The actual production would, however, be left to the individual farmer to be executed as, on the basis of his knowledge of his holding, he thought best. That is the point I wish to emphasise. The collective would run

Social Organization
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Small Working Units
Furthermore the small, independent unit helps to counteract any tendency to centralism in the organisation of society, and also against the tendency for a managerial class to arise—a tendency which is always present in any large, collective undertaking. On the contrary, it produces a person of initiative and independence, the antithesis of the mass-man of centralised, bureaucratic society.

More Dustmen With A Grievance

In our last issue we reported a strike of dustmen in Glasgow. Now it seems that in Scotland and North London, dustmen are threatening to stage a "salvage strike" because their bonuses have been stopped by their council. This is quite a good method of striking without inconveniencing the public, but the dustmen say that they "lose interest" in collecting bottles, waste paper and other materials now being salvaged. As this is probably a source of income for the council the men will be embarrassing their employers, ignoring the government production and economy drive, and at the same time serving the public in the essential of clearing garbage.

"NO BREAD—NO COAL" IN RUHR

That the present ration, even when obtained, for heavy industry workers in Germany is hopeless, the Ruhr district in the British Zone have nearly come to the end of their tether, as promises to remedy shortages of bread are not being kept. Stoppages have taken place already at several pits; sympathy strikes at others, and on the walls at some have appeared the chalked words—"No Bread—No Coal!"

We feel confident that when the miners show themselves to be determined not to slave on empty bellies, bread will very promptly be forthcoming.

STEEL WORKS STRIKE

One of the queer features of the labour shortage in Britain is that it is running side-by-side with increasing unemployment—now politely referred to as "redundancy". Ten men were dismissed on those grounds by the Oxford, pressed steel works. One hundred employees in the trucking department struck work in protest.

FINED FOR SLEEPING

One young coal miner was not very impressed by pithead appeals for more coal on "Vesting Day", when (as a citizen of Britain, he became part-owner (2) of the Nation's coal mines. James Smith, 21, of Mathewstown, Glam., was discovered asleep down the pit just after hearing the said appeals and, such is his privilege as an employee of the State, that he was subsequently fined £2 at the local bench. The magistrate (a fellow worker the State) told him his offence was "extremely serious in view of the grave shortage of coal".

Quiz Dept.

"Many farmers are attributing some of the failure for last season's laid crops to fertilisers. They, therefore, propose using less in 1947. This is neither correct nor sound husbandry. The past wet season gave a long growing period as well as lush growth—both meaning a greater consumption of fertilisers. The weeds, too, absorb plant food from the land. The correct treatment for 1947 crops is to use more rather than less of a properly balanced complete fertiliser."

Where is this extract taken from? "Helpful Hints" by the Ministry of Agriculture? "Science and Agriculture" by an Agricultural Researcher? But farmers you have already guessed. Oddly enough, it is an advertisement in the *Farmers Weekly*, 10/1/47 issued by a large firm of fertiliser manufacturers.

P.S.—Any landworker knows, or can prove in practice, that using more fertiliser most certainly does contribute considerably to laid crops, being usually the chief, though not only, cause. The weeds, which are referred to as having so infiridly acted in some of the unfertiliser meant for the crops, would in any case require a considerable portion of it to the soil when ploughed in.

TRADE UNIONS AS STRIKE BREAKERS —OFFICIAL!

Professor D. L. Savory, Conservative M.P. for Belfast University asked Mr. Isaacs, Minister of Labour, the following question: "What is the matter of unofficial strikes? Have the trade unions lost all control over their members, while retaining such absolute control over the Government?" Mr. Isaacs' reply (which should be noted by all workers who read this) was: "With regard to the second part of the question, anyone with any common sense knows that the matter of unofficial strikes is a matter of unofficial strikes. On the first part of the question, the evidence is that a great many of these unofficial strikes when they start are stopped and controlled by the unions, who get the men back to work."

which we must strive, all else is illusion. And the realization of Freedom means throwing off all the shackles of Authority—the Church and the State as well as the domination of Property. The Roman Catholic Church is the very embodiment of the principle of Authority and of Property, and as such will constitute a formidable obstacle that the workers must smash in their march towards emancipation. Larkin and the Irish workers failed to see this—for he was a good churchman to the end—and because of this failure, they did not understand the brave words that Pearce and Connolly wrote in the Proclamation of Easter Week.

Larkin's death should remind us that the ITWU's form of industrial unionism is not enough despite the militancy and organizing power which Larkin and Connolly gave it. What was lacking was the revolutionary spirit and constructive zeal shown by our comrades of the CNT and the FAI in Spain. Organization by itself is not enough. The will to win and expropriate the robbers must also be there.

MAT KAVANAGH.

In Brief

MORE DUSTMEN WITH A GRIEVANCE

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OR from the frying pan into the fire.

WORKERS' INITIATIVE

FIRMS like the Standard Motors who agreed to the five-day week and find it pays handsomely, have an advantage over their competitors as they attract the most energetic (mentally and physically) of workers, who do not have to work hard, the motto being 'work fast not hard', everything being provided to this end. Before the war it was a commonplace for the target for the day to be reached by 4.0 p.m. The money earned being equal to others working till 7 or 8 p.m. In discussion this is described as 'Leisure Incentive in Industry'.

Engineers in the Midlands often work in gangs on 'production' jobs. Gangs vary according to size and value of the job, etc. Usually the gang leader is one of the men and trusted by the others but there is a paid second, the gangster, just in case! Result, no one ever worries over money that being the gangster's job! Everyone else getting on with the job with an easy mind; slackers and incompetents being dealt with by their mates on occasion. Individualists do not like it but it works. The result is that this kind of factory largely runs itself. Supervision is simply traffic control. 'Bossing' is unheard of and unnecessary. What connection has all this with the future of society?

This, that most of the modern methods that are effective grow more or less spontaneously from the worker's initiative, occasionally assisted by sympathetic experts and usually bitterly opposed by employers' organisations. The first step expert sometimes realising that his economic conditions depend on improvement at the bottom first. Every foreman in this kind of factory strives for what he calls 'a happy shop'. All this has taken years to bring about and has been propagated in devious ways (I know, I have done some of it).

Some may say this is compromising with Capitalism but there is more to it than that. Really it is the triumph of co-operation, as people have learnt to work together without compulsion. I have known managements to hand the

job over to the shop (the workers) and wash their hands of it. Some bosses can never will till the capitalist system ends. Trade Union leaders and Communists invariably claim that they did it! The more cynical and aware of the workers smile and say nothing. The trade union officials proceed to register the accomplished fact as their agreement!

I am convinced that if the engineers had control of the whole of the industry and could decide what to make they would be a vital force in changing to a free society. Imagine giving Coventry and Birmingham engineers an order for a Peckham Health Centre for every 2,000 families in the country. I can imagine the activity! Imagine Midland Regional being really ours, our own friendly announcers inviting helpers and reporting progress. I know some chaps across the Atlantic who would catch the next boat over here to help.

After a year or two of cleaning up this country we could then let the artist and artistcraftsmen loose and let them teach us to create beauty and appreciate it. I have spent years painting this kind of

The Revolutionary Ideas of the Marquis de Sade

AT the L.A.G.'s Sunday lecture-discussion on February 2nd, Simon Watson Taylor spoke on "the revolutionary ideas of the Marquis de Sade". He introduced the subject by emphasizing the difficulty of approaching Sade's ideas at all in view of the conspiracy of silence surrounding his work and the myth of his being a monster of cruelty. It was necessary, before considering Sade's work, to dispel this 'monster' legend, and this could be done easily by giving the salient facts of his life, showing first the fantastic exaggeration by history of the more or less harmless incidents in which Sade became involved in his youth. He had been condemned to death for the latter escape by a judge who had for

picture to ordinary engineer workers. They smile at first and then catch on to the idea - a few cannot visualise but would welcome a demonstration. In Coventry the second Peckham Experiment will soon be under way as one form of demonstration.

H. WRIGHT.

long been the inveterate enemy of Sade's father-in-law, and during the next few years Sade saw the inside of four jails before the regular attempts to escape. Eventually, after repeated protests by Sade, the case was reviewed and the sentence quashed; but, though exonerated, he was still kept imprisoned through the influence of his mother-in-law, who detested him.

Then followed twelve years in prison, during which time Sade wrote the greater part of his books, "Justine" and "Juliette", Les 120 Journées de Sodome and "Aline et Valcour". This period of Sade's life coincided with the great revolutionary preparations which led finally to the storming of the Bastille on July 14th, 1789. Sade was actually in the Bastille, and had scattered leaflets to the crowds outside and shouted to them from his cell, calling on them to release the prisoners.

With the revolution Sade was freed and became active in the revolutionary movement; he was President and spokesman of the famous 'Section des Piques' and led an unceasing struggle for

moderation and against the Terrorists. For his opposition to the death penalty he was arrested in 1793, but freed again the next year; from then on he had to face constant police persecution, and in 1801 he was re-arrested for writing a pamphlet attacking Napoleon. By the First Consul's order he was confined to a lunatic asylum (a fate meted out to several of Napoleon's political opponents) and died there in 1814, after spending twenty-seven years in eleven different prisons.

Sade's work was concerned with one great objective, the desire to give back to civilised man the force of his primitive instincts: he had no illusions about the natural goodness of man, but he believed that with complete economic and sexual equality human conditions could be greatly bettered. To this end, he fought throughout his life against the oppressive forces of religion, the law, bourgeois morality and patriotism. His writings on the uselessness of laws were permeated with anarchist principles, and in his attitude to religion he was an uncompromising revolutionary atheist.

His books, which were in the form of fiction, dealt largely with the decadent and reactionary existence of the privileged classes of his time, and he probably wrote among his contemporaries in emphasizing the necessity of a complete social revolution based on essentially libertarian principles—abolition of laws and the State, and Government is abolished. Those who so altruistically work for reform and better government would do better in looking after their own personal interests which involve doing away with the State.

As for those who make a living out of government, we may hope that for the general good of the community they may turn now to comparatively more honest means of making a living recognised in capitalist society, such as cheating insurance companies or running notorious houses, but we look forward to a system of society in which government and capitalism have been abolished, and such gentlemen learn how to work. A.M.

It was most desirable that, after more than a century of enforced silence, Sade's voice should be increasingly heard in the future. For, in Sade's own words: "I want equality, I only preach that."

Man as "ist" Constructive Criticism

DEAR COMRADES, I welcomed the enlarged Freedom although I should have welcomed still more a return to the magazine-type format under which War Commentary was once published.

One small criticism of G.V.'s Land Notes in Freedom dated 18/1/47. The study of economics is one thing; that of ethics another. If economics is to be placed on a scientific footing I cannot concern myself with welfare. The economist is not concerned with ends, only means. The end is placed before him by someone else. His job is to discover the most economical way of achieving that given end, having regard to the fact that resources and time are limited and are capable of being put to alternative uses. Of course, the economist may also be a moralist, in which case he may question the desirability of the end. But it is important to see, as G.V. does not, that the economist cannot be attacked for appearing to be devoid of feelings towards "natives". No scientist, as scientist, is concerned with the ends of his actions. It is simply not his province. It is the province of the ethicist. D.E.S.

DEAR COMRADES, I like the last two copies of Freedom very much, especially the items of real news, which we never seem to get enough of in progressive papers. Personally, I think the articles of pure theory should be cut down to a minimum, and possibly issued in pamphlet form. Above all, the workers don't want to be preached to. I should like to see more fiction (and history when it is interesting)—satire and drama, and also cartoons. These are the greatest weapons of Progress. There are many novels and plays that could be serialized in Freedom, and I think these would undoubtedly help to widen the basis of the appreciation of anarchism. E.W.L.

DEAR COMRADES, I have subscribed to Freedom for quite a while now and I should like to express to you my gratitude for not only keeping it on such a high literary level, but its revolutionary tone has been maintained throughout the late war, and now that

Letters to the Editors

"peace" is with us again, the constructive message of Anarchism is still given to an increasing number of people, who realize the insidious influence of the state and organized religion on the individual. I am pleased that a circular drive has been launched, and I wish you all success in your new venture. I was delighted to see that the paper has been enlarged and

Alex Comfort on "Progress in Sexual Ideas"

DEAR COMRADE, I should feel materially happier about "Anarchist" remarks on sexual freedom if he had not tried to depict the case of an offence against a 16-year-old girl in such singularly misleading colours. Much as I approve of healthy sexual freedom for the adolescent, this wasn't an example of it, and much as anarchism rejects the idea of punishing sexual or any other conduct to make people moral, the parent who acts as a pimp is hardly upholding the sort of blue-eyed sexual liberty your correspondent envisages.

I wish that some of the people who theorise about sex had to deal with the mess which conduct of this kind produces, in the medical field. We are perfectly issued in pamphlet form. Above all, the workers don't want to be preached to. I should like to see more fiction (and history when it is interesting)—satire and drama, and also cartoons. These are the greatest weapons of Progress. There are many novels and plays that could be serialized in Freedom, and I think these would undoubtedly help to widen the basis of the appreciation of anarchism. E.W.L.

DEAR COMRADES, I have subscribed to Freedom for quite a while now and I should like to express to you my gratitude for not only keeping it on such a high literary level, but its revolutionary tone has been maintained throughout the late war, and now that

weeks ago on the same subject in the form of a review of F. A. Ridley's pamphlet The Roman Catholic Church and the Modern Age, and I would suggest that from time to time vigorous attacks on the Vatican be published not only in pamphlet form but in Freedom as well. As far as Freedom Press publications are concerned I should like to see more of Herbert Read's writings available. His Philosophy of Anarchism is a masterly exposition and deserves to be even more widely read than it is at present. I would suggest that his broadcast talk "Neither Liberalism nor Communism—A Third Way" be reproduced in leaflet form for mass distribution. I enclose herewith a contribution to the

Progress in Sexual Ideas

DEAR COMRADE, I am sure that in its present form an increasing number of people will want to read it, and the increasing financial liabilities will be met by their solidarity. I have one suggestion to make, and it concerns a subject which will, I believe, increase in importance, namely the cancerous influence of the Vatican on humanity. An article appeared in Freedom some

finned himself to blaming coercive society for the occurrence of such messes, and for its inhumanity towards the victim; and to the advocacy of that freedom on a communal sense of responsibility in all one's relationships, sexual and non-sexual, which alone makes normal and complete sexual health possible. As it stands, his article seems to me to misrepresent the ideas on which this freedom is based. ALEX COMFORT. I fully agree that the sex-negative attitude of society bears the major share of responsibility for bad results in individual cases. But I venture to think that still more far reaching results, and in far greater frequency, are produced by the general practice of adolescent continence and the guilty fear of sex which the law seeks to enforce. As I stated in my article, "every thinking person knows what havoc and misery this attitude creates, how it ruins many lives, how it has caused the majority of marriages from the start, and lays the foundation for much ill-health in later life for women." And again, I might have added for men also. The general attitude of sex-guilt feelings is far more harmful than individual instances of adolescent sexual disillusionment. And in this particular case, if the facts are stated by Dr. Comfort, it still remains true that any potential damage will be made actual, or actual damage increased, by the legal consequences, and the being "taken care of" in a reform school.) Let me say here that I am in full

AN ANALYSIS OF FASCISM

THE MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM by WILLIAM REICH (Orgone Institute Press, New York, 27/-). FRANKLY, I do not know of any other survey of this book within the space of this article. The notes I made while reading the book would provide enough material for a book. There is so much in the book that one would like to refer to, so much that is, or at least seems to me, so important for an understanding of the sociological problems of modern man, that it is extremely difficult to decide what to omit and yet give a reasonably accurate summary of the book—which I take it is what a reviewer is meant to do. Aware from the start that I cannot succeed in this task, even to my own satisfaction, I am nevertheless committed to making the attempt; so here goes.

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According to Reich himself, his "sex-economic sociology was born out of the attempt to harmonize the social psychology of Freud with the economic theory of Marx. "Human existence is determined by instinctual and socio-economic processes." Sex-economic sociology dissolves the fatal contradiction which made psychoanalysis forget the social factor and made Marxism forget the animal origin of man."

The central theme of the book, the problem which Reich sets out to try and solve, is I think, in his own words, this: "We are confronted by the incontrovertible fact that never in the history of human society have the masses been able to preserve, to organize and to develop the peace and freedom which they gained in bloody struggles." Whether or not one agrees with the reasons Reich gives for this fact, one is compelled in all honesty to acknowledge that it is historically an "incontrovertible fact."

Always the workers, having overthrown one tyranny, have set up another, another tyranny to take its place. Russia, of course, is the supreme contemporary example of this process, and we can all think of other examples. The tyranny, new and unique, brought by the industrial revolution, which afflicts the contemporary world is known as fascism or, more generally, totalitarianism. According to orthodox Marxism, and also according to some anarchists, this is a completely justified and unsatisfactory explanation, and in one important aspect manifestly incorrect. As Erich Fromm pointed out in his *The Fear of Freedom*, a social order cannot be imposed on a people unless it fulfils a deep and powerful need in their individual psychological make-up, unless, in other words, it has their passive consent. The only way to impose it, No good purpose is achieved by denying the fact that fascism is essentially a popular, mass movement. "Fascism," says Reich, "is only the politically organized expression of the average human character structure, a character structure which has nothing to do with this or that race, nation or party but which is general and international. In this characterological sense, fascism is the basic emotional attitude of man in authoritarian society, with its machine civilization and its mechanistic-mystical view of life. It is the mechanistic-mystical character of man in our times which creates fascist parties, and not vice versa." Marxist sociology (and, it must be stated, much anarchist sociology—G.V.) is exaggeratedly materialistic; it contrasts the 'bourgeois' with the 'proletarian'. This is erroneous. A certain character structure is not limited to the capitalist, but pervades the working people in all professions. There

are no characterological class distinctions in the biophysical depth of human structure."

What Is The Appeal Of Fascism?

What is it then in "the biophysical depth of human structure" that makes fascism acceptable? First and foremost, says Reich, suppressed, and therefore, neurotic sexuality. "The formation of the authoritarian structure takes place through the anchoring of sexual inhibition and sexual anxiety." Authoritarian sexual morality is the indispensable basis of authoritarian, class society and this basis has its intimate form in the family as well as in the state. "Character-structure and social organization of people of any age, nationality or social stratum, show that the interlacing of the socio-economic with the sexual

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structure, as well as the structural reproduction of society, takes place in the first four or five years of life, and in the authoritarian family. The church only continues the function later on. In this way the authoritarian state develops its enormous interest in the authoritarian family; the family is the factory of its structure and ideology." And he quotes from Hitler's *Mein Programm* (1932): "The highest task, therefore, is that of the founding of a family. The final destruction of the family would mean the end of any higher form of humanity... The ultimate goal of a truly organic and logical development must always be the formation of a family. It is the smallest but most valuable unit in the whole structure of the state." Again and again Reich emphasizes this intimate connection between compulsion—as opposed to natural, self-regulated—sexual morality and the social suppression of the masses indicate. "The social function of sexual suppression," "Authoritarian family ideology and the mass psychology of Fascism," "Some problems of sexual-political practice," etc. Finally, the socially irresponsible individual is the individual absorbed in sexual conflicts. "If you think that it is exaggerated to consider a moment and you must agree it is basically true. But all this does not mean that the goal of human freedom is an illusion. On the contrary, Reich's psychological

work on the human character structure gives added support to the anarchist contention that man is fundamentally co-operative and potentially capable of freedom. "Extensive and conscientious therapeutic work on the human character," says Reich, "has taught me that, in judging human societies, we have to take into account three different layers of the biophysical structure... In the superficial layer the average individual is restrained, polite, compassionate and unselfish. This is the layer of social morality, the layer of the individual's self-restraint, which is in immediate contact with his deep natural core. His tragedy is that such is not the case. The superficial layer of social co-operation is not in contact with the biological core of the person, but is separated from it by a second, intermediary, character layer consisting of cruel, hostile, lascivious, predatory and envious impulses. This is the Freudian 'unconscious' or 'repressed'; in sex-economic language it is the sum total of the 'secondary impulses.' Orgone biophysics have shown that the Freudian unconscious, the anti-social element in the human structure, is a secondary result of the repression of the primary biological impulses. One penetrates through this second, perverse, anti-social layer, one arrives regularly at a third, the deepest layer, which we call the biological core. In this deepest layer, man, under favourable social conditions, is an honest, industrious, co-operative animal, capable of love and also of rational hatred... All that which is genuinely revolutionary, all genuine art and science stems from the natural biological nucleus."

Man Is Capable Of Freedom

Accordingly, then, it follows that "nothing new has to be created; all that has to be done is to eliminate the obstacles which stand in the way of the natural social functions... the growth of an organism is the growth of its biological function, free in the strictest sense of the word. So is the natural growth of society. It regulates itself, it needs no legislation or regulation."

Man is, then, capable of freedom. It is his natural condition. But meanwhile, while we struggle, on however small a scale, "to eliminate the obstacles which stand in the way," we must remember that "the idealisation as well as the civilisation of the masses will only lead to ever new disasters." Under the influence of politics, the masses believe the powers that be for wars. This is shifting the responsibility. The blame for war belongs only and alone to the same masses of people who have all the means of preventing wars. The same masses of people who—partly through indolent passivity, partly through their active behaviour—make possible the catastrophes from which they themselves suffer most

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BEGINNING OF STAKANOVISM?

Jim Marley, 32-year-old champion coal filler of East Walbottle Colliery, Northumberland, has been challenged to a record by a fellow worker. He set up a record by filling 50 ten-cwt. tubs in 7 1/2 hours. Jim (Chips) Smith, of Newsham Colliery, Northumberland, says he can beat it. Workmates have been offered £20, each to work a shift in both pits. Daily Express, 27/1/47.

GOOD GOD! WHAT NEXT?

James G. Green, 23-year-old driver, who has been told by his employers, Hayes (Middlesex) Council, that he must have his appendix out or lose his £5 3s. 9d. a week job, was yesterday examined by two doctors and medical students, including an American and a Chinese. They told Mr. Green he had nothing wrong with his appendix, but was suffering from tubercular stomach, and that if he took things easily he would get better. When their report has been sent to his doctor, Mr. Green is going to put it before Hayes Council.

Mr. Green said at his home in Limegrove, Hayes, yesterday: "I am certainly not going to be cut open for nothing. "The Council want to put me on heavy work and I can't fit for it. I think they have lighter jobs."

The Council say they have not such jobs vacant. An official said no statement could be made until Mr. Green's report had been received from the hospital. Sunday Express, 2/2/47.

SO THE TIME IS NOW APPROACHING WHEN THE STATE, IN ITS WISDOM, HAS THE POWER TO SAY WHAT ORGANS OF HIS BODY A MAN MAY RETAIN OR HAVE REMOVED AS A CONDITION OF HIS EMPLOYMENT. Well, well.

LUCKY CHAPS

Appointment of a man whose job will be to make miners happier and healthier was announced by the National Coal Board last night.

He is Dr. Cuthbert Leslie Cole, 43-year-old first assistant to the Nuffield Professor of Medicine, Oxford. His official title under the Board is Director of Research into Human Problems.

Last night Dr. Cole told me: "I am going to make researches on all the problems relating to men in the mines. "My job will be to make the miner as happy as possible. Every aspect of his day-to-day life will be studied. "I shall be going down the mines to watch him at work and see in what way medical science can help improve the miner's lot.

"For instance, we may have to decide on a new form of lighting for his work. All matters will be discussed by a panel of experts." Daily Herald, 28/1/47.

MORE OIL INTRIGUES

City men were saying last night that the £54,000,000 "Shell" Transport and Trading Company is negotiating a big oil deal with the Americans.

The P.G.R. was the only one in Britain, and yesterday I sat in the Pavilion and watched the film with the P.G.R. clip attached to my hand. The test showed that I responded well to what might be called the "high spot" of the film, which included shots of the star, Jane Russell.

The psychologists claim, however, that the audience while watching the much-discussed film "The Outlaw" was not particularly high emotional responses, except when they are accompanied by surges of the background music by Tchaikovsky.

Mr. G. Leigh-Jones, a managing director of the company, is now in America. He has been there several weeks.

"What puzzles the City is where Shell can link up with the Americans. One guess is that the huge Shell selling operation may be the outlet for the oil the Americans are scrambling for in the Middle East. Daily Express, 25/1/47.

CONCESSION

Sixteen Latvians who were towed into Seahouses, Northumberland, while heading for Britain in a motor-boat from Sweden 13 weeks ago, have been given "temporary permission" to land by the Home Office. Daily Herald, 28/1/47.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF PRICE FIXING

Mr. Strachey in a special message to the nation has just announced that arrangements are now completed for buying up all South African surplus crawfish tails. One shipment it appears has already arrived.

According to the Shell Fish (Maximum Price) Order, 1944, the price of crawfish is fixed at 3s. 6d. per pound in winter and 2s. 4d. in the summer. These prices, Mr. Strachey states, are quite appropriate for whole crawfish, but he points out that as there is "a higher fish content" in crawfish tails the price for the South African imports will be 5s. a pound when the tails have been boiled before sale. News Chronicle, 28/1/47.

NO DAKOTAS FOR THE KING

Parachutes for all on board are fitted to the four Vickers Viking aircraft of the King's Flight. It is expected that in view of recent accidents this lead given by the King's Flight will produce an urgent demand for the fitting of parachutes as standard to all aircraft working on the lines operated by the three British nationalised corporations.

The parachutes are of the Irvin pattern and the canopies and packs form a part of upholstery of the chairs. The parachutes themselves are not, therefore, visible. The harness is arranged so that after thrusting his arms through the loops the passenger can quickly buckle it on and he can then rise from his chair wearing his parachute and be ready to jump. The door of the aircraft can be jettisoned in an emergency. Manchester Guardian, 29/1/47.

ONE MAN STRIKE

The Army and Navy are heavily endorsing all forms of scientific research at American Universities. World-famous mathematician, physicist, and astronomer, Dr. Werner Heisenberg, has gone on strike to work from the hands of "irresponsible militarists." News Review, 23/2/47.

THE ADMIRABLE B.B.C.

Despite much that is admirable in its service, the B.B.C. is still occasionally guilty of strange lapses. Last week, for instance, Aung San, the Burmese leader, was to broadcast a short message on the successful conclusion of the Burmese Delegation's London talks. Everything was arranged. Then, when Aung San went on to give the broadcast, he found that the B.B.C. censor had slashed his script so drastically that it no longer conveyed what he thought ought to be said. He naturally refused to accept the cuts. The broadcast was cancelled. Reynolds News, 2/2/47.

BUREAUCRATIC SIMPLICITY

"Forms will be as simple as possible, and I am prepared to lengthen the period for filling them up from two to three months."—Mr. J. W. Belcher, M.P. Daily Graphic, 28/1/47.

THEIR'S NOT TO REASON WHY

From the T.U.C. went an urgent appeal to all members not to allow the thought that the Government secure to the employers to deter their production effort. The workers argue that the Government secure in income tax an amount equal to a day's work, and increased production means more profit for the employer. The T.U.C. say that an employer who earns £5,000 a year gets a good deal more than a day's wage every week in income tax. Daily Graphic, 28/1/47.