teach the doctrines of democracy as laid we only interpret it according to the ideas, evident. fulfil his functions in the A.E.C.

of army life. Any true democracy in the militarism. army is impossible, and to teach it in army education lectures is just about on a par mocracy' by Molotov and Tito. Communists and militarists—there is not much to choose between them when it comes to using the word 'democracy' to mean its

The real reason for the refusal t appoint Private S. would seem to be much

meetinas and

LIVERPOOL MEETING.

MAT KAVANAGH COOPERS HALL, Shaw Street, Islington, LIVERPOOL SUNDAY, 16th March at 7.30 p.m.

Hear the Anarchist case for WORKERS' CONTROL! Solidarity with Charlie Martinson!

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUP (Lancashire) PUBLIC LECTURES in CHORLEY at the ODDFELLOWS' ROOMS, 9, Cunliffe Street, Chorley at 6.45 p.m.

Sun. March 9th Mat Kavanagh Those with a strong financial backing THE WORKER AND NATIONALISATION Descriptive leaflets from:-U.A.G., II, Ribblesdale Place, Chorley

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP Bill Mansbrid Tito's Aims in Trieste Bert Smith placed in the position of accepting MARCH 16th. God and the State Laurie Hislam

The Freedom Defence Committee and Civil Liberty To-day Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. at 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.I Admission Free. Questions invited

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to the Army Education Corps shows very tend. Military life is based, not on prin- meal, consisting of "about three slices of pect because Russia is the potential enemy. their sweet rations.

Women In Prison

House of Commons by Mrs. Ayrton

Gould and other women M.P.'s, bring

prison. The facts speak for themselves

but it should be protested that the bad

merely selects a women's prison and does

Our regular readers will know already

Mrs. Gould's protest. They were that

from four in the afternoon until six the

next morning the prisoners in Holloway

receive no food, and that the majority of

the prisoners are then locked-up from

French Strikes

(Continued from page 1)

with the strikers when they tried to

them had to be taken to hospital.

The Communists got into trouble

inhumanity of the whole prison system.

of Commons, and Bellenger put forward the democracy as an excuse for acts of army of cocoa at 6.30". To those who know functions of A.E.C. instructors was to A genuinely democratic spirit—even if nature of such a 'concession' will be

down in that incredible series of pamph- of nineteenth-century liberals like Mill- These are the kind of things which the lets, "The British Way and Purpose", and would allow freedom of discussion by all Labour Government is willing to do for prisoners, and such an attitude gives us a opinions. But Mr. Bellenger's army All this, of course, is the most patent Purpose". So a Communist is kept out fact that Labour Home Secretaries have pletely. For while men are as subject t spected that cruelty and tyranny can be

> forward once again the whole question of Have you received a Renewal Reminder? prisoners have to live, for what was said

> > When Renewing your Subscription why not order 2 copies and pass one on to a friend? (Special rates for 2) copies: 5/6 for 6 months,

4.30 until six. Thus they go for fourteen hours without food, and for 131 hours are kept in what is virtually solitary con-

George Woodcock: ANARCHY OR CHAOS 2/6, Cloth 4/6 NEW LIFE TO THE LAND RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY HOMES OR HOVELS? ANARCHISM AND MORALITY WHAT IS ANARCHISM? L'Humanité, their daily paper. Six Peter Kropotkin. THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE Communists were injured, and one of This strike will seriously affect (Chosen by Herbert Read) Errico Malatesta: VOTE WHAT FOR?

many newspapers and magazines. will be able to survive more easily than the others. I talked to some Herbert Read: proof-readers who, while approving the strike as the only means of obtain-William Godwin: ing better wages, expressed their con-SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL newspapers. It is rumoured that one of the best dailies, Combat, in-THE KRONDSTADT REVOLT dependent left-wing newspaper, is in great financial difficulties and may be

American controlled capital or disappearing altogether. However unpleasant these consider-John Hewetson: ations may be, it is difficult to see how newspaper workers could obtain better wages other than by striking. The argument that they earn better wages than most other workers cannot be levelled against them either. If by their militancy they can obtain better

and agitate also for better wages. The two unions which are at present waging war on the Governments policy of freezing wages-the Newspaper Printers' Union and the Union of Public Employees, have escaped from Communist control. The C.P. therefore watches their activities with mixed feelings-if the strikers are victorious other unions will follow their example, and in doing so will have to free themselves from the discipline which the Party imposes upon them, or the latter will have, once again, to change its line.

working-class will learn their lesson

The recent discussion on appointments less high-handed than the War Office con- finement. The inadequacy of the last

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN

WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA Alexander Berkman: A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM

ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI ILL-HEALTH, POVERTY AND THE Cloth 2/6, Paper 1/-THE LIFE WE LIVE, THE DEATH

SENERAL IDEA OF THE REVOLUTI IN THE 19th CENTURY Cloth 5/ THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE MODERN AGE THE STRUGGLE IN THE FACTORY 3d. THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT 6d. THE FRENCH COOKS SYNDICATE 3d.



"MY PEOPLE"

International Anarchist Conference

We shall give in the next issue a

acquainted with the work of their

comrades in other countries. Both the

Union of Anarchist Groups and

DOCKERS AND THE

"QUEEN ELIZABETH"

to unload luggage from the Queen

Elizabeth, after being ordered to leave

timber, some had been loading export

goods and, in the opinions of these

workers, it was much more important to

carry on with these jobs than to carry

bags for the 2,000 wealthy passengers from

Other stevedores in the docks, with the

spirit of solidarity associated with dockers,

joined in, and soon there were no less

than 1,000 workers on strike. The bag-

gage was carried down the gangways by

the stewards while, as usual, the local

Southampton showed their sense of res-

ponsibility to the community as a whole,

relegating luxury travel for the rich to the

STRIKE FOR DANGER

Another successful lightning strike was

staged by Southampton dockers when they

stopped unloading smouldering bags of

sunflower seeds. Firemen were fighting

pany's cargo-passenger liner India, and

The men went back on accepting

£2 10s, for the day shift, £3 5s, for the

night shift, plus a bonus payment.

getting the men back to work.

non-priority position it deserves

. & G.W.U. official thought only of

Freedom Press had sent delegates.

ON the 12th, 13th and 14th Feb. a Congress with the shortest possible a Conference of European anar- delay. chists was held in Paris. Its aim was to prepare an International Anarchist fuller report of the Conference, which Congress which would decide if it showed a truly international spirit and possible to form an Anarchist allowed the delegates to get better

The Conference had been called by the Committee of Initiative for the preparation of the Congress, which has been working in Paris during the past year to establish closer contacts between the anarchist groups and derations of various countries.

Delegates were present from Spain, Italy, France, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Duchess of Leinster searching for her 11 |- for 12 months). Britain and Belgium. Messages were baggage on the quayside at Southampton. sent by Dutch, German and Swedish comrades. All those present agreed on the need to establish strong between the various European anarchist groups, and groups and organisations in other parts of the world. To this end it was necessary to organise

£4,000 FREE OF TAX FOR ATTLEE!

position of Prime Minister were not enough, the Chancellor of the Exchequer Dalton, announced in the House of Comarrangement, £4,000 of Attlee's salary to be treated as "expenses allowance that is, no Income Tax is payable on it which means a gain of £3,200 over the previous arrangement. To justify this step, Dalton "explained" that the Prime Minister's salary was raised in 1937 from £5,000 to 10,000, but since then this increase has been cancelled out by taxation gether with Ernie Bevin's house renovations, and "Socialist" Mayors getting

it must be quite obvious what "Socialism" means. You working men, when you salvage work was held up for over an demand a rise of 6d. or 1/- an hour, hour while a union official negotiated with think on these things, and when They the company for a danger rate of £3 per tell you that the country can't afford it, day. you'll know what answer to give. Once more, it is a case of "Profits" for the Parasites, sacrifices for the Suckers."

and civilian life.

light in an otherwise very dark picture. Our

paper has so far met with only slight res-

"Government Blood Money"

Normally we would not make special ponse. We therefore ask all comrades who comment if £50 were contributed to the approve our work to do something concrete Press Fund by an individual because it might in extending our sphere of activities. Or not involve the donor in as much sacrifice are anarchists also suffering from the postas a worker contributing a half-crown. But war apathy and indifference which is on this occasion we must refer to the affecting the Left? Anonymous contribution of £54 odd included in the Press Fund list below, because it comes from a soldier who is being demobilised and who tells us that he has a

Press Fund Abbassia: A.M. 5/-: London: N. £5/0/0: "conscientious objection" to accepting his Addlestone. C.S. 5/-; Spokane: R.F.W. 9/10, gratuity for his personal use, and so he R.B. 4/11, C.M. 9/10; London: T.S. 5/-: passes on this "Government blood money" Liverpool: H.S. 11/6; Haselmere: H.B. 5/-; to help "Freedom" to carry on its struggle London: P.W. 5/-; London: C.S. 2/6; New against Nationalism, Capitalism and War. York: S.H.P. 1/8; Carnoustie: A.C. 4/-: His gesture is one that deserves our special S. Francisco: C.S. £1/17/0: London: Anon thanks because he, no less than "Freedom £54/11/9; Dagenham: F.C.S. 1/1; London: Press" needs money to carry on, and yet Anon 5/-: Nuneaton: H.W. 12/6: Tamworths he is able to resist the very real temptation V.E.R. 5/-; New Earswick: H.A.A. 10/-; of retaining the gratuity to tide him over Haverford West: E.M. 6d. the period of rehabilitation between Army

Our young comrade's gesture is a ray of Previously acknowledged appeal "Hard Facts" in the last issue of the

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8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 18 17 18 18 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

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The Strange Case of Charlie Martinson p. 3 Oscar Wilde

Political Discrimination in Army p. 8 Vol. 8 No. 5 8th March, 1947

"Consider the origin of all fortunes, whether arising out of commerce, finance, manufactures, or the land. Everywhere you will find that the wealth of the wealthy springs from the poverty of the poor." KROPOTKIN.

14290

CAPITALISM—NOT ANARCHISM—MEANS

The crisis of the past week, with its cutting down of industrial production and domestic heating, its throwing into temporary unemployment of more than two million men, its reintroduction of the black-out and its accentuation of the scarcity in many essential goods, its cutting down of wireless programmes and suspension of periodicals (Freedom appears a week late this issue because of this), is due to a number of causes. Paris clearly only the somewhat terrifying symptom of a really deepseated state of social disorder. When one considers that even during the worst days of the war, when man and materials were diverted to military needs, there was no fuel crisis of this magnitude, the situation appears all the more serious and indicative of some deepseated faults in the present functioning of society.

As we said in our last issue, it is useless to blame the weather, the miners or the consumers. It is equally useless to blame previous governments, or a capitalist plot. The Labour government have surely been in power long enough to take responsibility for a crisis that happens during the second year of their regime, while the capitalist plot idea rather falls to the ground when one considers that the industry in which the crisis first became evident is no longer in the hands of the capitalists, but is controlled by the representatives of the Labour Government.

The three most important contributory factors to the crisis were, firstly, the failure of state control of industry to provide an efficient system of production and distribution, secondly, that bogey favoured of Labour leaders as an excuse for their shortcomings, the "manpower problem", and lastly, sheer incompetence and muddle in government departments.

Government Incompetence

The incompetence factor would seem to be at the basis of the action of the government in ordering the drastic electricity. The total saving in coal consumption from the beginning of the restrictions to the 25th February, was 420,000 tons. To the end of the restrictions it will probably be less than double this-or no more and probably less than 800,000 tons. But during one week in February alone the miners produced more than four million tons of coal. So, because stocks had got so low that it was necessary to save a fifth of a week's production, two million people were put out of work and the whole economy of the country has been disorganised ! The failure of state control of in

dustry to provide any better results than laissez faire capitalism is quite evident in this crisis. It must be remembered that, not merely have the mines been nationalised for the past two months but they have also been subject to a fairly strict control during the war. including rigid control of labour. The result, however, has not been to increase efficiency; on the contrary, the pro duction of the mines has fallen steadily, and the measures taken by the state whether as owner or merely controller of the mines, have not been such as to themselves. In fact, nationalisation is having a negative effect, because the men are beginning to realise that for them it means no difference, since the increase the confidence of the miners them it means no difference, since the same bosses stay and the sam conditions prevail.

The manpower problem can be conmining in particular, and as it affects industry as a whole. In the mining promises from the Government has ment on the 22nd February would be of detention to a C.O. is against the deindustry, it takes the form partly of a been shown by the fact that up to eligible for the same concessions as clared War Office policy, which has reluctance of men to become miners, the 19th February, according to a those who surrendered subsequently. previously stated that a C.O. shall be and partly of a rate of absenteeism which still remains very high. Mining statement made in the House of Com- But he did not say anything definite is an unpleasant and dangerous form of mons by A. V. Alexander on that about reducing sentences where these appeal tribunal, and this is the first work, and, in addition to this, the miners have always been a neglected and badly treated section of labour, who have had to fight hard for all they could get. Even now, after several wartime increases, the wages rate for miners remains substantially below the national average wage.

Give The Miners Better

In order to win the miners the government is proposing to make a sentences they can expect to be given, number of unimportant concessions, and the treatment of the 126 men such as improving housing—a proposal until the fairly distant future-and providing nylon stockings for miners' wives as the sentences appear to have been -who will not be able to afford them in awarded on the most capricious basis, any case on the present miners' wages. in that they have varied from one day All these proposals are substitutes for the only real remedy, which is to increase the miners' wages, and give them | fears that he will get two years, which better working conditions. However, is little more than he would expect to although the government have been in get if he were arrested in the normal full control of the mines for more than two months, they have made no visible effort to make these fundamental recti-

A number of solutions are offered for

ELEMENTARY HUMAN SOLIDARITY

Victor Gollancz in his book "In Darkest Germany" writes: "Bits of dirty rag: a thin

the uppers-these were common form. Then there were the children hobbling painfully

or father's shoes: and, in one class, three children completely barefooted."

The London Anarchist Group has already sent many parcels of food and clothes

had actually given themselves up, this

in spite of the fact that later govern-

ment announcements had tried to

themselves up is clearly the un-

already sentenced does not seem likely

to give them any greater confidence,

to two years. Naturally, each deserter

course of routine procedure.

n shoes borrowed from a younger brother: and children slopping about in their mother's

fications. Instead, they have muddled than good by closing down industry and unemployment at the same time as a thus creating a whole series of new economic problems.

The general lack of labour in industry back because of bad wages and poor conditions. But the fact remains that there is a large labour shortage, which is caused very largely by the fact that since the war nearly a quarter of the working population has stayed in almost wholly non-productive employments cluding the forces, munitions, and swollen government services. Another contributory factor is the failure, which persisted even during the high-pressur scientific attention to the possibilities of saving labour in industry by the wider application of machinery.

of them at present is that we should

The relative failure of the attempt Defence stated in his speech on the according to English common law

themselves up in exchange for vague given themselves up before his state-

day, only 392 deserters, or somewhat had been outrageous, or compensating time in two and a half years that any

make the offer to deserters appear in regarded as a deserter. Harrison is a this, as the Appellate Tribunal had

much more rosy colours. The main member of the I.L.P., and registered as already admitted that Harrison had an

reason why more men have not given conscientious objector. He appeared be- objection by granting him Non-combatant

registered for Non-combatant services. In

Pioneer Corps, but refused to report, and

May, 1941, he was called up for the

fore the Appellate Tribunal and was service.

lack of workers in Britain. This proposal is being pushed by Tories and French Strikes Tory newspapers, who obviously feel that they can be used as a large pool | DURING the last few weeks France depress the general level of industri

Foreign Labour Because they realise this possibility, the British trade unionists are opposed to importing foreign workers. Clearly, they distrust even the Labour government, which they fear will allow the dilution to be used against the very Three hundred thousand members of workers who elected it to power. The the Federation of Personnel of the importation of foreign workers is only practicable if it is done with a guarante that they will receive the same wages one-day demonstration to protest as British workers, and it is unlikely if against inadequate salaries. the industrialists will agree to this. An even better alternative would be to give manufacturing the goods they would otherwise import from England. But that would mean so direct an attack on capitalist interests that it is not possible

under the present system. abroad which sap our standards here. are hundreds of thousands of British | more price cuts are foreseen. troops, who are certainly not wanted by the people of those countries, and whose only reason for being there is to protect | which began on the 14th February, is imperialist interests. If these men came also for an increase in wages, in spite back, and if the munitions industry were of the fact that printing workers are abolished, there would be enough men set free to end the present industrial

once again that capitalism, whether it goes under a Tory or a Labour banner, can only mean social chaos and privations for the workers. The kind of were earning up to 25,000 francs a reforms proposed by the government will be totally ineffective; inded, we are taught once again that reforms of any kind are useless and merely lead one shift a day and their wages have into a similar crisis when the effect of been reduced by half. A month ago the last batch of reforms has vanished. The Labour Government remains bound hand and foot to American capitalism, and must do what the American been applying go-slow tactics. financiers dictate. The sooner the strap over a stocking full of holes: soles-innumerable soles-completely broken away from | workers realise this, the sooner they will begin to cast aside their old discredited organisations and make a real labour with the strikers, so that the present movement that will struggle for the destruction of capitalism in order to end Germany and relies on the solidarity of comrades and readers of "Freedom" to continue | the tragic cycle of erises by which the this work. Parcels of clothing, money for the purchase of food, and points should be rulers profit continually at the expense come to an end. sent to the London Anarchist Group, c/o Freedom Press, 27, Red Lion St., London, W.C.I. of the workers.

departure has been made from this policy.

One case that springs to mind is that Court, Major Harper-Shove, questioned

of Harry Harrison, who gave himself up Harrison extensively on his political views

voluntarily on the 18th November last, before passing sentence. Actually he was

after having been for five and a half years completely outside his province in doing

It is significant that the President of the

The real solution to the manpower having refused to grant the General problem remains the recalling of troops | Labour Confederation's demand for a industry. Still a million and a half men minimum monthly wage of 7,000 remain under arms to further the Anglo- francs, the Ramadier government has American imperialist policy, and un- decided to grant temporary bonuses to

comparatively well-paid. The unrest among them is due to the fact that Crises such as the present teach us the machinists were able, up to recently, to do two shifts a day; as they are paid 500 francs a shift they month. Recently, as there was less work they have only been able to do they staged a three days' strike and since then newspaper workers have

climbs down or when the strike funds

The only newspapers coming out in Paris at the present time are the conto induce the 20,000 deserters to give 19th February that deserters who had strictly illegal), he was court-martialled at undertaken not to strike.

During the first few days of the sold in the Paris streets, but measures have now been taken to prevent these in order to make him eligible for an from reaching France.

> case. But, whatever is decided, it stands as an example of the kind of treatment which the authorities are ready to mete out to a man who has actually given himself up. It is not the kind of thing which is likely to induce others to follow his

As we have repeated often enough, the only solution to the deserter problem that But the irregularities in this case did is both just and practicable is to grant not end here. Harrison was taken to Fort a general amnesty, to wipe off old scores, Darland Detention Camp, where he and to let the men return to their normal refused to put on military uniform. He life as useful citizens. This the Govern-The authorities failed to find him was then taken to the "cooler", or ment persistently refuse to do-on the during during the whole of this period, "silent cell', which is given this name 19th February, Alexander made yet but in October, 1946, he decided to give because it is provided with an electric fan another refusal when a Labour M.P. himself up. On October 10th, he wrote for making the air cold and has also asked for a reconsideration of a general to Bellenger, and on November 7th was double walls to prevent sound reaching amnesty. The reason, of course, is advised by Bellenger's secretary to give the rest of the prison, and forcibly obvious. Terror is a necessary part of himself up. This he did on Nov. 18th. dressed. In answering a question in the army discipline, and, on balance, the He was first held at Scotland Yard House of Commons, the Minister of War government would actually prefer to have Barracks, where he was strongly tacitly admitted the forcible dressing, the deserters and the crime wave which questioned by Special Branch Detectives although this is in fact contrary to the their plight involves, rather than take the on his political connections. 'In was kept King's Regulations, and therefore is in- risk of applying a reasonable solution for nearly two months in custos, before admissable even according to military law. which would weaken military discipline. his court martial, and after this period So far, no definite decisions have been As always with governments, justice bows of imprisonment without trial (which reached by the War Office in Harrison's before expediency.

has seen a series of strikes which have deprived her of newspapers and magazines, fish, petrol, telephones, firemen and even policemen. On the 14th February a protest strike of civil servants paralysed the

French capital for several hours. Public Health service had called a The main cause of the unrest is due

to the extremely low wages paid to vast sections of the workers, and the Government's refusal to allow any wage increases. The Government has had to compromise, however. After workers under the 7,000 francs In Japan, in Germany, in Greece, there (£14/10/0) a month minimum, while

The newspaper workers' strike,

Newspapers are forbidden by the

tinental editions of British and American newspapers, and, curiously enough, L'Officiel (corresponding to the London Gazette). This paper is run by a co-operative of the workers who, to preserve their privilege, have

(Continued on page 8)



People live in cellars and under rubble. The average living space in Dusseldorf is just lipsticks, lengths of tweed (blue, gray, over 3 square yards per person.

the last issue of Freedom much has been Office Savings Bank. said in Parliament and in the Press which To have an idea of the profits made by rate, £200.

challenged in the House and have been Black market prices stood for months at fat for 16 dollars. disproved by newspaper correspondents. four marks or two shillings a cigarette Fraser, Morris & Co., Inc., claims to goods are supplied to the black marketeers conditions of the 23 million inhabitants in the British zone. Promises of a bigger meat ration have not been implemented and it is officially admitted that the 1,550 calories ration scale exists only on

With the news of the grave food situation in Germany, of deaths from cold and 200 suicides in Berlin, of 7,233 people being arrested by the railway police in Hamburg for coal thefts during January have also come the news of vast black market dealings by Allied troops in

The "merry game" of speculation in marks by British troops in Germany will cost the British taxpaver £20,000,000. Mr. Bellenger, War Secretary, explained to the House that this sum was required to meet a loss in surplus marks and schillings in Germany and Austria. B.A.O.R. men bought cigarettes and other goods in Army canteens and sold them to civilians at enormously inflated prices. They used this money to buy other goods

IN DARKEST GERMANY - The Record of a Visit by Victor Gollancz, with 144 photographs, obtainable from Freedom Press, 8/6 (postage 3d.).

change cigarettes against cameras, electric fires, books, records, watches, jewels, and other goods.

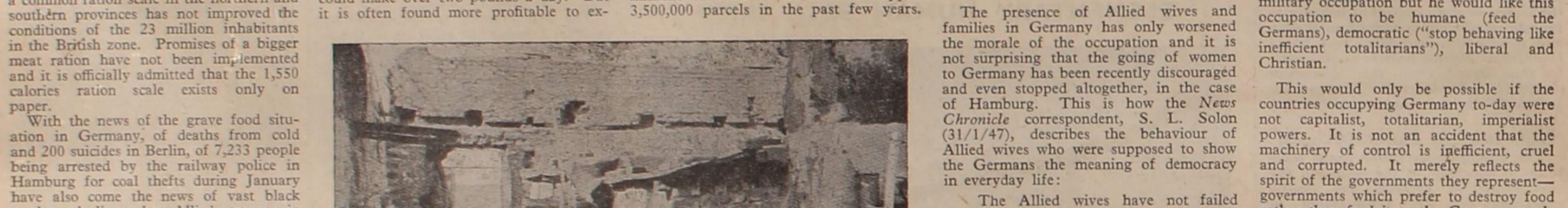
Fortunes have been made in speculation and black market sales and in many cases big properties have been purchased by British personnel to invest these large

It is probably quite true that, as Mr. Bellenger has pointed out in self-defence, Britain was the first country to try to put a brake on black market transactions. But it gives one little hope as to the effects of occupation in Germany to know that American investigators estimate that illegal deals have cost the American

One gets a pretty good idea of the efficiency with which the American black market is organised from the advertisements which cover the continental editions f American newspapers.

To take one example, the Paris edition of the New York Herald Tribune contains over a dozen big advertisements by American firms offering A.P.O. personnel everything from duty free cigarettes to nylons, coffee, vegetable fat, chocolate,

The Anglo-American bi-zonal food pro- and even more. If he sold the whole of be "the originator of duty-free cigarettes! by airmail, insured and at a low cost grammes, introduced in January to achieve his ration the British soldier or official The idea that has saved servicemen without forgetting the legality of the a common ration scale in the northern and could make over two pounds a day. But millions of dollars" and to have shipped whole transaction.



built up their little kingdoms where they command from one (on the lowest level) to a dozen or more servants.

lem which have been put forward fail to they when millions of people are sinking give enough importance to these facts. in hopeless misery?

restrict the production of atom bombs.

Meanwhile the development

word "hypocrite" comes to mind!

Let us beware—the militarists

fare, for our own self-protection."

Other germs such as typhoid, may



Gollancz found schoolchildren hungry, underweight, suffering from skin diseases.

market transactions are taking place when rule of the strong.

The women with more leisure and fewer scruples have bounded merrily into the black market. The scramble for antiques, jewels, furs, furniture bought with 'cigarette marks' is the chief occupation of hundreds of them.

The American Star Trading Co. offers Now it is quite obvious that A.P.O. The Allies are the conquerors and it is Since the review of Gollancz's recent at the canteens, or to buy Savings Certi- 2,000 cigarettes for \$9.50 or £2 7s. 6d. personnel receiving 200 cigarettes a week, useless to ask them not to behave as book In Darkest Germany appeared in ficates and make deposits with the Post If each cigarette is sold at 4 marks it will well fed and looked after, receiving a such. They behave as such in a small bring in 8,000 marks or, at the official decent pay would hardly need thousands way by exchanging their cigarettes against of cigarettes, coffee and cooking fats for cameras; that's the bottom of the ladder. has only confirmed the statements in his some of the Allied troops one must re- The American Overseas Shippers, Inc., their personal use. It can be argued that At the top they steal raw material, member that the ration to British troops N.Y., offers to ship by air mail 6 pairs he wants these things as presents for factories, manufactured goods under the Mr. Hynd's optimistic declarations on and Control Commission staffs was, up of nylons for 13 dollars or 10lb. of the friends and this may well happen in some cover of reparations. But the principle the situation in the British zone have been to a few days ago, of 200 per week. finest coffee and 71 lbs. of pure vegetable cases but one can imagine what vast black is the same—the weak have to accept the

> It is for this reason that the suggestions put forward by well-meaning people like Gollancz appear unrealistic. He accepts military occupation but he would like this occupation to be humane (feed the Germans), democratic ("stop behaving like

and even stopped altogether, in the case This would only be possible if the of Hamburg. This is how the News countries occupying Germany to-day were Chronicle correspondent, S. L. Solon not capitalist, totalitarian, imperialist (31/1/47), describes the behaviour of powers. It is not an accident that the Allied wives who were supposed to show machinery of control is inefficient, cruel the Germans the meaning of democracy and corrupted. It merely reflects the spirit of the governments they represent— The Allied wives have not failed governments which prefer to destroy food to see the opportunity for easy plunder rather than feed it to the German people and the advantages of German coolie -governments which ruthlessly destroy labour. Established on a caste system factories when workers cry out for workreflecting the ranks and positions held governments which prefer to deal with by their husbands, the women have each docile Nazis rather than let honest antifascists free to speak and write.

As long as the fate of Germany will be in the hands of the British, American and Russian governments, she will know misery and reaction. She can only expect solidarity from workers in other countries. Is the spirit of Kameradsshaft completely dead? If hands can be stretched across frontiers when the lives All the solutions of the German prob- of a few men are in danger why aren't

THE MEANING OF BIOLOGICAL WARFARE Starving to Death

Homes are not repaired but materials and labour are freely used on Allied Clubs.

ANARCHISM - Interpretations

"Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion: the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property: liberation from the ment. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations.

"This is not a wild fancy or an aberration of the mind. is the conclusion arrived at by hosts of intellectual men and women the world over; a conclusion resulting from the close and studious observation of the tendencies of modern society: individual liberty and economic equality, the twin forces for the birth of what is fine and true in man."

(EMMA GOLDMAN:

Anarchism and Other Essays.)

than the atomic bomb to-day-not tomorrow-and, furthermore, it's in usable

House of Representatives after hearing hands of the militarist. testimony from high naval officers in As early as 1941 the U.S. Governatom bomb is already obsolete.

Two weapons exceed, if that is up. possible, the destructive power of the Under the direction of a Captain vaunted atom bomb.

foremost physicists, said in a magazine in the struggle for power.

"In the future, a country feeling secure through having in its possession a hundred atomic bombs may receive a warning from its statisticians. 'For five years now,' they may say, 'the number of abortions in the central districts has grown to such proportions that there is not one normal birth in six; in the coastal ports fires are destroying the ships; inland, strange maladies are devastating the harvest; the drought in the north has deprived the country of a quarter of its electrical

Official headquarters and parliamentarians will pore over these figures and will find one explanation onlyfor several years war has been waged against their country with immense desstruction and a considerable number of victims.

Yet no one had known that hostilities had broken out."

Add to this perhaps under-stated shape." -Representative Albert Thomas picture of future war the recent reof Texas, 1946, search work in biological warfare, and When this respected gentleman the imagination fails to grasp the full quoted above addressed the U.S. extent of the destructive power in the

secrecy for weeks, his words, sounding ment gave the National Academy of like a challenge thrown in the face of Science the job of studying the utiliz the world, seemed to the already atom ation of deadly bacteria in warfare. shackles and restraint of govern- shocked public unreal and without Since then a huge plant has been built personal implication and not sufficient in Indiana for the mass culture of notice was taken of the fact that the bacteria and in Berkeley, Calif., a disguised research laboratory was set

A. P. Kreuger this laboratory reached country must, war or no war, continue most recent war. This tribe, the Skolt-The invisible atomic ray is one of conclusions which give another horwhich Frédéric Joliot, one of France's rible preview of the next development

dustrial areas will receive the agents of every means at his disposal. infection, and the people—as well as the authorities-will suddenly realize that Robert Clark once more: the country is under enemy attack.

"The primary purpose of such enemy action would be to slow down production and to demoralize the civilian population. Airborne agents would be used to contaminate the air in a given section, while other bacteria would be used to contaminate sources of water supply, food and the like. Cattle and grain would succumb to the onslaught of airborne agents of death."

The U.N.O. and other bodies are solving the public conscience by pur-

porting to set up controlling bodies to There remain in the world to-day, on the fringes of the great areas of capitalist of or state-capitalist economy, many small societies which still enjoy an economy mination are being developed. The dating from some more primitive but not necessarily less happy stage of social development. Many of these small peoples The exponents of bacteriological and tribes have found their economies deswarfare see nothing immoral or in- troved and their social lives entirely dishuman in it, saying "infectious disease | rupted through contact with the hostilities is a natural thing." And, they claim, in the last war. This has applied more is no more barbaric than the bayonet! especially to the natives of the South Sea Islands, and such countries as New throughout the world are preparing

these and other weapons—each pro-brought of a tribe of Lapps in the testing as does Robert Clark, member northern part of Finland, who are of the Society of American Military | threatened with extinction because of the Engineers, in "Our Navy"—"this destruction of their economic basis in the research along lines of biological war- Lapps of the Petsamo peninsula, have lived on herds of reindeer, but during the war the various armies who penetrated Waiting, hoping for peace, trusting into their area slaughtered the reindeer for "It is almost a certainty that the first to God and politicians, will not pre- food, and thus took away the basis by indication of such enemy action will vent the crazy onrush toward anni- which this tribe can only hope to live. come as the result of sabotage before hilation of mankind. Each and every They are now faced with starvation and hostilities begin. Groups of key per- individual must recognise his res- complete extinction unless their herds are attacked. Shortly afterwards, the in- ponsibility to sabotage this trend with adequately replaced. Already 200 people rest cannot survive unless the reindeer are In conclusion, allow me to quote

> This may seem a small tragedy on the "If germs are ever used in warfare, scale of world calamities that we have seen one of the obvious diseases to expect is during the past few years. But it remains botulism, a form of food poisoning a great crime against a peaceful people, 1,000 times more deadly than ordinary and the situation is urgent. There are reindeer available in Sweden, but so far also be scattered through an artificial no effort has been made to send them mist. Soon, disease germs are in every- to the relief of these people, and, since no thing you touch, the food you eat, the governments are likely to worry about them, we appeal to the Swedish Germs could even be smeared on workers to do their utmost to get the bullets or scattered with shell or bomb | necessary reindeer sent before it is too D.G. late to save this tribe of Lapps.

8th March, 1947

The Strange Case of Charlie Martinson

The industrial life of Britain has just few Communists among them. Exactly wars that grow out of them) is by passed through a crisis unprecedented in the same officials are in control of the establishing, through a social revolution, its history—a crisis based, as we are pit now that the N.C.B. has taken over a free society of workers' control. told from all quarters, on COAL-or as previously, and this is a constant rather, the lack of it. The Government source of irritation to the workers who Anarchist. and the Unions are putting their heads have repeatedly complained to the together thinking up ways and means of union about the high-handed actions attracting more workers to the pits. of the manager, and numbers of men are What, then, are we to think of the story continually demanding transfers to other of a man who was directed to the pits, collieries. Since every colliery in the having 14 years' experience of mining country, however, is now under the behind him, who is willing to work, but same boss-the State-it seems most who is prevented from doing so by the unlikely that any radically different con-National Coal Board, because he is man ditions are to be found elsewhere. enough to make known his opinions of managers, bosses and government in

general? Here is the story-Charlie Martinson has been working at Bold Colliery, St. Helens, for nearly 3 months and until recently was living at a miners' hostel. The manager of this hostel, however, objected to his introducing FREEDOM into the hostel Additions: and although several of the men asked War Addition for it to be placed in the reading room Porter Award (free of charge and not to be paid for Skilled Worker's Allowance by the management), the manager refused this, and warned Martinson that the paper was not to be distributed or he would have to leave. Naturally, Deductions: Martinson continued to distribute copies of FREEDOM to those in the hostel who wanted it, and at first no action was taken.

Things Begin To Move About a fortnight later, however, he was told by the Ministry of Labour that he was to be transferred to another colliery in the same district, and a week later received his cards from the

paration for the day shift. was receiving between £11 and £13 a week wages. Charlie Martinson pinned !this on the notice-board of the pithead canteen with a chalked notice drawing the manager's attention to this astonish-

ing piece of news. Together with other miners, Martinson chalked notices around the pithead making reference to the article. Within a few hours these slogans ("£13—but not at Bold", "£13?", etc.) appeared in the lampshop and other prominent.

The New Agriculture Bill the lampshop and other prominent places at the pithead and also down the pit on props and on the tubs. The whitewash used for manholes was used for the tubs.

Another Dispute

garding a transfer to another part of the has the same "news" value, its importance larged. workings. He refused to change his is such that some comment, in addition work and elected to go home if he was to what I wrote before, seems worth while. not allowed to continue in the same | According to the News Chronicle place. He did so and the other three (28/1/47), "Members in all parts of the men working on the same level (of Commons welcomed with varying degrees whom Martinson was one) also returned of enthusiasm the Agriculture Bill of over to their homes.

Charlie Martinson arrived at the pit he British farmer but insists on the utmost being given. The other men refused to however, with that ingratitude and "never work unless Martinson was allowed to satisfied" attitude which is supposed to work and one of them telephoned the be typical of them, appear to be not only manager asking for the issue to be de- unenthusiastic but positively hostile, while ferred until the following day. The the reaction of the less vocal, and there-Martinson to work that night and so adequately summarised by two lines from the other men (about 20) all returned the poet, T. S. Eliothome, and only firemen worked that

On Wednesday, 5th February, the men concerned in this stoppage returned to the pit during the day and Martinson was paid up and given his cards, the explanation being given that the manager was dissatisfied with his conduct and that he had been trying to sow dissension among the men. The manager instructed the other men to return to work that night. Martinson then approached the Secretary of the he is not a member) and pointed out reinstated.

When Bureaucrats Fall Out! The Ministry of Labour refused to allow Charlie Martinson to leave the industry and he is prepared to return to Bold Colliery, so now the M.o.L. are negotiating with the National Coal Board regarding his return. If ever there was a good example of the stupidity and inefficiency of officialdom. surely this is it!

At least 25% of the men in this pit do not belong to the union, because they to work in their interests. There is, of course, constant pressure from the union officials for these men to join. The majority of the men have no political affiliation though there are a

What Miners Really Earn

Just in case any reader of this story should be wondering about that £13. here is a typical miner's pay sheet:-6 days at 13/2d. ... £3 19

Sick Club Explosives Nursing Home Unemployment

And this sheet does not make any

deductions for Income Tax. National Coal Board (but with no Well, that is the story of Charlie reason given). The M.o.L. re-directed Martinson, a worker with 14 years' Martinson back to Bold Colliery, and he experience in coal-mines and capable of re-commenced work there on 25th doing any job in the pit. The only January. He was placed on "regular trouble with Charlie, from the night-shift", probably because there are manager's point of view, is that he is no fewer men working below at night more prepared to be pushed around (roughly 40, compared with 400 during under State ownership than he was the day). There is no haulage during under private ownership. But that is the night, the men working at pre- not all. Martinson knows that State ownership is not the answer to the resisted before it creates a precedent On Sunday, 2nd February, an article problems facing the workers to-day. He for future repression, appeared in the Sunday Chronicle knows that the only way to end ex- AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY stating that a Bevin boy in Yorkshire ploitation and profit-seeking (and the

That is why Charlie Martinson is an

Comrade Martinson has been informed by the secretary of the local branch of the Union that they cannot get his reinstatement. He has been told by the National Service Officer that he has been officially black-listed inasmuch as any submission by him for work of any nature must go through the Regional Office in Manchester. In the meantime, Martinson is receiving no dole and no

A copy of a note from the Colliery Manager to the M.o.L. on his dismissal

"This man was dismissed for very unsatisfactory conduct. He left his work and went home with another workman, although he was in no way involved in the case.

"His attendance is poor and he has caused unrest among the other workers in his vicinity.'

Comrade Martinson is going to fight this issue, and one of his mates is going 10 to collect signatures from his fellow 2 0 workers to a statement saying that they have worked with him and have not heard him say anything that would cause dissension.

> We feel sure that all readers of FREEDOM will join with us in expressing our solidarity with Charlie Martinson in his fight against victimisation. Remember this all started by our comrade exercising his common right of free expression by the distribution of FREEDOM among his workthe attempt to stifle opinion by the officers of the National Coal Board is week no more than anarchists expect from

(The following article is translated from The workers constitute the real force in a pamphlet published by the French a society, it is from them alone that there Anarchist Federation, and entitled Les can come a profound transformation of Anarchistes et L'Activité Syndicale. In that society. All the "work" which this pamphlet the problems of French political parties can do, all the arrangesyndicalism are discussed, and an attempt ments they can make by certain reformsis made to co-ordinate syndicalist and or other social laws, can change nothing anarchist action in the formation of a free fundamental in the problem. Capital is

Economic federalism cannot be realised thus, there is no economic equality. The without the help of the working class state makes the despotism of a minority

They are qualified to organise pro- majority; thus, there is no liberty.

and who, in consequence, are anxious its constructive work. It will no longer call

medical corps, teachers and artists, have the common riches. their place in this struggle for social with regret, that these last, if they come to accept the idea of a change of the system, do not always go so far as to accept the principle of economic equality of which we speak now, and which, according to us, is Delegation Of Responsibility the indispensible condition for the complete disappearance of the class struggle.

time taken in negotiating for a regulated contestable qualities.

them up on this particular issue.

duction, whose functioning they When all these institutions collapse under the repeated blows of the revolution They comprise all those who suffer -which will never be the work of parties effectively from social inequalities and —the industrial organisation will continue

for justice and imbued with the prin- itself "syndicate" for, profit having disciple of solidarity. The application appeared, it will have no more claims. of this principle being imposed on It will become the "co-operative" of them daily, they know all its benefits. production, for it will comprise the Intellectual workers, members of the workers co-operating in the production of

always the mainspring of the economy;

rest always on the shoulders of the

When the syndicate has destroyed, the transformation. But we can often see, co-operative of production will build. In the factory, in the field, the workers will then be no longer under the domination of the management and the state, which will have disappeared

They will organise production and designate in common their delegates,

chosen in consideration of their respective abilities. The councils of workshops, of farms, of dockyards, will proceed to a choice that will be much more profitable A hint of a possible transport strike than the existing formula by which the on the Thames similar to the lorry-drivers' most delicate functions are confided to

In the framework of each enterprise, privilege. There will be no more class struggle, for injustice and inequality will have disappeared. The technician will exercise the functions which belong to him, but he will have ceased to be considered as the unsure class brother which he sometimes is to-day.

The enterprises, organised in this way, will in fact be a co-operative of production. The methods of work, the none will be more qualified than they to know the needs and the possibilities in

each branch of production. Co-operatives Of Production The co-operatives of production will and myself had forgotten what the first ship and operates his control through in Britain's very difficult nutritional effort, regionally and inter-regionally, and will On going below on Monday, 3rd half was about, compelled me to post- agents inside the industry." In other her home production could be at least constitute, in consequence, unions and by a constant and well understood connection, a whole circuit proceeding from each productive cell and returning to it,

a directive role in the economy. Only one part of the population participates in that production. The active workers are far from constituting the whole population. Thus it is not by addressing ourselves to

There will simply be respect for the

The desirability of completing the second normal doctrinaire course of State owner- borrowed from themselves half of the recent article on "Agriculture ship and control, the Minister has founded "It is an obvious truism to say that if in a Free Society", before both readers his policy on the landlord-tenant relation- British agriculture became priority No. 1 federate between themselves, locally,

Mulberry Bush Dept. While honourable members talked re- during the war showing in considerable of production. By this system, while

"In a minute there is time For decisions and revisions which a minute will reverse."

Worst Of Both Worlds

pointed out by W. J. Brown in the debate even possibility of this happening. All Government. A lot were actually offered we will be sure of knowing the real needs who said "that although the Bill gave a the countries of the world are endeavour- free to the British Government which, of the whole production. Among them who said that arthough the production as nearly self-sufficient as however, politely declined the offer on not we find children, active workers, invalids do not belong to the union, because they do not feel that the union is prepared knew what the market was or what the may be possible . . . They are also really very convincing grounds. Perhaps and old people. There will thus be no

age, while these same spare parts, and the italics.) Well, there you have it. manager, however, still refused to allow fore majority of them, might be not in- machinery to which they belong, continue to be exported in large quantities. And the persons responsible for this sort of position talk about some farmers being

Policy Of Restriction

When, under a capitalist economy, British agriculture, the New Bill notwith- in other industries." It appears, however, will make known the needs of the prices are high due to scarcity, the State standing, seems to be becoming increas- to be unlikely that this very natural population. guarantees" to the farmer a price some- ingly manifest to an ever-wider section desire will be granted before the end of Federations Of Consumers what lower than that which could be of opinion. The following is taken from the year, though meanwhile it seems In the libertarian Commune, while the obtained on an open market. When prices a letter to The Times by Col. Pollitt and probable that employees of C.A.E.Cs. (as co-operatives of production will organise fall, the virtues of free enterprise are reprinted in The Farmers' Weekly they are now called) will soon be free of production, will manage it themselves, rediscovered, controls are removed, and the (17/1/47) which makes it clear, insofar the Essential Works' Order by which they will not alone decide what is to be Bold Branch of the N.U.M.W. (although farmer is permitted to trade in a free as it should still be necessary to do so, cannot leave their employment with the produced. They will not alone decide what is to be that, even if it were desirable from a CAECs. Incidentally, it may seem market and usually at a loss. Thus he that, even if it were desirable from a C.A.E.Cs. Incidentally, it may seem the consumers. The co-operatives of progets the worst of both worlds. And in capitalist point of view to continue this strange to some state socialists that the duction (to-day syndicates) will have as rights was likely to be sacked. The return for this "help" (for so it was policy, the conditions in the world at the return for this "help" (for so it was policy, the conditions in the world at the retaining their employees there are the retaining their employees the retaining the retaining their employees the retaining their employees the retaining the retain Union Secretary agreed to take up the Called in the House of Commons) the present time make it impossible; and, if retaining their employees than private production, but the orientation of this will Union Secretary agreed to take up the farmer has to surrender his business in- pursued very much longer, probably dis- farmer-employers. The reason—the State be given by the federations of consumers. dependence and is liable to be ejected astrous to the people of this country. is often more mean and indifferent to its It is to avoid any kind of dictatorship from his holding if he does not come up "Britain is making a great effort to employees than many farmers who some- that the Free Commune (or the federated to the required standards of "efficiency". export manufactured goods in order to be times do show their men some personal communes) will not give to production (This continually re-asserted reproach of able to import food. She is working on consideration. farmers as inefficient from an urban in- the assumption that in the future, as in dustrialism whose inefficiency, not to the past, overseas countries will be premention its policies of deliberate re- pared to supply her cheap food in return striction, is almost unbelieveable, make me for manufactured goods, for which she so angry that I find it difficult to write must also import the raw materials. In North Dakota, U.S.A., thousands of them that we will know the needs of that oherently on the subject.) The worth- Having travelled through several countries tons of potatoes are being spread on the population.

> Nevertheless, the amount of direct state Even the U.S. and Canada, who are stated according to need instead of according to when consumption gives to production an control of agriculture is less than might to have record grain crops this year, have the market might establish an embarassing orientation conforming to expressed needs. have been anticipated. As The Economist no obvious urge to export them to Britain, precedent. (1/2/47) put it, "Instead of pursuing the who can only pay for them with money

February, one of the workers on the pone any reference to the new Agriculture words, the Minister's policy is, after all, doubled and at a cost lower than her federations of co-operatives of production, same level as Martinson was involved Bill which is by now virtually an agreed very largely the same as the pre-war Tory present expenditure on overseas food and professionally as well as interin a dispute with the management re- measure. Though the subject no longer policy-new edition, revised and en- the subsidies thereon."

Britain Can Feed Herself

peatedly, almost mechanically it seemed, detail that contrary to popular ideas on each sector of production retains its entire of the need to increase food production the subject, Britain was quite able to feed liberty of management, it will benefit by in this country, "if for no other reason," herself if this was desirable. As of course all the advantages which can be given by a hundred clauses under which the State as Capt. Cruikshank said, "than to con- it wasn't, even in war time, the book a large and free co-operation: that of serve foreign exchange" (the fact that received very little publicity outside farm- federalism. people might otherwise go hungry is, of ing circles, the policy of the Government It would be unnecessary to believe, we refused a lamp without any reason efficiency in return." Many farmers, course, a secondary consideration), the being then, as now, that stated, with meanwhile, that the active workers, thus N.F.U at their Annual General Meeting commendable frankness, in the Agriculture organised, will be the organisers of the complained bitterly that vast quantities of Bill. "Such part of the nation's food as, whole of social life. Definitely not. The agricultural machinery were standing idle- in the national interest, it is desirable to production of the common riches aims at for want of spare parts or through old produce in the United Kingdom." (My satisfying, to the best of present pos-

Farm Workers Seek Permission To Leave The

The restrictive policy still applied to to leave the land and earn more money

For the great public services, it will be the users, grouped in associations, who

The Law Of Return— Capitalist Version

dessness of the guaranteed prices was since the war I can see no probability or ground as manure by order of the Federal It is in approaching the consumers that developing their own secondary industries. it was felt that the disposal of food dictatorship of one sector over the other,

5 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

strike of last January was given when "responsible people" whose social accen-100 lightermen staged a 24-hour token sion is much more the consequence of an mates. This attack on Martinson and strike as a protest against the length of already acquired fortune than of in-The fright the Unions received in administrative councils will be constituted, January, though, has not vet been for- whose members, revocable at any moment gotten, and it is to be expected that a by those who have named them, will not one-day strike will be sufficient to hurry play for any economic advantage, for any

Col. Pollitt, by the way, wrote a book after having run through the whole field

sibilities, the common needs. These needs, can be made known only by the consumers. That is why the consumers' cooperatives (or centres of distribution), which will replace the individual shops of to-day, will alone be qualified to make known these needs.

These recruits were quickly sent to the various fronts, and part of them were

all the French citizens and facilitate their of them understood Russian.

branches over Soviet reality, the proceedings employed during the war and the

fate reserved to the prison population. Lorrainians in Russian were given back The facts of yesterday will allow us to understand better the tragedy of to-day.

Delivery At Teheran

and N.C.O.s of the Levant and North receive and convoy to North Africa fifteen whose Alsatian or Lorrainian origin was

In the Northern suburbs of the Iranian capital, an old prisoners' camp had been arranged by the Bitish military gent. Tents were put up, sanitary services installed, feeding organised. Commandant Morin went to Safaran, near the Irano-Soviet frontier, to make contact with the Russian representatives charge with the transport of the prisoners.

On the 17th July, the convoy was last announced. It arrived by the Tabrix road. Nearly ninety lorries came to stop before the camp. The Alsace-Lorrainians, in spinach-green Russian interpreter. British officers present at the arrival remained aloof.

be taken to the hospital. With the exception of two dozen fellows, fat and a good health, all were of a frightful thinname of "Buchenwald". It was soon camp, which explained their good con- apparently two of the signatories as well case provoked such a wave of indignation used to illuminate the Carnival.

preserved meat and jam, was given to the oulling their legs when these explained away as a reserve; they were acting from experience.

0 4

The Camp Of Rada—

and tongues were freed. With a few ex-

Enrolled in the German army, the

Tambov. The camp, situated in the forest, displaced to unknown destinations. as they felt themselves out of harm's way. votes than in 1943. and Rumanians. The last dominated the Alsatians, that is to say elements whose destined for its agents recruited among the and important unions are trying to save camp, thanks to their easier power of tendencies would appear doubtful at first Alsace-Lorrainians and placed in the first face by driving for a £1 a week by After the defeat of Germany, adaptation and to the fact that a number sight to the Russian authorities. They contingent of the repatriates? Each had capitalising the general discontent of the commissions were sent to Russian to find adaptation and to the fact that a number of the repatriates?

> clothes and boots. The German equip- liberated after having given the promise to liaison agents who would eventually ment, personal possessions, photographs, to join the NKVD. This came to the come to their homes. identity papers had been taken away since light after the distance between themselves their capture. The medical service was and the Soviets became large enough.

Nourishment was based on bortsch soup of beetroots, and black bread.

At regular intervals the various govern- Germans to facilitate assimilation. the camp was revealed to other French that the Communism which would revolution. From the Anarchist point of At regular intervals the vallous gover in Because of some technical difficulties, people. Long discussions took place triumph in France would have a wholly view, however, there are no real proments which have succeeded to power in the many people.

> were old members of the Legion of precise instructions. Some were to get workers and bringing off many strikes. The work—cutting trees—was painful, National Volunteers and of anti-Bolshevik into hospitals in one or other town of the The discontent is based on high taxation

> > The School of Krasnograd

The Russians attempted to select certain According to the prisoners the condition elements for their own propaganda. About has been their consequence in the Eastern of those who guarded them was no better forty prisoners, chosen according to their prisoners, cold and dysentery. A woman Rumanian, Polish, etc. The professors of

No correspondence was allowed. After The subjects communicated comprised the French authorities, the prisoners movement, very tendencious and super-Army. It was finally thanks to a telegram Revolution, the elementary principles of camps in Central Europe and the Balkans, of congratulation sent simultaneously to Marxism, Leninism and Stalinism. On where the mixture of races will lead to a Mission in Moscow that the existence of by Maurice Thorez, who declared to them

Some had half an hour in the front, themselves, a system of spying, all means Better treated and fed than in the camp, 40-hour week and a rise in the basic others six months. The majority gave were set to work so that the choice should the pupils gave proof of a remarkable wage. Foremost of all parties were the themselves up voluntarily to the Russians. present no danger. The groups of facility of political adaptation. But it is Communist Party of Australia, who des-Those who went to Teheran came from "wrong-heads", that is to say the prisoners among them that the fiercest adversaries pite vigorous and costly campaigns mostly the camp of Rada in the province of who had expressed their views openly, were of the Russian regime were found as soon lost their deposits, and indeed polled less

Where Are The Absentees? | to a large extent all waterside and dock

on the other hand, that an important frac-

WHERE'S MUSSOLINI'S LOOT?

hesitate to use it for party ends. Italy Gioventi Anarchica and the American not have the courage to raise their voice is no exception, and the sensation of the New Leader. So far as the writer knows against the cynical usurpation of the with him when he made his get-away published in this country, and yet the Either the "left" will rediscover the moral from Milan on April 25th, 1945. The political questions dealt with in the inter- and spiritual climate of the days on the Fascist movement-but the fact attack Koestler on the grounds that he is not been saying for years, but we quote that Mussolini did not get away with a Trotsykist, he pointed out in answer at length because he does raise certain the treasure and nothing more has been to a question that he had never been a issues: those of human conscience which said as to what happened to it. Now the Trotskyist. Instead he claims to be a are important and which if true must whole question has been raised again by Socialist and hates tyranny. "I consider be of concern to all those who look to the clerical party, the monarchists and all the U.S.S.R. as economically progressive, the Free Society as their goal. Is apathy the other residues of Fascism, who openly but in all other domains as the most and lack of social conscience against what accuse the Communists of having appro- reactionary power of our time. The word is wrong as widespread as Koestler mainpriated the treasure, and the Communists "progressive" has here a purely technical tains? Or is the conspiracy of silence in proposal that an enquiry should be held represents progress over the oil lamp.

Communist daily Unita it amounted to a state prior to the capture of the Bastille. Risorgimento Liberale (monarchist) states very widespread among the 'left'? jewels at 10 thousand million lire and that of the facts . . . it was handed over to the Communist Party. O.: In the absence of what you call According to the correspondent of the a truly socialist international, what policy New York Times, four copies of the inventory of the "Dongo Treasure" were socialists? made and certified by 5 signatories, of A.: I shall reply indirectly with a the "Dongo Treasure" in order to dis- of some 20,000,000 persons at forced stage. Food is displayed in

Province Of Tambov

In France

An Interview With Koestler

oot-everybody expected that he and his revealing since they come from the lips it will lose Socialism, our only hope." lieutenants would take as much as they of a former party member. For the sake Koestler does not tell us anything which could to ensure their being able to carry of any Communist reader who might the revolutionary critics of Russia have

strengthen the accusations by opposing the meaning, i.e., the sense in which electricity the Press largely responsible for people's certain information through a French on the fate of the "Dongo Treasure". Q.: And how do you use the word

The Communists admit that Mussolini "reactionary"? had the treasure; as to the amount in- A.: In this sense: politically and cul- cause of this apparent apathy? volved opinions vary. According to the turally, the U.S.S.R. has regressed to a few tens of millions of lire, whilst O.: One cannot say that this opinion is

foreign currency, and cases of gold and versely proportionate to their knowledge

scandal to those ends and that two roads surrection of the mind against totalitarian the scandal is an invention by the clerico- O.: But who is this "we", on whose fascists or else to state where Mussolini's behalf you speak?

confiscated money and valuables have A.: In the days of Sacco and Vanzetti the Anarchist Monthly Why? published gone. . . . as well as the partisans who and of the great rebellion of consciences by our comrades in New York. It has have disappeared because 'they talked too against Nazism, "we" was the 'left". To- increased its pages from 8 to 16 and sion, becomes an accomplice of this Why? gives space both to the discussion During a recent visit to France, Arthur Eastern neo-Nazism. The "left" is the of American affairs and Anarchist theory Koestler, the author and journalist, mem- prisoner of its own past. The result: and deserves to be better known by our ber of the Communist Party from 1931— the Hearsts and Tsaldaris pose as spokes- comrades in this country. 1938, granted an interview to the French men of human freedoms while the

moment is Mussolini's loot which he took no reports of this interview have been name of "socialism" by the G.P.U. sensation is not that Mussolini had the view are of considerable interest and most Socialist idealism, or else by losing itself

MORE POMP AND PAGEANTRY

Nuit et Jour (French illustrated weekly) being made for the Carnival in Nice, in one of its recent issues and the figures of imprisonment for "draft-dodging" quoted reveal the scale on which the it constitutes quite a serious step in Carnival is conceived. The cost this year defiance of the state. will be 10 million francs. Nearly 15 tons whom the names are given, and parallel. In 1925 the Sacco and Vanzetti streamers and 20,000 electric bulbs will be York, the authorities took such a serious view of the campaign that

as other partisans who "talked too much" in Europe that barricades were put up in There is a shortage of coal and of thirty police agents were present just disappeared; that the treasure was Paris and elsewhere. In 1946, the Soviets paper in France, but the Carnival must go among three hundred people. At two cases of documents) in part to the and Chechen Republics, and almost no- visitor is struck by the elaborate pre- among others, Dwight Macdonald parations that are made for the Feast of | the editor of Politics, more than sixty 5 kilos of gold in the name of Remo liberties, whereas the "right" tried to get people have to put up with electricity Mentasti). The Communists accuse the along with him. In 1946, the "left" is cuts every day and many more living in Washington, and there have also been clericals and monarchists of speculating on silent about the unparalleled persecution the slums have only reached the oil lamp public burnings of credentials i credit the partisan movement. But as labour in Russia, while the western quantities during these feasts, and bright Philadelphia, Chicago and Los our contemporary l'Adunata di Refrattari opposition to Stalinism has lined up on decorations hide the miserable houses Angeles. So far about four hundred points out, even if the scandal of the the level of power politics . . . Power while thousands of people go hungry and men have taken part. "Dongo Treasure" did not exist, the politics does not interest us; what we are women sell themselves for a tin of spam. enemies of the partisans could invent a passionately concerned with is the in- But the Carnival must go on at all costs!

We draw the attention of our readers to

LIBERTARIAN.

8th March, 1947

FREEDOM

Economic Unrest

in Australia

The unions controlled by the CP are-

iron workers. These are key unions, and

In Victoria a big dispute goes on by

In Western Australia, the Railway

workers achieved a success, the issue being

the dismissal of engine crews who refused

to man some Garrett Rail engines, a war-

men have been reinstated and the engines

stopped all work in that state for 16 days.

issue of a rise in wages. In New South

Wales, I.C.I. has a dispute of a domestic

nature, and to-morrow 8,000 shipyard

workers are to be paid off by the em-

must be understood that no revolutionary

action exists, the tragedy being that

mutual struggle between the Communist

Party, the Labour Party and Catholic

Action sections divides the workers when

All this means a loss to the hungry world

of much wool and food. Transport here

in New South Wales is in a state of chaos.

Due to coal shortages and serious delays

in handling shipping, for instance,

250,000 tons of sugar lies in ports up

about Quenesland. Potatoes rot in some

states, and fruit, too; in Sydney they are

Employment remains at a high level;

most world visitors as a rule say Australia

is a paradise compared with the rest of

American Anti-Militarists

Demonstrate Against

Conscription

a new form of demonstration against

conscription. They are holding meet-

ings at which people are requested

to destroy their draft cards or other

military papers. As such destruction

is an act of illegality, and as it in-

volves the destroyer in the possibility

men came forward and destroyed their

was held outside the White House in

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readers to FREEDOM? Have

you asked your newsagent to

stock the paper?

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your friends? We can supply you

with copies of the current issue

(6 copies 1/-, 12 copies 2/- post

American anti-militarists are using

solidarity is needed.

as precious as diamonds.

In South Australia too a dispute of iron

the general rule is-let the Arbitration

the coal miners, seamen, waterside, and

continues to follow the orthodox Russian pattern, with concentration camps, secret police, and political trials which are conducted on a basis of fantasy that, if it were not combined with a barbarous ferocity, would verge on comedy. Any individuals or groups who oppose the regime, or who attempt in any way to criticise the regime or to get out of the country information about atrocities committed by the authorities, are treated with the most ruthless brutality, and either disappear into the concentration camps or are made the victims of theatrically staged trials which slavishly imitate the Moscow purge

> trials in all their manifest injustice. The most recent of these trials has which says thatbeen that of a number of Jehovah's Witnesses, who were accused of attempting to instigate a war against Jugoslavia, and with co-operating with reactionary groups to this end. This accusation seems quite incredible when one remembers the magnificent record of the Jehovah's Witnesses in their opposition to the recent war. We do not support the theocratic ideas of the members of this sect, but their heroic and consistent resistance to the Nazi terror in Germany cannot be denied, nor can the persecutions which they have endured in almost every savage sentences of imprisonment rather than accept the dictates of the state to fight in wars which they did not support. Even in disagreement with their general views, one has to

admit this consistency and disinterested courage. It therefore seems self-evidently ridiculous to accuse such people of fomenting war on behalf of re- use it, either by war or dictatorship or ment for their opposition to war!

Moscow Trials Imitated

apologetics for terrorist action under the guise of legality.

The document starts with a general

WHITE MAN'S JUSTICE

All civilised men and women who read of two young negro boys, aged 14 and of blame. The Anarchists were certainly States of the U.S.A., flashed across the gle against tyrannv (personal dictatorship world. They were arrested, charged and and the 19th-century dictatorships found guilty by an all-white jury, all crowned heads) and have been so much in one day. Protests against the barbarous | vilified for it that one could hardly blame sentence came from all over the world. | a half-witted observer from imagining that An appeal was lodged, and the Appeal | Anarchism and political terrorism were Court changed the sentence into one of identical and Brutus, William Tell imprisonment for life. They are the | Charlotte Corday, Oliver Cromwell, the gaol to which they have been sent.

This savagery is only equalled by the donian Nationalists, South American turning down of the appeal of Willie palace politicians and anyone else you can Francis, 17 year old negro, found guilty | think of (to whom we must now add the the electric chair, but when the switch must have been Anarchists! was pulled, a fault in the system caused the chair to fail. The negro returned to his cell, and from there he lodged an appeal. Now, he has to face this terrible ordeal again. Such revenge upon a help people in Hiroshima in cold blood. One less state machine and its operators.

THE THREE MUSKETEERS-3

"under the cloak of religious know the old methods of Communist

They also enabled foreign re- ent from what they are in reality. activities liable to threaten our people and security and to underin her internal affairs."

appeared in a following paragraph terms of imprisonment.

national reactionaries."

The Communist terror in Jugoslavia accusation that the J.W.'s were— sidered should be known abroad. We

TERROR TRIALS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Death For Disagreement

But, even if the accusationsmine the democratic achievements which accusations are supported by (sic) of the national liberation literally no evidence—are true, it is struggle. The accused were in- a singularly strange form of "demostigating the severance of diplo- cratic achievement" to sentence men matic relations and the abrogation to death because they happen to disof international treaties with the agree with the government of a have suffered in two years, and they Federal People's Republic of country and endeavour to overthrow Yugoslavia as well as interference it. This is what happened to three of the accused in this trial. Eleven The specific activities of the J.W.'s others were sentenced to various

The case was immediately taken up circumstances. The devastation "under the guise of religious by various English organisations as the recent war has played its part in work (they) spread propaganda soon as the news came through, in- disrupting the carrying on of supply taken by the Rumanian government against People's Authorities of the cluding the War Resisters' Inter- services in the country, but much are, even in the words of one of the Federal People's Republic of Yugo- national, the Peace Pledge Union and more crippling circumstances have slavia. They persuaded their fol- the Freedom Defence Committee, and been the continued presence of a large lowers to shirk conscription, sent protests were sent to Jugoslavia via Russian army, which, as elsewhere, untrue reports on the political and the Embassy. News has since come lives parasitically on the land and has economic sination of the country through that the sentences of death taken first priority on all crops, and to international centres of their have been replaced by sentences of the lack of any co-ordination in dis- supplies has been sent. Nor has there organisation in Berne and Brooklyn twenty years' imprisonment. tribution—the black market in been any great display of international

directly at the service of inter- by shooting merely changed to a long spread and highly organised in countries have sent small supplies of death in a Tito prison. Agitation Europe, but there has been little grain, but the authorities still estimate In other words, the Jehovah's Wit- must continue until the fact of such effort made by the Communistnesses held their own opinions instead trials are sufficiently widely known controlled government to organise country of the world during recent of supporting Tito, they refused for protests on a really wide inter- efficient supply services for the counyears for their opposition to war. military service, and sent out of the national scale to force the Jugoslave try areas. The result is that, while Everywhere they have suffered really country information which they con- dictatorship to give up its victims. the rich in the capital are living as

activities, connected with centres thought by which such activities are working to instigate a new war. made to seem something very differ-

According to recent reports, the well as they live in any other Eurogreat Ukrainian famine has been fol- pean capital, the conditions of the lowed by an equally disastrous one poor in the famine areas are so bad in Rumania as a result of the same that, according to a Manchester plain almost as badly as it struck

drought, which affected the Moldavian Guardian report, ". . . the peasants are moving away South Russia. This is the second in gangs in search of food, meandrought which the Moldavian peasants while eating grass and acorns and even chewing clay-bearing soil to are now near the end of their assuage their hunger. They have resources-many of them have actually slaughtered their cattle or bartered reached the end. it for grain, and have even, it is said, consumed seed corn although The situation, bad in itself, has the authorities soaked it in oil been aggravated by many avoidable

before distributing it." To meet this situation, the measures transferred to areas not affected by the and in this way placed themselves But it is not enough to get a death Bucharest is one of the most wide- solidarity. Some of the neighbouring that there is a need for 50,000 wagons of grain in March alone. So far none of the great democratic powers has come forward to give any substantial help for the starving Rumanians.

Nor is the future likely to show any great and immediate improvement. Owing to disruption by war and political strife, it is officially estimated that the quantity of winter sowings this year is little more than half of "TERRORISTS" last year. Further improvement will of course be hindered by the effects of the slaughter of cattle and destruction of seed grain during the

mutual aid would undoubtedly have

It Can't Happen Here!

Socialism Made Easy

power for the glory of the state.

In Cairo in time to see King Farouk

Socialism has become fashionable in

socialism has convinced the Pashas that

eternal monument to sheer waste of man-

Nahas Pasha of the WAFD and the

present Premier Nokrashy Pasha all

Latest recruit to the Socialist ranks is

His Excellency Wahid Yousri Pasha, son

of the Princess Chivekiar who has learned

the lesson of British politics that socialism

doesn't mean the loss of one grain of

plaintive appeals don't persuade the The Bomb Bores

operate against terrorism. After all the One point however, as regards Palestine I.Z.L. (if not the Sternists who are more terrorism is interesting to note. The openly fascistic) are not much differ- alarm taken by the British Government drive through the streets the day prior ent from the mass Zionist movements in imposing martial law, evacuating to his birthday on February 11th for such as the Haganah, except as to the need British families, etc., as well as the general which the benevolent Government has for force to be used now, and there is state of tension and the total inability to fairy-lighted and decorated the sordid nothing much to persuade them to start prevent the terrorists doing pretty well as squalor and misery of the Cairo streets. using the force against the I.Z.L. which they wish, answer those pessimists (even I have every sympathy with the King of they have decided not to use against the in our own ranks) who took the Atomic Egypt now. He doesn't give the cheering British authorities. The soldiers who are Bomb so much to heart. How extra- people in the streets a set grin, he doesn't sent there by force, are part of the ordinary that a right-wing organisation wave his hand or bow or salute. He sacrifices made in the sacred name of without mass support, consisting of a few doesn't even lean out of car window and ommitments' that no-one asked for and schoolboys of sixteen, a few ex-Servicemen make a rude gesture like a famous no-one wants; the sacrifices we make for trained in military matters, and a few British politician. He just ignores the tolerating imperialism and the right of others, could terrify the mighty British fools. Do you blame him? Governments to order our lives for us. Empire so much that the Press has screamed its head off over the prospect Our opposition to the terrorist move- of them landing in London; troops have and the holy of holies, U.N.O., has been have idealists and political swindlers in shaken by it. Yet when the Atomic their ranks, and the former always and Bomb first exploded into the news particular weapon—the British Empire tyrants. Any nationalist movement should now there was no hope of any upsurge of

privilege, but is the best form of slavery since the Pyramids were built as an

Middle East Notes

actionary groups abroad, by which is "colonisation"), what is usually known as tence of being shocked at the fact that it? The British Government as an impresumably meant the British and political terrorism is not a monopoly of any group resorts to its use. One cannot perialist government is tarred with the anyone in particular. But by however fail to be amused by such organisations same bush. Its policy of repression can American ruling classes who gave many highly varying different groups it as the "Thou Shalt Not Kill League" in only accentuate nationalism, as it has the Russian government for the them savage sentences of imprison- may be used, the irresponsible lapdogs of Palestine, whose leading members are already done. Fascism can only be fought the Press millionaires will always associate proud of what they did recruiting for successfully from within; the I.Z.L. and drought. But one can blame them it with particular groups at particular and enlisting in the War. They have the Sternists—as well as the other for the way in which they have times. At the moment one might be ex- excellent reasons for opposing the terror- 'moderate' Zionist nationalists-will only allowed the peasants to be pillaged for cused for imagining that individual ism in Palestine, no doubt, which tends disappear with the growth of libertarian their armies and for black market terrorism was something peculiarly Jewish, more than ever in a fascist direction, but and revolutionary feeling among the from the headlines in the papers. Yet at they seem to pick on the most illogical Jewish people. At present many of them purposes, and have failed completely bassy on this case; it reads like the the beginning of the century, when the one. Chief Secretary Sir Henry Gurney turn to nationalism because as a people to provide any system that would most hysterical Nazi or Communist Press was vilifying the heroic struggle deplored recently the £600,000 spent by whose best modern representatives rejected prevent such a crisis. A social system of the Nihilists against tyranny in Russia, the Palestine Government on reparation nationalism, they feel insecure in a based on efficient and voluntary "Russian" and "terrorist" were almost as a result of terrorism, and asked how nationalist world. Hence this problem is interchangeable terms. At different times many school and hospitals could have been bound up with the advance of revolutionit has been used as peculiar to Frenchmen, built with this sum. If Sir Henry had ary feeling elsewhere in the world. proved much more elastic in crises of Italians, Poles, and at one time nothing of forgotten the cost of the bloodiest war in Emancipation has to be international, it this kind than the inefficient governthe sort could happen without the Irish history, he could at least have reflected cannot come to one people alone, as the mental system of coercion and class Republicans being blamed for it. And, what usually happens to public money in Spanish Revolution showed. of course, the Anarchists, who have had the hands of the Palestine Government! to struggle against every kind of political The authorities wonder why such blackguardism of the Press from boycott to mass libel, have had their full share obliged to use the weapon of individual terrorism in certain phases of their strug-Irish Republicans, the French Revolutionairies, Croat and Serbian and Mace-

in the war, in its support of Partisans and be opposed and even more these militant workers overpowering the capitalist class! Maguis no less than the Indian anti- nationalist movements which aim at im-Imperialists—it is time to drop the pre- posing colonisation. But who is to oppose

THE NEW ARMY (dreams and reality)

"Someone's got to do the dirty work!"

His Excellency has declared to the Egyptian magazine, Al Hhnein: "I am a socialist and nothing will

prevent me from remaining one. I appeal to all my countrymen to adopt socialist principles. I don't agree with those who believe that socialism is the first step towards communism.

I appeal to our leaders to adopt socialist principles as they are expressed in our religion. Nobody can deny that Islam is above all a socialist religion."

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

MOSES TO LENIN, by ALEXANDER

We have long needed a comprehensi

history and tendencies of socialist thought

that would set forward the salient point

general definition is included anarchists

and communists) so that the reader migh

have the opportunity to reach his own

evaluation. The histories of socialism that

have been written, in England at least

are either hopelessly out-of-date, lik

Kirkup's, or definitely one-sided, like

Beer's, and it was therefore all the more

necessary that we should have a wor

which could act as a reference book, and

a beginning for those who wish to embar

socialist thought, or to devote themselve

to a more intensive study of certain

socialism for its approval. It should strive

their friends are cordially invited

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on a wider and more general study

schools of thought.

the real thing.

GRAY. (Longmans).

The position of Oscar Wilde in the evident. He was by nature a kind and for the human individual, and a perworld's literature and thought has generous man, loyal to his friends, petual concern for that individual's always been somewhat ambiguous. capable of any effort to assist them, freedom. This fact was accentuated by the and endowed with a gift of witty sensationalism which has been given conversation which was all the more to his imprisonment and the homo- unusual because it was entirely devoid sexuality that led to it, but, even of malice. Yet at the same time he without that, Wilde remains a writer was attracted like a child to the false whom it is always hard to place. In glitter of social ostentation, liked to his earlier work, at least, and even to appear as a dandy, and strove to a degree in much of his later work, impress people for whom he had the

at times verges on showy vulgarity. Yet, out of this curious mixture of And yet, in his best books, and even qualities, this almost pathetically split here and there in his less satisfactory mind which undoubtedly played writings, there are passages which great part in involving Wilde in the show a profoundity of social aware- tragic farce of his imprisonment, there ness that is really striking. In his emerges one quality that seems to be life the same schizoid tendency is wholly constant—a profound respect P

The result was disappointing. It is

anarchist and socialist thought, such as

Kropotkin, Proudhon, Marx and Lenin,

obscurity such really interesting writers as

disciples of Godwin, and such generally

neglected predecessors of the French

men as Hodgskin. He will find them a

The Socialist Tradition

book that should condemn socialism, or good deal less dry and forbidding than

Hatred Of Oppression

indergraduate, his mild liberalism was tending to develop into libertarianism, and the idea of freedom is a perpetual time. But it was in his first play, Soul of Man under Socialism, which true that the author has made a really Vera, or the Nihilists, that he began Wilde seems to have written as a kind exhaustive study of socialist writings. His to show a more clear sympathy with of manifesto of his social beliefs, that book not only covers the great figures of revolutionary ideas. On this play he he reaches his full stature as a liber-

> "I have tried in it to express within were in the air and it was natural that the limits of art that Titan cry of the Wilde should have been affected by



there is an interesting section in which the author analyses the totalitarian ideas in Saint/Sir Thomas Moore's Utopia. itarianism which were beginning to Some significant figures in early socialist thought are omitted—Gerrard Winstanley's dominate English socialist thought. He had been too much influenced by mind-but in general the author deserves equanimity the state as a director of worthy books and authors who have been

must know that the train will leave

King's Cross at 10 a.m.; we must be

able to rely on the engine-driver being

he will see the job through. He may

heard the first cuckoo of spring, because

a round of golf on an adjacent course.'

of what anarchists have contended. What

free society than under compulsion.

Those who laugh at this idea are ignoring,

has been proved in real life-not in the

This is only one example of the super-

ficiality of the judgments of this bok.

It shows great research, but it is a rash

thing to embark on such a work merely

as the result of years of reading, when

that reading has not led to understanding.

that should select any particular kind of Marx. to be wholly objective, and to give an But the great disadvantage about Mr. absolutely unbiassed summary of the Gray's book is that it is not unbiassed theories of each important socialist. He is evidently not a socialist, and his writer. It should leave it to the reader book is marred throughout by a facetiousto draw his own conclusions and make his ness and a superiority that diminish the own favourable or unfavourable judgment. value of his conclusions. He is a man who governs his political thought by that Perhaps to expect all this is to cry unfortunate quality, adored of the timid for the moon. We all have our predilec- "common sense", and anything that might tions, and the wholly objective scholar be interpreted as vision or idealism, or is a phenomenon which I, personally, that shows an attitude towards human have never encountered. Nevertheless, the nature different from the current bourgeois great need of such a book makes one one that men must always be restrained or always hope that it will appear, and when else they will become ravening beasts, is I read Alexander Gray's survey, it was received by the author with a shallow with a renewed hope that this might be condemnation that hides a schoolboy power of deep analysis or polemical we have said is that responsibility is reasoning, and too often a theory is just necessary, that men shold be reliable, and

> Naturally, enough, the anarchists have as Mr. Gray ignores, the fact that it us that anarchists suffer from a strange Palestine communities, which have run mindedness. The superficial nature of his a wholly voluntary basis of work. understanding of anarchist thought can be seen from the following paragraph,

"So long as we live in a society which has advanced in any degree beyond a state of primitive disintegration towards a condition of mutual interdependence, it is essential that we should be able to rely on each other. Expressed more sordidly and pro- theory. saically, this means that everyone must

ARAGON ARAGON: POET OF RESURGENT FRANCE. Edited by HANNAH JOSEPHINE and MALCOLM COWLEY (Pilot Press, 7/6). Here, in English translation, are the not politically correct. He wants all who calls himself a Marxist is not the

Aragon is in the very forefront of con- musician. temporary European literature. He is Yet in his own work Aragon is not looks as if they may succeed in driving undoubtedly a very considerable poet a Russianiser. He draws his strength and freedom and equality and friendship out Eluard. Therefore what follows is said history and French life. Somehow his dominate. the Bosche and to the Germans? Aragon's While disagreeing with "the save your did try to stop the bastilles from rising behaviour is truly a part of the period. own soul" brand of passivism, obviously

now is advocating a kind of left Fascism. much of his attitude. Existentialism looks He tries to stop, or does stop, any writer rather like the the German myth turned poems that Louis Aragon wrote while French works of art in Germany to be least among the many terrors of our age. France was occupied by the Nazis; here returned, however and whenever she They came into human history, these also is a record of the way he behaved acquired them; even if Goethe or Marxists, claiming to be able to put an during that period. The poems are real Beethoven paid for a painting out of the end to hunger, and decent people everypoems and his behaviour was magnificent. money they earned as a writer or as a where sided with them; they took us all

indeed, if not quite the equal of Paul his talent from the very bowels of French of that part of history which they just as much in sorrow as in anger, and behaviour seems to be a deeper betrayal It is difficult to understand Aragon's one is very angry indeed. Louis Aragon of the real work of the poet than even motives. He has probably quite simply is, as it were, the poet laureate of the Ezra Pound's tragic mistake. Perhaps lost sight of the means because he is so Fourth Republic. France honours him this is merely because Aragon was on the deeply concerned with the ends. But as an artist and has thrice decorated him winning side. Now that he is busily pre- really there is no end; the beginning and as a soldier. He has therefore plenty of venting everyone getting published in the means are all the property any of us room in which to function, and it is the France who is not in line with the present have. However, no solution of this probvery way in which he is functioning that trend, it is amusing to remember that his lem of Louis Aragon's behaviour will be one objects to so strongly. Is it not own great poem on the U.S.S.R. was first reached, nor can it be decided by denying significant that even during the war, he published in the English-peaking countries his very considerable poetic achievement never referred to the Nazis, but always to by Ezra Pound in his Active Anthology. or by denying that when France fell, he

obviously impressed and influenced Vera was to have been played in by anarchist thought, as is shown by London at the Adelphi Theatre, but several pieces of evidence in his life was withdrawn by the producers be- and writings.

cause of the panic caused by the In De Profoundis, for instance, he assassination of Alexander II by the praised Kropotkin as one of the few Wilde was an individualist. But, Russian terrorists. It was a bad play, men whose lives he really admired. unlike many of the individualists of but at least it showed a good intention. When the Chicago anarchists were his time, he did not seek personal In Wilde's later writings the theme waiting to be executed, an attempt freedom for himself alone. He of exploitation is a recurrent one. One was made to organise an appeal realised that his own freedom was of his best stories, The Young King, among well-known English writers dependent on the freedom of others, makes a monarch see in a series of for their reprieve. Out of all the that what he desired for himself vivid dreams the terrible sufferings literary "rebels" Wilde was the only should be given to everyone else. which his people undergo to provide one who gave his support and stood And for this reason there is evident his wealth. One of his plays, An beside the anarchists in the storm of throughout his works a conscious- Ideal Husband, is based on an ex- hatred which surrounded them at the ness of the oppression and exploit- posure of the corruption by which time. When an anarchist poet, John ation, the political corruption and men succeed in politics, and here and Barlas, demonstrated his disgust with personal slavery, of the world in there throughout his works are scat- the social structure by firing a revolver tered sentences and paragraphs in at the House of Commons, and was which Wilde showed his concern for arrested for this, Wilde, who hardly knew Barlas, came forward voluntarily to bail him out, and to stand surety to prevent his being sent to prison. Such gestures as these suggest the anarchist sympathies which become even more evident from a perusal of

The Soul of Man under Socialism. Opposition To Authority Wilde sets out with the thesis that Socialism should be used for the sole purpose of creating more individual them. But he differed from the liberty. He begins by attacking making governments unstable from majority of the intellectuals of his philanthropic ideas, which attempt to time, of whom Shaw is a fair ex- palliate the evils of private property, ample, in that he did not allow him- and points out that only under a self to be impressed by the fashionable system where property is socialised kinds of Fabian and Marxist author- will the evils of poverty be abolished. But he is careful to dissociate himself from any authoritarian idea of

"Socialism, Communism, or whatever one chooses to call it, by converting private property into public wealth, and substituting co-operation for com-(Continued on page 7)

fulfil his contract, and in a sense make himself the slave of a time-table. We The Anatomy of Peace

REVES. (Penguin Books.)

exploited and oppressed people.

The Soul Of Man Under

tarian. Various ideas of socialism

there; we must have an assurance that Before considering the nature of the not, sixty miles from London, hand book for the problem of war, it is necessary that we should consider some of the merely because, with Delius, he has just bees in his bonnet, bees which buzz most insistently throughout the book, and the meadows are bespangled with determine all the author's findings. orchids, the ditches a gleam of golden First, he holds the interesting belief king-cups, and all nature summons him that the state is the source of all human to partner the dining car attendant in liberty. He writes:

. . . Freedom in human society is This, of course, is a complete travesty exclusively the product of the state. is indeed unthinkable without the state. "The day the first legal imposition of a compulsion was forced upon a com- self is: munity was the greatest day in history.

That day freedom was born." And so on, ad nauseam. Throughout the book, this adulation state as a compulsive factor forcing man socialist thinkers for this barrage of sly common sense bourgeois world, but in the to be social, is endlessly repeated. Mr. wit, and Mr. Gray is at pains to inform communal villages of Spain and the Reves clearly does not believe that man, mixture of intelligence and simple- for years, prosperously and efficiently, on sociable instincts by which freely working social groupings can be formed. Indeed, he holds a most novel biological theory:

created by law and can exist only with-

sists that the state should be "democratic" and freely admits all the manifold evils

Like the Communists, and too like the to be politically anti-war is not the same Poles, he was magnificent in defeat and thing, it does seem that in defeating Hitler pathetic in victory. What he is doing France has herself become infected with from being published in France who is inside out. The divine right of everyone for suckers. Before they finally depart it

THE ANATOMY OF PEACE. EMERY that the modern state inflicts upon the citizen. These evils he ascribes entirely to the fact that all states have to be in a position of war-preparedness, and hence remedy which Mr. Reves proposes in this the people must suffer in many ways. In a condition of true peace, he infers, perfect justice and prosperity could be imposed on the people by the state. The simple remedy for war (and indeed all social evils) which he proposes, is that there should be a single, all-embracing

> I scrutinized the book most carefully to find any analysis of the causes of war. There is none. The only statement on this issue which the author permits him-

> > "War takes place whenever and

World State to force peace on all man-

wherever non-integrated social units of equal sovereignty come into contact." This statement is repeated a great number of times in similar words; but nowhere does he explain what he means by "coming into contact." This is typical of the vagueness of most of his assertions. Badly analysed, the book seems too superficial to attract much attention. Yet it would be a grave mistake to under-rate its possible influence. Though superficial in content, and relying on endless repetibeast of prey . . . Human freedom is tion of sheerly dogmatic statements rather than on reasoning, it is written in a in a legal order, never without or powerful style reminiscent of masterly oratory. Many readers may well be Yet Mr. Reves is not a plain carried away by the torrent of words.

Totalitarian State-worshipper. He in- All through the book we await the unfolding of a masterly plan to bring about the World State. Mr. Reves keeps us waiting. He demonstrates quite ably why the existing sovereign states resist the idea of a World State, and then in the last chapter he shews his hand:

"If we cannot attain universalism and create union by common consent and democratic methods as a result of rational thinking—then, rather than retard the process, let us precipitate union by conquest. It serves no reasonable purpose to prolong the death throes of our decrepit institutions and to postpone inevitable events only to make the changes more painful and more costly in blood and suffering. It would be better to have done with this operation as quickly as possible, etc.,

This book was published in a small edition in the U.S.A. in June, 1945. After America let loose the atomic bomb, however, it was printed by the 100,000 and sedulously pushed by responsible authorities in the States. The significance of it is clear; America has, or fancies she has, the physical means to compel this 'universalism", and Mr. Reves' book is an interesting straw in the wind. I commend it to the attention of everyone interested in modern trends in state-worship

8th March, 1947

Oscar Wilde as a Libertarian Writer

munity has sufficient for his wants, and (Continued from page 6) source of crime in modern life, is an emotion closely bound up with our con-Life its proper basis and its proper ceptions of property, and under Socialenvironment. But, for the full develop-What is needed is Individualism. If power; if, in a word, we are to have quoted with profit, if I had the space, of bad social conditions as providing "the is a denial of a Free Society. Socialism

ings against compulsion. "Every man must be left quite free to choose his own work. No form of compulsion must be exercised over him. If there is, his work will not be good for him, will not be good in itself, and will not be good for others. And by work I simply mean activity of any . . . All association must be quite voluntary. It is only in voluntary associations that man is fine." And he is equally definite in his condemnation of government.

High hopes were once formed of demopeople for the people. It has been found out. I must say that it was high time, for all authority is quite degrading. It degrades those who evercise it, and degrades those over whom it

Wilde uses the word "Individual- to do more than give a sketch of the ism" to describe his own form of social ideas and comments of Wilde, Socialism. But in fact he was some- but I think this is sufficient to indicate what nearer to what we should call a side of his thought too frequently anarchist communism, in that he said neglected. Wilde had his faults, both that the State should be replaced by as a man and a writer, but he had pondent.—Eps.) "a voluntary association that will a consistent preoccupation with freefacturer and distributor of necessary should be able to live more fully in commodities." His idea was that a world without tyranny. His belief enable the community to provide all anarchist view of life as any I have the necessities. The community as read elsewhere: a whole would organise the production of "useful things", and thus leave the individual to produce whatever he desired for his own personal satisfaction.

Attitude To Crime

Elsewhere, Wilde condemns punishment, and shows that crime is usually caused by want, and that with the abolition of property crime will practically vanish. "When each member of the com-

Daily Mirror, 27/2/47.

FOOD SITUATION

DECONTAMINATION

singing "trivial bourgeois songs".

Soviet Navy concert parties are ad-

Says Colonel Melnik in Red Fleet:

"Tipperary" and "Tavern in the Town",

which the Pacific Fleet sings, have

I cannot understand why the Black

Sea Fleet has turned attention to the very

is only capable of ruining the musical

and cannot interest a Soviet audience.

-stupid music-hall ditty "K-k-k-katie".

taste of a Soviet audience.

a few days.

(Wilde's The Soul of Man Under cipline" Socialism is reprinted in the Everyman Library selection of his works.) GEORGE WOODCOCK.

Industrial Tyrannies, then, the last state but for the present I shall have to be basic soil for ill-health and premature and Communism are a denial of a Free But lately I have been passing my copy content with a few words from death." Before the war in certain districts of Society, as any Anarchist can easily on to workmates whom I thought I could

Anarchist writers.

and was brought up against authority at its worst, his feelings of anger were building on. Medical officers further derenewed, and it is significant that the last work he wrote, The Ballad of Reading Gaol, is little else than a fine in prison, how sordid and miserable their lives become, and says:

"But this I know, that every Law That men have made for Man, Since first Man took his brothers' life,

And the sad world began, But straws the wheat and saves the chaff

With a most evil fan."

In this article I have been unable

organise labour, and be the manu- dom, a constant desire that men Individualist and Communist property, in the sense of the means has been expressed perhaps most of production, should be socialised, concisely in these words from The Socialism and/or Communism. To me PORTRAIT OF AN and that the possibilities of machinery Soul of Man, which to my mind there is no such thing as Voluntary ENGLISHMAN

must be exploited to the utmost to supply as good a definition of the Socialism or Voluntary Communism. Harold Nicholson, reviewing Major Anarchism is pure Individual Egoism, and Lewis Hasting's book Dragons Are Extra: The Woking magistrates yesterday disa voluntary association of Anarchists or "Major Hastings has no love for in- missed under the Probation Act a charge League of Egoists (as voiced by Max tellectuals or politicians, but he adores of stealing coal valued 1s., but ordered "For what man has sought for is, Stirner) has no relation whatever to animals; his stories of how he killed these Bolsover to pay £1 2s. costs. indeed, neither pain nor pleasure, but Socialism or Communism, which latter animals are among the most vivid in the simply life. Man has sought to live are systems depending on Authority. book." intensely, fully, perfectly. When he Authority has a basis of revenge backed

can do so without exercising restraint by force against free individuals who dare on others, or suffering it ever, and his activities are all pleasurable to him, he of Authority. This revenge is cloaked in WHAT IS IT? her sign of approval. When man is crushing of Individual Freedom by man. There he showed real insight. The

Anarchists often speak of a Free Society to tell him what it is. as being "Voluntary Socialism", or

Importance of Social Biology

"Disobedience, in the eyes of anyone Families were sleeping eight or ten in who has read history, is man's original one room, sometimes with a lodger or virtue. It is through disobedience that | two added. Sanitation was so conspicuous obedience and through rebellion." Tyneside houses were demolished it was When Wilde himself went to prison, reported that three years exposure to sun

> suffering from malnutrition. What is the use of spending colossa sums on medical research, involving the the right and true way of prevention lies wide open before us?

clared that two-thirds of the children were

Feed and clothe and house our people properly and teach them to lead lives, and the problem of disease will

M. OLDFIELD HOWEY.

(Granted that with sound economic organization, poverty would disappear, and with it the bulk of disease, and hence the need for medical research also. Mean-

"Voluntary Communism", whereas both Socialism and Communism cannot do the State. without Authority, Punishment, and Dis-

cipline,—that is, the State. The word Anarchism is alone sufficient to describe a Free Society, because Anar- fluence would be felt more. I have all Biology he rightly stresses the importance chism repudiates Authority, and Authority He continually re-iterates his warn- Wilde's praises of disobedience, which | England, realistically known as the "disecho Thoreau and all the great kind was prevalent among the people, and specific an

> (N.B.-Due to the practice of largescale labour parties, and of the Russian cial Democrats (Bolsheviks) who adopted the term Communism after they achieved power, the terms Socialism and month. Communism have come to have rather William Morris used the term "socialism or Kropotkin the term "communism", they certainly did not accept the idea of Authority. Similar confusion exists with regard to Anarchism; etymologically. no doubt, it means "without ruler", but it has also been perverted to mean "dis- DEAR COMRADES, order". These terms must be understood in their context, and with regard to the general views of the user.—EDS.)

Freedom's Circulation Drive DEAR COMRADES,

to emphasize the aims and ultimate goal— of agriculture.

the social revolution will become.

drive. Why don't you offer Anarchist Godwin) for the reader who introduces 40 or 50 new subscribers to Freedom? The Industrial Worker does it and lately offered Hewetson's Ill-health, Poverty and

anarchism, the nearer and more successful

As an Anarchist I would like to see the paper gaining circulation and being able to come out as a weekly, and then its inthe earlier issues of War Commentary right back to the typewritten first number. I know you have been gaining strength by looking through back issues and taking note of the new contributors. In future send me two copies of Freedom, and I would also like you to send me Why every

Wishing you every success in your cirlation drive. I hope in the near future to see Freedom appearing as a Daily! Yours for Anarchy,

Anti-Clericalism and Agriculture

With regard to E.W.L. and J.S.'s letters in the Feb. 15th issue of Freedom, I don't see how any "real" fiction (excuse my unlucky choice of words) could be serialised effectively in your paper. And while I agree with your attacks on the Vatican, I think any more space available I want to congratulate you on the new for attacks on the churches should be format of Freedom. I wish you success devoted to the C. of E. whose influence in your drive for new readers. You have if less insidious is more widespread herestressed the economic side of the question abouts (Yorks). Personally I should like and I would like in future issues for you to see more space devoted to the question

The theatre is being renovated and the

accused were found in the boiler-house

with the coke in two sacks. Mann said

he was short of fuel at home and his wife

in ill-health, and that Skingle had come

1s. Coal costs £1 2s.—Because his wife

and six-months-old baby were without a

fire, Edmund Bolsover, aged 32, of

Hermitage-road, Woking, filled a sandbag

Sunday Dispatch, 23/2/47.

with coal at the Brookwood Hospital,

along to help him carry the coke.

a month's imprisonment.

Yesterday's 6 o'clock P.B.S. News

will be saner, healthier, more civilised, moral and legal mummery, called Mr. Attlee concluded his speech by Union are to be given Habeas Corpus more himself. Pleasure is Nature's test, "Punishment", backed by force. The emphasising the dignity of the working rights. happy, he is in harmony with himself Authority is called "Discipline", and true value to society of the man who uses prepared by the newly created Legislative Authority cannot exist without "dis- his hands is at last being recognised. But Commission will afford defence rights to in return the manual labourer has a accused persons, the commission's presi-I mention all this because some responsibility. It is the job of the unions dent, Mr. Georgi Perov, told the Supreme

News Chronicle, 17/2/47.

Evening Standard, 24/2/47. A STEP FORWARD— Russian citizens throughout the Soviet

A new civil and criminal code to be

[Habeas Corpus is the greatest constitutional safeguard in Britain against unlawful imprisonment. The Act dates from 1697. It means that anybody unlawfully imprisoned can either be released at once or brought to speedy trial. It is a writ issued by a judge or court of justice commanding the person to whom it is directed bring the body of a person in his custody before the court.] News Chronicle, 27/2/47.

Heisenberg, one of the world's leading of another German scientist named Beck The Palestine Post. to join him at the University of Buenos

Critic in News Chronicle, 27/2/47. They have varied in price. In a North London shopping area they have been COMMUNIST SNOOPING

I am stung to protest by the behaviour of people in this district re the fuel cuts. The Star, 17/2/47. They seem to think they can help the opposition by wasting as much electricity

For being concerned with Mann, Yes. Report such cases to the police;

vesterday by Colonel Randolfo Pacciardi, weather. editor of the Right-Wing newspaper

As duelling is illegal, it may take place

CHEERFUL NEWS DEPT. On show in freezing London yesterday were flowers which last week were bloom-

Burma Rifle Brigade, who have been on were today declared "rebels".

Mr. R. T. Paget, Old Etonian Socialist never be enough people to fill the bottom potami-both plurals being correct acjobs . . . that situation can only be over- cording to my dictionary). They are to come by a constant inflow from those come to the Zoo from Hamburg. nations where the standard of living is Mr. Leslie Flewin, Zoo overseer, has lower and where our bottom jobs appear not been finding it easy to arrange their

rumours. The only news published for London has been granted. Parisians is a Government bulletin which Because of low temperatures the hippos asks me when the man (he won't call him Marylebone magistrate.

Sunday Express, 23/2/47.

IMPROVING Strawberries, at £2 a pound, from the West Indies, may be on sale in London in

SANCTUARY

Challenge to a duel at dawn to-day was sent Left-Wing leader of the Italian Republican Party, to Signor Tulli Benedett monished in the official newspaper for Giornale della Sera.

ing in Palestine sunshine.

Daily Express, 17/2/47. They were flown to England in icecooled containers for exhibition at Palestine House—"a foretaste of what Londoners will be able to enjoy." "sit-down strike" for three days at Peru, days of being cut. Roses will probably

DEMOB FRIENDS DEPT. Awaiting milder weather like the rest M.P. for Northampton: "There will of us are two hippopotamuses (or hippo-

release. He first went over in September, Sunday Express, 23/2/47. with the idea of relieving the Hamburg LEARNING AT HOME

Paris without newspapers is a city of as tedious, a permit to send them to should have this sort of hardening.

water—but in crates lined with straw. Evening News, 22/2/47. The journey has to be planned to avoid

delay, for this mode of packing is liable to give them dry and cracked skins, which would be as dangerous to them as chill

Lovable though hippopotomuses un-

doubtedly are, we think it is going bit too far to consider their comfort Daily Herald, 24/2/47. hungry and homeless human in- up "Hahoma" anti-terrorist literature, in at Gottingen, has accepted the invitation habitants of Hamburg.

Sir Bede Clifford came back to Britain yesterday after five years as Governor o

The oil island's natives had lost "a stern parent". Sir Bede put it that way. In his cabin in the Queen Elizabeth after she berthed at Southampton he told The plan is to sell flowers within three a Daily Mirror reporter: "In relation to the people, one has to be something like a stern parent in a position like the Daily Express, 18/2/47.

"The people are like children from whom one has to take away things that

"If they had sabotaged the oil wells in prived thousands of their fellows of work and at the same time have made Britain spend dollars to buy oil she could not get Daily Mirror, 26/2/47.

Zoo of animals they could not feed. The My husband teases our little son aged

suggestion came from the Control Com- three. His favourite game is to rush the carpet sweeper at him fiercely. My Now, after negotiations described to me husband—just demobbed—thinks a boy The child is terrified and repeatedly

gives Ministry announcements and will not travel in their natural element- Daddy) is going away again. My husband is training to be a teacher.

DISCOURAGING

A girl who tried to explain to the police, who had arrested her and three NO BRITISH OBJECTION boy companions for posting bills on the . The current issue of the New Republic walls of Jerusalem that their notices were carries a highly sensational story of against terrorism was told by the police Peron's plans for developing atomic no matter what was on it.

SUPPLY AND DEMAND— When I first heard of this story I made

fom the Azores, where they sell at 1s. and even imagine for a moment that he would 2s. Some are already in London shops be allowed to move from the British Zone. at 21s. and 25s. There is no price control To my surprise, I read in the New York and heavy costs of transport, as well as Herald Tribune of last Sunday that the insurance and customs duty, make them New Republic's story is confirmed by an

A Covent Garden fruiterer tells me that that Heisenberg is reported to have said the price factors are supply and demand- that no British objection would be taken "If people are prepared to pay high prices, to his departure. then pineapples will remain high." 12s. 6d., which is about their minimum. Usual price is about 15s.

3s. 3d., from the boiler-house of Kilburn spirit to economise. My boss's wife has Palace Theatre, Belsize-road, N.W., waterheaters, frig. (in this weather!) etc., Joseph Thomas Mann, 32-year-old former all on, and when I tried to protest she Hampstead A.R.P. demolition worker and said she had no intention of economising. professional boxer, of Exeter-road, We ought to be compulsorily cut off Brondesbury, N.W., was sent to a month's to stop this sort of thing. Can nothing gaol yesterday by Mr. Ronald Powell, the be done?

Frederick Skingle (30), toolmaker, of who can now take action. Letter in Daily Mail, 26/2/47. Darren-road, Battersea, was fined £10 or

that it made no difference. Putting up power in Argentina. It declared that the the poster was illegal, said the policeman, German Nobel Prize winner, Werner The four were allegedly caught posting atomic physicists, who is now studying the Beit Israel quarter.

inquiries from British authorities who Ten thousand pineapples have arrived scouted the notion that Heisenberg would official British spokesman in Berlin and

Our power is not cut off at the main For stealing 90lb, of coke, worth now, and it is left to people's public

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