One of the outstanding aspects of the Glasgow Dockers' Strike has been the action of Transport House and the Union big shots, Deakin and Donavon.

At the cost of a fortune, thousands of leaflets, loud speaker vans and scores of agents were sent out from Transport House to the dock areas of England in a campaign of abuse and unfounde invective against the Clydeside dockers and their free trade union

very foundations of the National on to the streets, sacked because of Transport House.

The first round has ended in a patched-up peace with the Glasgow men having gained a victory. The dockers are returning to work and taking their 500 sacked comrades back with them relations undergo a drastic change in the very near future, the dispute will flare pale the present strike.

Broken Promises

earth and the heavens too when they Ernest Bevin tottered to the South now redundant dockers were pitchforked into the mud and murder of D. Day and after. He swore that those men would not return to the dole after the

politicians. The Labour bosses have proved themselves to be as reactionary and vicious as any who preceded them. politicians have always done, and always

While the Labour Government fawns on the Royal Family and sends them in lavish luxury on world tours, hand out hundreds of millions of pounds to the belted earls and aristocrats and people a nazified uniformed system of bodies to the Unemployment Bureaux in Scotland-27,000 of them in Glasgow. Did Bevin and his colleagues expect the Clydeside dockers to stand idly by

meetings and

Cinnouncements

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

at 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.I

The Means of Revolution

No Meeting

" Palestine

MAY 25th

Eddie Shaw

In a matter of six weeks this David while 500 of their comrades were planner \$10,000 a year to work that and Goliath struggle has shaken the stripped from their sides and thrown

Port Parasites

The Government has not proved its ease for redundancy, and cannot prove even by the trickery of diverting port traffic away from Glasgow. The dockers, with all the relevan facts, have refuted the Government's

The Ministry of Transport argue that the Port of Glasgow is uneconomical in working. This may well be so-the they are there to exploit the docker, fought out in July. The Government to make a profit from his sweat and will then attempt to force a savage

existence of living hell, the shareholders dockers believe that if the politicians live in a paradise of guaranteed persist with the totalitarian measure, dividends, with the Government, T.U.C. then there will be a nation-wide strike and a conscript army to protect their in a few weeks.

bureaucrats and Sir Ben Smith to run and refusing to deliver the goods, the into independent organisations and are

trinity of bosses at Transport House, Whitehall and the Stock Exchange.

mass sacking, Glasgow dockers refused are there to protect them.

Sharp Practice

The real battle lies ahead for the por discipline and operate navvy conditions While the docker is condemned to an in all British ports. The Glasgow

Add the army of highly-paid officials lead to their fellow workers in other the Law Courts, royal palaces and stock who are pulling scores of thousands of ports by organising themselves into their exchanges as part of an old a pounds from the money pool and putting own trade union; a democratic union wanted order of society. No doubt all nothing in, and this is where the case for dockers, with no permanent fatted- the politicians will unite to fight to the for redundancy could be very well up officials to stab them in the back at last conscript to preserve their own the first sign of a fight against tyranny. narrow interests. If the Bank of England and the mines The Union bosses of Transport House

THE LESSON WELL AND TRULY LEARNED ..

While Transport House agreed to this when the union bosses do it, the police positions of the Labour bosses.

lined capitalist society. The speeches Rothermere, MacDonald and Baldwin

Workers' Control

cheered Isaacs to the echo when he said in Parliament that he would intervene in the Glasgow strike. Transport The Glasgow dockers have given the House stands to-day side by side with

are a guide, the profiteers and note book do not believe in democratic unions. heads in the swill, they have overlooked when they are nationalised by the rank and file, although they draw their dealing with human beings with a Labour Government. Indeed, the salaries from the workers' union spark of self-respect and a desire for liberty. People who are ready to fight superfluous at the docks. It takes some- If the grocer or baker adopted the against the dictators and parasites. thing over 50,000 striped trousered same sharp practice of taking the cash These workers are banding themselves

police would drag them off to gaol, but offering a serious threat to the artificial

Deakin and Donovan see this growth Workers are generally becoming di- of free unions with no little apprehendowned tools. For six weeks through satisfied with the continual betraval by sion. The Glasgow dockers' union is their so-called leaders, and are beginning attracting sympathy from other workers to see that organisations which were and proving an inspiration. In London, originally workers' organisations have amongst the lightermen and stevedores, in Liverpool amongst the dockers, in Scotland in and out of dockland other of the Labour leaders to-day are barely workers are taking the cue from the distinguishable from the howlings of Clyde dockers and forming their own The writing is on the wall and in the

fight ahead the workers will put an endto the betraval and mockery of Transport House, and the Deakins and

The end of the fight for the Clyde dockers is nothing short of workers' control of the port industry, and they already have the framework for the organisation which will eventually replace the present fantastic Port

The immediate task ahead is seen by the secretary of the Glasgow Dockers' Inion, Michael Byrne, who says: "The small unions must get together, federate to preserve their identities and freedom already won. This Government with a huge majority, and the octopus trade unions, will not relish the fact that the small unions will survive and operate

PRESTON CLEMENTS.

There was somebody I worked with who was very scornful of suggestions that he should combine with others for that he should combine with others for the bad no time. There was somebody I worked with the worked with who was very scornful of suggestions that he should combine with others for the bad no time.

LONDON ANARCHIST GROU SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES

Admission Free. Questions invited Of course, when he had gone into GLASGOW Anarchist Group Open Air MEETINGS MAXWELL STREET SUNDAYS at 7 p.m. Preston Clements

FREEDOM Anarchist Fortnightly Price 2d. Postal Subscription Rates 6 months 3/- (U.S.A. 60c.) 12 months 6/- (U.S.A. 1\$) Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies, 6 months 5/6 12 months 11/-AH Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRES

crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the FREEDOM PRESS 27 Red Lion Street London, W.C.I England Tel: Chancery 8364

o bother with any "ism"—as most believers in Conservatism say-and perhaps Anarchists are mistaken in children of fortune, slaves of fashion other individual-hence the need for his motto was the familiar 'devil take not using the more explicit term or duty, appeal to us. Sidelights on 19th Cent. Anarchists

> business he had visions of working up to a chain-store multiple himself. Plenty of people believe in the Utopian dreamworld where the local millionaire. Lord Nuffield is cited as few; they have the luck of being in on the ground floor of a new industry, which isn't something that happens every day. They are the industrial equivalents of the lottery, sweepstake and pools winner. Nice work, if you flourishes is because of the "small men" he has put out of business, and more and more the power in industry goes to the few at the top who by efficient than the "shop around the

enslaved himself to his customers. term that has lost its meaning since beginning of the dispute, George Turner it. Anarchists and Tories both use | Who do you think was irresponsible now? the term with different meanings, and

the hindmost", "Damn you, Jack, I'm "egoism", for what they mean by the Our idea of freedom is freedom alright! "Why worry about the work- phrase is the fullest individual liberty from all dictators and dictates, ining class?" Naturally, in order to to each "ego". So far from conflicting cluding those of the State and the look after himself, he launched into with other people's liberty, it is only accepted laws of society. We do not

business, became one of the "small guaranteed by the liberty of all others. thereby reject co-operation, because men" Lord Beaverbrook admires, and The Tories also believe in individual only in free co-operation and comwas swept out of existence by a com- liberty, but they want the individual munal living-mutual aid-can the bine of big business men very similar to be free to exploit others. This individual maintain his individuality. to Lord Beaverbrook. Needless to "individual Freedom" sounds all right Our liberties are all bound up tosay, there was no one for him to on paper, at least for the top dog, gether. While one man is in prison, turn to for support, and his complaint who theoretically has liberty even if the prison gates may open to admit us was that the middle classes are 'bad- the others haven't, but in actual fact too, and only the abolition of imit makes him a slave of his cheque prisonment can safeguard us. (Haven't book, tied to his office desk with his we seen recalcitrant British soldiers happiness dependent on the rise or thrown into cages previously used for fall of the market. This "being the German PoW's they were miserable in comfort" is not our idea guarding?)

Behind the City

Strike

(Continued from page 1)

subject the public to all that inconvenien

of freedom, any more than the spend- Anarchists believe in the absolute ing of our lives toiling for the top dog liberty of the individual, and this is

boy makes good and becomes a is. Nor does the life of the spoilt only guaranteed by the liberty of any

co-operation and mutual aid.

For What?

Did I finish the story of my acquaintance? In the last century one would have described it as an "ironic jest of Fate" but in the present stage of development it was just the usual thing. He was always—needless to say-very scornful of people who were concerned with such remote events as a revolution in Spain and reaction in Germany—"why worry about other countries" was another motto of hisand he died in some unpronounceable place in the Far East which I don't suppose he had previously heard of, for some reason I don't suppose he ever had time to find out.

THAT PRINTED CARD

D is ready, many subscribers will their copies of "Freedom". have received those now familiar We hope that many readers will cards reminding them that their sub- order 2 copies instead of one when scriptions are due for renewal. For they renew their subscriptions, and hood to stand up against. These are th some subscribers this will be the first thereby help us in our efforts to of suspending workers for trivial offences reminder, but for others it is the obtain 1,000 new subscribers this by creating a "suspension fund" to which they all paid one penny a week for the second or third. We ask subscribers vear. support of victimised fellow workers. And in both categories to send us their renewals as quickly as possible, but we warn those who have received more than one reminder that it is the Final one and that if we do not hear all London's municipal workers would from them in the course of the next week their names will be removed £2/10/0; Allentown: W.S. 5/-; Glendale: the men went back to work—these from the subscribers' lists. We have an "individualist"—that was why he irresponsible, selfish blackmailers of a already explained in previous issues how reluctant we are to be so strict Individualism—like Socialism—is a And one other point. Right at the very in these matters but it is simply a

send papers to people who can't be

bothered to shoulder the small res-

DY the time this copy of "Freedom" | ponsibility of paying 6/- a year for

Press Fund April 22nd-May 8th.

New York: S.H.P. 2/10; Felinfoel: E.G.R. £6/5/0; London: Anon 5/-; Palo Alto: J.B.N. 5/-; Walsall: B.C.L. £1/0/0.

£12 15 8 question that we cannot afford to Previously acknowledged

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Anarchism: Past & Future by Herbert Read p. 2 Shop Assistants' Protest at Longer Hours p. 3 Phoney Peace in Dockland p. 8

"Law is simply an instrument invented for the maintenance of exploitation and the domination of the idle rich over the toiling masses. Its sole mission is the perpetration of exploitation." KROPOTKIN.

Vol. 8 No. 10

17th May, 1947

14295

No Solution without Amnesty for Deserters

the psychological effects of living out-

increasingly difficult for a man to return

to normal social life. Criminals are

made by the circumstances of their

But does the official mind show any

sign of grasping these obvious and com

mon sense facts? Not in the least.

Instead, we see the police using the

public alarm as a cover for inconvenient

cordoning-off and round-ups and check-

ups which cause immense dislocation.

create a condition of police-mindedness

which is extremely undesirable (to put

is no more strongly),—and have as

their result the arrest of a mere handful

official powers out of the situation. One

women would therefore not bring

suspects that the hysteria is

habilitation will be experienced.

TI is not difficult, if one goes about it rationally (rather than with the shallow emotionalism of so-called "dispassionate" judges) to put two and two together on this gunman business. The war trained thousands of men to accept acts of violence without stirrings of conscience-indeed as laudable behaviour. At the same time the silly inelasticity of red tape drove 20 thousand odd soldiers to desert—with the inevitable consequence which we have pointed out so often in Freedom: that, debarred fom legal means of earning a living, they have been driven into a life of crime.

Deliberate psychological conditioning in brutality plus deliberate exclusion from legal existence, practically speaking, equals gunmen. It could hardly be otherwise. What is surprising, perhaps, is that there are not more of them and more desperate crimes of violence. It seems that despite psychological conditioning, and the practice of "praiseworthy" violence, the human material is still sufficiently recalcitrant to retain a natural distaste for such acts. That the gunman is the exception rather than the rule in a post-war world is something of a tribute to the sociable habits of men.

Official Hysteria

contemporary crime wave, remedies are position. Hence the longer an amnesty proportionately easier. It is not possible methods: but it is at least open to everyone to recognise the immediate evils which result from it, and which may therefore be reckoned up as part of the inevitable cost of any future venture of the same kind.

Moreover, the gunman is still the exception which proves the rule of human sociability; it requires the exceptional circumstances created by the outlawing of deserters to bring out these exceptions. Hence the outlawing of of deserters. deserters must be ended. The government have already admitted that they Meanwhile, members of the govern- prevent a recognition of the general complete failure-only about three thou- with an essentially transitory problem. ever of any such recognition in official others from giving themselves up!) The Instead of an elementary use of reason, its idiotic circle of punishment and the obvious indication, therefore, is to de- the official reaction is one of hysteria- manufacture of criminals. clare an amnesty for all deserters, and but with a shrewd eye to the main thereby cut the base from under the chance of getting some increase in

It might be added that the need for simulated one just in order to make all this is all the more urgent since something out of it.

A Comrade writes:

Equal Work" has always been a good

has investigated it to see if it effective either as a deterrent or

perfectly clear. A Royal Commission reformatory measure. They enquired whether the fact that a man could be flogged for certain crimes had any effect in preventing such crimes from being committed. As a result of their investigations they came to the per feetly unequivocal conclusion that it did not have the slightest effect commission of such crimes.

Nothing Can Justify Flogging

The position regarding flogging

They also enquired whether flogging discouraged men from committing

They also found that flogging h criminal who experienced it-it made

no one has been able to overturn them. the strike no relief money was paid Yet judges go on ordering flogging, and presumably will continue until they are themselves restrained by law from doing side legal society are such as make it

practical aspect of flogging. But there | were very largely responsible for the is also the other side, the moral aspect. Strike taking place, voted The government and the law may accept returning to work by a a morality which seeks to justify the infliction of violence on an individual as a remedy for the infliction of violence Press the information received is that of the opposition to the regime by that individual; but such an Old itself to normally intelligent men and women to-day. And since it is becoming increasingly evident that antisocial behaviour towards one's fellows is a sign of psychic sickness, retributive measures become even more out of date. There are undoubted difficulties in the way of persuading such individuals to order to make up the money lost seek the appropriate treatment for their | during the two weeks stoppage the know this root cause of the crime wave, ment have used the occasion to demand causes—war training and refusal of the new rate. Obviously therefore, and they have tried to remedy it by "more powers" to put down gunmen— legal status to deserters—and steps men are not so stupid as to come out their appeal for deserters to give them- that is, a permanent increase in the suitable for their removal. At the on strike just for the sake of cussedselves up. This remedy has proved a powers of the executive in order to deal present moment there is no sign whatsand out of the twenty responded (and Judges have been ordering flogging, and circles. On the contrary, war training the "lenient treatment they received the yellower newspapers printing and conscription are to be made even was quite severe enough to scare off any articles supporting corporal punishment. more general, while the law continues

Renault Workers Back BUT MORE TROUBLE BREWING

against) resumed work on Monda morning, exactly two weeks af crease of 10 francs (5d.) an hour. They have accepted the Government' offer of a production bonus of francs (12d.) per hour. The Paris paper Combat in explaining reasons which prompted the men's capitulation refers to the fact that the small wages paid at the factory between £13 and £15 a month) was obvious that the men could not keep their families during the strike These results are perfectly clear and | and that during the second week o

But the men in workshops 6 and 18 (to which reference is made in our after resuming work on Monday, the Testament procedure hardly commends workers in shops 6 and 18 have again

Combat provides an effective answer to those bitter critics of "unofficial strikes" (for the Renault strike was unofficial) when it points out that in men will have to work 1,000 hours at money they don't know what to do

A report of the Renault strike by our French correspondent appears on from dictatorship.

Workers Strike Encouraging news comes from

50,000 Spanish

Spain where in Bilbao, industrial town of the North, nearly 50,000 industrial workers came out on strike on May 5th. This demonstration of resistance to the Franco regime will have a farreaching effect on the rest of the country where already arrests of workers seeking to rebuild their organizations are taking place The strike began when the

Civil Governor of Bilbao ordered 14,000 men who had absented themselves from work on May Day to be dismissed, and that they re-apply individually for jobs. Troops were ordered to the area but the fact that Franco's spokesmen promised that no reprisals would be taken, is an indication of the strength after nearly eight years of Fascist brutality and attempted intimidation.

The strike ended on Monday, having lasted a week. It is reported that some 4,000 strikers have now been arrested and imprisoned in Bilbao alone.

The Spanish workers are fast realising that so-called democratic Governments will not free them from the Franco regime, but that it must be through their ness, or because they have so much own concerted efforts. The strike of 50,000 workers in Bilbao is the first step in the realization of their dreams of freedom

The yellow press excelled itself during the recent dispute in the City for a man to work well and conscientiously London when (as reported in Freedom last issue) 1,000 Corporation workers in the General and Muncipal Workers' Union came out on strike and be told to "pack up". When he against the promotion of George Turner, of Billingsgate Market police, from remonstrates, or wants to know why he is

such as mining. The rise in pay for causes of the strike and present fairly the to all depots so that any worker would to serve another full twelve months at reasons why 1,000 men voluntarily de- have equal opportunity to apply for them. beginner's rate because his time has been prived themselves of their incomes for an George Turner was appointed to the interrupted! unspecified period, the British press-that newly created job of second sergeant by This is the significant truth of the bastion of democracy—chose only to whip the Billingsgate foreman, without any of vote-catcher among the women, and whole matter—the "equal pay for up public opinion against the strikers by the agreed notification or application being the Labour Party made full use of it equal work" idea is not to be granted painting lurid pictures of the chaos and given. The men came out on strike, not investigation committee explored the wage system, but only as an economic traffic.

desirability of introducing this method incentive to attract female labour, as Yet the facts were not difficult to But this on its own was not all. This ation garden seats find their way to a of payment into industry. The result and when desired. That women obtain. With no more effort than it takes was just the culmination of a long series suburban bowling green, by the way?) was a luke-warm agreement to the should be entitled to an equal wage in the street, I got the whole story behind the men had been labouring, gradually strike the Corporation agreed to meet a principle, with a minority report by of a man doing the same work simply the strike, and a whole lot more very getting more exasperated and bitter until deputation of strikers at the Guildhall, some of the women on the committee does not enter into the picture at all. Now that the time for a decision ing for equal pay for women should in the wealthy City of London. has come, the members of the Labour therefore beware that they are not

THE FACTS

further productivity is essential are method of production for profit, ation, who had an understanding with the "probationary" period must be uninger- their dirty trick having worked! those employing mainly male labour, rather then social production for use. City branch that all jobs falling vacant rupted service. So it has been known (Continued on page 8)

during election-time. Recently, an as an elementary justice under the dustbins and a bridge closed to road ation for backing up this ill-considered served of the usual corruption among action by the foreman.

being sacked he is told to report again the next week to "see what can be done". He Making no attempt to analyse the or being newly created would be notified does so; is taken on again, and then has

officials. (How did those City Corporto stop and ask a question of a cleaner of pin-pricking grievances under which But let one more suffice. During the interesting information throwing sidelights they would stand no more. For instance, but just before the time the men were on the lives of the men who help to keep there was the unfair treatment of a few due to arrive, police appeared on the scene clean and maintain some essential services temporary workers. The Corporation has from the local station, having had ina full permanent staff, over and above structions from the Corporation to prewhich they employ other men on a tem- vent the strikers from entering the Guildporary basis. The permanent staff receive, hall. This, obviously, so that it could Briefly, the facts are these. George over and above their wages, 6/- per week be said that the Corporation offered to Turner's fellow workers had nothing clothing allowance, two weeks' holidays meet the strikers, waited for them, but against him personally. He is a non- with pay, superannuation, etc. The tem- they did not arrive! When the deputation union man, but the G. & M.W.U. is porary men get 3/6 per week clothing arrived they were turned back by the police one of the few remaining unions to reject allowance, no paid holidays, and no super- and threatened with arrest if they did not the closed shop principle. The union men annuation and must stay at this level for move right away. Unfortunately for the naturally like all their fellow workers to 12 months after starting with the Corpor- police, the strikers knew their way about and would lead to a rise in wages. for the abolition of the wage system belong also but make no attempt to put ation. After that time they rise to full better than that! Slipping round to a This, it is argued, would not be ac- and so release man and woman pressure to bear on any worker outside clothing allowance and holidays, but no side door, they passed through the boiler companied by an equivalent increase from one of the shackles that the union. No, the first and foremost superannuation until a vacancy occurs on house of the Guildhall, and up into the in productivity, as the industries where hold them bound to the capitalist reason for the strike was the wilful the permanent staff which they are chambers where the dignified councillors breaking of an agreement by the Corpor- capable of filling. But that 12 months were just beginning to pride themselves on

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

The slogan of "Equal Pay for them recruits.

would have an inflationary tendency, system. Better that they should fight

advocating full support of the method. Those workers who are campaign

Cabinet have decided that "the time moving along another reformist blind is not ripe for the introduction of alley, thus wasting so much valuable equal pay". They have accepted the time and energy in something which idea "in principle" but contend that will not alter the fundamental conat present it would be impracticable, dition of the workers under the wage

WHAT I have to say on this occasion is addressed to anarchists—to all those who political tradition denoted by the word 'anarchism'. I am not concerned for the moment with propaganda or persuasion-rather, with self-criticism and what might be described as "a call to order".

I begin with this challenge: no fundamental thought has been devoted to the principles of anarchism for half a century. The last important contribution to anarchism was Krotpotkin's Mutual Aid, written fifty years ago.

It might be argued that Kropotkin, and others before his time, Tolstoy, Bakunin, Proudhon or Godwinhad formulated a political philosophy which was good for all time-a sacred text which only needed the exegesis of later commentators to bring it upto-date. Apart from the fact that deep contradictions exist between the writers I have mentioned, whose reconcilement would call for a synthetising work of genius, there are certain historical events affected all systems of thought. There have been two world wars-symptomatic of some deep social disorder; there has been a revolution in Russia formations; there has been a drift in the distribution of world power which has brought the United States into the periphery of our affairs; there have been changes in methods of production and means of communication which have transformed the economic basis of society; and finally, a new weapon, the atom bomb, has been invented which has decisive implications for revolutionary strategy. These are but the most dramatic of the changes which have affected our life since the writing of Mutual Aid: there are many advances in scientific research and philosophical thought which are no less significant for the future of anarchism.

Naturally, I believe that there are certain universal which will always differentiate us from the socialist, are advocating a certain form of social organizing is supported from day to day by events. Not is still swinging in the air even when hanging the liberal, the capitalist or the fascist. But these ation—the co-operative community. Such com- only in France and in the company of 10,000 other people—the only in this country, not only in this country, not only in the company of 10,000 other people—the only in the company of 10,000 other people of 10,000 other peo so-called universal truths are few in number and munities have been tried as experiments in the past. Scandinavia, but by their own confessions in the difference being that one is no longer aware of one's very general in expression; they are abstractions, and are being tried as experiments in various parts. U.S.S.R. also, and perhaps there most decisively, own insecurity. The increasing dependence on the intellectual concepts, emotional attitudes. We are of the world to-day. Some of these experiments the incentives to work have declined. Almost every- state is anything but a healthy symptom, for it probably compelled to adopt them, not so much by date back to the Roman Empire; others begin in the where—in spite of increased wages and an im- means that the people are on a fair way to become reason, as by temperamental disposition. They are Middle Ages; other are of recent origin. It is proved standard of living—the rate of production a herd of sheep, always relying on a shepherd to beliefs which have to be translated into acts.

Three Fundamentals.

merely a belief in individual liberty, but in a state light of our principles. The history of law and production, but also in the birth-rate. The same of mental equilibrium in which thought is calm and criminology, for example, should provide evidence factors seem to govern the two processes of prolife is harmonious—it is no good being politically free if we remain psychologically obsessed.

The second belief is in the social principle of mutual aid. We anarchists do not accept either the individualistic philosophy of the liberals and capitalists, or the totalitarian philosophy of the socialists and communists—we believe that society can be organised on a co-operative and federal basis, free from exploitation and from dictation.

About the third belief we may not be so unanimous, but I personally think that it follows originally from the first and second beliefs, and that it is now forced on us by the logic of events. It is the belief in non-violence-in non-violent resistance to oppression, and in non-violent methods

of attaining our ends.

-Interpretations

"It is evident that . . . Anar-

chism cannot let itself be

seduced by a programme that

offers as its aim: The conquest

of the power now in the hands

We know that this conquest

is not possible by peaceful

means. The middle class will

not give up its power without

a struggle. It will resist. And

in proportion as Socialists will

become part of the Govern-

ment, and share power with the

middle class, their Socialism will

grow paler and paler. This is,

rapidly doing. Were this not

so, the middle classes, who are

numerically and intellectually

very much more powerful

what Socialism

of the State'.

We are reproducing Herbert Read's recent lecture at the London nowadays to accomplish easily what nobody would Anarchists' group Sunday night meeting because it raises many chal- leading down to mass psychology begins with this lenging questions of interest to a much larger public than was able to be present at his lecture. Indeed it is the editors' opinion that the lecturer has put forward arguments which should be discussed by the International Anarchist movement, and we ask our comrade editors abroad to consider can really be accomplished is an infinitesimal step publishing translations of this lecture in their respective publications as a basis for discussion on an International scale. Freedom Press are willing to undertake to collect the different opinions and publish them in

Herbert Read's lecture was controversial and since its subject matter was not previously discussed with the editors its publication does not of the past fifty years which have fundamentally necessarily imply that it expresses Freedom's point of view. The editors are small that the past fifty years which have fundamentally necessarily imply that it expresses Freedom's point of view. welcome comments from comrades, and will endeavour to print as large which has undergone some very significant trans-

fundamentally lazy or reactionary.

Fields Of Knowledge

I shall now indicate some of the specific fields of knowledge which call for interpretation in the light

true that Kropotkin has devoted a brilliant chapter per man-hour has declined catastrophically during drive them on to good pastures. The shepherd's or two to the most significant of these historica! the past fifty years. types; and Rudolf Rocker has given us a general There is evidence which shows that this is not turn into wolves. survey of the history of civilization which brings entirely an economic question. When all due weight The fundamental beliefs or attitudes underlying out clearly the values of the federal principle. But has been given to factors like wages and housing, anarchism can, in my opinion, be reduced to a much more detailed examination of the historical standard of living and conditions of work, an unthree—three principles which we must accept if evidence is needed; and apart from specific research known factor remains which we can only call Social psychology, which is sometimes called groupwe are to continue to call ourselves anarchists. into the history of co-operative communities, there zest: a certain positive attitude towards society and psychology or phylo-analysis, is, properly under-The first is the belief in personal freedom—not is need for an analysis of history in general in the future which shows itself, not only in rates of stood, the foundation of our whole attitude. We of immense value; the history of land tenure, or duction. These factors are psychological, and a sound psychological basis. Some Marxists, aware of trade organisations are other examples. I am psychology is the next sphere which demands our of this deficiency in their own philosophy, attack not suggesting a tendentious interpretation of patient investigation. history: I think we have everything to gain from Psychology may be either individual or social. science, but that is only an indication of their own the objective truth. But let us get at the facts That individual psychology has some bearing on our limitations. Psychology has its charlatans, like

the facts which are held to support other beliefs. anthropological. Kropotkin, again, was a pioneer "The psychologist firmly believes in the individual co-operative organisation of production and the sort of super-individual endowed with inexhaustible others. Repressions which result in an unconscious These beliefs are not self-evident to the majority subtler problems of collective integrity.

[Essays on Contemporary Events, p. xvii.] "When people are thrown together in huge masses and considered only as a herd, it has the most devastating moral and psychical effect upon the individual. The foundation for collective crime is laid by just such a state of things; and then it is mitted. Do we seriously believe that we would have been proof against it? We, who have so many traitors and political psychopaths in our midst? also capable; and since then a terrible doubt regarding humanity—in which we also are included—

sentences from a forthcoming work by C. G. Jung: be disputed.

(Continued on page 6)

to mere nothingness. Yet everything that exceeds a certain human size evokes equally inhuman powers in Man's unconsciousness, totalitarian demons are called forth, instead of the realization that all which forward in the individual's moral nature."

Nevertheless-and there should be no mistake of people, and it follows that we have to use our Anthropology would soon lead us to the wider about this—such a state of degradation can only powers of reasoning and persuasion to secure the field of sociology. Sociology is a very wide and be brought about by certain conditions. First and agreement of our fellowmen. My contention is indeed amorphous subject, but almost every aspect foremost among these is the accumulation of urban, that we are not at present doing this in any of it has some bearing on the issues raised by industrialized masses; i.e. of people whose abilities scientific or consistent manner. We are divided anarchism. It sometimes seems to me that the are only partially mobilized, owing to the unnatural, among ourselves, open to accusations of vague many problems investigated by the sociologist con- one-sided character of employment in factories, idealism and muddle-headedness, and of being verge on the discussion of one point—the nature shops, and so on. They have been uprooted from of the incentives which maintain the vitality and their natural soil and have lost every kind of well-being of societies. Certainly, unless the healthy instinct, even that of self-preservation. For structure of a society includes what might quite dependence on the state can be measured in terms of simply be called "a stimulus to work", that society loss of the instinct of self-preservation, which is a will decay. The formidable attack on totalitarian deplorable symptom. Dependence on the state forms of socialism delivered by economists like Von means that one relies on everybody else (= state) Mises, Röpke and Hayek concentrates on this weak instead of on oneself. Every person hangs on to There is first of all the field of history. We spot in the socialist state. It is an attack which the next, with a false feeling of security; for one staff soon becomes a rod of iron, and the shepherds

[Essays on Contemporary Events, pp. 52-3.] But it is in the wider field of social psychology psychology as a pseudo-science, or as a bourgeois which support our beliefs, and weigh them against problems should be obvious enough, but to show every other science, but its scientific achievements, how nearly it touches them, let me quote a few particularly in the field of mental therapy, cannot

The main problems of social psychology revolve in this field, but since his day an immense amount as the sole carrier of mind and life. Society or round the relationships which exist, or should exist, of fresh material has been published, and from my the state derive their quality from the individual's between the individuals and the group. Most own superficial and incomplete knowledge of this mental condition, for they are constituted by in- mental illnesses, unless due to constitutional defects, subject, I know that much of the evidence collected dividuals and their organizations. No matter how are the result of maladjustment, and can often be and published by anthropologists like Margaret obvious this fact is, it has not yet permeated cured by the "integration of the personality"-by Mead, Malinowski, Verrier Elwin, and scores of collective opinion sufficiently for people to refrain which phrase we mean the effective restoration to obscurer field-workers, has direct bearing on the from using the term "State" as if it referred to a the individual of a sense of community with

May 17th, 1947.

OPPOSE LONGER

way to days and years of shortage. In couraged by, the individual taste of the against increased hours, realise, and try the columns of Freedom we have not consumers. the housewife under rationing; the daily assistants, servile when supply exceeds capitalist society and that their full press has done that for us. We, on the demand, insolent when goods are short, share of leisure will only come with that

been an ordeal. To-day, the housewife may be able to go out with a full purse and feel frustrated because she cannot buy the things she wants. But at least she is not tantalised by the sight of the things in the shops while she cannot buy them for want of a full purse. Only since rationing started has the middle class felt the pinch of shortage, but for years the workers' wives knew what it meant to leave an unemployed husband at home minding the hungry children while they went hunting for cheap food, scraping and pinching to make ends

And behind the counters, shop assist ants would be on their feet from 8.30 or 9 o'clock until 7, 8, 9 or 10 at night. The black-out put a fairly sharp end to that and shop assistants now work hours similar to workers in offices and factories which, of course, creates considerable problems for those workers who have to do their own shopping, and get home in time to find the shops shut. A year ago last January, the officially appointed Gower Committee began its enquiry into shop hours and welfare and has at last made its report, in which the chief recommendation is that shops should stay open until 7 p.m., with one late night a week until 8 p.m. This is contrary to the suggestions made to the committee by the Union of Shop, Dis- union leaders have their hands too full tributive and Allied Workers, and in line of other workers' money, and their fingers with the hours recommended by the round the necks of the dues-payers' National Chamber of Trade. It's odd. is it not, how these official committees | themselves free from the parasitic moneyso often agree with the employers, so

seldom with the workers. The U.S.D.A.W. claims a membership of 380,000, and is making a protest against the findings of the committee Taking account of the fact that a very large proportion of retail establishments staff working hours should be staggered getting work at any of the other ports. is impracticable, and maintains that a 6 o'clock closing time, with one late evening of 7 o'clock would meet the

We gather there was no mention in the report of any increase in wages. The guaranteed weekly rate of pay for and while the union officials seem aware of the fact that this is low pay ("Shop

equally democratically ignored.

ARE SHOPS NECESSARY?

It is only under a system of commerce | for that. that it is necessary to have shops as we know them to-day. Trading is essentially competitive, not only between retailers, but between the retailer and the customer too, and the

be quickly and easily stocked up each the output. day and left-unwatched and unguarded, since shop-lifting could no longer be said to exist. The free choice of the community, unhampered by economic considerations, could be

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The maxim, widely accepted in a relied upon to soon make clear the type Syndicate playing their part in the "nation of shopkeepers" before the war or quality of goods in demand. Only harmonious running of society for the that the customer is always right, has one quality—the best—would be pro- benefit of all.

working class wife shopping has always ducer and consumer alike, we shall have the social revolution. members of the Distributive Workers'

and make them realise, that their work,

The Press & Dockers' The dockers' strike in Glasgow, London Strike and elsewhere has produced the usual

chorus from the daily newspapers, all The News-Chronicle for April 30th: small but sinister sections working for non-industrial ends, there is a general and growing tendency for workers in some of the key industries to kick over the life. Yet though he may be banished sabotage the negotiating machinery it has being abandoned to his fate. Investigation taken them generations to establish. Something very like anarchy is developing in some of these industries." Yet it ad- for 300 more" (our italics). later, "At the bottom of all this industrial unrest there is the growing feeling that the Labour Government has become far who returned them to power with such

It seems to us that the big trade throats, throttling every attempt to shake

public work to keep their finger regularly

there is little or no likelihood of them ACTION BY MORE WORKERS!

in effect an industrial death sentence" (our italics). The editorial of the same issue notes: - "It is a serious thing for a from his chosen employment, he is not has already led to the remission of sentence for 200 men, and to mitigation

Such phrases as "industrial death are highly significant. They DO describe Most remember the book title-"The Town That Was Murdered"-Jarrowthe scrapheap of industrial idleness. The dockers have no intention of allowing this to happen to them.

Why, then, this howl from all the press? The truth is that the dockers' strike represents direct action, and all politicians, T.U. leaders, and business men fear and hate that above all things else. They know that it represents a very powerful weapon which properly used by The Chronicle agrees that the situation the workers can topple any government for dock-workers in Glasgow is pretty bad. and put useless parasites out of business Note this extract:—"The position of a altogether. It makes quite unnecessary dismissed docker on Clydeside at present the coupon-clippers, investers, Parliamer is really grim as there are already gas-men and all the other exploiters

Industrial News in Brief A "Work to Rule" Strike

The Catering Action The good old Syndicalist action of "working to rule" has recently been put Movement into operation by the French customs cial, who are agitating for increased Meanwhile, we have to hand a bulleting pay. The London Evening Standard from a newly formed organisation of cater-(8/5/47) gave the following report, which ing workers under the above title. Pledging itself to direct action with

"The strike is the 'zeal strike' and it workers' control as its aim, it appears to

can be described as the ordinary strike in be organised on sound syndicalist lines.

Their aims and principles are as "The new strike was tried out yesterday follows:at all French frontiers and ports between 4 and 6 p.m.

HOTEL WORKERS'

STRIKE NOTICE

at the Savov Hotel (Freedom 22/3/47),

the suspension of shop steward Frank

General and Municipal Workers.

allowance from the Savoy.

To organise effective action in the Catering Industry. "During that time Customs officials stripped men and women travellers, turned The ultimate Workers' Control of the out every box, scrutinised every article and

Catering Industry. charged duty on all dutiable articles, in-To expose (inside or outside the union) cluding small amounts of sugar and single the Unions' inefficiency and collaboration with the employers contrary to "The result was that travel was disthe workers' interests.

organised at most ports, and on the Swiss To combat the centralist tendencies and Belgian frontiers cars were parked within the Union which give men in two rows for more than a mile while power and standing over others which Customs officials searched under seats and makes them dictators and not represmeasured the amount of petrol in the sentatives; to promote decentralisations and the principle of delegation where-At some railway stations time-tables by delegates who do not carry out their mandates may be instantly

> To study, develop and organise strike action, sabotage and boycott, calculated to ensure the highest gain at the minimum cost.

strike notice has been handed in to the To protect the rights of all Catering Ministry of Labour by Arthur Lewis Workers to organise, to assist the struggle physically, morally, finan-(M.P.), London district organiser of the Catering Section of the National Union of cially, sympathetically and by all propaganda methods: to defend those victimised by union, state, employers The strike was caused last March by

Piazza who, in spite of a recommendation To spread the struggle against the for reinstatement following a London scourge of capitalism, with the aim enquiry, has still not been taken back of its final elimination and the control although receiving full pay and food of industry by the workers.

Which seems all right to us. Copies If he is not back at work by May 27th, of the bulletin, giving organisational basis, 22,000 London hotel and catering workers may be obtained free from Freedom Press, will stop work in one of those rare or from the Secretary, C.A.M., R. Upton,

AGRICULTURE AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION-3

a skilled male assistant of 24 is 88/in London and 86/- in the provinces, and while the union officials seem aware The guaranteed weekly rate of pay for Politics Russian: Agriculture & Politics

assistants seem to be getting a rough IN the last two articles, we have condeal" they say) they do not seem to be sidered the broad issues surrounding anarchist, of course) ever seems to ask mistakes which the revolution will have to diminutive proletariat being regarded as of reason to feel hostile to the new fell from 34 millions in 1929 to 19 milis-"Are shops necessary anyway?" avoid, but they are none the less important the true messianic bearers of the government. Where money is retained, it lions in 1932; cows from 68 to 40 mil-

During the vears after the October requisition the food in the villages by Revolution in 1917 agricultural production force. Such forced requisitioning was met crisis," wrote Michael Farbman, an to themselves after the February revo- in the railway sidings. observer favourable to the Bolshevik lution, the peasants had sent food into regime, "first of all affected the area under the towns, asking for textiles, etc., in state of affairs by direct initiatives between control of farming was only possible by cultivation. Already in 1916 this had return. But it is important to note that town and country was firmly repressed, economic retreats, by partial reintroduction In 1920 it decreased by over 28 per cent., in industrial goods being made for them. changes between workers and peasants. culture, so such a "remedy" could have

f the country. And not only did the ultivation area diminish. The yields per essiatine also fell. Thus for wheat the verage yield for the ten years before

and partly in order to defeat the hated produced a gradual recovery. Although the peasants needed agricul- -otherwise it would be "bought", not Economics of Peasant Farming, p. 174.) tural instruments from the industrial requisitioned. Hence the peasant will The result was the famine of 1933 and areas, these were so scarce as to be ob- endeavour to save money spent on raising 1934, now officially admitted.

Since the peasants could not be paid for the area of sowing. (They also found it Stalinist clique, but were the inevitable their corn, the Bolshevik government organized a so-called "Food Army" to buted to produce the same result.) the centralization of all planning activity continued to fall, and, moreover, at an with sharp resistance by the peasants, and quently having the mortification of seeing ing theory of all governmental socialists. even greater rate than under the Czarist completely defeated any schemes of co- the grain which had been forcibly taken. The other clear lesson of the Russian and Kerensky regimes. "The agricultural operation between town and country. Left from them left to go rotten in the trucks experience is that with such a centralized

> ciple of 'to each according to his needs, tribute any local initiative. The govern- By contrast with such authoritarian The Bolsheviks also sought to regulate of power was to make economic con- article.

there was no prospect of feeding them, by the NEP (New Economic Policy) and

is obvious that stock is going to be re- lions; sheep from 147 to 52 millions; and quisitioned without adequate compensation pigs from 21 to 11 millions. (Warriner:

I have treated the Russian experience compensation for it, the peasants reduced due to the ignorance and treachery of the Finally, the Bolshevik requisitioning was in the hands of the State. Similar results extremely inefficient, the peasants fre- would inevitably follow from the centraliz-

Meanwhile any attempt to remedy the recovery from the disasters of doctrinaire

from each according to his ability" which ment was determined to control economy measures as war communism and the fivecompletely overthrows the exchange con- solely in its own hands, and it could not year plans, both of which produced the therefore brook any dual system of con- most ghastly famines, the voluntary coltrol by sharing it with the soviets. When lectivizations of the Spanish Revolution of "war communism" produced the famine 1936 produced a startling increase in agriof 1920, the only course open to the cultural production. The Spanish ex-Bolsheviks consistent with their retention perience will be the subject of the next

than most Socialists imagine them to be, would not share their power with the Socialists. On the other hand, we also know that if an insurrection

succeeded in giving to France, to England, or to Germany a provisional Socialist Government, such a Government without the spontaneous constructive activity of the people. would be absolutely powerless; and it would soon become a hindrance and a check to the revolution."

Peter KROPOTKIN.

Psychology & Freedom

strong link between intelligent psychology thought.

and sincere anarchism. Naturally, the attitude would be centred would be worth while to quickly scan around the age-old problem of Freedom- psychological scene, noting the real ALL. The authoritarian idea of Freedom cho-Analysis, Jung's Analytical Psychosuggests full Freedom as being the goal logy and Adler's Individual Psychology, of political struggle, but that the process in relation to the pseudo-industrial psychomust be controlled and governed by dis- logy of the State and Private Employers, cipline, moral persuasion and State mani- practiced with such blasé effrontery in the in the week, and then schooling them to but not to the workers involved. It ranges and Industry. competitively destroy their fellows the from the Bedaux System of extracting

Now the Modern Psychologist would hold the miserable corruption of the best easily interpret that as a frustration com- in Freud, Jung, Adler and others. plex passing from individual to group and seeing no isolation of psychology from Authoritarian System of Society. sociology, or from the day-to-day issues of industrial and domestic struggles.

there is a genuine background to sincere Watts in the Thinkers Library, we get a Always the drift is away from produc-

Some short time ago I was subject to psychological research; also there have concise answer to our question: - "The where the atomic powers will liberate ALL

more out of little, to pep talks in the factory lunch hours. There you can be-

Do we then label the whole of Psychohe was honest he would admit environ- logy under one heading, generally classiment and social distinctions, but he would fied by the worker as "baloney" and not accept these as conditioning the Frus- "quackery"? In the main, yes, where aptration. If he did, he would be approach- plied in the commercial and industrial ing the Anarchist attitude and would be sense under the present Capitalist and prove to you that your problems are self-

Also, not far behind in corrupted form want to be, I say, only make your desires comes the Medical section. Here, we must and wishes strong and enduring and you'll be more cautious, because good psychiatric achieve just what you want to achieve" Corrupt Use of Psychology work has been, and is being done by doc- You give him Freedom of a sort until he tors of honest and sincere motive; but meets another who is careering upwards, First of all, why is this subject of these are individual cases and do not seeking the bureaucratic heights of social Psychology "plugged" so remorselessly apply in the full social sense. Perhaps distinction and power. Then the "War of from morn to night on the medical, com- in the final passage of "The Distressed the Mind" is transferred to the physical mercial and industrial fronts? Granted, Mind" by J. H. C. Brown, published by plane with a vengeance!

a crucial philosophic test in which the been definite achievements in the medical frustrations and conflicts to which indivi- mankind and not a section—and in the questioner asked for the Anarchist attitude branch known professionally as Psychiatry. duals are subject, arise, as we have seen, struggle for power the neurotic individual, to Modern Psychology, and indeed to all Of course, it is because one believes there firstly in family life, and later in relation patched up, proceeds to spread the disease psychological problems. In the short is a real need for the right type of psycho- to the larger family of the nation. The of neurosis around him. space at my disposal I could not attempt logical approach that the subject is worth first group can be helped by education Anarchism is the complete answer to to give a detailed thesis on the matter. considering in relation to Anarchism: free and child guidance; but the larger problem that problem because in such a Society However, feeling the question an impor- from the quackery and the "super-selling" will remain, for under-nourishment, lack men are FREE to be themselves, but not tant one it is my wish here to show the sales patter of commercial schools of of employment, thwarting of the desire for to menace other individuals: there is room Since we cannot elaborate at length it riage and divorce laws will continue to deepest conception of Psychology at its the produce neurosis and crime. Mental ill- best. ness will probably always be with us, for there will always be constitutionally inadequate people. Yet it could be vastly

power and resourcefulness. The State is expected

reduced in a society where human hopes were not continually being crushed by lack of food, or money, or knowledge, or love."

Alter the Environment

patient being thrown back into the jungle of exploitation, even if his or her delusions have been resolved finally as myths, and have been accepted as such. Consequently all psychological treatment is patching up. You say to a patient, "I am going to

selves: we vision and work for a Society

further education, and out-of-date mar- only for "mutual aid" and for the widest, This leads us to the final point in which

tion, from toil, from dirt-grimed hands,

from the working-class concept of society

-not that we as anarchists think these

things enviable or commendable in them-

we see all attempts to "push" Psychology "string to one's bow", as corruption of what would otherwise be a dynamic tool in the Anarchist's hands and indeed in the That, more or less, though an over- hands of all libertarian workers and pulations. Not much difference here from factory and workshop, to-day. The atti- simplification, is the answer to those who thinkers. He and they would proclaim the early Christian Fundamentalists com- tude of the Employing Class to Psychology would divorce Psychology from Economics the true Freedom which reveals most pelling their children to worship one day in Industry is interesting to the spectator, and the Individual Struggle in Agriculture psychological teaching to-day as merely another weapon of the State against the People. So we see that good Psychology is only compatible with Freedom, and that Freedom as expressed in the philosophy of

J. H. MOORHOUSE.

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doing much about it. The Home agriculture in a revolutionary situation. Much of this decline was due to the requisitioning measure. But there was a Secretary has already announced in the The limitations which capitalist economy physical conditions brought about by the relatively slight diminution in the number House of Commons that the Govern- places on farming are seen to be the main war. But revolution should have created of cows because the law allowed every ment intend introducing legislation on obstacle in Britain to the feeding of the conditions which favoured recovery by re- household to keep a cow, so that large the Russian government sought to bring shop hours on the lines of the Gowers population without relying on imports. moving the restrictions which a market households simply divided up into small the peasants under control by making Report, so probably the matter is Once it is seen that there is no physical economy imposes on any form of pro- ones so as to retain as many cows as them wage workers on the collective already as good as settled, with the impossibility in the way of supplying the duction. Instead, the new political possible. Sheep and pigs on the other farms. Again there was tremendous worker democratically consulted and revolution with bread, there still remains administration attempted to force agricul- hand were requisitioned for the army, and opposition on the part of the peasants, the problem of how such a supply can ture into new channels by purely political the peasants slaughtered them to avoid thousands of whom were transported to be organized. This may be termed the measures. The inauguration of the their being commandeered. Later on they the labour camps of Siberia, where they political aspect of the question, and it "Bread War" during the period of War were consumed because, in addition, there were later to build the White Sea canal will be helpful to try and learn the lessons Communism was carried out under the were no feeding stuffs for them, and a and double track the Trans-Siberian Railwhich the revolutions of the recent past slogan of "carrying the class war into the terrible shortage of human food. Probably way. The peasants, on their side, retorted have to teach us. We shall find that villages", for the peasants were looked the peasants did not kill the beasts "for by once more slaughtering their stock, these lessons are chiefly concerned with upon as a reactionary element, only the spite", although they had plenty of this time on a formidable scale. Horses

The Bread War in Russia In Czarist days Russia exported agri- tainable only at high prices far beyond the stock by slaughtering it, for it would Once again the government resorted to vast number of little establishments all | cultural products. The peasants lived at their reach. Meanwhile, they were offered be uneconomic (by money exchange stanappear in a society where all goods pro- unknown when crops failed or were un- paper money which was turned out in an lamenting these things; they are the in- private ownership being allowed. duced were distributed freely where duly low. But very large amounts were absolute spate as fast as the government evitable consequence of such political needed. "Shops" in a free society would usually available to send abroad. During could requisition presses to print it on. coercion as forced requisitioning. probably be in the nature of large halls the war of 1914, however, production fell This inflated currency could not buy for In addition, with no prospect of re- very broadly. But I hope I have been where goods would be displayed for all very markedly on account of the draining them the products they needed and they ceiving either their harvest or an adequate able to show that the failures were not to come and choose and take what they away of manpower into the armies—com- soon refused it. posed mainly of peasants. Bureauratic The shelves, or display stands, could | incompetence also contributed to reduce

> decreased by 7 per cent. as compared with they did not make their deliveries to the government placing military cordons of the profit motive. In this country, it what it was in the previous five years. towns dependent on an equivalent return round the towns to prevent direct ex- is the profit motive which strangles agriin 1921 by over 37 per cent., and in 1922 Spontaneously they had applied the prin- The Soviets were thus unable to con- only the most limited effect.

This 50 per cent. decrease in the area under cultivation was all the more serious since it involved the most fertile parts

In 1916 this figure had fallen to 47.4; in peasant economy by new laws. In the cessions in a capitalist direction by re-1920, to 34.1; and in 1921, to 32.7. face of the forced requisitioning, peasants opening markets and restoring production Note.—1 Dessiatine = 2.7 English (Farbman: Bolshevism in Retreat, p 234). would slaughter their stock, partly because for profit. This course was inaugurated acres. I Pood = 36 lbs.

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

WILL THE C. G. T. SPLIT?

strations organized by the French Trade above all a question of reduction in deputies assume the leadership and take more. Unions had Unity as their watchword. prices and the winning of the battle The orators meekly followed the Com- of production. After further interviews munist slogans, praising the results of between the representatives of workthe battle of production, clamouring for shops 6 and 18 and the management, Communists. Thanks to the Combetter piece-work rates and attacking a strike was called and on April 25th munist propaganda supporting economic The existence of two C.G.T.'s is

that parisian suburb where munici- "against the provocateurs".

political arguments, reality had en- sellers of revolutionary newspapers were lightened the large mass of workers who had been betrayed and frightened.

Conditions at Renault

the eviction of a number of his col- prepare leaflets. laborators, a large new management was In political circles, the moment is introduced, which was composed of apparently ripe to strike a decisive blow specialists from the "private enterprise" at Stalinist influence. Le Populaire, period, former associates who have ral- organ of the Socialist Party, interviews

was in a way a model for others to Communist About-Turn

factories is catastrophic. An excessive gives instructions to its members to par- the Arab states? turning), but from Russian-controlled pounds, thus causing the trouble in bureaucratisation has caused the con- ticipate in the strike, causes strike eern to be run at a loss. Futhermore, committees to be elected who will is not being replaced. Finally, light the demands modified to three frances vehicles, on which the factory bonus on production. Beaten on a vote low price in the foreign market. Ac- struggle for the ten francs, but always cording to the statements by the on a bonus based on production. director, M. Lefrancheux, every car The Communist leaders, finding themthat leaves the works increases the selves in a difficult position from the

deficit by 24,000 francs. by the workers' organizations, contrary increase in production". to all syndicalist doctrines, and in spite of the workers' traditional opposition

to this practice. From the workers' point of view, the factory is in the hands of the C.G." The staffs and the employees are also members of the C.G.T. The exception is only a small Christian minorityaffecting a few hundred workers.

A Tradition of Militancy

But the Renault factory has a tradition of militancy and propaganda has Renault factory was one of the few to apply the watchword of a general strike police and the mobile guard.

active groups of propagandists representcipline imposed by the communist cells licans, Independent Socialists, etc., within the syndical machine prevents the different currents from frankly expressing themselves but the struggle is carried on in the workshops and at the workbench.

0

During the autumn of 1946, a group of libertarian militants, disgusted at not beings able to express themselves freely at the Union meetings, broke away from last June to 400,000, that is a drop the C.G.T. and formed a branch of of nearly 40%. the new revolutionary syndicalist organisation.

The minority in the C.G.T., known under the name of "ex-confederate" and belonging to the Jouhaux-Botheran tendency, and enjoying the support of paper Force Ouvrière.

Anarchists, Trotskysts and Socialist Youth (belonging to the Marceau Pivert grouping) have many active militants.

Revolutionary Workshops Two workships-No.'s 6 and 18are very largely composed of revolu-

The majority of the May Day demon- these demands. At the time it was

watchwords no longer corresponded to Metal workers, all opposed the strike. the anglo-saxon bloc forces them to C.G.T. composed of rank and file trade cates precedes the actual seission. the situation. They have not for Henaff, secretary of the departmental Renault factories that brought out quite region and Costes, secretary of the

The strike Committee answered by holding other meetings and appealing C.G.T., the C.P. and the Government for the extension of the struggle to the whole factory. Other workshops came out in support. Within the factory and More effective than philosophic or outside the gates incidents occurred: beaten up by the "strong men" of the Communist cells. Strike pickets came to blows with those who wanted to clear the workshops. Henaff was booed.

There are about 32,000 workers Workers everywhere anxiously watched the development in the Nationalised immediately after the fliet. From neighbouring factories come Liberation, this factory turns out light delegates (Gnome and Rhone-Unicvehicles, lorries, tractors and war Alsthm-Salmson-Citroen). Subscription lists are passed round. Minority As a result of the disappearance of its groups give their support to the strikers. former proprieter, Louis Renault, and Printing workers give their services to

lied to the new system of control and the strike Committee. The Christians stooges from the C.G.T. and C.P. support the strike. Force Ouvrière de- ment to create a fund for the purchase have nothing to learn from the Arabs. not be least considerable? It is as if, Communist propaganda has on many cies are in fact in favour of the been welcomed by the Egyptian press. persons" fleeing from Europe and finding towing to Hitler were evident, they should occasions used the Renault experiment "blocking" of wages and their repre- Other Arab states are following suit, and themselves behind barbed wire in Cyprus, have plumped for a full-blooded fascist. as an example to illustrate its theses sentatives in the Government have no doubt it is quite a good idea. But after years of torment in Hitler's conon working productivity, on workers' always voted in support of this policy. why in the name of Allah are the centration camps, has been fully justified.

Feeling itself left behind, the Depart-

point of view of their participation in Furthermore, the salaries are the Ministry and without definite in lowest in the region. They have, on stuctions after the Moscow conference, numerous occasions, been revised but do a right-about-turn, abandon their always in relation to output. Piece- most recent slogans and demand an inwork has been approved and encouraged crease in wages "proportionate to the

The leadership of the C.G.T. is The Existence of Two a section of the workers downed tools. recovery, fear of inflation and becoming clearer every day; on the one discontent. But France's move towards machine, an the other the living active choose a new battleground and to move unionists.

unionists. The postal workers' move- constituted.

In the Chamber, the Communist ment has enlightened a great number

wages have, in part, supported the the printers', carry on their struggle in working class makes them realise that strikes, through their rank and file spite of and often contrary to the strikes must be directed by the strikers militants, but officially the party and its directives from above. Autonomous themselves. The C.G.T. will once more ministers have vigorously opposed them. syndicates spring up. In the Parisian become a tremendous force if it is These are facts which the workers region, that of the underground railway transformed in the course of the coming noticing with ever increasing in- workers and of the cooks are the best struggles. It will decay or split if it terest. The Renault experience is not known. Among the postal workers and remains the instrument of a political first. The printers' strike has employees, a new federation inspired by party, of a government or of an opened the eyes of many trade the former strike Committee is being Embassy.

The National Confederation of Labour, in spite of its ridiculously limited means, is gaining ground in rumerous workers' associations.

FREEDOM

The Christian organisation C.F.T.C. is making headway, more as a result of the workers' disgust for the C.G.T.

The split is an accomplished fact. It has happened and continues in spite of all the calls to unity, because there is an ever growing feeling among the workers that there no longer exists anything in common between them and the C.G.T. officials, and that even their own delegates spoke in the name of Thorez and Jouhaux, or Ramadier and Duclos The Renault factory syndicate of the price control it has been possible hand the official, bureaucratic C.G.T. rather than in the name of their mates

But the practical impossibility of months, but it was the strike in the Union of the Syndicates of the Parisian to the opposition. Their final decision The official strength of the C.G.T .- living on present wages throws the will depend on the state of relations six and half million members—is no workers back into the struggle. And sharply this split. In a communist Metal workers, addressed meetings in between Washington and Moscow, and longer a reality. A large number of the question is raised as to whether the stronghold, in a nationalised factory, in order to put the workers on their guard of the interest shown by these two workers have not been paying their dues C.G.T. syndicates can still serve as capitals for the bridgehead constituted for a long time, and have lost faith fighting bodies or whether new organisations must be created.

The Socialists who favour the freezing The minority syndicates, in particular The deeprooted instinct of the

S. PARANE.

Middle East Notes

PALESTINE HYPOCRISY

fends it. Meanwhile all these tenden- of land for Palestine Arab peasants has Indignation at the treatment of "displaced when protests against Chamberlain's kow-

Peasants As Pawns

othing about the peasants except when ates would (if they could read the new oreign aggression" also!

"Displacement" and Russia However, as regards this habit of see- that Communist councillors should repre- hypocrisy. ing next door's ashcans more clearly than sent it in Stepney, and the following of the

to escape, and they make for Palestine, knocked France out of the game. persecuted people build up for themselves, the human aspect of the displaced Jews just as lost travellers in the desert see in question, and those who support images of green oases. These are the settling landless Arabs in Palestine exjourneys that too often finsh at Cyprus. plained that it was only another counter Yet how is it that in a district of London move and they that they didn't care two (Mile End) where working class Jews pre- damns about the fellaheen in question, it dominate and where criticism of Bevin's would not inconvenience them by causing policy is naturally most audible, that Mr. any positive merit to humanity and would

The decision of the Egyptian Govern- one's own, the majority of Jewish people C.P. and influence of the Daily Worker

Humanitarian Pretence

Palestinian Arabs singled out for such But it is undoubtedly the case, as all Stalin's tolerance of anti-semitism besignal favour, when tens of thousands of refugees admit, that they are not fleeing hind the iron curtain leads to 'displacedispossessed Egyptian Arabs cry out for from Germany, still less from Austria ment" and the tragic procession that In reality, the management of these mental Union starts manoeuvering. It bread and land as do peasants in all (countries to which Jews are even re- wends its weary way to barbed wire comterritory from which, once escaped, no one Palestine that embarrasses Russia's Midwillingly returns. It is from pogroms in East rival, Britain, in the same way that Poland, Rumania, etc., that Jews seek Britain's support of Syrian nationalism which has taken the place of America If those who support this policy stated

Piratin should be the Communist M.P., at least save a certain amount of

God's Bloc" Wins in Sicily!

over, and the new Sicilian Parlia- Party (13), Independent Workers' ment will start its deliberations in the Party (10), Pacifists (4), Independent Palazzo Reale in Palermo on Workers (4). always been directed to it from all May 20th. The People's Bloc which Fourthly: 200,000 less votes were working class organizations. In 1936, Communist posters also referred to as cast than last June. This accounts it was amongst the first factories to "God's Bloc" (Freedom, 3rd May) in part for the Christian Democrats' has obtained the largest number of losses. The Common Man poll sufa result of the initiative of anarcho- votes—591,000 or 30% of the votes fered by the participation in these syndicalist militants. In 1938, the cast and will be represented by 29 elections of the National Monarchists' deputies. The Christian Democrats Party whose votes went to the and the workers there clashed with the were second with 400,000 votes and Comman Man last June. Man Bloc were next with 287,000 ANARCHIST CONGRESS swamped the Anarchist movement.

On the religious question the Lom-Still to-day there are to be found Man Bloc were next with 287,000 Within the C.G.T. itself the different Monarchist Party polled 185,000 tendencies clash. The extreme dis- votes and won 9 seats, the Repub-

> share the remaining 18 seats. Comparing the figures with the elections of last year certain facts do stand out fairly clearly.

> Firstly: that the Christian Democratic poll has fallen from 643,000

poll has fallen by 24,000 votes.

the Socialists, publishes regularly its This figure is arrived at by adding up ations, representatives of 36 groups as the June votes of the different parties well as the editors of the movement's which now form the people's Bloc. II journals. On the question As these "People's Blocs" in any organization, the National Committee tionary elements. It was the delegates The figures in brackets are the votes comrades was nominated whose sole from these shops who in February, cast (in thousands) at the 1946 elec- function would be to act as a co-1947, presented a list of demands intions: Socialists (233), Communists ordinating and contacting body for the frances an hour. Discussions dragged on (151), Action Party (26), Unionist movement. The commission is also

THE electoral battle in Sicily is concentration (15), Ex-Servicemen's Internal Bulletin of the Movement.

IN ITALY

since the "liberation" was held this combat the increasing political dominyear at Bologna. It had less glamour ation of the Catholic Church and about it than the Carrara Congress those Parties which support it, while where mass public demonstrations the Florentine Federation accepted "indecent and immoral"! In an interview were held, where posters greeting the to coordinate all the possibilities of with Reuter's correspondent, Signor delegates were posted over the whole local activity against war preparations, town and official greeting were re- with a view to building up a strong desire to act in a high-handed and oppresceived from the different Left parties. and homogenous agitation based on It was a congress determined to study the slogan: "Not a single man, not a the problems of organization and single penny, not a single hour's work, Secondly: the neo-fascist bloc's policy, and their conclusions are of for War." interest to all anarchists. At the con-Thirdly: the people's bloc votes gress were present the delegates of have increased by about 170,000. 33 regional and provincial federcountry are always suspect, and in- of the F.A.I. (Italian Anarchist Federvariably Communist inspired, its com- ation) was dissolved and in its place position may be of interest to readers. a Correspondence Commission of and the Union did nothing to support Party (18), Democratic Republican responsible for the editing of the and black marketeering in Naples, and the

"disciplined". By disciplined they

On the religious question the Lombardy Federation accepted the task The second Anarchist Congress of coordinating all the local efforts to

WAR CASUALTIES was invaded by the German, American of abandoned children is a disastrous one. The French magazine Point de Vue pub-

2 1 2 3 4 4 5 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

The decision to abandon the According to the official sources, some National Committee is an effective and 16 are involved. They describe, for answer to those who would have instance, the activities of a boy of 14, wished to see the Italian Anarchist known as the "general" because of the movement more centralized and more American army cap he wears, who plays meant, of course, that the National of young girls at night. During 1946, Committee should issue orders and 27,809 children were arrested on the the groups should obey. But fortun- public highways for vagrancy, begging ately the Fascist and Communist of war experienced by starving Naples. and prostitution. Such are the ravages

conceptions of discipline have not As a contrast to this tragedy-which,

no radical measures, one learns that this same Government, on April 29th, ordered the suppression of D. L. Lawrence's Ladv Chatterley's Lover, published by Italy's the grounds that the book was considered and order and a presumption of justice." It's a question of not seeing the wood for trees!

CIVILIZATION

Three Hungarians were recently found guilty of plotting a rightist coup against tenced "to a hanging à la Hongroise" to quote from Time (28/4/47). In this prothe condemned man stands on a stool before a high post topped by a hook. A

LIBERTARIAN.

THROUGHOUT the centuries the slogan of "Liberty" has been used by various, of the Central Government at Belgrade. then deposited on the piers at Rovigno local co-operative at the usual low prices, groups and sects to gull the peoples into fighting for the aims and objectives of As they work with the secret police, they and Parenzo, where much of it still lies, the grain was then loaded on to lorries whichever group, sect, faith, nation or what-have-you, was assuming the role of the most powerful rusted and ruined. The wide-spread un- and transported to the south of the liberator at that particular time. Yet in almost every case . . . if not, in fact, in instruments of repression in the world. employment caused by this large-scale Quieto river. Now malnutrition is rife every case... the people who fought and suffered to obtain their liberty, sooner Yet more manifestations of the appli- robbery can be easily imagined. or later awoke to the fact that they had merely exchanged one set of chains for cation of the principles of Liberty are to The salt flats at S. Bortolo were of tuberculosis and an epidemic of

Marshal Josip-Broz-Tito held out Fasizmu, Sloboda Narodu" (Death to Facism, Liberty to the Peoples). This to the red banner raised by the turner's This paper was founded and directed son. From Serbia and Bulgaria, from the by Doctor Grol, one time leader of the wild hills of Montenegro, and from the Serb democrats, a man so universally ranks of the Chetniks, from the Fascist respected that for a while he was a controlled army of Italy, whole units member of the Tito government. deserted to fight against a common enemy,

The Tactics Of Liberty well. For they received their schooling at Moscow, and it's syllabus was a comism could enable them to uphold the

applying these lessons; in all essentials they remained the same tactics that Stalin had used in the early days of the Soviets. and that Hitler and Mussolini had used with great success. So the peoples of the stepped in, and the "People's Court" held Balkans have been presented with the that these statements had not been proved same liberty that the Russian proletariat by the editor, and therefore that they labours under. It is well worth while should be considered as false and alarmstudying some of the tactics for the appli- ing rumours detrimental to the interests cation of this " Liberty", and its effects of the nation. As such they violated the

The main tactic is an old acquaintance, Doctor Grol's paper. At the moment one that has appeared under a variety there are 130 papers in Jugoslavia, all of guises . . . but whatever the guise, the that sing the party tune, but there is no transfer of all weaith to the State bosses! be. In the application of this Tito copied the and conducted this transfer with a fine regard to legality every step of the way.

Blanket Legislation

The transfer of the country's commercial and industrial wealth is founded on confiscation without payment. It is all embracing, covering factories, mines, shops, stores, hotels, banks, and the all of which provides for the punishment of everyone in the country who had colgreenshirts. The other law called for the punishment of all businessmen who had made a profit from the war while their fellow citizens were out fighting the

In a country that was occupied for four years by the Italians, Germans, Hungar- early this year.) ians, and Bulgarians, every businessman who kept running was technically a col-

Tomislav Bulat, general director of the and objective data about the living con- in great want. Bata shoe factory, and eleven of his ditions of the Russian people... 5,000 pairs of shoes for the German war. Seven million people, mostly in the ration cards, but at many times higher and special shops for buying their goods. roomed flat with kitchen costs only 85

Savings Bank were tried for having given lowered the standard of living, already low roubles, a kilo of butter 200 roubles, and a railway ticket banking facilities to the Pavelich regime. before the war, of the hard-tested Russian kilo of meat 70 to 90 roubles, a kilo food in addition to the meagre rations. for a long journey is not expensive. But Two directors were sentenced to death, people. Reconstruction work, which is of sugar 60 roubles, toilet soap 40 to 50 For these salaries they can afford Soviet to make a railway journey one has to get two to twenty years hard labour and the being pursued by drastic means, suffers roubles a piece. These are, according to luxury goods: a chocolate cake The bank and several affiliates were

Freedom Of The Press title. The way that this is used to sup-

THE THREE MUSKETEERS-7

fighting men, and women, of the Balkans the case of the paper called Democracy. Quieto River . . . now occupied by the Titoites removed the pumps, this was too declared a crop of 500 hectolitres of olive as the end of their period of occupation valuable pumping machinery. draws near the Titoites are ruthlessly Then the workers of Padena repelled the oil to Jugoslavia.

In his paper Grol criticised the govern-Further Manifestations Of

plundering the whole zone.

creasingly alarmed at the activities of the secret police, and at the arbitrary excesses At Capodistria, the "Liberators" have creasingly unpopular because it failed to have been estimated at 83 million solve the country's problems and because In the same town, the "Dephanger" dockvards have fost tools and machinery out for rallies to glorify the cause of all valued at over 12 million lire. Another their troubles. (The N.L.F. embrace society, the "C.G. Libertas" lost its plant and materials, and like the other and serves as a facade behind which Tito yards mentioned above, has had to close and his communists rule just as they

Then one of the "Public Accusers" were looted, the benches, tables, desks, loot. wash basins, cupboards and other furnipress law, and that was the end of ture were removed. Then the Hospital

. . opposition paper, nor is there likely to Another institution that plays an ever From Isola D'Istria comes the news as private property to party members, of these people have voluntarily chosen increasingly important part in the lives of of the economic ruin caused by the con- who have never done any farm work in the road into exile, which means that all the people is that of the "Public fiscation of the plant, machinery and their lives. Accusers". These officials superintend fishing fleet from the "Ampelea" and But the old peasants are finding out house is confiscated by the State, and sold the observance of the law by all citizens, "Arrigoni" fish canning and conservation that crop raising in this new state of by auction. and the fulfilment of their duties by all plants. The accusation used to legalise Liberty is not such a profitable game, for Is it then to be wondered at that the administrative officials. They have the the the the treatment one of "collabor- one spends months growing and harvest- people have re-written the slogan of authority to start civil or criminal action ation". Most of the machines were dis- ing food and then starve for the lack "Death to Fascism, Liberty to the in any court, and to intervene on behalf mantled by the use of picks and sledge- of it.

ularly in the area to the north of the salt into the magazines. But when the among children. At Rovigno the peasants Tito forces but soon to be incorporated much for the workers, and their deter- oil . . . the mainstay of the Italian diet . . .

be found in the Julian March . . . partic- stripped of the cranes used to load the inflamation of the pulmonary glands

"Selveg" works.

Militant Action By The

Workers peasant farmers, and their women, pur- munists developing a few marxist sued them along the road, and took back contradictions themselves? the threshing machine which they then

The material looted was deposited at The news travelled round fast, and applied for permission to leave the Fiume . . . and as it was left in the open when the authorities made an attempt to country. At Rovigno 1500, at Pisino it can now be written off as a dead loss, confiscate the pumps and hydraulic 1600, at Parenzo 1500, to quote three thanks to the action of the inclement equipment of the Boniface di Quieto, they examples from the long list that lays on were met by the determined resistance of the table before me. But if this per-On Feb. 12th, the elementary schools the workrs and had to retire, minus the mission is eventually granted to them,

was stripped, even the doors, electric The new decree that says "the land stoves, coal and electric stoves, pianolight fittings, the metal signs that marked must belong to those that till it" is not fortes or other musical instruments. the wards and departments and the floor quite what the phrase conveys. For most Before they leave they must also pay the of the confiscated land has been handed entire taxes for the current year. Many

of the State in any civil or criminal hammers, ruining most of the machinery. At Cittanova, for example, the peasants People, Liberty to the Robbers"? action. They are directed by an official The major part of this equipment was were forced to sell their grain to the

co-operative. The co-ops then shipped

three attempts made by Titoites to re- So we have people suffering from malmove the electrical transformers from the nutrition following an exceptionally abundant harvest . . . workers desiring to work having the tools and machinery footed, children unable to go to school, and the sick unable to go to hospital. Yet the communists swear that these are

drew back in triumph to the fields. The This, then, is the "Liberty" that the next day they decided that only militant communists have presented to the peoples, action was of any use, so once again and already the people are showing their they went out en masse, and recaptured opinion of it. For not only have the a tractor that had been confiscated a few workers begun to take militant action, but also hundreds of workers have already they will not be allowed to take with them the following articles, bicycles, wireless sets, binoculars, cloth, food, cigarettes, typewriters, sewing machines, gas their property and furniture, land and

Peoples" and substituted "Death to the

Paborated with the Nazi and Fascist invaders, or with the short-lived and ill-famed independent state of Croatia run by Ante Pavelich and his murderous

from the Swiss social-democratic paper, food situation has therefore not improved occupied in all branches of industrial life, times as much. Half a bottle of cognac Basler Arbeiter Zeitung. It gives im- since the end of the war. portant factual evidence of the actual standard of living of the Russian people

Stockholm, February, 1947.

100,000 pairs of rubber boots and wounds it received in the four years of food and other goods for daily use without the 16 republics have even larger incomes to 1.25 roubles. For instance, a twoarmy. The plant was confiscated.

prime of life, died or were killed during prices. In these "gastronomic" under- These are the people who can afford the roubles a month. Fares are also cheap: The directors of the First Croat these gruesome years. This period has takings a kilo of white bread costs 30 high prices in the commercial under- a tram journey in the overcrowded cars from lack of labour, and makes little proeconomy received a heavy blow from last the Russian people these prices of the 450 roubles, a pair of good boots with to stand in a long queue. The workers' worst for many years and, according to in the commercial shops are therefore only a wireless for 3,000 roubles and a suit for of the large factories cost 3.50 to 4 roubles. the Russian reports, can be compared to available for high income groups of the 3,500 roubles. It is these high earners For a child in a kindergarten one has to of hunger. This harvest is supposed to The salaries in the Soviet Union also the Hotels Metropole, National and the food. Nursing is yet the lack of foodstuffs is great. Bread two groups of inhabitants in Russia. The Swedish journalists report that The number of doctors is insufficient, and creased considerably. But bread is still most women are forced to take part in roubles. But those who order stronger

of Saint Marino was visited, the place

Two Standards Of Life

After the conclusion of the Swedish- pletely different systems of food sale and worker's family can only buy the rationed The people of the better situated upper Russian trade agreement, five journalists prices. The rationed goods consist of goods. It has to be content with the mini- strata have even the possibility, with a if the new "People's Courts", who dis- from Stockholm newspapers had the rare those products which are absolutely opportunity to spend 19 days in Russia essential to life. These can be obtained slavia, so decree. Every worker who and to study on the spot the life of the at fixed and "comparatively" payable worked, every peasant who grew crops Russian people. Among them were two prices in the ration depots. So bread costs was, technically speaking a collaborator, social-democrats, the chief editor of the from 1 to 2.80 rouble a kilo (2.2 English for no attention is paid to the fact that if main organ of Swiss social-democracy, pounds), meat 34 roubles a kilo, fats 36 to tants, who have a high income, that is six per cent. interest. All this means the peasant did not grow crops he and Morgon-Tidningen, G. Elfving, and 60 roubles a kilo, 2.60 a piece of ordinary to say, they receive between 2,000 and that in the Soviet Union a wide differhis family would starve to death, and if Y. Lungberg, the foreign editor of the soap. These prices are high, when one 10,000 roubles a month. These are the entiation in the prosperity of different a workman refused to work when ordered trade-unionist evening paper, Afton- considers that the rouble, according to the higher civil servants, artists, scientists, classes has developed. to or a businesssman refused to run his Tidningen. Although foreigners who do official exchange, is 1/6. Besides, the and generals, as well as the élite workers plant the way he was ordered to, then not speak Russian can only make general quantity of these rationed goods is very (the stakhanovites), who surpass their he would be shot out of hand, for the observations during such a short stay- limited, and the fixed amounts are often given amount of work and are paid coninvaders did not use any kid glove even if they can move about freely, the not available. The great mass of the siderably more than ordinary workers. Swedish journalists were nevertheless Russian workers and employees, who have Some of them receive up to 20,000 roubles Leningrad and other large towns is sup-In one of the confiscation cases, successful in collecting much important to live on rationed goods, find themselves monthly. The highest chiefs of party, posed to be great, the overcrowding of

executives were accused of having made The Soviet is healing the dreadful mercial" undertakings, where one can buy ministers, marshals, etc.) in Moscow and Western European conceptions, purely roubles, which in Switzerland costs nine- price of a theatre ticket varies between 2 gress at present. In addition, the Russian fantastic prices. For the wide masses of pence, a tie for 50 roubles, a blouse for and 25 rouble, but to obtain it one has year's bad harvest. It was one of the "free" market are unpayable. The goods leather soles and felt for 2,000 roubles, meals (soup with bread) in the canteens

correspond to the two price systems and Aurora, and other better places in Moscow. medicines the full price has to be paid. rationing could not be abolished during great majority of workers earn approx- a modest meal in the Moscow res- they can hardly be obtained for house

In the Soviet Union exist two com- 600 or 650 roubles a month. Such a has to pay approximately 1,000 roubles.

state and army (members of the Central On the other hand, there exist "com- Committee of the Party, ministers, vicewho overcrowd the numerous restaurants,

(The following article is reproduced the main diet of the Russian people. The the wage earning. Soviet women are drinks have to pay three or four even in the heaviest branches, such as costs about 250 roubles. This is the building work. Even the youngest mem- equivalent of a month's wages for a bers of the family work. So the average simple Russian worker. For a somewhat income of a working family amounts to ampler evening meal for two people one mum for existence, which is low indeed. certain economy, to buy a car or rent a piece of land to build themselves a villa. This will be inherited by their children. And such a man can put his money into But there is another group of inhabi- a bank, which will give him from four to

The Housing Shortage

The housing shortage in Moscow,

In their external appearance Moscow and Leningrad leave a dark, cold and unfriendly impression. Illumination is sparse, no electric advertisements, no decorated shop windows. The trams, continually overcrowded. Often long queues of people stand waiting to buy food, or cinema or theatre tickets. People sackcloth gloves and felt shoes. The Soviet citizens work much and hard. Their facial expression is very severe, and mostly sad. Russian everyday life in the

It is therefore understandable, according to the Swedish reports, that the Soviet people are tired of war. They want peace, more food, new clothes, better shoes, their own homes and a generally higher standard of prosperity.

OFF TO GERMANY

"Travel in comfort"

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

post war years is drab.

NEW LIFE TO THE LAND RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY HOMES OR HOVELS? ANARCHISM AND MORALITY WHAT IS ANARCHISM? Peter Kropotkin. SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS (Chosen by Herbert Read) 8/6 Errico Malatesta: ANARCHY VOTE WHAT FOR? Herbert Read: THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM 1/4 THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN 1/ William Godwin: SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL THE KRONDSTADT REVOLT M. L. Berneri: WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA IA C. Berneri: KROPOTKIN-HIS FEDERALIST Alexander Berkman: A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM John Hewetson: ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI ILL-HEALTH, POVERTY AND THE Cloth 2/6, Paper 1/-MUTUAL AID & SOCIAL

THE LIFE WE LIVE, THE DEATH GENERAL IDEA OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE 19th CENTURY Cloth 5/-F. A. Ridley: AND THE MODERN AGE THE STRUGGLE IN THE FACTORY 36. THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT

EVOLUTION

COLLECTIVES IN SPAIN

THE MARCH TO DEATH

Gaston Leval:

John Olday:

(Continued from page 2)

THE FRENCH COOKS SYNDICATE 3d.

Poetry and the People

folk poetry, which formed so rich an gained by praising bad verse because it i element in the lives of the mediaeval pea- popular—one might just as well praise the sants and which survived as an important yellow press because it has a wide circuart until the end of the eighteenth cen- lation. The nineteenth century ballads, limerick are its only miserable and adul- out in the plague of the industria terated survivors? Why has the main revolution. stream of poetry swerved away from Nor is it any use, as Mr. Richmond ANARCHY OR CHAOS 2/6, Cloth 4/6 popular feeling and become dispersed in does, calling for an effort on the part 6d. the tiny streams and trickles of an indi- poets to reunite themselves to popular vidual art that becomes steadily more private and esoterice Why is it that even when there appears a poet who is consallow them to do so. cious of social factors and who tries to The real situation is that neither the

All these questions are important. For poetry they are important because, if we could answer them we should be able to say why the poet has jost those necessary roots in popular life which made a man like Lorca so much greater and fuller a poet than his English or American contemporaries. For the people they are important, because if we could answer them to a richer communal and individual life themselves moved to a natural poetic exwhich they have lost.

is because he has no adequate knowledge or social movements that Mr. Kichmond's book fails so signally to live up to the hopes engendered by its title and the publisher's blurb.

Mr. Richmond has a vast and uncritical enthusiasm for folk poetry. For him it is the real thing, and with the lew exceptions of Shakespeare, Burns, Clare, etc., he throws overboard lock, stock and barrel, the whole of English poetry since

the people. Nor is there anything to be

reach the people, ne finds the gulf already poet nor the people are to blame if they bringing poetry back to popular cons- living in a society where human contacts



pression which their ancestors had but have been broken down, and can only take porting presence from which man draws place on either a limited or a superficial his power, and with which he must establevel. A centralised society does not pro- lish connection before he can attain any But such matters can only be ap- vide the local centres of integration where | worthwhile development. This lack of proached thoroughly by a consideration of a vital popular culture can arise. Con- reliance on man himself makes him, after Under our present society this is all that can be expected, and no amount of self- body is a temple of the Holy Ghost, that conscious efforts can change it.

Pope, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, cultures will be able to find their own to suggest that all this latest little book is Byron-all to be discarded because they centres of development and their real of this character. There is must sound departed from the tradition of popular roots among the people. The industrial perception in the relationship between war writing. On the other hand, the really revolution, with its breaking down of local and the centralised state, and Huxley inferior verses of the Seven Dials ballad communities, destroyed popular culture in points quite acutely to the way in which are to be approved, not because of their the circumstances for a new popular ence to preserve a state of permanent war, quality, but because they sold in millions. culture to arise. And that change can when even the intervals between open Such lapses from literary judgment just come only through a changeover from the hostilities are characterised by war-

Aldous Huxley on Decentralisation

SCIENCE, LIBERTY AND PEACE by ALDOUS HUXLEY. (Chatto & Windus,

is always something to be anticipated with government, and fails to see that only hope, and to be put down with disappoint- a total abolition of government will prement. I am not, of course, talking of his vent a gradual return to larger centralised earlier works, since I continue to read units of political power. Nor does he show his failure to grasp any positive evidently envisages the possibility of largerecent books that his peculiar lack of purpose has become most evident.

some positive direction. Nothing could be is too disillusioned to admit that only a more earnest than his attempt to give pacivism a sound philosophical and social basis in Ends and Means. But he failed the means of production on which power in this from apparent inability to grasp is based. concrete social realities or to feel, in spite of his distrust for politicians, any real

cluding the abolition of war, that leads Huxley into his rather ersatz mysticism. He distrusts the human personality in itself, and has to set up some vague supdetailing man's elementary needs, talk of his ". . . spiritual need-the need, in theological language, to achieve his Final End, which is the unitive knowledge of ultimate Reality, the realization that Atman and Brahman are one, that the Tao or the Logos is at once transcendent We shall only have a real popular and immanent." What a strange jumble culture—and therefore a real re-integra- of abstractions torn from their contexts tion of poetry with the people, when in mystic literature to intrude into a book on concrete social problems!

ation of free co-operative communes, where But it would be very unjust to Huxley England. Only a change back to the governing classes of the various states humanised social relationships can give find it necessary for their continued exist-

His main solution to this problem is decentralisation—the breaking down of administration and industry into localised self-governing units. But his decentralisation is hardly anarchistic, since he seems The latest production of Aldous Huxley to envisage at least some measure of legislation, which means the impossible task of trying to persuade our present class can bring any fundamental social change, because only the workers can hold

> This is a well-meant book, but it contains little that Huxley has not already said, and says almost nothing new on the subject of radical social change. Huxley

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maladaptations and of most aggressive impulses But obviously the problem is not entirely an affair of the individual: there are two terms to the process of integration, and most maladjusted individuals adjustment. And any psychologist who has worked outside his consulting-room is bound to admit the justice of this complaint. From the family to the state, the group in modern society is a flabby, inchoate, uneasy organism, and until we have discovered what is wrong with these organisms, we shall fail to effect any widespread readjustment of

field has already been done by a group of American "The Biology of Human Conflict" and "The Social Basis of Consciousness", that a new level of psychological research has been reached and that it has a direct bearing on the problems of social organisation. I believe myself that the conclusions will be a direct and powerful vindication of the political philosophy of anarchism. I am prepared to admit that other psychological theories, particularly those of Wilhelm Reich, are equally relevant. I am not insisting that any particular system of psychology should be adopted by anarchists: I am only suggesting that psychology has a direct bearing on all social issues, and that our political philosop must be grounded in psychological truth.

When we have got hold of the right principles can be done by some kind of revolutionary coup "ethics" and "morality" and fear that they may be Finally, we have to develop and give a more immediate aim is resistance to military conscription, d'etat is really very childish. You cannot readjust a cloak under which some escapist form of religious perfect expression to our philosophy of freedom. and the preparation of some co-ordinated policy of individuals to society, or society to individuals, by mysticism would be gradually introduced. But that it universal resistance to all forms of military action, purely external measures of control. The necessary is really a very narrow-minded and timorous atti- is firmly based on empirical evidence—on the wherever and for whatever reason used. That changes are not so much political as biological— tude. You have only to consider the psychological evidence of the universe, on aim alone is sufficient to absorb the energies of all not structural, but organismic. The only way a make-up of the human-being, and to compare the evidence of biology and history. But we have those comrades whose temperaments are extrabiological or organismic change can be induced is this structure with the normal methods of edu- to give systematic order to that evidence, and elo- verted and energetic. But however much we beby training or education. The word revolution cation, to realize that fundamental concepts which come engaged in such revolutionate activities do should largely disappear from our propaganda, to elements of the human psyche are either completely arise from the evidence. We shall find some sup- not let us forget that the real revolution is infernal, be replaced by the word education. It is only in ignored, or ruthlessly suppressed, by present port in ancient philosophy—in Indian, Chinese and that the most effective action is molecular, and that so far as we liberate the growing shoots of man- practices in the schools. Everything personal, every- Greek philosophy; but virtually we have to build only in so far as we change the actual disposition kind, shoots not yet stunted or distorted by an thing which is the expression of individual per- on new foundations—the scientific foundations—the scientific foundations—the scientific foundations of men do we guarantee the enduring success of the

Anarchism: Past & Future

expect to make any enduring change in society. ordinated to some conception of normality, defeats a revolution, but the forces coming up from disciplines of harmony and of art. The end of moral

in a given situation-I shall discuss revolutionary is the only means we have of securing such fund amental changes in the whole social group.

About the type of education likely to bring about such fundamental changes, there may be legitimate differences of opinion. I have my own ideas about it which I call "education through art", and I have given a summary of them in the Freedom Press pamphlet called "The Education of Free Men. In general, what is necessary is some form of moral or ethical education. The declining influence of the churches has left an enormous gap in the process of education. The education given in primary and colleges, is an almost exclusively intellectual edugrowing child, but neglects the emotions and

Some of you may look askance at words like

unity-a unity in love. But it does not grow withinstincts, so society is hell let loose when it one vast neurosis due to social inequalities and social distintegration. Moral education is simply education for social unity, and as such it hardly exists to-day. But it is the only guarantee of the ution. It is for this reason that towards the end the subject of ethics. He lived to publish only the first part of his work, which was a clearing made in the tangle which has grown up round the subject. But he intended to build in the clearing he had made, and was working on a I always hope that this last work of his may have survived, and will in some happier time be published. But we cannot wait for that chance. We have to go on from the point where Kropotkin left off, and give to the world a conception of morality or ethics which is an expression of our

environment of hatred and injustice, that we can ceptions and feelings, is either neglected, or sub- which I have already described.

The Humane Revolution

What I have outlined is a coherent plan of research and work—a sevenfold system of study and creative activity, leading step by step from the facts as we find them in history and existing societies, through the basic facts of human psychology and social economy, to the methods of education and the philosophical formulation of our ideals. Perhaps it sounds all too systematic to the rigid structure of a universal philosophy on the lines of Comte or Herbert Spencer. Humanity is diverse; evolution is creative. A philosophy of freedom is a philosophy which allows for growth, for variation, for the possibility of new dimensions How does this programme which I have sketched Burrow, but until the final results of their research the human being, and education in its widest sense harmony, on ignorant suppression of natural vious conceptions of anarchism? Well, obviously, it is less political. I will not admit for a moment it is less revolutionary. But the revolution envisaged is a humane one, and not a political mental and emotional attitudes of men, the rest follows. This is fundamental anarchism—anarchist fundamentalism. It discards for ever the romantic conception of anarchism-conspiracy, assassination, citizen armies, the barricades. All that kind of futile agitation has long been obsolete: but it was finally blown into oblivion by the atomic bomb. The power of the state, of our enemy, is now absolute. We cannot struggle against it on the plane of force, on the material plane. Our action must be piece-meal, non-violent, insidious and But this does not mean that we should retire to

some sort of monastic life and lead a purely spiritual existence. On the contrary, we must study various forms of non-violent action, and above all the strategy and tactics of the strike weapon. Passive resistance to all forms of injustice must be

May 17th, 1947.

TO START AN ARGUMENT-

IS THE PRESS SO SACRED?

Some time ago, Oswald Mosley brought exerted a censorship on Mosley's publi- was worth printing. Papermak an action against employees of W. H. cation? Censorship implies a positive printers and distributors are simply not Smiths', wholesale distributors. These action of restraint and inhibition, and the going to waste their energies on what they men had effectively prevented the distri- meaning of the word clearly cannot em- consider to be trash when they can embution by Smiths' of one of Mosley's brace acts of non-cooperation. When a ploy their time more usefully, if they publications, by threatening to strike publication is censored, it means that are free from economic and political corather than handle it. The reaction of the material will never reach the public ercion. We may therefore deduce that most people to this incident was one of because of its actual suppression by there will be less freedom of the press mildiv cynical amusement, that such a force. This is very different from a mere for some writers with the advent of a man as Mosley, whose fascist aims in- withdrawal of assistance to it. If dis- free society; many writers whose outvolve a complete censorship of opinion, tributors refuse to handle a periodical, pourings are read by millions to-day, will this incident, however, which is some- other means of distributing their matter, revolution. If this may seem a re-

particular case, moreover, there seems to they acted with some satisfaction. be some indication that the workers in question were actually inspired in their action by a political organization as hostile to freedom of expression as is Mosley's, and the incident was one of

If both of these organizations were to their ailotted tasks are fulfilled. dom of the press from all censorship.

What is Censorship?

the exact nature of censorship. Can the whether a sufficiently large number of his workers in Smiths' truly be said to have fellows agreed that what he had to say

DIRECT (COURT) ACTION

a new draft Statute to regulate the status

FREE AND EQUAL

lynching, says B.U.P.

Italy has had a strike of magistrates.

The whole magistrature is indignant about

the publishers cannot truthfully complain be reduced to the use of a hand-press if There is a deeper issue involved in of censorship; it is open to them to find they wish to achieve publicity after the what disturbing to many thinking people It would be a matter of censorship only actionary prediction to some, let them who value the freedom of expression of if some outside agancy (such as the State) reflect that no one has the right to comopinion. The sanction might equally were to physically prevent publication mand the service of the common well have been applied by fascist-minded by smashing the press or by intimidating machinery of production merely to inflate workers against publications of a liber- those engaged on its production and dis- his ego by the million-fold printing of his garian trend. It may be argued that tribution. The only element of censor- opinions. And, what is more to the although Mosley's opinions are utterly ship which might exist in the Mosley point, his fellow men simply will not obnoxious, he has the right to express case, is if the workers in question were stand for it. them, and the action of the workers in actually intimidated by some organization reading Mosley's point of view. In this that no such intimidation existed, and

Individual Will

addressees, and threw them back at the P.O. clerk, remarking that he was damned and commercially managed, be regarded if he would assist in furthering anarchist as a public utility through which all ideas, we might deplore his prejudices literature may be distributed without any but the spirit of his action would be something for anarchists to applaud.

The idea that each individual worker cratically-minded people would have con- has a contract with society which he must doned the action of the anti-fascist fulfil in moral duty, is plainly absurd, as workers if they had been post office em- the worker is not in a position to choose plovees tampering with the mails in order to enter contracts freely. Workers are to sabotage the transmission of Mosley's forced to enter into certain contracts out views. Yet there is in fact, very little of sheer economic necessity or actual difference between such wholesale dis- coercion by the State, and therefore they tributors as Smiths' and the post office. have no real responsibility for seeing that

In present-day society, those with long its circulation would be seriously im- purses are in a position to spread their paired. We anarchists can easily envisage opinions far and wide, because they can

Smiths' was just a form of censorship, so that they dared not handle the Roman Catholic bookshop for refusing to (already in position) to the thumb right to their prejudices. But every insupport to whatever goes against his prejudices. No ideas of abstract "duty" can

backing of mighty financial power.

the housetops, but if others will not assist

These concerns are acknowledged to be the fingers of both hands, as if playing a partisan outfits and people grant them the piano

printers and newsvendors used their | could have been fined £50, plus three what trash was too vile to handle. Such action would be decried by some as a London. violation of the sacredness of the press, but does that sacredness rest on any other foundation than capitalist ethics? Under A.M.G. CLOSES TRIESTE Trieste, 27/4/47. rare, as workers are generally forced to act as feelingless automatons, governed by their wage-packets. Where discrimination exists it is generally against minority opinions which do not command the

In advocating freedom for the indisuch paradoxes that occur under capital-

PRICE OF A SNOOK

The thoroughness with which the law behaviour was shown by a case which was about 11 o'clock. AMG sent some VG heard in the magistrate's court at Ipswich police to occupy the University, but they the Public Order Act, 1936, for "insulting got inside, but he was hit and kicked out. was likely to be occasioned." His out hitting anyone. The University is still crime?—he cocked a snook at a police- occupied by students and no one can get so well brought up that they do not know

an-order" was dealt with comparatively lightly. The two pounds fine was by no It would be refreshing indeed if fingers playing a full-length concerto, he

UNIVERSITY

In these days Trieste is burning because Because of this the professors and students food parcels to Germany.

Bad things have happened last Wednes- Leeds.

day. As soon as they knew the order of AMG, they closed the University down. The professors went home and the students stayed inside in order to defend the building in case of an eventual attack. governs every aspect of an individual's And the assault came in the morning at were unable to achieve this. Only one behaviour whereby a breach of the peace This man fired once, but fortunately with-

For solidarity, the Universities in Italy have proclaimed a strike. AMG, in the persons of Col. Bowman and Capt. Simon have created a heavy atmosphere. For the a University has been attacked by soldiers. The first time, at Prague, the University was assaulted by Nazi SS. The second time, it is Trieste University. What

Another trouble may arise on the 1st of May. The Italian parties in order to strations should take place without national flags, Italian or Jugoslav, but national symbol of the working class. The controlled Jugoslav trade unions-EDS.] however, refused. They wanted to demonstrate with a white-red-blue flag with a horrible red star in the middle of

Freedom's Press Fund.

of many facts that I am now going to Please accept a P.O. for Freedom subtell you. Last week-for unknown scription. I really think our paper should reasons-Allied Military Government "in- be published at 3d. However, it is up vidual, we must not be deterred by many vited" the University College President to to us who are convinced that Anarchism resign. You know that every University should be available ot all to see that the in any nation is perfectly free and nobody Press Fund should always be healthy.

can interfere in its business. But AMG I intend to send my tiny share whenthe post of President of the University. of work, and of late I've been sending

Portugal had a series of dock strikes recently. Now 200 of the strike leaders Twenty-three years ago next month, a have been deported to the Cape Verde

Letters in Evening Standard, 29/4/47.

Thomas John Ley, now in the condemned cigarettes, which I had to cut from 16 a

Daily Herald, 30/4/47.

The Rev. W. Hargrave Thomas, vicar prison hospital Ronald Mander Lyelm, of Needham Market, near Ipswich, who a Swede, or is he Jack Beckitt, a recently stated that "those thousands of women for whom there is no possible Detective-Inspector Tom Coles told the chance of a husband should be able to assert their right to have a family if they "We have been trying to prove he is wish," wants to withdraw the remark

> the remark had caused many people con-Daily Mirror, 24/4/47. siderable distress, "which I deeply regret." "I am sorry that I said it," he added.

News-Chronicle, 29/4/47. Wearing a blue jumper suit, a nine- Did he receive a sharp note from the

Daily Herald, 30/4/47. of clemency. And we know the

Through the

and conditions of the local dispensers of justice, and some have advocated a general the bench and hear cases. Criminals don't

Paul Robeson claimed in New York last

escaped only because my departure was a carefully guarded secret. The city had Reynold's News, 27/4/47.

type", was given by Mr. J. J. Gracie, AID

I met men running farms from well- supplies of flour from the mills. equipped offices, with electric clocks and fluorescent lighting, with accounting machines and wall charts.

They were men whose vision, organishighest executive positions in industry." have the whole place to themselves.

want to know-who does the muck-

Grave-faced Emperor Hirohito asked General MacArthur last week to stop the

propaganda line by party secretary be found in strange places! Toshiko Abey who stunned the Tokio press with the statement that Hirohito's THE AFTERMATH ancestors were Russian immigrants.

and above mortal rule."

Speaking of his planned appearance in Some people, of course, regard Stalin propaganda to claim his relationship with "Far Eastern War Criminal

BAKERS PLAN MUTUAL

general manager of the General Electric Bakers in London and the Home Company, at the conference of the Counties are meeting this week to plan a Association of Agriculture in Birmingham mutual aid scheme, without which they like the U.S.A., T.B. comes seventh fear there will not be sufficient bread to "Instead of the typical hayseed, with go round in some districts in the next side-whiskers and a straw in his mouth, six-week period of the 5 per cent. cut in

work. The men are strictly separated bestow any such honour on Dr. Bell. seed" is not typical, but if we are told from the women, unless they have to work that farming is done with accounting together. According to statistics, working machines and fluorescent lighting we accidents are rarer among mad workers SHADES OF GOERING a madman concentrates upon work more

> easily than a normal person can and is less easily distracted. Forty-one per cent, of the newcomers last year were afterwards released as Heart." cured, and there are actually some who leave Volterra with sorrow.

They are so content with life there! In an insane world, contentment may

Twelve months ago Hirohito renounced racking cough. Its undernourished peo- mute to and from the Pentagon could the claim that his ancestor Jimu Tenno ple, though spared (thanks to UNRRA hardly miss at least three awards: the was the son of the sun goddess and private relief) from the dramatic American Theatre Campaign Ribbon, the he had done. Omi-terasu-o-mikami and all his des- pestilences that usually follow war, are cendants were "god-like, heaven-descended succumbing by thousands to the insidious

are 400 new T.B. cases and 150 deaths in

Berlin alone. The U.S. occupation zone Cavalcade, 3/5/47. has 117,983 T.B. patients. Poland, where an estimated 18,000 people, mostly youngsters, die of T.B. each

> there are only 5,000 T.B. hospital beds. Rumania, of whose 16,500,000 people, 600,000 have T.B. Yugoslavia, which at last reports had

> > well-fed Zagreb, T.B. had risen 58%. Time, (U.S.A.), 14/4/47.

To-day I was able to give Dr. G. K.

A. Bell, the Bishop of Chichester, news about a doctorate which Berlin University Italians send them to Volterra, founded pondent in Berlin tells me there is a hitch. The Soviet military administration have The community is self-supporting. Of theological faculties in the Russian zone the 2,954 men, only 934 do any kind of in which Berlin University is, not to Evening Standard, 1/5/47.

the reckless flood of U.S. decorations i World War II. Said Willie: "Just gimme a coupla aspirin. I already got a Purple By war's end most front-line troop

agreed with Willie. They had their own jeering nicknames for the even cheaper non-combat awards. The Asiatic-Pacific Theatre ribbon was the "malaria bar with atabrine clusters"; the pre-Pearl Harbour service medal was the "Lend-Lease cross." It became an overseas gag that a WAC

who had done nothing more than com-Victory Medal, the Good Conduct Ribbon. Totals ran so high that the wartime U.S. white plague of tuberculosis. Last week could not afford the metal to strike the Man enough to vote at 21; man result.

Japanese Communists, eager to oust an Associated Press survey in Europe con- medals themselves, issued ribbons instead. century, is now Europe's No. 1 killer. an already ridiculous situation more unofficial strikers—they are becoming ridiculous. It began issuing the first insane with power. We should deprive Germany, which before Hitler had one medals to match the American Defence them of their ration books. The only

deputation appeared before the Minister Islands. Well, off the coast of Scotland for Justice in New South Wales to plead we have a group of islands called the for the life of Edward Williams, a music Hebrides. teacher sentenced to death for murdering his three young children. They pleaded that it was a case of "mercy-killing" cluding you . . ." The Minster was

News of the World, 20/3/47.

problem to solve: Is a man in the local

Time (U.S.A.), 14/4/47.

Bath magistrates yesterday: an alien, and the funny thing now is that unreservedly. we have to try to prove that he is

year-old boy was sent for trial charged Bishop? with murdering Glyndwr Parfitt, aged four, of Nantybar, Glamorgan. He sobbed as he signed a document. The boy Parfitt was found dead in

eyes of the law and the accused boy was 299. just beyond that border-line age. The reply he made when charged, "I won't do it again," proved he did not realise what I otal 2,341—just over 10% of

ankles tied with shoe laces.

enough to be charged with murder

MIDDLE CLASS

of the world's lowest T.B. rates and now Service, Victory and Occupation Ribbons. way to keep them under control is to has one of the highest. Each week there Distribution would run into the millions. have a pool of unemployed to draw upon.

Said the Minister: "It is murder, and As he was chipping a granite tombstone there can be no circumstances in which in an Aberdeen yard, Willie Melville, a it can be justified." One of the deputation 60-year-old stonemason, was told by a replied: "In that case, the hangman's stranger that he had won £64,000 in a "Now I shall be able to increase my

In a statement issued vesterday he said

Mr. Alexander (Minister of Defence) seven inches of water, his hands and said number of deserters who surrendered Mr. A. Davis, defending, said children between January 22 and March 31 were: of eight were incapable of crime in the Royal Navy 378, Army 1,664, R.A.F.

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