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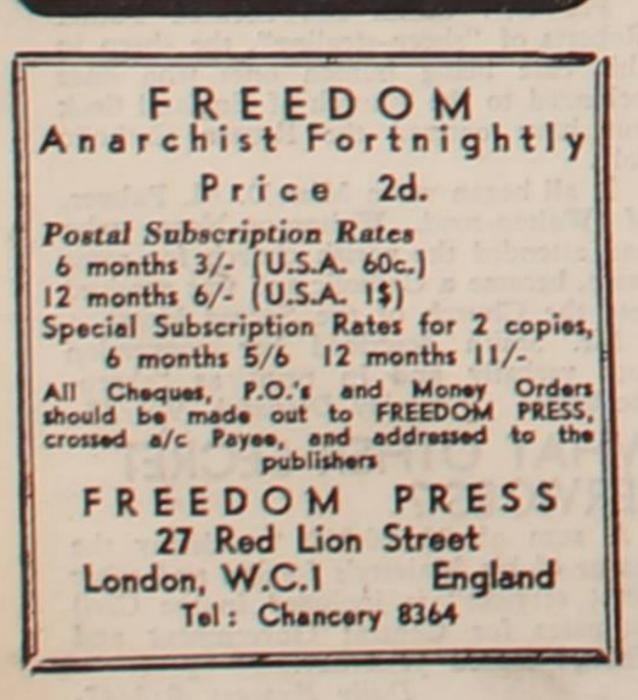
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DESERTER WHO meetings and SURRENDERED

Describes Court Martial Procedure

facts. I was a deserter for 3 years, Government had promised Gerald Vaughan taken from the police

morning, the 2nd February, and then like me in detention. an escort awaited me, and I was I would be extremely grateful, sir, nandcuffed and taken to Barnard if you could print my story and let Castle, Co. Durham.

On arrival there, I was put into the the surrenders, are being treated, guardroom until the Tuesday, and I the sentences imposed. I have no was then issued with a uniform. On objection to my name, number the 17th of February, I was before a Regiment being quoted. court-martial charged with desertion, and I was told by my defending . officer to plead guilty to desertion, so that he could put in a plea of

advise the Court President as to the It was with great interest that I procedure, all during my trial. On read your article campaigning for an the 6th of March, I heard my nnesty for deserters. It was only sentence, and was awarded 18 months to-day that I saw your article, and detention. I naturally appealed I am writing to give you some true against such a severe sentence, as the told me to withdraw my appeal, as tention cells where, on arrival, I had to spend more time in detention than well as my shoe laces and braces, and after hearing my sentence, and my little boy is fretting for me.

I had a bed, made of planks of I am due any day now to go to a wood, and a block of wood for a proper detention barracks and serve pillow. I was then issued with three my sentence, which consists of drill dirty blankets and a small mattress. and learning over again the com-All this happened on Thursday, the ponents of a rifle, etc. I am of the 30th of January. I was wakened at opinion that this is a sheer waste of 5 o'clock in the morning and my time and manpower. I consider I bedding was taken away and I was would be more useful to the country, left alone in a cold cell all day, and back in my civilian occupation of only allowed out to collect my meagre skilled motor mechanic, and I would meals, and had to eat them in the also be saving the taxpayers' money, cells. This carried on until Sunday instead of having it wasted on men

> the ordinary people know how we, I am, sir,

The Prosecuting Officer had to

TOO MUCH SEX?

THE recent Cornock case, with its background of sexual perversion, has raised the question in the press as whether such matters should be publicly ventilated or not. The pros and cons were debated in the Sunday Pictorial, and some of the views expressed invite comment. "Before last week," writes Mary Sinclair, "I was hardly aware that these things went on. Now that I know they do-and I wish to heaven that I was as ignorant to-day as I was a week ago-I can see the dangers which beset impressionable young men and girls . . . and even schoolchildren." Now informed people may be well enough aware of the fact of sexual perversion; but it is likely that the great majority of the population are ignorant. And their ignorance is not Cloth 2/6, Paper 1/- very effectively dispelled by the half-hints of the Sunday press, and the inscriptions on lavatory walls. Half-ignorance is inevitably even more pernicious than full

In favour of full discussion, Geoffrey Carr based his arguments on the fact that unless one knows the dangers, how can children and women be protected. Neither seemed to be bothered by the fact that widespread perverse practices in sex indicates a sickness in sexual in general in our society. But it is clear that a rational approach is required, when finds sexual perversion-surely matter for pity and commiseration-being held up to such odium. "Disgusting "filthy," "shameful," "odious"-this not the language of reason. But it makes clearer the secret emotional satisfactions which the more prurient section of the Sunday press make it their business supply. No such hysteria would possible in a clean and healthy atmos phere on sexual topics.

NORTH EAST LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP ____ A GROUP MEETING TUESDAY, 15th APRIL at 7.30 p.m. at 43ENEW WANSTEAD (Near Whipps X) E.17 DICUSSIONS led by H.G. HANMER "What Do You Understand by Anarchism ? " All Enguuiries to :-The Secretary, c/o Freedom Press.

days and nights-such a course certainly does not commend itself to reason. Prejudice And Unwanted Children Nor is the question of a ra sexual attitude without practical apppl cations here and now. Another Sunday paper, Reynolds News, has drawn tion to the plight of many hundreds half-caste children, the off-spring coloured U.S. soldiers and English who are now unwanted. whose future is fraught with all the cruelty that prejudice invariably brings with it. Reynolds has made attempts suggest solutions. Coloured couples in America are willing to adopt these unwanted kids; but immigration red tape is inevitably obstructive. It is urged that the children should be cared for at public expense; but behind that phrase lies the cold shadow of the public orphanage, with all the love-starvation which is so stunting to the young, even when it does not cover more positive harms. These are the "remedies" to which good-hearte

people are driven. But driven by whatif not by prejudice regarding illegitimacy, race prejudice and the rest of obscurantist business? Until all such obsolete prejudice is cleared away by the expression of a rational and humane attitude on sexual matters, the world will regularly each fortnight demands continue to heap cruelty and neglect on considerable time and thought on unwanted children-not merely of mixed marriages, but of the off-spring of all sexual relations which do not remain on production and distribution. But how A.M. 2/-. a voluntary basis of mutual affection and much more difficult and tiring this contentment. If Freedom contributes to can be when one works under a destroy sexual obscurantism, we shall not consider in retrospect that we have cloud, only few, apparently, of our devoted "too much space to sex".

FREEDOM



Your obedient servant,

(We have withheld name and address which were supplied by our corresponde for obvious reasons.-EDS.)



Freedom? Several of our correspondent have suggested that we devote "too much space to sex". Let us say straight away that we consider that any matter which province of those who look for a better of the Socialist State. piness. And the public comments made | beside the point. about the Cornock case indicate only too | We think that slave labour should such a question carries very serious freedom and self-development, while denving the importance of the very things which pre-occupy every normal individua for a considerable proportion of their



A World Safe for Hypocrisy

(Continued from page 1) unced that they intended to return a mere 100.000.

atly wrote that the new Siberian world war will be scattered. railroad will be the largest transport Year Plan".

expected quarters about this slave class. labour. It may not be unsuitable to recall that:

1. Russia has been using slave labour for the past twenty years; it has become an essential feature of its touches the wellsprings of human motives dustrial development and is responsible and human happiness comes within the for some of the greatest achievements world. Whatever the exact importance | 2. That France and England are

one attaches to sexual matters, there can also using German slave labour. significance in human misery and hap- the prisoners are better treated

rational approach in general. Neglect of not merely used to score a point round conference tables. We condemn it dangers, for to try and provide a social whether it is applied by Russians to environment which will permit of human Russians or by French, British and

DISPERSE THIS CLOUD!

he could not believe that "Freedom" are concerned with lightening our nightly. Nevertheless they are not in Anarchist ideas. the proportion of £3,000 to £0!

We mention this not because we expect to be paid for our work, nor as a criticism of the other paper's £3,000 salary bill (it's their affair), but in order to convince our readers that the production of "Freedom" the part of those responsible for its readers have so far appreciated. Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1, and published by Freedom Press, London, W.C.1

Americans to Germans. A German recently expressed the view to a journalist that the war had The Russian figure is an obvious been fought to make the world safe understatement. The American news for hypocrisy. The Moscow Conference letter Looking Ahead (31st December, will certainly not dispel this view. 1946), which contains a carefully While the public in Britain and America locumented study on Russian concen- look at this meeting with indifference tration camps, estimates that the MVD the German people are closely follow-(alias NKVD, alias GPU), "has now ing the discussions and these can only at its disposal 3,000,000 German, have the effect of making them lose the Italian, Finnish, Hungarian and Japanese little faith they may have left in war prisoners. The latter are co- "democracy". This would not be a operating with the millions of civilian bad thing in itself, but if it is not wards of the Ministry of Internal counteracted by demonstrations of Affairs to build railways, highways, working class solidarity on the part of strategic airfields in the great stretches the workers of the Allied countries, of Siberia. Referring to the foreign peoples will be identified with their little helpers, the Irkutsk Pravda governments and the seeds of another

Bevin may have been raised to power construction job in the current Five as a representative of the workers but his policy only represents the interests We can be sure that righteous in- of British and American capitalists and dignation will be expressed in un- will bring new misery to the working

> WANTED: 2,000 New Readers! Are you helping to introduce new readers to FREEDOM? Have you asked your newsagent to stock the paper?

be no question of their very considerable Whether it is on a smaller scale and Can you sell a few copies among your friends? We can supply you with copies of the current issue clearly how lacking is a human and exposed, condemned and abolished and (6 copies 1/-, 12 copies 2/- post free).

> The "cloud" is the financial situation of Freedom Press. The paper lives A N acquaintance who is on the a hand-to-mouth existence, and much A editorial staff of a national of the editors' time is spent in asking magazine was shown a copy of themselves where the money for the "Freedom" recently, and his first next issue will come from. Is it remark was "Do you actually bring really fair to expect people to run this out every fortnight?" "How do a paper under such conditions? Are you manage the editing?" In fact, there really so few comrades who represented the voluntary effort of a burden? As we have already indifew people. And indeed, looking cated there are two ways to help: through the balance sheet of a small regular contributions to the Press weekly paper, the contents of which Fund and helping to increase the represented approximately one half circulation of the paper by making of that contained in "Freedom", we yourselves responsible for distributing noticed that some £3,000 was spent a certain number of copies of each in a year on wages and salaries for issue of "Freedom". By so doing the editorial staff. Admittedly, the you will disperse the cloud and at problems of a weekly are always the same time have done something considerably greater than for a fort- to introduce more people to the

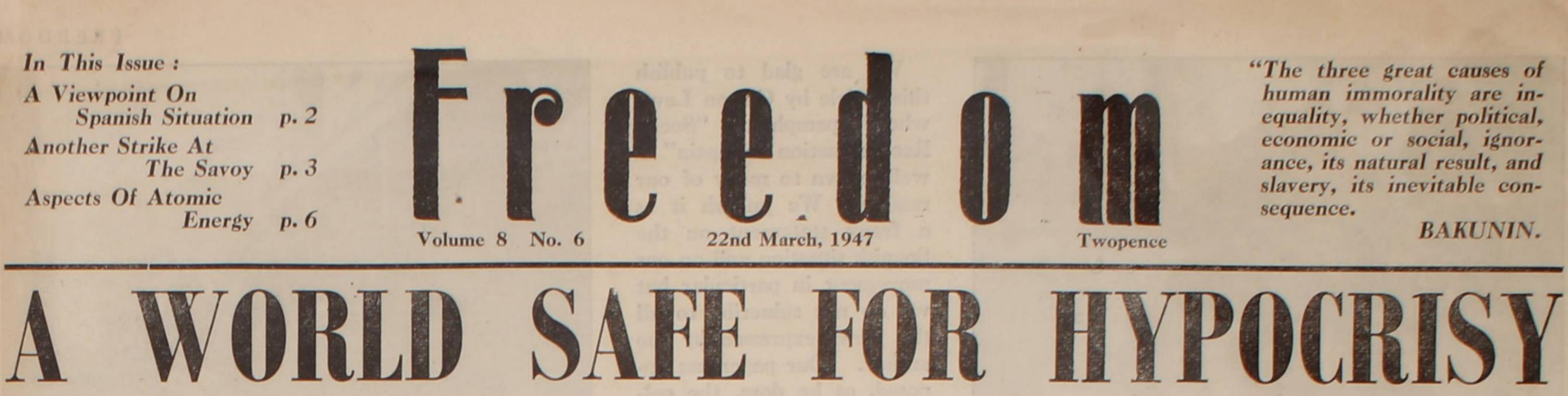
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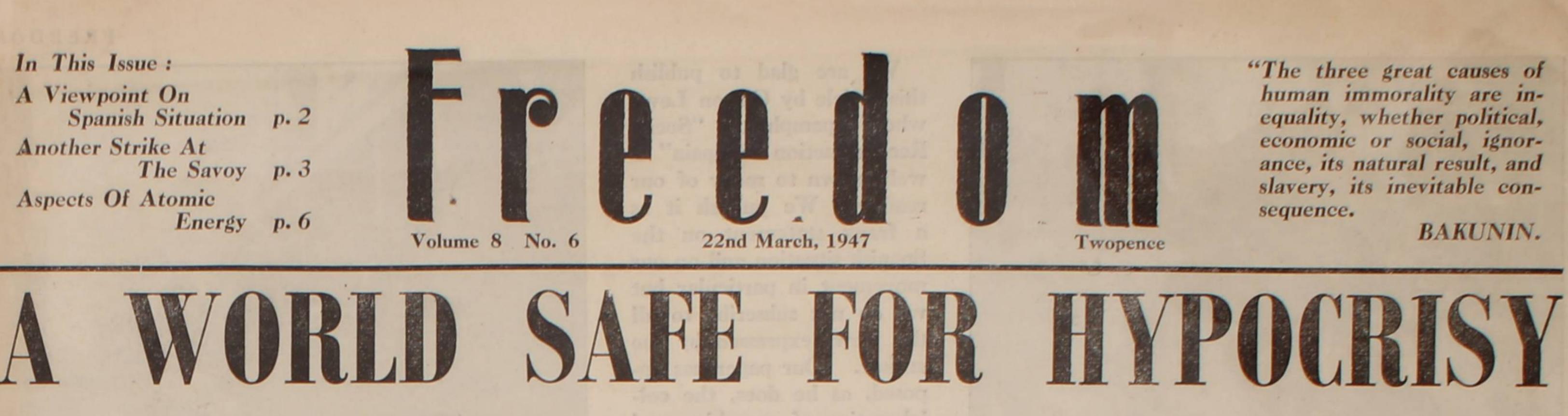
Feb. 25th - March 13th. London: P.H.S. £1/0/0; London: J.B. Horwich: W.H.B. 4/-, Sympathiser Anon 4d.; Leeds: A.E. 4/-: Colwyn Bay: W.D.R. 5/-: Wadebridge: F.E.R. 6d. Wallasey: Detroit: A.V.P K.H.J. 5/-: £1/0/0: New Haven, Conn.: Anon 2/6; Horley: B.G. 1/4; Glasgow: G.G. 4/-; London: H.C. 5/-; Newton Abbot: E.D. 1/2; Horley: B.G. 2/-: M.E.F.:

Total Previously acknowledged		 £6 £114	14 12	
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Issue Before the Moscow Conference

THE Four Power Conference now in progress in Moscow has not aroused many hopes though all comments have not been as pessimistic as that of Lord Vansittart who declared, even before the Conference had begun, "No one ever expected results from the Moscow Conference". The main problem facing the Big Four is that of Germany and we already know that two radically opposed solutions will be put forward. They have been Police Censorship summarised in the following way: Britain and America want a Germany "economically prosperous, politically weak" while the Russians want an

"economically weak but politically strong Germany". Translated in plain language this means that America wants to develop many, Lady Violet Bonham Carter has German economy with a view to monopolising it. If buying up of shares in (5/3/47): German industries has not been perhaps as widespread as the Russians have declared, there is no doubt that American business men will not let profitable field for investment sli between their fingers.

Britain has also capitalist colonisation in view but is even more concerned with immediate problems. Germany is drawing heavily on British finances, to the tune of £120,000,000 a year and a third of the expenditure on administration and food has to be paid for in dollars. Brtain cannot afford to keep Germany in a state of economic pros

By "keeping Germany politically weak" is meant that both America and Britain are opposed to a Central Government which could easily fal under Russian control and they are, course, opposed to any movement which might advocate the political an economic independence of Germany

The Russians are not burdened financial obligations towards Germany and approach the economic problem from a different angle. But they are concerned in making Germany a vassal state under the control of a Communis Party which would, naturally, take its orders from Moscow. A "politically Germany with a Central government in Berlin controlled Parties and Trade Unions faithfully submitting to Stalin's dictates would enormously strengthen their hold over

The accusations of imperialism which Russia throws at America, and vice versa, are all part of the comedy. Each one of the powers meeting in Moscow to-day is pursuing an imperialist policy -America and Britain mainly through the traditional way of capitalist infil- Up till now this agreement has been tration, Russia through political control and propaganda (which does not mean, of course, that she neglects getting hold of German industry and trade).

Fostering The Nazi Spirit

Both policies have the same effects on the German people, that of fostering nationalism. The British and Americans have behaved like ruthless and arrogant conquerors-they have fleet of 75 Liberty ships. One will inflicted a series of petty insults and frustrations on the German people and have failed to supply them with ade- fitted as fishing boats, were blown up quate food and consumer goods. The at Bremerhaven. Now Hoover suggests result of the occupation is that the that additional fishing boats should be word "democracy" stinks in German leased to Germany.

" Democracy In the New Navy!

A naval officer who ate Christm dinner, and drank with five ratings board a minesweeper was ordered by a naval court-martial at Rosyth yesterday to forfeit three months' seniority, to dismissed from H.M.S. Lochinvar and severely reprimanded.

Temp. Lt. John Thomas Wardle pleaded guilty to taking his lunch and consuming exciseable liquor in the after mess of H.M. motor minesweeper 1060 on Christmas Day with five ratings and to giving beer and spirits to the ratings. A memorandum, said the circumstantia letter, issued to commanding officers, including Wardle, stated that no entertainments of ratings were to be allowed in officers' messes during the Christmas season.

Wardle said that in the absence of adequate domestic staff and mindful of and serving of the special Christmas a million have been sent back to Gerdinner, he had agreed to eat with the care and maintenance patty of five men. surprise, since last Autumn they an-News Chronicle, 8/3/47.

Coming back from a visit to Gerdeclared in the News Chronicle

"While I was in Germany I did not (alas!) meet one single Englishman who did not admit to me that our reputation was steadily sinking. that the Germans had lost faith. not only in ourselves and i good faith, but in the whole democratic system for which we stand . is it to be wondered at? . . . How, for instance, can we possibly justify the ruling whereby " a German cannot claim damages from a member of the occupation forces", no matter what injury he or she has suffere at their hands? . . . We are in effect telling our forces of occupation that the conquered have no rights, and that, as conquerors, they can do no

It is very doubtful if the experience of Russian occupation has given Germans a better impression of State Socialism. The behaviour of the Red Army, the starvation rations meted out in the Russian zone, the political dictatorship, have disillusioned even those who had remained faithful to communism through Nazi prisons and concentration camps. Russia is trying to compensate for this feeling of despair by its propaganda for an unite Germany and a Fourth Reich. This will have some effect; nationalism always thrives on empty stomachs. The policies of the occupying powers all lead to the same results-a revival of the Nazi spirit.

Large-Scale Lunacy

Potsdam will come in for some sharp sharp criticism at the Moscow Conference but not from the right quarters. carried out rather like the Red Queen's Croquet Party-"Off with that factory", very objectionable or calculated to inflame law "Off with that ship" said the Control Commission following its whims and or contempt for the law, should be with-

While we hear that more German Hoover, recently returned from an economic mission to Germany, recom- D.I.S. and released for delivery with the mends to President Truman that there should be a German-operated supply remember that a few months ago trawlers, which could have easily been

Potsdam is certainly one of the mo perfect political farces. While Mr Molotov points an accusing finger to factories scheduled for destruction and still standing in the British zone, Mr. Bevin sweetly reminds him that Russia has forgotten to blow up a few warships and subamrines. It is open knowledge that the Russian interpretation o Potsdam has been to dismantle and move to Russia the industries situate in their zone rather than blowing them

All this can only contribute to th atmosphere of trust and friendshi which is supposed to reign in Moscow.

When Slave Labour Is Abominable

The Conference has "turned to poignantly human angle" (in the words of a Sunday newspaper) in discussin the fate of war prisoners and displaced persons and we must expect an avalanche of sensational revelations German slave labour in Russia.

The Russians, pressed by Mr. Bevin, have at last announced their totals of gangs. prisoners. They say they have 895,530 Germans still in captivity and that over many. This came somewhat as (Continued on page 8)

in India

That the Indian National Congress has for many years been the basis Anarchist opposition to Indian Nationalism. The plight of the working class is never substantially altered by a mere they are wicked men, but because nature of government is not altered by a pleasant life in industry and a hardly change of government personnel In the United Provinces, the Indian

government has sent a special Confidential Department No. A3590 XXV cx, Dated Lucknow, October (946) to the following ten organization

- Radical Democratic Party.
- Scheduled Castes Federation
- Republican-Socialist Party of
- India. Hindu Mahasabha.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. Communist Party of India. The Khaksar Organization

perintendents of Post Offices and lower postal officials to censor and, if considered necessary", to withhold correspondence elonging to these organizations. Roy also quotes a covering letter (Criminal a very important source of information . . see that this source is intelligently tapped. should be sent to me; letters which are communal feelings, or to incite disorder held and sent to me in original; letters containing very important information,

least possible delay." So much for Indian freedom.



(The account of the disappearance of an Austrian opposition Communist in the Karl Fischer did not conceal his Russian zone has reached us as an urgent Press Release from the magazine "Politics" political views and criticised the Comin New York. We give it prominence, because it is a well-documented case of the munist Party openly in speech; he also kind of disappearances which have been taking place frequently in the Russian zones distributed anti-Communist books to his of Germany and Austria, but which it is difficult always to relate to such obvious motives on the part of the C.P. and-one might reasonably suggest-the GPU, as in

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

Karl Fischer, employee of the particularly active in persecution Labour Chamber in Linz and member Fischer. Horn succeeded in excluding of the Austrian Socialist Party, born him from the first transports of liber-September 23rd, 1918, disappeared in ated prisoners from Buchenwald to Urfar, Upper Austria, in the Russian Austria. On his release, Fischer dezone, on January 22nd, 1947. Fischer cided to go to Linz in the American had been sentenced to five years in zone, where he worked until April 1st, gaol by the Schuschnigg regime in 1946, as secretary of Captain Rozan in Austria, and released in connection the French Liaison Office. After the with a general amnesty in February, dissolution of that office, he worked in 1938. After the Anschluss, he went the office of economy and statistics of to France; in 1943 he was delivered to the Labour Chamber in Linz. the Gestapo by Vichy authorities. wald concentration camp until his leader for Upper Austria, Haider, spoke Zeit in a distorted fashion. liberation by the American Army in to the girl-friend of Fischer, Vera Fischer's boss, Richard Strasser. When the American

the Communist Party in Austria, was his personal life.

All-India Muslim League.

Indian Federation of Labour The Depressed Class League.

It has recently been announced in America that compulsory military service it to end, and that there will be no inductions after the 31st March The reasons for this are several Firstly, the American army is better paid than most industries in civilian , which are suffering from a drastic lowering of real wages, owing to the heavy rise in the cost of living combined with a falling of actu oney wages due to the cutting vertime after the war. Consequent many men, choosing between an unmore unpleasant one in the ar select the latter because it provide them with more economic security The result has been that the military chiefs claim that they have sufficient men enlisting voluntarily to make it unnecessary to introduce conscriptio A further element in this is also course the increasing unemployment America, which, while it has not nearly reached the depths of the great pre-war depression, is already much higher proportionately than in Engnd, and many men may have lifficulty in resisting the economi ence to continued unemployment

Conscription to End

remains sufficient concern for individual liberty among the people to make them realise, once the bad dream of war is over, that conscription is a direct threat to their freedom. But it is a very unsatisfactory kind of concern for freedom that only manifests itself in peacetime, and that is not proof against the blandishments of the wartime propagandists. Moreover, it is a disquieting fact that a people, like the Americans, who are at times ready to resist with great vigour an encroachment on freedom which affects the white majority, hould be so careless of the liberties of minorities of colour or opinion. It demonstrates that a mere resistance to encroachments on our own freedom is not enough if we are to gain that real freedom which comes from iving in a world where no men are

in U.S.A.

Roosevelt administration, there still

But it must not be overlooked that this abandonment of conscription by the American government is a great sign of what a really deeply-felt public discontent can do in forcing a government to abandon its coercive On the other hand, the second main attitude. Now it is time for the Engreason for the abandonment of lish people to demonstrate equally conscription is admitted, according to strongly their opposition to conscrip-Investigation Dept., Special Branch U.P. the Manchester Guardian corres- tion. The American government, for No. GC-4 (a) Genl. S.B. dated, Lucknow, pondent, to be a growing public all its commitments in the Pacific, October 18th, 1946) "Since censorship is hostility to the old plan of subjecting has been forced to abandon comall youths of 18 or 19 to compulsory pulsion. Why should not the British I am also sure that in present political military service. Apparently this government be forced to discover that atmosphere you will appreciate the hostility is now growing so great, the pressure of public discontent at absolute need for causing Government as that it is regarded as unlikely that home is more important than comlittle embarrassment as possible by in-such a law would get through con- mitments abroad? Or are British the censorship as secretly and expedi- gress, because the representatives conscripts to be used to police Europe tiously as possible. For this reason, only would be afraid of losing their seats on behalf of an American capitalism copies or translations of interesting letters if they voted for such an unpopular which is too scared of its own people to continue conscription? It is time The abandonment of conscription the British people joined with the in a country which had previously Americans and the Canadians in decided to embrace it whole- making conscription impossible by ships are going to be blown up, Herbert but which are not suitable for with- heartedly, shows that, in spite of the openly and widely voicing their disholding should be photographed by your trend towards state control, centralis- content. In this at least the American ation and governmental tyranny which people have given us an example was shown in America during the which we should follow and exceed.





friends. He had tried to bring Vera into opposition to the CP.

On January 22nd, 1947, when he finished his work at 5 p.m., he went with Vera to Urfar in the Russian zone. According to Vera, he left her at 5.45 p.m. to go back. Since then, he has not been heard from.

The investigation was very superficial. The Secretary Mantler, the Mayor of Linz, Dr. Koref, and the Minister of the Interior, Helmer, all of them socialists, were informed and promised to deal with the matter. Not until January 27th, five days later, were the police ready to publish a notice that A short time before Fischer's dis- Fischer was missing. The notice was Fischer was imprisoned in the Buchen- appearance, the Communist Party first published in the Communist Neure

Rerschbaumer, whose father is a mem- Secretary of the Labour Chamber and troops were approaching, the leaders ber of the CP and director of its member of the Association of Friends of the communists in the camp tried publishing house in Linz. Haider tried of the USSR, tried at first to place susto get rid of their adversaries by placing to persuade the girl to spy on Fischer. picion on the American and French them in special dangerous labour Vera, 21 years old and only two years authorities. Later he started to speak in the CP, was shocked and refused; about Fischer's "lack of physical bal-Karl Fischer escaped death with the she warned Fischer. Another leader of ance" and hinted at suicide. According help of Benedict Kautsky, a son of the the CP asked Fischer to end his to Fischer's mother, who had spent two socialist theoretician Karl Kautsky. The relations with Vera, warning that some- years in a concentration camp herself Communist Party leader Otto Horn, thing bad would happen to him. and was also freed by the Americans who is now one of the main leaders of Fischer refused this interference with in 1945, there is no truth in this statement.



We are glad to publish this article by Gaston Leval whose pamphlet, "Social Reconstruction in Spain" is well-known to many of our readers. We publish it as a frank statement on the Spanish situation and on our movement in particular but we do not subscribe to all the views expressed by the author. Our paper has opposed, as he does, the collaboration of anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists in the Government but many of us still believe in what he calls "the traditional anarchist attitude".

contributed to weakening the anti-fascist many amongst them are perfectly honest. will tend to create small farmers-a reform the world who have not forgotten the Socialists and communists compete for struggle within Spain as well as the help But what is certain is that this crisis, which would have tremendous importance terrible struggle of the Spanish people the control of the General Workers' of anti-fascist organisations all over the the logical consequence of unforgiveable for the social future of Spain-and a against international fascism and who feel Union (U.G.T.) which had approximately world who fear that chaos may replace deviation in 1936-39, can do a lot of martyrdom in order to fight against the Finally, there is the libertarian move- The Libertarian Movement ment, particularly strong in Catalonia, The Spanish libertarian movement is at creates barriers which become impossible What is the exact situation in Spain to- Aragon, Levant and Andalusia, which present divided into two tendencies. The to overcome. day? And above all, where do the various founded and inspired the National Con- first is in favour of participation in the currents, which divide Spanish anti-fascists federation of Labour (C.N.T.) which also government. The second, with which I Background of "Collaborhe will fall. The problem is also to know the General Workers' Union thanks to The "collaborationists", as they are called, are themselves divided in two



The Church and the Army have conspired together through the centuries to keep the Spanish people in abject misery and ignorance.

The Aims Of The

factions. One faction is in favour of fascist section, the main forces will be: to implant itself firmly we must boldly participating in the government so long the Republicans, the Socialists and the take the initiative of social reforms which as Franco remains in power but of with- Anarchists. Let us add the Communists republicans and socialists are incapable drawing as soon as the Republic has been whose potentialities are difficult to of carrying out. The socialists are virtually divided As one can see there are many anti- installed. The other is in favour of a estimate. into two parties. One pursues the fascist sections, too many in fact, since permanent incorporation in the State and These three great forces are approxi- was merely a negligible force, these isolated traditional line and is led by men like their diversity is an obstacle to their the Government. It is difficult to under- mately equal. The Republicans are achievements would run the risk of being Indalecio Prieto and Fernando de los union. It is common knowledge that, stand how its members can continue to probably numerically weaker amongst the crushed. But its strength is such that Rios. The other, under communist in- speculating on the overthrow of Franco, call themselves libertarians or anarchists. popular masses. They represent mostly it can, if it wishes to do so, impose fluence, attracts increasingly the socialist the monarchists want to reinstal a king, Those who are in favour of temporary the peasants, tradesmen, bureaucrats and respect for its achievements. youth and is led by Negrin and Alvarez the right-wing Republicans want to im- collaboration argue that, if it was right intellectuals and a small minority of If this work was carried out it would pose themselves on the left-wing Republi- to join the government to prevent workers-(20% of the members of the permit the existence, side by side, of The communists are also a force to be cans, the Regionalists want to obtain their Franco's triumph it is also right to be in C.N.T. are republicans). But they can republicans, socialists, and libertarians, reckoned with. The able exploitation of autonomy, the Socialists want to over- a government which tries to overthrow rely on the armed forces, the police and though a certain amount of friction would

advance) and the International Brigades Workers' Union and the Anarchists to no-one can say which tendency is the a popular revolution. Editor of "Picture Post". and loyal agreement between all anti- comrades outside Spain. dynamism. The Socialist Party does not of view than the politicians of to-day.

ride on horseback behind their husbands, or in open carriages along the gaily decorated Madrid avenues . . .

interests many anti-fascists throughout did in 1936. for them all the sympathy which one has a million members before Franco's Franco's regime. cruelty of their fate.

stand? The problem is not merely to know had a membership of a million in 1936, find myself in agreement, is complete if Franco will fall soon, but when and how but which represented a greater force than opposed to it. the kind of regime which will replace its dynamism and revolutionary spirit. him and whether this regime will be sound or not.

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The overthrow of Franco depends mainly, of course, on the international political situation. Like Greece and Palestine, Spain is merely a pawn in the game played on one side by Russia and on the other by England and the U.S.A. If, as one may foresee, the rivalry between the great imperialist powers will take a less bellicose turn, due to the dangers a war would represent for each of them, one may hope that Franco will no longer enjoy the support of Anglo-Saxon imperialisms and will eventually fall. His fall would be greatly facilitated if dockers all over the world had systematically refused to load and unload ships sailing to, or coming from, Spain. There is still time to do so. But workers' international solidarity has been

Internal Problems of

practically destroyed by reformism.

Anti-Fascism

I want to deal in this article with the internal problems of Spanish antifascism. To what extent can it act against Franco and in what way is it prepared to deal with the Spanish situation?

I regret having to put forward a point of view which cannot be optimistic. But to ignore one's faults does not help to rectify them.

From the extreme right to the extreme left the anti-Franquist forces include the carlists and the anarchists. The carlists are monarchists of a particularly reactionary brand. During the struggles of 1936-39 they displayed the utmost cruelty against anti-fascists. They oppose fascism now as being too far to the Left and giving too much power to the State instead of to the Church.

Next come the monarchist, conservatives and liberals who advocate freedom to-day but who will to-morrow, as they have done in the past, subject Spain to the domination of the great landlords, of the Church and the Army, and will keep the country in a state of siege against working class movements for years to come.

The republicans are divided and subdivided into specifically Spanish republicans of the Right, the Left and the Centre; into federalists and centralists; into regionalists, Catalans and Basques and also autonomists, Valencians and Galicians, to Anti-Franco Factions name only the most important.

del Vavo.

the arms Russia sent to Spain (arms power the Right and the extreme Left, him,

FREEDOM



But not even the fiestas can hide the misery of the Spanish workers and their

VIEWPOINT ON THE SPANISH SITUATION THE present situation and the im- and their great activity the communists fascist sectors or even between two im- No doubt some of the "collaboration- pretend to implant socialism. At the most mediate future of Spain profoundly represent a much greater force than they portant anti-fascist sectors. This has ists" are agents of Franco. No doubt it will carry out an agrarian reform which

is not discussed dispassionately. Too often the intolerance shown in discussions

ationist" Tendencies

Which are the reasons for the birth o this "collaborationist" tendency? One can, of course, talk of the authoritarian and bureaucratic corruption of those who were, during the Spanish revolution Ministers in the Central Government Councillors in the Catalan Governmen State officials, police chiefs and officers in the Army. This is certainly a contributory factor. But there are also men who have adopted this attitude out of sincere and unselfish motives and I believe they are in the majority.

These men believe that, when we shall be able to return to Spain, we shall be The Future of Spanish unable to carry out the social revolution as we had visualised it-a violent insurrection which would wipe away the libertarian society.

This would not be possible first of all earlier because we lack the necessary strength. Secondly, because we could not prevent foreign armed intervention or, more simhas limits.

permanent incorporation in the State conor our movement will be condemned to impotence and degeneration.

On the other hand, the partisans of the "anti-collaborationist" tendency defend the classical point of view of revolutionary anarchism. This attitude can only strengthen, in my opinion, the arguments of the "collaborationists" because plain wrong common sense should make one realise unpleasant that may be), that

When Franco Goes

will still exist. The "republican" Right, ploitation of big landed estates. whose leaders were Gil Robles and We should plan the constitution of preserved some of its power.

nationalisation of industries whose inharm to our movement, particularly if it fluence would be much smaller than one might be led to believe when one considers that nationalised industries would involve only 10% of the workers in

So far as the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.) and the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) are concerned, if they can surmount the present crisis and intervene with all their strength in public life, they will constitute a factor of first importance. I persist in thinking however that they will not be able to achieve a successful revolution. We are, therefore, in the presence of

three great forces, republican, socialist, narchist, capable of neutralising one nother, unable to destroy one another but which, by continuous strife, would prevent normal life in Spain. And the result would be a military dictatorship after a short time.

Anarchism

The Republicans and Socialists can partisans of capitalism and the State and destroy anarchist influence, to a great which would bring about a socialist and extent, by putting into operation the agrarian reforms to which I referred

Three-quarters of Spain's population lives on the land. Sixty per cent. of cultivated land belongs to the big landply, a few atomic bombs which would lords. During the five years the Republic crush the revolution. Finally, because was in existence the Socialists advocated the Spanish people, who lost a million the agrarian reform by decree. The men and women during the war 1936-39, Republicans were too timorous to agree are not prepared to start another bloody to it. But if they get power again and struggle. The power of human suffering the Socialists press them to carry out this reform it is probable that they will Taking this into consideration those of accept. The sharing out of the "latiour comrades who honestly believe in a fundia" or large estates would create from two million and a half to three clude that our tactics should be changed million small-holders who would live miserably but who would constitute a reactionary force much more powerful than that of the present big landlords.

> I think therefore that, if the position of the "collaborationists" is false, that of our comrades who persist in advocating the traditional insurrection is equally

The main problem of Spain is that of the land. The experience of the colsocial upheaval such as Bakunin lectives created during the revolution has advocated and such as we hoped for in proved that our comrades have excep-1936 is inconceivable even in Spain. tional gifts as organisers. Those who have organised these collectives can no longer be satisfied with working the land Let us suppose that to-morrow Franco by themselves or as labourers for a boss. is overthrown. Let us go still further I think that anarchists should do all and assume that the Republic is re- in their power to prevent the division of established. What will the situation then the land. They should immediately organise collectives, agrarian co-operatives Undoubtedly, the conservative forces and, in some cases, the communal ex-

Lerroux, was powerful. It will have vast federations of agrarian collectives which might serve as a basis for industrial Apart from this conservative, neo- co-operatives. Before the Republic is able

If the Spanish libertarian movement

the arms Russia sent to Spain (arms power the Right and the extreme Left, him. which had been paid for in gold and in the Communists to capture the General Quite impartially, I cannot say, and number of socialists, for support against many republican and socialist workers and peasants and even technicians and (cannon fodder for Stalinist propaganda) resume once again their revolutionary strongest in Spain. The majority of the The socialists have a membership com- professional people would join the colhas borne its fruits. There is no doubt struggle against all parties. anarchists in exile are anti-collaborationists. posed mainly of workers-in the Basque lectives as they did during the revolution. that thanks to the funds at their disposal Before examining the situation of the But the men and women who live under country. Asturias, province of Pontevedia We would no longer fear a military Spanish Libertarian Movement, I would Franco's dictatorship-republicans, social- in Galicia, Madrid and Catalonia,- dictatorship which put an end to the The photographs on this page, are pub- like to point out that up to now, it has ists, anarchists, are generally less intransi- and of peasants-Castille and Andalusia. First Republic in spite of the fact that lished with the kind permission of the not been possible to establish a sincere gent towards one another than their Its members have no revolutionary its leaders were men of greater breadth

22nd March, 1947.



THE trouble at the Savoy hotel, which broke out in an unexpectedly militant strike last October, and forced considerable concessions from the various managements of the large hotels in London, broke out again last week in a further strike of some 850 waiters and kitchen staff.

Since the settlement of the October strike, the management of the Savoy have been consistently trying to avoid meeting their obligations to the men. At Christmas, the men had to were granted extra payment for working on Christmas holidays. Later, when a steward was sacked without reason, another strike had to be threatened before he was reinstated.

The present strike began on Tuesday, when the staff raised objections to a new supervisor. The management began to negotiate with the union representative, but contended that the men should continue work and remove the dirty plates from the tables. This, however, they rerefused to do, and a waiter, Frank Piazza, who had been active in the October strike, was immediately suspended by the management as a reprisal.

The men demanded Piazza's

When the management refused to do this, the men came out strike. At a meeting the organising secretary of the Catering Branch of the G. & M.W.U., tried to persuade the men to go back, but they refused to do so, and out of 400 men present only 20 were in favour of ending the strike. A statement issued by T the strike committee says:

"Since Christmas we have been faced with continuous delays. This Frank Piazza (against whom the Savoy issued an injunction last November) was suspended, presumably because he attempted to prevent the stoppage spreading.

"GUESS-WHEN" BUS STRIKE

syndicalist line, and employees of the write about is mostly academic and who Hants and Dorset and Wilts & Dorset do not have to put into practice what bus companies, put it across their em- they propose. Consequently, though ployers well when they planned a 24-hour much of what they write may be excellent token strike on 11th March, to take place "any day in the next 10".

Actually they sprung their surprise on Saturday, March 15th, when only early workmen's buses were operated.

The strike is against delay in improvthe unions claiming that their grievances are of a national character, not local. Well, what are the other busmen waiting for?

AIRPORT WORKERS' BUILDING SOCIETY

Once again workers are stepping in to authorities.

formed the British Airways Staff Housing unreasonable to suggest that at least some social organisation that they proposition purchase of houses for conversion into necessary part of anybody's political illustrate. flats, and of land for the building of new education and that even those people who dwellings.

ployees at London Airport alone, and Perhaps I have taken a favourable view rationalising dairying can be organised air corporations and airport staffs of the understandable reason that it lends sup- rather than from above downwards, and, social significance of such figures in policy of the new unionism. Ministry of Civil Aviation may join in port to some of my own opinions and to preferably, through bodies of the peasants' terms of human health and happiness, the scheme which so far has borrowing some of the propositions that I put own making, whether called co-operative or their opposites, is tremendous. powers of £1,000,000, and a promise of forward in a recent article on Agriculture or not, there is more likelihood of new conclusion, it should perhaps be menfinancial backing from B.A.O.C. It is in a Free Society in this paper, pro- ideas winning acceptance. There is a tioned that these figures are of course for another example of how "getting to- positions which, as I anticipated, pro- striking difference between the vigour and pre-war Europe. gether" can solve the problems of workers | voked a certain amount of criticism. I efficiency of the Danish co-operatives for who individually are helpless.

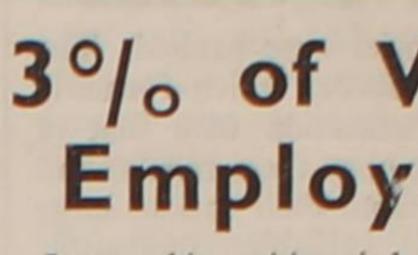
ouch with the Savoy management We have no alternative but to cea work until the management are prepared to:

1. Reinstate Piazza, and hold full inquiry into the reason for his

End the constant delay and our agreement with the Hotel Restaurants Association into operation.'

The staffs of Claridges, Simpson's and the Berkeley have no struck in solidarity. Naturally threaten a strike before they enough, the union representatives appealed to them not general-than the vast amount of labour to come out, but the men are in a militant mood. It also appears that the market porters at Covent Garden and Smithfield are co-operating by refusing t load supplies to the hotel.

It is clear that the workers at the London hotels retain the militancy of their October strike. But they are continually hampered by the delaying and compromising tactics of their union. and it is interesting to compare the partial and slowly-granted results they have obtained with which serves no productive purpose whatthe immediate and great concessions which London hotel workers had when they ran their own union on syndicalist lines and gained a series of sweeping reinstatement within 24 hours. victories over the managements. his football pools every week. Far from volves no less than 3% of the working All this is described vividly in it. Placed as he is, he probably gets population in the most futile labour that McCartney's pamphlet, The French Cook's Syndicate (Free- of his rut. The whole capitalist system, the complete wastefulness of the finance dom Press), which should be with its ideal of getting something for and profit system, and the manifest adread for the topical importance nothing, of living as a parasite on those vantages of a system where all these which its account still holds for who really work, induces a reaction in the those interested in the catering worker towards gaining by hook or by cation of the anarchist communist crook the means of escaping from his of "From each according to his a industry.



In anarchist writings it has always been stressed that the existence of the money system involves a whole mass of unnecessary labour, without which men creative desires. In Freedom we have the money system-and of our society expended on the gambling industry in all ramifications.

A recent survey of the gambling industry. liable in facts, has estimated that the gambling-bookmaking, horse-racing and breeding, football pools, fun fairs, gaming aloons, dog racing, etc.—is in working population of the country. addition, some 200,000, or a further 1% of the working population, are emply part-time in the industry. Fantastic it may seem, nearly one worker in thirty or her time on this singularly futile work ever. Gambling, by any standards, is a major industry, and the fact that it should

We do not in any way adopt a superior there remains the important fact we ttitude to the worker who bets or does mentioned at the beginning, that it inday he will get enough cash to break out branch of capitalist enterprise, it shows bondage and enjoying some of the things to each according to his needs."



employers, have the time, even if they happen to have the inclination, to give much thought to the social and political Better aspects of agriculture have been written in itself, it is rendered largely irrelevant social, economic and working ditions in which their ideas have to implemented. This applies in particular countryman's traditional distrust of bookabsurd degrees has, therefore, some

combined with at least some practical knowledge of the day to day lives of (Oxford University Press, 3/6d.).

Employees of the British Overseas farming, mostly in conditions of extreme beneficial effects that well-intentione have no particular interest in the land Organisation From Below

A very definite snag in farming is that think therefore, that some extracts from butter making and bacon curing which officials. These officials, as in all such it is a whole-time job requiring all a Food and Farming in Post-War Europe are organised from below, and the cases, argue that a few hundred members man's time and energy. Very few men on the vexed question of social and analagous German institutions organised cannot be allowed to ignore the elected from above . . . A government which is representatives of the entire membership. engaged in it, whether as workers or as economic organisation are worth giving. in too much of a hurry to organise a Always this is a plausible excuse for an **Bigger**, Not Necessarily community for greater efficiency may kill outrageous demonstration of antimore than it creates. The peasant, of all democratic bureaucracy. Actually, these classes of the community, will least put elected representatives include permanent background of their work or even often "The first thought entering the ordinup with large doses of bureaucratic inter- officials who are no longer interested in to acquire very much theoretical know- ary person's mind in any discussion of ledge of it. One result of this has been farming efficiency is the question of size. ference and will only give of his best the votes of the membership. But the when also given responsibility."

that the great majority of books on most Fascinated by the analogy of industry and misled by the example of prairie farming "Keep the boss guessing" is a good by people whose knowledge of what they in North America, the ordinary person tends to assume that the bigger farm the better the farming-at all times and in all places. This is plain nonsense . . in truth, of course, optimum size depends on climatic and economic factors; by the writers' apparent ignorance of the no hard and fast rule can be laid down. Speaking generally, it may be said that the rapid mechanisation of grain production in recent years has given the to much agricultural research work. The large unit an overwhelming advantage wherever cereals constitute the sole, or ing conditions and is, of course, unofficial, learning, though sometimes carried to almost the sole, product. But nothing out of the farmers' own organisations, quently been made to effect a greater suggests that a thousand acre farm is likely to be any more efficient at dairying It is, then, a real pleasure when one than a farm of a hundred acres. On comes across a book containing much in- the contrary, the most successful dairying teresting and statistical information, the world has seen is run on 50-150 acre farms of Holland and Denmark." Speaking of farming in Hungary the the human beings to which the inform- authors write: "If a revolutionary moveation refers. Such a book, despite a ment sweeps away the Hungarian ruling certain political naivety, is Food and class it might be well to plan the reform Farming in Post-War Europe by P. of Hungarian farming on the lines of the Lamartine Yates and D. Warriner medium-sized intensive peasant farms, rather than to indulge in doctrinaire col Very few people, who read or write lectivisation experiments which lost the

help themselves in the matter of accom- about the political and economic events revolution before and would do so again." modation after getting fed-up with the and problems of Europe, appear to be Although the authors fail apparently to slowness of government and local aware of the rather important fact that see the full implications of some of their "half the population of Europe lives by statements and continue to believe in the Airways Corporation (B.A.O.C.) have poverty". It would seem, therefore, not governments can achieve, the form of Society to form a pool of money, through knowledge of how half the population comes in actual fact near to being shares ranging from £1 to £200, for the of Europe live and work should be a syndicalist, as the following quotations

3°/o of Working Population Employed in Gambling Industry !

which his masters find so worth while. But the worker who places his hope o for himself by revolutionary action. Gambling, however understandable it may be, however pleasant may be the illusion. t fosters in all but the lucky few, acts a an insidious drug on very many of the workers and helps to bind them to the system that oppresses them. It is merely another way of giving them an illusion o eighbourhood of 400,000, or 2% of the gives them nothing, but merely steals the In product of their labour.

> The object of this article is not moralise. It is merely to point out the hard facts that gambling is both an incapitalism, making vast profits for prorich, and also one of the principal means of misguiding the workers with "pie in

And, beyond these general features could be imagined. Like every other



are most in evidence where the advisors technique of the union official is to isolate somewhat academic approach to farming volved find it physically and materially problems. Peasants are most impressed impossible to get mass union solidarity in himself, preferably in their own locality, until the workers build an alternative short, the most effective advisory services all disputes. have been those growing spontaneously not those provided by the expressed, it is difficult to see really what in existence at all.

I have here dealt only with one part having the objective of a free society. of this book which is worth reading just for the information contained in the first Europe dealing with "Active Workers per efficient administration. Hundred Acres", "Net Output per Acre", "Net Output per Active Worker". These three things, the distinction between which and also their inter-connection, are agricultural economy, and also its future elected for defined periods. potential. For example, the British Isles has the fewest active workers per hundred trolled by the local branches. acres in Europe-under six compared with over fifteen in Italy-but net output whereas in south-eastern Europe and Italy it is less than £30. In output per

G. V.

DEMOCRACY and TRADE UNIONS

Of course, the word 'democracy' is a much misused word; it is also a word to be judged in a relative sense. But there is nevertheless a popular understanding of it among organised workers. In discussions among workers belonging to the rade unions, there is evidence that the predominant opinion is, that the officials have too much control and the members oo little. In recent disputes we have een that the members of certain trade nions have had to set up additional rganisations within the trade unions in order to compel the officials to persist in ambling, who really becomes involved in the claims of the workers. This is not do, is the dupe of the money merely paradoxical, but should demonhere is a distant chance that strate some obvious deficiencies in trade union structure.

Apparenty, the workers recently involved n strikes and wages movements are mainon gambling, and not realising that the taining their independent rank and file only way he can get a good life is not organisations. From time to time as the to wait for fortune in the shape of a good ferment of industrial conflict rises, we get win on the penny pools, but to take it examples of the development of independent rank and file committees, etc. These facts go far to prove that the workers are under no illusions about democracy in he existing unions.

Many workers possessing a sense of working-class solidarity, recognise the lack of it when grievances arise of a local character. Everything in the trade unions is so formalised, so constitutionalised, that no action is possible without the sanction of the permanent officials. The permanent officials however, are absorbed in the task of maintaining their positions, and their attitude to all questions is determined by the effect it might have on their capacity to hold such positions. To-day, holding a bureaucratic job requires subservience to the dominant political philosophy influencing the unions, and so we find union officials advocating that the workers tolerate all manner of serious grievances which at other times the workers would object to. For instance, in certain industries the union officials have even told the workers to be prepared to work in unheated factories and to wear their overcoats if necessary. The difficulties of the Labour Government are, of course, the explanation for this attitude so blatantly practised to-day. That the workers should be so easily deceived by all the propaganda to justify the union officials' opposition to improvements in wages, etc., is a disappointment, but it is occurring to really progressive members of the unions that it will always be possible for the bureaucratic officials to enforce any policy on the membership. Instances where the officials suffer a partial frustration, as in recent strikes, only serve to prove that in general, centralisation of power in the hands of a few officials is sufficient to compel the membership to obey official dictation. There is the case continued over a number of weeks. The workers involved persistently ignored the defeatist instructions of the union more important fact is, that the entire As to agricultural "advisors", "ex- membership never has the chance to conperience shows that distrust and dislike sider the merits of a local dispute. The are state employees and are men with a such local disputes, and the workers inby a man who has farmed successfully their support. It just cannot be done and above all by one whom they them- form of organisation which they really selves have selected and whose salary they control themselves, and which can only themselves co-operate to provide. In exist to give the essential mutual aid in

Some suggestions which have fredegree of democracy within workingview of the author's opinions as thus class organisations, are deserving of consideration by all who are anxious to see justification the State has for remaining a new type of industrial organisation fighting the day to day struggle and

(1) Full time officials should be limited part, included in which are three maps of to the smallest number consistent with

> (2) Pay for officials should correspond to the prevailing rates in the industry of the union.

often very imperfectly understood, are (3) There should be no permanently vital to an understanding of contemporary appointed officials, all officials to be

(4) Funds of the union should be con-

(5) The right to strike should be the per active worker is the highest-£200, prerogative of the members directly concerned.

(6) Industrial matters must be the acre this country is comparatively low- primary business of the union. Political £8 per acre compared with £14 in questions arising from the activities of Ultimately, there will be 6,000 em- would profit by reading this little book. "To the extent that measures for Belgium-but in parts of south-eastern political parties seeking power may be Europe the output is under £3; which left to individual decisions, since free these and employees of the other British of it partly for the very natural and as far as possible from below upwards means permanent semi-starvation. The speech, and political liberty must be the

> Compulsory unionism, the closed shop, and similar policies are synonymous with the present form of authoritarian tradeunionism and would have no place in the syndicalist or industrial union.

23 1 24

C. W. ROOKE.



Freedom.

Letter from witzerland

continued. And still the world is ner and driven back over the frontier happened to them since. supposed to believe that Switzerland without mercy. (The chief of the is a paradise for the persecuted Basle Police Force is a Social- Persecution For Feeding victims. I should like to com- democrat, Frit Brechbühl, and in the Germans municate some facts by means of local government Communists and The Swiss people are prepared to

measure is so that "foreign elements" Swiss officials.

man children in a dreadful condition and take it back with her. of neglect and starvation, were driven At Christmas, the Basle Govern- these further deeds of the authorities, away by Swiss detectives and ment organised, with much advertise- as he did their cruel attitude tothreatened with prosecution.

Children Sent Back To Germany

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· Oil War Continues Foleigh Commentary

A new phase has now been reached in the manoeuvres in the oil war of the Middle East A few weeks back an agreement between British and American of companies, supported by political pressure on Persia, sealed off the production of oil in the Middle East as an Anglo-American province, with the obvious intention of countering Russian attempts to gain a share of control over Middle East oil.

own much-needed oil.

the Kremlin sees this as a case of casting its bread on the waters; by giving up a little oil now to gain political contacts in the Middle East, it hopes to push its fields in whose operation it eventually thing the English and Americans will not give up without a struggle, and we can therefore count the Middle East oilfields as a major battlefield in any future war.

> Are You Helping to **Obtain New Readers** for **FREEDOM**?

frontier. But in fact it is obvious a German and lives at present in to carry any responsibility, and it i food from being carried over the the frontier at Christmas. It was own ration. frontier to the starving Germans, and, bitterly cold, and the children had to This is how the Swiss state, which Some time ago Swiss women on a Swiss official stepped forward and munist majorities, cultivates it wanted to hand bread over the the children had to watch their the right of asylum". barbed-wire fence to starving Ger- weeping mother pack away the food I invite Professor Haüserman o

ment and fuss, a food collection in wards the refugees. I myself am an the streets of Basle for the benefit of inhabitant of the frontier region, and the neighbouring German province. am always prepared to give him For this collection one was only further information regarding the From time to time German allowed to contribute non-rationed customs and practices of the Swiss children are successful in crossing the goods, which means that all food- Police State. frontier. They are looked after and stuffs containing any considerable

The Swiss government endeavours presents are given them by Swiss amount of calories were banned. The zealously to hush up the crime which frontier inhabitants. If such children, population of Basle, which formerly it committed by driving numerous who have often walked for a long had a close connection with that of German and Italian refugees to their time in the cold in dilapidated clothes Baden, did not obey these regulations death at the hands of the Nazis and and bare-footed, and who are com- but sacrificed from their rations large Fascists. These facts I have given pletely under-nourished, should fall quantities of valuable foodstuffs with full details in a previous issue of into the hands of Swiss frontier Afterwards it was made public that guards or the police, they would be these foodstuffs would not leave the To-day the same tradition is being arrested in a most inconsiderate man- country. Nobody knows what has

which the English reader can judge Social Democrats possess the major- help the starving Germans actively, ity!) Those Swiss people who feed and to sacrifice part of their own The German frontiers near Basle the German children risk being pun- rations. But whoever does this and are being watched minutely by the ished, and have to look on while the finds a means of getting the meat or Customs authorities and the Cantonal children are taken from their tables, butter across the frontier into the Police. The inhabitants of the fron- According to statements from frontier hands of those for whom it may be tier district have to show daily their inhabitants, it has happened often the means of saving life, becomes identification papers, and to give an that such children have been kept out guilty of a misdemeanour and is liable account of what they carry with of doors for examination in all sorts to be persecuted and prosecuted. them. The supposed reason for this of weather and have been beaten by This is all the more ridiculous since, through such personal aid, the Swiss shall be prevented from crossing the A Swiss woman who is married to food ministry would in no way have that the authorities are mostly con- Switzerland was allowed to speak to simply a matter of individual sacricerned, on the one hand, to prevent her children, who are in Germany, on fice and a gift from each person's

on the other, they are searching for make a long journey on foot. The has a social-democratic federal coun-Germans who try to find food for mother wanted to hand her children cil and possesses in numerous cantons themselves and their relatives. something to eat over the fence, when governments with socialist and comthe German-Swiss frontier who prevented her from doing so, so that tradition of "solidarity, humanity and

Geneva to condone and whitewash F. K. (Basel, Switzerland)

PEADERS of this column will recall that in the last issue we referred to the scandal of Mussolini's loot, and the

The American Military Government that the booty had been handed over to in Germany announces that the German the Party. The Corriere della Sera has denazification courts in the American The Russians are now entering the published a series of articles on the zone up to the end of January had tried Near East in a new guise-as oil sales- subject, dealing not only with the avail- 197,019 Nazis. 2,350 had been given men. It is a known fact that Russia, even able evidence about the money and sentences of up to 10 years imprisonment ment will approve! with the Caucasus and Rumanian fields treasures now known as the "Dongo or internment, 161,522 have been fined. under its control, suffers from an oil Treasure", but also with 27 cases 48,450 are still detained awaiting trial. shortage. That was one of the reasons including many cases of documents which But as our American contemporary for its efforts to gain political control over Mussolini was hoping to take with him l'Adunata dei Refrattari (8/3/47) points Persia in order to get control of some into exile, but which disappeared between out the sentences imposed by the courts of the fields there. But now, for political Milan and Como. Documents are em- do not necessarily indicate the effectivereasons, the Russian government has barassing things, and it appears, accord- ness of denazification in Germany. entered the Levant as a cut-price oil ing to the Corriere della Sera that "There is reason to believe that 'denaziseller, and the Soviet Oil Trust is offer- amongst the documents were letters from fication' is inspired more by the ideas ing the Syrian and Lebanese governments Eden, Chamberlain and Churchill to of reprisals against people than by real petrol at 17/6 a ton, as against 31/8 Mussolini. Now the facts as ascertained and effective purging of Institutions". asked by the neighbouring Anglo- by the Corriere della Sera (4/3/47) were And PAdunata quotes a case reported by American controlled Iraq Petroleum Com- as follows: On May, 9th, 1945, the cases the New York Herald Tribune (2/3/47) where misery is rampant, contributes pany. As these governments buy almost were taken and stored at the fire-station to support this view. Apparently in all the oil consumed in their countries, in Como. Some ten days later they were Hanover a theatre critic was sentenced success in this deal will give Russia quite opened by a police officer who prepared to a week's labour in a squad detailed a large economic foothold in the Levant. an inventory of their contents. The cases to clear bomb damage in the city for PARLIAMENTARIANS it worth while getting rid of some of its until the end of August when a British a concert performance. l'Adunata comments on this really amazing case, "It is Speaker's attention has been drawn to the quite possible that the criticism of this fact that a "quorum" (forty members) journalist was unjust; and it is equally was not present during a debate in the mediately. The caretaker phoned the possible that this journalist has never House of Commons. Members are done a more useful piece of work in his always fond of talking about absenteeism take the cases. (The report here points life than what he was obliged to do as in the mines, but would do well to put followed by other Russian agents, as the out that it was later ascertained that the a punishment. But intolerance for free- their own House in order. They may political struggle in the Eastern Mediter- soldiers were in fact British and not im- dom of criticism is one of the principal therefore welcome the system of payment political struggie in the Eastern Mediter posters.) Nothing more was heard of characteristics of Nazism, and the in- by attendance which is now being "Christ the King". The opposition, howformer Italian the cases. Now, where the scandal comes cident shows that this spirit of intolerance operated in Italy. Just recently the remains, so far as the authorities of office of the President of the Constituent Hanover are concerned, in spite of nearly military and legal 'denazification'." **ON NATIONAL**

Football pools, and greyhounds have been in the news recently, but mainly from the point of view of the tremendous labour power required to operate these concerns. But these "get rich quick or bust" pastimes are not limited to this country. Football pools based on football results in Britain are operated in besides stocking the weekly l'Adunata Relief Service. that in August the cases were seized by Sweden, Belgium and other European countries. In Italy, the Lotto (Lottery) Churchill paid a visit to Como the fol- has been a national institution for of the Anarchist monthly Volonta, pub- German schools. Each child will get silent about the whole business. Is it a interest as well as a 6% rake-off! When one considers the real misery of Italy and

accusations levelled at the Communists

officer accompanied by a number of British soldiers in a lorry, demanded that police who told him to let the British were many letters from Churchill which "were considered somewhat compromising for the British Premier who had on several occasions praised, even in public, fascism and its leader". According to the report these rumours reached the British, who immediately set about tracing the famous cases. "But apparently what they were seeking was not found September, Churchill himself, with the pretext of taking a short holiday, came to Italy and stayed, by a strange coincidence, on Lake Como. Only Churchill could say if and by whom his letters were returned." It may be just a coincidence the British in Como and that Mr. diplomatic silence?



Tito's Concentration Camps Former Inmate's Story

in trouble with the party officials because of his persistent refusal to wear party uniform. It is worth remarking. At the end of June, 1945, the Union.

The writer of the account of the Tito concentration camps, whom we will call "X", was finally cleared by a purge court at Pola after his release from the camp at Kocevje. The court held that he should never have been imprisoned at all. In substance, this is his story:

In May, 1945, he was arrested by the Communist-conrolled "People's Libsoners he was taken to Pisino, after were not returned), and without any camp of Kocevje. food. 30 of them were crammed into a cell with 24 square metres of floor The Concentration Camp Of space. They were given a bowl of thin vegetable soup on the evening after their arrival. Next day they were

Was Mr. Churchill Interested?

"DENAZIFICATION IN HANOVER

LOTTERIES

and the government's inept handling o the situation, it is ironically amusing t read in the Italian press that the intended modifications in the National Lottery will be "submitted for approval by the Council of Ministers"! Since one of the proposals is another tax which would go to the Treasury, we are sure the govern-

The National Lottery is a weekly affair and the figures published show the extent to which the Italian people are addicted to this occupation. In July, 1946, the weekly turnover for the whole of Italy was 30 million lire, in September 65 million, October, 1946, 72 million lire per week. It would appear that as the economic situation in Italy worsens s the Lotto represents the last hope to get rich. (This argument is strengthened by the fact that the city of Naples alone about 30 million lire.)

On more than one decided to increase the Assembly Deputies' salaries to 30,000 lire per month plus 2,000 lire a day to provincial deputies, and 1,000 lire for Rome deputies when they attend debates of business of the Chamber. We don't know whether the deputies will have to clock-on or just have to inform the bar attendant but if any M.P. is interested in this suggestion we will gladly make further enquiries!

"VOLONTA"

Those of our readers who can read di Rafrattari (published in U.S.A.) the articles on a wide variety of subjects. beans, groats and potatoes. LIBERTARIAN.

COMRADE recently in Istria has of some of us. His voice still echoes sent us an account of Jugoslav in my cars. Each name that was not concentration camps written by a ours caused us to look around in mute former inmate. The latter was an and terrified interrogation, and each of Italian who had been a member of the us felt a little happy to have avoided Fascist Party, and was thrown into a death for another day. But when the concentration camp by the Jugoslay name was one of us, then an icy Partisans in May, 1945-i.e., since the shiver would pass through our souls, end of the war. Despite his member- and our anguished gaze would convey ship of the Fascist Party, he had been our sympathy to the miserable wretch."

FREEDOM

Bound With Wire

however, that Domenico Cernecea, a prisoners were transferred to Albona, former Professor of Fascist Culture and where the schools had been trans-Aide-de-Camp to General Esposito, the formed into prisons. On the journey C.-in-C. of the Fascist occupation their wrists were bound with wire. This forces in Jugoslavia during the war, is method, which produces great pain, now the director of a Tito-controlled appears to be the regular thing under paper Il Nostro Giornale, published at the Tito administration, for the bodies Pola. Cernecea has also been an recovered from mass graves in the official Tito candidate, and has been natural crevices called "foibe", also had made a citizen of the town of Fiume! their wrists bound with wire, frequently He is just one of many former Fascist with barbed wire. X also describes officials who have now been accepted the condition of prisoners who, in order on to the Communist bandwagon in Jugo- to encourage them to confess, had been slavia, being now an official Communist tortured with the "bicycle". This conand a member of the Communist- sists simply of two triangular wedgesponsored Italo-Slovene Anti-Fascist shaped pieces of wood on which the prisoner is forced to stand for hours and even days on end. It produces sores on the feet, tremendous swelling of the legs, and the victim is soon prostrated with exhaustion.

At Albona, X was brought to trial, accused as an Italian of being responsible for the prolongation of the war. The judge said to one of his companions in the dock: "How can you hope to live well in Italy where there are ten parties, whereas with us there cration Committee". With other pri- is only one party and that is the one which knows what it is doing?" They their valuables had been removed (they were condemned to the concentration

Kocevie

Here they lived in huts infested with interrogated by the OZNA, the Com- lice and fleas. "Our rations consisted munist secret police. Statements were of 250 grammes of bread in a ration of drawn up in Slav, which none of them warmed blackish water in the morning. could read, and they were forced to half a litre of water and a potato at sign them. Twenty-four of these men mid-day, and the same in the evening. were later taken away by lorry to be For 500 people there was a ration of shot. "Those terrible moments at 700 grammes of fat . . . At this time Pisino are, and always will remain, the temperature stood at about 20 unforgettable to me. Each night, about degrees below zero . . . but we had to nine o'clock, the Director of the prison work just the same. Invalids, except would break the silence with his for those with high fever or a comlugubrious voice, calling out the names pletely immobilized limb, were not recognised as such, and they too had to work. Some were working in the open dressed only in thin cotton clothing, and some were bare-footed." He goes on to say: "One of the worst tortures we had to undergo was that of being forced to listen to speeches praising the Federative (i.e., the Tito regime) and its leader; worse still, each of us in turn was forced to make speeches praising these two 'ideals': those of us who tried to dodge doing this were subjected to hard discipline, which included a reduction of our already miserable rations." Finally, he was released, and

managed to cross the Morgan zone to the British zone. His account makes it clear that Tito's concentration camps are the same as any others; physical hardship is mixed with tortures, and deliberate attempts are made to demoralize the inmates.

Religious Persecution in Argentine **Non-Catholics Dubbed** "Jews"

All Argentina is engaged in the fight over the teaching of Catholic doctrine in the public schools. Theoretically pupils may be excused but in practice nonconformists are exposed to persecution. Sometimes this takes the form of namecalling, both by schoolmates and teachers. The state of mind may be gathered by the fact that a common name given to children asking exemption is "Jews", regardless of their religion. At the moment, signs in white paint are smeared on walls throughout the country, reading ever, is waging a genuine struggle by press and radio.

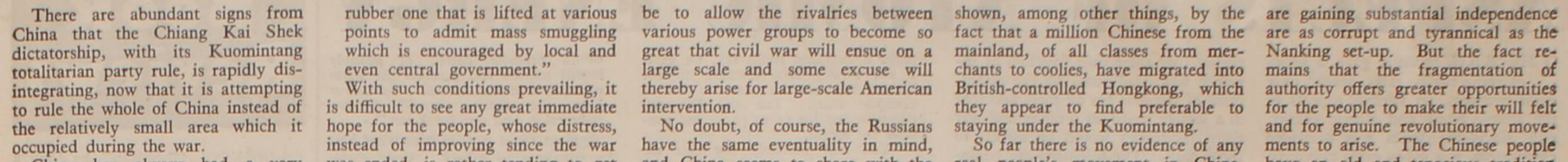
(Worldover Press.)

Danes To Feed 50,000 German Children

After appeals from Danish relief groups, the Danish Government has decided to feed 50,000 children in northern Germany from the border to Hamburg, All food will be bought in Denmark and paid for by the Government, then turned over to the Danish Red Cross, Danish Italian will be interested to know that | Save the Children and Peace Friends

lowing month. But what has happened decades, and a matter which is not left lished in Naples. The March issue which between 600 and 1,000 calories a meal, to the 27 cases? The British Press-so in the hands of private enterprise but in has just arrived is a double issue of 96 made up from the following Danish pages (1/2d. post free) and contains staples: fresh milk, meat, bacon, peas,

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37. 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60



only been for very limited periods destitute. that the central government, whether imperial or theoretically republican, has managed to exercise any efficient rule. The normal tendency has been for local areas to become more or less autonomous, and this is tending to become so again to-day. The Communist areas in the north are already virtually cut off from Nanking, there is a growing separatist movement in the south-west provinces of Yunan and Szechwan, and the most recent news of unrest has come from Taiwan, or Formosa, the Chinese island with six million inhabitants which was taken by the Japanese forty-five years ago, and returned to China at the end of the war.

Risings In Formosa

Throughout the period of Japanese occupation, the inhabitants of Taiwan were anxious to return to a union with China. Now that union has taken place, and the Kuomintang has flooded the island with its corrupt, tyrannical and inefficient bureaucrats, the people have become so disgusted with the plight they are in that risings have taken place and, although news from the island is officially suppressed in China, it appears that the opposition to the government is on a really large scale, and has forced the Governor to broadcast an appeal, promising to grant most of the demands of the inhabitants.

But the growing tendency to disregard the Nanking government does not only apply to these peripheral areas. Everywhere the provincial authorities are tending to disregard the central bureaucracy, and to become more or less self-sufficient.

Meanwhile, the whole Chinese economy rides rapidly to collapse. During one week in February, Chinese dollar fell from 43,000 to 53,000 to the pound. What is much worse is the fact that the chaos of absence of British troops from the cities conflicting power groups has slowed will make Egyptians forget their presence up trade within the country, so that | in the Canal Zone. the elements of famine conditions already created by inadequate transport | Canal Zone. There seems no objection way to freedom. By boldly relinquishing systems and excessive impositions on to their living like animals in the sand all commitments-military, political and the peasants are increased by bureau- so long as they are out of sight and can- economic-in the Middle East-and cratic corruption and inefficiency. In not aggrieve Egyptian students by their setting free not only the subject nations a recent article in the Manchester Guardian, describing the chaos of sight of all the Yanks in Piccadilly Circus labour exiled out there-a new era in trade in China, Walter Fletcher, once offended certain elements at home, the world would open, particularly if (since M.P., who has recently visited the country, said:

costs two to three times as much to move commodities that the world | Zone being much more self-contained country to a seaport as it does to ship them thence to Europe or America, and tax has to be paid in transit to three or four provincial and many Customs governors they have also to pass districts where guerillas take their cut. The cessation of all imports into China. This is not an 'iron curtain', which would be

Distress Continues

As a miserable gesture, to compensate for their material miseries, ple with their present state of life is various local administrations which day. the Chinese have been granted a Constitution which is supposed to be |---emocratic". It provides for a device by which the Kuomintang, even if they cannot manage to terrorise the whole population, can at least errorise the delegates gathered together once every three years into choosing the right "legislators".

The part of the Americans creating this chaos is worth considering. At the end of the Japanese occupation, the Americans sent a to base his rule. He has to deal with large army of more than a hundred housand men into China, and took over, in effect if not in name, large sections of the administration, means of advisers. The introduction of American currency as a black market standard undoubtedly precipitated the collapse of Chinese currency. Now, the Americans have more or less pulled out of China, leaving the administration in more of to be concentrating on making their base in Japan. It remains to be seen leaders have been displaced in one way or there comes a change in wording which

DISINTEGRATION OF CHIANG'S REGIME

Russian interests clash.



Those who imagine the totalitarian state as a wholly rigid structure are wholl mistaken. Perhaps in some futur freamed of by dictators and party leaders, when all men will have been conditioned from birth, a naturally rigid society may ensue-although to me t seems contrary to all our knowledge the history and growth of human organisation. However that may be, at present the dictator has no rigid society on which mutable and, from his point of view, very unreliable human beings. It is the unpredictability of political life that force a dictatorship, whatever its apparen rigidity, to be involved in a constant inner flux, a continual changing of policy and reshuffling of persons in order to maintain the balance of forces that will keep the top crust still in place.

The history of the Nazi dictatorship was such a story, and that of the Russian Bolshevik government is an even more obvious case. Not merely have almost all tution, in political domination, in party but whole succeeding generations of never adhered to in practice, and now tution.

Middle East Notes

The Government Press in Egypt and anyone who has any connection with the shifts and changes of Cabinet policy, regard the evacuation of Cairo and Alexandria by the British as a diplomatic victory. Those who cannot claim a part in the negotiations say, with more justice, that it is nothing of the sort. The

with perhaps less reason.

troops are still there, if needed. The only did it themselves. "There are to-day no exports thing is that thousands of Egyptian from China worth talking of. It labourers and skilled workers who were mployed by the Army are thrown out of work-the units re-forming in the Cana needs from the interior of the and the unemployment crisis booms

while the troops are still in Egypt. Presumably the excuse is still the Suez anal, which could not be used in warut must be "defended". It is too difficult for me to believe, from my obser-Egypt could defend the Manchester Ship Canal, never mind the Suez, but doul less it looks more formidable from White which is directing the troops exports has led to a ban on nearly Palestine as if they were facing Panzer divisions, instead of sixteen and seventeen year old youths, in the Sternists, Let us admit that the days of military

considered crude in China, but a glory are over. We can no longer be an

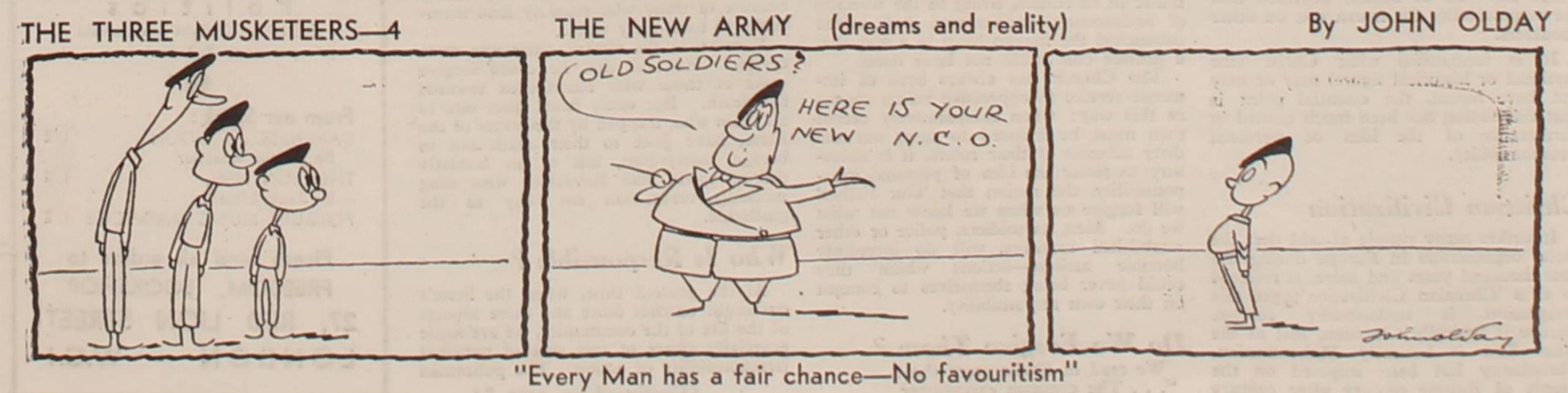
fice to the Army that practically no-one for people to come and take the fruit, in England is prepared to make, to prevent it rotting on the trees. Kipling's call, "Go bind your sons to There was no transport, but an excellent exile, to serve their captives' need," is harvest. The Government subsidised the now as dead as a doornail. Britain can groves-otherwise they would have been no longer lead the world in military glory, ruined for lack of a market. At one and to maintain a glorified scourge in place the orange planter put his oranges Egypt in the shape of an army drains too in sacks outside, with a notice, "Please much on the manpower she needs at take the fruit and leave the sacks." But

If we cannot lead the world in military The troops have been and are being glory, we can at least-as French obevacuated to the desert wastes in the servers have advised France-point the congregating in Sharia Ibrahim Pasha or of the Middle and Far East, but also Sharia Solimon Pasha in Cairo, like the the British soldiers and German slavethe Government won't do it) the common What does Egypt gain by it? The folk at home took a lead in the game and

Oranges And Water

Recently, I called to mind an incider that happened in 1941, when I was lecturing in a small town at home, and get into the hall we had to push our way through a queue for that indeed rare commodity, oranges. In the course of the lecture, on Anarchism, I told a questioner that money would be useless in a free society. I instanced water as something which even to-day, we draw as much of as we wish ("according to our needs"). My questioner raised a laugh when he said that that might be the case with water, but supposing you could walk to the grocer's and draw as many oranges as you could eat!

Last month, in Palestine, I heard about the condition of the orange groves in



There are abundant signs from rubber one that is lifted at various be to allow the rivalries between shown, among other things, by the are gaining substantial independence which is encouraged by local and great that civil war will ensue on a mainland, of all classes from mer- Nanking set-up. But the fact reeven central government." large scale and some excuse will chants to coolies, have migrated into mains that the fragmentation of they appear to find preferable to for the people to make their will felt instead of improving since the war have the same eventuality in mind, So far there is no evidence of any ments to arise. The Chinese people China has always had a very was ended, is rather tending to get and China seems to share with the real people's movement in China. have an old and tenacious tradition marked decentralist tendency. In the worse, as famine and disease continue Middle East the highest priority as The Communist movement is organ- of autonomy and anti-militarism, whole of known Chinese history it has their ravages among the millions of an area in which American and ised on the Russian model, and its which has always reasserted itself only appeal is that the people feel it whenever it has the chance, and Chinese Fly To Hong-Kong is at least an alternative to the which may yet arise triumphant out Kuomintang dictatorship and cannot of the chaos into which the country The discontent of the Chinese peo- in any case be much worse. The descends more deeply from day to G. W.

> the Communist Party have been subjected to such continual and violent purges that even before the war, at the 18th Party Congress in 1939, it was revealed that only 5 per cent, of the delegates had been members since before the civil war, and that, out of the 260,000 party members in 1918, only 20,000 remained within the ranks. (See The Yogi and the Commissar, Koestler.)

Similar changes have taken place in the governing structure of the country The original system of genuine soviets was replaced by a mock soviet system where the organs which theoretically represented the workers were brought under the direct dominion of the party. Then this in turn was replaced by the mock parliamentary system of the 1936

Changes In Constitution To-day, once again, Russia is going through a series of changes in consti-

End of Military Glory

imperialist nation. That entails a sacri- 1941. The planters were only too anxious sacks were valuable, so passers-by took them and tipped the fruit out! while in England we would not have exchanged an orange for a wilderness of

The value put on goods is only because of capitalist politics. In a free society all amount they used-as we do to-day in England in regard to water.

Cairo Discussion Group

On Sunday, March 2nd, the last series of free discussions was held Cairo. Owing to the arrest of one or two members of the discussion group the "anti-Red" drive of the Egyptian persal elsewhere of the British members. continue its activities. However, for nearly a year now active interchange of points of view between protagonists of different minority views has been going on, the Anarchist case having been expounded by your correspondent. only a drop in the ocean, of course, but our case needs to be brought forward to the Middle East, and who knows whether events themselves may not persuade rivals in friendly debate of the truth?

work an 8 hour day, except in certain unspecified trades with hard conditions of work. In other words, even theoretically, the Russian workers will have to work a much longer week than the British and American workers seem likely to obtain in the near future. A second significant change is in the education clause of the Constitution. In the 1936 document it ran:

This right (of education) is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education, free of charge, including higher education, by the system of State stipends for the overwhelming majority of students in higher schools.

In the new document it runs: This right is ensured through universal compulsory elementary education; free seven-year education; a system of State scholarships to pupils who distinguish themselves in higher schools .

This change if, of course, meant to cover up the fact that the recent education the old leaders of the Revolution-except organisation. In the 1936 Constitution, decrees, re-introducting fee-paying into a chaos than they found it, and seem those who were fortunate enough to die for instance, there was a clause guarantee- high schools and universities, have been in naturally beforehand-been liquidated, ing the workers a 7 hour day. This was direct contradiction to the 1936 consti-

These changes in the constitution have what is their object, but it may well another, and even the lower ranks of states that the Russian workers are to been accompanied by widespread changes in the party organisation. During the past year there has been a steady purge of party organisations, as well as of various administrations throughout the country, on the alleged ground that counter-revolutionary attitudes have crept in-the old way of saying that during the crisis period following the war some people have been showing their independence rather too much for the authorities. At the head of affairs similar changes have taken place. During the war, the army leaders had great influence, and were continually in the limelight. Now they have been pushed into the background, and the lead is once more taken by the small group of men who form the Politburo, the real leading group of the party, and who also take within their power all the really important governmental posts.

The New Bosses

The names of these men are, for the most part, not those of celebrated available goods would be in the common Bolsheviks, nor does there appear among pool, for all to take as they wished, and we them a single one of the generals who would create new values, and take were so much glamorised in the last people's reason as the criterion for the war. The actual names on the list are Stalin, Molotov, Beria, Zhdanov, Voroshilov, Mikoyan, Malenkov, Kaganovitch, Andreyev, Khruschov, Zoznesensky, Bulganin, Kosygin and Shvernik. Only about four of these names are familiar to English readers, and many of them are not very well known to the Russians. They are, for the most part, ruthless administrators who have succeeded the Government, as well as the repatriation of old revolutionaries of the pre-1917 period, and who are without the least concern for anything but the efficient administration of their departments and the maintenance of the dictatorship. All of them are creatures of Stalin, and significantly, many of them made the grade as secret police organisers or heresyunters. Beria started as head of the Cheka in Transcaucasia, and is now in charge of all the "security services". Bulganin was an early organiser of the Cheka in Nijni Novgorod and Moscow. Kosygin gained a formidable reputation as a party purger and Trotskyist hunter. Kaganovitch carried out the-to Stalinvaluable task of crushing the opposition in the Ukraine.

But the changes go on continually in Russia, and no doubt these men in turn will have their ups and downs of power. But it would be rash to assume that such changes necessarily mean that the dictatorship is on its last legs. They mean that it is changing its organisation for different circumstances. But the one encouraging fact remains that humanity should, after thirty years, be so untrustworthy that purges are still the order of the day. All opposition groups have long been crushed, and yet, even in the party itself, unreliable elements continue to appear, and this fact encourages one to believe that, when the dictatorship becomes sufficiently corrupt and vitiated, there will be enough desire for liberty in people's minds to unseat it, just as Fascism in Italy was destroyed by the people after twenty years of power.

THE B.B.C. recently gave a series realise that their own freedom of reof some twelve talks, spread over search was conditional on the attaineight evenings, on various aspects of ment of freedom for all men, and that the atomic bomb and atomic energy, in a society based on tyranny and war and, since the series was arranged their discoveries would be turned to elaborately, was given great publicity, those ends. The scientists are beginand included among its speakers all ning now to awake to these facts, but the leading scientific experts on the whether they will use their new consquestion in England, as well as such ciousness to any positive purpose is writers as J. B. Priestley and another question. Bertrand Russell, it was quite evidently intended to give to the public The Intoxication Of Power as comprehensive a survey as possible of the various problems connected with atomic energy. It may therefore be profitable to make a survey of some of the salient features of the talks and also to draw some general conclusions from an anarchist point of view.

One interesting aspect of the talks was the precision with which the scientific experts described the effects of the bomb, and the balancing imprecision with which the other experts discussed what should be done about the social problems produced by the atom bomb. It was quite clear that the situation has got them into a state of puzzled fear from which their acceptance of current social ideas can give them no satisfactory way out.

Scientists Enslaved The series began with an introductory talk by Priestley which made His statement stands out as suffian unremarkable and pessimistic opening on a general line. Then fol- length. lowed two wholly objective accounts of the research into the atomic bomb, the first, by Professor Cockcroft, showing no apparent concern for the results of this work, the second, by Professor Oliphant, recognising in a very frank way the kind of slavery into which the scientists have prethinking failure to recognise their unknown normal deline energy spent power of delving into the realm of the

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horrible of weapons in the hands of desert destroyed the traditional freedom to all nations. The security restrictions and secrecy, so hateful to the scientists, his work for evermore."

research without any consideration for as we flew across the Japanese coast ever since Nobel invented dynamite, their debt to others; they did not

ANARCHISM - Interpretations

"The revolution, as the power of things to-day necessarily presents it before us, will not be national, but international, -that it, universal. In view of the threatened league of all privileged interests and all reactionary powers in Europe, in view of the terrible intrumentalities that a shrewd organization puts at their disposal, in view of the deep chasm that to-day yawns between the bourgeoisie and the workers everywhere, no revolution can count on success if it does not speedily extend itself beyond the individual nation to all other nations. But the revolution can never cross the frontiers and become general unless it has in it the foundations for this generality; that is, unless it is pronouncedly socialistic, and, by equality and justice, destroys the State and establishes liberty, For nothing can better inspire and uplift the sole true power of the century. the workers, than the complete liberation of labour and the shattering of all institutions for the protection of hereditary property and of capital." BAKUNIN.

One of the most terrifying facts about the atomic bomb has been that many people who took an active part in its construction were actually ignorant of the object of their endeavours. But, more than this, almost how men feel when they are in every one of the people who actually possession of such a monstrous knew went about his work with a weapon as the atomic bomb illustrates lack of imagination and a detach- both the corrupting nature of power ment which failed to take into account which the anarchists have always the results. How many would have stressed, and also the dangers of the started on it if they had themselves kind of objectivity unillumined with had some actual prevision of the social consciousness which makes the consequences? One of the men who research worker so careless of the was actually concerned in the drop- ultimate results of his action. ping of the bomb on Hiroshima described very frankly this mood of indifference in which the bomb was actually thrown; and, moreover, the corroding sense of power which helped to destroy any consciousness of the suffering likely to be involved. ciently important to be quoted at

"The few weeks I spent on Tinian, the island in the middle of the Pacific from where the two attacks were much for the sight of the bomb itself. as for the effect on myself and the others of what we were doing. Of all worldy attractions, the most vicious is that of power, and atomic energy speli social responsibility. He remarks: achieve our objective. On every one "The very success of the work of the of us it had its own personal signifi-nuclear physicists had created the most cance, and inevitably it had its effect. We, who hitherto had been occupied man. That first explosion in the with ordinary affairs, became transof the scientist, for his work now were, of the new realm. We found menaced the security of the world. ourselves in sole possession of a weapon The first military use of the bomb on with which an entire empire, even were Hiroshima came as a complete surprise it in the ascendent and not, as happened, on the verge of surrender, could be defeated overnight, by one lone had been extremely successful. It is aeroplane and without the least danger the fear of every man of science that to ourselves. We were not soldiers these same restrictions will surround waging war, for there was no oppo-

under a faultless, sunlit sky, we gave, am afraid, little thought to the abruptly short. The end was too overpowering for us to pause and consider the means. "You will probably say that the had time for sober reflection if you believe my account of what happened inside us on Tinian you will doubt it. I lived through those fateful weeks, and I know that if the weapon ciently high, and the attainment of the goal is within grasp, human nature can lose its sense of values and not even know that it has done so."

This piece of honest description of

At least two of the talkers exploded very convincingly the idea which some sentimentalists have expounded that the very horror of the atomic bomb would put an end to war. Their conclusions were to the contrary. Professor Cyril Falls said:

'But now the risk of the mobi ation period and of the large-sc moves of forces and material to battle stations are greater than ever. A much bigger margin of safety is gained when they have got to their battle station and organised them. So the time facto gets more important, and the urge

the attempt to guard against a major even in the days of atomic energy, disaster in an atomic war may breed have the last say, in that the withwar itself:

The fact, of course, is that the scientists have been led into this slavery because they followed their research without any consideration for the state of the bathing, or sat at table eating, or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating, or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating, or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating, or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating, or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating, or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating, or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating, or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating, or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat at table eating or even the state of the bathing or sat



"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

From a Christian standpoint this may be justified by saying that the soldiers commonplace job of crucifying an followed. agitator—which was all in the day's work Christian principles are for the Should revolutionaries let their exefor any State official-and were not aware governed, not for the governors. It is a cutioners get away with the comfortable shoulders.

It is immaterial what Christ (the a grosser cult could not have done. irresponsibility.

Christian Civilization

It strikes many people as odd that the social organization in Europe during the past thousand years and more, is referred to as a 'Christian Civilization'; yet this designation is undoubtedly correct. Europe is basically Christian, just as the Near East is basically Mohammedon. Do We Forgive Them? Christianity has been imposed on the We read in Shakespeare that: people of Europe century after century "... The common executioner

One of the much-quoted sayings not so that the pattern of society should "Whose heart th'accustomed sight of attributed to Christ is of particular become more and more in accord with significance to all interested in Anarch- the Sermon on the Mount, but simply ism. The story goes that when the because the Christian doctrine tends to Roman soldiery had nailed Christ up on render the mass of people humble and "But first asks pardon." the cross, He looked up to heaven and acquiescent in the hands of their rulers. This was the established custom for Throughout the history of our Christian many centuries. It is interesting calendar, moreover, whenever imperial speculate what the effect would have been conquerors determined to plunder and on the popular profession of headsman enslave new lands, the Christian faith if our forefathers had not been so besotted was first spread among the native with Christian ideology, and instead of populace to debauch them, and open up granting pardon to their executioners, had were, to their knowledge, only doing a the way for the armed force which cursed them roundly for the beastly role

that they had the novel task of nailing up cruel and terrible paradox that the idea that it is just an awkward matter of the Deity. Thus, their unusual act could humane philosophy of Christ has always fulfilling a duty? be pardoned as they acted ignorantly been the ready instrument of the bloodiest It is reported that Francesco Ferrer and merely as a matter of duty. But the of wars, oppression and exploitation. said to the firing-squad: implications of this saying have been Christianity, enwrapped with all the "Aim well-it is not your fault." much wider. The Christian faith has beauty, drama and poetry of the Bible, Yet it is demonstrable that Ferrer and encouraged a way of thinking which con- wedded to all the loveliest traditions of all men like him lose their lives precisely dones any line of action, provided that music in its rituals, living in the wonders because of those who stupidly lend themthe responsibility for it can rest on other of architectural monuments, has indeed selves to such dirty work. debauched the human heart in a way that Vanzetti in the electric chair was more

mythical or historical figure) may or may The Church has always been of im- some of those who contributed towards not have meant, the essential point is mense service to oppressive ruling classes his death. But one's heart goes out to that this saying has been much quoted in in this way: when comparatively decent all those who, trapped by the forces of the furtherance of the idea of personal men must be induced to carry out the State, have gone to their death not in dirty schemes of their rulers, it is neces- benign martyrdom, but in an honestly sary to foster the idea of personal irres- defiant spirit, like Ravachol, who sang ponsibility, the notion that 'Our Father' mocking verses on his way to the will forgive us when we know not what guillotine. we do. Men, as soldiers, police or other established servitors, will do incredibly Who Is Responsible ? horrible actions-actions which they could never bring themselves to commit on their own responsibility.

George Woodcock uses the B.B.C. Atomic Bomb Talks Series to discuss

Risk Of War Greater

unbearable, and war break out."

Against these possibilities what had the speakers to offer? Very little. Mere inspection, even if it were efficient, would be useless, since, as Sir George Thompson points out, the process of converting atomic energy to industrial purposes involves the preparation of materials which can be used in bombs.

Bertrand Russell comes out with guarantee of peace. For what is to hands, deciding to set themselves up as a new world ruling class, and attempting to terrorise the world into submission by the use of atomic

Prerequisite Of Peace

It becomes steadily more clear that, class rivalries are allowed to continue, we shall be less rather than more safe from a violently destructive war than we have been in the past. Peace the uses of industry are subordinated to the interests of the workers and the production of useful instead of destructive articles.

It might be argued that eventually a series of atomic wars will bring the the rise of a series of small selfset things in motion in a period of subsistent free communes. But we do tension grows more insistent. And that not want to start again from scratch in itself is a danger to peace. Mobilisation and preliminary strategic moves might tend to bring on a war because when one nation takes pre-cautionary action another is likely to keep step, and the series of events set in train may go to the point where a clash of forces occurs." of civilisation, or at least have the of civilisation, or at least have the chance to choose, and to gain this the only means is to end the kind of society that encourages and even formed temporarily into kings, as it And Bertrand Russell shows that even needs the atomic bomb. The workers, drawal of their labour can still cripple "To guard against the possibility of any system that oppresses them. this disaster, there would be great res-trictions on the admission of elion any system that oppresses them. Large-scale direct action of the EDEEDOM DOOKSHOP trictions on the admission of alien workers is still a force which the travellers, and new restraints upon native citizens whose political loyalty governments fear more than their sition to stop us, but rather a research might be open to suspicion. National- national enemies, and which only can

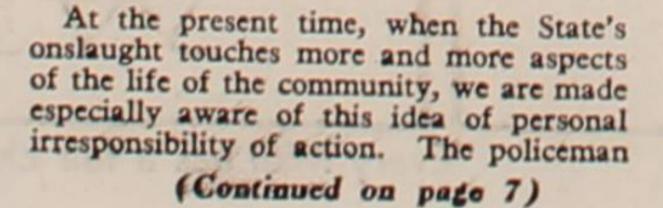
GEORGE WOODCOCK.



death makes hard, "Falls not the axe upon the humbled

cryptic. He said that he could forgive

- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16



ASPECTS OF ATOMIC ENERGY BEOCK

"DARKNESS AT NOON", by ARTHUR KOESTLER. (Penguin, 1/-.)

The re-appearance of this book in a which deal at all honestly with Russian Communism in action.

It is the story of the arrest of an old Bolshevik on a faked charge of countercharacter, Rubashov, is said to represent the old chestnut of an international Radek. Rubashov is taken away to a police force possessing all the atomic prison of the GPU, where he undergoes bombs. But this would not be any a process of steady wearing down until at last he confesses to what his persecutors desire, and is finally condemned prevent the international police, in- and shot. As he awaits condemnation toxicated with the power in their and death, he recalls the scenes of his revolutionary life, the merciless betrayal to hostile authorities of party members considered unreliable, the general corruption that comes from an easy acceptance of the philosophy of ends justifying

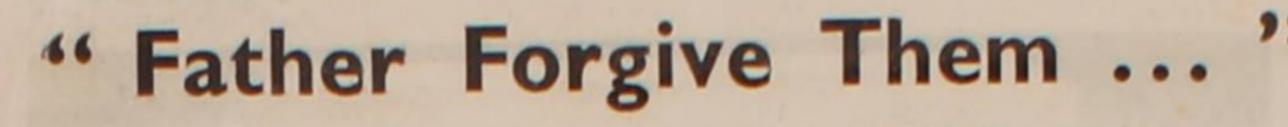
Darkness at Noon might best be described as a brilliant work of fictional journalism. It is a novel for the times, revealing "the dark side of the moon" opportunely and honestly. But I would while government exists and ruling be less sure of calling this, or any other of Koestler's works, a really great novel. There is a lack of the psychological penetration one finds in a really good novelist, as distinct from a fictional ournalist; to me, at least, the mental will only come about when capitalism processes by which Rubashov came to and the state are ended, and when accept his guilt inwardly, as well as acknowledging it outwardly to get rid of his persecution, seemed unconvincing. s significant that the most impressive scene in the book-where one of Rubashov's old comrades is dragged along the prison corridor to his death, while the other men drum a last salute on theiir cell doors-is closely connected with end of states and governments and Koestler's own experience in a Spanish prison. Here we have the quality that distinguishes the fictional journalist from the real novelist-the lack of imaginative power, combined with a vivid ability to

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FREEDOM

22nd March, 1947.



(Continued from page 6) who arrests you, the gaoler who keeps you locked up, the magistrate who airmen who go butchering helpless civilians may agree that their actions are open to some philosophical query-but responsibility rests with their superiors. Their immediate superiors pass the responsibility still higher, and eventually it is a matter of sheer practical reality rests on the head of that inhuman How then should the anarchist address abstraction, the State.

the guilt of the atrocities they organized, to State servitors either with a revolution-Their accusers had a foolproof case ary message which takes for granted that Working Class!" I am trying to avoid against them in its obvious logicality, as they, as individuals, have an unfortunate false sentimentality, and perhaps many far as it went. The only flaw in the duty to perform, or we can come directly comrades feel the same; my motives are proceedings lies in the fact that if this to the root of the matter and point out purely selfish, altogether a respectable reasoning were carried to a logical con- that as long as they and their fellows selfishness: if the 'working man' be clusion, there would be scarcely a man continue to pay tribute to this idea of 'ignorant, miserable, or enslaved, my among the accusers unhanged for murder, inevitable "duty", all revolutionary talk existence is limited by their ignorance Once one admits that the soldier, or is idle. other State servant. is responsible for his deeds, then the fallacy of the whole

potato patch that he was just as respon- that brings the individual to realize the instead of wondering why the pompous sible for the slaughter as the lads who significance of his actions, and sows the 'gentlemen' of the Socialist Government went out and did it with shot and shell. seed of conscious revolt. Such revolt in grabbed a bigger pay packet for them-This is a tiresome form of casuistry, for the mind is important, for it convinces selves as their first act on reaching whatever sins of omission individual the individual of his responsibility and power conchies may be held responsible for, they of his power, his unquestionable responcannot be saddled with responsibility for sibility for the maintenance of oppressi operations beyond their control carried and his power to break it by the simp out without their consent. The fighting act of resistance. men, however, are responsible for every death and mutilation which results from their actions. Their commanders, trainers, and all those who help to delude people into such participation, are not responsible in their stead, they are responsible as well.

This is not intended as a diatribe against soldiers. The instance of warfare is chosen here merely as a suitable example of the fact that grotesque horrors result automatically from acceptance the fact that personal responsibility be delegated to Authority.

The Soil Of Tyranny.

"Father, forgive them - - - - " This sentences you, all theoretically disclaim idea has been the pillar of much cruel responsibility for their ill-treatment of despotism. The ruling class maintains you. That you may be a paragon of its hold over the workers by means of a virtue they will admit-but the Law must trick. The working class is made to be be served-they must do their duty. The its own slave-drivers, gaolers and executioners by the ruse of gulling men into the belief that they can be innocent the results of their own actions.

The issue is in no way moralistic himself to all those engaged in working The Nazi generals have been tried for for the State? We can address ourselves

Such plain speaking is not lost on men

To say that the resistance of an indiplatitude. Yet the whole basis of social revolution in the complete sense envisaged by the anarchist, rests on a general awakening to the fact that responsibility cannot be shelved. The individual must know what he does. The God of the Christians may forgive him for his acts of ignorant stupidity, but history will not.

From a Temporary Postman DEAR FRIENDS,

All of us, no doubt, have read with DEAR COMRADES, interest the recent letter of V. Wilson As a subscriber and donor to Freedom, and the answer of Abbott (Jan. 18th, I read with interest your detailed inform-1947). If the present writer is to go on ation re costs of producing the paper. viciously bite the hand that attempts quietly to release them. Can it be wondered at that one often feels like saving "To Hell with the misery or slavery'. Bakunin expressed these feelings with more clarity than I could hope for.

When a government spokesman struts No worker worthy of the name should cates that 36 per cent. of the people legalistic view of justice becomes apparent. and women in State service, for it is often up and remarks that we must work begrudge a humble sixpence for his OWN polled believe that the atomic bomb It was fashionable during the war, to the actual business of performing the harder and not selfishly demand better paper. This would obviate your having should never have been discovered and try and bamboozle the conchie on his functions of a cog in the State machine pay, the poor little slave feels ashamed, to make appeals to meet your losses. made. The general opinion seems to be would readily pay more, viz., a figure that not too distant future. It may surprise was an economic one, and enabled you to you that some people even condemn the feel that the "BUMS" were not coming in anytime. As a temporary postal worker in a

much vaunted nationalized organization the lousiest union imaginable, consisting vidual does not make a revolution, is a of a pack of indifferent "representatives", still trust in it. Allowing for all the difficulties, including a number of typical WEEK. blacklegs, the temporary postmen at this dump are out to get rid of the increment. scales which forces a newcomer to do the same class of work, only more of it, for as much as a pound less in his meagre

other large cities-are you with us?

VICTIMS ARE VALUABLE TEAM WORK RECRUITS

Union of Mineworkers.

'In South Wales alone," said Mr. as the middle of 1945." Edwards, "some 4,000 men suffering from these diseases are unemployed or working outside the industry. "We want to bring them all back to

"We want all the industry's above-ground jobs to be filled by the industry's

victims." Daily Mirror, 10/3/47.

HOUSES FOR OFFICES

Westminster City Council is trying to prevent 43 luxury flats in Ashley-gardens, with all his furniture, his wife, and his Victoria-street, being taken over as offices two children, Frank and Shirley, from by the Ministry of Food.

City Housing Committee estimate that second eviction. nearly 100 families could be housed in Just under a week ago the Shrubbs

for office purposes. Daily Mail, 28/2/47.

STRAIGHT ANSWER

"Is the court to understand that spend all your money on drink?" "No, your worship . . . a lot goes in fines." Evening News, 10/3/47.

DEPT. OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

these words:

It's the only economic way." Daily Herald, 10/3/47.

(i) NEWS ITEM A total of 305 people were frozen

death in Berlin between December 11 and February 26. Daily Mirror, 10/3/47.

(ii) POSSIBLE EXPLANATION

only, Berlin radio said last night. could expect coal deliveries. Daily Mirror, 3/3/47.

Sir John Anderson, chairman of the

Government's Advisory Committee on Police drew clubs and riding whips to The placing of men with dust diseases Atomic Energy, said in a broadcast last control 20,000 natives who knocked down

Daily Mirror, 10/3/47.



their weapons.

SECOND EVICTION ?

After being forced out into the snow the house they had occupied for five years The flats-in three blocks-each have in Farnham-road, Slough, Mr. Albert seven rooms, kitchen and bathroom. The Shrubb now faces the posibility of a

were turned out of their rooms under a -They were occupied for several years court order, and the furniture had to be of big dogs are going out of favour. by Poles, who recently moved out. The Ministry of Health has informed left on the pavement. The Slough Coun-is an extraordinary demand for these dogs the council that the flats, instead of being wounded in the London blitz, a lorry so as women's pets.

streets, Mr. Shrubb found a place to stay in they are reared by women who under the stand their temperament they develop in Farnham-road, and got his wife and intended to the stand their temperament they develop in the stand their temperament they develop the stand the two children into the house where a friend into hardy, affectionate and intelligent had rooms in Eastcroft-road nearby. Now, I understand, the owner of the

possession of her property. Evening News, 10/3/47. six months.

SO NICE TO COME HOME TO

cent. in the number of enlistments.

their reasons for joining up again. A 28-year-old Acton lorry driver who d seen six years' Army semice was for the formation of the formation had seen six years' Army service, was "fed up with Civvy-street." He said he don't let there be any hypocrisy about it. atomic energy discussions. He said that missed the comradeship of Service life. Don't let it be stated that it is to save among his scientist acquaintances in that "I didn't have a secure job to return fuel. to," he added. "I intend making the If the electricity companies are forced was not of the next world war but of the Army my career."

now." The Star, 10/3/47.

18 19

FOR OUR WOMEN READERS

Nothing sets off a beautiful woman so well or goes so well with a mink coat greatest champions. as a Borzoi, that silky, slinky hound, which looks too aristocratic to live in a rough world.

Now I am told that the Borzoi is enjoying a boom even though other breeds

streets, Mr. Shrubb found a place to stay if they are reared by women who under- 20 times. animals and make excellent house dogs. In three years in the Eleven he took Incidentally, Borzois thrive on cold 11 Eton wickets and scored 108. "I'm The stock also includes pate de foie weather and are best when kennelled glad. It will do my father so much gras at 35s, a tin, marron glace at 8s. 6d. Eastcroft-road house has approached her weather and are best when a model good," was his only comment—his father a pound and almond oil at 25s. a tin, marron glace at 8s. 6d. lawyer with a view to regaining total out of doors. They eat little more than was then a member of the Cabinet a fox terrier. It is best to buy them at was then a member of the Cabinet.

The Star, 10/3/47.

THE SKY'S THE LIMIT

There, according to a local newspaper, whany men who a year of so ago were unionists—has been appointed a director judge to make out an order to prevent Heart, is raging at Frinton-on-Sea, Essex. Walter Higgs, recently the Tory M.P. for singing, "When I put my civvy clothes of the Bark of England. He was general him from many for many from many for the Bark of England. He was general him from many for the Bark of England. He was general him from many for the Bark of England. West Birmingham, New Zealand, used on, Oh how happy I shall be!" are of the Bank of England. He was general him from marrying for two years. finding their way to the nearest recruiting secretary of the National Union of "I need it for my own protection," Roberts of "sheep-stealing", the sheep in these words: "Empty bellies are the one thing that office. And the Army seems to be their Socialist M.P. for Warrington and Jocking airly will protection," Roberts of sheep-stealing", the sheep in Socialist M.P. for Warrington airly own protection, "Roberts of sheep-stealing", the sheep in will make Britons work. Empty belles first choice. Will force the miners back to the pits. Latest figures available at London's started work at the age of 11 as an The judge agreed. "But I can send but have entered the Roman Catholic box in his native to us of You to make to us and but have entered the Roman Catholic Central Recruiting Office-those for last errand boy in his native town of you to gaol if you do marry," he warned. fold. month—showed an increase of 16 per Stourbridge. News Chronicle, 1/3/47.

to shed their load in the afternoons, and coming interplanetary wars. Another Londoner with six years' if the coal allocation is going to be as low "But why," I asked, "should we want A sum of £2,500,000 "to defrav the Hamburg citizens on two nights a week service said: "Civilian life is grim. I for industry as is now forecast, the need to go to war with other planets?" always had more money in my pocket in will be not to stop mid-week sport, but "Because," he explained with mild im- secret services" is included in the Civil Only the families of Allied nationals the Army. I seem to be constantly broke to find some way to keep the unemployed patience, "it is pretty generally believed. Estimates for Central Government and reasonably contented. Daily Express, 8/3/47.



Hard Facts

For many years I have supported reridiculous price.

an economic figure for Freedom? If they by high-ranking officers recently retired will not, then, it is time that you refused from the armed services. A recent poll to GIVE your work and abilities to them. of the cross-section of the public indi-

If you offer a worker 2d, to-day, he of red tape, one soon realizes where the would probably throw it at you, and so, shoe of low wages chafes. My fellow I suggest that your policy of keeping workmates (all ex-servicemen) are as dis- Freedom at 2d. is a wrong one, and you gruntled as myself, and although we have are merely asking for more worry than is necessary.

> 3/- a YEAR, forsooth, not the price of the average worker's Pool for ONE

> I would gladly pay any price you fixed which made it possible for you to carry on without the need for appeals, which I'm afraid fall on deaf ears mostly.

I only object to them on grounds of How about it-those in London and principle; they are like the charitable appeals we have suffered from far too VERY TEMPORARY POSTMAN. long in many other directions.

THE ROYAL TOUR

DEPT. OF SOCIAL ANALYSIS

in ancillary employment under the Coal Board is to be discussed with the National "But for Britain's help, atomic bombs at Bloemfontein to-day. The natives drew serious and annoying, but the crisis is would not have been available as early back, and the police did not have to use that morality and family life in England are endangered .- Archbishop of West-Daily Express, 8/3/47. minster. Evening Standard, 28/2/47.

HELPING FATHER Sir Stanley Jackson is dead-and

English sportsmanship loses one of its He died yesterday in London, aged 76

-after a life which had seen him become not only a great cricketer, but a politician (Con., M.P. for Howdenshire, Yorks, 1915-27, Tory Party chairman 1923-26), Sugar and an adminstrator (Financial Secretary, War Office, 1922-23, and Governor of Bengal, 1927-32).

In 20 years of first-class cricket he wickets. He played for England under September, 1946.

Daily Herald, 10/3/47.

LEGAL AID

Lord Dukes-"Charlie"-to trade granted a divorce at Detroit, asked the Roman Catholic Church of the Sacred

I was talking with a man the other evening who had sat in on some of the field, if you can call it a field, the talk

we will go to war with them." Finance issued vesterday. News Chronicle, 8/3/47.

If your readers are invited to pay 4d. WILL, and I enclose the first increase. I invite you to publish this asking for I am well off, but I do realise the insignificant value of TUPPENCE.

"RATIONALIST."

Birmingham.

From California

The controlled press in this country paints a very dark picture about the fuel out at the oppressors, but the slaves also cannot understand why the Executives shortage in England. It appears to be an need the whip quite often. They hold have to appeal to the masses to send attempt to frighten the people away from for the manacles and Funds to keep their journals going when what they call a "socially" planned they are sent to them at such a economy. The politicians are muddling public matters while meddling in personal 2d. was perhaps an economic price affairs. There is considerable unrest 7 years ago, and as much as the average among the people because of the mountworker could afford, but surely it does ing cost of living, and the scarcity of not apply to-day with money more goods together with poor quality. Many so plentiful that Football people fear the outbreak of an atomic pools and Bookmakers have money to war due to the militarists who have beburn which they, the workers, supply. come entrenched in high offices. The Do you suggest that they will not pay state department is dominated principally Personally. I believe that 99% of them that there will be an atomic war in the scientists for ever having a part in the manufacture of the atomic bomb. Despite all this and the uncertainties and fears, people in general are indifferent and apathetic, with a tendency in some cases toward despair. Many of the independent economists predict a financial "slump" the last quarter of this year, while many others believe it will come about the third quarter of 1948. Anyway you look at it, they seem to think it will come within the next year. Last month (January) more people "cashed in" their government bonds than ever before, and more savings was withdrawn from the banks than since the days of the "Big Depression". It seems we are witnessing the throes and convulsions of a dying civilisation.

TO HIM THAT HATH It is to be hoped that food will rank with manpower, fuel and exports, as a vital matter for discussion. The follow-

ing table, ba	sed on a 1937-8	Ministry of				
Labour inqu	iry into urban w	orking-class				
	reproduced from	and the second se				
Sunday Times, shows the deterioration in						
	over the last deca					
	AMOUNTS PE					
WLERLI						
	Working class					
	Consumption	Ration				
Fred and State	1937-38					
Meat	1 lb. 4 oz.					
value	1s. 6d. (a)	1s. 0d.				
Bacon and						
Ham	6 oz.	3 oz.				
Bread and		5 0 224				
Flour	4 lb. 12 oz.	3 lb.				
A IOUL		3 10.				
	plus 31d. worth					
T 1 1000	cakes, etc.					
Fresh Milk	3 pints	3 pints (b)				
	plus 2d. worth					
	of cream.					
Butter	71 oz.)	6 oz. (c)				
Margarine	3 oz. 1					
Lard	2 oz.	1 oz.				
Cheese	3 oz.	2 oz.				
Chicese	J 04+	6 V4.0				

1 lb. 7 oz. (a) At present prices; (b) Including allowance for school milk; (c) Of which butter is not more than 3 oz.; (d) Average

non-priority allocation in 52 weeks ended

Caviare at £10 10s. a pound is on sale Mayfair. Demand exceeds supply; in In three years in the Eleven he took four months the shop has sold 400 lb.

> Evening Standard, 10/3/47. LITTLE BO PEEP DEPT.

A dispute between the Rev. D. H. Ashford Smith, rector of the parish American Army Corporal Fred Martin, church, and Father Roberts, of the

> Daily Mail, 28/2/47. It all began when Miss D. M. Palmer, of Walton-road, Walton-on-Naze, who had attended the parish church for some years, became a Catholic and was received into the Church of the Sacred Heart. Mr. Smith described her conversion both verbally and in print as "sheepstealing". Sunday Dispatch, 9/3/47.

WHAT OTHER SECRET SERVICES ?

charge of his Majesty's foreign and other Daily Express, 8/3/47.

