days, the most important thing in our fritter away. lives seems to be the royal visit to Africa.

away for breakfast.

The royal train is mentioned and w learn how we could travel in luxur if instead of common red blood in our veins, we had the delicate blue shade.

As a worker, who probably will never manage to get out of the British Isles for even a fortnight, all this drivel leaves me cold.

I recall the depression of 1931 when most of us were trying to exist on the dole (exist is the word).

Twenty-five shillings was the magnificent sum paid to a husband with I pictured the workers in India wife and child, so with 12/- to pay looking at the plate and saying: for rent, not including coal, gas, etc., "Glasgow must be a wonderful place



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NO

According to the newspapers these we had, of course, ample money to

During this period I lived Springburn, a working class district in Every national Daily seems to think the north of Glasgow, and I remember daily excursion in search of food suitthan usual at one. Inquiring what it was all about. I was told that the Docks to be shipped t

and I was able to gaze at it.

Truly it was a wonderful sight, a on one side of it for all to see was plate telling the world it was made in Glasgow.

when they can build such marvellous engines" or perhaps there, like the workers the world over, they knew that men who toil and put their life-blood into machines and luxury liners never get the chance to use them.

No, the workers are discarded and

are only names to us at present.

own Ambassadors and as such will it says.



meet workers of other countries and live in fraternity After all we have the proudest heri-"WE THE WORKERS". JESSIE WILSON.

# STOP

After stormy and confused meetings at the dock gates, London's dockers on Monday, 14th April. ided not to strike in sympathy with Glasgow. The decision may have been swayed by the police, who broke up the meeting, but only 200 men stayed out, and sent a deputation to Dockers' and Stevedores' Union H.Q. to ask implementation of "One out, all out" pledge.

These men were replaced by men transferred from other docks, and in view of lack of general support, returned to work themselves on Tuesday. While admitting that the dockers know their own business best, this thrown on the scrap-heap until such seems to show a shameful lack of times as a War comes along and then solidarity with their fellow workers they are used up as cannon fodder. which no doubt has it roots in union Some day we will awaken to this rivalry, but which can only act against fact and want to know why we cannot the interests of workers generally. sail in our own ships, and run our own Obviously, what is necessary here is engines, and visit places abroad which a development of the form of organisation the Glasgow dockers have. When that day comes we won't but on a nation wide scale so that

have Royal Visitors, as we will be our "One out, all out" can mean what



union. Every man who holds a docker's nonsense. badge is a comrade and becomes part of blacklegging and victimisation.

The dockers claim with justifiable plains of a labour shortage. pride that there has been no single case of successful victimisation since the Divide and Conquer inception of the trade union 15 years

These workers are conscious that it has been their and their fathers' skill. technical knowledge and strength which has made Glasgow a great trading port. Because they are human beings who have won for themselves certain rights in industry they command respect whenever they talk or take action, and it is a great tribute to them that they refuse to give up their hard-won concessions. Standing firm throughout the war, their independence and freedom was kept alive. No Essential Works Orders or Industrial Conscription was fastened upon the Glasgow dockers. The Present Strike

It was with considerable interest that

I attended a mass meeting of these dockers. There were no ravings or clap trap from the platform; the secretary and committee members spoke quietly and intelligently about the strike in which all of them were involved. It was emphasised from the platform that the committee were there to serve the men and carry out their wishes.

The issue clearly explained was that 500 of their comrades were to be sacked, the labour strength of the docks was to be reduced by one-seventh. 'redundant' according to the Government department. This decision of 'redundancy' was arrived at by a socalled 'fact finding' committee on which the dockers were not represented.

Michael Bryne, the union secretary, pointed out that the dockers were the people who knew the facts better than anyone else, and they disputed the findings and decisions of this com mittee. The dockers from their working knowledge of the port, and from Ministry of Labour statistics, had comproved that there was no justification for throwing 500 men on the scrap

The dockers' facts and figures had been placed before every authority condockers' submission.

This is not the case of victimisation hope. of one, or two, but of 500 men, on the

flimsiest of excuses which the dockers It follows that the members' control refute. The Ministry's case is so weak their own funds, which are used for that an attempt was made to bolster it hardship, death or accident bene- up by diverting goods such as machinery fits. All dockers must hold a union by road. Goods which would normally badge and card which is renewed every have passed through the Clyde were three months, thus maintaining a con- diverted to England. Even the emtinual interest of the dockers in their ployers in Glasgow objected to this

Because of this diversion the fantastic a workers' movement which is practic- position has arisen where 500 men were ally foolproof against the possibility of declared redundant in Glasgow, while Yet the new fascist regimes must be re- Geoffrey Pittock Buss explained that his the Port Authority in Liverpool

> The Government is offering ar ducement to end the casual labour of the dockers. The dockers want to see the end of the old intermittent employment past, but the price demandedsacrifice of half a thousand of their mrades and the probable break-up their trade union, is too high for these self-respecting men to pay willingly.

The press, radio and authorities are attempting to whip up resentment against the Clyde dockers. By misrepresentation and food scaremongering. public opinion, it is hoped, will be against the strike. The people of the Clyde are conversant with this very old tactic, as they are with the Minister of Labour's, and Mr. Deakin's attemp to divide the English dockers against the Scottish

only to prevent industrial Scotland from again becoming a depressed area, but for the whole of dock workers. They are anxious to see an all-round levelling up, not a levelling down. The Port Workers' Committee

statement:

"Having heard the case of the Glasgow men, we consider that their case is one and the same as we are like to face in the near future. We cor sider that under no circumstance should there be any redundancy. Th fight of the Glasgow men is our fight

This is a definite reply to those high places who are attempting divide the dockers, then conquer them. along the Clydebank the real struggle is taking place. Should any man dor for one moment the justice of the work. We need sellers every Sunday 10/-: Horley: BG, 1/6: Miami: Italian piled their own facts and figures, which dockers' case, or question the high prin- at Hyde Park (where we have sold as Group (per I.M.) ciples for which to-day he is fighting as many as 600 copies of the paper in Bristol: J.S.R. 5/-: Stockport: L.E.B. 1/8: strongly as ever, then let him come to the Clydebank for himself and see the evidence slashed so starkly there on fellow humans and their dwelling parts of London. Glasgow readers nected with the port; none of them had places. Glasgow epitomises the workers' should get in touch with our comrades been able to dispute or challenge the upward struggle, and the Glasgow docker is the touchstone of the workers' in Maxwell Street, and we can put

### FREEDOM



PRESS

LONDON DOCKERS STAY AT WORK **Dock-gate Decision** 

**Reverses Strike Vote** 



London have responded to their con rades' struggle on the Clyde with this

PRESTON CLEMENTS.



L.A.G. Sunday Meetings

### Tito's Fascism

There is very little space left for a full account of Bill Mansbridge's account of affairs in Venezia Giulia, the area on the northern Adriatic seabord which has gains and conflicts for centuries particular interest were details methods used by Tito's administration subdue the population. Control plunged into an even more brutal regime partisan influence within that body. than their pre-war or occupation status. No doubt there is an unwillingness to face the realities of the world to-day, for we have supp'd too full of horrors already. cognised or the martyrdom of the peoples will continue unabated.

### The Freedom Defence Committee

osecuted on a sedition charge in 1945. as an example of this. He gave a resumé of the sort of work The greater part of the meeting was work as the expression of any ideological deal to contribute to the subject.

theory, but because there proved to be a great practical need for a defence of and struggle for elementary civil liberties. A questioner in the audience asked whether the work of the Committee was not invalid as being "reformist". Laurie Hislam pointed out, however, that the F.D.C. did not represent an anarchist body or indeed any partisan influence, but it existed sheerly for the value of its work secret police, concentration camps, mass for civil liberty. In reply to a question shootings-all the familiar trappings of a as to whether the National Council for ruthless dictatorship are present in Civil Liberty did not already cover the Jugo-Slavia to-day. It was a pity that the work, the speaker said that the such a relatively small audience listened F.D.C. would not have needed to have Bill Manbridge's admirably clear been formed if the N.C.C.L. had not talk. Far too few people realize that the ceased to do its job, and he pointed out Jugo-Slav worker and peasant are the moral of the crippling affect of

### The Drama as a Social Force

Speaking on this subject on March 30th, object was mainly to introduce and stimulate discussion. He dealt with modern forms of dramatic expression and propaganda, the cinema, radio, press and stage, and discussed their social significence. He outlined the work that was On 23rd March, Laurie Hislam spoke being done by various drama groups, and on the work of the F.D.C. He explained he tried to show how a too conscious how the Committee had arisen out of the partisan propaganda effort was apt to work that was done in connection with the cause a degeneration in the general quality defence of the four anarchists who were of performance, citing the Unity Theatre

that was being done, and stressed the fact taken up by a general discussion, many that the Committee did not carry on such members of the audience having a great

# YOUR PLACE IN THE SUN!

ings this Sunday (see Announcements work. of on col. 1), and it is to be hoped that P.S.—Some of our readers have weather to make new readers to potential reader? FREEDOM by outdoor selling. Many of our comrades hesitate to take the plunge, but we can assure them that there is nothing very formidable about street selling, and the more sellers there are the easier it becomes. £2/14/1: London: In nearly 4,000 docker's homes We appeal to comrades to come for- S.V.P. 5/-: ward with offers to assist us in this Aberdeen: W. McK. 4/-: an afternoon) and we are anxious MELF: S.H. 11/6: London: E.B. 2/3; High Wycombe: J.E.R. 2/-. to start up new "pitches" in other comrades in Birmingham, Liverpool,

OW that the snow and ice and Manchester, Bristol, etc., in touch N the dark evenings have been left with others willing to undertake this The Glasgow dockers are fighting not behind, outdoor propaganda once work in those towns. No time must more will form part of the Anarchist's be wasted if we are to get our 2,000 programme of work. Our Glasgow new readers before the snow and ice comrades start their outdoor meet- once more overwhelm our outdoor

> London and other provincial centres taken our appeal for new subscribers will be soon following their lead. to heart, but the new subscriptions During the coming months we must are still coming in too slowly! Have take advantage of the more clement you passed on your copy to a

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copposition within the party in introducing conscription is an it is still open to the intended encouraging sign, though too much should not be built on it. The conscripts to refuse to be connumber of Labour M.P.s who voted against the second reading of scripted, to express individual political manoeuvres regarding his the Bill (72) was higher than any other "rebel" vote, and it appeared resistance. (We are always to secure some effect, for the Cabinet announced its intention of hearing that this is what the reducing the period of service from 18 months to 12.

makes nonsense of the Govern- Every Socialist country to-day violates the conscience of the ment's claim that they had practices Conscription, and re- individual, and to refuse military examined the question very care- fusal by Britain would again have service at the close of a bloody fully and had come to the been regarded as a contracting war which seems only to have conclusion that every able bodied out of international obligations." made a bloodier world is not only man must serve a year and a half. Thus, those who make the in line with conscience, it is latter group is obviously to avoid in- knows all about that sort of thing, and To make such a substantial re- decisions as to whether the also common sense. duction shows that there never workers shall or shall not be conwas such a necessity, and no scripted are quite unruffled by doubt much ridicule could be heaped on the Government's head whether socialist or simply liberal 43°/0 BELOW on that account. Unforunately, opposition to compulsion. There there are indications that to can be little doubt that the New adopt the course of mere ridicule Statesman is correct when it would be to miss recognizing that says, "Long before the debate on IN 1945 the government sent investithe government has been pretty conscription the Prime Minister astute in this matter of reducing knew that those who objected the training period. For it seems on principle to National Service ditions of the people of this country. likely that they not only foresaw were a relatively small minority." They questioned 11,000 families, and for Franco's death or retirement to take the opposition from their own back-benchers, but also gauged its quality correctly.

### SOCIALIST TRADITION QUICKLY SHED

**Opposition to conscription has** been traditional in this country right up to the recent war. Chamberlain, as late as April, M.P.s who really are concerned 1939, declared that he would with the principle of the thing: never bring in conscription in but such idealists do not flourish peace time. When he did bring in the House of Commons. it in-one month later-the Labour Party were loud in their denunciations. It is really disturbing to see the readiness with which the traditional attitude is that there has been no one to shed. Rhys Davies, opposing the Bill, said that he was surprised a necessary measure. The to see George Isaacs, the Minister official enquiry into the National of Labour supporting it, "for he Service Acts after the 1914 war has denounced it much more (of which Sir Ian Hamilton was bitterly in the past than I have." the chairman) expressed the view Nor do the socialists appear that conscription had been a 11 per cent., but the cost of comto have forgotten their anti- failure, and that the maintenance conscription past, they merely of voluntary recruiting would seem to think that "times are have satisfied the needs of the living has risen by only a few points. changed"! The New Statesman, Services more quickly and more in its leading article (12/4/47) satisfactorily. Hence conscripwhich contains no criticism of tion must serve some other need the measure, blandly remarks than its apparent one, and it is that "Considering Labour's tradi- doubtless the assistance it gives tion of opposition to conscription, a government in controlling its it was surprising that only 72 out subjects that makes it such a of a party of close on 400 opposed the Bill."

excuses: "On the conscription issue, the Pacifist and Liberal opponents had really no case

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Knowing this, what more simple than to pitch their demand high—at 18 months—and then make a 'concession" by knocking off 6 months, and so satisfying these socialists who are so lightly encumbered by principles?

No doubt there are a few

### WHAT IS THE USE OF **CONSCRIPTION ?**

An interesting reflection is question whether conscription is desired measure.

It is also worth reflecting on The Tribune (4/4/47) feels the view expressed in Freedom ceive much response, it has in dicates that the population (who Be sure of receiving FREE- are supposed to be "represented" by their government in a democracy) don't want it. But your renewal without delay! these are academic considerations, and a socialist government

> INDIVIDUAL RESISTANCE If the Bill becomes law, as parliament will have done what t could and failed. But the

Germans should have against Hitler.) It has been held Such a reduction, of course, other than their conscience (sic). that no law is binding which

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gators for three months to collect nformation about the material conthe results are now available. They can join forces with political opponents Meanwhile, the "diplomatic embargo" this country live.

earned £3 or less per week. er income groups

Up to £3 ... . £3 to £4 ... £4 to £5/10/0 £5/10/0 to £10 Over £10 Unclassified ... .

Thus 9,781,200, or ouseholds live on less per week, while no le cent. (5,624,200 households) less than £4 a week. It is claime that wages have risen since 1945 by selves. In fact, the whole move illustrates modities have almost certainly risen more, even though the official cost of

Prisoners

One of the most brutal examples of ion in that country. Some time be- attacked and one of them, Jorge class injustice in this hemisphere, fore they were condemned, the dicta- Pichio, was killed. Mass arrests folsince the Sacco and Vanzetti case, is torship then in power had suspended lowed, including the five militant tileunknown to most Americans; it is the all popular rights. The FORA had makers of San Martin. the need of justifying this re- some months back-that if the case of five tile-makers from San been smashed, its locals closed, and Though illegal, hounded by the visionism, with somewhat lame government tries "the voluntary Martin, Argentina, who were impri- certain militants jailed, deported, some police of several dictatorships, the method" first, and does not re- soned for life in 1933 because of their assassinated. militancy in a local strike. Framed The employers wasted no time in the San Martin prisoners. Recently, effect received a positive mandate for a crime they never committed, tor- lowering salaries, lengthening the work dock workers in Argentina closed all from the country against the tured until they confessed, they are day and wiping out all the previous ports with a 24 hour solidarity strike. measure proposed. The need still in prison-and Dictator Peron in- gains of the workers. The bosses in The regime which keeps the San Have you received a Renewal to impose conscription itself in- tends to keep them there. the tile industry made a special gift Martin workers in jail is the same re-

The case resembles in many ways to the police of 30,000 pesos for the gime with which the Russian dictatorour own Haymarket affair of 1886, purchase of ammunition to be used ship recently concluded an economic which grew out of the fight for the against the workers. eight hour day and ended in the But the tile-makers of San Martin still continues to do business. Amerideaths of five anarchists and imprison- stood their ground. They went out can workers can show their solidarity on strike for the eight hour day and with the class prisoners of Argentina ment for three others. The Argentine tile-makers-Adelino an increase in wages. The strike lasted by refusing to carry out any economic Dominguez, Domingo Perroti, Sebas- three months, and during that time agreements with Peron. We urge our tian Zolly, Celio Conti and Mario police terrorism resulted in mass seamen readers to demonstrate solid-Montiglio-are members of the Fed- arrests. Finally, however, the em- arity with the San Martin prisoners seems likely, the opposition in eration Obrera Regional Argentina ployers gave in, but during negotia- by not working on cargoes for Argen-(FORA), the anarcho-syndicalist un- tions a delegation of workers was fina. (from "Why", Feb. 1947).

Twopence

"Nobody can rule guiltlessly."-Saint Just. "Any ordinary city, how-

ever small, is in fact two cities; one the city of the poor, the other of the rich, at war with one another." -Plato ("Republic").





Households
2,567,600
3,056,600
4,157,00
1,437,880
518,420
489,100
75 per cent. of
than £5/10/0
is than 43 per

**ERANCO** has made a new move in the regime. By declaring that when he dies, or retires, a king will follow him, and that the meantime he will govern with the aid of a Council of the Kingdom, while him, he has presented the monarchists with headaching problem

Franco's regime will leave behind it. political works. These opposition monarchists have been In the long run, it will be the workers making overtures to other opposition operate with the monarchists and republicans in order to overthrow Franco's But the new move will force them to whatever shade. reconsider the position.

The monarchists have now two courses open to them: they can adopt a legitimist, evolutionary policy, and wait over by constitutional means; or they The first course has the disadvantage of come a ridiculous dead letter. giving the monarchists the odium of being The Labour Government has concluded The This called.

impossible to say which will happen.

### Spanner In The Works

The fact that such a problem is facing the monarchists makes them even more unreliable as "allies" for republicans, socialists and workers, and these groups will be as much worried by Franco' new manoeuvre as the monarchists themthe dangers and pitfalls of this kind of political alliance, and so illustrates also the opposition which anarchists advance against such "popular" fronts. Different political groups only seek to

Peron

FORA has kept up the fight to free

pact, with which American business

mbine for an immediate object which a Regency Council will take over after they think cannot be secured except by some kind of sinking of differences. But as soon as the situation changes, new In 1936, the Monarchists, including line-ups are adopted and ald alliances Don Juan (then a member of the speedily forgotten. The groups which Falange) supported Franco. Many of make the greatest sacrifices of principlethem still do, while others have gone into the workers' groups-are thus left with no prosition behind Don Juan, the Pre- advantages, but having made all the contender to the throne. The motive of the cessions. A wily regime like Franco's heriting some of the odium which is always ready to throw a spanner in the

King

who overthrow Franco, and they will only groups, including the Republicans, the be throwing away the fruits of victory in Socialists, but not the Anarchists (reports advance if they make concessions to that the Anarchists have agreed to co- would-be rulers of the monarchist, socialist or republican brand. Let them rely on their own strength instead of lending regime are denied by the Monarchists). It to groups of political tricksters of

## FRANCO AND THE **UNITED NATIONS**

ndicate something of the poverty in for the purpose of overthrowing the against Franco which the United Nations which a large proportion of the people | Franco regime by unconstitutional means. imposed on December 13th last, has be-

In 2,567,000 households, or 21 official successors to the existing regime, an Anglo-Spanish Financial agreement. per cent. of the 12,226,000 in England and also will put them in the queer if This extends the economic relations with and Wales, the chief wage earner a successful overthrow of Franco is Franco which the British government have achieved by other political groups. (Hence ever abandoned. Last year Britain ex-The if they adopt it, they will have a stake in ported to Spain £9 millions worth of many the stability of the regime.) The second goods, and received from Spain imports has all the uncertainty of political to about £15 millions. In 1947, the new alliances or "fronts" as they are now agreement envisages that British exports to Spain will reach £25 million while Don Juan has categorically rejected Spanish exports will be about £15 Francos' "offer". But if his supporters millions. Oscar Hobson, the Financial come to consider it more advantageous, he Editor of the News Chronicle (5/4/47) will no doubt forget his anti-Franco puts the figure even higher, for he expects manifesto of March 19th, 1945, and fall British exports to exceed Spanish imports in behind the Regency Council. It is to this country by £20 to £25 millions this year.

Nor is the American government far behind. Truman has despatched Paul T. Culbertson, the Chief of the West European Department of the U.S. State Department, to Madrid to negotiate an American loan to Spain in return for American Air bases along the Mediterranean coasts of the country. Obviously, all this makes nonsense of the diplomatic sanctions "against" Franco.

34 nations voted for this decision of the United Nations last December, and withdrew their ambassadors from Madrid. (Continued on page 5)

2 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 STANLES HARDENE 22 23 1 24



a "marriage of convenience" between for this volte face is given headlines in Mussolini's Dictatorship and that of Pope the Communist organ UNITA of See was recognized as a Sovereign Power SUPPORTS AND VOTES IN with full possession of the City. The FAVOUR OF ARTICLE 7. Such egal status and may therefore acquire attitude. The State resigns any voice in the appointment of bishops. The Church support it in the coercion of recalcitrant priests. Religious marriage becomes the many citizens we must adjust our position legal marriage for Catholics; certain vis a vis the Catholic Church and the matrimonial cases come before the religious problem with care. Our position ecclesiastical courts. The Catholic Uni- in regard to this problem is therefore versity is relieved from interference by the democratic. We vindicate and demand civil authority, and compulsory Catholic that in the Italian Constitution there education is extended to Secondary should be freedom of conscience, of faith, chools. On the other hand the Vatican ornises the Italian kingdom with Rome s its capital, the bishops swear neither to take themselves nor allow their clergy to take any action which may prejudice the state or public order, and no ecclesiastic

may join a political party. In this last sentence it becomes clear what Mussolini hoped to gain from the Treaty. There was nothing of course to prevent the higher clergy from supportdid, particularly during such critical and poisoning relations between the most of the Catholic Church" . . . and so on for gained much more. More important than the guaranteeing of its economic statusimportant though it was-was, from the "restored to the Papacy its old strangle- ciples; we have a duty to be consistent any electoral preoccupations" there was

From Don Basilio. Drawing by Majorana. - But what has happened to your red fiag? - For Christ's sake don't talk to me about it! It is made from the cassock a cardinal insisted on presenting to us when he heard that the Communist deputies had accepted Article 7 of the Constitution.

A WELL-KNOWN and respected student of Italian affairs commenting back in 1931 on the Lateran Treaty signed by Mussolini and Pope Pius XI two years earlier, wrote that the Concordat between the Vatican and the Italian State rested on unstable foundations and that "an antifascist reaction would be bound to denounce it, and with it the Temporal Power may disappear again". The writer of these words, Bolton King, did not live to witness "anti-Fascist reaction", in 1947, when this very important question of Church and State was debated by the Italian Constituent Assembly and resulted in a new victory for Fascism and Clerical obscurantism.

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With the exception of one or two paragraphs in the more serious English newspapers, nothing has appeared in the Press in this country on the subject which is one of profound interest in that it once more indicates the power of the Vatican in politics as well as the opportunism of politicians. But before dealing with the debate, it will be useful, we think, to explain what the Lateran Treaty is about, so that the enormity of the decision taken by the Constituent Assembly may be better judged.

The Lateran Treaty was, as it were,

This is more than just a sleeping man using a stone column as a pillow. He is one of Italy's millions of unemployed and the massive columns which dominate the picture are the columns of St. Peter's, Rome, headquarters of clerical obscurantism. During the last two weeks the infamous Lateran Treaty signed by Mussolini and Pope Pius XI in 1929 has been included in the New Constitution of Italy, thanks largely to the Communists casting their votes with those of the democratic Christians, the neo-fascist Common Man party and the conservatives. The Treaty restored to the Papacy its old stranglehold on the life of the Italian nation, and the new Constitution ratifies this decision.

## ANARCHISM - Interpretations

"Man becomes man, and his humanity becomes conscious and real, only in society and by the joint activity of society. He frees himself from the yoke of external nature only by jointthat is, social-labour: it alone is capable of making the surface of the earth fit for the evolution of mankind; but without such external liberation neither intellectual nor moral liberation is possible. Furthermore, man gets free from the yoke of his own nature only by education and instruction: they alone make it possible for him to subordinate the impulses and motions of his body to the guidance of his more and more developed mind; but education

and instruction are of an exclusively social nature. Outside society man would have remained forever a wild beast, or, what comes to about the same thing, a saint. Finally, in his isolation man cannot have the consciousness of liberty. What liberty means for man is that he is recognized as free, and treated as free, by those who surround him; liberty is not a matter of isolation, therefore, but of mutuality-not of separateness, but of combination; for every man it is only the mirroring of his humanity (that is, of his human rights) in the consciousness of his brothers."

BAKUNIN.

To-day, nearly 20 years after, "anti-Fascist reaction" (which so loudly condemned Mussolini's pact at the time), has sanctioned the continued stranglehold of the Church on the Italian people by accepting Article 7 of the new constitution which includes acceptance of the Lateran Treaty. This article reads: "The State and the Catholic Church are in their respective domains, independent and sovereign. Their relations are governed by the Lateran Pact. Any modifications to the pact which are bilaterally agreed to do not require constitutional revisionary procedure. Other religious denominations have the right to organize according to their own statutes so long as these do not clash with Italian jurisdiction", and after a debate lasting into the early hours of March 25th, was agreed to by 350 votes against 149.

## The Political Opportunists

The large majority in favour of Article people's attitude to the Church and the for the defence of the Socialist fatherland Clergy. It was brought about by the large whose existence was threatened by the Communist vote which for opportunistic invading German and fascist hordes

Article 7.

### FREEDOM



reasons was cast in favour of the Lateran Pact! Those who have followed the new development. The estensible reason March 26th, which read: IN THE INTEREST OF WORKERS' UNITY AND RELIGIOUS PEACE THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY shameless opportunism will undoubtedly ire (£19 millions) in cash have its effect on those elements in the Communist rank and file who have been actively campaigning in the anti-clerical movement which is fast gaining support in Italy, but of course, the fanatical, unthinking section will just swallow this about-turn as it has so many others. We leader Togliatti in justifying the Party's

"Since the Centre of the Church is situated in our country and since a conflict with it would upset the conscience of of cult, of religious propaganda and of defended against every attempt from wherever it may come . . . For us the solution reached on the Roman Question is something definite which has closed there is no clash between a socialist regime periods as the war in Abyssinia and the advanced democratic elements and the Spanish adventure. But the Vatican Catholic Church." It should be noted that Togliatti was quoting from (and reaffirming) the speech he delivered to the



FREEDOM photo.

In a back street of Naples, where people live in conditions not fit for beasts, the shrine to the Virgin Mary is kept spotlessly clean, never without flowers and lighted day religious organization. We consider these and night. The Church promises all the freedoms as the fundamental democratic good things for the doubtful hereafter and freedoms which must be established and succeeds in maintaining poverty of the mind and body in the present.

and settled the problem for all time . . . and the religious conscience of a people; Our position, clear and definite, removes there is not even a clash between a ing Mussolini's dictatorship as indeed they any possibility of misunderstanding arising socialist regime and the religious freedom nearly two pages of l'Unita! We need hardly say that few people inside the Assembly or outside were taken in by Togliatti's protestations and when at the end he said that whether the vote were Vth Congress of the Party at the begin- public or secret it would make no differning of 1946, and he adds "As you will ence to the way the communist vote was rightly pointed out, the Lateran Treaty see these are a few fundamental prin- cast since "there does not exist for us



hold on the life of the Nation."

FREEDOM photo.

and I think we have been so far."

# **Communists Champion**

## Catholic Cause!

Later in his speech Togliatti aske "Between whom is the debate? Between the Democratic-Christians and ourselves I do not think so. The demo-christian colleagues speak sometimes as if they a the only defenders of the freedom catholic conscience. I do not think that any part of the Left wishes to leave them this exclusivity. In our party there are also atholics and we consider ourselves, and ndeed are, defenders of the freedom their consciences. Such freedom we defend as a party which is democratic modern, progressive and if you like communist; we do not however concede 1 the demochristians the exclusive right defend it." Togliatti, like all faithf communist stooges ended his speech by pointing to religious tolerance in Russia where during the war, for instance "we have not only seen religious functioning regularly and freely but we have also seen the religious sentimen act as a stimulant in the struggle by the 7 is far from representing the Italian great mass of people in all parts of Russia

loud laughter. The American magazine Time, April 7th, devotes more than a page to the debate, and their correspondent in Rome gives some indication of the motives behind this jesuitical move by the Communists.

"What were Togliatti's motives, and what did he achieve? The paramount fact was that the Communists' support of the Vatican coincided, with jewelled precision, with the new Italian Communist strategy of shifting attention and activities from the industrial north, traditionally anti-clerical, to the agrarian south. In recent weeks the Communists' best agents and organizers have been moved down from Milan and Turin (where, said a Communist editor in conversation last week, "our work is already finished"), to concentrate on the peasants. Togliatti's tactic had undercut the Christian Democrat Party's appeal to the peasants that the real choice lay between Christian democracy and Red atheism.

"But Togliatti had a second motive. This had been a supreme opportunity to display himself as arbiter of Assembly decisions. The Kremlin's legate had proved to De Gasperi and the Christian Democrats that-alone-they could not carry off one of their most cherished objectives. Socialist Pietro Nenni, after a year of playing footie with the Comnunists, now knew that Togliatti could give him a splintering kick in the shins at will. If Nenni and his Socialists were ever to walk again, they might have to make peace with the disaffected Socialists of Giuseppe Saragat in a last, desperate effort to save the Italian moderate left from total annihilation."

It is difficult to say what the reaction of the Italian people will be in the long run to this continued imposition on their lives by the Church. Two things are certain however: firstly, that the anticlerical movement in Italy will gain in trength and determination. It is to be hoped that it will develop as a movement based on the broad concepts of the right of the individual to determine for himself the kind of life he will live rather than as a movement which devotes time and energy to hunting up all the scandal surrounding individual priests. This activity has no real bearing on the problem of freeing the Italian people from the clutches, both moral and physical, of the Church. Secondly, it is to be hoped that the Communists have once and for all demonstrated to the people that not only do they not represent the people but that their sole aim is to use the masses in their attempts to seize power and to establish a dictatorship more dangerous and destructive of all human values than the one inflicted on them by Mussolini.

V. R.

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It is impossible to draw from the agonised past the complete with its long record of progressive picture of the horrors and sufferings that have gone to make the struggle. history of the people of Glasgow. Time has drawn a veil over the The Free Union vivid colours of a living hell and struggle that was the life of these people gathered round the Clyde.

An excess of exploited men and women and children, forced by a demand for existence into miserable dwellings and little hovels. too overcrowded to bear even a resemblance to homes, packed close to the high bleak walls of the industrial dungeons and compelled into selling their bodies and brains for a bare pittance.

Half starved, consumptive wage slaves who saw their children chewed up in hundreds by the unprotected machines; slaves who worked in misery from dawn to dark and dragged out their lives in poverty, hunger and filth, resulting inevitably in prostitution, suicide, murder and savage sadism.

The Glasgow of to-day is abundant in districts of Bridgeton, Anderston, organizations in the world. Gorbals and Govan, with their dismal alleys and jumbled slums, are known throughout the world and are evidenced as evils of a system of exploitation.

There is that element in humanity of decency, and an inborn instinctive demand for liberty and equality, that impelled these people to fight their way out from beneath the gruesome burdens of oppression and slavery. Finding strength in banding together in trades unions, there followed a slow and tortuous struggle towards self-respect equality and justice for the workers here on the Clydeside.

### **Fight For Emancipation**

It is in the people themselves that we find the irrefutable facts of the night mare that has gone before. The struggle has been human to the point of brutality. Their slow upward surge has not been won without heavy cost The toll has been in broken bodies, death and martyrdom.

To repress the fight for emancipatio. all the exploiter's weapons have been used, beginning in 1851, when the Glasgow dockers struck for 6d. an hou for their casual labour. Blacklegs, protected by a large force of police, were used. They only succeeded in uniting the dockers into a workers' organization.

Since then the dockers' movement has stood firm against all attempts

evidence of this horrible past. The grim gence of one of the finest working men's

### The Break-Away

The Glasgow dockers are justly pro ersonal organization. Building by a process of trial and error, they have forged a workers' movement that has superseded the mere collective bargaining machine which depends for existence on a capitalist society. The fundamental can be re-elected or removed at any time character of this union is a challenge to the profit-maker and the profit-taker: implicit in the character of the dockers' union is the silent insistence on the annihilation of the privileged and parasitic elements in present-day society.

Demonstrated in the present struggle are the solidarity, empiricism and inligence which are the characteristics of the union. They are handling the strike intelligently, shrewdly and determinedly. Their strength is given by every docker on the Clyde.

The foundation on which this trade union is laid is as simple as it is sensible. Breaking away from the World Trade Union Leaders Transport and General Workers' Union, the Clyde dockers regrouped themselves in the Scottish Transport and General Workers' Union in January, 1932.

The secession was brought about argely through procrastination and lays, sometimes deliberate, in handling the dockers' problems on the Clyde. Remote control from London led to

sense of frustration and discontent smash the men back into subservience. The massive, centralised union of appearances'. In turn the police, prison, the Army and Transport House, with its ponderous and Trade Union leaders have got something the Navy have been used. All the fantastic machinery of negotiation, was better to do than hob-nob with mere forces of propaganda and law court not geared to the militant Clydeside workers these days, it seems.

The dockers preserved, and hav unionism, and in breaking away have made an inestimable contribution to the forward march of the workers throughout the world.

The Scottish T. & G.W.U. are to-day owing allegiance to no political body and top to bottom, a workers' organization controlled by themselves and fighting for the workers.

Every member of their trade unior s a dock worker, grouped into nine such port trades as Storemen, Riggers, Scalers, Watchmen and General Labourers.

Each of these branches appoints from its own members its own administrative committee with a part-time secretary. The nine committees are co-ordinated through an executive committee with a full-time secretary.

hold office for one year only. They if necessary, by the members who meet weekly, and they receive a wage commensurate with the industry. After their period of service they revert to ordinary dock work.

here excludes the possibility of the top heavy bureaucracy and incentives to careerism and subsequent betraval by leadership divorced from membership.

(Continued on page 8)

# Snobbish

200,000 Japanese workers gathered i front of the Imperial Palace in Tokio n April 4th to welcome the delegates ( the World Federation of Trade Unions The guests however failed to turn up, and

# AGRICULTURE & SOCIAL REVOLUTION

issues of "Freedom".)

tion depends on its success or failure and peasants with food. Significantly, he called his book on the social re- of 1938-39. It was a prime cause of past. volution The Conquest of Bread. On the ultimate defeat at the hands of not so obvious, apparently, for the articles. millions of lives.

firmation from three revolutions.

### **Revolutions Of The Past**

In Russia the food shortage of the

(The following article is the first of a machine guns of the Social Democrat, the part of a coalition of capitalist workers were appealing for food and

fate elsewhere.

### Menace Of Blockade

short series, which will replace G.V.'s Gustav Noske. Most interesting of powers, or of an economic blockade, for the evacuation of refugees in the usual "Land Notes" for the next few all, the Spanish Revolution in 1936 or both together. Our island geo- north. The Italian workers who alone succeeded in increasing the out- graphy makes us particularly vulner- overthrew Mussolini in 1943 were KROPOTKIN, with that practical put of food, at least for a time. But able in this respect. Hence the social immediately subjected to the terror sense which characterizes his writings, it remains only a partial exception, for revolution in this country will have raids of the R.A.F. on the cities of once remarked that in the final report with the triumph of the counter- to surmount this formidable obstacle N. Italy, the success or failure of a revolu- revolution in the setting up of the right from the start, and the food The lesson of past history is there-Socialist-Stalinist government of Dr. problem, the conquest of bread, will fore inescapable; if the workers of to provide the revolutionary workers Neorin, the food situation deteriorated bulk larger here even than it has this country succeed in overturning to starvation point during the winter done in the great revolutions of the existing property relations and the

the face of it, this might appear Franco. But we shall return to the This prospect of blockade is so maintained, they must be prepared for don't need to be bribed to get coal." merely to state the obvious. But it is examples of Russia and Spain in later grave that many people are unwilling intervention from without. The only This report from the capitalist press goes to face it squarely, and allow them- small ray of consolation discernible is question of revolutionary agriculture Thus, with one partial exception, selves to doubt the reality of its that since the British ruling class have such inducements, but the true significance has been neglected by theoreticians of the revolutions of the past have failed menace. A glance at history will been the main interventionists of the of their rejection lies elsewhere. the social revolution to a quite start- to guarantee the material subsistence make the question clear. Pitt's past, the British revolution will only ling extent. The result has been of their populations and so have in- government led a coalition of re- have their accomplices to deal with! matter, don't work for the "good of the utterly disastrous, and has cost evitably failed in their object. For actionary powers in an attempt to But America's increasing interference community" or because the "crisis dethe abolition of economic misery and destroy the French Revolution. They in foreign affairs indicates that con- mands every effort in production", Kropotkin doubtless was thinking of the raising of man's activity beyond even went to the length of seeking siderable intervention is likely to come the Paris Commune. Food certainly the continual search and labour for to disorganize the finances of the from them. reached the beleaguered city, for the bare necessities of life is clearly revolution by printing French cur- It follows therefore that (confining reactionary government of Versailles an essential prerequisite for the build- rency in England with a view to our attention to the food aspect of the never succeeded in completely in- ing of a life and a society of freedom. flooding France with it. This device blockade problem) there are two necessity to raise the standard of living vesting it. But the Commune made The question of agriculture is thereno serious attempt to link up its own fore one of the very first problems playwright Sheridan in 1794 will have to wait on the world revorevolution with the social revolt of which must engage the attention of (Kropotkin, The Great French Revo- lution which will prevent the posthe French peasants, and so provide practical people who seek to prevent lution, p. 444). In 1871, Thiers sibility of intervention; or they will indefinitely for the feeding of Paris the social revolution in this country joined with his enemies of yesterday, have to seek a solution which will But since 1871, Kropotkin's remark from stumbling into the totalitarian the Prussians, to blockade and sub- provide the bread for the revolution has received added point and con- counter-revolution which has been its sequently massacre the Commune of while at the same time facing the enough in Russia under the term "socialist Paris. In 1918 and 1919 the rulers problems of blockade from without, of Britain and Germany, Japan and and therefore no food imports from America joined hands in refusing to without. The first alternative is miners at North Seaton show their con-In England this problem is espec- allow the passage of any material, too pusillanimous, too reliant on an period of "War Communism" culmin- ially acute for two reasons which are even medical supplies (including unlikely good fortune, so in these ated in the great famine of 1921, in mutually interlocking. First, this anaesthetics), to the revolutionary articles only the second problem will is to pay them higher wages. The "needs which five million people died of country is, of all countries of the workers and peasants of Russia. In be considered. We shall begin by of the nation" are not served by putting starvation. The situation was only world, the most dependent at present addition they engaged in active armed considering some general points of more profit in the owners' pockets, but by relieved by the economic retreat on outside sources of food imports. intervention against them. Non- capitalist economy in food, together known as the NEP (New Economic (Whether this position is an in- intervention in Spain was a polite with the factors which have made Policy). The German Revolution of evitable and changeless one will be word for economic blockade. Many British agriculture what it is to-day. 1918 occurred in the midst of general considered at some length later.) readers will remember that popular Then proceed to consider some of the starvation brought on by the war, and Secondly, revolutions of any mag- blockade runners like 'Potato' Jones revolutionary experiments in order to it had no time to relieve this situation nitude, have always been the object were refused insurance on their ships learn from the past. before it was overwhelmed by the either of an armed intervention on and cargo, at a time when the Spanish J. H.



On March 21st, 12 girls employed at the Lanark food factory Marshall's Food Products Ltd., rea week's notice through anager, Woods, regarding the manner in which the girls had been dismissed. Five were placed in other work and seven were definitely being sacked. During the interview Woods vas called to the telephone and, while waiting. Mary Neal lit a cigarette. the girls were in a mood to strike of petty tyranny.

The girls wanted to strike work on Friday, after this interview, but Mary Neal restrained them with the advice that it would be better to go through All committee men and secretaries the union procedure-though events sequently prevented this course of

On Monday, March 31st, at starting time, Mary Neal was refused admittance and informed that Mr. The real democratic control found Woods wanted to see her. Woods cused her of being a rebel, and that she had been rebellious for three THE TWO GEORGES weeks. He told her she would get a week's wages in lieu of notice, which she was not really entitled to. And she was to get off the premises as quickly as possible. Mary Neal said that she would determine how she would leave, and left without wages. She immediately got in touch with the talking about. union branch secretary.

> Manager Wood, meanwhile, typed out a notice and put it up on the otice board, informing the workers that a girl had been dismissed for one doing likewise would be instantly discharged. At the same time, married women arrived at the factory

Strike from the labour exchange with green

Girls

cards to start work in place of the "redundant" girls. At dinnertime workers called a meeting and unanimously decided to strike. The management did their best to prevent workers from leaving the works at dinnertime, and succeeded in intimidating some into staying in. But on Tuesday morning the girls were solid and only 17 blacklegs went into the factory. But since there is a chargehand or overseer for every eight girls or so it is easy to account for the scabs.

By noon, Woods was ready to climb down and put through a hurried call to London to the directors. In halfan-hour he announced that all the girls were reinstated and were to start work next morning.

This is another example of direct action and solidarity on the part fellow workers preventing

D. T.

A News Review reporter listened carefully. When the King lately said to George: "So you're a Director of the Bank of England, you must know a lot about money," he replied: "I know a lot about not having a lot of money." But on finance and economics George Gibson (61) undoubtedly knows what he is

George's other strong point is that he never pulls his punches. He said so as he gazed through his odd, hypnotic eyes into the comforting fire and chewed at his ever-present cigar.

"Anybody who loves and admires the workers of Britain, as I do," he said, inciting to strike, and adding that any- "knows that it's bloody silly to let them expect that manna will fall from heaven. There's only one answer to cries for better living, and that's more production. And that can't be done without honest

News Review, 6/2/47.

We bet George didn't tell the other George that bit about manna which does not fall from heaven and honest work. His namesake knows better.

# **MINERS SEE THROUGH** " BRIBES "

"Miners at North Seaton colliery, which has one of the best production records in the country, have sent back the three 'big match' tickets allotted to them by institutional means whereby they are the Coal Board with the message: 'We Seaton could "pull their weight" without

> Miners, nor any other workers for that etc.; they work for wages. And intelligent workers know well enough that these catchwords do very well for owners who want to get more production for the same wages, for that means more profit. "The urgent needs of the community", "the by increased production", may be translated as the needs of the owners for profits and the desire of the stockholders for increased dividends. It is a cheap method to try and encourage competition between pits or factories for production records by offering rewards like tickets for cup ties. Such things are familiar

In rejecting the 'Coal Boards' bribe, the tempt for such devices. They might have added that since they work for wages, the seeing that the workers get a larger cut out of those profits for themselves and their families. If workers keep their eves firmly on their own interests, and turn a deaf ear to appeals on behalf of the employers camouflaged as "national needs", they will be on the way to extending their demands from a larger share in profits to the demand that they take over production altogether.

(Our Los Angeles comrade, Jules

News from America

sends us the following account of the labour struggle in the Hollywood Studios.)

On September the 26th, 1946, 7,000 motion picture workers, organized in the "Conference of Studio Unions" were locked out. Then 2,000 Film Technicians refused to cross the picket lines, ignoring the order to stay at work, by their national officers of the "International Association of Theatrical and Stage Employees".

Here, it must be said that a similar as follows: strike took place and lasted seven months in 1945.

The whole conflict is due to the fact that the "I.A.T.S.E." which controls most of the 40,000 movie workers (the wholeindustry, A.F. of L. is running under closed shop conditions), is acting just like a company Union and the producers the 'Conference of Studio Unions" organ ization, the "International Association would, with its coercive discipline and its with reliable and obedient slaves.

strike. It is not surprising. The producers have the wealth, control of commercial press and the radio; their influence upon their faithful servants in State positions, and the puppets of the labour movement, give them powerful forces. forces which enable them to silence the whole means of true information.

Yet, however, nowhere, in any labour conflict, have anarchist views been so clearly demonstrated as in the Hollywood the safety code. lock-out.

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Indeed, the conflict has caused the largest trials in the history of the States. For ten dollars, a matter of camouflaging legality, the producers obtained injunctions against mass-picketing, had 1.200 workers of both sexes, arrestedthere was question of building concentration camps, for there was not enough so-called "criminals" had been let out.

to work, was immediately liberated.

However, through legal protests the socalled 'men of justice' came down judging 14 strikers at one time.

The leaders, including a Radio Commentator, came on trial for conspiracy Read the farce: They had conspired to steal the workers' wages in not allowing them to cross the picket lines.

Nevertheless, while these fourteen conspirators were on trial, the civic corruption, the real conspiracy was partially revealed. A policeman who was fired after arresting a driver who ran down a picket, has sworn a statement which reads

"That in connection with the labour dispute which resulted in picket lines tied together on his back, dragged in the

His opportunity came with the mine

The Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Krug, himself disclosed that 518 of the mines were considered unsafe and that he had ordered them to close down until they complied with the safety code and were passed as O.K. by inspectors. But this was

well-known corruption (Bown and Bioff, American Mineworkers' Union, having Centralia, and appealing to him to close can be part of their attitude to their work, emanating from the brain, can go about former Heads of the organization were | failed last December in his frontal attack down the mines until they were re- where their own conditions | its business placidly despite the precarious sent to prison for ten years) provide them on the Federal Government when he inspected, and are themselves responsible for them, or nerve-ridden existence suffered by its climbed down in the face of a fine, has saying that the Krug-Lewis agreement and where their misfortunes cannot be owner. now resorted to guerilla tactics to build provides the means by which the union used by demagogues or politicians in their Now, very little is known about the again his prestige with the miners. may guard against working in unsafe climb to power.

> disaster at the Centralia pit, Illinois, where On the face of it, it would seem that 110 miners were killed in an explosion. Lewis is in a good position, but the It was disclosed that the regulation of government are now stepping in again conditions as laid down in the Federal with their lawyers. Last December a fine Mine Safety Code was not being complied of £875,000 was levied against the United with there, and it led to inspection of all Mine Workers for their strike, but was the soft-coal mines in the country-over reduced by £700,000 when Lewis sent 2,500 of them-when it was found that them back to work. Now the government only two mines were complying fully with lawyers are accusing him of "bad faith" and "subterfuge" and are seeking to have his men back to work rather than what matters most to all big unions-the

Already, some of the men are drifting not good enough for John L., who saw back to work on their own account, and the publicity which the disaster a heaven-sent opportunity to get some of ignoring their leader and his opportunism. has received has forced the State to government from imposing fines on his "own back". First, he called his men What we fail to understand is why the take action which is an admission immense numbers of miners when they out for a week's "mourning strike" of miners themselves have allowed the safety that mining is unnecessarily unsafe. go on strike against their conditions Then the producers' valets intended to disaster, and then-while they were still Surely they don't have to be so dependent have one jury trial for them all. Were out-ordered them all to stay out, with upon their leader that they will work in 518 of the total 2,531 soft coal mines In this country, nearly 1,000 miners they not guilty? Then why the trial? the exception of those working at the two dangerous conditions unnecessarily until a Sure they were guilty since anyone who mines which were complying fully with disaster gives him the opportunity to show pleaded as such and was willing to go back the code. At the same time, he was off? Let the miners-in this country attacking Mr. Krug for "criminal negli- as well as U.S.A.-create their own

THE three topics of major political The reaction to any De Gaulle "pranks" robberies with violence.

War and general unrest in the Colonies. a rival fascism and the country would pass, country. De Gaulle's Strasbourg speech has by civil war or compromise which Moscow already received wide publicity in this will decide-to an unchecked and limitless country, and in these columns therefore totalitarianism. Socialists, radicals, demo- COLONIAL CAMPAIGNS we will attempt to give readers the re- christians, gaullists and anti-gaullists, actions of French public opinion as ex- would be devoured or absorbed step by pressed in the different Press organs. step. There is no doubt that the General's speech has had very profound repercussions, and the political parties have lost SCANDALS AT A HIGH no time in making known their reactions to the speech. The Socialist Party has officially condemned the speech in a communique issued by the Executive Committee. It states that the negation of the conception of parties, and the creation the single party, can only end in personal power. "Democracy cannot survive with would be the indication and the medium for dictatorship." Reference is then made to the fact that though De Gaulle was at the helm for two years-and abandoned power by his own wish-he did not solve any of the anguishing problems with which the French nation was faced. And again to-day he does not offer any concrete solution. The "Rassemblement" of the French people without any programme can only mean-says the communique-a rassemblement around one man. This can only create new internal divisions and create a false impression of France abroad. Not "noisy agitation tendency towards the revision of the Constitution" but "a determined effort by the French people and constructive solutions for the economic and social problems" will help overcome the present difficulties. The communique ends significantly with expressing confidence in its members to "watch over the safeguarding of the republican institutions and democratic liberties."

The Communist paper l'Humanité devotes less than three inches of its space to report the speech but comments at length. Their views can be summed up as believing that De Gaulle declares himself Leader of the Reaction and puts forward as his programme ideas dear to the enemies of the Republic. The Anarchist weekly Le Libertaire (10/4/47) will remain in the "realm of dreams" so next) and all its ramifications; the Hardy ation of present-day Italy are analogous ideal.

# LEVEL

The De Gaulle speech merely interfor a day or two the absorbing, non-stop scandalmongering that has been filling the columns of the French Press these past months. Max Intrator who has small fry for the French who have at least a half-dozen scandals running at the same time. These are a few sample headlines chosen at random during the past fortnight

LIBERIAN DIPLOMAT, PARISIAN INDUSTRIALIST AND A POLICE OFICER INVOLVED IN A QUESTION OF GOLD TRAFFIC AND SMUGGLING."

'ANDRE CRESTOIS. FORMER TREASURER MOVEMENT NATIONAL LIBERATION ARRESTED."

ADMINISTRATORS OF THE NEWSPAPER CITE-SOIR INVOLVED IN THE CASE OF THE FALSE SUEZ SHARES AND THE SHARES STOLEN FROM THE BANK OF INDO-CHINA. AN INSPECTOR OF THE SURETE IS ARRESTED."

'UNEXPECTED DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WINE SCANDAL M. DEFFERRE STRIKES M. BASTID."

### "TWO MORE INSPECTORS SUS-PENDED AT THE PREFECTURE."

To these should be added the case of Joanovici (the rag-millionaire who pops

interest in the French Press during will be of assistance to the Stalinists who, All these scandals, apart from their out the bosses). the past fortnight can be listed under the with the pretext of achieving a democratic scandal-value as such do reveal a wide- if this situation does again arise that following headings: De Gaulle, Scandals, front will put themselves at the head of spread corruption at all levels in the

Meanwhile, the war in Indo-China continues and there is now open rebellion in Madagascar. Combat (April 9th) devotes an article to the problem and points out that there has been a very marked political development in Madagascar during the past two years, which the writer considers quite a natural development which has been brought about in part by the war and the victory of the allies. This desire for self-government is also the result of the natives' feeling of "unity as a nation". Will it be drowned in the blood of the natives and of French conscripts as in Indo-China? This is the question which the Anarchist le Libertaire asks in a front page article in its April 10th issue.

## MORE UNREST IN **ITALY**<sup>\*</sup>

Reports of demonstrations by th employed in Italy continue to be received daily. The latest, at Turin, industrial centre of Italy, has assumed large proportions, and according to Combat's correspondent (11th April) the demonst had almost succeeded in making ther selves masters of the city, which was fact under their complete control for han nine hours. called out to "restore order". A similar situation arose at Spinazzola, near Bari. Considerable discontent also exists amongst school teachers owing to starvation wages they receive, and Teachers Syndicate has stated that a strike would take place throughout Italy April 14th. This in spite of oppositi by Di Vittorio, Communist Secretary of the Italian T.U.C. "A strike," he said, "might do more harm than good to the workers' cause."

long as the masses are not conquered. case, plus a sprinkling of murders and to the situation in 1920 (i.e., when the

### FREEDOM



That's not all.

payroll."

inpolished worker who I can swear is the symbol of integrity), head of the "Conference of Studio Unions" the ganster methods which were tried before to get rid of him were started again. This time, Sorrell was arresed by three gangsters, one bearing the uniform of the Los Angeles police department, handcuffed, thrown into an automobile, beaten to unconsciousn with the butt of a gun, hand and feet

entire Culver City police force, in- Yos Angeles, fired at, and left there for on the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studio fused to die. When he regained consciousness, he rolled himself till he fell in Unable to corrupt Hebert K. Sorrell (an in time was taken to a hospital.

> The next day, the charges against the fourteen conspirators, labour leaders, and commentator, were dropped.

Again, these men are in the front line. Their brains, as well as the brains of the Will they have learned that economic and morning nausea suffered by some pregnant political masters form one single clique to be free men we shall have to get rid of them all?

JULES SCARCERIAUX.





110 American miners were killed in had been producing 616,000 tons a the Federal Mine Safety Code there, with the safety code. Krug has shut down no less than of work.



workers occupied the factories and locked of 1920, and that once they occupy the factories they see to it that no political party dislodges them!

### AN IMPORTANT ANNIVERSARY

l'Adunata dei Refrattari, the Italian Anarchist weekly published in America, ename this week celebrates its 25th Anni- In Tarran, County Texas, a woman of Anarchists in America under most marriage ceremonies for dogs. difficult conditions it has established Favourite song gag about New York's fluential paper in the Anarchist move- Melancollver haby?" the best-known Anarchist writers and thick concrete walls interlined with lead thinkers, and its publication during the long disastrous years of Mussolini's for the thousands of Italian Anarchist exiles in France and America. l'Adunata of initiatives of human solidarity: for tarpaulin over his air-conditioned cage. the persecuted Italian anti-fascists, for the Spanish workers during their struggle against Franco as well as after. during their painful years in exile. And money, sending literature, food and clothing for the Italian Anarchist movement during its rebirth after more than twenty years of fascism. The groups Anarchist Press in all parts of the world, a strong sense of solidarity. and we recall the immediate solidarity received from our American comrades when Freedom Press was revived in 1936 with the publication of Spain and the World. Since then our efforts have always received that practical encouragement which has permitted us to undertake larger projects than our resources would have otherwise permitted. sending therefore our greetings to the Adunata and to all the groups and comrades who have made possible its regular appearance during these past 25 years we also recall the important role they Observers do not hide the fact-writes have played on an International scale points out that De Gaulle's programme up in London one day and in Cairo the Combat-that many aspects of the situ- for the propagation of the Anarchist

LIBERTARIAN.

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FITNESS THROUGH **CHEWING!** 

practically no human ailment that chewing gum will not now alleviate

Besides the ordinary brands of rubber cluding the police administration staff death-or so thought the gangsters. But children love (and with which Beatrice in the Culver City Hall, were placed Sorrell, who refuses to give in, also re- Lillie is said to be practising hard so delicious, crude, prude numbers with a a ditch along the road, called for help and bit of bubble-shooting) there are gums containing aspirin, laxative agents, and indigestion soothers.

> Latest is a hangover gum claiming to relieve the most shattering morning-after Obtainable by prescription only, since i being successfully used to placate the women

> Symptomatic of how, now that so much knowledge of what goes on in the world is so easily available to us, we can't always digest it, is the stomach ulcer.

Here as in England there is an ugly spread of them. An interesting new treatment is reported by the Harvard medicos. It seems that, in recurring or obstinate cases, successful dispersion of ulcers has been effected by the cutting of the vagus

erves, which lead to the stomach. In this way the stomach, uninformed of John L. Lewis, the president of the gence" in not enforcing the code at organisations on the job where militancy messages of aggravation and disturbance

> American Diary, News Chronicle, 31/3/47.

the full amount of the fine restored. If a pit explosion in a mine at day-26 per cent. of the total output. we know John L., however, he will send Centralia, Illinois, recently. John L. A Federal mines inspector has

Lewis denounced the Secretary of the stated, furthermore, that only two of Interior, Mr. Krug, for not enforcing U.S. coal mines were fully complying These facts do not prevent the U.S.

on the ground that they are unsafe. are killed in the mines every year-They will not be re-opened until they almost three a day. And when such have been certified safe. These mines disasters occur, the men's representatives have repeatedly given evidence at the inquests on the dead that the cause of the explosion was a removable one, such as faulty electrical installations. But the Coroner usually remarks that it is not within his power to make recommendations to the owners. And so mines continue to be insafe and cause unnecessary deaths.

# CIVILIZATION

The New York subway wants to hire a moustache eraser for posters defaced by

The Statue of Liberty has been reopened to visitors, her cavern-like interior protectively painted with lipstick-proof

versary. Started in 1922 by a group preacher with strict views conducts

itself as the most important and in- vanished recluse is "Where is my ment. Its contributors have included Atomic burials vaults with two-inch

Gargantua, an 850lb. gorilla at Madison regime made it the centre for expression | Square Garden, shows an increasing contempt for characters dressed like human beings. Too many strange faces and he has also been responsible for hundreds roars with rage until attendants drop a

> JOHN DRUMMOND in Daily Graphic, 8/4/47.

Sometimes only a certain shyness, now it has spared no efforts in raising which makes us dislike drawing attention to ourselves in public, prevents us from expressing our feelings about humanity in the same manner as the around the Adunata have supported the unfortunate gorilla with whom we feel

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# Continued from previous Issue **Concentration Camp**

### **Business Becomes Better and** Better

By 1946 the chief Bolshevik apparatus of coercion had again changed its name and initials. With the Fourth Five Year Plan, the NKVD was split into two distinct ministries. One is the Ministry of State Security, initialled in Russian MGB. It does police work for the Political GULAG, supplying convict labour where-Bureau of the Russian Communist Party ever advancing Soviet Socialism requires -the handful of wise persons bossing labour, with the activity of the Nazi Soviet Eurasia and acting as god-fathers TODT Organization, which on a smaller to the various Communist parties on the scale supplied European slave labour globe-in its relations with the outside various Nazi war enterprises and was also world. The second new institution is the responsible for such construction jobs as MVD, a refurbished Ministry of Internal the Atlantic Wall. Affairs, whose job it is to enforce the will of the Politbureau within the borders of the USSR itself.

In connection with its broad programme tinues the economic tasks of the NKVD. The MVD runs ten huge national construction organizations, in which it uses so-called free workers as well as the millions of convicts under its care. Concentration Camps" (the GULAG), the managed by the Soviet police, say the Ministry for the Construction and ing the Jews, the Nazis were embittered Development of Heavy Industry, the velopment of Military and Naval Plant, the Ministry of Eastern Coal Production,

feel that for safety's sake they must perfect themselves an industrial-military core in Siberia. They came to power as a result Nazis were great idealists spurning pracof a foreign war. A war may turn them tical considerations. Their ideals called out. But not if they can help it. They feel they know better than any other set of politicians how to handle internal opposition. That is the purpose of a people.) Ministry of Internal Affairs. A selfsufficient, economically fortified inner Siberia can forestall a debacle due te foreign aggression. The Nazis almost did it, but the Soviet State could pull back. the job of hastening the construction and used by the MVD in Russia in post-war in the minds of the people' must be could become another "America", another Government. outfitting of fortress Soviet Inner Asia. reconstruction. But the Nazis, too, had pressed with increased energy. These American Far West, if it were opened to It is in charge of the job of hastening the grand plans for after victory. They were military-industrial development of Siberia. not planning to discontinue the use of

It has now at its disposal 3,000,000 German, Italian, Finnish, Hungarian and Japanese war prisoners. The latter are co-operating with the millions of civilian wards of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to build railways, highways, strategic airfields in the great stretches of Siberia. war, the problem of war indebtedness present economy regime was to be short- the masters of Russia may vet have the Federation. Referring to the foreign little helpers, the could be solved in a relatively short time, lived or that mismanagement and high occasion to point with pride at an indus-Irkutsk Pravda recently wrote that the new since we can count on cheap labour and production costs could be tolerated." trialized, fortified Siberia and say to the Siberian railroad will be the largest trans- raw materials for the German economic (On October 16th, 1946, Finance world: "See. We have accomplished this port construction job in the current Five system on a large scale. The price of Minister Arseny G. Zverev, in his budget fine labour in our own socialist way." Year Plan.

The population of Siberia was about 11 million before the first Five Year Plan. It now exceeds 40 million. More than half of this number are convict employees of the MVD, which through its GULA labour-farming centre supplies manpower to all industrial enterprises active in the

## **Old People In The Russian** Zone

The recent increase in rations for ol people in the Russian zone has underlined the terrible conditions under which such forcing government regulations-pre- promises! people live in that part of Germany. We sumably in the face of popular op- The same afternoon Kuomintang have always been told by pro-Russian Russian zone were much better than elsewhere. So they may be-if you are in had to barricade itself in the adminis- police. Almost immediately, in the pledges of a few hours before. How the top ration grade-but rations have tration's buildings, and Chen Yo on words of an American observer, John been distributed in this zone according to March 1st accepted the demand of the Powell, "the bloodbath was on. The six different grades. Up till now the elder people who were not working have received ration 6. This entitles them to approximately 800 calories a day-when promised, in a speech over the radio, they get their full ration, which does not compensation for the families of those always happen. The new ration scale ration groups, so that old people now get ration 4. But this means only about another 100 calories a day; they still have to live, or exist, on about 900 calories day, about half the minimum for a healthy

# **RUSSIA'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS**

mines, in the operation of metallurgical man price level. The difference thus re- corruption and wilful falsification development of the industrial-military potential of Soviet Asia.

### **Invidious Comparisons**

Certain sentimentalists will probably want to compare the MVD's own dustrial enterprises and its subsidiary

The Nazis did not use lawbreakers but levied on the general population of the mentals, quite humanitarian. Remember ing is no longer tried. Now the threat trade unions. countries occupied by them. The Nazi the MVD does all that it does not in of extreme coercion should be more method of using forced labour was based order to glorify the Russians but, in the effective in the case of the workers. "The Norwegian workers have always been were the "leaders" of labour. Nonreserved for Slavs and Jews. Workers from the Slavic countries wore an "Ost" Concentration-camp labour is an unavoid-Iewish labour was worked to exhaustion in special compounds and factories. All Jewish workers were fated to finish up in the gas chamber or the oven. (Concernidealists who set aside their usually practical considerations. In Warsaw, for example, forty thousand Jewish workersall that was left of the large Jewish population of Warsaw and its suburbswere kept busy manufacturing uniforms The rulers of Soviet Russia continue to for German soldiers. This labour was very useful to the masters of Europe. However, on the Jewish question, the for the extermination even of the Jewish men and women who did that useful work for them. Some idealists are funny

> Of course, there is perfect racial equality in the Soviet use of forced labour. The total number of foreign slaves working in Germany towards the end of the war was close to seven million. That foreign labour at the end of the war. In a speech at Klagenfurt, quoted by the D.N.B. (German News Agency) on Minister of Economic Affairs, said:



Formosa, the large island off the Committee to reconsider the demand Chen Yo dissolved the People's Comcoasts of China, formerly administered that government troops be withdrawn mittee and imprisoned most of its by Japan, was handed over to the from Formosa, and guaranteed no dis- members. Chinese government at the end of the turbance if the people did not try to war. Chiang Kai-Shek installed a disarm them. He also promised that government under Chen Yo.

On 28th February, government send no more troops. What bloody troops fired on the people while en- preparations lay behind these lying set up to end martial law. He also were entered and inhabitants killed." ment for the wounded. Then began the familiar story of governmental treachery.

Chiang Kai-Shek's government would

position. Riots immediately followed regular troops began to arrive, and the shootings, and the government reinforced Maj.-General Chang's People's Committee which had been Islanders were shot on sight. Homes

The next morning Chen Yo reimposed martial law, telling the peokilled by the police, and free treat- ple in a broadcast that it would protect them, while at the very same time his troops were killing and arresting people in Taipai by hundreds. Ac- ment, and the whole institutional means On March 8th, Maj.-General cording to John Powell, at least 5,000 whereby some men can hold the rest Chang Yo-Tao asked the People's Formosans were killed. Meanwhile, in subjection.



-but still plenty of castor oil !

contingents of the Russian MVD.

It may be comforting to play around with the following idea. While the Soviet con-camp regimen is rigorous, and millions never return to civilian life, the general

Con-Camps In U.S.S.R.

that Soviet economy is quite uneconomical.

Trud, the organ of the Soviet Trade working bodies.

Soviet East. It also uses such labour goods manufactured in this way will be speech, spoke of a "production crisis" in coal, copper, platinum, iron and nickel considerably lower than the general Ger- Russia. He attributed it to incapacity, plants and electrical power stations and sulting will serve to redeem our war debts accounts and statistics of production. He and thus also to conserve the value of our said that unless moral deterioration was currency. In this way the high standard checked, the Soviet financial of living of the German people will be threatened to become unmanageable. He said that not only was Russian production You can't tell. Nazi victory, putting as a whole behind the schedule of the at Hitler's disposal the technical skill of Five Year Plan but the output of many Western Europe and the huge labour items was decreasing. Two-thirds of all power of Russian Eurasia, might have Soviet revenues come from the turnfaced America with a New Order based on over tax. Comrade Zverev complained slave industrial armies dwarfing the labour about costly 'social benefits" to workers.)

> Waste of resources, low labour efficiency, a vague accounting of costs and returns. These habits are becoming progressively worse in post-war Russia. outlook and the set of intentions of the in the "socialist" mendaciousness of the Bolshevik masters of Russia are, in line Soviet management that the old remedy of without the coercion of the individual. the remedy becomes ineffective.

expected to turn them into smart, willing against Franco's regime. workers. This is a little more ambitious wealth of "self-criticism" that has been than Hitler's youth labour camps. Howrecently appearing in the Russian press- ever, the waste and labour inefficiency

two causes. One is the low labour the USSR, the forced labour of millions efficiency of the Russian worker; his of concentration-camp inmates is economhabitual slow-down. The second cause is ically wise. The free workers in Soviet the supposed corruption of the manage- Russia are not much more efficient ments of the Soviet economic enterprises. a whole) than the forced labourers. The They are said (in the Soviet newspapers) upkeep of the forced labourers is less to falsify accounts to prove to those placed costly. They live on little. In their above them in the political-economic case, there are no costly "social benefits" pyramid of Soviet hierarchy that quotas to deplete State revenues. They can be are being exceeded and production records forced to work to exhaustion, that is, to hung up, when the very opposite is true. death, and then replaced with fresh

'hangovers' are taking the form of political by the Russian government to unhampered

Once again it is the same hideous

story. Faced with an indignant popuin order to gain time and maintain its armed forces. Then, when it has many times has this sequence occurred in history! Is it surprising that, by such treachery, the people sometimes (but none the less rarely) commit excesses? But it does not help to repay a government in its own coin of massacre. What is needed is t extinguish the institution of govern-

By JOHN OLDAY

### The guides of Soviet economy have been averse to working class action, Though its "Central Administration of badge on the right breast of their clothing. able by-product of such a social situation. started to mobilize boys and girls of 14 Norwegian dockers have refused to handle in a sort of "labour reserve". The Spanish goods, and sought by their direct

That is, its costs are high. It is very In that case, from the viewpoint of the to the World Trade Union Federation in wasteful. That is supposed to be due to top managers of the economic process in Paris, "to discuss the possibility of intermendations to their government.

The Norwegian workers then applied to Union, as reported in a Moscow dispatch The hurried development of Siberia is the International Transport Federation, to the New York Times of November unthinkable, under the Bolshevik set-up, but they also turned down any such sug-

The next move came from Franco-his violations of labour discipline and the But that is not in the Communist scheme leaders became very active to try and pretendency to take as much as possible of things. Furthermore, in case of Siberia, vent Franco from breaking commercial April 25th, 1942, Wilfrid Funk, the Reich from the State while returning as little they are interested first of all in building relations with Norway. Once again a as possible . . . The people were urged their Inner Fortress Soviet Asia. They delegate was sent to Britain to the I.T.F. "After the victorious conclusion of the to rid themselves of the idea that the are doing quite well, reports claim. So and to Paris to the World T.U.

## Pettifogging Caution

Both these "workers' organizations" held that it was impossible to overturn the Franco regime by working class action (and their view was shared by the Spanish 'government in exile"). "This problem only be resolved by the United Nations when the time is ripe." The I.T.F. and the T.U.C. were anxious however to help Norway to maintain commercial relations with Spain, though World T.U. Federation, located in Paris, was unwilling to do so because France had broken off such relations and wanted other countries to do the same. Thus, the lation, intent on getting justice, a Trade Union leaders in all countries government will offer any promises ranged themselves behind their governments, and set their faces against independent working class action.

Such action, the only kind that is likely lulled the people by such promises, it to overthrow the Franco regime from strikes more brutally than ever, with- without, can therefore only come when out paying the slightest attention to its workers have emancipated themselves from their T.U. bosses.

# **Guidance** by Reformers

(Continued from page 7) state of opinion didn't harmonize so well with what they propose.

Anyway, most of the current "psychology" of sex appeals especially to those whose attitude is sickly. Youth Leaders seem to love it. (And if you haven't had look at some of these leaders, you've missed a treat. They'd keep anybody sexually pure.) They can't take to Rabelais, but they love the psychology of sex. And this attitude has gone through all our talk and literature. It is all earnest and anxious.

There is nothing spontaneous about sex now. It has neither song nor gusto. It is something about which you are frank. ("Because we must discuss these problems.")

It is all pale faced and pimpled. And it is choking with emotion that we discuss the methods for getting the most pleasure out of coitus. Oh, Jesus! What has become of the Kermesse?

Sex may be revolutionary. But most our emancipated talk about it isn't. It's just plain decadent. And this is the trend that the proposed reforms will foster.

Whiteray CASTOR P

# Franco and the King

(Continued from page 1)

Almost all of them have continued or extended their economic agreements with Franco, This was exactly what we anticipated in Freedom at the time.

## NORWEGIAN WORKERS AND FRANCO

### Anti-Franco Action Baulked by T.U. Leaders

Franco recently threatened the Norwegian government with a boycott to prevent Norwegian ships using Spanish ports. The Norwegian government acordingly fell into line, announcing that it could not afford to be without an economic agreement with Spain.

Behind this move lies a whole story of with their 19th century Marxist funda- producing managerial efficiency by shoot- treachery and feebleness on the part of

of coercion and repression, the MVD con- (at least on the surface) on their beliefs long run, for the human race. Their ideal next fellow who stays away from work, outspokenly anti-Franco, and have urged regarding racial differences. Germans is an international, equalitarian society. or steals a monkey wrench, will be thrown through meetings and demonstrations that Apparently neither the Nazi or to the MVD!" However, when workers their government break both diplomatic Germans were graded, with the worst jobs Bolshevik economies could easily function continue to err after many object lessons, and commercial relations with Spain. Although the trade union leaders have Alleged Other Reasons Why children wear gray and black uniforms action to initiate a general move on the and are given special training that is part of the working class of the world

> Faced with this direct action, the trade union leaders used every persuasion to prevent them continuing, and succeeded in doing so by promising to send a delegate national working class action against Spain". The World Trade Union Federation, however, was against such action, and the delegate also reported that the British trade union movement was also against it, on the grounds that it was the "workers' government" which determined foreign policy, the trade unions limiting themselves to addressing recom-

12th, 1946, declares that: "The ideolog- with the exclusive use of "free workers". gestion. the British delegate expressing is only a fraction of the convict labour ical struggle against 'capitalist hangovers Some people say that the Russian East himself also in agreement with the Labour aloofness, lack of principle, efforts to place settlement by the Russian peasants, with threat of a boycott of Norwegian ships. personal welfare above that of the State, the right to own the land they worked. This time the Norwegian trade union





Reprinted from the "Kaiser-i-Hind" of 9th March, 1947.

"The present time, soon after the popular Government has taken power, is most inopportune for monkeying about with deficit budgets," said India's Finance Member, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, replying to budget Debate in the Central Assembly. In the following, "Darkos" shows how economists have been monkeying with the impossible for years together.

and communist economics. There are other-ism, however sincere, because it things common to both. As such both can be reduced to a common denominator. Both work on the same old basis of civilisation, viz., that X plus Y equals X plus Y plus Z, X being materials or capital. Y being labour and Z being profits and expenses of management. Whether private profits or "only" expenses of State management and control, they must be paid in some form or other. This formula which is common to all exchange systems known or proposed makes a greater sum and a lesser sum equal. In every exchange scheme, one must make the greater side equal the lesser, otherwise it cannot function. The problem, therefore, is itself non-sense, whether attempted to be solved bolshevically or capitalistically.

### STATE OWNERSHIP IN ANTIQUE CHINA

In China of antique days, Emperor Wang Chang Nei tried State ownership and management and failed to maintain it. In Rome, Emperor Diocletian tried State regulation of prices and wages. Soon the prices soared up and wages dwindled down by leaps and bounds and he went to cultivate cabbages. Still all the same unworkable fundamentals, some- it up?" asked his friend. "How can I?" people's careers or fortunes. where between the two extremes. Can he answered angrily, "It's my living." the formula be worked at all and how?

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the money of issue banks, which are at of the occupied, colonised, mandated and the source.

It matters not whether agriculture or industry and transport has to pay all these expenses, or whether inland or foreign trade. The sum must be got by a quarrel as to who should pay.

From our Stock :

TOM PAINE

Here are the fundamentals of capitalist under capitalism, Bolshevism or any is arithmetically unworkable. There is no more solution to it than to make rope out of sand, squaring a circle or mix oil and water into a compact mass, however intelligent the East or the West may be. They are all bound to fail in spite of fraud and force employed to realise them.

> Technique and science are useless and will be put away into the lumber rooms as soon as the formula cannot be worked. Unemployment and want of sales are created by this impossible formula. The guarrel between centralised and de- considered good or bad, the first step mus employed or only some. The whole com- goods required and produced and distri- seems to be the fashion.



plication and confusion comes from this to be sold for more money.

Even if no profits are made, in every exchange system, or barter, the two partners of exchange have to get a certain inevitably, for the State or private person exchanging must have their self-mainten ance cost paid, over and above what they contribute to the cost of production Printing notes with or without gold using any unit and measure of exchange cannot avoid this and cannot maintain t system.

workable economics, wheth centralised production has no meaning be correct, for otherwise all wrong steps gether, they will have to give up this ON LAW when both are to be worked on the same will arise out of the first wrong step. basis. Hand and machine industry also The formula must be: X plus Y must are worked on the same formula basis and make no more than X plus Y. Such an they are bound to fail, whether all are economics must keep only account of But monkeying with the impossible

"WHY NOT GIVE IT UP?"

To make X plus Y equal to X plus Y have told us we must guard our trade the government, such as Egypt.

THERE is an old but characteristic joke encouraging to those who sacrifice time, British public in the form of a referendum about a shopkeeper complaining about money and life for every inch of ground, two years ago: his business and declaring he was losing to know that it is in order to open trade (a) Will you take a bonus of five or systems attempted or maintained to keep money on it. "Well, why don't you give routes, for the advancement of other On the 6th March, H. Dalton told the In the same way the apologists of the Commons that Britain's total expendi-British Empire have for many years been ture for the last two years in Greece The Z whether as profits or as State telling us that the colonies were a losing and Palestine was £87,000,000 and management expenses has to be taken. concern and the British Empire a giant £82,000,000 respectively. Into these two Who has to pay it? Surely, those who philanthropic institution, a sort of countries, in whose future hardly anyone earn wages or have to earn by trans- Barnardo's Home for Backward Peoples, in Britain is really interested, we have who can doubt what the answer would actions will have to pay and therefore but when the recipients of our charity been sending forced levies in the shape have been? will have first to get paid a superior | have tried to decline it, the apologists of conscript armies, totally unwanted by But Democracy is not freedom. Just THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH amount in order to pay these additional have declared Britain couldn't possibly the overwhelming majority of all sections as Mussolini did not ask for approval of sums upon the cost price. Somebody give up the Empire, it was her living. of opinion in both countries, with neither his African adventures, merely endeavour- "Equity": must bear these even to pay interest upon In spite of the repeated demonstrations of whom we happen to be at war. ing to work up support by atrocity tales,

protected peoples that they wanted us out, "foreign policy" not only would at least does not need to obtain support for its the British Government has sent re- thirty more groups have been demobilised, foreign policy. Once elected it pursues a McCartney: inforcements in men, money and materials many lives saved and many homes re- foreign policy equally foreign to the people to the dependencies. This major export united, but there would have been enough at home as that of fascist imperialism. of human beings for occupation duties, left over for a fiver all round! And this Our suggestion, that it should be left to has not been welcomed by the recipients does not include other countries with those most directly concerned to decide any or all of these means. Politics are or by the export itself. What is the whom we are not at war but are occupying whether they want to stay there against reason, then? More realistic observers against the will both of the people and of against the wishes of the population and plus Z is a physical impossibility, whether routes, such as the Suez, but it is hardly Suppose this had been put to the ANARCHY.

> OF EUROPE, by F. A. RIDLEY. (ILP pamphlet, 12 pp. 1d.)

A. Ridley marshals the argument against separate nation states in Europe chiefly from the point of view of the threatening Third World War. He points out the evils which would arise from the emergence of the USA as the dominant world power, and the alternative, but not less serious, evils of a world victory for Stalinist Russia. The ILP rightly reject both these "alternatives", and argue for a "Third Camp" in a "United Socialist States of Europe-that is, in a European socialist Federation which will unite Europe politically, economically and culturally, and which will replace the present anarchy of Europe and her existing chaos of 'sovereign, autonomous states by an unified political regime and a common planned further mention Ridley's use of the word "anarchy" to mean chaos: he ought to know better.)

In the general sense, the argument of this pamphlet is obviously right: that to take sides in yet another world war would lie not so much in Europe as in Britain be quite mischievous. The problem of itself. anti-war socialists is to offer an alternative which is practical from the workers' point of view. That is to say, practical in that it can be realized, and also practical in that it represents something which corresponds to the needs of the working class as human beings. As so often in our relations with the ILP, anarchists will sympathize with them for their refusal to be drawn into the capitalist war camps, but will be unable to regard their practical proposals with full favour.

## Anglo-Saxon Rivalry

Let us deal with some smaller points first. A certain poverty in the argument is covered by a deal of rhetoric. This does not conceal the vagueness of the concept of a European Socialist Federation however. Then there is an implicit assumption-common in ILP pronouncements-that Britain is now negligible as a world power. This leads to the further assumption that the contestants in the next war will be the USA and the USSR, and that the winner will be undisputed potential is to be gauged from industrial demand the utmost clarity. potential, and the fact that Russia was supplied throughout the last war with machines and machinery from Britain and America, should remind us that these two are the major industrial powers of

war against Russia first. estimate the tasks before them. For these



Ridley surprisingly subscribes to those old hair-splitting dogmas of the ILP about the "partially socialist character" of the USSR: "Whilst the Soviet Union undoubtedly possesses an economic foundation that is socialist in character, its political superstructure is that of a totalitarian state." This formula, reiterated to wearisome lengths in ILP literature, seems to us quite meaningless and confusing. It is un-Marxist, for surely Marx held that the political structure reflected the economic character of a regime. It was explicitly contradicted by Bolshvik theoremany retrogressions of Stalinism. And it class by itself. There is no magazine that excellent. and the ILP mean by "socialism".

this programme is that it is confusing on good periodical, or, for that matter, of any one might conclude by pointing out that revolutionary issues-the issues which can good piece of writing, but if the contri- the continued existence of a magazine like only be actual with the active co-operation butors to NOW have any one feature in this depends primarily on a list of regular master of the world. But surely war of the working class, and which therefore common it is that all their writing and subscribers; that is, a guaranteed, even if

**Revolutionary** ?

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FREEDOM

## ALL SINKING TOGETHER

then the goods will have use value. The X plus Y equals X plus Y plus unless Z is paid, the goods cannot be only commercial and money value. Whatever the quantity or kind of goods, the money realised only counts.

Cheapening of goods by reduced hands or lowering expenses or even increased payment for labour and materials makes selling of products more difficult, especially when people are empoverished. Thus production with help of science and technique (to reduce cost price and increase quantity) becomes useless, wasteful loss. Goods are money in other forms exchange of goods having no meaning unless more money can be taken for less.

To-day, there is neither a capitalist nor a labour question, for all are sinking THEPHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM 1/together in the same ship to maintain the THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN 1/system of "economics" known as X plus | William Godwin: Y plus Z. If capitalists and labourers SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL have to save themselves separately or to- JUSTICE unworkable economics, before the im- A. Ciliga: possibility of the formula will compel THE KRONDSTADT REVOLT them to give it up.



- ten pounds, have thirty groups de- Gaston Leval: mobilised, and evacuate Greece, Palestine, Egypt, the Sudan, India, John Olday:
- etc., or (b) Spend £179,000,000 on maintaing troops in Palestine and Greece-and more elsewhere-which would have P. J. Proudhon: to be evacuated in the finish,

Had it not been for what is called so in a democracy the elected government their own inclination, is not democracy but A. M.



does not compete with the USA in world I have italicized the word revolutionary. trade to anything like the extent which for it seems to me quite inappropriate to the British Empire does. It seems to the what is essentially a political conception reviewer much more likely that the ulti- Ridley himself realizes this for he conmate struggle for world capitalist ascend- tradicts it on the last but one page: "The ancy will lie between the two Anglo- victory of European Socialism is, in no Saxon nations, even if (as the present sense, a substitute for the world revolutrends suggest) the USA fights a colonial tion. On the contrary! It constitutes, in the present stage of the class-struggle, an The point is not merely academic. If indispensible stage and half-way house Britain is relegated to the position of a towards it." Half-way house is the word for it. It is a concept of political terms, whereas revolution, if it means anything at all, means action in which workers not only participate to the ful but take the initiative, and supply the creative energy to the exclusion of all bourgeois and political conceptions.

The ILP seem to consider the USSE a substitute for revolution, despite the abov disclaimer, for it is described as a torch which will set the whole world on the road to socialism. Now a revolution in

have little impact on the world economic THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES the world to-day. Furthermore, Russia United SOCIALIST States of Europe". pattern the revolutions of 1917 and 1936 had profound repercussions. It is difficult to see how the concept of the USSE could be realized without the direct action and initiative of workers in some country or another-and that is another way of saying, without revolutionary action. Such confusions rob the critical arguments of this pamphlet of much of their force.

> We should not criticize this policy pamphlet so severely perhaps, if we did not respect the ILP in other fields. For all the woolliness of their theoretical positions, the ILP is a valuable force inthis country, because it retains some of the conceptions of ethical socialism which used to be much commoner before the rise of the Bolshevik Leninist-Stalinist-Trotskvist parties on the one hand, and the Mass labour parties on the other. To keep the ethical ideas of socialism alive is the most important function of the

## Illusions About Russia

NOW--7

alone in always looking forward with though if I had to make special mention to the difficulties of bringing out a Sadism and the Origins of Miss Blandish" capitalist prospects and declares: "against perhaps to comparison, but for the most they should do likewise. these we raise the revolutionary call: The part its contributors seem to lack the deep

NOW .- Edited by GEORGE WOODCOCK. honesty and clarity of thought of those who go to make up NOW.

As usual, the standard of this issue of I know from experience that I am not NOW is more or less uniformly high pleasurable anticipation for "the new of any particular contributions, I think NOW" to make its appearance. Owing they would be Alex Comfort on "Literary magazine of this type during the war and, to a lesser extent, Julian Symons' years, its appearance was not regular and "Freedom and Reality" which makes an the exact date of the next issue was some- effort to clarify exactly what is meant, or thing that even the editor could only implied, by the word "freedom" when guess at. But with the current issue used by people who actually mean very NOW becomes a bi-monthly (that is, six different things. Then it is almost imticians such as Lenin and Bukharin who issues a year). This is definitely what possible to avoid mentioning the poem by admitted that the USSR had a capitalist used to be called "a good thing" because Louis Adeane which is a little masterstructure-and that at a time before the NOW is, in my opinion, somewhat in a piece: the short story by him is also

leaves one wondering what on earth Ridley I know of in existence that could fulfil But in this short notice there is not the function that this one fulfils. To time to go in for any detailed criticisms. But the most important criticism of some extent, I suppose, that is true of any Instead, and perhaps really more valuable, thought springs from an acute social not very large, circulation. So you can be awareness-something, for example, that of considerable help to NOW merely by is not to be found in the dilettanteism becoming a regular subscriber, and of On page 1 Ridley denounces the of HORIZON. POLEMIC stands nearest course, suggesting to interested friends that



# GUIDANCE BY

them. Or anyway to pay those people the voluntary societies or other suitable society"-than the break-up would be. and organizations who are willing to guide them (and who obviously don't need guidance themselves).

schools, and "juveniles" and adults are any compulsion it would be still worse. guided with a view to the "needs of society" or the "general welfare". And it is always assumed that there can be no question as to what society needs, or as to what constitutes the general welfare. (If you admitted that there might be disputes here,-that what one section of a society called "welfare" another section would call "oppression",-vou'd have to drop your whole bag of phrases. would have to admit that there are conflicting social movements in any society, and that it is just effrontery for one particular movement to push its needs by claiming that they are "the needs of society as a whole". But generally the In fact, of course, the view that conquestion isn't raised. You've only to flicts in married life often result from mention "the good of the community" or "misunderstandings" which can be re-"the welfare of each and every one of moved by "guidance" is a simple minded us", and people will be quiet.)

Now people used to think they had private lives; that their family lives and their relations as man and wife were their own affairs. Of course you took interest in other people's affairs. But then you were called a busybody or a gossip. And you wouldn't have suggested that this interest ought to be given a public status in the name of the needs of society.

that people need guidance in their private is more likely to put blinders on them, answer to the question of how this decay lives as much as anywhere else. (Because as it does on Scotland Yard investigators has come about. But it is a question that the preservation of the marriage tie is and psychoanalysts. They know. "There is hardly faced by the reformers, because 'of the highest importance in the interests is only one thing it could have been," etc. they are so excited by the further question | Freedom to formulate a definite policy of society.") And the Denning Committee on Divorce Reform has recommended the institution of a state-sponsored "Marriage Welfae Service". We are told that "there is a need for a carefully graded system of general education for marriage, parenthood and family living to be available to all young people as they grow up, and in addition specific marriage preparation of engaged couples." you think that if our young people are going to get married we ought to teach them to get married right?)

deal mainly with "troubles" in existing for men and women to bring their family marriages. "Sexual maladajustment and difficulties to guidance officers for failure to have children may be cured by solution,-the result would be an enermedical advice. Selfishness and defects vating family and conjugal life. This of temperament may be overcome by wise is in fact the most important result. And counsel." (Oh, God.) "There is need for it is characteristic of reformist social ser- who know how to "manage" things marriage guidance to deal with such vices. They lead to a deadening of life troubles."

way, he (or she) is going to. At least of society" when this does come up). But Denning Committee would have counted freedom of the parents? if you start divorce proceedings. The it by no means follows that there is any on getting away with it if the general Denning Committee has said that there solution or any help for it. The difficulties

## PARENTAL SPITE

by the prosecution as "an excellent and

Roman father". The daughter, Mrs. Eileen Craig, 21, of Drakefield-road, Liverpool, was fined 10s. An enforcement officer, it was stated. found in the dustbin 13lb. of bread which

Mrs. Craig said in court that the bread man had made her have two loaves when

she wanted only one. Daily Mirror, 27/3/47

## HUSH, KEEP IT DARK

America has offered to mediate between Britain and Egypt over the Sudan. The U.S., with her growing interest in the Middle East, would like this dispute settled without reference to UNO. Daily Express, 31/3/47.

### GANDHI AS STRIKE-BREAKER

Mahatma Gandhi has used his influence to end the Bihar police revolt. Mr. Tewari, president of the Policeman's Association, on whose head the Bihar Government placed a price of £150, appeared before Mr. Gandhi and on his advice surrendered to the authorities. News Chronicle, 31/3/47.

### DAD AND THE STATE What is a bad environment? Plenty of illegitimate children are born into one. Usually there is no father; and we must

remember that a father's main role is to bring about a respect for law and reasonable authority. Evening Standard, 31/3/47.

### COMPROMISE

Because of the bad weather Bishop O'Callaghan, of Clogher, Eire, has given a dispensation to farmers allowing them to sow crops on Sundays and Holy Days. hypocrisy. The Universe, 3/4/47.

person". And further: "The court welpetition (i.e., application for divorce), and should be able to investigate every So children are guided into the right case." So I suppose that if there were

> Now all this is in line with most of the reformist tendencies of our time. Like them it favours the handing of responsibility to state-sponsored authorities. The reformists are generally welfare workers of some sort themselves, and these committees "services".) Like them it assumes that all troubles can be solved by allowing "trained experts" to deal with them. And are working for the degeneration of "the degeneration of the C.P., I.L.P. and other like them it hides the real character the tendencies it is voicing (here chiefly the love of regulation) by expressing a concern for the needs of society.

one (though typical of the reformer's approach). And the meddling guidance officers" is likely to have results that are worse than those they wished to deal with. Compare the "helpfulness" of parents who try to smooth over the difficulties of young married

trained, and ordinary parents aren't." important. But it did not grow up under

Granting that a third person's understanding may sometimes help in coming through a conflict, still this sort of understanding is rare, and it can no more be produced by "training classes" than good novelists could be produced by training classes. And it would be ham strung by official status. The fact that anyone occupies the official position of Guidance Officer will determine the line of his influence from the outset.

But even if the Marriage Guidance Officers were successful, according to their But the Marriage Welfare Service is to own criteria,-if it became fairly general and culture where they are exercised.

We don't go in so much for Leadership should be no compulsion about this may be such as just don't have any in this country,-or not unless we're guidance. But "every legitimate induce- solution. And it does not follow that the Serving Youth. But we do love guidance. ment (?) should be made to persuade "solution" of increasing dependence on the DEAR COMRADES. Apparently people go wrong if they are'nt parties who are contemplating divorce to "wise counsel" of a guidance officer is guided; so it's up to the State to guide consult a court welfare officer or one of any better-even "in the interests of

> fare officer should have access to every whole recommendation. When these lems in the Anarchist press. people talk about "preservation of the marriage tie" and of its importance for society, they seem to be trying to stop a decay, and to preserve or restore something that has been important. But what they are really working for is something quite different. Certainly the proposed Marriage Welfare Service will not restore anything like the unity or stability of the Let us beware that in endeavouring to family as it was. For the older institution attract the widest possible working-class would never have tolerated anything like support, that principles are not sacrificed "access") that is recommended here. They | That is what helped to contribute to the family tie" by bringing it more and more vote-cadging Leftish groups. under the sort of guidance that they Quite the reverse of having devoted "too "liberal Catholics" and the like!

to the divorce court might not have a less | regarding such delicate and controversial harmful effect on "the national character" issues as the future of those two basic than the institution here suggested. I am not asking whether the older | Family. "But the guidance of officers will be flourished. It was certainly immensely etc. of "What are we to do about it?". (And upon the following points. I should parry this with another question still: What tendency does the urge to "do abolition of institutional Marriage, the something about it" represent?) R. RHEES.

P.S.-The reformists have been helped by the drive towards centralization which comes from other quarters, and to which they have been helped too by the spread- side? ing of grotesque misunderstandings of When State and Church are over- I am a new subscriber and I find the "muddles" and to the fact that "we" have the conduct of others? not been scientific about social affairs. So Do Anarchist adhere, with Herbert Wishing you and the movement all the "clinics", "advisory councils" and bodies of experts who show plainly enough that scientifically. But this way of thinking runs pretty deep now, and it consorts with If you can't deal with your own It is true that the break-up of a family decay and decadence in queer places. (Continued on page 5)



## DIFFICULT PROBLEM

Official suggestions for Felixstowe's war memorial-to be considered he thought fit for human consumption, public meeting-are: "Something useful but Mrs. Craig told him it was not fit which is not likely to be taken over shortly by the Government.' Daily Mail, 8/4/47.

Atlantic reached Britain yesterday. And was he angry! His "hair" bristled; questioning. he snapped at his escort.

Stinker, whose right foot was swathed in bandages, arrived at London Airport MODERN ART-A from Montevideo accompanied by an WARNING English zoologist.

by an American naturalist from the Falkland Islands. He had cut his foot on a rock, and by the time he reached Montevideo the wound had turned septic. His owner had decided that Stinker Italy. treatment at the London Zoo.

Daily Herald, 8/4/47.

## LENIENT OFFER ?

Mr. Bellenger, the War Minister, said are doing too well in shady jobs all over The offer, made 83 days ago to 20,000

deserters, ends at midnight. Fewer than 1.400 surrendered. Military police and Scotland Yard

begin a new round-up tomorrow. Daily Express, 31/3/47. For Bellenger to describe the Government's offer as lenient is utter

HEROIC ACTION

The Queen, with her umbrella, pushe off a shouting native who jumped on the running-board of the Royal car as neared Benoni, East Rand gold-mining

Doing so, she lost hold of the umbrella The native was wearing only a sack-PRIORITY FOR PENGUINS cloth. As the car moved slowly along he As the Queen pushed him off, police surrounded him and detained him for



from a tour in West Africa, tells me that two years, and another servant. Stinker was one of 67 penguins brought A warning to Italian Bishops against in Kano, Nigeria, he tried to buy a bag the "reformed and grotesque" in modern of ground nuts (alias peanuts or monkey- my house because, believe it or not. I am art, was given in a letter from Giovanni nuts) to bring home. Costantini, President of the Central Although the place was stacked with as my gardener's lodge. Pontificial Commission for Sacred Art in bags of groundnuts in great pyramids, waiting for transport to the world markets, His owner had decided that officedThe Universe, 3/4/47.had better be destroyed. But the English<br/>zoologist offered to bring him over for<br/>treatment at the London Zoo.The Universe, 3/4/47.MAGIC AND MEDICINEhe could not buy a single bag.<br/>During the war, the Kano inhabitants<br/>told him, Americans stationed there got<br/>their peanuts in cans from the United During the war, the Kano inhabitants HOUSING PROBLEM (II)

their peanuts in cans from the United A European woman doctor, Susanne States, Siryne, recently permitted to visit the Down on the Gold Coast, which pro- room, Mr. and Mrs. George Martin, of interior of Yemen, reports that the pop- duces half the world's cocoa, he found Quick-street, Islington, to-day said that ulation still depends on magic for the it quite impossible to buy any local they were writing to the Prime Minister combating of illness. Only the Royal cocoa. But on the shelves of the food for help. last night: "The Government's offer to Family avails itself of modern doctors- stores were tins of cocoa from England. be lenient with deserters has failed. They a Minister of Health and four physicians, all Italians. Medicine is only imported for the use of the King or his relatives. BOURGEOIS CULTURE? Jewish Labour News, 29/3/47. BOURGEOIS CULTURE?

NEWS ITEM "According to information given by binding from Mr. Bevin yesterday. war-prisoners repatriated from Russia, 94 per cent. of Italians interned in Russia performance of "Romeo and Juliet" Mr. during the war died in concentration Molotov told Mr. Bevin he had not read camps there," according to a statement by Shakespeare in English, and needed Sig. Luigi Gasparotto, Minister of practice. Evening Standard, 8/4/47. Defence.





With all honest progressives I am very reassured by your article in the issue of

Such a ridiculous protest against "too much space" being devoted to this most comrades, and makes us wonder what sort are beginning to infiltrate into the Anarchist movement!

favour. But of course they call it "pre- much space", I am afraid that the Anarservation". They've got to sell it some- chists too, have been over-cautious in trying not to offend the susceptibilities of It is put forward to save "the national | the inhibited proletariat, inasmuch as they requent "resorting to the divorce court". to any definite policy of sex reforms, or Politics of the Unpolitical. But without even asking whether resorting put their cards face upwards on the table ruling-class institutions-Marriage and the

think there is much meaning in asking repeatedly hinted at, but never defined- family, without denying the biological the question like that, without reference the whole issue has been clouded with a conception of the family during a "rearing to the historical circumstances in which it screen of nebulous jargon "relationships", period". We regard prostitution as the

But that is suggested now. The pre- again. As if it were like a problem in come because married couples lack expert Divorce has passed almost unnoticed, We are against moralistic attemps to evade valence of divorce, it appears, has shown regulating traffic. In fact such training knowledge. I doubt if there is any simple while space is devoted instead to some routine industrial dispute.

So perhaps the time has arrived for

Do Anarchists advocate the final marriage service, and the marriage licence? In its place do they visualize selective promiscuity in sex relationships, or a letter of 22nd March, signed "Rationalist",

"scientific method", especially by scientists thrown, will federal communes or groups news in your colums stimulating, objective themselves. Social ills are due to of individuals seeks to regulate or censure and factual. The foreign view-points are

we are urged to entrust social questions to Read and other "reactionaries", to the bi- best. parental family as the basic social unitor do they favour the monoparental they have no understanding of society. but matriarchal family with communal subscription to the maintenance of children? If the former, how do they attempt to TWO OMISSIONS IN OUR LAST ISSUE:

reconcile this type of "family life"troubles, then I suppose it is plain that may be a terrible businesses for those in- This applies to much of the "scientific" upheld and sanctified by the Roman the Marriage Guidance Officer can. Any- volved in it (and never mind the "interests talk about "sex". And I wonder if the Catholic Church, with the individual

suggested by Betrand Russell, to separate by Gerald Vaughan.

Evening Standard, 2/4/47.

### MISPLACED CONFIDENCE

the new Lenin bust in Finsbury the house in a Liverpool suburb and move other day, a local Communist went up into an hotel. to the party, slapped one of them heartily She intends to move back to her homeon the shoulder. "Thank heaven, you "The Lawn," Aigburth-as soon as she have come," he said. "When you give can. So she has put this advertisement the word, we are ready to act."

Government interpreter. Evening Standard, 8/4/47. porter more about it last night.

# MERRY-GO-ROUND

# Mr. Molotov, self-confessed admirer

of Shakespeare, received a complete edition of his works in a red leather Reason for the gift: at a recent gala

Daily Graphic, 8/4/47.

parenthood from jealousy and possessive-

What is the attitude of Anarchists to-22nd March in which you vindicate the wards prostitution and V.D. Do they And this points to the fraud of the frank and open ventilation of sexual prob- believe in forcible suppression of the former evil on Bolshevist lines before the masses have thrown off their old inhibitions, and how do they propose to deal with the latter without playing into the hands of government reactionaries whose practical bankruptcy is expressed in the slogan "Not living is the real safe-

I do not expect you to sacrifice valuable space in answering these pressing questions point for point, but even a condensed declaration of aims on the question of a long-awaited revolution in morality would not only clear the air, but weed out the sheep from the goats, before we are swamped with "primitive Christians"

## Yours fraternally,

P.S.-If you think I have been a little character", which is being harmed by the have never clearly committed themselves harsh with Herbert Read refer to The

(In brief: We cannot speak for anyone but ourselves. The Denning Report is referred to elsewhere in this issue. We are opposed to marriage as an economic institution incompatible with free confamily institution was good or bad. I don't Instead, while sexual freedom has been ceptions. We denounce the compulsive outcome of the monogamous marriage Even such a damnably reactionary conception, and with additional roots in That's the simple minded view all over guidance, and its present decay has not document as the Denning Report on poverty-economy and sexual obscurantism treating V.D. on the same lines as any other disease. We very much welcome P.M.'s recognition of the importance of these questions, and his support on that account.-EDS.)

## The Price of Freedom

DEAR COMRADE, I read with interest your correspondent's system of monagamistic monopolist "free and I think if you charged double price, i.e., 4d. per copy, no one would comthey have given rich help in return. But Or both systems co-existing side-by- plain, and it would help your finances considerably.

particularly interesting.

W.E.L.M.

By an oversight, neither the article on the French printing strike nor the Land Notes were signed. The first was by our regular Or is there to be an attempt, as French correspondent, S. Parane; the latter

> THE CRUMBS THAT FALL One thousand tons of food which has failed to reach British Army standards is being distributed to hungry Germans it is announced in Hamburg. Daily Mirror, 3/4/47.

# HOUSING PROBLEM (I)

Mrs. Evelyn Parker, down to her last When the Russian M.P.s went to see two servants, has had to leave her big

in an Irish newspaper: "Parlourmaid Unhappily for him, the man he spoke wanted, experienced; one lady, staff five; to was not one of the Russians, but a no basement; highest references required." Mrs. Parker told a Daily Mirror re-

"At the moment," she said, "I have only two servants, a cook-housekeeper, My colleague Peter Stursberg, just back who has been with me for over twenty-"I have had to live in one room in

allowed only the same amount of coal "I like entertaining, you see."

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## Daily Mirror, 3/4/47.

Desperate because their youngest baby's death was attributed to over-crowding and

At the St. Pancras inquest Mr. W. Daily Herald, 8/4/47. Bentlev Purchase, the Coroner, said: "I shall inform the local authorities concerned of the deplorable conditions

under which this family is living." Mr. Martin, who is 22, said: "We were promised that we could have priority on the borough housing list. "The room in which we live is already

the living-room of my sister and brotherin-law and their four children." A verdict of Death from Misadventure was returned.

The Star, 8/4/47.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 6 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 16 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 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 STARLESS RATERED 22 23 1 24