Preserving Oxford Decencies!

A N Oxford student paper, the Cherwell, has been banned by the university proctors because it circulated a questionand "in Oxford?" Undoubtedly these but they forbade the Editor or any of the mechanisms whereby the authoritarian associated with the girl". are matters which many people prefer to staff, to discuss the ban with advertisers, principle in society is maintained and re-Since there was no compulsion to answer, who suffer under it—the students them- (Emma Goldman went to prison for her which years in prison camp must have and ask for guidance on what further one would have thought that proctorial selves. Unfortunately, the level of determined advocacy of knowledge about aggravated. intervention was not necessary. But thought on sexual matters in the univer- birth control 40 to 50 years ago). But In this case it is clear that the girl, 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 read the results. Naturally, we did not fill in the questions referring to unmarried women." One is left speculating what "naturally . . . "! It looks as if the attack which Tom Harrison made as a 1933) on the sexual development of undergraduates is as justified to-day as it was a dozen years ago.

meetings and

Geoffrey Pittock Buss The Drama as a Social Force MARCH 2nd.

Tito's Aims in Trieste God and the State

The Freedom Defence Committee and Civil Liberty To-day

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

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS PUBLIC LECTURES in CHORLEY at the ODDFELLOWS' ROOMS, 9. Cunliffe Street, Chorley Sun., FEB. 23rd at 6.45 p.m.
Albert Smith, B.A. (Oxon.) THE USE OF HISTORY Sun, March 9th THE WORKER AND NATIONALISATION Descriptive leaflets from:-

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

U.A.G., 11, Ribblesdale Place, Chorley

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crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the

Arbitrary Power Of

that the proctors' action will probably receive support from student ranks. On societies 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 vastly more experienced. These will be esponsible children than the students of three and four years ahead.

Dutch C.O. Hunger Striker Forcibly Fed

hunger strike, because the Dutch C.O. tribunals refuse to recognize his objection the authorities ordered him to be forcibly

The Dutch Government did not recognize conscientious objection to military service until 25 years ago, when a 19-year old war resister named Herman Groendaal liberal opinion in Holland to put pres-Service Act. Now it seems that the same drastic methods are required to make the

Revolutionary Applications

sexual, and social frustrations to which we are all subject in varying degrees, but

Do Workers Accept Fascism?

Reich claims to be a Marxist. Yet his -though Marx and his followers regarded the first as Utopian and, in practice, were forms of action. Studies of life, of what many conventional conceptions, and has an exponent of a particular social really happens, have driven Reich into at the same time created new problems philosophy. Among non-Anarchists who what amount to Anarchist concepts. Even for solutions. Such material conditions have lectured in the past few months so he retains some of the Marxian habits have inevitably caused a ferment in ideas have been George Orwell, F. A. Ridley, of thought, and these colour the expres- and a need for discussion for the purpose George Padmore, and Alec Craig. Lectrue that Fascism has a mass support, and these new problems. For more than a and Vatican foreign policy; with Imperial every one of us-before it takes power. some of these problems has been provided wage system, the growth of huge urban

to mould society for the maximum good the necessity to fight for full biological For this reason the work of a psycho- may develop; for only on sexual frustramuch psychic illness in the economic, Fascism erect itself.

Point of View

Hope for Individualists?

When this idea is persisted with, the active workers and their natural teachers the pressure of everyday life. The pessimists this, which is why they seek to

The anarchist, having deeper and fuller shades to protect the blooms of carnations. knowledge, should be the one to inspire In this way I found he had a passion for and encourage and break this vicious cir- carnations. He grasped the essence cle of despondency. His ideas should of anarchist ideas in no time. His former His appeal should be specially to the anybody else). workers as they are more the creatures of

minded individual of this type just argues anarchists and people who have anarchist with other philosophically minded persons ideas without label. The ordinary workers in small, practically closed, groups and crave to exercise their consciences at work, around them. Such, could be classified officials, efficiency experts, etc. In spite with all sardonic pessimists. I can under- of this, any good work achieved is usually stand certain types of 'Marxists' and the result of a worker's individuality. This realize is the they are evolution, along the side of the workers'. The important with the people of less or slower perception. thing is to gain the worker's confiden then blame the workers. The workers in people at their most reasonable periods everyday life find nearly all 'clever' people to have their ear at the right momen' on the opposite side, actually or poten- Most real knowledge does not come from tially, or believe they are, which comes long study but from flashes of insight to the same thing. (That there are The 'clever' minds are so cluttered up period of years. In such cases one is opposite sides in life is obvious to anyone with long study and unnecessary facts that tying up sometimes large sums of from all real experience.) The workers they are almost impervious to new ideas, after being let down by the 'clever', im- especially simple ideas. The dumbest man patient people, get despondent, apathetic I ever met and with whom I worked for fore if the money is not available we The 'clever' ones get disgusted (or become powers of persuasion, till one day I gained his confidence by making him some metal

resistance was due to not trusting me

INSTEAD OF A CARTOON

(With Philip's and Editors' Regrets)

FRATERNISATION!

DIRECT ACTION

only person with a right to object, "Our men have been unloading the ship the military authorities therefore shows just how ridiculous are the pretences of "The question will be raised at a union prisoners, when they are still kept away was a Fascist ship." from any really close relationship with

AGAINST FRANCO

News Chronicle, 23/1/47.

Lectures in C. London

held by our comrades in Glasgow.

one can say that Franco's Fascism was present an Anarchist approach to current among them Eddie Shaw, Alex Comfort,

approach such as Anarchism regards the concrete problems of to-day. They want politely called the post-war world.

Readers of Freedom in the London area Freedom. They are free, but a voluntary other costs. Handbills announcing future

of this weekly series. It does not aim to Have you received a Renewal Reminder?

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that there are a sufficiently large

as anxious as ourselves that the work

of Freedom Press shall continue on an

ever increasing scale. To those com-

rades 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",

PRESS FUND

26th Jan.-8th Feb.

number amongst our readers who are

HARD FACTS

PURPOSE OF THE PRESS FUND

The lectures, therefore, are mainly

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 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

5/: York: H.A.A. 10/-: London: F.A.S. money for 2 or 3 years, and there- Aberdeen: H.R.M. 4/-: Bombay: R.B. cannot undertake the publication of these works which do not bring a C.W. 2/-: London: M.E.H. 1/6; London: We feel sure that our comrades

£17 15 6 and friends will welcome this detailed Previously acknowledged £30 5 4 statement of the present situation of

Freedom Press and we are confident Printed by Express Printers, London, E.I. and published by Freedom Press, London, W.C.1

In This Issue: In Darkest Germany p. 2

Conditions in Industry p. 3 Letter from Holland p. 4

Oxford Protects

Decency! p. 8

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

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

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

URING the past week or so we have been involved in the it is of course too late to improvise any land. In England there are many 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 Cabinet, and the results of their to produce another 5%, but still they 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 coal production, they blame the high rate of coal consumption, they say that if only the miners had worked a bit harder and the consumers had used little less electricity, all this would not have happened.

Real Cause Of The Crisis

But the real causes of the present are just the scapegoats of a series of

would never have taken place if, before

world to-day.

The weather, however, was against Attorney General, the miners are asked 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 the miners produced sufficient coal for

Destruction Or Construction?

On the other hand, capitalism always

constructive needs of human society.

succeeds in producing bigger and more a surprisingly short time. During a enable scientists to find a new means to outwit or destroy the enemy. during peace, only a 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. 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.

It may be argued that England has not the water power of a country like hope for the full resources of nature The Irish harnessed the power of the way that we shall not be faced with at the source because men can do no Shannon estuary and produced electric such stupid and avoidable crises as the more than their physical powers allow, power to serve a vast area of hinter- present fuel shortage.

discovery of the atomic bomb.

Capitalist Wastefulness

electricity undertakings should not wish a source of continuous anxiety. to adapt their plant to new methods. and so on. An infinitely complicated 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 fore-and an added evil that the vention should then appear in a per verted and destructive form.

destroyed, when neither private

The Royal Visit to S. Africa

In the first place, the present crisis | WITH the usual pomp and cere- she manage that on her coupons?"); all others, such as Indians. The only remony, the British Royal Family this to glory an institution that is a presentation that may be seen is that produce that it did two years ago. the war and in the early days of the left the shores of this country for a hangover from tribal life, with the triwar, the authorities had not seriously reduced the number of coalminers by visit to South Africa. Workers' time bal ruler being a privileged and power- the Union, and four indirectly elected are maintained at the lowest level taking them into the army and war and energy has been squandered left ful person. It seems only too fitting that Senators, all white, sit to plead for the possible, the cost per copy is now 21d. factories. It would also not have and right to ensure that no comfort or the royal destination should be South natives against the 190 representatives This is a very low price as costs qo happened if they had made any real luxury will be missing. The royal train Africa, where the white ruling-class of the white minority. and to give the miners labour-saving which has been specially built for the dominates millions of native peoples.

Only 3 in 11 of the native children fact that our contributors receive no machinery and better conditions of occasion, will only fit the particular The caste system is one of the strictest get any schooling at a cost of £3 per remuneration, nor do the Editors or But all the efforts were gauge line in S. Africa and will be in the world. No native worker is year, compared with the average of administrative group, and the printing directed towards producing war useless anywhere else. The royal suite allowed to learn a skilled trade or in £20 per year for each white child. | charge are kept to a bare minimum. machines, and the miners were exworking on seams which have become | bathroom each (no queuing there!) enable him to raise his standard of reach the age of 18. By exploiting postages, telephone, etc., are not steadily more difficult because of the The dresses of the Queen number 75 living or position in the social scale. this source of cheap labour, huge proage of the mines and the bad under-ground travelling facilities. Now, at a cost of £10,000 alone (we would Two million white men hold sway fits have been made for many years 21/2d. according to the latest appeal from the hesitate to ask the question "How does over 6,500,000 natives and 1,000,000 from the diamond and gold mines.

THE BLUMEXPERIMENT

government, France has gone back to a the Communist Party insisted during the to give back to France a certain stabil

as gas, electricity, coal and postage.

who had taken the precaution to put up

that way, to carry on unhampered the ment have probably put a brake on the the reduction in prices imposed by the

sulted in decreasing the buying power of

most necessities by 30% during the last

48 hour week receives a wage inferior,

But this success is merely psychological,

This means that the due to cleverly arranged propaganda, and the interests of the working class.

The whole parliamentarian rainbow, alition government so as to prevent international competition.

except the reactionary right (Republican the continuation of the experiment.

new cabinet also represents all the main does not bear an analysis of the facts.

work of infiltration of the Army which increase in prices. But one must keep in government.

private interests of the capitalists belong- gains they had achieved in 1936. The of the population.

ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance On the other hand, the government has

geoisie. The fact that Bidault remains 48 hours, and in some industries 52 and

remain outside any drastic manoeuvre in

the international field.

have their salaries adjusted to the cost of

living, printing workers who want to see

the application of a rising scale, workers

in private industries who feel more and

living, have seen their movements become

government has been greeted with relief

by the governing classes. They had

40 40 00 00

Yet when the coloured workers dared | EFFECT OF CIRCULATION armed police were used to shoot them

the compounds like so many cattle. This is the scene, and the back- could be made to pay its own way. ground, against which will be flaunted | without abandoning our policy of rethe pomp and opulence of the regal fusing paid advertising and of main-It is also visit. Just the right sort of thing to taining the selling price at 2d. The certain that these measures are totally show the workers of S. Africa, just solution lies in the ability of our comforeign to socialism or, more simply, to how "Socialist and democratic" our rades to increase the circulation of labour lords are! It is nothing less "Freedom", and for the following than an outrage against human decency reason. working to make strikes for wages psychologically that such an exhibition should be

Intimidation of Court

Martial Witnesses

Threatening witnesses is a thing and all the necessary work involved tries like America, not to mention Russia and the Fascist countries. "It can't

In the Cairo Court Martial which is and Trade, and will be able to defend the compelled the workers to abandon the discontent would spread to wider sections spiracy to cause a mutiny, prosecution witnesses described threats used against In point of fact, a worker doing a certain that if they spread and discontent shot." Lawson made his statement as a socialist and workers' parties, or else will | witness-box that Brigadier Coleman had lauched by these so-called socialist and | tell the truth I'll get you seven years." It can't happen here.

HARD FACTS

T is not surprising that many comrays, are still unapplied; the discovery rades and friends take it for grantof how to use any one of them fully ed 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 reconsible, it has never been an easy task. Ours has been a hand-toin their generation, and it is perhaps | mouth existence, which with the periodic increase in production costs has made our task of regular publication

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 type-Only when vested interests have been setting were increased by 334 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 3d. to 13d. a copy. The cost of paper has increased as well as the quantity used cost of blocks has in the past few months risen by 331 per cent. Ink costs more, and wages in the printing trade have increased. "Freedom" as presented to our readers to-day costs

It is our opinion, in spite of the apdown, and to drive them back into parently insuperable gap between costs and income, that "Freedom"

> 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 'formes'. as they are called, on the machine in "making ready" for printing. Now the cost of printing "Freedom" is in the region of dd. 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 d. will diminish with the increase in the number of copies printed. What this all boils down to is that at present "Freedom" costs us 21d. per copy to produce. By increasing our circulation by 1000 copies the cost is reduced to 2d., by

(Continued on page 8)

0 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

15th February, 1947

the fate of his comrade Connolly.

out the dockers, but held up the

the police came out!

whole port in a general strike—even

Larkin Joins Connolly

unnecessary ones. Figures have been

sent the seventh largest industry in the

that the total number of workers in one

of the community's most essential in-

dustries 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

shown as obtaining throughout the

brickvards are certainly not such as

would attract labour when-as at

The "black spot" of the industry is

shown to be in the sanitary conditions.

Most brickvards are located in rural

vide alternative forms of sanitation.

Similarity With Agriculture

may be many points in common. Work

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

is that he lives on the job. Admittedly

few people would want to live on

a farm worker is soaked through

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 itself, is a

pointer to the uncomfortable conditions

of work and the lack at present of any

even where the canteen facilties are

rationing, few workers are not prepared

such facilities.

average brickyard worker, and that

ended shelter, for instance, and

Similarly, in most vards there is

lamentable lack of washing facilities

present—we are going through

period of labour shortage.

an adequate nature.

TURING recent years one's mind has been so saturated by accounts of atrocities, war massacres and famines, with an almost fatalistic eye. But reading a book like Victor Gollancz's In Darkest Germany shakes one with disgust and

This book deals with a visit to the British Zone, and therefore the flimsy excuse that 'it is no concern of ours" with conditions existing not in faraway India or China, not behind the wellguarded frontiers of Russia but on the other side of the North Sea, right under

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 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, valent as before the war.

"that people are dropping dead in the number of calories received in fact is a terrible picture of the housing conditions. . The point is that a very third less than on paper. unless radical measures are taken to sumer goods and in particular shoes and Dusseldorf the average living space per effect an improvement, the toll in one, clothes, has also terrible consequences. In person is 3.2 square metres, but there are two or three years' time will be appalling. the schools he visited Gollancz found a still people living in extremely comfortuntil five years after the last war.

The Calories Myth

of Commons that the Germans are blankets, mattresses are almost impossible destruction which is still carried out at helped to alleviate the food position but getting 1,550 calories, everybody feels

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 bread instead of the full ration of 10,000 in 28 days. The cereal ration was not distributed so that the 1.548 calories were already reduced to



Hamburg is at least five times as pre- ficiency since October 14th had been brought it on themselves.'

The official figure of the number of feet, children's shoes needed for the period from July to December was, at the very May to December was 1,771,000.

1,206. In other parts he found that only to find. The children are the worst (the number will be much greater during The same applied to skimmed milk. In justifying the inhuman treatment of the prevent a rebirth of the German military the vinter). Active lung tuberculosis in the whole North Rhine region the de- German people by saying: "They've machine, plunges the German people still

Several chapters of the book and a "All this doesn't mean," says Gollancz, It is quite clear that in many cases the large number of photographs give a Out of the 23 million Germans in the atrocious conditions Gollancz describes,

More Destruction

The demands for sending more food to of coupons issued for their purchase from Germany are met with the excuse of world shortage, but what explanation can used as mine layers. They could have Napkins, baby clothes, overcoats, the Government give to the senseless been reconverted into fishing boats and

NOTE—We had intended to reproduce photographs from "In Darkest

Germany", but electricity cuts prevented the blocks and those for our

usual cartoons, being ready in time. The drawing above is from "The

March to Death" by John Olday (Freedom Press - 1/6)

Fertilizer factories are being destroyed when German agriculture needs them ment of the policy of the British Governmost urgently, and so are factories pro- ment in Germany. The information it ducing soda which would be a first contains should be as widely known as rare commodity. Cement factories are photographs which illustrate the book being close down, though, as Gollancz without a feeling of shame and of revolt.

Kiel harbour is scheduled for despossible to build up a whole series of light industries and the resultant un 150,000 out of a population of 250,000. Thirteen fishing vessels were blown up

because of some lunatic agreement the fish had to remain in the sea and the

people to starve, Herrenvolk v. Herrenvolk

The irresponsible policy of the Allies in Gemany is not calculated to impress the people with the merits of democracy. Neither is the behaviour and daily by British officials to German civilians, irrespective of whether they

The military character of the occupation is displayed everywhere in arrogant "The result of it all," says Gollancz, "is that when German liberals talk to German youth about militarism, the reply is-'But British militarism is

The British occupying forces behave like the master race. They eat well, they have plenty of cigarettes and drinks, German houses have been requisitioned to house them and German men and women employed to serve them. Labour and materials are freely spent on repairing clubs for British troops and in Hamburg 14,226 labourers were engaged in building a Garden City to house the Control

The "re-education" of the German people is hampered still further by the totalitarian attitude adopted by the Allies towards the denazification of books. The Control Council Order of 13th May, 1946, prohibits the circulation not merely of books "supporting militarism, nationalism, and racialism" but also those "containing propaganda directed against the United Nations". As far as new books are concerned publishers are instructed that they are responsible that the works published "shall not include anything which reflects adversely upon . . . any of the Allied Powers".

Damning Indictment

Gollancz's book is a damning indictegfried lines, but also to repair houses the proposals he puts forward for a solution of the German problem.

> "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 inthe church. politically or even econom-

> > BAKUNIN.

ANARCHISM - Interpretations

"The whole case for anarchism rests on a general assummption which makes detailed speculations unnecessary. The assumption is that the right kind of society is an organic beingnot 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 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 GO IN FOR POLITICS?"

WHILE attempting to circulate this to the advancement of somebody's per- phesying far ahead enough—we have gravitated to Parliament in a safe Labour paper round a rather hardboiled sonal career who is far from standing in seen that in the period of the first Labour seat and got enormous majorities Election bunch of men I was asked, 'Why the devil need of philanthropy. This of course I could not explain satis- taken perfectly seriously. When the rival factorily. It is easy enough to explain candidates, Whig and Tory, came down the upper-crust (trade union leaders going In fact, all politicians, even the most career. I remember early in the War a good excuse to get drunk at their ex- House of Lords as the Liberal 'captains mind whether to be a Socialist or a Conpost-war future, and one of the Military all respects. Gradually, however, a comic century) but the Socialists have attracted is the quickest, think of themselves as 'Oh,' asked the other, 'in what interest?' voters got the delusion that the candidates up the Tory and Liberal lists; the pro- apparent discrepancy of this belief with Note the answer: 'I haven't quite decided get into power without asking more than fessional and business men, the Army the lining of their own pockets is one yet. I've been out of touch with things a kiss for the baby. abroad and I want to look around me Even then the growth of Liberal and Although this has happened, and their own personal satisfaction. first.' Obviously one party was as good Conservative political associations still had nothing made it plainer than the last as another as regards principle—he was some point in them. The social life pro- Election, the sincere rank-and-file in the Preservation of Capitalism looking at it from the plainly sensible vided was to a certain extent in advance Socialist movement is limping badly be- However, what is this 'public service' angle, he wanted a respectable career as of any thing else in the pre-cinema days, hind events, and taking refuge from con- after all but the preservation of the an M.P. with early demobilisation and a and a change from the parochialism of fusion in the various red-herrings of present capitalist system? However much settled future. From the capitalist point church societies. The willingness of modern politics, such as foreign policy anyone may think up schemes for reform of view, he was quite as justified as any candidates to pay large sums to local and personalities. They do not realise here and patching-up there; transference other bourgeois who went in for Law as associations, in return for selection, led that they have by their devotion and of control from the State to the capitalist a career, and would be quite indifferent to an increase in the social amenities hard work built up a machine that has or the capitalist to the State; whether to the rights or wrongs of cases; whether available, and many workingmen's clubs been captured precisely by the other one should extend the olive branch here he was a prosecuting counsel or a de- would never have been founded had it class, any more than the early Christians or rattle the sabre there; the whole of fending counsel would depend on which not been for this spririt of give-and-take perhaps realised what they were letting politics is in reality devoted to preserving brief was offered. In the same way, which the political racketeers were well the world in for when they built up a the present system of disease, unemploywhether Labour or Liberal or Con- able to provide, since they did not new religion. servative, depends a lot on what prospects depend on politics for a living directly An ardent Socialist worker of my No matter what plans or what good of advancement are offered. We are not but indirectly. (The social entrée it acquaintance was very depressed after the intentions a politician may have, the fact so simple as to blame the respectable gave to the new rich, the tradition it landslide at the Election. I asked why, is that his career is bound up with the middle-class for adopting such a career, enabled the old rich to keep up, and the She showed me the statement by the preservation of the system, and if by to which their whole training is directed. commercial life it enabled the aspiring victorious local Labour candidate thank- any chance he happens to act in such When they go in for politics, they are professional man to enter were more than ing electors and the Labour workers for a manner as to endanger that system, his adopting a profession, just the same as if sufficient return.) they went in for the Law, or went in for However, quite a new element arrived her eyes to his statements during the will take that chance with their jobs?—

the Church, if incapable of adopting any in politics with the growth of the Election asking, quite in the Churchill and least of all will a professional man Labour movement. The early Socialists style, for renewed confidence in 'him', whose interests are entirely bound up However, while the attitude of the used to pour scorn on the idea of voting She wanted to know, was all her work with his job. A displaced politician is gentlemen who learn economics and for the Liberal lawyer or the Tory land- for 'him'? Surely he was only a figure- at a better end than a debarred lawyer philosophy at the university, and adapt lord, and told people to vote for the head, a representative . . . but of course or an unfrocked priest or a doctor stricken our lives to what they learned, can readily working-man's candidate instead. When such an idea was twenty years out of off the lists. He usually has business to be understood, it is a little more difficult the Anarchists prophesied that the date. When they first made him a Coun- enter (and we may mention that no to understand the attitude of those who working-man's candidate would only go cillor he began to get the pompous ideas working-man's candidate has even been

Government with full power, not only after Election, he naturally adjusted himdo people go in for politics anyway?' At one time English politics used to be have the working-class candidates become self to thinking of himself as a little Gentlemen stated that he was doing that. element was introduced whereby the to themselves the very element that made devoted to the public interest, and the

their confidence in 'him'. She had shut political career is finished. How many give their time, energy, health and money the same way instead, they weren't pro- those funny little men have, and as he

officers, the scions of the aristocracy. that most people can explain away to

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

the Irish industrial battlefield. Jim WORKERS' UNION lived to be 68 only because of an American prison—for there can be

Ireland in '16, he would have shared His meteoric career was not of his and that the workers must organize union, or leave their work. The large number in a defence boo own choosing, for he would have re- on a modern basis. Hence the Irish ITW took up the challenge and supmained content to continue his work Transport Workers' Union was born. ported the men. The dockers and as a Liverpol docker, had it not been Larkin was involved in expensive carmen, the seamen and all the for the tyranny of Sexton, the head litigation with official Trade Unions, waterside workers came out of the National Union of Dock but despite vicious legal persecution sympathy with the tram-men, and for Labourers. Larkin had brought the he fought on and triumphed. men out in an unofficial strike and

Sexton and the whole Labour world or at whatever time would disof the day, for he not only brought organize the boss' plans.

The Great Strike Of 1912

Conditions in the Brick Industry

Recommendations

of between 300,000 and 400,000 there is nothing the committee suggests is, therefore, only one solution: the

In their list of recommendations,

satellites are continually puzzled avoid all mention of the standard of

by the reluctance on the part of the wages throughout the industry and how

workers to enter the stable and it compares with the cost of living.

form of craft unionism was outworn, all tramwaymen must leave the occurrence. The strikers enrolled a The union grew. It appealed to bitter course. Starvation was the would fight, and because it did not Landlords got no rent, and the small give way, so Sexton found a solution rely on money so much as on strategy shopkeepers were broke. Neither side by appointing him organizer in and tactics. If there was not an early would give way. Liberty Hall, the Belfast, the graveyard of all previous victory the men went back to work, headquarters of the ITWU, was organizers. But Larkin surprised only to come out again the next week, 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 In 1912 came the great test. The British government, through its boss class saw the menace of "Larkin- agents in Dublin Castle, naturally It was in Belfast that the great ism" and W. M. Murphy, Dublin's took the boss' side. Brutal attacks

comfort and the welfare of the workers

but we also realise that while the boss

must come before profits for the boss

partnership with James Connolly richest man, Chairman of the Tram- on strikers' pickets by the police, started. Both recognized that the old ways Co., issued an ultimatum that backed by the military, were a daily This body was the germ of the Iri

himself is dead too, it will soon only Roman Catholicism, Nationalism, and Conditions have changed politically; economically they are just as bad. The worker finds that the Irish is in control of the means of production visit to Russia, and he turned inward and the money system exists, the profit to purely Irish affairs . . . As an motive will be the deciding one. There Irishman, he was instinctively a rebel, that in Southgate, North London, dustwhich one imagines would not have establishment of workers control of the always ready to make any sacrifice strike" because their bonuses have been industry—that the football pools repre- been effected long ago had the workers | for the cause of Humanity, but also, stopped by their council. This is quite been in control of the brick industry on the job free to establish their own like so many Irishmen, he failed to a good method of striking without inconthemselves. The committee appear to standards of working conditions and see that the soul-destroying principle veniencing the public. The dustmen say realise (since it advocates subsidisation administering the industry on behalf of It is interesting to discover, then, "in approved cases") that the question the community as a whole for the satisof "expense" and "capital outlay" has faction of the needs of the community, completely eliminated. Until men now being salvaged. As this is probably

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 Pearse and Connolly wrote in the Proclamation of Easter

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 Industrial Unionism was only possible and expropriate the robbers must also

MAT KAVANAGH.

A GRIEVANCE

of dustmen in Glasgow. Now it seems a lot to do with the lack of decent and not for the profit of the employer. see that Freedom is the end for a source of income for the council the men will be embarrassing their employers, serving the public in the essential of clearing garbage.

"NO BREAD-NO COAL" IN RUHR

not being kept. Stoppages have taken have appeared the chalked words-"No

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

One of the queer features of the

with the help of one or two sons, in help each other with threshing and some- and does not forget that not the least impressed by pithead appeals for more

James Smith, 21, of Matthewstown, Glam, was discovered asleep down the

pit just after hearing the said appeals "The vulgar-Marxist concept of seeds: tools and manures (I hope not "Many farmers are attributing some and, such is his privilege as an employee

TRADE UNIONS AS

Professor D. L. Savory, Conservative Isaacs, Minister of Labour, the following control over their members, while re-

nanagerial class to arise-a tendency climate of the district. The actual pro- weeds, which are referred to as having so question, anyone with any common sense which is always present in any large, duction would, however, be left to the unfairly cashed in on some of the ferti- knows that is not a correct description. ollective undertaking. On the contrary, individual farmer to be executed as, on liser meant for the crops, would in any On the first part of the question, the unofficial strikes when they start are stopped and controlled by the unions, who get the men back to work."

for the preference shown by workers for non-essential occupations, which are usually indoor jobs. The conditions

Agriculture in a Free Society

absurd, and due to a doctrinaire outlook next. In a libertarian society one would ignore. which bears little relation to actual social expect this process to be carried further

the abolition of all private property. Of in Denmark and Eire. On the matter of canteens, the com-ttee is puzzled by the fact that even matter of fact that even matter of fact that even more than 30. "The reasons for this," | referred, exclusively, to the private posses- collectives made up of individual balanced complete fertiliser." they say, "includes the economics of sion of the social means of production holdings. According to some theorists the home, tradition of food supply and which determine the social process, such this ought not to happen, but, never- "Helpful Hints" by the Ministry of springs to mind is the observation that 'railroads, power-plants, mines, etc."

"good" they are still not good enough, Small Working Units

figure probably being the maximum size

Apart from extreme districts such as STEEL WORKS STRIKE

in the bulk purchase of such things as

and that the factor of the "economy of the home", merely included by the committee is a very important factor indeed. In these days of extreme and also against the tendency for a production was suited to the second part of the to supplement the family ration with hot meals eaten out if they can afford it produces a person of initiative and in- the basis of his knowledge of his holding, case return a considerable portion of it evidence is that a great many of these dependence, the antithesis of the mass- he thought best. That is the point I wish to the soil when ploughed in. man of centralised, bureaucratic society. to emphasise. The collective would run

TAST time I put forward the view that These, however, are largely incidental machinery pools to help the individu "medium-sized" I am thinking in terms art and science, besides requiring, for its is, of course, that most agricultura I mean a holding held and worked by ministrative ability—combined, in capit- limited period and for a particular oper- Bread—no Coal!" a man and his family. The geatest dis- alist society, with business acumen. And ation, and that consequently everyone set-up is the undoubted bulwark that it important. Probably for this reason out- This difficulty is not, however, insuperprovides for an authoritarian family put per acre tends to be highest on farms able and has to some extent been over-

timately, and therefore can manage and rich market-gardening land on the to lack of capital to lay out on good culture, makes a speciality of that article which the farm and the district are par-

the same category as the owner of a large times form a small working group of two important product of the soil is the men coal on "Vesting Day", when (as a citizen concern which employs hundreds, or or three at harvest time, going to one who live on it and by it—a fact which of Britain, he became part-owner (?) of housands, of workers is manifestly man's field one day and another's the most urban social theorists are apt to the Nation's coal mines.

chemical ones) and in the collective dis- of the failure for last season's laid crops to of the State, that he was subsequently terpreted to mean that the revolutionary tribution of produce. Such farmers co- fertilisers. They, therefore, propose using fined £2 at the local bench. The magistrate velopment of society would bring about operatives do in fact already exist, mostly less in 1947. This is neither correct nor (a fellow worker for the State) told him his sound husbandry. The past wet season offence was "extremely serious in view of gave a long growing period as well as the grave shortage of coal". lush growth—both meaning a greater Incidentally—who fines magistrates mittee is puzzled by the fact that even matter of fact, the development of social organisation, then, consumption of fertilisers. The weeds, when they go to sleep on the bench? in the best works "where the standard and individual freedom had nothing to that would be likely to evolve in a too, absorb plant food from the land. is good" the percentage of persons do with the so-called 'abolition of private revolutionary situation would in most The correct treatment for 1947 crops in taking the full mid-day meal is seldom | property'. The Marxist concept . . . districts, probably consist of agricultural to use more rather than less of a properly

who still prefer their accustomed places (The Mass Psychology of Fascism by lective, through co-operation with larger by an Agricultural Researcher? But district and up the scale to the county. Farmers' Weekly, 10/1/47) issued by a strikes: "Have the trade unions lost all would organise production in the sense large firm of fertiliser manufacturers. of finding out what particular products, P.S.-Any landworker knows, or can taining such absolute control over the Furthermore the small, independent and in what quantity, were required by prove in practice, that using more ferti- Government? the nearby urban consumers, and arrang- liser most certainly does contribute con- Mr. Isaacs' reply (which should be ing for their production, in so far as their siderably to laid crops, being usually noted by all workers who read this) was:

4 5 8 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 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

Revival of Dutch Imperialism

about 40% of the pre-war level, and a Supplies of tobacco are very short. of Dutch capitalism in that area. but very largely through voluntary asscia- which the ration is 40 a week. In which will be considerably greater than now on his way home, or Col. Angus many questionings, he could find no tions of the peasants, who are eager to Amsterdam the current black market their pre-war army. In the towns and Muller, Chief of Police in the island. use co-operative methods to a very great price is 4 guilders for 20 (about 7/6); in on railway trains one is astonished by the extent, and are much more willing than The Hague, a more prosperous town number of nien in uniform—it seems like full and detailed reports of John most English farmers to accept the advice where the risks are greater owing to a a country at war, which in fact Holland Walters. of good agricultural scientists. It is more vigilant police, the price is as high is at the moment. Troops are being estimated that next year the agricultural as 6 guilders for 20 (about 11/-)! Thus shipped steadily to the East Indies, and production will actually be 20% higher anything more than the most moderate everybody in Holland expects a great than it was before the war. This rapid smoking is a luxury which only the offensive against the Indonesians as soon expansion of Dutch agriculture un- wealthy can enjoy. Incidentally, the as a sufficiently strong army is built up. doubtedly shows the superiority of even Government recently entered the black Significantly, the uniform of all over the curious combination of small- trading; it bought a large consignment of pect-except for badges-with that of

other European countries at present, and Crisis In Dutch Imperialism labour movements, the strengthening there is little or no actual starvation.

Shortage of Consumption

The workers all look very badly clothed, Dutch anxiety to produce plans for re- native rulers. particularly in the industrial towns like constructing German economic life. The

THE visitor to Holland is at first struck Rotterdam. Household goods of all kinds, Dutch mercantile marine, which provided ON February 5th, Reuters reported they have paid their rents in advance. by an air of apparent prosperity, particularly bedding, cooking utensils and a great part of the national income before And, indeed, the standard of life of the crockery, are difficult to obtain, which the war, has greatly diminished in the last strike had been found guilty Dutch people has undoubtedly shown a weighs all the more heavily on the very six years, and may never regain quite amazing improvement since the days many people whose household requisites position as a carrier of goods for other of the occupation, when the staple foods were requisitioned during the war by the countries. And the great Dutch empire for large areas were often sugar beet and German Army-and sometimes looted by in the East Indies is gripped in even tulip bulbs. During the war years, the "liberators"! Fuel is scanty, owing independence movement which has Trinidad. That some account of the

them in the free market at the black militaristic programme, with the idea t As a consequence of this factor, there price of 4 guilders. This was a cynical a well-armed Holland will give them

It will be seen that in Holland, as in East and also provide an additiona full rations. Also, there is great in- England, the condition of the workers is buttress against Russian infiltration in that equality in the distribution of the food not very high. Few of them are starving; area. owing to an almost complete lack of fuel, nor could they easily afford it if it The general attitude towards to-do can eat on a really Gargantuan government is to forbid increased wages indifference, but there seems to be of the smallest restaurants in Amsterdam wages average a slightly lower level than from Port Said about a fortnight agol in England, but their purchasing power The picture of Holland, as I have month for sale unrestrictedly to the is probably little less. The plight of the sketched it, represents much the same a dam and the Eastern provinces where the poverty, the lowering of the workers

the situation is very different. Clothing Dutch agricultural products, is no longer against the Nazis, are so far content

large proportion of this was taken away In such articles there is a very con- The Dutch capitalists are faced with Daily Mirror by John Walters. English War Agricultural Committees, are high, particularly for cigarettes, of apace, and an army is being built up Clifford, Trinidad's retiring governor

in the black market; at the same time, one share the power. Generally speaking, (the most recent of these was reported will be commenced." Many strikers

standard of living since before the war. The policy of the Dutch government is militarism and the power of the state. Legislative Council. based on a desire to perpetuate Dutch Against all this, the only resistance so imperialism, owing to the crisis in which far is that of individuals and small unco-Dutch capitalism at present finds itself. ordinated groups; the Dutch workers, In other consumption goods, however, Germany, one of the best markets for who carried out two important strikes is scarce, expensive and of poor quality. able to buy goods; this explains the accept passively the oppressions of their

GEORGE WOODCOCK

POLICE BRUTALITY IN TRINIDAD

march and the police raid on the Port

The following is based on the very

Reprisals Against Strikers Working conditions and wages in Trinidad have long shocked white visitors who keep their eyes open. Some weeks ago, workers in Southern Trinidad oilfields owned by United British Oilfields struck work owing to discontent arising from increasing unemployment and consequent destitution Immediately the whole government machinery was brought into play. Th Governor, Sir Bede Clifford, imposed curfew from 8 p.m. to 5 a.m. or January 18th, and declared Emergency Regulations (banning amongst othe things, meetings of more than a fev people) to be in force. point of view, however, were the

economic reprisals instituted by the employers. Strikers were immediately evicted together with their families from their homes. Eviction notices signed by W. M. V. Ash, an official of the United British Oilfields of Trinidad Ltd., read: "You are required to remove from the premises at belonging to this company and occupied by you, within seven days from this date. If you fail to remove from the premises within that time legal proceedings for recovery of the premises and their families have left their homes and been received by other workers. Considerable hardship results, as overcrowding is already extreme in the island. A worker who was absent with his family had his house emptied of its furniture by the police who took it away. The Oil Company's official, Mr. Ash, is also a member of Trinidad's

Debarred From Their Allotments

Many workers rent small strips of land from the Oil Companies on which Police have used violence to the limit. they grow much needed food. John But not content with that, the law Walters tells of men driven off their then steps in as well and charges 22

they have grown and which their families need. Police in steel helmets and armed with rifles are patrolling the

Not content with acting automatically for the employers in an industrial dispute, the police have also beaten up many of the workers. John Walters spoke to several who showed him weals and bruises on their backs. While he was examining the feet of a woman who was said to have been crippled by police beating, the police arrested two men in the crowd. Throughout his tour of the oilfield police took notes of his conversations and of all his movements. Despite confirmation for the police allegation that the strikers had been riotous.

Terror Raid On Union Headquarters

Five hundred men and women marched from the oilfields of Southern Trinidad to the capital to protest against the state of Emergency declared by the Governor. While they were resting at the Headquarters o the Oilworkers' Union on the night of January 22nd, a squad of police, personally led by Col. Angus Muller, the Chief Commissioner for Police, raided the place at 1 a.m. Muller was shouting for Uriah Butler, the leader of the oilworkers' union, who fortunately had escaped. Walters reports the testimony of several evewitnesses who saw men and women, regardless of age, beaten up with rifle butts, and saw several shot. Walters himself interviewed two men who had been shot, who were lying in hospital under arrest (but ignorant of the charges, if any, preferred against them) and guarded by

Police occupied the Union hall for two days. At the end of that time the printing press of the union was found completely smashed, as were also lavatory and handbasins. In view of these eyewitness accounts, it is ironical to hear Creech Jones, the Labour Colonial Secretary, blandly stating in Parliament: "I think it right to say that the Commissioner of Police has assured the Governor that the police did not damage the press." The Commissioner of Police led the raid; is he likely to give any other answer?

Creech Jones Also Backs Employers

As a result of the companies, aided by the police, driving the strikers out of their homes and off their allotments the severest hardships have been visited on the strikers and their families. allotments regardless of the fact that strikers with violence! And charges against more than 100 other people have been adjourned . . . The 22 have been found guilty (in an island where the employers sit on the Legislative Council, and are guarded by armed police, can one evince surprise?), but sentences have, at the time of writing,

> While a trial is in progress, it constitutes contempt of court for any public utterance to be made which premost stringently observed in this country. The Colonial Secretary, however, does not consider such limitations as binding on him. On January 29th. Creech Jones stated in the House of Commons that the strikers had intimicolony . . Direct references were made No one would have talked like that in England if a similar case was pending there. Aren't our people entitled to

tained in England? Trial here would now be a farce. The Secretary for the Colonies has tried and sentenced These incidents serve to show the timate line up between Government police and employers, which openly

the same standard of justice as is main-

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15th February, 1947

vou must do if you can, to save us from

help which you project. I admire the

Swedish working class which has kept a

cool head during the war, without be-

satisfaction to know that you are collabor

assistance activity is organised above all

by Christian humanitarian organisations

and in a lesser degree by socialist organ-

black or red priests, so that, in general,

go the FAUD here in the south-west of

The syndicalists and anarchists affiliated

we receive nothing.

Here, I wish to say something on the

that end.

GERMAN ANABOHISTS

We are pleased to be able to reproduce a short selection from Comrade K. D. of Göppingen, a collection of letters from anarchists and syndicalists within writes: Germany, which we have received from the IWMA bureau in Stockholm. The letters all tell the same story of suffering and resistance to the Nazis, of dozens of comrades imprisoned and tortured or starved to death in the concentration camps. The encouraging thing about them is that they reveal the presence within Germany of very many libertarians who have retained their ideals throughout the terror and who, however depressed they may be under present conditions, still wish to carry on the struggle to free the German people from their many internal and external enemies.

Comrade H. from Frankfurt-am- events and with the international movement makes us almost dead from the in-Main writes: tellectual point of view. What has passed Here, in Hesse, almost all the important in the world since 1933? What has Leipzig: ministries are occupied by socialists and happened in Spain? Is it true that there communists. But, in spite of that, the was a pact between Hitler and Stalin? Minister of Labour, Oskar Muller, Communist, cannot deliver a single speech friends doing in the rest of the world? without talking of the dangerous renais- Are they still working for our ideals and sance of the reaction. That means that our organisations? Do the militants he confesses his incapacity to do anything other countries know that there were by political means against the growing thousands of revolutionaries in Germany poverty among the masses. Those who who never capitulated to Hitler? Do they have come victorious out of the collapse know in the world that we, for example, of Nazism are the bourgeoisie, who still of the FAUD, have never ceased to struggle, and that we are doing everything a State within the State—the point of to bring our organisations to life again? departure of a new reaction. In reality,

Yes, the external forms of the Third Reich have been broken, one group workshops and factories carry all the rulers has gone away, but the old bankweight of production, but their wages are rupts of 1935 have been put in their not sufficient to buy their rations . . . places and they continue as if the year But the capitalist who sells goods, who 1933 never existed. They struggle, as adulterates and exchanges them, counts in before, for the fruits of power, astronomical figures and lives as in peace- mandates of parliament. The enterprises time. Because of this abnormal situation, and the economic power remain with the and for other reasons, such as, for bourgeoisie as in 1918. Most of the Nazis example, the existence of zonal frontiers, are organised in the Christian-Socialist and the continual influx of masses of Party and the Communist organisations possible that we, above all we who are we shall receive permission to re-organise enfeebled because of our life in the con- it is difficult to predict. But in any case centration camps, will perish as victims we employ every means to propagate of poverty. You understand well what conceptions.

The most important part of our libercentres for anarchist literature in Ger- Vichy. At Vichy I was handed over many). I have the idea of forming a new directly to the Gestapo. After interro-Book Guild, or perhaps a literary society gation I was conducted to the frontier of of a libertarian tendency. We have no the Vichy zone and to the Santé prison, In a second letter Comrade W. P.

Besides, Göppingen has now an Erich

Comrade Lisbeth H., writes from

Our good Arthur Holke is dead. He was arrested, in company with many other years for high treason; afterwards he was correction. sent to Buchenwald. On the 22nd Fanuary, 1940, I received the news of his On the 1st March, 1943, we were transdeath. Our Gerhard Wartenburg (editor ported to Heuberg to be incorporated into of the Syndikalist) also died, in a camp a disciplinary battalion. You can well

The following extract is from the letter of Comrade W. P., who was in Spain during the civil war, and then returned to Holland, where he rejoined his family He refugees from the Russian zone, the Until now only the political parties and was expelled from that country situation is very bad, and it is not im- the official unions are authorised. When and went to Belgium whence, after the German invasion. was transported to a Concentration Camp in the south of France. He writes:

extradited to the German authorities. At of him. where I was interrogated by the Paris writes: The prosecutor said that an accusation of were in an indescribable state.

Arthur suffered terribly. The worst for agreeable. The arrests, condemnations him was when he had to be present at and executions commenced from the first floggings and executions. One day he day. Then we were taken to the front. cried in the presence of his torturers: "It near to Cherson on the Dnieper. Some is not me whom you wish to destroy, it comrades deserted to the Russians. On the 9th March, the political "criminals" were withdrawn from the battalion, concentrated in the Nikolaieff camp and then sent back to Germany. There we were times we were given arms, then they were soldiers. On the 25th March, 1945, as soldier of Batallion 999, I deserted to the

> In the month of June, 1944, my wife and also comrade Paul Brunn were arrested in Amsterdam. Comrade Ackermann died in prison. My wife was condemned to 11 years in prison, she was sent to Ravensbruck camp. Paul Brunn

In was there that my sufferings com- was condemned to 10 years in the house menced. I was told that I would be of correction. I have heard nothing more My captivity among the Americans was

dangerous road of a German anti-fascist.

ported to Kassel. The Gestapo beat me I can tell you that P. K. has just high treason to the fatherland. On the had not hoped to see him. P. made an 6th November, 1942, the special tribunal extremely lamentable impression. He is condemned me to six years in the house extremely thin and has water on the of correction for preparing high treason. knees. The clothes he carried on him

If all the millions of men in Russian the 8th November I entered the house of has compromised herself profoundly against the humanist ideas of international socialism. That is to say that Russia, in a relatively short time, will lose all sympathy in the western countries.

But this fact—the cruel fact of the bad treatment and the brutal exploitation of simple German soldiers in Russian captivity-will produce a purely counterrevolutionary impression in the heads of the German working masses poisoned by the Hitlerite pest. This situation signifies that revolutionary socialism in Germany must work under very difficult conditions. Russia has caused serious damage to the idea of international socialism-damage much deeper than anything the reaction

THE MIND OF REACTION-CROCODILE

recent newspaper interview given by Sir Reginald Clarke. A former Commissioner tear gas bombs and tear gas guns.

world-wide people's movement, an end | Sir Reginald that the largest customer for tear gas is the government of India. "] was the first person to take tear smoke to India," he declared, "that was in 1936, Since that date it has been widely used all over India."

getting rid of our corrupt political humanitarian who moves with the times, system and abolishing wage slavery— and his comments make a considerable substituting the co-operative institutions | contribution towards understanding the "WE KNOW that Revolution means has come," says he, "when you can no longer shoot people down in the streets." Convinced of the humanitarian qualities called "Tear Smoke". Tear gas was first "The new world is not built from used, apparently, in America, 20 years blueprints. We believe this programme ago, as a device for the protection of of action offers the peoples of the world | banks. The government of India, "also

If they continue with the same militancy as the conscientious objectors of resistance and subversive activity

By JOHN OLDAY

cool head during the war, without becoming nationalist and chauvinist, and chauvinist, and which is ready to help us now. It is a C.O.S Demand Workers' Control

Imperialist Nations such as the

United States, Britain, and Russia hold

ating with other organisations to help us. Bu it is also necessary that we organise | COME months ago we printed in There can be no peace in a world in our own action. Here in Germany, the Freedom some particulars of the which: programme adopted at the inaugural Congress of the Committee for Non-Violent Revolution which met Chicago in February last year. This not enjoy very much sympathy among the programme called for industrial direct action to end war and to establish a society of workers' control. At the time we indicated the anarchist nature fices in the illegal struggle against of many of the proposals of this

Hitlerian fascism. Prison, house of cor- movement rection and concentration camp for long During the past year the CNVR sufferings in the Hitlerite hell cannot be described. The comrades in the prisons has co-operated with the strikers in were liberated by the allies. They are the various American C.O. conphysical ruins, but intellectually they are centration camps, has organised not destroyed. But our comrade P., of demonstrations against the continued Offenbach, perished at the last moment, imprisonment of conscientious oban Buchenwald, immediately before the jectors, and has acted as a means of continuing in peace time the fine spirit of resistance which the American The following letter is from four objectors developed in their struggle comrades of Darmstadt who all against the state in prisons and labour

suffered imprisonment under the Nazis. Two received 11½ years' The recent activities of the CNVR imprisonment each and were in have included active support for sea-Buchenwald at the end of the men strikers, a draft-card burning war, one received 4½ years' imcampaign against conscription, and prisonment, and one 3 years' a campaign against UNO while it was holding its meetings ignorance of external New York. Members events shows how little inform-CNVR picketed the area where ation of what really happened the meetings were held, and organised the German people meetings calling for internationa during the war years. Their action among the workers against war. capitalism and the state. One of the recent manifestoes of the CNVR con-Our situation is difficult. We are dying tained the following attack on UNO, of hunger-material and intellectual. Our

and the same alternatives which we have advocated in Freedom. "THE RULERS HAVE CON-COCTED THE UNO.

huge sections of the earth in subjection, either as outright colonies or economic and political dependencies. The Factories, Mines, Railroads, Shops, and Land are in the hands of profit-seeking private owners or State bureaucrats, while the majority of the people are dispossessed wage-workers who suffer regimentation, insecurity slums and depressions.

People rely on physical power to impose their wills on others. The machine f war are kept in readiness (and used for bargaining purposes) through armament factories, atom bombs, arme forces, and conscription. These are the Causes of War. The UNO Cannot prevent War because protects these Causes of War.

WE MUST NOT BE SIDETRACKED! WE MUST ATTACK WAR AND INEQUALITY DIRECTLY:

By refusing to manufacture the tools of murder. We can demand that implements of war. As individuals we munition plants, no matter what we are offered in the way of higher "blood

2. By refusing to accept induction into any branch of the armed forces. We anti-Nazis in Hitlerite Germany, we are subjected to governmental action.

equality and independence for all By taking the factories, mines

shops, and other economic enterprises

"We KNOW that Peace means a

to nationalism and dictatorship, militarism and empire. "WE KNOW that Plenty means

sharing the world's goods according to the needs of the people. "WE KNOW that Revolution means

a chance to act now rather than accept adopted this humane method of mob the certain death confronting us."

CNVR declares even more emphatic- until all Governments with similar probour unions go on strike against all ally its demand for a free society manufacture and transportation of the based on a world-wide movement of direct action among the workers.

There may be minor points with which we differ from this militant movement of American anti-militarists. be used in sufficient quantity. For other But in so far as they seek for the ending situations with which the police are faced, such as the barricaded criminal, the staycan work against conscription and en- of war by the direct action of the in strike, squatting to prevent traffic, etc., free co-operative society, based on of attack. Every police headquarters in a struggle against the American state. of their most difficult problems." camps, they should prove a live force

advance in the treatment of disease. The drastic, with a lower mortality rate among the expression of a people whose sense of a stay-in strike!" "Right you are, sir, we'll be over directly-with the tear gas."

too. (Employers please not the address: Civil Protection Ltd. (1946), St. Mary Axe, London, E.C.2.)

BACK TO THE "NEW ARMY"

the concentration camps, demand nourish-

of long years without contact with world





RUSSIA

Soviet Culture Purge Continues

recently described in Freedom. Now it is the turn of Russian Broadcasting to be reminded of the party line. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union passed a recent decree charging the radio network with being guilty of monotony, mediocrity and bad transmission, and declared that the raise the significance of broadcasting

few months. It is not surprising to find radio in the same boat.

Russian Visitors To Cost £25,000

. . "); the guests;

Foreign Commentary

French C.P. Claim Louise Michel?

'fairy story' Animal Farm!) The latest level but will also allow the sale marched to the tune of the Lorraine and 6,000,000,000 francs in revenue was headed by men carrying tricolours. It would appear that the Black market The demonstrators made for the Cemetery is not black when operated by the State! of Levallois where they placed a wreath . Louise Michel! Speeche Mayor of Levallois, and the Mayor

Stalininsts who advised the police "if they try to get away, fire on them!"

Faure were the founders of the Anarchist paper Le Libertaire!

OFFICIAL BLACK

In France the tobacco shortage will up . . You must draw in your belts soon be eased . . . at least for those who

SEX REFORMS IN

According to the Libertaire (30/1/47) approved by a Committee of the Ministry

facilities are being provided for parents when thousands of Jews were being to limit births under this new scheme.

AND THE GERMAN PROBLEM

Anti-German feeling in this country is can afford to pay more for their nothing compared with French National-

THE re-writing of History by the cigarettes. According to the Populaire ism and hatred of the Bosche. Communist Party is an old game (as (5/2/47) the Government will probably Anarchists in France are among the very George Orwell so skilfully shows in his retain the ration of tobacco at its present few organizations which are trying example of falsification occurred recently tobacco off the ration but at a higher an editorial article dealing with in Levallois in France where the Com- price. The State hopes in this way to German problem, the Libertaire really munists staged a demonstration, which benefit by an additional income of deals with fundamentals, courageo

"We must revive the internationalist dated persons going to work—i.e., he spirit-writes the Lib.-we must answer | had stated as a fact the very issue the incitements to hatred by the creation | which was at that moment being tried! of united revolutionary currents in all | Maitre Sinnan, counsel for 52 of the countries. French workers, what reasons strikers charged, denounced Creech have you for detesting the German Jones' statement as "a gross misworker, who is exploited as you are, when | representation of what occurred in the with German Industrial magnates,

unteract your strikes and demands.

"Do you know that during last year the French military in Algiers have murdered thousands of natives who demand

Liberation of . . . Indo-China?"

THE THREE MUSKETEERS

OR—from the frying pan into the fire!

4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 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

TEAR GAS

It is no surprise to us to learn from

Sir Reginald regards himself as a thought processes of reaction. "The time control" following "a popular demand for the use of tear smoke before resorting to gunfire . . . It is only a matter of time lems are forced to do the same."

Sir Reginald's views on technique are interesting: "For rioting it is a weapon of use against unarmed mobs in the early stages of disorder before mass hysteria has been allowed to develop, and it must

For this retired policeman it is like an

We have the humane killer for animals;

WORKERS' INITIATIVE

commonplace for the target for the day accomplished fact as their agreement! to be reached by 4.0 p.m. The money

with an easy mind; slackers and incom- over here to help. petents being dealt with by their mates as occasion arises. Individualists do not After a year or two of cleaning up this would welcome a demonstration. In With the revolution Sade was freed 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 grew more or less spontaneously from the worker's initiative. 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).

than that. Really it is the triumph of and more goods of which we are not stock market run by thieves.

FIRMS like the Standard Motors who job over to the shop (the workers) and agreed to the five-day week and wash their hands of it. Some bosses canfind it pays handsomely, have an not see things like this as yet. Some

job, etc. Usually the gang leader is one families in the country. I can imagine | Sade became involved in his youth. He Sade's life coincided with the great civilised man the force of his primitive of the men and trusted by the others the activity! Imagine Midland Regional | had been condemned to death for the revolutionary preparations which led instincts: he had no illusions about the but there is a potential second ganger, being really ours, our own friendly latter escapade by a judge who had for finally to the Bastille on natural goodness of man, but he believed just in case! Result, no one ever worries announcers inviting helpers and reporting over money that being the ganger's job! progress. I know some chaps across the Everyone else getting on with the job Atlantic who would catch the next boat picture to ordinary engineer workers. Ithe crowds outside and shouted to them greatly bettered. To this end, he fought

> country we could then let the artist and Coventry the second Peckham Experiment and became active in the revolutionary artistscraftsmen loose and let them teach will soon be under way as one form of movement; he was President and spokesus to create beauty and appreciate it. demonstration. I have spent years painting this kind of

The Revolutionary Ideas of the Marquis de Sade

7 or 8 p.m. In discussion this is des- had control of the whole of the industry necessary, before considering Sade's work, detested him. in gangs on 'production' jobs. Gangs and Birmingham engineers an order for a fanatstic exaggeration by history of the Juliette". Les 120 Journées de Sodome" Sades' work was concerned with one vary according to size and value of the Peckham Health Centre for every 2,000 | two quite harmless incidents in which and "Aline et Valcour". This period of great objective, the desire to give back to

They smile at first and then catch on to

several of Napoleon's political opponents) and died there in 1814, after spending

July 14th, 1789. Sade was actually in that with complete economic and sexual 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 was probably unique among his contemporaries in emphasizing the necessity of a complete

AT the L.A.G.'s Sunday lecture- long been the inveterate enemy of Sade's moderantism and against the Terroristsattract the most energetic (mentally and Trade Union leaders and Communists intionary ideas of the Marquis de Sade". between regular attempts to escape. the next year; from then on he had to He introduced the subject by emphasizing Eventually, after repeated protests by face constant police persecution, and in at all in view of the conspiracy of silence sentence quashed; but, though exonerated, pamphlet attacking Napoleon. By the surrounding his work and the myth of he was still kept imprisoned through the First Consul's order he was confined to earned being equal to others working till I am convinced that if the engineers his being a monster of cruelty. It was influence of his mother-in-law, who a lunatic asylum (a fate meted out to cribed as 'Leisure Incentive in Industry'. and could decide what to make they to dispel this 'monster' legend, and this Then followed twelve years in prison, would be a vital force in changing to a | could be done easily by giving the during which time Sade wrote the greater Engineers in the Midlands often work free society. Imagine giving Coventry salient facts of his life, showing first the part of his books, "Justine" and prisons.

to the idea. A few cannot visualise but | the prisoners.

"Why Go In For Politics"? (Continued from page 2)

known to return to work after leaving work and even in 'voluntary association' the State but we are concerned with our social revolution based on essentially dangered the capitalist system?

if as was probably the case, my friend dining in luxury, so that people can shake As for those who make a living out society he anticipated Max Stirner and

perts and usually bitterly opposed by politics; he always succumbs to the such as trade unions and insurance own good, and our remedy for the concompany directorships of his more recent societies which we are not compelled to dition of the State and Government is and the idea of property, decentralization colleagues) but what chance would a join; we are forced to join the armed abolition. Those who so altruistically of the social organisms, sexual equality politician have if he had directly en- forces and lay down our lives in obscure work for reform and better government and educational reform. He could, in corners of the world where we are would do better in looking after their own fact, be considered as the first reasoned As Anarchists, therefore, we have no totally unwanted, for the greater glory personal interests which involve doing socialist. In his attempt to reconcile the intention of 'going in for politics', but of the Foreign Ministers meeting and away with politics altogether.

man of the famous 'Section des Picques'

and led an unceasing struggle for

meant by that phrase, why take an in- their heads proudly and say what a strong of government, we may hope that for the 19th century anarchist philosophers. terest in politics, we are obliged to take policy they have; we are forced to pay general good of the community they may In certain respects—as in his ideas on an interest in politics because the poli- tribute by taxation to the petty splen- turn now to comparatively more honest | sexual morality—he went far beyond even ticians appear to be so damned interested dours of politicians and titled nit-wits; means of making a living recognised in | the most 'advanced' social thinkers of the Some may say this is compromising in us. They want to enslave us for work, and our livelihood depends not on our capitalist society, such as cheating insurwith Capitalism but there is more to it for more and more production, for more own efforts but on the fluctuations of a ance companies or running notorious It was most desirable that, after more houses, but we look forward to a system than a century of enforced silence, Sades' co-operation, as people have learnt to allowed to enjoy the benefit; they want We are certainly interested in these of society in which government and voice should be increasingly heard in the work together without compulsion. I to control our lives from the cradle to affairs, but it is to ABOLISH them. capitalism have ben abolished, and such future. For, in Sade's own words: "I have known managements to hand the the grave, in sickness and in health, in We are not worrying about the good of gentlemen learn how to work. A. M. want equality, I only preach that."

RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY HOMES OR HOVELS? ANARCHISM AND MORALITY WHAT IS ANARCHISM?

ELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS (Chosen by Herbert Read) Errico Malatesta: OTE WHAT FOR?

layers of the biophysic structure . . . In REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 3d. Herbert Read: THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM 1/-THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN 1/-SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL

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in our times which creates fascist parties, political practice," etc. Finally "the the powers that be for wars. This is horribly. To emphasize this fault of the and not vice versa... Marxist sociology socially irresponsible individual is the in- shifting the responsibility. The blame for masses, to give them full responsibility. (and, it must be stated, much anarchist dividual absorbed in sexual conflicts." war belongs only and alone to the same means taking them seriously. On the sociology-G.V.), out of its ignorance of If you think that is exaggerated just masses of people who have all the means other hand, to pity the masses as a poor mass psychology, contrasted the 'bourgeois' consider a moment and you must agree it of preventing wars. The same masses of victim means treating them like a helpless people who-partly through indolent child. The first is the attitude of the A certain character structure is not But all this does not mean that the passivity, partly through their active be- genuine fighter for freedom, the latter 15th February, 1947 Man as "--ist"

more a return to the magazine-type format under which War Commentary was

study of economics is one thing; that of the insidious influence of the state and ities will be met by their solidarity. Widely read than it is at present. I would I look forward to the time when Freedom ethics another. If economics is to be organized religion on the individual. I I have one suggestion to make, and it suggest that his broadcast talk "Neither will be a weekly, for it fulfils for many placed on a scientific footing it cannot am pleased that a circulation drive has covers a subject which they can concern itself with welfare. The econo- been launched, and I wish you all success increase in importance, namely the cancer- Way" be reproduced in leastet form for truth. Carry on the great work mist is not concerned with ends, only in your new venture. I was delighted to ous influence of the Vatican on humanity. mass distribution. means. The end is placed before him by see that the paper has been enlarged and An article appeared in Freedom some I enclose herewith a contribution to the prevail. 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 DEAR COMRADE, moralist, in which case he may question the desirability of the end. But it is im- I should feel materially happier about the economist cannot be attacked for | if he had not tried to depict the case of appearing to be devoid of feelings towards | an offence against a 16-year-old girl in "natives". No scientist, as scientist, is such singularly misleading colours. Much concerned with the morality of his re- as I approve of healthy sexual freedom

Constructive Criticism

although I should have welcomed still

DEAR COMRADES,

DEAR COMRADES,

I like the last two copies of Freedom very much, especially the items of real correspondent envisages.

throughout the late war, and now that anything resembling genuine love and have made a better case if he had con- Let me say here that I am in full reform school.)

DEAR COMRADES.

BEGINNING OF

STAKANOVISM?

work a shift in both pits.

particular. It is not a form of sexual freedom (ask a prostitute how far she regards herself as "free", and you will not find her enthusiastic). A reasonable is based. and stateless society would go a long way to remove it, and a withdrawal of sexual conduct from the field of supernatural morality would go even further, but in any conceives the chief purpose of my brief that still more far reaching results, and news, which we never seem to get enough I wish that some of the people who society the practice of sexual intercourse article, "Progress in Sexual Ideas" in in far greater frequency, are produced of in progressive papers. Personally, I theorise about sex had to deal with the for gain is bound to be debasing to the 18th Jan. issue of Freedom. I was by the general practice of adolescent think the articles of pure theory should mess which conduct of this kind produces, individual. Moreover. like any other mainly concerned to show how the law continence and the guilty fear of sex be cut down to a minimum, and possibly in the medical field. We are perfectly sort of irresponsibility, sexual license, underwrites reactionary sexual attitudes, which the law seeks to enforce. As issued in pamphlet form. Above all, the well aware that most of the effects of which no anarchist ever advocated, creates and the nature of the particular case I stated in my article, "every thinking workers don't want to be preached to. I such tangles on the personal happiness of personal problems both for the partishould like to see more fiction (and history the participants are due to the attitude of cipants and for the children produced, in law a parent is responsible for inwhen its interesting)—satire and drama, society, and ninety per cent. of the irres- which are psychically inevitable even in sisting that his or her children remain (I might have said the majority) of and also cartoons. These are the greatest ponsible conduct to defective social confree societies. Adult sexuality, as opposed sexually continent at least till the age marriages from the start, and lays the weapons of Progress. There are many sciousness derived from that society, but to mere high jinks, is bound to be res- of 16. I do not think I depicted the foundation for much ill-health in later novels and plays that could be serialized | it seems rather a pill to swallow that se- ponsible, if only because the high-jinks in Freedom, and I think these would un- duction by someone she had never pre- party grossly overrate the efficiency of leading colours", for in the reports have added for men also. The general doubtedly help to widen the basis of the viously met is the ideal introduction to contraception, and to talk of the children available to me there was no suggestion production of sex-guilt feelings is far appreciation of anarchism. E.W.L. adult sexuality for a sixteen-year-old girl, incidental to such non-erotic unions being of pressure being brought on the child more harmful than individual instances

SEATS OF THE MIGHTY REGAL POETRY

A PSYCHOGAL-

VANOMETER,

loosely called a "Lie

Detector," was used

by some of Britain's

gists in the Pavilion

PLAYING WITH FIRE

The Roman Catholic Church and the of revolutionary fervour of its writers and Modern Age, and I would suggest that readers remains undimmed we shall, in from time to time vigorous attacks on time, see a widely read paper and an inthe Vatican be published not only in creasing number of people who realise pamphlet form but in Freedom as well. that Anarchism is fundamentally the only As far as Fredom Press publications are constructive philosophy on which to base

concerned I should like to se more of a really useful and happy life. As one 'peace" is with us again, the constructive I am sure that in its present form an Herbert Read's writings available. His who is so convinced, I extend to you all One small criticism of G.V.'s Land message of Anarchism is a masterly my heartiest best wishes for the future, Notes in Freedom dated 18/1/47. The increasing number of people, who realize read it, and the increasing financial liabil- exposition and deserves to be even more in which so much can be accomplished.

weeks ago on the same subject in the form Press Fund. I honestly believe that if of a review of F. A. Ridley's pamphlet kept at its present level and if the light

activity of any kind. There is another

I would like briefly to touch on. It is

doubtless true that unsatisfactory and

disillusioning sexual experiences can

and I fully agree that the sex-negative

attitude of society bears the major

share of responsibility for bad results in

produce "a mess in the medical field".

Alex Comfort on "Progress in Sexual Ideas"

It is simply not his for the adolescent, this wasn't an example province. It is the province of the of it, and much as anarchism rejects the D. E. S. 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

of evidence that intercourse took place psychopaediatric bosh.

a while now and I should like to express is frequently kept out of the witness-box punishment of the mother and the man, mains as I stated it that "the fact that remains true that any potential damage to you my gratitude for not only keeping in these proceedings in a rather doubtfully penalties for which Stead and the other a girl under sixteen should engage in will be made actual, or actual damage it on such a high literary level, but its effective attempt to prevent more psychical reformers worked and went to jail, are sexual behaviour is regarded by the legal consequences, revolutionary tone has been maintained damage). If this had been the case where pitifully misdirected. "Anarchist" would as a punishable wrong."

genuine mutual respect had been involved fined himself to blaming coercive society agreement with Dr. Comfort's remarks I should be more in agreement with your for the occurrence of such messes, and distinguishing between responsible sexcorrespondent, but on the published evi- for its inhumanity towards the victim; ual life and sex licence. But my article and to the advocacy of that freedom based was directed to show the law's bearing Prostitution is one of the ugliest prices on a communal sense of responsibility in on the question of adolescent sexual sexual, which alone makes normal and point in Dr. Comfort's criticism that complete sexual health possible. As it represent the ideas on which this freedom

(Anarchist writes: Dr. Comfort mis- individual cases. But I venture to think

case in question in 'singularly mis- life for women." And again, I might particularly in view of a considerable body brought up by the community is to talk in question, nor that the seduction was of adolescent sexual disillusionment. more or less enforced by a stranger. And in this particular case, if the facts I have subscribed to Freedom for quite under pressure by the parent. (The child While the approved school and the But even if this were so, the fact re- are as stated by Dr. Comfort, it still and the being "taken care of" in a

THE DIFFICULTIES OF

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

has already arrived. According to the Shell Fish (Maximum Prices) Order, 1944, the price of crawfish as 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

News Chronicle, 28/1/47.

Parachutes for all on board are fitted to the four Vickers Viking aircraft of the King's Flight.

penny greeting cards. This is the stanza: Most gracious Sovereign, leaving England's shore To bind your peoples by a link the

That at your going happy fortunes fall, operated by the three British nationalised That on your journey blessed stars

And fair winds company your wished and the canopies and packs form a part The Poet Laureate, whose office chutes themselves are not, therefore,

were taken to hospital with chest short, is a delicate instrument which paid £97 a year out of the King's Civil after thrusting his arms through the registers moment-to-moment emoitional List. The sum is made up of £70 emolu-The defence has notified the Court that responses by means of a shifting spot of ment, and £27 in lieu of a butt of sack. general, Manchuria, China, Russia, The "victim" has a metal clip fastened Pacific War and evidence adduced on to his hand and connected to the P.G.R. ONE MAN STRIKE

As his emotions fluctuate, they are re- The Army and Navy are heavily en-

dowing all forms of scientific research The P.G.R. used was the only one in at American Universities. World-famous Britain, and yesterday I sat in the Pavilion mathematician Norbert Weiner, of Har- THEIR'S NOT TO and watched the film with the P.G.R. vard, has gone on strike to keep his work from the hands of "irresponsible REASON WHY The test showed that I responded well militarists."

News Review, 23/2/47.

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. had slashed his script so drastically that means more profit for the employer. "Forms will be as simple as possible, ought to be said. He naturally refused earns £5,000 a year pays a good deal more and I am prepared to lengthen the period to accept the cuts. The broadcast was that a day's wage every week in income

Reynolds News, 2/2/47.

It is expected that in view of recent

accidents this lead given by the King's Flight will produce an urgent demand for Deign to accept, from one, the hopes the fitting of parachutes as standard to all aircraft working on the lines

can be jettisoned in an emergency. Manchester Guardian, 29/1/47.

The workers Everything was arranged. Then, when argue that the Government secure in Aung San went along to give the broad- income tax an amount equal to a day's cast, he found that the B.B.C. censors pay a week, and increased production it no longer conveyed what he thought The T.U.C. say that an employer who

AN ANALYSIS OF FASCISM THE MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF According to Reich himself, his "sex- are no characterological class distinctions work on the human character structure

FASCISM by WILLIAM REICH. (Organe economic sociology was born out of the biophysical depth of human gives added support to the anarchist con-Institute Press, New York, 27/-).

survey of this book within the space of mined by instinctual and socio-economic this article. The notes I made while processes . . . Sex-economic sociology reading the book would provide enough material for a pamphlet. There is so made psychoanalysis forget the social refer to, so much that is, or at least seems to me, so important for an understanding of the sociological problem of modern man, that it is extremely diffia reasonably accurate summary of the book-which I take it is what a reviewer is meant to do. Aware from the start that own satisfaction, I am nevertheless committed to making the attempt; so here

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WILLIAM GODWIN A Biographical Study by THE COMFORTS OF UNREASON Crawshay-Williams

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attempts to harmonize the depth psycho- structure." TRANKLY, I do not feel capable of logy of Freud with the economic theory of Marx. "Human existence is deterdissolves that fatal contradiction which factor and made Marxism forget the

this fact, one is compelled in all honesty of the socio-economic with the sexual to acknowledge that it is historically an incontrovertible fact."

Always the workers, having overthrown

one tyranny, have permitted another yranny to take its place. Russia, of example of this process, and we can all think of other examples. The tyranny, new and unique in many of its aspects, which afflicts the contemporary world is known as fascism or, more generally, totalitarianism. According to orthodox Marxism, and also according to some unwilling majority. It has been claimed, duction of society, takes place in the first All that which is genuinely revolutionary, the last and most reactionary form of four or five years of life, and in the all genuine art and science stems from the capitalism. This is a hopelessly simpli- authoritarian family. The church only natural biological nucleus." fied and unsatisfactory explanation, and continues the function later on. In this in one important aspect manifestly in- way the authoritarian state develops its Man Is Capable Of Freedom order cannot be imposed on a people structure and ideology." And he quotes "nothing new has to be created; all that unless it fulfils a deep and powerful need from Hitler's Mein Programm (1932)" has to be done is to eliminate the in their individual psychological make-up, "The highest task, therefore, is that of obstacles which stand in the way of the fact that fascism is essentially a popular, The ultimate goal of a truly organic and strictest sense of the word. So is the mass movement. "Fascism," says Reich, logical development must always be the natural growth of society. It regulates "is only the politically organized expres- formation of a family. It is the smallest itself and needs no legislation or

What Is The Appeal Of

fascism acceptable? First and foremost, says Reich, suppressed, and therefore, The central theme of the book, the neurotic sexuality. "The formation of solve, is I think, in his own words, this: through the anchoring of sexual inhibition I cannot succeed in this task, even to my the peace and freedom which they gained we know it. "Character-analytic investiin bloody struggles." Whether or not one gation of people of any age, nationality or agrees with the reasons Reich gives for social stratum, show that the interlacing



unless, in other words, it has their passive the founding of a family. The final natural social functions . . . the growth structure, a character structure which has structure of the state." Again and again Man is, then, capable of freedom. nothing to do with this or that race, Reich emphasizes this intimate connection is his natural condition. But meanwhile, nation or party but which is general and between compulsive—as opposed to while we struggle, on however small a international. In this characterological natural, self-regulated-sexual morality scale, "to eliminate the obstacles which tude of man in authoritarian society, indicate. "The social function of sexual that "the idealisation as well as the commechanistic-mystical view of life. It is ideology and the mass psychology of to ever new disasters . . . Under the the mechanistic-mystical character of man Fascism," "Some problems of sex- influence of politicos, the masses blame

with the 'proletarian'. This is erroneous. is basically true. working people in all professions. There On the contrary, Reich's psychological from which they themselves suffer most

tention that man is fundamentally cooperative and potentially capable of character," says Reich, "has taught me Peter Kropotkin have to take into account three different the superficial layer the average individual s restrained, polite, compassionate and onscientious. There would be no social

tragedy of the animal, man, if this superficial layer were 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 William Godwin: second, intermediary, character layer consisting of cruel, sadistic, lascivious, predatory and envious impulses. This is total of 'the secondary impulses'. Orgone biophysics have shown that the Freudian the human structure, is a secondary result of the repression of the primary biological impulses. If one penetrates through this A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM able social conditions, is an honest, industrious, co-operative animal, capable Gaston Leval: cunning and ruthless minority on an structure, as well as the structural repro- of love and also of rational hatred .

limited to the capitalist, but pervades the goal of human freedom is an illusion. haviour-make possible the catastrophes is the attitude of the politico."

George Woodcock: ANARCHY OR CHAOS 2/6, Cloth 4/6

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ILL-HEALTH, POVERTY AND THE

THE MARCH TO DEATH SENERAL IDEA OF THE REVOLUTION

Latest in prefabricated movie houses During the week-end I had a chat with sucked away by air currents as you enter. Queen with a large parcel of fireworks Seahouses, Northumberland, while head-

recorded 4,000,000 words.

The secretarial and defence staff

During the hearings the former Foreign

There has been heavy buying of the

America. He has been there several

can link up with the Americans. One

guess is that the huge Shell selling organ-

Americans are scrambling for in the

it will divide the case into six phases: light on a screen.

News Chronicle, 28/1/47. corded on a graph.

What puzzles the City is where Shell BUREAUCRATIC

filler of East Walbottle Colliery, Northumberland, has been challenged. He set up a record by filling 50 tencwt. tubs in 7½ hours. Jim (Chips) Smith, of Newsham Colliery, Northum-American Diary, News Chronicle, 3/2/47. berland, says he can beat it. Workmates have backed each man for £20, each to

Daily Express, 27/1/47. GOOD GOD! WHAT

ployers, Hayes (Middlesex) Council, that examined by ten doctors and medical case against 26 Class "A" Jap war crimes Philadelphia mansion of the late Eva students, including an American and a defendants the court reporters here have Stotesbury yesterday for the auction of late Laureate, Robert Bridges: "King's

They told Mr. Green he had nothing The trial of Tojo and his companions And shocked citizens were too timid to In to-day's Times I find his successor, wrong with his appendix, but was suffer- has been going on since last May. It venture into the bidding when the Mr. John Masefield, chirping like the ing from tubercular stomach, and that if is expected that the defence will take at auctioneer reached the lots thus listed in chorus in the pantomime. he took things easily he would get better. least another six weeks. When their report has been sent to his Eleven judges, 50 prosecution attorneys Eighteen-carat gold lavatory seats. doctor, Mr. Green is going to put it before and 23 U.S. defence lawyers have attended

the hearings, at which 102 witnesses SUPER-EMOTION Mr. Green said at his home in Lime- appeared personally, and affidavits from grove, Hayes, yesterday: "I am certainly another 1,200 witnesses and details from DEFINED not going to be cut open for nothing. 1,100 documents have been presented. "The Council want to put me on heavy The language difficulty has lengthened work and I am not fit for it. I think the proceedings, though there is a lanthey have lighter jobs." guage and clerical staff of 104 Allied

jobs vacant. An official said no statement

The Council say they have not such nationals and 154 Japanese.

could be made until Mr. Green's report total a further 363.

Sunday Express, 2/2/47. Minister, Yosuke Matsuoka, died of con-So the time is now approaching when Naval General Staff, died of pneumonia, the State, in its wisdom, has the and Dr. Shumei Okawa, leader of the members of the audience while watching Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere the much-discussed film "The Outlaw." as a condition of his employment.

be to make miners happier and healthier behalf of the accused individually.

was announced by the National Coal

Board last night. He is Dr. Cuthbert Leslie Cope, 43-year MORE OIL INTRIGUES the £54,000,000 "Shell" Transport and Trading Company is negotiating a big oil into Human Problems. deal with the Americans. Last night Dr. Cope told me: "I am The £1 Ordinary shares have

risen 11s. 3d. during the week, adding £14,000,000 to the stock market valuation as happy as possible. Every aspect of his of the business, making it £155,500,000. day-to-day life will be studied. shares—much of it by Americans. least 50,000 shares were bought yesterday Mr. G. Leigh-Jones, a managing director of the company, is now in

on a new form of lighting for his work. weeks.

All matters will be discussed by a panel

We wonder how many persons on the "panel of experts" have any actual Middle East. experience of mining.

Latest in horror: Luminum painted for use on the Vanguard during her ing for Britain in a motor-boat from men's ties that shine out in the dark with voyage to South Africa. The Queen is a Sweden 13 weeks ago, have been given pictures of glamour girls or what you real enthusiast about fireworks, and has "temporary permission" to land by the loved them since her childhood. Daily Disptach, 27/1/47.

the former socialite's furniture.

the catalogue:

clip attached to my hand.

v Tchaikowsky.

Daily Express, 25/1/47. months."-Mr. J. W. Belcher, M.P.

to what might be called the "high spots"

of the film, which included shots of the

that the sequences showing Miss Russell

do not register particularly high emotional

responses, except when they are accom-

panied by surges of the background music

Tchaikowsky equals super-emotion.

It was finally agreed that Russell plus

Sunday Dispatch, 26/1/47.

Daily Herald, 28/1/47.

Canary Won't Chirp"

CONCESSION

Through the Press

To commemorate the Royal Family's departure for South Africa, the Laureate Daily Mirror, 26/11/46. has delivered himself of six lines, the metre of which is an irresistible reminder

of the closing moments of "Cinderella" KING or the felicitations we used to find on six-

The parachutes are of the Irvin pattern of upholstery of the chairs. The paraplan, went mad in court. Two others The Psychogalvanometer, or P.G.R. for descends from that of Court Jester, is visible. The harness is arranged so that 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 main door of the aircraft

From the T.U.C. went an urgent appeal to all members not to allow the thought that harder work means more profit for the employers to deter their production

Daily Graphic, 28/1/47.

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 16 18 20 21 22 23 24 25 28 27 28 28 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