A Contribution to the discussion on Herbert Read's Lecture

use of knowledge so gained.

origins and growth of the political entity give the answer-and the remedy-and with which social disease is intimately such an examination must commence with imply a realisation that this entity, inso- tween man and the physical universe. far as it constitutes a diminishing of freeunderlies political society; it is the basic shortage is basically connected with social is here that the scientific and consistent society, and in itself would seem to con- morality, and logically condemn political anarchist must begin and remain until forces destructive to the freedom on which by such shortages; they agree that the is not based on sound sociological premises it mainly depends. Extending division of state is instrumental in maintaining the must fail. From the Gracchi to Bakunin, labour, and consequent interdependence status quo through the inertia common to revolutionism has been superseded by its between individuals, anterior to the ap- social as to individual habit. The state antithesis; pearance of government, makes the con- first causes inequality, and then strengthens explosion of suppressed social elements ception of a progressive non-political its power by apparent palliation of the followed by totalitarianism until the lovers society quite acceptable. The point at ill-effects from what it causes. As Im- of freedom rescue social science from the which an unrecognised factor in the beneficial and necessary, the freedom of cast it. Correct sociological principle i

meetings and

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The Futility of Modern Unions Sidelights on 19th Cent. Anarchists

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Basic

suppose a scientific comprehension of the ination of social and economic law can appear; it could never arise given linked; but still more important it should the laws governing the relationship be- has dealt; it could avail no more than

The Self-Perpetuating State

Anarchists recognise that artificial itizens must use to exist. Convicts were first exported to Australia to provide slave-labour; it was soon found impossible. ordinate them. Both governed and government were conditioned by the free nature of the territory. Kropotkin, who insisted of central and eastern Asia and the congressive society starts with communally be that of society.

Social Relationships Are

resources—with which question Ricardo winds and tides against the destinies of

action which both causes and is sustained it is understood. Social revolution which

"Nothing is so terrible as active C. S. CRAIG.

A MILITANT CREW

refused to sail with coal from the U.S.A to Singapore because of the coal shortage

on mutual aid are not so much experi- strike against their captain, saying that mental as aboriginal. The sociological he has "exceeded his authority". They if, as Kropotkin asserts, "society is anterior placed picket signs on board and refused the opposite matches could be loaded.

L.P. Supports Conscription

labour movement grew up shows that a "mass-party" every year. they will not have much difficulty in other directions either.

ternal structure of the Labour Party is federal basis. This "democratic" con-From Seattle, Washington, now comes | trol was never a very real thing, but another report that they have declared a | it is now disappearing altogether. The system of affiliations has been given up -largely because such a system allowed bases of freedom are ultimate principles; have not only refused to work, but have full play to the penetration of Communist Party sections. But the struggle to man" then man's basic science should to allow a tug to turn the vessel so that against Stalinist borers-from-within has greatly strengthened the hand of the

party leaders because it has meant increased centralization. The result is of the party manages to persuade the that the working class rank and file have rank and file to drop one of the most less and less control over the direction fundamental principles on which the of the party, which is becoming more of

There is no need to harbour any illusions that the present-day Labour Party has "betrayed" the principles of "socialism". The reformist labour movement in this country (and elsewhere) has followed the path of gradualist reform through parliamentary methods. This inevitably involved the conversion of the rank and file into vesmen. What we are seeing to-day is simply the culmination of the process, and it would be absurd to shed tears over a theoretical development which has been inevitable for fifty years.

like the Tories would be unable to

Bury: P.H.M .: Horley: B.G. 2/6: Gt.

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Letter From Germany p. 4 Police Brutality - - p. 4

"Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends-Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness—it is the right of the people to alter, or abolish it."

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Volume 8 No. 11

31st May, 1947

14296

sition vote from within the Labour

Decision is Milestone in Socialist Decay

their own—that would have

seemed, and rightly seemed, the

grossest hypocrisy to the fathers

INEFFECTIVE OPPOSITION

The supporters of the anti-conscription

resolution had all the arguments on their

side. The present Labour leaders de-

of the Labour movement.

The Labour Conference at Margate opened with a debate on no popular mandate for it: and when Conscription. Victor Yates (Ladywood Labour Party) moved a resolution stating that "This conference expresses its strongest disapproval of military conscription and urges the Government to abandon this policy as soon as practicable." The conference, however, supported the Government, and defeated the resolution by 2,332,000 votes to 571,000—more than a three-quarters majority.

This decision may be taken as Internationale" at their rallies, milestone in the progressive definitely parliamentary methods and set out to build a mass political party in competition with the Tory and Liberal Parties. Hence it is not altogether surprising that the degeneration of socialist principles to which this policy committed them more than fifty years ago should become flagrantly apparent at a time when the goal of in their election programme, and so had political power has been fully

reached. in Reynolds News, Herbert think to-day of the great Socialist pioneers of the 1880's and the THE three months before the harvest is that though the food situation has been remnants of decency and order that remain 1890's. What would they have they may have thought about effect of the food shortage which were clothing and household goods which are On 19th May, it was announced that some of the achievements of the fully confirmed by the autumn. Now the in short supply—yet this failure is not the stocks of grain and imports due in the Labour Government, there can same shortage threatens. Collections from main factor. The Committee states that next few weeks "Will not permit full disbe no reasonable doubt that they

Prior to the war of 1914. anarchists and socialists (with Society, who supported the falling off in efficiency of distribution and ration has been halved and the normal con- unable to work for lack of food-it is "civilizing mission" of the Boer | control in general" (H. D. Walston, sumer ration has in consequence fallen hard to imagine a more brutally cynical clashes, between police and "guerilla" War—just as the Fabian Bernard | recently Director of Agriculture, British from the official 1,550 to around 1,000— declaration. Shaw supports Mussolini's civil-"brotherhood of man", the "common interests of the working class the world over", to sing the | France and the United States) points out

seem to be prompted by strong political

opinion. He has consistently refused to

recognise the trade unions within his

Party of any measure proposed by the party leaders. Rhys Davies declared that the Tories or the Liberals would never have been able to bring in peacetime conscription. "Conscription to me," he said, "is just legalized slavery. Conscription is a foul thing." Laski, replying for the Government, and then to support preparations for workers to fight each other in the cause of class interests not

was apologetic, declaring that "it was a hard thing to ask a movement in which pacifism was so deeply rooted to vote against a resolution opposing conscripmilitarist tradition of the socialist movement, "But," Laski continued, "the Socialists have got to recognize that the position to defend it." The old socialist position was that the workers should be free and therefore themselves in a position to defend a social order which they had a stake. At the moment of writing, the

has faced the conference. But the (Continued on page 8)

In Franco's Spain Bilbao Strike Reprisals

HE strike of 50,000 workers at Bilbao, reported in the last issue of Freedom, is an indication that despite formidable repression the Franco regime in Spain faces considerable opposition. Franco's spokesmen promised that there would be no reprisals for the strike, but since the men have gone back here have been hundreds of arrests in Bilbao.

The Spanish government has been carrying out a renewed campaign of terror for many months now. It is not possible to draw precise conclusions rom the Bilbao strike, but it is not impossible that the workers came out because they knew what sort of reprisals would be taken against the 14,000 workers who had absented themselves from work on May Day-they were missed and ordered to re-apply individually for jobs. This may be taken to mean that they were to be ruthlessly screened.

been reporting death sentences on members crossed the Pyrenees and were captured of the CNT and the FAI (The Anarchist after a struggle with frontier guards. Syndicalist and Anarchist organizations Many more legal murders have been carin Spain). Recently, much agitation has movement, usually after the application of been carried on to get repealed the death tortures in the police headquarters. These sentences passed on two CNT militants, underground militants are charged with

The anarchist press in all countries has Amador Franco and Antonio Lopez, who now carrying on an underground existence ried out on members of the underground

Police Raid Illegal Press

In Barcelona, the police discovered and raided the press of a clandestine paper, got in are critical months for the worsened by the failure of the farmers to in Germany will disappear." Ruta, of the Libertarian Youth. All the Official Irresponsibility comrades connected with the paper have been arrested. It is reported that as a reprisal, a number of anarchists conducted a raid on the Falangist headquarters in Barcelona. Arriving in lorries, they loaded office equipment, arms, ammunition and typewriters into the lorries and disappeared. This raid is said to have made a great impression in Barcelona. It may the German people to "stop grumbling have provided the reason why Franco cancelled a public visit he was to have

These instances show that the Bilbao to secure. The problem of supplying There is an understandable tendency on A manifesto of the CNT (the illegal anar-Germany is not a Zonal responsibility but our part to buy in the sterling area, even | chist syndicalist National Confederation consisting of representatives from Britain, one involving the world-wide allocation though the cost per calory may be greater of Labour) dated April 1st and reported than if dollar purchases were made. by the International Working Men's This problem is accentuated when a com- Association (IWMA) Press Service, demodity is offered of which we have a sur- tails these arrests over the three months plus at home—for instance, fish. The December 1946 to March 1947, and sums tons of American wheat, corn Americans on the other hand prefer to them up as follows: "In the course of across the buy maize and potatoes; these products | three months, more than 1,200 militants Atlantic at top speed to German ports. not only yield the greatest number of of the CNT have been arrested, im-"President Truman has given personal calories for every dollar spent but might prisoned, and tortured. Their only crime

> In Freedom we have drawn attention to the complacent attitude towards Franco's regime which has been adopted by the Labour Government—at least as far as action goes, for we are not impressed by mere words. In particular, we

(Continued on page 4)

DOM regularly by sending your renewal without delay!

WHERE ARE RUSSIA'S P. o. W.s?

Wednesday, 21st May, Mr. R. R. at the Moscow Conference. approximately 2,000,000—would be the Soviet Army? repatriated from each of the Allied countries by December 31st, 1948, as there was some surprise at the lowness arranged at Moscow, and what had of the figure given by the Russian happened to the balance of approx- Government in view of their great imately 2,500,000, of whom no men-victories in the war.

tion was made in the Moscow report. Mr. C. P. Mayhew (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) replied that no figures were specified in those decisions, but the figures of prisoners held which were tabled at Moscow were; France 631,483; United States 15,003; Soviet Russia 890,532; and United Kingdom 435,295. He was not aware of any well-established set

of figures with which to compare those

army were something like war criminals. prudently put the figure at 60,000."

thirty miles west of Vienna. The bassador in Moscow was informed by past twenty-five years reflects the increas- F.C.D. 1/8; Brondesbury: T.B. 3/-: Arizona: Socialists are using this incident to the Soviet authorities that the total counteract Communist propaganda about number of Italians to be repatriated temporary living. For with wars and the £7/0/0; London: E.G. 1/6. police at recent Communist-inspired the Soviet Ambassador in Rome told any degree of stability and mental content demonstrations in Vienna. It is significant that it took ten days for the news of cant that it took ten days for the news of was 21,193 and that 160 had died ill-health has its roots in social rather miles to Vienna.

Foreign Secretary how many of the pened to the other 2,500,000. Had now seems that there are no more to German prisoners of war-totalling they died of starvation or enlisted in come.

This unsatisfactory position equally ands. The Manchester Guardian's Rome correspondent reported on May 9th, that the statement made by the Italian War Office that no more Italian prisoners of war could be expected to return from Russia and that for the purposes of pensions, &c., those who had not returned must now be considered missing, caused great

distress in Italy. had said, in a May Day address, that the number of Italian prisoners of upon men who were between 25 and 45

was about 19,000. Two months later threat of wars, unemployment and slumps,

Would it be straining "Anglo-Russian friendship" to ask quite bluntly what has happened to these missing millions? Are they working as slave labour? Have they died of starvation? Have they died as a result of epidemics? Or have they been exterminated à la Nazi?

Registrar-General's Statistical Review of conventional sexual morality. Dewhich are associated with worry) rose membership. dramatically in 1939 compared with the period 1921-30. The death rates from Mussolini sent an expeditionary these causes in the age groups 45-50, 50-55, and 55-60 rose by 130, 157, and ACCORDING to Vienna's Socialist According to Il Tempo, 20,000 of the 137 per cent. respectively for men and newspaper to-day, two men were men died during the retreat of 1943. these figures, the Lancet (17/5/47) rekilled on May 1, when Russian soldiers The paper states: "Eighty thousand marks: "It is perhaps significant that

In the House of Commons on announced by the four Governments 12,514 Italians have returned from Russia to Italy and a list of the 160 Stokes (Lab.—Ipswich) asked the Mr. Stokes asked what had hap- who died has not been sent here. It achieve.

"Anxiety" Diseases On The

In October, 1945, the Italian Am- the above and stomach ulcers) during the during detention. To May 1st only than specifically pathological conditions.

What is important, however, is the fact that the party in which a very large fraction of workers believe, and which they regard as "their" party, has now become a highly flexible political machine capable of using the very faith of the workers as a means to put through anti-socialist measures which more openly reactionary political parties

And the control of the Executive over the party has largely been achieved by building up a structure of officials whose livelihood and petty standards of life depend on putting over the decisions from above on the rank and file. The labour movement to-day is one of the most completely bureaucratic structures in the country; and it has all the features of bureaucracy-corrupt and slavish obedience on the part of the officials to the leaders, and complete obliteration of responsibility on the part of the working class members of the party, the voters who provide the electoral power of the party, but receive no benefit themselves-in a word, the suckers. In short the Labour Party to-day illustrates two aspects of the general drift towards totalitarianism: teresting, if less publicized, than the decay | increased centralization of power in the hands of the leaders, and decreased generative diseases of the heart many of responsibility on the part of the

PRESS FUND:

a Communist university professor after he was the figure published in Russia as these excessive rates weigh most heavily Yarmouth: L.F.B. 4/-; Merriott: M.W. 4/-; Austrians who had served in the German war there. Nevertheless, officially we years of age during the war of 1914-18." Tamworth: V.E.R. 2/6: Ashingdown: C.W.D. It seems likely that the increase in the 4/-: Bideford: N.S. 3/3; Crewe: F.O. 2/6; incidence of certain diseases (for example, | Colchester: W.M. 10/-: Allentown: W.S. 5/-; ing uncertainty of life, and the consequent | B.R.B. 5/-; Oakland: K.W.O. 12/6; anxiety as a continual feature of con- S. Francisco: Italian Libertarian Group

> ___ ____ £206 18 11

An official strike, now in its fourth High Wycombe branch of the Transpor

week, is in progress at the rubber works of and General, and since then demonstra-

began following anti-trade union activity High Wycombe, where, it was reported,

as redundant. At least, that is the excuse outside the factory. In London, the de-

he used, but in fact all six are Branch monstration was led by a figure in a top

Conciliation Department, stated that he an auspicious occasion! decide who should be sacked and when. but an appeal for funds has been launched | their legal ration is insufficient to support the community the more absolute is your An official strike was launched by the on behalf of the women strikers.

The actions of the General Manager by ropes round their necks. Police Discrimination

factory, and after being approached by the The police refused permission for the Branch Officials several times, called Strike Committee to hold an open-air works meetings where he apparently meeting in the town centre, using public his workers to back up the Tory party. held permission for another.

the farms have fallen short of estimates even if all local supplies were collected tribution of the bread ration." On the by 200,000 tons, while stocks estimated at and distributed, they would only contri- very next day the Allied Chiefs. Sir 500,000 tons are now feared to be only bute a very small part of the food Sholto Douglas and General Lucius Clav. shaken by this conscription vote. 400,000 (Stuart Gelder in News Chronicle, necessary to honour the normal consumer issued a proclamation in which they told

In addition, "food imports have fallen The British Medical Journal (17/5/47) and start working." With daily deaths short even of the requirements worked out reports that "since the Committee rendered from starvation, and a mounting tubernine mnoths ago," and "there has been a its report (i.e., since April 26th) the bread culosis and infant mortality rate; with men 1,100 calories. This reduction, however, It is all the more cynical because

German people. This time, last year, deliver stocks-they hold them back in

nutritionists issued warnings about the order to secure consumer goods such as

In reply to a question by Dr. S. Jeger is only an official recognition of the fact purely commercial factors are allowed to strike was no mere isolated occurrence: izing mission in Abyssinia in regarding tuberculosis in Berlin, Ernest that the normal consumer ration has not affect the food problem. When people opposition, at least from militant groups 1935—anarchists and socialists Bevin replied that the average monthly been fully honoured in large areas of the are in desperate straits the only considerwere united in their opposition | number of cases of all forms of tuberculosis reported in the first quarter of grain shipments has been largely the their needs. But H. D. Walston remarks: that the situation of these determined 1947 was 1,696. Deaths from tuberculosis cause of this deficiency, but supplies of "A further intrinsic difficulty in bi-zonal fighters against the regime is anything but in this period averaged 606 a month. In other rationed foodstuff have been reduced purchasing is whether food should be desperate—the repeated arrests and death preparations. To talk of the U.S. zone it appears that there are also. Imports are necessary but difficult bought in the sterling or the dollar area. sentences show that only too clearly.

of food supplies." (Italics ours.) American Imports Rushed

orders that top priority must be given to embarrass the American Government if was that they were resolutely opposed to Long and Hambly's, High Wycombe. It tions have been held in London and in shipments to relieve the German food they could not be disposed of." (our the fascist terror in our country." crisis and that space in railway wagons italics). Thus the British Government by the boss and the sacking of six workers the women strikers lay down in the road for grain must be given precedence over seeks to use Germany as an aid to their all other cargoes" (News Chronicle, own financial policy; and if the American 15/5/47). This is doubtless gratifying Government happens to give most value Officials of the Transport and General. hat labelled "Boss" dragging six workers news. But are we to suppose that the for calories that is due to the accidents Allies didn't know about the impending of their surplus foods. food crisis? What is one to think of But the proclamation went on to try administrators who are continually having and place responsibility on the German to make "crisis" deliveries to get them- people-"it was useless and childish to selves out of messes which they ought to place the blame for current privations on have foreseen and provided for long ago? Allied shoulders." Here is the former Director of Agricul-

life, will increase steadily, until the few responsibility.

The Allies are administering Germany. ture in the British Zone, H. D. Walston. They control imports and exports. They Have you received a Renewal the same point of view as ourselves, as he police station, who alleged a breach of again: "Present conditions will grow even decide which industries shall continue, asserted that he was a Tory and urged all his workers to back up the Tory party.

Which shall get supplies, which shall be destroyed as war potential. The move- the administrative channels in Berlin, held permission for another. In the words of the District Organiser— The next morning, however, they London and Washington are drastically ment of Germans is controlled by Allied "This naturally caused great resentment changed their tune, saying they couldn't simplified; unless the internal adminis- security personnel. In short there is no tration of food and agriculture is aspect of life in Germany to-day which workers individually to tear up their advisable for the strikers to inform the strengthened and centralized; and unless is not controlled by the Allies; and cor-Town Hall and the Police of their meeting | the farmer is given material incentive to respondingly there is no aspect of their The following day, the six men were in time for any objection to be made! encourage him to send his produce to the lives in which the German people are given instant dismissal on the grounds of The strikers had already pointed out that towns. Even with an emergency diversion permitted any initiative whatever. It is copies and pass one on to a redundancy, and the manager at first re- Winston Churchill had been allowed to of food to Germany to end the present utterly ridiculous for the Allied Chiefs fused to meet the union, and then, at a hold a meeting on the pitch indicated. crisis, the cause of the trouble will still to represent the Germans as responsible. meeting arranged through the M. of L. but the police had replied that that was exist. Appalling effects, both economic If you administer a territory, you are resand moral, on people who can remain ponsible for what goes on in that territory, was the Arbiter in his works and he would The union are paying out strike pay, alive only by breaking the law, because and the closer your hold on the life of

friend? (Special rates for 2. copies: 5/6 for 6 months. 11 |- for 12 months).

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

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

superseded coal. the most ecenomical way of using coal. coal into power, gas is by far the most to become centralised in large combines This is a particularly important consider- efficient, since only a very small part of like the Gas Light & Coke Company. ation at the present day, because, not only the heat content of the coal is lost, These mammoth concerns have an almost are our readily accessible stocks of coal and the bye-products are more efficiently monopolistic control over the industry in dwindling very rapidly, but also it is conserved than by any other means. very large and thickly populated areas of desirable from every point of view that Electricity, as made in modern coal- the country, and they make very large the necessity for mining coal should be burning power stations, is very wasteful, profits out of their sale of gas and of decreased as quickly as possible. A with only approximately 25% overall gas appliances. At present gas heating rational society would use every means to efficiency, the remaining heat-content is dear, very largely through the profiteerremove from workers the necessity to per- being lost in smoke, condensers, etc. ing of these great companies. It is proform such unpleasant work, and a When other forms of utilising sources of posed in the comparatively near future to reduction of the demand for coal is a natural power are tapped, electricity may nationalise the gas industry, which would constructive beginning towards this super- be a very economical form of providing mean even greater centralisation. Unsession of the mining industry. Even energy, but under the present coal- doubtedly, the larger units would be alapart from that consideration, however, it burning system an effort should clearly most untouched, and it is likely that their fact be such that consumption of coal much greater value, and can be used, not the industry.

sources of chemical raw materials have

time as other forms of energy and other usually contain certain acidic fumes.

system by hot water.

No investigation of anarchist ideas is scientific if revolution more quickly than others; and indeed the forces

may be drawn for society on this basis. Here we see achieved except on an international basis.

Man has always been able to adjust himself satis- the general laws of capitalist economy.

structure is entirely changed, is due entirely to the effect numbers the productive, are concerned with the selling

Elimination Of Smoke

the use of the domestic coal fire. It uses fire is probably not as pleasant as an open tration of the gas industry, the Fabians ing the petulant questions of the houseonly a minute proportion of the heat con- fire, and the radiators of a district heat- were right. Where they were wrong was | wife who has heard his "hard-luck" tent of the raw coal, and sends all its ing system deprive a room of the focal in suggesting the kind of miniature story before. bye-products into the air in the form point which customary British architecture nationalisation involved in ownership by a of soot and smoke, which not only pollute has always found in the fireplace. But borough council with an authoritarian the atmosphere, but also prevent the a change in the habit of sitting round the executive. health-giving ultra-violet rays from pene- fire might have its social value in breaking trating to the towns afflicted by heavy down the rigid structure of the family life smoke palls. Of course, the domestic fire by providing more chance of privacy by is not the only offender in this respect. the provision of heating in all rooms in Factories and electric power stations give the house.

"Anarchy won't work because . . . "

as Social Credit, Fascism and Socialism.

social engineers.

can be remodelled.

opposing reaction.

the contrast between Anarchism and such synthetic systems

The tragedy of social blueprints is that whenever a

party with a blueprint gains power, the manifold errors

in the blueprint are not easily scrapped, but sheer power

is used to force society into the prepared framework, at

whatever cost to the human material involved. Their

ideas is that the blueprint must be made to work by

government is actually imperilled by the unworkability of

The Mainspring Of Revolution

factorily to his environment when he has been able to

propping lead to increasing natural stability (as the

Socialists fondly imagine) for that which is artificially

schemes, that the plans are altered. A terrible example

GAS INDUSTRY

Decentralisation

purposes gas is even more efficient than quarters where more than 450 tons of posium deals with the making and distrielectricity, and that, while coal remains soot and dirt fall every year on each bution of gas. It demonstrates the nection with the consumers, represented by the basis of our fuel system, gas-making, square mile. Apart from the effect on inefficiency and wastefulness of the small the local communes, who would transmit play a much more valuable part in inwith its many bye-products, and its final health, there is the vast expense of time gasworks, and avocates the formation of to the workers' syndicate the needs of the dustry and social life. But it must not residue of coke or other smokeless fuel, in cleaning which is brought about by a gas grid. Significantly, however, it local population. In order to ensure be forgotten that the need for gas, like is by far the most economical way of such smoke and the damage to buildings shows that the production of gas on a proper coal supplies to the various works, that for coal, will decrease as alternative using coal. These facts have been caused by the acids contained in the large scale ceases to be economical after some kind of regional and national forms of making electrical power are disa certain size has been reached, and that bureaux would be necessary, merely to co- covered and new sources of raw materials Architectural Review (April, 1947), which Certain means of filtering can be used the desirable maximum for the population ordinate the various demands of the local are exploited. The eventual elimination was devoted entirely to the gas industry, to prevent smoke recahing the atmosphere, served by one gas producing unit is about works and make the arrangements with of the need for such an irksome occuand which included a series of eleven but these are very costly, and are only 125,000 people. This is a vindication the syndicates of the coal industry for the pation as coal mining should always be articles on such varied aspects of the practicable in large installations like power of the anarchist contentions about the distribution of the necessary raw fuel. A envisaged, and for this purpose the subject as atmospheric pollution and coal stations. They can in no way cure the decentralisation of industry, and indicates similar liaison would be necessary with utilisation of gas should only be regarded conservation, and the design of gasworks smoke-production of houses and smaller that industrial experts are themselves beand the history of the gas industry. It factories, for which the only really effi- ginning to doubt the wisdom of the use of the gas bye-products. But, since better organised the use of atomic and is a document which puts forward very cient means of elimination are by tendencies during recent years to centralise all goods and services would be supplied other forms of power. convincingly the case for an increased use electricity, gas or district heating, and production in large units and mammoth freely and according to need, and financial of gas and its bye-products until such the use of smokeless fuel-which however factories.

One of the most important facts concerning the present-day English gas in-

Workers' Control

In an anarchist society, the administration of the gas industry would be de-

Certain countries naturally develop towards social that pass through the Company's hands.

Sapiens, triumphantly point to the extreme complexity from the goal of production for use.

Those who crave a blueprint for future society to with the creation of a further army of State bureaucrats

allay their fears of the fundamental ineptitude of Homo to administer the administrators, takes us even further

objection to Anarchism based on the assumption that This is the end of all anarcho-syndicalist struggle

Anarchists would try to master the complexities of 20th within the present framework of society. If a worker's

century industrialized society—and fail, is so naive, that industrial organization has other ends, or if it loses sight

making" or a "public utility", it operates according to All who come along with bigger and better blue-

compelled to work while the main product of their labour what it all means in plain fact. Again we Anarchist re-

workers are engaged in driving buses, trams, tubes, etc., themselves, in pursuit of objective which they can plainly

operating lifts, signals, etc., cleaning and maintaining the understand. If we permit the existence of persons in

N coming into contact with Anarchism for the first of conditions imposed on them from without, and not to of tickets, collecting tickets, supervising the ticket-sellers,

time, many people are apt to think of it as an any internal instability in their social organization. and supervising the supervisors, paying wages to staff

evils of the governmental society we know. Such people intercourse are concerned, quite apart from the extreme pany to the public, finding jobs for friends, paying

are apt to regard Anarchism as a blueprint, and to scan political dis-unity of the nation states. Anarchists do not pensions and avoiding paying them, and all the myriad

it anxiously in the fear (or hope) of discovering some envisage, therefore, stable anarchical communities quietly of book-keeping, clerking, typing, secretarial and directing

technical flaw that its designers have overlooked; such persisting cheek by jowl with the governmental nation- jobs of every manner and description which is concerned

alleged flaw discovered, it may then be announced that states. We are essentially internationalist in outlook. with the complicated handling of the millions of money

conducted in this manner, since the principles of of progress may make and consolidate substantial gains are actually performing useful work in operating the

Anarchism are not a synthetic system of ideas invented in this direction locally, in spite of the hostility of the transport vehicles. However, much of their work is

to solve the social problem, but the result of a natural ruling class in all other parts of the world, if circumstances socially useless since it consists of toting around the great

tendency observable within human society. Deductions make outright intervention impractical. But it is un- mass of unproductive workers which exists in the same

Does Complexity Defeat The

Revolution?

of this is the Bolshevik regime in Russia. It is a history of Certain near-Anarchists like William Morris and scrapping: it has no reason for existing other than the

faulty blueprints badly misapplied, and scrapped too late: Wilfred Wellock, have met this objection by attacking the preservation of economic inequality. All the workers have

never before has so much human life been sacrificed to whole concept of industrial life, implying that a sane to operate is the sheerly productive processes, and to

to remodel society, worked out for them?" Here is the own job and he will discover the answer. For whatever We see, therefore, that the problem of attaining a

whole crux of Anarchism. The workers will only make job he performs, whether it be that of postman, bus- free society is not one of mastering the intricacies of the

the revolution in the light of their own needs, their own driver, commercial clerk, gas-fitter or hospital nurse, it is old society, but of abandoning the need for them. The

experience and their practical vision; and we Anarchists a job held under the all-embracing system of capitalism, workers must cut through the red tape of capitalist

maintain that this is the only sound basis on which society It makes no difference whether the industry concerned is economy, like Alexander cut through the unpickable

Let each of us examine the complexities, the ex-

form co-operative social units based on the mutual needs tremely complicated organization in his own industry, and of high finance) are plainly charlatans, consciously or

of the individuals comprising them. Social forms based he will see that it all exists to preserve the wage system, self deceiving. At this present time the workers are

on any other principle are manifestly unstable, and have the roundabout means by which the majority shall be beginning to have an excellent practical demonstration of

maintained cannot develop in accordance with natural Taking a specific example, London Passenger Trans- uncertainty and chaos can only come by resort to direct

social tendencies. Coercive force always breeds an port, we see that the essential, or productively employed organization and direct action on the part of the workers

stable social form. Once achieved there is no natural work. On top of this, however, there is a huge super- in matters which we do not understand, we cannot be

crisis which will upset it from within. The fact that structure of non-productive workers, which is necessitated surprised if the blueprints they draw up take no recog-

a number of primitive races were living in anarchy when by the immense complexity of the economic system. This nition of us other than as units of labour-power to be

first discovered by Europeans, and now their social great horde of non-productive workers, which far out- experimented with at their pleasure.

The condition of anarchy, therefore, is an essentially vehicle and premises, and performing necessary liaison authority over us, with a mandate to act as they see fit

is not available for their general use and enjoyment.

"nationalized" or "privately owned", whether it is "profit Gordian Knot.

Some people ask, "Will the workers make the social What exactly is the cause of the extreme com- wage bargaining, it will itself give rise to a bureaucratic

bureaucratic pigheadedness as in this alleged paradise of society would have no use for industrialism. But the organize on the basis of social necessity.

we must answer it in a more analytic manner.

revolution unless they have an actual blueprint on which plexity of modern life? Let each of us look to his superstructure similar to that of the capitalists.

may be made from this, but no sort of rigid blueprint realistic to expect any stable condition of anarchy to be proportion in all other industries.

But the fact remains that for certain borough has working class dwelling An interesting chapter in this sym-

centralised, and each gas works, with its transactions would not enter into the local distribution service would be ad- matter, such bureaux could be very small,

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

burces of chemical raw materials have uperseded coal. The first advantage of gas is that it is Of the various means of converting the present-day English gas in dustry that was not brought out sufficiently in this volume was its tendency ciently in this volume was its tendency to become centralised in large combines

"Oh, why don't you work like other folk do?" How the hell can I work When there's no work to do? Hallelujah! I'm a bum! Hallelujah, bum again! Hallelujah, give us a hand-out To revive us again!

Whenever anarchists gather together for is evident that during the next few years be made to use methods more economical, executives will merely pass over into the a convivial evening, and the inhibitions the difficulties in the coal industry will in and gas, with its 85% efficiency, is of new public corporations and still govern are loosened sufficiently for the singing to start, it is not long before the above words should be cut to an absolute minimum. only for domestic heating, but also as the The gas industry is one in which cenbasic heat supply for a district heating tralisation is actually least practicable and verses of this favourite from the I.W.W. desirable. It is a matter which concerns song-book-"Hallelujah, I'm a bum!" Much has been done recently to evolve each town and district particularly, and And in our mind's eye as we sing, we The most wasteful form of heating is a fumeless gas fire. Aesthetically, a gas insofar as they demanded local adminis- see the ragged figure of the tramp answer-

> Ragged he may be, dirty and homeless certainly, but this cheerful hobo who knows all the answers, knows also a happiness and contentment denied to the housewife, tied to her daily round, her "position", her property, her duty. For he has broken these chains. Rejecting

But this is not all. We assume that the drivers, etc.,

So we see that although the workers spend their lives

in monotonous toil, very little of the work done has any

of the work done is part and parcel of the intricate

use at all from a social point of view. The greater part

organization for scarcity in the midst of plenty, the prop

Taking Over Industry

over the oganization of private and State-owned industry

The greater part of such organization simply need

of the revolutionary end in the day to day struggle

prints for rescuing the workers from the morass of

capitalism by means of more laws, more restrictions, more

iterate the simple maxim that liberation from poverty,

of the wages system. The "nationalization" of industry,

humdrum existence of a "safe" job; he has left social security to those who desire freedom from want, but don't want freedom.

But in the British Socialist State this sort of rugged individualism is sadly out of place. If the desire for personal freedom, even at the price of discomfort and broken boots, conflicts with the full employment policy of a government determined to make you secure (I am being ambiguous on purpose!) then obviously these vagrants who have strayed from the narrow path of the wage slave must be made to realise that efficiency and not happiness is the goal for 20th century

The first step in this direction is already being taken in sunny Devon, over the lovely hills and dales of which the tramps have for long wended their easy-going way. Strict discipline is to be applied at all institutions there in an effort to discourage them from lingering too long within the county boundaries.

During the war, it seems, Devon's tramping population increased by 500 per cent. and now totals 400. During the war, also, we cannot help remembering, many government offices and services training centres and H.Q.'s were evacuated to the safe town of Torquay, so we can hardly blame the tramp for deserting the WHERE IS YOUR BLUEPRINT COMRADE? Somb-scarred eastern and home counties for the safe west, along with the civil servants.

But Devon County Council is taking

But Devon County Council is taking their invasion seriously, and according to Mr. Martin Sykes, their public assistance officer, "Devon Vagrancy Committee are ingenious system of ideas which has been worked out Now we are faced with a world which is becoming checking stock to the last ha'penny (to prevent staff (Continued on page 7) intellectually, in order to provide an alternative to the rapidly unified as far as communications and international from supplementing their wages!), advertising the Com-

-Interpretations

ANARCHISM

"The State is, for us, a society of mutual insurance between the landlord, the military commander, the judge, the priest, and later on the capitalist, in order to support each other's authority over the people, and for exploiting the poverty of the masses and getting rich themselves. Such was the origin of the State: such was its history; and such is its

present essence. Consequently, to imagine that Capitalism may be abolished while the State is maintained, and with the aid of the State-while the latter was founded for forwarding the development of Capitalism and was always growing in power and solidarity in proportion as the power of Capitalism grew un-to cherish such an illusion is as unreasonable, in our opinion, as it was to expect the emancipation of Labour from the Church, or from Caesarism or Imperialism. Certainly, in the first half of the nineteenth century, there have been many Socialists who had such dreams: but to live in the same dreamland now that we enter in the twentieth century, is really too

A new form of economic organisation will necessarily require a new form of political structure. And, whether the change be accomplished suddenly, by a revolution, or slowly, by the way of a gradual evolution, the two changes political and economic, must go on abreast, hand

Each step towards economic freedom, each victory won over Capitalism will be at the same time a step towards political liberty—towards liberation from the yoke of the State by means of free agreement, territorial, professional, and functional. And each step made towards taking from the State any one of its powers and attributes will be helping the masses to win a victory over

Peter KROPOTKIN.

Capitalism."

MUST BE UNDFFICIAL!

THEN a Member of Parliament is elected and takes his seat to the King and Constitution. That a person of alleged "Socialist" STRIKES BANNED IN U.S. ZONE to the King and Constitution. That a person of alleged "Socialist" opinions should be prepared to do this has proved surprising to some in the past, but not to us cynical old anarchists! After all, if a man has aspired to a certain privileged position for months and years and suddenly finds himself (more because of the gullibility of others than by his own talents) about to take up that position, he can hardly be expected to let an apparent contradiction-which is definitely more apparent than real-stand in his way, can he?

LESSON OF 1926

In 1926, during the General Strike, the Labour Party and Trade Union leaders made it perfectly clear once and J. R. Clynes, union leader of the time, wrote in his "Memoirs":-

this—' (with a gesture indicating his managers. surroundings) '-will vanish?'

Fortunately for Britain and the world, it did not come to the worst. The Trades Unions saw to that."

Yes, the Trades Unions saw to that, alright. The union leaders called the General Strike of 1926 having no faith or belief either in its purpose or its success. And they called it for one reason only. With the extension of the miners' lockout, and worsening of the workers' conditions in general, a widespread stoppage was in any case inevitable. Unrest throughout the Constitution! workers' movement was becoming more and more threatening. By anticipating the workers' initiative; by calling for a general strike in order to lead it, the unions were able to control the strike and lead the workers' energies into safe, constitutional channels.

Even then, it was touch and go. As they had led the workers into the strike to suit their own purposes, the union leaders had to be very smart about leading them out again before it was too | TF the attempt to solve the problem of truction of much European farming) with- unable to pay for improvements. Trans- causes of agrarian distress, and so were enlate. Charles Dukes, now as Lord Dukes of the House of Lords, suitably rewarded for his part in the betrayal, said in 1927:

"Every day that the strike proceeded the control and the authority of that dispute was passing out of the hands of responsible Executives into the hands of men who had no authority, no control, and was wrecking the

One after the other, the Labour leaders of 1926 (Bevin, Clynes, J. H. Thomas, Ramsay Macdonald, Dukes), stressed their dislike of the general strike and their love for the constitution. Wherein do the interests of the workers coincide with the interests of men such interest of the workers to respect the constitution?

LESSONS FOR 1947

Twenty-one years after, the Labour leaders of to-day, secure in the saddle of government, are the direct ideological descendants of the betrayers of 1926, when out of their love for legality they returned the workers to worsened conditions, black depression, and a second world war.

To-day, when the workers are rightly using advantageous circumstances to wring concessions out of the employers, there are no more venomous attacks, no more hysterical outpourings against them than those from the trade union leaders and Socialist M.P.'s. And even more clearly now that the Labour Party has complete parliamentary power is to be seen the real function of the trade unions in a nationalised society. It is to discipline the workers, and if the present constitution is not sufficiently stringent to do the job properly, it can very soon be altered so that it is!

LAW AGAINST STRIKES?

Union officials are no longer asking "What can we do for the strikers," but "What can we do with the strikers," and they readily answer themselves-"Outlaw them," "Legislate against them," "Bon strikes," and so on. And they do not choose to remember that it is precisely through strike action in the past that workers organisations have grown to be the power they are; do not remember that it is over the backs of men

But the hysteria of the union leaders

like the strikers of to-day that men like fat Bevin have clambered to power.

over the wave of unofficial strikes is for all where they stood with regard to the constitution (and to the King). understandable. They know they are being rumbled. They know that the CIVIL SERVANTS WAKE impatience of the rank and file may well be a prelude to the creation of rank and file organisations independent of. "J. H. Thomas, representing the and finally leaving unsupported, the railwaymen, found, early in the official unions. The identity of the Strike, that his duties took him to T.U.C. with the Government is now so Buckingham Palace. King George clear that it can no longer pretend to expressed his sympathy for the working class now takes against the em- Government clerks and typists, organised miners. At the end of the talk, His loying or managerial classes must bring in the Civil Service Clerical Association. Majesty, who was gravely disturbed, it into conflict with the official unions, voted by an overwhelming majority for

> continue whether they become illegal or | a democratic triumph!), and the Associanot. From now on the struggle of the tion's general secretary, L. C. White, workers is sharply and clearly defined | declares that "it would be quite wrong as being against the employers, the State for the Government to assume there is no hand that feeds them?"" and the State's Labour Front-the prospect of strike action in isolated parts official unions. The means of struggle, of the Civil Service." by the way, will become, sooner or It is the old story of interminable delays biting the hand that did not feed later, revolutionary syndicates aiming at in reaching a settlement of wage negotiaworkers' control-but more of that tions, and although one member said that some other time.

ment for the three states in the duction is now likely, cutting the basic to be told so by trouble-makers. deterioration in the food situation American leaders have made clear food is a political weapon.

In fact, the food situation in the Germans should they dare to protest. IN THE BRITISH ZONE American Zone has been consistently

their employers—the Government.

repeal of the Trades Disputes Act the So from now on it is obvious that as any other recognised workers' organ- reasons", went on to say "Strikes and machine tools;

the Association had not the "guts" to do tinual stressing of the "agitator scapethings normally done by trade unions (sic), goat, probably lies just the echo of the ment said, not even the foundations For the meantime—to hell with the and the secretary did not envisage a anti-Red drive in America. For it of an organised economic life have heartening move.

The directors of Military Govern- better than in the British, but a re- being steadily starved, they don't need that they will deal ruthlessly with the James Newman, director of M.G.

for Greater Hesse, had prepared a speech for German civilians to be prior to the opening of the Ruhr delivered over Radio Frankfurt, in which he had gone so far as to trade unions had managed to keep the threaten martial law if the food workers quiet by putting forward a One is so accustomed to think of Civil situation got out of hand. At the last programme including such points as Servants as mere servile appendages of the minute this was cut from the speech, State, that it comes as rather a shock but even so it was bad enough, fixing Removal of dualism in economic when they threaten militant action against the blame, in advance, for any demonstration on agitators, [who] regardasked him a number of questions, and support the workers. Any action the At Prestatyn, representatives of 123,000 less of their position, will be sum-

General Muller, director of Bavaria, American taxpayer say: 'Why should "not" purely for armaments"; we feed the Germans who bite the Manufacture of fertilisers;

Surely the point is that the German them? But underneath all this conis pretty obvious that when people are been laid.

American Zone of Germany have ration from 1,550 calories daily to Neither does sanctimonious talk warned the German government 1,130. (3,000 calories are regarded about the "generosity of your conofficials and trade union leaders as necessary for full health.) The querors" disguise for one moment the against permitting strikes and demon- effect of this on an already restless disgusting fact that, as we have strations protesting against the steady people can be imagined, but the pointed out many times in Freedom,

control ("interference" by Military Government conflicted with Ger-

Provision of a whaling and high seas fishing fleet, built and manned by remarked, it is said: 'Well, Thomas, if whose constitutional function is to con- the adoption of a strike policy and telling Germans, to ensure food supplies; the worst happens, I suppose all trol the workers for the employers and creation of a strike fund. Since the out agitators who cause these Sanction for increased production in Civil Servants have had the same rights strikes . . . for their own selfish Germany of petrol, rubber and

strikes must be unofficial. And will isation, including the right to strike (what demonstrations would only make the A halt in dismantling of all works

Greater powers of supervision to ensure that food supplies are equitably shared, the trade unions to have the deciding voice on control committees and "economic courts".

Two years after the war, the state-

from the hampering limitations of capital-

ist property relations. But Spain pro-

Agriculture and the Social Revolution-4

Iwo Different Lessons: America & Spain

and reaped by mechanical methods which stem the destruction. allowed of a maximum reduction of labour

ber acre are high, and which aims to get here. the maximum yield per acre.) Costs being so low, these huge crops could be marketed at very low prices, and American grain successfully undercut the market for European farmers, with the results for British farming which were discussed in the second article in this

Soil Erosion

But in the not-so-long run it was to have a disastrous effect on American crops, the land became exhausted and the yields fell to uneconomic levels. When this happened the capitalist combines Spain is an agricultural country in the any kind of coercion. The result was that Spanish lessons than their great importsimply moved to new virgin territory and sense that the majority of the people most of the remaining peasants gradually ance merits. But that is because the repeated the process all over again. In this way, large tracts of once-fertile heavy. But the agriculture of Spain was

land in North America have become ex- a very poor affair compared with countries hausted. Not only will they not grow like Denmark, Holland, Belgium or The collectivizations extended over a in Spain by Gaston Leval). What is crops; the worn-out soil will not even Switzerland. Ever since the expulsion of large part of Spain, embracing Aragon important to stress here is the voluntary support any vigorous plant life of any the Moors, irrigation had been neglected and Catalonia, Levant and "loyalist" character of these collectives—the total kind. With the death of the surface so that drought hampered the growth of Andalucia, and parts of Castille. Their absence of coercion. It is this reliance on vegetation, the surface soil is exposed to all crops. Moreover, the implements used immediate organization had been made the creative endeavour of the persants the winds and becomes more and more by the peasants were incredibly primitive, possible by the continuous educative pro- themselves which made Spain of the broken up. Finally, it breaks down into for wooden ploughs were still used in paganda which the anarchist syndicalists revolution such a striking—indeed, unique dust and is blown away by the winds. many districts just as in Roman times. of the CNT and the FAI (The National -example of revolutionary success. This creating a dust bowl. In addition, the It was not that the peasants were too Confederation of Labour and the Iberian lesson of voluntary organization will be soil no longer absorbs water, which runs "backward", and lacked the initiative to Anarchist Federation) had ben carrying kept in mind when we come to sum up off the surface and causes widespread get better implements: they were so on for years among the peasants. As a the foregoing articles in the next and last floods, ruining crops elsewhere. It is this cripped by poverty in an economy centred result of this propaganda many of the article in this series. exhaustion of soil for profit (and the des- round buying and selling that they were peasants had deeply studied the economic

agriculture by the political methods of out anything being put back into it, which port, too, was of the most rudimentary abled to take fundamental economic steps to he Bolsheviks was a disastrous failure, the is the root cause of the dust bowls and kind, for all roads and railways (built, no set agriculture on a rational footing when application in America of purely capital- the destruction and loss of life from re- doubt, to facilitate the collection of taxes) the revolutionary opportunity came. They ist methods to the exploitation of the soil current floods which have been such a led to Madrid, communication between were not content to look to the illusory has produced similarly catastrophic re- feature of middle western American life outlying provinces being very poor indeed, promises of politicians and party men, ults. In America, the method of large- in the past 20 years. Whole populations The degenerate nature of Spanish agricul- but took their affairs into their own hands. scale extensive cultivation has been widely have been compelled to migrate because ture resulted in a very poor standard of Theoretically, the social revolution employed for many years, A similar their home country has been transformed life, while crop yields were among the should release the forces of production nethod characterized the Five Year Plans into desert. John Steinbeck's film The lowest in Europe. for agriculture in Russia, but the Grapes of Wrath provides an eloquent Americans have been practising it for far picture of the misery caused by this exlonger, and the end results are much tensive mode of cultivation. While the

content. One man with a tractor could Soil erosion is not a problem confined when the workers and peasants seized the cover enormous areas of land. Thus to America; it also faces Africa and initiative in order to frustrate the military wages, as a part of the agriculturists' Russia. And its importance is such that coup of General Franco, all that was same time rents, by comparison with land made deserts provide a greater threat to land, and began to work it collectively. By this extensive method enormous their capacity for food production on ac- organize the work of farming the land total crops were achieved, though the yield count of the one-sided treatment of the village. These collectivizations per acre was far less than is usual in the soil necessitated by a market ecenomy, were of an entirely voluntary character, mixed farming practised here. (Extensive Fortunately, the nature of the terrain in and had nothing in common with the ive method suited to land where rents extensive cultivation would be possible Five Year Plans. In the first place, no

by food imports; in Russia by political which the collective farms established, the end, those which had not been desattempts to coerce the peasants; and in At the outset, 75 per cent, of the peasants troyed by economic measures designed to America, by extensive cultivation and soil joined the collective farms, and they were that end, were physically destroyed by erosion. It is a relief to turn to the Spain quite willing to let the example of Communist-controlled International Briof the 1936 revolution, for here we have the collectives provide the sole in- gades under General Enrique Lister. By farming also. For after growing several the one example of a successful and ex- centive to change the individualist 1939 Spain has been reduced to starvation whose good will they never alienated by I have dealt more briefly with the

work on the land and food imports are not joined in the collective farms.

Increased Production

vides the only revolutionary example of recent times in which this release has been dam systems of the Tennessee Valley The chief factors maintaining this realized. The peasants received more up-Authority scheme exhibit the vast repairs backward agriculture were the system of to-date machinery from the industrial col-In America and Canada, huge tracts which the government has been compelled land ownership by large absentee landlectives (though not nearly as much as of virgin land were ploughed up, sown, to undertake in the attempt to try and lords, and the impoverishment of the they required), they organized stock breeding, and arranged the distribution of peasant by taxation. In July of 1936, better quality seed. As a result the corn crops in Aragon increased by an average of 30 per cent., with similar increases costs, were reduced to a minimum. At the many soil scientists consider that man- swept away. The peasants took over the for potatoes, sugar beet, lucerne, etc. rents in England were purely nominal. mankind than even war itself. Vast areas In every village and region they elected were immensely increased, and modern in America, Africa, and Russia are losing committees from among themselves to farm buildings erected to house them. "War Communism" and the Five Year farming is thus the reverse of the inten- England makes it unlikely that similar forced collectivizations of the Russian Plans in Russia. Workers' Control against his will: if he preferred to con- The collectives were controlled by their tinue as a small individual poprietor no members, and were organized in federconstraint was put upon him. On the ations so that they could carry on close contrary, the collective farms made avail- contact with each other and with industry. able to such peasants the facilities in the But their independence constituted a conway of farm machinery, seeds, etc., which tinuous threat to the government. Hence, they had been able to organize. In with the victory of the counter-revolution Hitherto we have discussed the ruin of addition, the uncollectivized peasant in the May Days of 1937, the latter agriculture: in Britain from undercutting reaped the benefit of irrigation schemes began a steady offensive against them. In

attitude of the remaining 25 per cent., once more.

achievements of the voluntary collectives are described in a penny pamphlet published by Freedom Press (Collectivizations

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

Dear Comrades,

The Anarchists of this country thank Freedom. It is, in fact, the first and only connection we have with the outside world. Freedom is the only Anarchist paper which circulates in this part of the country, and goes from group to group, from town to town and is translated into German by comrades versed in the English language for the benefit of their comrades who cannot read English.

We have not yet had an opportunity to publish a newspaper since the fall of Hitler as the Government places too many obstacles in our way. Hamburg we have a permit to organize our Union and publish a newspaper, but the Government does not supply us with the necessary paper. It is the Government which controls the paper mills and the distribution of paper, and it depends on its fancy whether a newspaper gets paper or not. It would appear that we are not in their good books for though reactionary newspaper published in this country gets all it wants!

But in Hamburg our comrades are much better off than we are, since they have a permit to form a Union and are allowed to meet-both of which are denied to us. Last year we handed

In Franco's Spain

(Continued from page 1) have urged workers to demonstrate the

hostility towards Franco by boycottir Spanish ships, and by industrial action at every point where Franco's administration impinges on this country. If our influence in industry were considerab instead of being slight or non-existent, rades. As things are, our only weapon is propaganda, within the field that something to bring the Spanish terror lose an opportunity to expose its shame like Britain where libertarian teachings have only a small influence. For those readers who may not yet feel interested, or of the globe it reveals itself, we reprodu ground comrades' manifesto:

"In this bitter struggle which we are of the economic and political life of the waging, in this Homeric war against the country, and it is therefore utter nonterror that oppresses us, we are in need of help and solidarity. We are ready to sacrifice and we shall know how to do our duty: and if the hour strikes we shall know how to fall with courage and dignity, since we prefer death to slavery. But our efforts would be much more effective if we were able to receive the fullest aid possible.

an atmosphere of freedom think it is sufficient merely to sympathize with us, giving us a few words of encouragement,

materials, practically unarmed by comparison with the gigantic apparatus of the police state. We can scarcely give aid make it requires the greatest sacrifices on our part, which only those who have fived under a regime like the Spanish one can even imagine. We are indeed. grateful for all the expressions of symneed of other things, and we believe we

National Confederation of Labour take them to the police station where for three days. For ten days he was (CNT) appeals to all sections of the they were asked to produce their "flics"). Mr. Y was really Monsieur vears. International Working Men's Associaover the world, to free men in all was feeling indignant and therefore having his drink in a Paris Bar called countries, above all to anarchists and not too co-operative, and in the "Chez Charles" and but for his privileges and responsibilities as memtrade unionists, to come to our aid inspector's opinion went about the were Frenchmen, and their chief was mother, who declared that in spite of whole-heartedly and without wavering. producing of his identity papers a a Commissaire named Verdaveine. her limited means she would fight the Everyone takes turns at cooking, duty lest the day come when they will his lethargy, he struck him a violent France". Yes, not only these two nothing more would have been heard be stricken with remorse, realising that blow on the face. Mr. Y, obviously cases but thousands of others have about Mr. Y. She declared that when colony and attend its activity school, on account of their cowardice, egotism lacking experience so far as the police happened in France, before Hitler her son was released by the police, his carry on independent learning by doblame that the execution squads in
leading of the squads in
leading of the squads in the squads creased the numbers of anti-fascist who the end of Mr. Y. The other "sus- Passage à Tabac" is a French police broken and the whole of his body was and teachers. (WP) fell on the tormented soil of Spain." pects" were released the same evening. institution. It's a method used for black and blue.

then, silence! We made a further appli- reasons. eation with the Governor of the Province of Dusseldorf, and a few days ago we received the answer, and it was NO! We are not permitted to form our Union. If we met now, the police is authorized to arrest us, and we will be punished. But that threat does not

DEMOCRACY IS HUNGER

prevent us from meeting just the same.

The Governors of the different cities and districts rule according to the cussay the people here, and add "This this Government kills us slowly".

During the war there were very many Germans who honestly believed that the blown up with dynamite. war was fought for ideological reasons between Democracy and Nazism, and they considered the Allies their liberators and not their enemies, and markets. One can understand the when the war had ended, to build up a truly democratic Germany. The why did they also stop the production majority of these democrats were of artificial fertilizers which are workers with a sprinkling of the middle class. The rich and well-to-do were Nazis or sympathised with them.

When the Allies occupied the country, these democrats got the surprise of their lives, because the Allies behaved as conquerors, and treated democrats and Nazis alike. Before the war had ended, and even during the war, over the B.B.C. that they were waging Only the workers and people with a the democrats in Germany, and that the ists, businessmen and shop keepers live Yet, when the war was ended, the Allies food. Our outlook for the future is appointed reactionary people to help black. them govern the country, and many Nazis have important posts in the Military Government. As an example I can mention that the food dictator of that the English worker pay taxes and the British Zone is a Herr von that the British Tommy shall police this made public utterances in support of

The Government control every detail

waited in vain for an answer. At last, for everything that happens in the after many months had passed, the country. This hunger and starvation Government commenced investigations period could have been avoided if the war and put a few silly questions to us, and had not been fought for imperialist

COMPETING FOR WORLD MARKETS

The density of population in Germany as a whole is at present 550 inhabitants per square mile. In this province it is being retained by the Military Government for the training of British troops.

If this country is to obtain sufficient toms of the middle-ages. Their word is bread then it must sell goods in the name with respect? And is there a man Law, and there is no authority to which world markets in order to have the curcomplaints can be made against them if rency with which to buy the bread they do wrong. Which proves that grain it requires over and above what Is there a peasant or worker in Trojan Democracy in this country is being ad- it produces. The country is not self- and Lovetch, who does not know ministered as the oppression was supporting in wheat and the Allies knew names of Vassil Gerova (Gerov means handled in England before the time of this before they set foot in the country. hero,-trans.) and Tinko Simoff? Who Magna Carta. "Democracy is Hunger" So, if they really did not want the country to starve they should have kept Zankoff, Georgieff, Filoff and Dotche Government and the Nazis are very the factories and workshops working | Christoff (Bulgarian ministers and prime similar. The Nazis killed us quickly, and export their products, and buy more ministers—trans.) were knocking at the raw material and food with the proceeds. But instead of that, factories summary executions, those of were closed down, or in some cases,

That is one way of preventing competition from German goods in world Government's wish to throttle German competition in the world's markets, but exported and which are so badly needed by the farmers? Last year we had a poor harvest, and this year the outlook is not much better, because of a lack of fertilizers. Why the Government

a war against the Nazis and not against small income starves. Farmers, capital purpose of the war was to free the fairly well; either they keep their pro-German people from the Nazi yoke. duce for themselves or exchange it for It is the will of the Powers-that-be

> country. (By the way, the German workers have no grudge against the English Tommy. He is O.K. with only a few exceptions.)

> that the German worker shall starve:

Appeal from Bulgaria

The following appeal is issued by the Bulgarian Federation of Anarchist Communists, and published in their paper Appeal for Justice. Though not all the names and incidents will be known to anarchists in this country, it gives some idea of the struggle which Bulgarian anarchists are carrying on, and the kind of oppression

23 years the struggle for freedom an justice, paying with the life of many

The anarchists died singing and with

unprecedented courage. Who does not know of the epic events of "Dorodtol" Street in the centre of Sofia, where our comrades perished in the flames, fighting Anarchist Dr. Besheff? Is there an honest man who does not pronounce his murderers with contempt and abhorrence? Fascists of the past, whereas, the anarchists are put to death. How long will the Allies had stated hundreds of times Not everybody starves in this country. you, people of the government, continue of to-day, i.e., communists, agrarians ar grave between the bones of anarchists and common cause? The struggle for freedom

> The Editors, "Appeal for Justice" (Translated by T. M.)

Gas and Electricity Workers' Stand Scares Ramadier Government

THE strikes and demonstrations that have been taking place in many parts of France during the past weeks show no signs of ending. As some strikes end so others begin, and "Combat" (26/5/47) while reporting a settlement of two strikes at Thionville and Tourcoing adds four new strikes to the already lengthy list: at Concarneau where building and shipyard workers have come out: transport workers at Caen, metal workers at Laignieville, printing workers at Marseilles. Furthermore, a 24-hour strike is threatened by Health & Public Services workers, while the National Committee of the Builders Federation after three days deliberations has decided on a nation-wide 24-hour protest strike to take place early in June.

But the strike of the Gas and Electricity workers due to take place as we go to disinterested friends of the people? Who to the Ramadier Government's authority. and in signing a decree "requisitioning"fight for privileges and power? Is there that is, mobilising- workers in these industries under the War emergency law of moral character of the struggle for social 1938, the French Premier has indicated that he has not underestimated the gravity of the vet, instead of receiving a place of honour situation should the Gas and Electricity September (1944) the anarchists are again underestimated the determination of the into concentration camps and their workers, and only 12 hours before zero hour paper "Rabotnitcheska Missal" was sus- for the strike, they had reaffirmed their pended. The adepts of Moushanoff, determination to go through with their Georgieff, and Kasassoff enjoy freedom struggle in spite of the serious penalties all right now and deal with the freedom such action entails (up to five years'

> In its statement, issued on May 24th, the National Committee of the Gas and Electricity workers expresses its surprise at the hostility of the Government in view of the fact that output is 50% higher than in 1938 in spite of the very unsatisfactory working conditions. The Committee reminds the Government that the conflict has nothing to do with the present problem of wages, but has been created as a result of the delay in putting into operation the benefits sanctioned "by legal documents" and which were granted to the workers 'many long months ago" (that is, the 15% increase of July, 1946). The Committee regrets that the Government has deliberately decided to be responsible for a conflict which can only be harmful to the nation as a whole. In view of the Government's attitude the workers now demands a 23% increase in wages.

HABOUR SPINSIN

Bombay comrade, M. P. T. Acharya. is playing a capitalist role, which exactly simply demand higher wages and walk out consumption problem within the wage for their leadership will be gone without For reasons of space, we have had to condense it slightly.)

31st May, 1947

trade unions in India. There are the for "his services to his country"! purely Mussulman unions.

unite, or only two, while the others remain workers! "neutral". Fortunately, the All-India Trade Union Congress to which the first two belong at present is a loosely affiliated body, though the Communists try to get the upper hand in it. attitude when Russia was attacked by many. But the workers who are

munists and Nationalists have grown have no politics. Since they are con-

Middle East Notes

complications, the policy worked well do!

-Arab nationalist influence stimu-

to undermine Turkey and more re-

cently helped to push France out of

the Levant. Hence the actual evacu-

ation of Egypt is not greatly out of

line with trends in the Middle East

but a continuation of British policy.

Politically-minded Egyptians who are

now acutely nationalist have been per-

turbed by the fact that British troops

should still stay in Egypt, when such

smaller states as Transjordon and

Iraq, etc., have achieved complete

Of course this political independ-

ence is not economic independence.

political independence.

(This article is sent to us by our Socialist Jawaharlal Nehru at its head, dismissal of one of their colleagues. They capitalism nor Bolshevism can solve the thing from these books is very doubtful, suits the Stalinists. V. Patel, Nehru's or sit down. Or they refuse to work system; neither can sell the goods pro- the wage-system. Most likely, they will Home Minister, is an avowed tool of the because one of them has been insulted by duced, however few or great they may be. be against the spread of anarchist ideas capitalists—the mill owners of Ahmedabad a "higher-up". THERE are already several kinds of presented him with half-a-million rupees

Since the end of the war, owing to the controlled trade unions; and the Rovist rapid increase of living costs, there has trade unions called the "Indian Feder- been an epidemic of strikes. When labour ation of Labour", started during the war is in trouble it is a good field for the with the aid of a government subsidy to Stalinists, who are not really the friends (There is also the oldest "National Rail- workers as wage slaves. But their politics waymen's Union" which is composed of in favour of Stalin (called "Communism") white and semi-white engine drivers.) is furthered by fishing in troubled waters. Recently, the Muslim League tried to start Communists are in favour of every strike -provided it furthers their party. Thus, These unions are all acting against one the workers are tossed between Comanother, although they pretend to help munists and capitalists in every country labour "unite". Sometimes the first three Both talk of giving better wages to the

Solidarity Without Class Consciousness

Between these two extreme mill stones Formerly, the Trade Union movement the workers are also ground up by other went hand in hand with the Indian political parties. There are the Congress National Congress, but during the war, Socialist and the Royists. The Muslim the Communists went against the Con- Leaguers are trying to form separat gress on account of its non-collaborationist unions like the Catholic unions in Ger-Hitler. (Till then, they were "against trouble are not so organized—i.e., disthe Imperialist War"-like the National ciplined-as in Europe. They go on strike when it suits them, and return to Since the National Congress assumed work when they cannot hold out any ministries in the various provinces first, longer. That is one of the advantages of and later in the capital of Delhi, the Com- being illiterate and leaderless! They more bitter against each other. The tinually in trouble, they must go on strike. Nationalist Government, with the ex- Often enough they go on strike for the

COCA-COLA

In Saudi Arabia, King Ibn Saudi

keeps there is no lack of them-will

American oil companies, according to

the American Senate War Investi-

gating Committee, basing his dis-

closure on testimony and documents

These show there were twenty thou-

Arabian fields, and the King woul

receive about 23 cents a barrel under

before the Committee.

Senator Owen Brewster, Chairman

Britain's policy in the Middle East 'known to every Egyptian, whereas no

has been to encourage Arab national- Egyptians know of our case to U.N.O.

ism in order that the independent and asks ironically 'why doesn't the

Arab States should fall under British Government hand over our case to the

economic influence. Apart from Coca-Cola Company? Actually, any

Palestine, where there were other American capitalist concern would

lated by 'Lawrence of Arabia' helped ROYALTY & ROYALTIES

violent and silent, in Russian- be trouble there before

mains America, and American in- stand in the way of capitalism.

American 'bobbysoxers'—is now, economically strong there.

solidarity, without class consciousness which is a very rare thing to find even in "well organized and disciplined" literate members of European and American trade

cipline", i.e., muzzle Indian workers-that and the capitalists! The labour leaders only pretend to go with the workers, and then try to sabotage the strikes. That workers come out. They do not know the niceties of negotiating roguery on the part of their leaders and the capitalists. They are straight out! Immediate in action! When the workers learn to read and are fed with misleading print, their minds will be unhinged as in pre-Nazi Germany and now in Europe. In fact, both capitalists and labour leaders want the workers to be literate in their common interest of keeping them down-doped with their literature. Hope is that both won't be able to educate them. The most unscrupulous class of workers are those who are able to read and want to be leaders They are not only muddled by reading, but also become traitors in order to climb higher in the hierarchy of leadership—any

Anarchist Literature has appeared and also one pamphlet by nationalist government which seeks British R. Rocker: Socialism and the State. But brutish protection. The labour leaders on the market not by any trade union or remove them instead of following them. anarchist organization-no such organiz- This country is in a wilder state than any ation exists, but by private enterprise. other and any bloodshed might take place Whether labour leaders will learn any- here.

So long as the workers hang on the and will join with capitalists against such promises of labour leaders and Govern- publications, for fear their jobs will be ments (however red they may be) that lost. The labour leaders will try to there is a solution within the wages ridicule such publications as crazy and system, even for maintaining the wage impracticable, although in their heart of system, they will all go unemployed or hearts they may rejoice if such publications will be prohibited by the nationalist-The only new kind of union that is Fascists. But without an anarchist moveworth having is one for running industry ment, this country will go Fascist and go without prices or wages-after expro- to the dogs-in spite of the labour leaders priation. Unless that is the object of the trying to adapt themselves to capitalistunions, the minds of workers will not be Fascism, which is the wage system. The repared to take possession of all things labour leaders in India and elsewhere in order to run industry in their own (along with their fellow travellers the nterests. Trade Unions for maintaining capitalists and Fascists) will only invite the wage system are useless; they cannot the wrath of workers for having led them anarchist thought which shows them the way out. Either society or state will arise out of the present chaos all over the world, and the state also requires society But for the first time in Indian history, to prey upon. Most likely that mankind anarchist literature is being printed. Of will be decimated by the state before it course, more are imported than printed. goes down. In that case, there will be Till now, God and the State by Bukunin no government possible in India after this Anarcho-syndicalism by Rocker is to will have themselves to thank when the appear soon. These publications are put workmen get wild in their tortures and

Measures Against Strikes Lynch Law in Since the Governments could not prevent strikes, they introduced compulsor arbitration by law-declaring any works to be a "public utility". But since even this did not prevent strikes, the labour leaders S. Carolina -who are in favour of compulsory arbitration even while they are protesting that

"it was only Fascist arbitration"-could not prevent strikes either, they had to go along with the workers. So the Nationalists in the Government had to find The only remaining way was to found

"Indian National Trade Union Congress" Meanwhile, they are trying to organize Fascist, company and blackleg unions, and workers will assuredly be paid to become rupt other unions. We have no sympathy | rarely involve the sex problem but are interfor any of these unions, for they are all racial disputes over some pitifully small made to keep workers down by making amount of money. The Negroes are exthem fight among themselves, and they are all in favour of the wage system which

but only to unite workers "in their own interests". His argument was that the makes the workers' lot more difficult than it already is, because the strikes which they foment make for lessened productio

other ways of meeting the situation.

the workers would only strengther

a rival organization of workers against

political conquest of Near Asia have contracts with American companies But it is quite false that increased Watch Saudi Arabia. There will locate the Palestine scene by mass in a big way. Already the King is Jewish immigration, the biggest com- relaxing the feudal restrictions—as petitor for economic domination re- regards women, for instance—that fluence is to be seen everywhere, from capitalism contains the seeds of its the smart central boulevards of Cairo own decay in that it will introduce new and Alexandria full of the latest ideas as regards the right of the King streamlined American cars, to the to own everything and to wax rich most remote village of mainly mud at the expense of the poverty-stricken walls and straw roofs, where some- fellaheen. There have been many inbody will be selling Coca-Cola. It dications of discontent, and there are may be incidentally remarked that many Powers who will be interested this soft drink—a favourite with in fanning it if one Power becomes too

ONSIDERABLE feeling has been stirred ment and/or £250 fine. Main hopes are up in certain parts of America fol- concentrated to make lynching a Federal lowing the acquittal of 31 men who criminal offence."

were arrested in South Carolina in connection with the lynching of a 24-year old regro. Willie Earle, who had been arrested stabbing and robbing of a white taxi driver. He was awaiting trial when a party of men, several members of which were taxi drivers. broke into the gaol, kidnapped Earle and took him outside the town where he was mutilated and shot to death.

The New York correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" makes the very important point, which has been the unanimous agreement of "careful students of American racial relations" that "contrary to the popular myth, the disputes which end in lynchings ploited economically throughout the United State. They almost invariably get less that: money for equal work than the whites, are the first to be dismissed, and the last

By JOHN OLDAY

Communists were trying to create trouble U.S. Government A few days after the acquittal, another

n which a white woman was involved, was kidnapped by five armed men. By a stroke of good fortune, this intended victim of the "unwritten law" (as lynching is referred to in America) managed to escape from the clutches of the mob and hid in woods for 48 hours without food until he gave himself up to G-men who quaranteed that he in a State prison. Carolina were rushed away from possible lynchers. One, Willie Porrer (20), charged with rape, was driven away after a throng of white people had gathered outside the ment growing in all countries. Now they | gaol The U.S. Government is promising to take action against these lynching parties, but according to Stanley Burch, "News but also of the labour leaders. The latter | faith in this endeavour, however. Conviction are surely more than ignorant—if they for violation of civil rights carries a maxiare not rogues they are idiots. Neither | mum sentence of only one year's imprison-

We need hardly say that as anarchists we

do not seek a solution of the problem of to the black man is encouraged there will be no solution. And the fact that there is in America an ever-growing body of opinion opposing this 'superiority' idea is the only sign that some day the barbarious "unwritten law" will become a thing of the

In support of our contention we need only quote two facts. The first is from the "News Chronicle" correspondent who says that: "No white man has been convicted for the killing of a negro in the South for 99

The second is from the "Manchester Guardian" correspondent who points out

'A generation ago there were several hundred lynchings each year. The number has been going down steadily recently and only a few lychings have been officially recorded each year in the recent past." How can this decrease be accounted for other than by the fact that there is a growing recognition of the equality of the negro awaiting trial on an assault charge, coloured man?

ELECTIONS IN THE FRENCH ZONE

Germans in the French zone of Germany have recently gone to the polls to would not be harmed", and locked him up elect their members to the three State Parliaments. Combat (20th May) refers On the same day, two other negroes in without offering any explanation, to the eresting fact that 40% of the electorate

> The Social Christians polled nearly a million votes and gained 115 seats in the three Parliaments, the Social Democrats seats, and the Communists 25 seats with a poll of 159,000 votes. And the 40% who

WAR DIPLOMACY

In a book entitled "d'Hendaye Gibraltar", which has just been published in France, the author, M. Serrano Suner (who is Franco's brother-in-law), makes diplomacy. According to M. Suner, when France to cede a North African possession from reaching Gibraltar. According to M. Suner, one of these three Englishmen was Lord Templewood (formerly Sir Samuel Hoare) who was British Ambassador in Madrid during the war

So much dirty linen is washed in leftwing movements, that it is interesting when the high-ups in disgrace 'spill the beans' for a change.

Foreign Commentary Police Brutality

pushed away the offending torch from to our comrades in prison or to those This gesture was too much for the

hospital as a result of his treatment.

pathy and encouragement although we by trade an electrician and was a man reader, the two cases referred to above are by no means lacking in courage to of good character. One evening, how- occurred much nearer home! Mr. X protests of police witnesses who dehave the right to demand them from premises were raided by armed police citizen of Versailles, that delightful "The National Committee of the people present into their van, and Treaties are signed, and the two

"What else can you expect from the Nazis" someone may say, "After all the two cases recounted above are just two of thousands of such cases for which the Nazis have been found which we went to war was to get rid Mr. Y was only 32 years old, and of this kind of thing." But, dear ever, whilst enjoying a drink, the was Monsieur Paul Paumier, a good clared "But, M. le President, you who proceeded to bundle all the little town near Paris where Peace identity cards. Unfortunately, Mr. Y André Dodinot of Paris, and he was little too slowly. To jog him out of "So this happened in Democratic case to the bitter end, probably serving, and other necessary labour.

him in spite of the protests of many his share." passers-by. Many came forward as witnesses to disprove the indignant

MR. X had just seen off some Mr. Y was in too bad a way to be "persuading" people to confess to He told her about his 'passage à friends at the station, and was released and was held by the police crimes which they may not even have tabac' and added "If something slowly making his way home when policemen were French policemen (or committed. It's quite a simple happens to me, 'they' are responsible. he was stopped by two policemen, one not seen by the neighbours. He could business, consisting of beating up Here are the names of seven people of whom turned on his torch full in hardly eat, as a result of a broken jaw your victim with truncheons or with who can witness to this effect." The savagery, we need more effective Mr. X's face. Mr. X, a man of 67, and was confined to his bed. Eleven ones' bare fist, and the more police- inspector who struck André Dodinot arguments, more energetic resolutions. didn't like this kind of behaviour, and days after his arrest, his mother men present to beat up one man the declared that all he did was to return "We work and struggle without with a quick movement of his hand, returned home and found him dead. less time it takes to extract the blow struck at him by Dodinot. But witnesses have already given details of what happened: "When In the case of Mr. X the two Dodinot attempted to protect his face policemen have been arrested and in from the blows rained on him, the court it was revealed that these two attack was only intensified until an policemen dragged the unfortunate inspector, seeing that the unfortunate man through the streets and ill-treated man was unconscious, said "He's had

WHO SAID "UTOPIAN"?

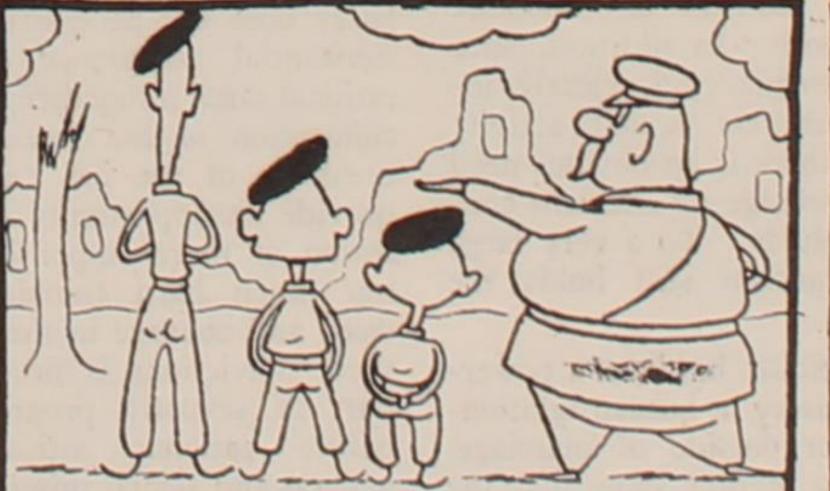
At Preet Nagar, a colony near Lahore, India, which gets its income from a dairy, farm products and a flour mill, a remarkable experiment is being carried out, both in education and community sharing. Everyone is on a basis of equality, and the simplest farm worker has the same

LIBERTARIAN.

according to a leading Arabic paper,

THE THREE MUSKETEERS-8,

IN GERMANY—SIGHT SEEING



Though we had to destroy a lot . . We took care not to damage buildings of cultural value, such as .

1 2 3 4 5 8 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 28 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 1 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 16 17 18 19 20 21 STANLESS HARDENE 22 23 17 24

cases will disappear, or be limited to a this way active groups were formed in

was suffocated by the inevitable upsurge

an important one, in the formative years pression of his sense of the common man's 1651, he published his last pamphlet of the Civil War and its outcome, the so- wrongs, and of the opportunity which the "The Law of Freedom", an appeal to called Puritan Revolution, and that breaking of the royal power held out of Cromwell to lead the people beyond the "history" in this case reads like something righting them. He saw clearly the issues state which the bourgeoisie had created in we know uncommonly well-was the of the time, and wrote: "That which is its own image, into the true Commonwaiting on your part to be done is this: wealth of free men, which Winstanley's

Although the Parliamentary party, To see the oppressor's power to be cast every pamphlet shadows forth, and to-

which forced on the war, and executed the out with his person, and to see that the wards which he strained with all his force. King, and of which Cromwell was the free possession of the land and liberties Thereafter, we know nothing of him, exaccredited representative and instrument, be put into the hands of the oppressed cept that he wrote no more and, with consisted mainly of landowners and commoners of England." capitalists, it would be a gross oversimplification to look upon its members as all animated by the same idea: that of grabbing as much as they could of the roval power and possessions, and using them for the greater glory of the bour geoisie. The total effect of the Civil War was certainly to bring about the dominance of the commercial classes, yet the aims of some of the groups nominally aligned with the Cromwellian party were far different. The most radical of these adequate medical service-all this plumb

tury!-that Cromwell, in the end, was compelled to crush it in a civil war within a civil war, mention of which you may look for in vain in the school-books. Typical of the Levellers was William hoped, by the success of this colony, to festoes that comes home as poignantly Alwyn, no writer, but a man who spoke inspire workers, and later the landlords to us now as it did to those of Gerrard his mind in words like these: "To the themselves, all over England, to follow Winstanley's comrades who sweated beside objection that community of property his example, and freely him in the April weather, on a Surrey Kropotkins' own pro-war position. It would upset all and every government, associating, agricultural communities. The hillside, nearly three hundred years ago. must be admitted also that many he answered, 'There would then be less Digger doctrine was spread abroad by need of government, for then there would Winstanley's own pamphlets, and by (See "Selections from the Works of of the contributors appear merely be no thieves, no covetous persons, no agents, despatched to proselytise, and raise Gerrard Winstanley", ed. Hamilton- opinionated. eceiving of one another"." This might money for the parent movement, and in Cresset Press, 1944.) thirds of all breaches of the law being so-

called 'crimes against property', these

ANARCHY OR CHAOS 2/6, Cloth 4/6

RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY

WHAT IS ANARCHISM?

ANARCHISM AND MORALITY

SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS

(Chosen by Herbert Read)

SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL

WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA

ILL-HEALTH, POVERTY AND THE

THE LIFE WE LIVE, THE DEATH

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HOMES OR HOVELS?

Peter Kropotkin.

Errico Malatesta:

Herbert Read:

M. L. Bernerit

Alexander Berkman:

John Hewetson:

EVOLUTION

Gaston Leval:

F. A. Ridley:

A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM

ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI

MUTUAL AID & SOCIAL

THE MARCH TO DEATH

William Godwin:

VOTE WHAT FOR?

Nor was he merely content to pen exhortations, even though they were exrganised the digging-up and planting of old burden increased?" waste land near St. George's Hill,

perhaps the fight gone out of him, went

know when or where he died. pruning-hooks, and take plough and and one which we might recognise if it spring of 1649, the spring following the brought face to face with the full horror and to literature in general. execution of Charles I, when, as of State brutality and betrayal would not Winstanley himself wrote: "The old world echo these words, which Winstanley used tempted nothing less than the transform- people: We have parted with our estates, ation of the Puritan bourgeois "revolution" we have lost our friends in the wars, into a real revolution, based on anarchist which we willingly gave up because freeprinciples, and powered by the energies dom was promised us, and now in the of the working class. In that April, he end we have new taskmasters, and our

Cobham, which lies on the road between Yes, there is still much in these hastily | tributions which jar by their patroniz-Esher and Guildford, in Surrey. He knocked-together pamphlets and mani-

Review for the years 1938 and 1939, before the age of 20. And this was too monotonous in these panegyric Stationery Office, 1947, pp. 237, 4/6) they have been even more widespread biographical matter of some interest to on the changing sexual conventions, known to relax sexual restraints. particularly regarding sexual relations

nomic considerations rather than

RESEARCH

Medical Research

that these figures refer to extra-

£14,780,000 old chastity "ideal" has very little more than an unclean memory. £49,731,000 force to-day, yet there is no indication



Centennial Expressions on Peter Kropotkin 1842-1942. pp. 44. 1943. pp. 48.

differing people of Kropotkin and a comparable length. by. Kropotkin's own Memoirs of a practically all the working class move-Revolutionist published before the end ments of the period. For instance, of the nineteenth century, gave an there is a fairly just short summary account of his life up to about of the ideas of Godwin, and an inback to his trading. We do not even 1885. But Kropotkin's extraordinary teresting note on syndicalist influence modesty and reticence made him in England. hortations as splendid as this one: "Come, A failure? In one way, yes. He had speak much more about the times and those that are free within, turn your no endurance: having registered his pro- events that he lived through than swords into ploughshares, and spears into test, he passed on. Yet he was a voice, about himself. A full biography is spade, and break up the common land, came from our midst to-day. Which one very much overdue, and the publibuild your houses, sow corn, and take among us, for instance, having given and cation of Kropotkins' letters would be possession of your own land." In the suffered much in the late war, and now a very great service to social history is running up like parchment in the fire", of his war, and his State-machine: "For knew him also die lest the letters and everything seemed possible, he at- is this not a common speech among the which so many of them have

> This small pamphlet provides some sidelights on Kropotkin's life and character which are very welcome. But it is marred by a number of coning note. Too many are evidently of the 1914 war by acclaiming

possessing simply for the charming anecdote told by the great Danish literary critic, Georg Brandes

The Testimonial to Rudolf Rocker on his 70th birthday also partakes of Much of the space is taken up with review by Herbert Read in the Criterion is included in this collection. The Freedom Press hope to issue Nationalism and Culture over in this opinions collected here will be of

the Registrar-General's figures must (*These pamphlets may be obtained represent a considerable understate- from Freedom Bookshop, 27, Red

THE COMMON PEOPLE, 1746-1946. by G. D. H. Cole and Raymond Postgate (revised edition). Methuen,

There have been few books giving

working man, and of his struggles to sion, as Cole and Postgate's The Common People. As a handy reference book for the student of English social history it is still the best of its kind; there are omissions, as is inevitable, but the book is written in Testimonial to Rudolph Rocker 1873— a concise style which has enabled its Each 1/-* authors to bring into the space at THESE two pamphlets each consist their disposal far more information of short appreciations by widely than is usually contained in books of

those who seek anecdotal biographical mous-both practical facts regarding material about them. Such material wages-rates and standards of living in is particularly welcome in Kropotkin's many industries over two centuries, case, for it is all too difficult to come and brief but illuminating notes on

Generally speaking, considering the partisan opinions of the authors, the 1938 edition was written with balance and a relative lack of prejudice. Robert Owen, for instance, who has too often been the target for the wit of authoritarian socialists, is treated daquately and sympathetically.

It is therefore gratifying to see this useful book re-issued at a price which is still reasonable in view of rising publishing costs—10/- for nearly 700 closely printed pages. The only unfortunate thing about this reprint is the Epilogue, which deals with the 1939-45 war, and which departs from the spirit of the rest of the book by merely giving a sketch of eventsbacked by no objective informationfrom an official Labour Party viewpoint. Anti-war movements are misrepresented, conscription and wartime restrictions are justified and the book ends with a song of praise hailing the Labour Government as the dawn of a new era for the workers.

It is unfortunate so good a book should be spoilt by this irrelevant and misleading addition, but if you can ignore the last chapter, the book as a whole remains a very useful source book for social study which is well worth any ten shillings you have to

A few copies of the following titles are available WHAT IS PROPERTY ? 5/-REVOLUTION IN THE By P. J. Proudhon D. A. de Santillan By H. Fielding Hall LA VIE ARDENTE ET INTRE-Second-Hand copies only: By Peter Kropotkin RUSSIAN LITERATURE: - IDEALS AND REALITY = 10/6 By Peter Kropotkin (both the above arerare and FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS By Peter Kropotkin

31st May, 1947

The Pight to be a Tramp

(Continued from page 2)

every night outlying public assistance institutions will telephone the number of tramps who have "dropped in". Then the lorries will go out and transport them and their baggage to institutions where the same as that of the authorities-that there are separate wards.

"On arrival the men will be bathed and searched. On the day following admission, they will have to do eight hours' work, and part of any money found on them will be taken towards maintenance. to give eight days' notice when he wishes principles (or lack of them) of govern-

the men fit to go back to the working unless followed by freedom of action.

This atttitude is bad enough, but the Army in 1940, and on the tramp ever since, now calls himself the "Minister for Tramps" and has a plan for rehabilitating Britain's vagrants, which he calls the "Tramps' Charter".

Already under consideration by the Ministry of Health, this plan would re- from those who go on the road from free place institutions by hostels and centres choice. Neurotic and restless, they are where—and here's the nerve of the thing finding it impossible to adjust themselves -psychiatric treatment would be avail- to civilian life after years in the stultifying able. Fred, you see, is one of those atmosphere of military existence, where do-gooders who wants to see these poor months of routine inactivity in barracks fellows doing something useful for their alternated with periods of too much country. "I try to intercept the young activity in action. casual not long in vagrant life," he says,

This "Minister for Tramps" (he gives problems inseparable from war and introduce the paper to new readers. Groups I would like to add my thanks for the

convenience of the Government".

changed with the authorities, official memoranda, and a complete record of all

institutions in the country used by tramps. And his attitude is precisely tramps are queer, deranged people who must be rehabilitated so that they are shepherded back into the fold of wageslaving sheep working hard for the boss's profits and the greater glory of the

The impudence of this attitude is pretty A tramp who visits an institution as often staggering, but only too widespread. Any as six times in a month will be required individual who refuses to accept the mental society, be he half-wit or genius, anarchist, atheist or tramp, is just as And at a new hostel, to have hot and liable to be regarded as a "case". The cold showers, dining and day rooms, and revolutionary attitude is one of scorn for private cubicles "we shall try," says Mr. all unthinking conformity, for all blind life. Simple trades will be taught to make to freedom of thought which is usel

knife is really twisted when one learns P.S.—Since the above was written, news that offiialdom has already got its fifth comes of a report to be sent to local column at work among the tramps. Fred authorities by the London County Coun-G. Husband, discharged unfit from the cil, which will reveal that "vagrancy" has trebled in the past year. It will also reveal a tragic aftermath of the war.

> Many of the post-war tramps are exservice men who are finding themselve mentally and physically unfit for what are called the "normal" occupations. These people are perhaps in a different category

authorities' conception of "normal occu- spares we can remove the financial worries Dear Comrades, pations", they seem to us to present of the Editorial group and at the same time As a sympathiser of the Anarchist Group, producer is to come last, as usual. himself Cabinet rank, you notice) carries competitive society. of supporters could also help by having numerous copies of "Freedom" which I have Derby.

BUREAUCRATS BY THE

We are still receiving letters from readers on the question of making "FREEDOM" selfsupporting. The selection published below refer to the letter from A.B. ("Freedom" May 3rd) in which the viewpoint put forward was that one could not "assess" the value of "Freedom", as some correspondents had done, in terms of money, and that the real DEAR COMRADES, solution was to retain the price of the paper and readers for their part should help to increase the circulation and send contributions to the Press Fund. We welcome further contributions to this discussion,—Editors.)

I very much agree with what A.B. writes concerning the paper's merits and price, and feel that any increase in the price

Dear Comrades.

would not be justified unless the present is that we should wait until the end of 1947 I disagree with the correspondent who described the Press Fund as "degrading"

knowing it, against what is perhaps the only way by which "Freedom" can get the necessary money in addition to subscriptions. All readers should strive in the coming May I add a word or two to the many months to introduce the paper to more people, especially to youth. very soon be on a sound financial footing am against an increase in price, one reason

regular contributions to the Press Fund. Yours fraternally,

J.S. to be going on with. Sidmouth, Devon. Degrading or not, without the Press Fund,

present format !- Eds.) Dear Comrades, Regarding the price of "Freedom", surely "and persuade him to leave the road and These men are just as much casualties the obvious thing is for those of us who go into a training hostel. The elder men of war as those physically maimed, and feel that it's worth more is to pay more. encourage to live permanently in an without in any way accepting the By purchasing 3 copies and lending the

and may resume selling papers over in Southampton during the fine weather. Sincerely yours,

To simplify our office work, we ask those readers who wish to pay more for their "Freedom's" to do so in the form of a contribution to the Press Fund when they and he is, I believe striking a blow without

you have received on the question of increasing the price of "Freedom"? There is If this could be done, "Freedom" would much to be said for A.B.'s point of view. I and then perhaps real plans could go being that it will cause more reminders forward for it to be turned into a weekly. being sent out when subscription time Comrades, it is vital in this age of in- comes, Surely something can be done. We DEAR COMRADES, dustrial slavery and totalitarianism that must find a way to both increase the cirthese things should be done, but they can- culation and make "Freedom" a weekly. not be done without our co-operation, and My humble mind can't find a way but the best way we can do it, is by sending when I think of you who have done so well in the past, I have great hopes for the future of our paper. Anyway, here's 2/6

'Freedom' could not come out in its Crewe.

suggest that though one reader on his own readers obtaining two new readers each among their friends and workmates, can!

SYNDICALIST ORGANIZATION

received from you during the past twelve

months. "Freedom" has made interesting

reading and has had wide circulation

amongst my pals. I am enclosing, etc. . . .

Yours fraternally,

In order to build the nucleus of a syndicalist organization, I suggest the Anarchist movement should be forming groups of workers at the point of production; and these groups of the various industries in which we are represented, federated in a propaganda league or committee. I am not in favour of the building of "paper" unions-industrial unions in theory but not in practice-but I believe the actual existence of a nucleus in the shape of such a union of syndicalist propaganda groups would give more point

to our agitation at the point of production. The first step would be the formation of the committee—the second the forming of the groups of anarchists in industry which, however small, could (while not claiming to be actual syndicates) act as propaganda centres and the nucleus of what may actually become syndicates.

What do other comrades think? "INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST".

COMPULSORY INSURANCE SWINDLE

I should like to see Freedom devote some space to exposing the swindle of the new National Insurance Bill. I have recently been drawing 10/6 per week National Health Insurance, and this in spite of the fact that workers' contributions have recently been doubled. To double workers' contributions and yet to allow them no more when they are sick is not social security but social robbery (Apart from the Editorial blush-may we of a barefaced and vicious nature. If the insurance companies made a substantial account cannot solve the problem, 1,000 profit out of the National Health Insurance before contributions were doubled, goodness knows what profits are being made now, for they are not paying out any more in benefits. It is obvious that with this government, as with the Tories, the

asked to be taken back to the place from him in more forcible language than I can

express here to 'get down them stairs'. Evening Standard, 15/5/47.

thing was all right now, but when he

Cathedral vesterday: -It has been said that England is now a pagan country. It is worse. Pagans

secularists believe in no god-except, per-

battle against God and the State is

Public Relations, gave this warning to an For stealing 1lb. of coal valued at 1d. 'Imagine a submarine driven by atomic energy. The U-boat is the one vessel fined 10s. at Wigan to-day.

All the devices of science and fighting He appealed to those who had been

demobbed to emphasise among their friends the danger of the submar And he added that those remaining in the Command were a nucleus which would (European Ed.), 17/5/47. always be prepared to fight the U-boat.

20,000,000 people also paid dearly for a woman weeping and clutching a baby the business man's errors—or were was carried out and set down beside her chattels.

The refusal of the workers to make submarines is the best weapon against them to leave as they were quite willing housing situation is such that they can afford to export timber.

The refusal of the workers to make submarines is the best weapon against them to leave as they were quite willing to do.

He was received with shouts of "No", submarines is the best weapon against He was received with shouts of "No",

youth COMEDY OF ERRORS Mr. T. E. Naylor (Soc., Southwark), in

the Commons this afternoon wanted to tobacco factory where he works, his wife coming here. We don't beleive in God know why Mr. Hurst of Southwark was ARE CIVIL SERVANTS and children sat by the road while the anyway'."—Canon F. Paton-Williams, detectives, forced into a police car, taken HUMAN? to Bow Street, and then released without A few minutes before the departure furniture to a stone-floored Nissen at the back of their camp. There are no lights and few windows.

Hooray!

DESPERATE MAN

Hooray!

Mr. G. H. Oliver (Home Office Parliamentary Under-Secretary) said that the

The Germans hammered boards over In January, 1946, he had considerable man had refused to produce his identity the worst of the holes and found an oil matrimonial troubles, and as a result of card, but changed his mind while being THE LAW

lamp.

this he was driven to desperation and taken to the police station, and was re
As I helped to push the baby Susan's threw himself into his only hobby—that of leased from Bow Street after the constable Tears come to our eyes as we realise Mr. Naylor would not accept this Evening News, 21/5/47. explanation.

> "You know," he said, "that this man ALTERNATIVE TO MONEY was taken up after he had said he thought anybody's.

Association. They will be honoured at "Further, when they did investigate at let's see, weren't you a sergeant in Bow Street, the detectives came into the Brussels?" Daily Graphic, 12/5/47. office after a few hours and said every-

informal reunion of Coastal Command

from a Wigan Corporation coal dump, Ann Carr, 35, of Back Chapel-lane, Wigan, mother of three children, was

AFTER THE WAR WAS When four German civilians walked

Sunday Dispatch, 11/5/47. English, asked the girls if they wanted

and the dance went on. The Germans, who were good dancers,

had plenty of partners. They came from Wilton Park, Beaconsfield, a training

to-day of a train carrying 800 Civil Servants back to London from Llandudno, their war-time home, a procession headed by a banner "We demand to return to our

Evening Standard, 16/5/47.

HE FRENCH COOKS SYNDICATE 3d.

Decay of Sexual "Morality"

nearly 30 per cent. of mothers con- deliberate). ceive their first-born out of wedlock. Presumably, in the large majority of such cases marriage with the father follows on such a pregnancy; if so, a very high proportion of marriages take place "because they had to" as the popular saying has it. A somewhat casual impetus to what is often a life-2d. long association held together by eco-

mutual attachment. Of married women under 20 years

The recently published Statistical lations must be very widespread the eulogistic note which is rather spare. issued by the Registrar General (H.M. before the war, so that presumably collections. Nevertheless, there is

Thirdly, it has to be remembered marital births; the abortion rate is not accurately known because of the legal

on research during 1947-8, Mr. Glenvil
Hall, replying for the government, gave field here.

work and courage in the living out of the following figures, which require no Sexual asceticism has been a power- their convictions is necessary on the ful cause of misery in human relation- part of sexually progressive people £698,000 ships inside or outside of marriage. before rational attitudes become £2,070,000 Although these figures show that the general and sexual misery becomes no

contains some interesting information during the war, since wartime is well- be drawn from some contributions. Secondly, although contraceptive discussion and opinions on Rocker's methods are theoretically available, important book Nationalism and It appears that in 1938 and 1939, they cannot be very effectively used | Culture, first published in 1937. This one in every seven children born was (for it seems unlikely that any high was analytically reviewed in Spain conceived outside marriage, while proportions of these pergnancies was and the World at the time, and a

same level as the live birth rate, then ment of the disregard of sexual Lion Street, London, W.C.I.)

Clearly it is no cause for lament of a widespread improvement in the old, between 40 and 50 per cent. were that the obscurantism which shrouds conception of human relations between sexual activity is being broken the sexes. The ideas of "free love" figures indicate a number of things. through. But that young girls should which have for many years been as-Whatever the official morality of confeel bound to marry the fathers of sociated with anarchism involve a vention, it is evident that sexual re- what must be regarded as casual much higher conception of sexual pregnancies is a most regrettable re- association than current marital flexion on either conventional attitudes morality. Unfortunately, decay of the to unmarried mothers or economic latter does not necessarily imply any pressures, or both. In addition, since substantial acceptance of the more the fear of pregnancy is clearly in- rational and altogether more ethical adequate to repress sexual activity conception of the free union. The (fortunately), there is an obvious need break-up of the old "morality, may for fuller knowledge of effective con- provide an opportunity for the incul-In reply to a question regarding the traceptive methods. To a very large cation of more responsible attitudes; allocation of the £68,000,000 to be spent extent obscurantism still holds the but much hard thinking and hard

By Henry David Thoreau OWARDS DEMOCRACY

By Edward Carpenter

(Postage extra)

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LONDON - W.C.I

What are these militant Reds doing rise in the number employed in national clattering world. The way to get rid of village was owned by Viscount St. Vincent, in a capitalist state's army, anyway? Observer, 27/4/47.

DIVIDED LOYALTIES—II A good part of the French Foreign Through Legion fighting against the Vietnamese in Indo-China is made up of former members of the Nazis' Afrika Korps. Last week at Hai duong, the French executed two of their German soldiers for desertion. Before death struck, each proclaimed his

final faith in a defiant shout. "Vive la France!" cried one. "Heil Hitler!" cried the other.

ADVENTURERS, PLEASE decayed teeth; in isolated villages, only The thrusting, undirected, adventurou world of free enterprise, in which the individual trusts his own ability, takes covery, the only way. Everything else is major importer of false teeth.

The task of bringing Britain through to recovery should be placed, as soon as possible, where it properly belongs—with THOSE HUNS Daily Express, 12/5/47. day watched as men moved furniture from Between 1939 and 1945, about They were perplexed when, last of all, Everybody knows that the German

QUESTION AND ANSWER and made tea for the woman and her whildren—she also had a boy of three. Park, London, yesterday, a well-dressed had just been evicted, so for 12 hours clubs. It was rather discouraging to go woman mounted the bandstand and tried to-day, until Mr. Fox came back from the into a youth club and be told: 'It's no use

called through the microphone, 'Does anyone want to know the truth?' and a numlience answered 'No'.

Daily Mirror, 12/5/47. lorry, the prisoners moved the Fox's Hooray! ber of the audience answered 'No'. We are confronted with the same in-

difference to truth ourselves-often.

When a woman at Willesden court pram across the fields to the hut to-night, collecting butterflies. He had amassed a had apologised for the inconvenience. to-day said her husband had threatened Mrs. Fox told me, with tears in her eyes: collection of some 40,000. to leave England if she summoned him, "These Germans have been wonderful. All the magistrate, Mr. P. Bond, said: " "We don't like people who make threats. us. They are gentlemen." Your husband is only a fly to us. We Mr. Fox added quietly: "To-day I am will put our steamroller on him and almost ashamed of having fought against

Evening Standard, 6/5/47. The Germans do not know whether A fairly frank admission that the law News Chronicle, 20/5/47. is based on force, not on justice . . . Lord Vansittart-please note!

The U.S. is to rid its army of Com- MILLION

authority of the Secretary of War "for local government services has increased by more potent than atomic fission. And it auction at York, were sold for £66,630. about 50 per cent., compared with 1939. was free. Modestly and formally, Dr. government is much larger-1,016,000 your worries, he wrote, is to hold your whose family's property it had been since

5 per cent. The reason: diet changes

The logical development still awaits.

German prisoners in a camp here to-

They brought food from their rations

Then this evening, with a five-ton

to-day they have fed us and looked after

the Germans in the war."

they have broken the law.

a nearby house into the road.

Germans tried to console them.

News Review, 1/5/47.

and made tea for the woman and her YOUTH FOR ATHEISM!

The woman was Mrs. W. H. Fox. She dockers than to go into certain

breath after breathing out.

News Chronicle, 13/5/47.

has arrived there with a cargo of Black

was flying the red, white and blue sea flag

"I found it easier to talk to London

Germany's national flag.

Christian Commando.

boarding houses or on bus tours.

The size of the combined national and waiting for. If it worked, it would be from York, offered for sale by public

the days of Nelson. News Review, 1/5/47.

officers in Holborn, London:

Lord Mayor of London, said at St. Paul's

into a dance at Beaconsfield last night, Polish soldiers, who were most of the men present, walked out. minutes and then one of the Germans went to the middle of the floor, and in

for the first time that beneath blackcoated exteriors beat hearts as

"Holiday credit notes" will be given at Great Yarmouth in exchange for new and cheers), and a reply came from the TOMMIES NEVER FORGET makers send to the local Boarding House a free country any more. (More cheers.) . with an unpleasant leer, saying: "Now

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