# **Deserters** and Crime ROBLEM OF THE GUNN

#### (From a Forces. Correspondent)

At the Lambeth conference of the Prison Officers' Association the Chairman.

lawful purpose should be subject death penalty

on society in recent months," he said. position is the man who does not work "I know it would not be opposed to dresses well and lives well, uses his ability my belief that these persons should be to exploit others or directs the work of subject to the death penaity, whether murder on the battlefield. How the news-

murder is the result or not. in my submission, be the greatest single measure devised to suppress the activities of the increasing band of potential murderers."

#### Star, 28/5/47.

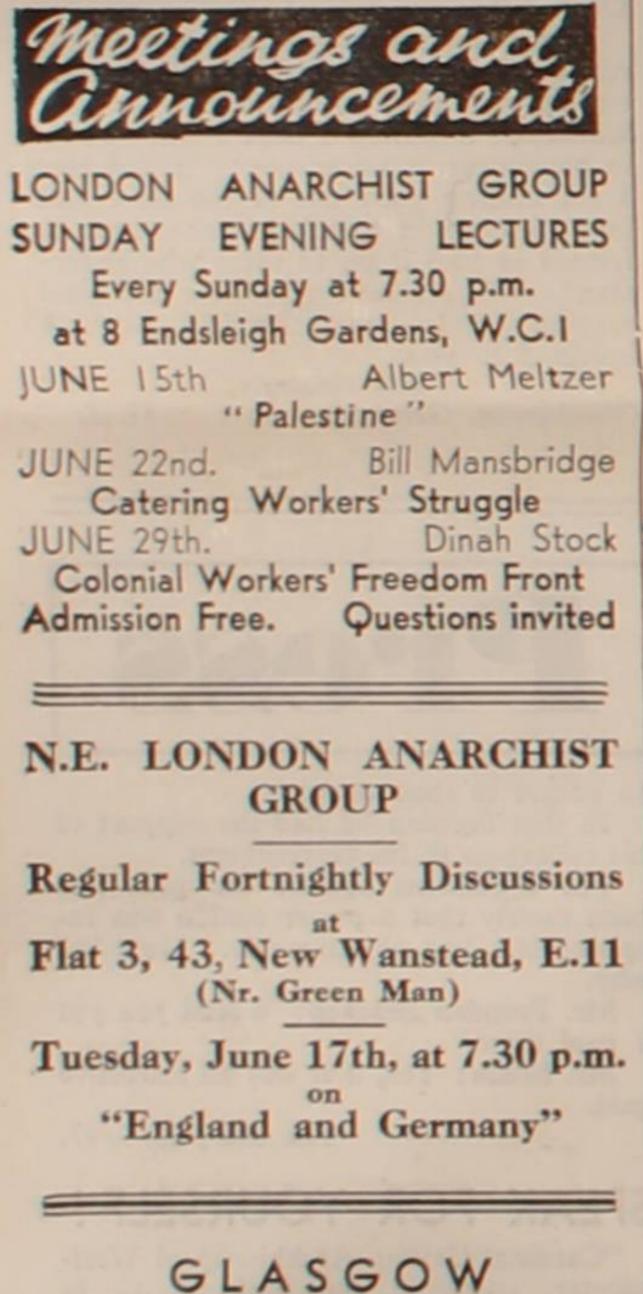
As critics, and indeed abolitionists, the penal system, we join issue with Mr. Beisty's would-be drastic methods, which are not exactly original, since the death penalty for carrying guns has been tried by States and has failed for the simple reason that it encourages the gunmen to fight to the death instead of surrendering Many countries have armed and militarised the police force and the only result is that gangs fight the police like two small armies, as we have seen in America in our generation, and in certain countries elsewhere in the world at the present day. There is only one way to stop criminals carrying guns and that is strike at the causes of crime, but the short-sighted "public lifers" can only see "deterrents" and punishments that cannot

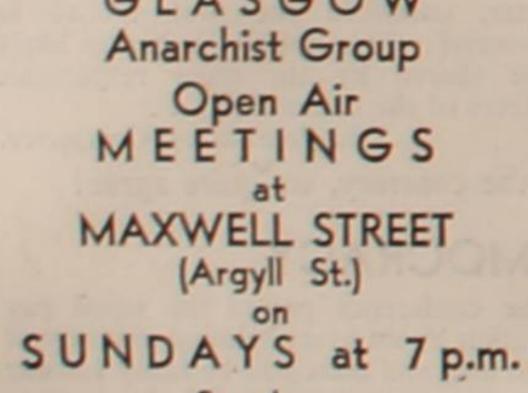
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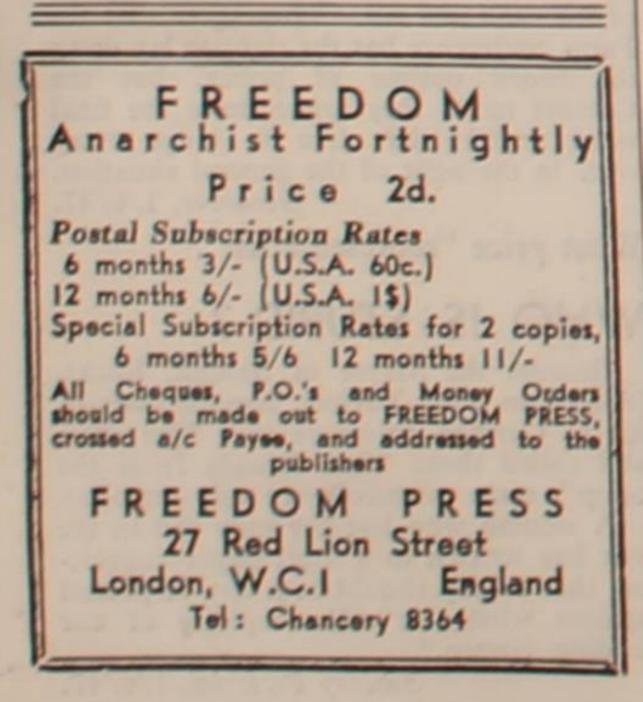
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Speakers : Eddie Shaw Frank Leech Preston Clements



#### Jauses Grime

e workers, drab<sup>\*</sup> surrour papers manage to reconcile their readers "The passing of such an act would, to their present war on the "spivs" with their adoration of the Society idlers, possible only by our deliberate moral conditioning by the propaganda agencie of Church, State, Press and Radio.

Why do they moralise indignantly on the black market racketeers? What is it but the "free initiative" we have heard so much talk about? Is their cornering of rationed goods any different to the time-honoured methods of capitalist speculation? In fact, in spite of the denunciations of the Black Market when this is a capitalist affair outside of the State; on certain occasions, as in Russia and France the Government has nationalised certain Black Market institutions and sold unrationed goods at high prices, while in Norway it was considered patriotic to trade in the black market rather than the (Nazi) State market.

We condemn the black market as any other institution for robbing the masses but we quite see where lies its attraction for those tempted by the shoddy joys of capitalism; and how those not astute -| enough to become the No. 1 "spivs" who drive to Buckingham Palace and are presented at Royal Tea Parties, hanker the position of No. 2 "spivs" as abound Soho and Brighton.

#### The Crime Wave

Mansbridge the reverse (i.e., forced by crime, and the Anarchist Society, in fact.

oted with their feet".)

The use of the gun by the "No. Swaggering about with a gun is a pastime nade popular by the Army-I have seen plenty of young officers bolstering up their conceit in the self-same way-and, spite of this last statement hurting man people's feelings) one cannot escape from he plain fact that it assuages an inferior oplex in the same way as a row of ibbons. Most of our "gunmen" don't intend to use their gun-as is shown when some shop assistant gets vigilant for the boss's property-that is why Mr. Beisty's statement is so pernicious. It is far better to show them another way of life where inferiority complexes manifested in flash clothes or lazy living or carrying a gun are sublimated.

But how is present society going to show such a life? The "No. 1 spivs" are the de luxe editions of the "wide boys" (as a matter of fact, the Intractor case has shown how narrow is the gap that separates them). What about the mass of society? Are their conditions anything to get excited about? Aren't the 'spivs" right in despising us for spendin in toiling hopelessly for the f people who not only despis us but whose whole philosophy of life is bound up with making things easy for themselves at the expense of everyone

It almost looks as if Mr. Beisty is right The "No. 2 spivs" are growing rich on in thinking there is no hope except his the post-war outbreak of armed robbery. belief in wholesale (legalised) massacre of ward in favour of such a revision in t This is often blamed on to "deserters" and every damfool kid who goes round swankthe "life of crime" they are obliged to ing with a looted Luger, but forunately lead. I am not in agreement on this there is an alternative: the libertarian repoint with some fellow-contributors to construction of society WITHOUT Freedom. Certainly as there are as many GOVERNMENT and with a communal type of deserters as there are of soldiers, basis that would eliminate the needs of there are some forced by desertion into crime whether for motives of enrichment crime, but in these cases it is more often or power or self-glorification: an

Heavy spenders in the property market Board paid £15,000, to be used as a off working for the Board than for their are the Coal Board. I find they have now residence for Mr. T. S. Charlton, director old Companies." spent £245,000 on big houses. Latest of productions in the division. purchase is a £5,000 house in Cardiff for one of their officials.

Sixteen properties have been bought, and one rented. Among them are: Himley Hall, Staffs, £45,000; Sher- rooms.

wood Lodge, Nottingham, £18,000; St George's Nursing Home, Doncaster, £20,000; Benwell Tower, Newcastle-on-Offices, £35,000; and the Doncaster employer to Mr. Charlton. YMCA, £28,000. Evening Standard, 2/6/47.

Formerly the property of Mr. Thomas Evans, one-time chairman of South Wales Coalowners and the managing director of the Ocean Coal Combine, it has 20

A Coal Board spokesman in London yesterday said: "In the case of Craig-y-Tyne, £17,000; Stoke Mining Industry Parc the Board are acting the part of good

"He was transferred from Yorkshire, where his colliery company provided him Among them is Craig-y-Parc, at with a house. Under nationalisation it is Pentyrch, Glamorgan, for which the the policy that on one should be worse

**Carlisle Squatters Evicted** The following is taken from

Carlisle Journal of May 16th: "Four families were still squatting in the Rydal Street property when the eviction. Carlisle Corporation's order for possession

came into effect on Monday. two at the mercy of the inclement out. weather.

a baby in arms, and another expectant vain. mother.

"Unable to find shelter on Monday night, the women and children obtained emergency accommodation at Fusehill Hospital, while the menfolk stayed by their belongings on the street!"

"Fusehill Hospital" is, in fact, the workhouse. The irresponsibility of the local administration which permits people local indignation. A woman wrote to the and offer to shelter these people." Carlisle Journal appealing for private help for the evicted families, and described their situation :

"Sir-As a citizen of Carlisle, I have been horrified at the scenes in Rydal Street this week after the squatters'

"There are ex-Servicemen who fought for us in Burma and on the Continen "They were moved with their belong- and the furniture they paid for with their ings into the street, where most of their gratuity money has been standing outfurniture remained for the next day or side in the rain since they were turned

"They have been from door to door "The evicted included one mother with trying to find accommodation, and all in

> "A mother with her baby and another expectant mother had to spend one night in Fusehill, and then they had nowhere to

take them in, and they have actually had to sleep on the street.

"As a private person, I interviewed the to be forcibly evicted (and indeed orders Mayor, and my own Councillor, but they the eviction), without providing them with all said that nothing could be done unless adequate alternative lodging, has provoked some private person could come forward

responsibility.

### FREEDOM



'in hiding"-the police aren't



L.A.G. Sunday Meetings

#### "Should We Revise Anarchism ?

Marie Louise Berneri pointed out that pretation. the recent war had revealed considerable differences between anarchists, and that the issue of the anti-Franco struggle in Spain had raised the question of whether it was justifiable to collaborate with governments or would-be governments. But in considering whether anarchism was in need of revision M. L. Berneri stressed the need to confine one's attention to those theoretical questions on which all anarchists were agreed; and pointed out that this limited the field to the question of opposition to the state. Revision meant modifying the traditional attitude of complete hostility to the State (which the lecturer was careful to define and separate from the idea of society) Reviewing the arguments brought forlight of recent history, and especially the history of the civil war in Spain, these

arguments were seen to be fallacious. On the contrary, recent history only confirmed the essential truth of the anarchist hostility to the State. Despite the clarity with which the

lecturer defined the question at issue. discussion covered mostly points on which



This is the level of municipal

News Chronicle, 2/6/47.

### **—AND FIGHT FOR**

A Nottinghamshire miner who was seriously wounded at Arnhem, is now paralysed and 100 per cent. disabled. He received from the local colliery company weekly coal and a rent allowance.

#### Notice to Quit

He has received a letter from the Coal Board saying: "Our instructions are that coal and rent allowance to persons similarly placed to yourself cannot be continued. We trust that you will understand the position."

The second concerns the chief cashie of a colliery who died two months ago after 46 years' service. His widow has been given a month's notice to leave her house. now belongs to the State.

employers.-EDS.]

### **BOYS AND GIRLS FOR ATOM PLANT**

In order that Britain shall not lag behind the rest of the progressive world, it is necessary for the government's new atomic energy plant at Springfields, near Preston, to have a staff of at least 400

So far only 100 have been obtained, and to help make up the number of the Ministry of Supply is to open a training school for boys and girls of 15 years and over. Those who have studied chemistry "It seems there is no one who will at school will be given a three months' training and if satisfactory will start at £140 a year to do their bit for the brave new world.

> Chemists don't seem to be rushing after the government's offered salaries of £350-£700 a year, which, apparently, are low compared with those paid commercially. But surely its worth an extra hundred or so to be on the right side of the atom bomb?

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anarchists do not necessarily agree, and which cannot strictly be said to be susceptible of a specifically anarchist inter-

The Social Experiment at

### Coventry

Dr. Kenneth Barlow spoke recently at 8, Endsleigh Gardens on the extension of the ideas on which the Peckham Health Centre is based to a Housing Society in Coventry. Some 600 families have joined together to provide themselves with a Health Centre (with all the free recreational facilities of Peckham), with a nutritional farm to provide the families with the basic material in the shape of healthy food on which to found their health; and to form a Housing Association so that they can build the kind of houses and the kind of estate that they want. We hope that Dr. Barlow will contribute an article on Coventry to Freedom in the near future, and set out the projects and their theoretical background in more detail. Discussion was very animated and interested, as with previous speakers about the Peckham experiment.

### The Futility of Modern Trade Unions

This was the subject that our old comrade Mat Kavanagh treated in an admirable manner at Endsleigh Gardens on Sunday, the first of June. As he has had a long and varied experience of the trade union movement, and the personalities connected with it, Mat was well equipped for the fray.

He opened his lecture by stating that the drift of the present stage of the development of society is towards some form of totalitarianism, and that the trade union movement is an expression of that drift.

During the course of the lecture, Mat Kavanagh gave some very interesting information about the early days of the Union movement, giving a graphic account of the burning and blowing up of factories, and the attacks on blacklegs by the enraged workers. Then, after sketching out the gradual development, and the conversion of the movement from a workers' "expression" to a workers' 'oppression", he tackled the question of what is to be done?

The unions have passed through the which was owned by the company and period of development, and are no longer of value as a workers' weapon against ex-Evening Standard, 3/6/47. ploitation . . . that the workers will find [The Board are acting the part of good | their only true weapon in Anarcho-

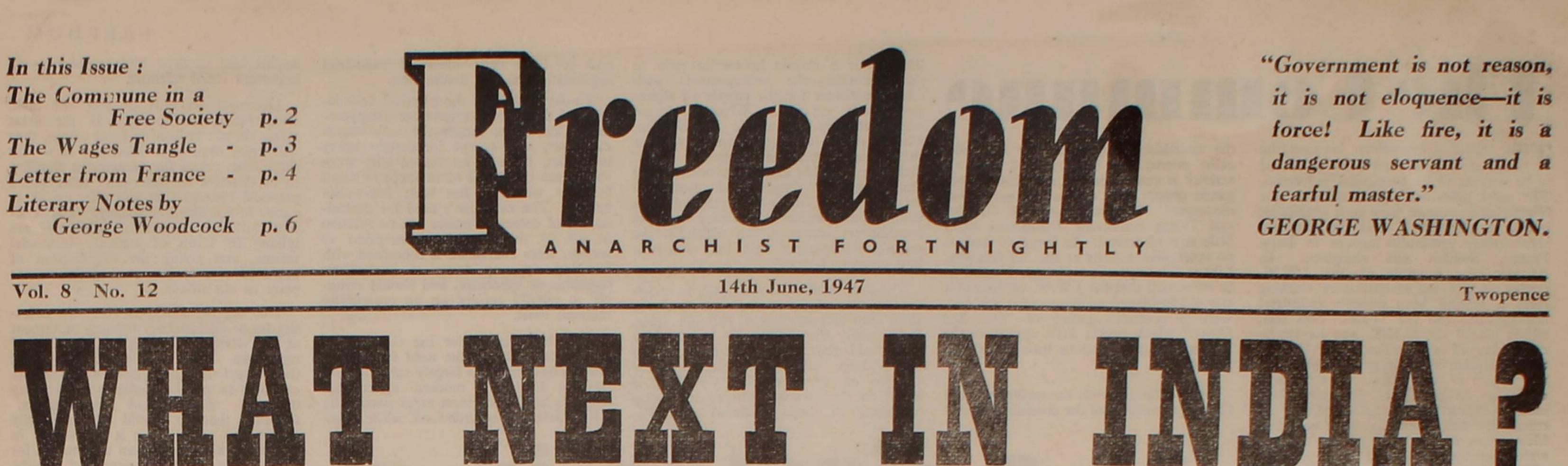
> It was rather regrettable that so few comrades were able to drag themselves away from the sunshine to attend the talk. However, it is to be hoped that Mat will be able to spare the time in the near future to give us another of these excellent

### Press Fund May 25th — June 6th.

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"End of British Rule" does not mean Freedom for the Indian Masses

THE statement of the Viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten, that full power is to be handed over to Indian authorities by August has come as something of a surprise to those who doubted if the British Government really meant to withdraw from India by June 1948. But it is a long jump to assume that British Imperialism has "had a change of heart". Government spokesmen have not tried to conceal their recognition that their political grip in India is slackening because it is no longer possible to maintain British control. One reserves one's opinion when virtue is so obviously made out of necessity.

But, in addition, there is no other sign that British Imperialism under the Labour Party has as the brightest jewel in the Imperial Crown; and when Mr. Eden, speaking on behalf of the opinion that Labour Foreign policy differs in no particular from that of his party --- who have, indeed, "loyally supported Mr. Bevin"-we see no reason for premature rejoicing at the alleged death throes of Imperial- In the cases of Canada and Australia ism.

The proposed partition of India, moreover, smacks so much of Ulster, Empire has still managed to carry on! and so obviously maintains the division which is a requisite for ruling (in the familiar imperialist formula), that common sense councils reserve before acclaiming the plan as a "socialist step of the first importance". Those who have supported the Nationalist struggle of the Indian National Congress, as well as more progressive viewpoints, have long regarded Mr. Jinnah as a "British Quisling", and Pakistan as an Indian Ulster. Is there any reason for going back on this view now?

#### **Dominion Status**

The question of whether the British Government is sincere or insincer really irrelevant. No doubt many of experts who have worked out the details of the present plan believe that they doing the best possible in the circumstances. But it is more to the point to consider the new position-if it is new-as it affects the Indian people.

India is to have Dominion status, like Australia or Canada, and will be theoretically free to secede from the British Empire. Such a step, of course, does not signify the reversal of Imperialism, but rather its normal development. Australia and Canada were first useful to Britain as sources of raw materials and later as markets. But as more and more capital was invested in these former colonies and they became to some extent industrialized, the needs of itself suggests that there are much more their own production required that the satisfactory solutions available than this. colonial industrialists should them- The argument is that Hindus do not selves control the political administration want to be ruled by Moslems while of the country. So they were given Moslems do not want to be ruled by dominion status and "self-government". Hindus. The British Cabinet's scheme

India's history has been similar but slower. Originally a market and source of raw materials, the British used sorts of legislative means to destroy changed its spots. The Tories local production plants which competed have been wont to describe India with British factories. In this way Indian village industries were destroyed But the development of British capits ism has caused enormous amounts British capital to be invested in India, Conservative Party, stresses his and in Indian industrial enterprises, so that now India is not only a market, but also an industrialized country on its own account competing with Britain. This industrializing process has been enormously accelerated by the war. Hence, the same conditions which brought on lominion status for Canada and Ausralia

> now apply in India also. in the past the granting of dominion status was bewailed (or acclaimed) as the end of British Imperialism, but the

#### Investments

We have mentioned the export of British capital to India. This in itself provides an economic means whereby the "mother" country (to use the quaint terminology of the imperialists) can retain a powerful hold over the internal affairs of India. If the country passes out of the political control of Britain, it still remains within the British sphere of influence, i.e., within the bounds of British economy.

need economic help from outside-that it to an end. is, from Britain. For the Moslem State Now, the most serious strike taking will be itself divided into two parts, place in France, that of the railwaymen, one in the North-West, the other in has resulted in complete chaos in the the North-East, separated by a thousand transport system, with the Government miles of Hindu territory. Rich in agri- quite powerless in the matter. The culture and in the possibility of hydroelectric power, Pakistan will be lacking in coal, iron and oil.

Altogether, there are still plenty of means whereby the British can exercise a powerful say in the internal affairs of "free and independent India".

### What Of The Indian People? Go

But examination of the Pakistan idea

religious administrators; it just irons out and Indian Nationalism alike, the not bring him freedom. the grosser religious anomalies. But why is a central government (or two \_ central governments) necessary at all? The Indian peasant never sees the government, only its ill-paid officials who come to extort the taxes or mantain by force the rights of usurers. That the government is Hindu or Moslem does not alter the tax exactions or the indebtedness of the peasants. Obviously, the peasant wants to be relieved of taxes to maintain services from which he does not benefit, or of debts which condemn him to miserable

Government itself.

French Railmen's Strike

Electricity workers (Freedom, 31/5/47) spectacle of a Labour Government using such tame sheep. which threatened to paralyse French in-It is admitted, moreover, that dustry was averted at the eleventh hour, Pakistan, as well as providing a division but in the meantime the Paris bakers which puts Britain in the position of the decided to strike for shorter hours. Since rejoicing third who can bring pressure they had themselves limited this protest to to bear on either section by favouring 48 hours the Government were saved the first one and then the other, also will trouble of doing anything about bringing

> position, as we go to press, is that th Government states that conversations can only be resumed if work is resumed, that the railways are a nationalised publi service, and that the railwaymen have no right suddenly to abandon their duty The railwaymen's union declares that i can do nothing with its members if the

vernment will not consent to negoti Meanwhile, M. Moch, the Socialis Minister of Transport, has made a radio speech in which he drew attention to all he had done for the railway-workers during the past 20 years and added that the Government had already decided t increase the pay bill by 8,000,000 francs for the second half of the year and called upon the workers to return to duty. He then praised them for their services before and after the liberation and in the same breath waved the big stick when he declared that he was resolved to use military road transport and drivers if the strike continued.

The Manchester Guardian's Paris correspondent commenting on this speech that it is beyond their control, not least because the workers do not any longer

put hope in M. Moch."

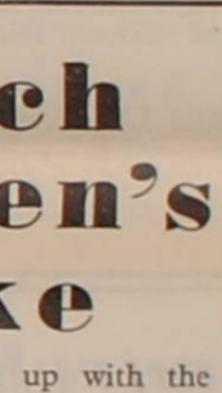
## Former Nazi Generals Become **Russian Propagandists**

In a recent issue, we drew attention to days the activities of the former Nazi generals ago, but it still carries on.

on Russian propaganda activity outside the F. Henke, shouted from a C.P. platform knocking vainly at his door for months. Russian zone, and even outside Germany "We are no traitors to the Fatherland. They are not likely to be softened by reitself. It is alleged that the Corps is We are ardent German patriots and en- minders of what they have received befinancially supported by the Soviet thusiastic Communists. Our number is cause their wage level is still substantial sponsored "Socialist Unity Party".

on lines which dismally resemble the work the Sozi (Social Democrat) traitor!" Deutscher (Germans abroad) in Hitler enough under Hitler.

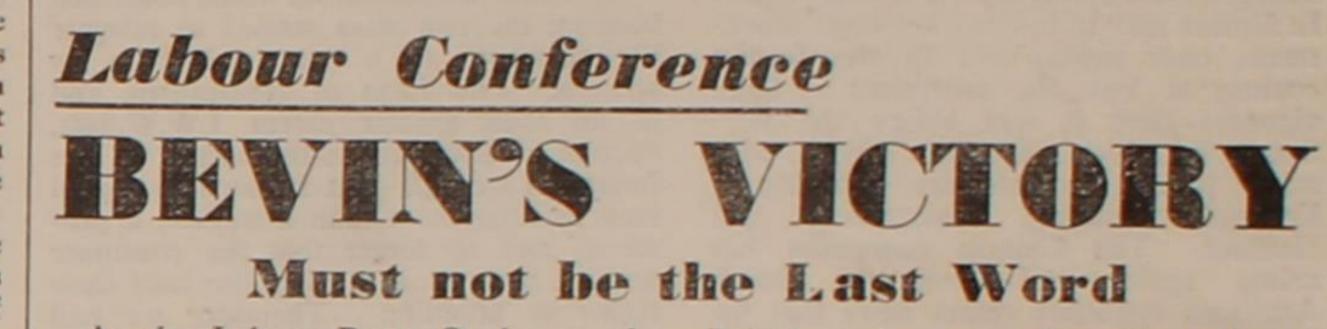
These men are acting for the Russian states that "what seems to have been mis-Von Paulus and Von Sevdlitz in helping government in much the same way as sing is any personal touch between the to train the Red Army. The Seydlitz Wehrmacht officers worked for the Allies Ministry and the men. M. Moch is Corps was officially dissolved two years after the 1914 war to repress working tall, lean, intellectual, a man of statistics. class movements such as the Spartacists. and the bitter complaint is now made from Now it is reported that it is carrying A former holder of the Knight's Cross, the railwaymen's side that they have been constantly increasing." When a young lower than in many industries and prices The News Chronicle (13/5/47) states socialist cried out that the Seydlitz Corps rose much faster in 1946 than did pay. that "it has feelers as far afield as had only become anti-Nazi when the All the three trade union federations Mexico, and . . . a German named Paul Nazis were losing the war-a self- concerned declare that the strike came Murker has been organizing since 1943 evident truth-he was thrown out amid from the workshops and railway vards, a recruiting agency for Germans abroad Communist cries of "Lynch him! Lynch not from the men's official leaders, and of Bohle, head of the Ausslandische Such cries must have been common



was for a strong central government to in power. Although it is no wonder workers and the peasants exist only to

rule over a unified India. But since that the present political moves in be exploited. If he objects, why then the Hindu and Moslem leaders will not India are spoken of solely in terms both Imperialist and Nationalist have accept that, say the British, partition is of the Viceroy and Nehru and Jinnah. police to bring him to order. We may the only thing possible. Of course, The Indian workers and peasants are be sure the people of India will look partition does not mean that minorities not mentioned for the good reason that with a lack-lustre eye at the much will not be ruled over by "alien" they are not consulted; for Imperialism lauded "end of British rule". It will

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At the Labour Party Conference the British armies to crush workers abroad. The fact that British money is in- support at all, while Bevin got an en- These were not the grounds advanced

> But the defeat of these "rebels" probably does not amount to that in reality. Bevin's oratory, though shallow enough, was more than equal to crushing these critics, despite the fact that there has been repeated evidence of uneasiness in rank-and-file quarters at the conduct f foreign affairs ever since Bevin publicly committed the Labour members of the Coalition cabinet to support of the Churchill policy in Greece at the end of

and irredeemable poverty, and whose question of foreign policy was expected to They do not feel comfortable when nction lies solely in the rights of provoke the strongest criticism of the Labour leaders declare that there is no private property and the sanctity of leadership; but in the event the Labour such thing as a socialist foreign policy beinterest. He wants to be relieved of "rebels"-Crossman of the "Keep Left" cause British foreign policy is continuous group and Zilliacus of the cryptos-got no whether administered by Tory or Labour.

vested in India means that the Indian thusiastic ovation. This walk-over for by Crossman and Zilliacus however. Had worker has to be exploited to pay the Bevin has been regarded as a clear man- they developed some traditional socialist interest on that capital. He will still date from the Labour Party rank-and-file criticisms of imperialist scrambles abroad be exploited whatever the government is backing the Government's foreign policy. they might have shaken the leadership. But Zilliacus was content to be a Russian stooge, and Crossman's criticisms centered round saving the dollars.

The British workers have some glorious pages in their history; when they stopped intervention in Russia by strike action, for example. And though they also have allowed apathy and faith in leaders to supplant international working class solidarity during the Spanish war, they have not wholly lost a sense of working solidarity. It is not impossible that the victory for the Government in the Party TT is impossible to keep up with the Even the social democrats have some Conference will not prove the end of progress of French strikes with a fort- teachings regarding socialism, and it is not criticism from the rank-and-file, even nightly paper. The strike of the Gas and surprising that they feel qualms at the though the parliamentary "rebels" are

# Secretary & 27 Members of C.N.T. Arrested in Spain Facing Death Penalty for "crime"

of belonging to "illegal organisation"

TYTE have been informed by a Spanish correspondent that www.more arrests of comrades of the C.N.T. (the Anarcho-Syndicalist National Confederation of Labour) have taken place recently. The first to be arrested was the General Secretary of the C.N.T. in Spain and his arrest was followed by that of 27 other members of the organization. Our correspondent draws our attention to the fact that the arrested Secretary General is liable to the death penalty under a new law forbidding the acceptance of posts such as that of Secretary or President of any illegal organization.

The information we have received is confirmed by a report which appeared in last Sunday's Observer.

The carrying out of the death sentence on our comrades Amador Franco and Antonio Lopez (Freedom, 31/5/47) in spite of the publicity given in the Left Press to the case and the protests sent to the Spanish authorities clearly indicates that the lives of the 28 comrades now in Franco's clutches cannot be saved by protests from small militant groups. It is necessary to awaken an active interest amongst all sections of the community to the outrages being perpetrated by the Dictator Franco. Let the workers in the "democratic" countries show the same indignation for the "crimes against humanity" that are being daily committed in Spain as for those committed by the Nazis and for which they were prepared to justify the unleashing of a world war. We do not suggest that a war against Spain is the solution (nothing will justify war, in our view), but at the very least we do expect that a feeling of strong indignation should sweep the country, and that the trade union rank and file should feel a strong bond of solidarity with their suffering comrades in the hell that is Franco's Spain.

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21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

THE anarchist movement between the the anarchist groups still talk in syndiwars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 tended calist terms, the fact remains that all to be dominated by syndicalist influences. activity is centred in the anarchist propa-The most powerful organisations in the ganda groups, and not in any syndicalist libertarian movement were such syndicalist movement. The once powerful German bodies as the C.N.T. and the powerful and Dutch syndicalist federations show revoluionary syndicalist groups in Italy, little sign of revival. In England there is France, Sweden and elsewhere. In no syndicalist activity at all. In America, into centres of power. America the example of the I.W.W. I have the impression (though I stand to tended to give the revolutionary working be corrected) that the I.W.W. consists of a The large industrial syndicate, in which class a similar bias towards industrial few old-fashioned militants who put for- the loyalties of the workers are firstly to gle to rebuild society on an organically the libertarian struggle gave emphasis to anarchism. this aspect of anarchism. The Spanish extent that writers like Santillan produced blue prints of the "free society" which were almost as terrifyingly rigid as those of capitalist or communist state planners I propose in another article to return in more detail to the danger implicit in this tendency to make too rigid plans for the society at which we aim. For the present, however, I am concerned with the emphasis which has been given to industrial organisation during a whole generation of anarchist and near-anarchist struggle. For thirty years anarchism was, for good or bad, predominantly syndicalist.

throughout the world. Anarchism has re- our new libertarian approach. emerged from the war with a new vigour. The anarcho-syndicalism which flourished efficiency. In France and Italy there are large move- between the two wars tended to relegate ments once again, and in the former the commune to a minor place in its country at least the movement is more scheme. This form of syndicalism, and vigorous than it was before the war. to an even greater extent I.W.W.'ism, Small, but lively anarchists groups, with became so involved in the tactics of the many young members, are operating in industrial struggle that it came to regard England, America, Switzerland and man as little more than a worker, a pro-Holland. The Chinese movement has ducer, and to forget that the consumer arisen again, and from the South and the plain human being also have their American countries comes news that the rights to attention. Therefore we had movements there are once again taking elaborate schemes for the organisation of up the struggle. Everywhere anarchist production and distribution, and very periodicals are appearing and increasing little attention was paid to that rich comtheir circulation and influence. Even in munal organisation which is the aim of Germany and Austria the anarchists are anarchist communism and without which reassembling and contacting new and productive organisation loses its value. interested sections of the population.

birth of the anarchist movement has not here and now against large-scale capitaltinuity of the syndicalist movement has dustry at the time. The capitalist trust of uniform thinkers and livers. never been interrupted, and Spain where was paralleled by the idea of the "One ence during the past decades, that of Bulgaria, has never tended towards largescale syndicalism, remaining always a movement of anarchist communism.

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Elsewhere than in Spain and Sweden, the only syndicalist movements that have re-appeared are those of France and Italy. scale syndicalist organisations have failed, and the syndicalist groups remain more or less concentrated in particular factories and workshops, where they play an active

### ANARCHISM -Interpretations

"The question put by Anarchism might be expressed in the following way: 'Which social forms best guarantee in such and such societies, and in humanity at large, the greatest sum of happiness, and therefore the greatest sum of vitality?' 'Which forms of society are most likely to allow the sum of happiness to increase and develop in quantity and qualitythat is to say, will enable this happiness to become more complete and more varied?' (which, by the way, gives us the formula of progress).

The desire to help evolution in this direction determines the social, scientific, and artistic activity of the Anarchist. And this activity, in its turn, precisely on account of its falling in with the development of society in this direction, becomes a source of increased vitality, vigour, sense of oneness with mankind and its best vital forces.

It therefore becomes a source of increased vitality and happiness for the individual." Peter KROPOTKIN.

THEEGOMENTERP



unidity of syndicalism-at least of the which is also the traditional idea of tries which were formerly in a position old pre-war variety-makes it necessary monopoly capitalism and state socialism. to reconsider our attitude towards anarchist organisation, and I submit the But anarchism is basically decentralis

the consumer-the arrangements with organisation on this assumption. other syndicates for the supply of neces- To-day, bowever, the physical foundasary goods, etc., etc. What we forgot tions of the factory system are disappear- issue before us to-day. If the great was that any monolithic organisation, ing. Coal is no longer the only source states are not broken up from within, they whether it is a syndicate or an army, tends of power, and, except for certain heavy will bring disaster to humanity in a very to set itself above the community of in- industries, there is no reason why work short time. And for decentralist teaching dividuals, and that in all large bodies there should not be carried on in shops or small to be effective we must have some sound are enormous dangers of centralism factories where it has been impossible practical concept that will offer an altercreeping in, if it is only through the before. The capitalist's need for central- native to a centralised society. That conossification of bodies which may begin as isation of economic power has no relation cept will not be reached while we are co-ordinating councils, but which, if the at all to the anarchist conception of talking in terms of monster industrial organisation becomes rigid, may well turn society, since anarchism is concerned with unions, and giving the organisation of

organisation, and the Spanish civil war, ward a centralist policy of "One Big their own industry on a national scale, which placed the C.N.T. and its syndi- Union" which makes little appeal to the has as many disadvantages in its own way The third reason for the existence of of the workers to precipitate the end of calist ideas of organisation at the head of workers and has precious little to do with as the old craft unions. It brings unity the factory system-the need for exports capitalism. But it is essential, firstly, that on a large scale-but also produces and overseas trade, is largely cancelled out the workers should be careful not to imitate division on a wider front. And it is by the fact that modern agricultural capitalist forms of organisation and set up anarchists in particular developed their This situation, with the revival of vital based on the idea of industry remaining methods have made most areas potentially unwieldy and ossified organisations, ideas on industrial organisation to such an anarchist groups and the continued morib- organised in large national networks, self-sufficient as regards food, while coun- secondly, that we should not necessarily



suggestion that the kind of industrial founded on diffusion in every possible organisation that has been advocated by way, so that units of organisation are no many anarcho-syndicalists in the past has larger or more widespread than is necesno real relation to modern social and sary for efficient work. And if efficiency The end of this war, however, has technical developments, and that we were to depend on the creation of monobrought a very profound change in the should envisage a return to a purer form lithic bodies of any kind-which nature of the libertarian movements of anarchist communism as the basis for experience proves it does not-then the true anarchist would willingly sacrifice

But it is just in this sphere-of efficiency-that decentralist anarchist communism is most in accordance with natural productive growth. A balanced Kropotkin and Reclus. Among the large industrial technique. Large-scale industry, industry would reduce the need for im- its anarchist communist character. centralised in great factories, is a ports and exports between regions to quite phenomenon of the capitalist era which minor proportions, involving only such was produced by the need of the things as could not readily be produced capitalist to concentrate his economic in the country of consumption, such as power, by the mere physical factors of exotic fruits, etc. the industrial revolution, which made it more economical to have large factories at or near the sources of coal rather than small workshops scattered over the country, and by the demands of imperialist trade, which required that much industry anarchists, but also by a number of food and factory products, and where, Moreover, the traditional syndicalists should be located where it had reasonable It is, however, significant that this re- became so much involved with the struggle rail access to seaports. The factory system brought with it all the evils of overbeen accompanied by the kind of large- ism, that they began to be influenced by crowded cities, detached from a healthy scale syndicalist movements that existed some of the general concepts of organi- contact with the country, as well as the before the war. Sweden, where the con- sation which belonged to capitalist in- regimentation of workers into large masses

remains something of an unknown dustries on a national scale, of a society and I.W.W.'ism arose; except for a few begin suddenly to have a much more con- association of men and women living in quantity, are the only exceptions of any based on a few great syndicates which far-sighted men, the supporters of these temporary ring than they seemed to have a certain locality for the proper satisconsequence. The other large movement would dominate it in just the same way doctrines tended to accept the factory ten or twenty years ago, and it is not faction of the social necessities of life. which has maintained a continuous exist- as the capitalist trusts attempted to do. system as something permanent in society, surprising that sociologists are beginning



tendencies of a far different nature. For instance, the term "Liberal" means someone who believes in liberty and is a word which has been used by revolutionary thinkers (even by Anarchists-the Mexican Anarchist pioneers using the name in the Revolution) but it has been adopted by one of the (formerly) great capitalist parties and is now unmistakably associated with that particular party or with Capitalist Democracy generally. The term "Libertarian" which has the same root but different associations, is better, but in so far as it does not explain what Liberty is, can be used by people\* with all sorts of woolly ideas on Liberty, who avoid the plain fact that Liberty is No Government, not a modified form of Government. The term Anarchy means plainly and simply No Government and is the best "patent" label for our movement.

As regards the economic pattern of

\*The term "libertarian socialist" now being used by the circles which used to prefer the name "revolutionary socialist".

Anarchists are often told that they Anarchism, "Communism" was a term but it has to be qualified. Synhave adopted a name that "preju- respected revolutionary term, and un- dicalism is revolutionary unionism part, as individual groups rather than dices" people. Frankly we would have doubtedly "Anarchist Communism" and we use it to describe the method as a wide movement. Elsewhere, while no objection to jettisoning the name perfectly describes our theories. But of organization whereby the workers and adopting a comfortable alias if Lenin borrowed the term Commun- get together at the place of work, and of "order" which once "reigned" at we thought the name "Anarchist" un- ism to describe Marxism, since by organizing against the employing Warsaw, or the "order" which was reasonably hampered the growth of "Socialism" was at the time identified class, prepare for the day when they "re-established" at Paris by the anarchist ideas, but we do not think with the right wing of the Social- can take over each industry. Of slaughter of thirty thousand workers; this is so. It is perhaps true that the Democrats, to which party the Rus- course, this could be done with auth- that "order", the triumph of which is term "Anarchist" sends shivers down sian Bolsheviks belonged. "Com- oritarian ideas as to the dominance of proclaimed each time that the beginthe backs of the timorous middle- munism" has since become identified particular industries, and to show that ing of a revolution has been stifled in class, but so do the ideas the term re- in the public mind with Bolshevism. it must be imbued with the idea of the blood of the working men. That presents. Many of these ideas could In the A.B.C. of Anarchism Alexan- communalism and freedom our quali- order, which is always the same be known under other names, but all der Berkman makes an explanation fying way of saying the word has to eternal oppression once more rethese names have been adopted by which at the time he was writing be "Anarcho-syndicalism." (1928) was quite logical:

> "The Bolsheviki are Communists but they want their dictatorship, their government, to compel people to live in Communism. Anarchist Communism, on the contrary, means voluntary Communism. Communism from free choice."

However, it cannot be said, in my opinion, that this still holds good, because "Communism" is now unalterably identified in the public mind with Bolshevism and present-day Bolshevism-or Stalinism-has in the past ten years become not merely While some Anarchists believe in plainly authoritarianism. Anarchism this may dispel the prejudices which is a libertarian idea of the communist these who have been influenced by 'As to all other names-"Libertarexperiment, but not a libertarian ver- capitalist propaganda may have, I am ians", "Acratists" (no demomination), sion of Russian State Capitalism of the opinion that more than ever "anti-Statists", &c., which are somewhich in its Stalinist phase is com- to-day we need a slogan challenging times used to evade the great persepletely different and divorced even the basis of State servility and capi- cutions-they have one common defrom authoritarian communism.

anarchism, "syndicalism" is a good lowing passage from Kropotkin:

economic or otherwise, and should strug- place in our minds.

of colonial dependency regarding manu-

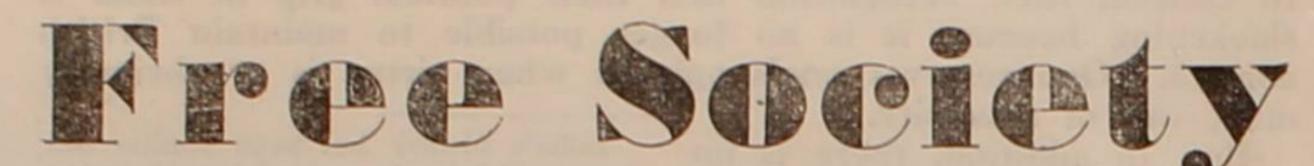
FREEDOM

There was a certain lip-service paid to and to base their ideas of industrial to list him in their biblographies as an important social scientist.

> Decentralisation is in fact the main breaking up any form of centralism, powerful syndicates a disproportionate

I do not for a moment deny the necessity for a revolutionary fighting movement accept the syndicate as it is evolved in struggle against capitalism as a model for struggle against capitalism as a model for organisation in a free society, and, thirdly, that is should be realised that man con-sidered only as a worker is a pretty lopsidered only as a worker is a pretty lopsided individual. It is capitalism which makes men think of themselves as workers only-anarchism must make them strive to be whole men-and a whole man is a good deal more than a mere producer.

> duction. Most international trade is The one anarchist concept that gives the artificially induced by the needs of answer to our present problem is that of capitalists to give themselves a justification the commune. We have tended in the for existence, and these vested interests past twenty years to retire from the idea have had a great hand in hindering of anarchist communism put forward by



modern developments in social science and regional development of agriculture and movements, only the Bulgarian retained

But to-day, when social decentralisation, the destruction of the state, are vital questions, the commune is something which we can present to the people as a practical goal for which to struggle. The possibility of breaking down It offers a world where there are no large economic centralism and substituting power units of any kind, where the conlocalised nuclei of industry and adminis- centration of industry is ended by the tration has been realised not only by achievement of regional self-sufficiency in professional sociologists, particularly instead of life being dominated and sapped Lewis Mumford, whose Culture of Cities by the metropolitan cities, it will become should be a part of every anarchist's reintegrated in many local centres of reading. Centralisation has no longer any culture and social co-operation, which will social, economic or technical justification, lead to an enrichment of life such as and social tendencies, in spite of political existed in the free mediaeval cities of the

(Continued on page 4)

essential to our movement. Anarchy century, of the revolutionists of 1793, means no government, and the only of Garibaldi, of the Commune of way any social advance can take place 1871, and of so many others to whom is in spite of and against government- the bourgeois dedicate the title-quite alism. The method of syndicalist glorious in our eyes-of "fomenters organisation and communist recon- of disorder". struction are essentially bound up 'Moreover, we have often said that with the qualifying fact that this word "Anarchy"-apart from its very revolutionary process can only be precise literal signification of negation anti-governmental, since the State of the State-has already a glorious acts as the grave-digger of any insur- past. It dates, in fact, from the great

ism but with a definite accent on the tory, impels me to underline the fol- revolutionary changes.'

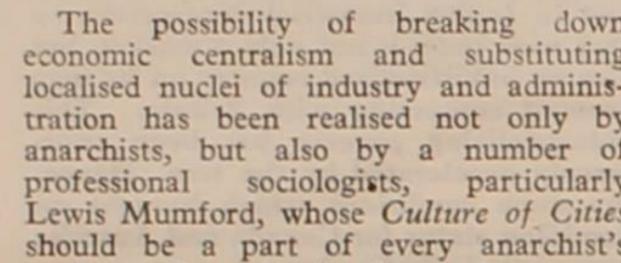
'We are often reproached for using such a name as that of "Anarchists". "As to your ideas," we are told, "they will you become a powerful party whilst keeping that name which implies disorder, destruction and

"We prefer "disorder" to that sort established, we do not want. We prefer a thousand times the disorder You see, the word anarchism is an of the Anabaptists in the sixteenth

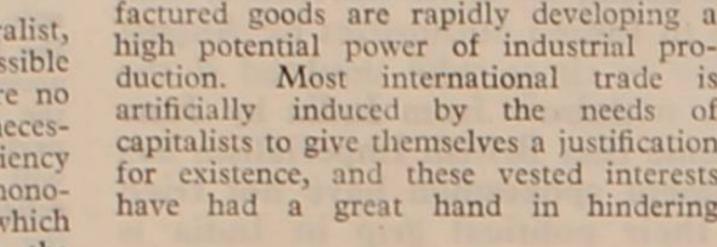
French Revolution, when all true revolutionists who did not stop midway but went to the root of a 'authoritarian communism" but altering the word in the belief that system, doomed to fall, were called "Anarchists".

talist greed, one incorporated into the fect of not giving expression to our name of our movement, and this, even character of revolutionists-of men To describe the means of achieving more than the determination to stand who adopt revolutionary means to what we can call anarchist commun- by a name with such a glorious his- accomplish fundamentally, essentially

A. M.



developments of a totalitarian nature, are past. moving towards decentralisation. The The pivotal unit of organisation in such the underground libetarian movement still Big Union', of the organisation of in- It was in this situation that syndicalism writings of Kropotkin on such matters a society would be the commune, the



To say that there have always been ridiculous discrepancies and inequalities within the wage system, if it can really be called a system, it to state the obvious. When a man who produces one of the basic necessities of our life (like food, or coal for example) is rewarded by as much in a year as another, who produces nothing for the common good, will receive in a week, it is fairly obvious that there is no real standard of values in operation.

#### WHEN IT WORKS

The main factors which have always governed wage and salary levels have been, first, the capitalist law of supply and demand and, second, opportunity. for the poor Government, there is Under the first factor, commodities and another one. The women are now gethuman beings are governed by precisely ting awkward. Believing that the poliplentiful and demand small, prices will drop. When they are scarce and consequently demand high, prices will rise. Similarly, when workers are plentiful and jobs scarce, wages will drop: when jobs are plentiful and workers scarce, wages will rise. In other words, workers are a marketable commodity, being bought and sold according to current market values. And the social value of the work done, or the commodity produced, has nothing whatever to do with its money value.

The second factor, opportunity, has classes, higher education usually paves and has agreed to the provision of notice the way for entry into the ranks of the boards and the development of union black-coated workers at least, and organisation in the factory by methods of speedy promotion. In this sphere, the instated and it is stated there will be no would the union have supported them ation with the aim of eventually taking manager rolled up his sleeves and wiped higher up the ladder the climber goes, victimisation. the less work he does, and the fatter the cheque that is paid monthly into his bank account. If he is one of the lucky ones to be born into a title and money, without having learned anything) all he becomes a director, and is made for nection between the social value of the activity and the monetary reward.

Well, all this works very well as long as there is at the bottom of the makes all the wage earners only too eager to snatch whatever crumbs are flung at them, and is guaranteed to keep them quiet and in their proper place (the bottom). But when, as at the present time, there is a shortage of labour in some essential industries, then the capitalist apple cart is upset.

One of the first things the present government did was to vote themselves a large increase in pay. Then, having fixed \$1,000 a year for themselves, they turn to the workers and tell them, with their £200 to £300 a year, that it is against the national interest to ask for higher wages. When the workers don't quite see it like that, however (they are very ignorant, you know), and come out on strike-then workers cease to be comrades, and become saboteurs.

At the same time, however, the bosses, being in the unfortunate position of the social revolution in this country of needing the workers more than the workers need them, have to make some concessions. In order to get more workers into the basic industries, like mining, steel and textiles, the government are now suggesting industrial preference for those industries. That is, that these workers will get higher pay and better rations than others. Which is very nice for them, but not so nice for the others. So the position will be given to the undermanned industries, duction will not rise: if it is, then it will nullify the advantages in the there may well be a wave of industrial the Government tottering.

If these were all unofficial strikes national strikes against industrial pre- duction. ference. Arthur Deakin, for instance, of the T. & G.W.U., representing a million workers, has served notice on the Government that his union is against strikes in order to tame them goes with-

10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

out saying, but nevertheless its a ticklish problem for the Government.

EQUAL PAY DILEMMA

Side by side with all these headaches be over-ruled. brought up the question of equal pay earning considerably higher wages in they need for a full life. for equal work several times, only to be most cases than before the war, but are

Labour Party rank and file voted over- wages. sit six Cabinet Ministers, are compelled proportion of the value of their labour. extra journeys. to implement Party policy. Cabinet are responsible for Government fact, by which the myth of capitalism is agreed to alter the schedule. policy" and the Cabinet are against perpetuated.

THE SOLUTION



complete victory for the strikers.

The Union-supported strike at Long & This is an example of how, when its That would have been most unlikely. Hambly's rubber works at High Wycombe own interests or prestige are at stake, an and without strike pay the unofficial (see last issue of Freedom), has ended in official union will act with determination strikers-as they would then have beenand with all the odds in its favour. The would probably not have been able to to-day. union supported the strike because the stay out for six weeks to beat a stubborn always operated in the salaried class Agreement was reached after the six men declared redundant were actually and most reactionary management. Yet, the St. George and Florence hotels, where The only way the worker has of Labour and conciliation machinery went for the six weeks the strike continued all been the same. So while congratulating had been staying, walked out. "bettering" his position is by un- into operation. The company agrees to the workers received strike pay from the the workers of Long & Hambly on winremitting hard work and fierce economy recognize the union (the Transport and union plus contributions made in sym- ning their dispute, let us point out to them lower hours," warned Mr. Morrison. (unless, of course, he clicks on the General) "to permit the union to set up pathy from union branches all over the that the union was acting in its own inpools!) But in the middle and upper internal representatives or shop stewards, country, following appeals from the High terests; that the strike pay was but a drop workers from the kitchens. Wycombe branch. Apparently, the from the swollen coffers of the Transport amount paid out equalled the basic wage and General; and that the workers' infor all the workers. But suppose the six terests lie not in battling for Deakin's men had not been branch officials, and had huge and reactionary union (with its as servants of the community," said Mr. money, privilege, the old school tie, peaceful persuasion." The six men whose been sacked for some other reason which closed shop aim, etc.) but in the creation Morrison. pulling strings, and so on, can assure dismissal caused the strike have been re- their fellow-workers considered unjust; of their own revolutionary shop organis-

then?



relations regarding property and in the capitalistic past. mode of carrying on production and dis- On the political side we can avoid the economic measures proposed by the revo- bread will be lost from the beginning

actionary intervention would take the form collectivized agriculture-with no attempt of a food blockade. In addition, the fail- to coerce those who do not immediate ure of revolutions of the past to solve accept such a principle-is the soundest the problem of bread has been a main social basis for revolutionary agriculture. cause of their defeats.

It is apparent therefore that the success emands that (for a time at any rate) These are general principles: the adoption of a wasteful and soil des- conditions of Britain. for too few jobs.

#### The Lessons For Britain

third, of its food from abroad. Since product needed? If it is, then it must in its immediate early days. WHEN IT DOES NOT WORK the social revolution in this country will go into production. All ideas of equiva-

scale, a large pool of unemployed. This tribution, it is reasonable on historical catastrophic lessons of the Russian revolugrounds to expect some form of inter- tion. The whole population depends on vention from the governments of other the farm workers: they are the producers countries. The object of such interven- of food. If they do not co-operate with tion will be to defeat the social and the population as a whole the battle for lution in favour of a maintenance of the Hence any attempt to dictate to them or reactionary status quo, involving a clear impose force upon them will strangle the distinction between rulers and ruled and revolution (of course, the setting up of a the social institutions which flow from coercive power, a government, would itself such a class distinction (i.e., a wage signify the transfer of revolutionary system and a machinery for imposing the initiative from the workers to a governing will of the rulers on the ruled-law, minority, whether new men or the old police, army, and a variety of propaganda rulers. It would signify, in short, the victory of the counter-revolution). In the opening article we gave some From Spain we can take the general reasons for expecting that any such re- principle that voluntary co-operation in a

### The Special Problems

Britain should be able to become self- collectivization of land and tools, and supporting in food. We have seen that abandonment of a market and exchange there is no outstanding physical obstacle economy in favour of the principle "From rural workers to replace the million or local manufacturer of explosive materials. in the way of such an attempt, but the each according to his ability, to each acdifficulties do not by any means end there. cording to his need." But there are vast exodus. We saw that Russia, a food producing differences between Spain and this councountry, had her agriculture completely try; and the conditions which obtain in disorganized by such attempts to coerce America and Russia do not exist here in the peasants as forced requisitioning of anything like the same forms. What we show that there is a means to hand wherefood, forced collectivizations, etc. In have now to consider is the application of by large amounts of food can be obtained A Programme Of Research this: if industrial preference is not America, by contrast, failure arose from the general principles to the particular without an undue delay, and so dispel It will be recognized that the problems

(I hope) at the outset any despair at have been treated in the most cursory workers will not enter them and pro- troying mode of extensive farming. This The outstanding problem is that of the magnitude of the problem. Having manner. I hope, none the less, that the method had as its root cause the market manpower. The rural exodus drained done so, we can go on to consider the general scope of the questions involved workers in other industries will want system applied to a terrain where rents skilled men away from the land in question from another angle-that of the has been outlined. In treating even more improvements too and if they get them were low, and massive mechanization hundreds of the population as a whole as cursorily the suggested solutions, I possible; while at the same time, the rapidly replaced. Then the depressed con- regards food. undermanned industries ad we shall be social system took no account of the dition of capitalist farming has made The most rational way to approach such research which could be carried out only back where we started. If the other | economic disasters produced, let alone the agriculture a field of endeavour where a problem is to work out how much of by those with technical knowledge and workers don't get the improvements social misery of floods and dust bowls, broad initiative and planning is impossible various food elements (proteins, fats, carbo- faming experience. The working out of with enormous numbers of farmers driven because of the subservience of agricultural hydrates, minerals, vitamins and trace the problems in detail would be a labour unrest and strikes which could send off their land and compelled to enter into interests to those of export capital. The elements) is required to keep an individual of immense value; for on it may well rest . competitive and wage lowering struggles anarchists and anarchist syndicalists in in full health, and then multiply this by the success of the social revolution in Spain carried on the most thorough edu- the numbers of the population as a whole this country. History teaches us only too Alone upon the historical canvas, the cative propaganda to the peasants for (for simplicity's sake I leave out of ac- well the price of yet another failure, in they could lead to something really im- example of Spanish voluntary collectiviz- years before the revolutionary opportunity count differences in amounts required by deaths from counter-revolutionary violence portant, but it seems just possible that ations during the revolution of 1936 came. By 1936, there were men in almost men as compared with women, or with and revenge. The problem of bread is the the unions might go so far as to call | showed an increase in agricultural pro- every village who understood the problems children at various ages; and also vari- key not only to the avoidance of such a of agriculture in its social setting, as well ations in need according to the strenuous- tragic outcome, but also to the realization as the technical improvements necessary ness of the work done, etc. These factors of those revolutionary vistas which a in order to increase production. But even can be worked out, and a total require- rational economy and a humane social What lessons can we learn from all if the anarchist movement in this coun- ments figure arrived at.) The problem order open up to men and women of this? On the economic side we can see try were very much larger, it would be a then is to produce such amounts. it. That the official unions will lead the that it is absolutely necessary to free much more formidable problem to get its In a country like Britain, some districts

19 20 21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22



The means by which workers are The strike did not spread. The manage-

P. S.

# Long & Hambly workers return after six weeks strike

over the factory under workers' control. the dishes.

which might successfully be resorted to during the critical early days. I refer to "Revolutionary Austerity" the allotments movement. In both wars At the present moment, very large numhad risen to 1,400,000.

#### The Problem Of Needs

STRIKE

told that the Government approved of admittedly no better off. The race of 400 drivers and conductors at Northfleet it "in principle" but that is was im- prices and wages is one that prices will (North Kent) garage staged a lightning practicable at the present time. At the always win-and obviously so since strike at midnight on 3rd June. They Margate conference, however, the profits must be made over and above complained against new summer schedule which did not allow them sufficient break whelmingly for equal pay for women, The wage system is the means by for meals and between journeys, and and the National Executive, on which which workers are robbed of the larger meant they would have to do several

Mr. Morrison, however, has said that divided among themselves and compete ment soon climbed down and the men "The Party must always remember the one against the other. The means, in went back in a few days after the Board

Busmen generally have been agitating equal pay just now. So how they will There is no just means by which one for some time for a shorter hour week. get out of it is anybody's bet, but one man's work can be judged in value At present they work 48 hours, but the thing is certain-the rank and file will against another's, provided only that he LTPB have only offered to reduce those is producing something useful either to hours by knocking off travelling and himself or the community. "To each signing-on time, and by reducing mealaccording to his needs, from each ac- times. This the men will not agree to, All these problems have but one cording to his ability" is the only just but, as most of them admit that striking. similar circumstances. When goods are ticians meant what they said when they solution-the abolition of the wages principle upon which men can give of is "the only way to get anything done" were begging for votes, women have system altogether. To-day workers are their best and receive as their right all we can expect widespread bus strikes sooner or later on the issue.

### THE WORKERS' REPLY

the second se

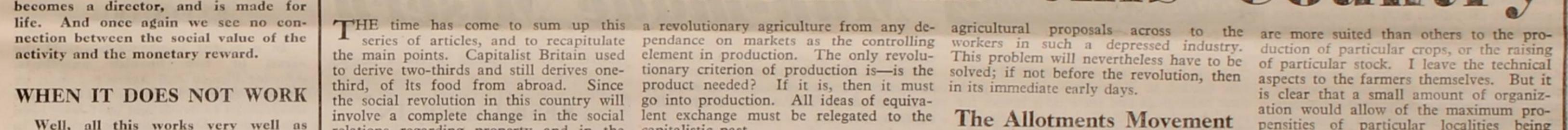
A prompt answer to Herbert Morrison's loganising speech at Margate was given by eight workers in the hotels there where some of the cabinet ministers were staving. The London Evening Standard (28/5/47) reported it thus:

"Work-or you bust"-Mr. Morrison solemnly warned the Socialist conference

much more than among the workers. management approached the Ministry of branch officials of the T. & G.W.U., and the issue of basic solidarity would have Mr. Attlee and other Cabinet members

"Don't snatch at higher wages and "We want more money," said the eight

"Of the managers we are asking-a developing and deepening of their allegiance so that they think of themselves



involve a complete change in the social lent exchange must be relegated to the The Allotments Movement pensities of particular localities being There is however a temporary expedient utilized so as to achieve the desired total.

the problem of rapidly increasing food bers (in 1936, more than 50 per cent.) of production has arisen, presenting the the population do not consume a diet blockade problem in a less acute form. In adequate for full health. Hence the reboth wars, urban workers have been en- volutionary objectives would be much couraged to work allotments and so grow higher than the present consumption their own food. In 1913, there were levels, and it is obviously doubtful if they 530,000 allotments; by 1918 the number could be realized quickly enough to make them a feasible immediate target. Since It is clear that such a number is the immediate problem will be to feed the capable of producing immense amounts population during the critical period of of food. Small patches of ground can be blockade, probably a much lower figure thoroughly manured, and receive a very would be aimed at. Fortunately, there is large proportionate amount of work per- a considerable gap between an optimum ormed on them, so that the yield per diet and a diet on which people can subacre is potentially very high. Further- sist without serious loss of working more, crops such as potatoes can be capacity for many years-long enough, readily grown on allotments without much at all events, to establish the revolution experience on the part of the grower, and in a non-agricultural country like Britain. potatoes allow of a very high calorie value "Revolutionary Austerity" may be an unper acre of land worked. At all events, avoidable necessity, but it has its exit is from such local beginnings that the emplars. In Spain, for example, the peafood problem of the revolution may well sants had a very small sugar ration; but have to start. And such a movement in many cases they went without it almight provide the training ground for together in order to release sugar for the more lost to the land through the rural A degree of luxury should be the aim of the revolution, but in the moment of struggle revolutionary workers have not in the past insisted on any immediate I have treated of allotments in order to achievement of such an aim.

hope to have sketched a programme of revolutionary imagination.

2 27 20 20 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

hope, may still be able to upset the control. petty scheming of the politicians and the At Dijon administrative records were machinations of the diplomats.

Letter trom

The incoherence of bureaucratic started with the strike at the Renault the control of production, has aroused for better food. At Lyon, the Mayor a profound discontent in the majority having decided to suppress the bread of the population. Bread is strictly card because of the great number of rationed and is composed of varous false ones in circulation, a spontaneously cereals with only 50% and even 30% organised demonstration went to the plentiful in cafes. The distribution of phone of the radio station. meat at reasonable prices has failed and it is costing more every day. Fats are very scarce. . Colonial products such as rice, coffee, chocolate, are hardly ever bought by working class families. Deprived of its Communist wing,- impossible to govern without them. colonial exploiters it means the return intact.

#### Two-sided Agitation

monstrations, ransacking of town halls, a strong hand, is two-sided.

### Communes and a Free Society

(Continued from page 2) street and small centre of population as | sign) would be disappointed. In conconsumers, and there would be innumer- clusion he asked French people to As far as the workers are concerned, "resistance" parties and trying to put be beaten without falling in with the able associations of men and women | mistrust "the great sorcerer (de Gaulle) thanks to the hold it has on the General a break on the slide towards Western anti-communism of right wing parties gathered together to promote various in- and the apprentice sorcerers (the Confederation of Labour (CGT), the Powers. terests, such as sport, arts and sciences. revolutionaries)". The commune would be formed from the co-operation of all these various collections of people, representing different aspects of life, and the task of its delegates would be to co-ordinate and secure the effic expression to the wishes and needs of the people. A commune council would, in fact, be something like a genuine soviet IN February of this year some 28,000 of ment and 12 members of the resistance variety will be coming in for a mighty of representatives of all kinds of human the 31,000 Italians in the town of Pola, movement. Now it has been modified, the big shock. power, but would merely exist to secure their belongings and leave their homes for and instead 24 M.P.s chosen by ballot the co-operation of men in a certain ever (Freedom, 1/2/47). Now, according make up the jury. district.

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social organisation, would grow up the already left, and since only 2,000 regional and international federations of Italians (employed by public utilities communes, the federations of various or by the Military Government) are to forms of profession and industry on a remain in the city until the last moment wide scale, etc. But always it should be shortly before the ratification of the emphasised that the only sound found- treaty, it means that there are still some ation for international solidarity is a rich | Italians in Pola who should not be there. communal life, and that the commune is the unit of organisation which must be The method now being used following established before the rest of anarchist | three days' rioting to force the unwanted society can be secure.

communism, instead of the now out-dated sibly staged in protest against the high "Big Unionism" of the 1920's, necessitates cost of living, women demonstrated a change in practical approach. Large- attacked several Italian food stores, and scale unity of workers in each industry is | are picketing the rest, forcing the owners still necessary-but it is even more to keep their shops closed. Only the conecessary to gain an intensive organisation operative food stores remain open, but in each place of work, and also the local these are accessible solely to the proassociation of workers of all trades. Yugoslav section of the population. This was, in fact, a concept of early French syndicalism, the idea of local Bourses de Travail, which was later munist and pro-Yugoslav elements in the rather submerged in ideas of monolithic city had been preceded by continuous syndicalist organisation. It seems to me demands that the administration of the that such local organisation of all kinds now almost empty town should be enof producers and consumers may be more trusted to the Communist committee, in effective even now as a means of struggle anticipation of the ratification of the peace than big industrial unions. If all the treaty and the actual handing over of dockers in the country come out in sup- Pola to Yugoslavia. port of the dockers at one port, it is no doubt a good thing. But if all the The trials of Vichyites and pro-Nazis workers of all industries in their area came in France continues. Perhaps one day, out, and if a communal organisation before the next war, the head-hunting will existed to supply the needs of the workers come to an end. Meanwhile, thousands while refusing service to the state, then are kicking their heels in the over the revolutionary movement would be in crowded French prisons, and hundreds. in an even stronger position.

doctrine of industrial struggle, nor with number of people thus liquidated has been a syndicalist idea of organisation which is published. But Combat, recently gave influenced by capitalist ideas of monolithic details of progress so far made in the trials centralism. It must bring forward a of the Vichy ministers, which started in dynamic concept of social organisation March, 1945, and still continues! The and, to my mind, that exists in the com- Court has so far awarded fifteen death mune, the basic unit of organic social sentences. Of these four have been cargrowth, and the only form of organisation | ried out (Darnand, Laval, De Brinon and in which the individual will be guaranteed Admiral Laborde. Eight ministers have Correction. not merely his freedom, but also the been sentenced to death by default and the richest possibilities of personal develop- other three (Petain, General Dentz, ment. Modern industrial potentialities and Dayras) were reprieved and given life been puzzled as a result of the transposition who have sacrificed all for us. Comrades, social science give the greatest support to sentences (General Dentz has since died in of two lines in the Police Brutality article the anarchist communist ideas of de- Fresnes prison). The remaining 20 published in the last issue, centralism and federalism, and should give | ministers found guilty have been awarded in the second column a great impetus towards building the com- | varying sentences from life imprisonment French policemen (or" and the 14th mune as the organ of social balance and to so many years "National Indignity". from the bottom of the same column "for liberty which we must oppose to the unstate.

#### **Government** Action

On one side it is the result of a large "tough" Monsieur Ramadier put the stant preoccupation for his party". nounced that the fomentors of disorder Government. would be punished and declared that those who hoped for a new 6th February

During the past few weeks we have and perfectly organised campaign for the In practice the measures taken con- of revolt on and off as it suits its strikes, which they have condemned one after the other during these last two seen in France an outburst of that abolition of controls and of planning. sisted merely in a decree requisitioning interests. popular feeling which, as many people and for the suppression of economic the industries on strike: flour-mills first, The strike of the flour mills workers years, as an imperialist weapon. gas and electricity later. No solution was finished by a compromise. That of the found for the vital problem of food. Gas and Electricity finishes with a new The Issues burnt, in other places Treasury em- But promises were made to increase agreement after the threat of strike and Though one must be careful not to ployees and inspectors for economic very low wages and exempt people carn- the threat of requisitioning. The approaching financial strike will over-simplify a situation determined by control were molested, beaten up or ... ing less than 84,000 frances (£175 per It is a fight with kid gloves on. probably precipitate events. The experiover-simplify a situation determined by control were molested, beaten up of the annum) from income tax. Vigilance ever-changing factors it is nevertheless put into cages. possible to find out why the workers ment of decreasing prices has failed. The other demonstrations are of a towards extreme-left elements was in-creased, and the demonstration organof French products cannot compete on revolt outside their legal organisations. purely working class character. They ised by the anarchists, in Paris, for the speech. foreign markets. Producers of export anniversary of the Commune was forgoods loudly demand a devaluation The Parties Game planning which shows itself very factorics which was followed by protests bidden. Thousands of militants who which will have as a result reducing pendantic in the smallest operations of in many other industries. Street de- had gathered themselves together in distribution but completely ineffectual in monstrations and public meetings asked spite of the prohibition were charged can only be found in the game of the working class. The explanation of this vast comedy still further the buying power of the oon and beaten by the police, first at parties and in the control which the We are heading straight towards an the spot where they had met and Great Powers have on those same investment of American capital in secondly in front of the cemetery where parties. France and its control over the ecothe demonstration was to take place. The Gaullist movement, which is nomic and social life of the country. of wheat. Wine is practically impossible town hall, seized the Mayor, and obliged The Role of the Communists ploits the general discontent and the then the communists will enter body rapidly spreading in most provinces, ex- If Moscow decides to fight the battle

Speculation and black marketeering give which left it with the pretext of sup- Jacques Duclos, the party "theor- to the limitless exploitation of the the discontent plenty to grumble about. porting working class demands but in ctician" has several times stressed the natives. For all of them it is the reality to protest against the pro- fact "that the working class will not return to order and authority. American orientation of Foreign minister fall into the trap of the general strike". This danger frightens the important The agitation which has taken place Bidault at the Moscow conference- On the other hand, he has declared that parties who enjoy their own power: the all over France: strikes, meetings, de- the Ramadier Government trics to show the communist party remained "a socialists and the christian democrats of governing party". And finally, "that the MRP. Many of them would accept create a great number of minority In a speech in which he tried to be the battle of production remained a con- the General's policy (still very vague) movements, autonomous syndicates and

population on guard against the activi- These declarations are intended to tics of "trotskyists, anarchists and reassure the anti-communist majority Cagoulards (hooded men)". He an- and prepare a possible return to the

Futhermore, the Party has modified (an illusion to the riots which took its tactics regarding planning and de Gaulle without de Gaulle (this is and anarchist groups. place in 1934, when the followers of pattacks the 'abuses of bureaucracy". the case in particular of Bidault); and The working class is in the process Each factory and workshop would, of Colonel de la Roque and the Royalists It considers that the demands of the in the second, to create again a co- of liberating itself from the Communists. caused the left-wing government to re- imall shopkeepers and industrialists are alition government of three parties, But only the class struggle can consti-

Communist Party is able to turn the tap The communists merely accept

to the Trieste correspondent of the Beyond the commune, the basic unit of Manchester Guardian some 25,000 have

Italians to leave is to cut them off from The return to an emphasis on anarchist | their food supply. After meetings osten-

This last move on the part of the Com-

perhaps thousands have fallen before the Anarchism cannot succeed as a negative firing squads. No detailed figures of the

interests; it would have no governing new ceeded to Yugoslavia, had to pack resistance members having been removed

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

We have already referred to the unsatisfactory position concerning German and Italian P.o.W.s in Russian hands (Freedom, 31/5/47). The Venice correspondent of the Corriere della Sera (29/5/47) reports that 200 women with relatives in Russia assembled outside the Soviet Consulate. One of the women was received by the Consulate who informed her that there were no more prisoners in Russia. That he was lying is proved by the fact that a group of 14 P.o.W.s rearrvide in Padua after escaping from a concentration camp in the Odessa district. And now the latest arrival a former corporal, 34-year-old Raimond Simonetti, of Mestre. He stated that there are still many Italian P.o.W.s in Russia of whom a number had given him messages for their families. He gave the names of a number of prisoners in camp 149/13 in Karkov, as well as in the camp at Oranki, near Gorky. He added that in Karaganda, Kasachistan (in Siberia) 850 prisoners are employed in the coal mine while a further thousand at least dispersed in camps.

These facts should be widely known and every effort made to obtain the immediate repatriation of these men.

When, if ever, the balance sheet drawn up of Stalin's victims, both among people and in the conquer territories, those who have kidded themselves that there is a difference between Red Fascism and the Hitler or Mussolini

policemen were three days. For ten days he was" should these men is interesting. At the outset, the article makes sense. Our apologies for Pola? Can we? GEORGE WOODCOCK. it was composed of 12 members of parlia- on error . . . beyond the writer's control!

# THE STRIKE AS AN IMPERIALIST WEAPON

and jobs with young people.

The communists oppose de Gaulle CNT. because he represents American Simultaneously, we shall see the left interests.



### **RESISTANCE IN** PORTUGAL

We are often being reminded by the fact that there has been a Fascist dictatorship in that country for years doesn't prisoned for their ideas does not make a crusade against the dark forces of death. Fascism." Have they, we wonder, learnt the lesson for when the same propaganda is directed at them next time? It is 21 years since democratic government Portugal was overthrown by a military Yet Salazar has not succeeded in stifling the voice of the people completely We have recently received four an underground printed sheet A Batalh (The Battle) published monthly by our anarcho-syndicalist comrades of the Gen- | Anarchy!' eral Federation of Labour which is affiliated to the I.W.M.A. (International Working Men's Association). The Libertarian Youth in Portugal have also sent us copies of an 8-page duplicated Bulletin which is issued monthly. title is O Despertar (The Awakening). will follow."

In the March issue of A Batalha a call is made to 'Save Our Prisoners" who have for years been bearing the brunt of the most fierce prison repression. In Cachias, Peniche, Aljube do Porio and Lisbon, the Penitentiaries of Lisbon and Coimbra, are to be found our comrades "whose crime was that they struggled against a fascist Dictatorship which for the past twenty years has been decimating . Enough of this repression against a people that cannot endure much more suffering. On the grounds of human-Some readers of this column must have ity . . . we must do all we can for those Can we here do anything for the workers of Portugal? Or for that matte of Spain? Can we do anything for the German and Italian P.o.W.s in Russia balance and tyranny of the modern total The composition of the jury trying be interchanged. Then, it will be found dren being driven from their homes in

LIBERTARIAN.



Now that they have passed to the popular disgust for political parties. For and soul in the struggle. But it is opposition the Communists like to show business men and producers it repre- probable that Stalin will prefer to give their teeth but have no intention to use sents a return to the "good old days", in and maintain the Communists in the them seriously. They merely want to when those who had financial power government or in "His Majesty's opposhow the present government that it is could sell at the highest prices. For sition", in order to preserve its strength

> The working class though having no control over its political or syndicalist organisations, has recently shown that it remains the decisive factor.

The moral split in the CGT will but fear he will fill government posts federations, and the strengthening of the young revolutionary organisation, the

wing of the socialist party gain in in-The game consists, therefore, in the fluence under the impetus of Marceau first place, to carry out the policy of Pivert and a growth of the trotskyist

playing on the solidarity of the tute the ground on which Stalinism can and American finance.

S. PARANE.

### SPANISH ANARCHISTS EXECUTED

In a recent issue, we reported the arrest of two Spanish anarchists, Amador Franco and Antonio Lopez, by frontier guards in Spain. They were condemned to death and have now been executed. The anarchist paper in Esperanto gives the following further

"Two young libertarians, full of cnpoliticians of the bonds of friendship be- thusiasm, entered Spain in order to tween this country and Portugal. The contact the anarchist movement there, which has never ceased struggling against the fascist regime. They were affect the 400 year old military alliance atacked by Falangists and police but between the two countries. The fact that resisted for several hours, until their all workers' organisations in Portugal have ammunition was exhausted. Arrested been ruthlessly suppressed; that revolu- | and imprisoned, they were then tortured tionary workers have been shot and im- | and beaten in an attempt to get information about other anti-fascist scrap of difference to these "bonds of militants, but neither torture nor flogfriendship." We never thought it would, ging could get a word from them, for yet so many people swallowed the war- they knew that only their silence could save hundreds of men and women from

> "Amador Franco and Antonio Lopez suffered stoically for many days, and then learnt that they had been condemned to death.

"On April 21st, they were taken to Pasajeas, where no executions had taken place for a long time. They were shot at dawn and both died crying 'Long live

"The squad originally detailed to carry out the execution had refused to fire. and were eventually replaced by eight volunteers. Five of them have paid for their crime with their lives. The others

### More In The Gaols Than Ever—Nearly 17,000

The recent report that Dartmoor is to be closed leaves us sceptical-we've heard that one before. Perhaps there will come a time when it will be abandoned (but kept standing in case of "emergencies" of course); but is seems hardly likely at a time when the prison population is stteadily rising. Here are the figures for the numbers of men in gaols, given by the Prison Officers' Association. Before the war the average number in prisons and Borstals was between 10,000 and 11,000. "In 1945 it was over 14,000, in 1946 over 15,000, and now it exceeded 16,700."

#### 14th June, 1947



too. Unfortunately, it is not much of a GPU cellar will cease.

swell the ranks of the labour gangs for off from every house that they protect deal of money to be made. 25 years. When labour is scarce it is \_\_\_\_\_ better to have a slave for 25 years than 1a strangled corpse.

### U.S.-Russian Interventionist Rivalry in Europe

European politics are being increasingly confused by the intervention of the great imperialist powers in smaller states. In the electoral majority of the Small- so long ago, the moral indignation over wouldn't come back, but went to Cairo hope that the others get burnt; possibly freedom. Holders' Party. They have not scrupled the squabbles between rival Christian and signed King Farouk's visitor's book Abdel Krim has some secret commitments While this violent and disturbing landivulge-presumably because the evidence | tervene; later the British introduced a new Arab hospitality". is still being manufactured.

A member of the Hungarian Repatriation ported to have been picked up by car in have been a clever move had not the other where-is given by the arrival of the the Russian zone in Vienna and taken into Hungary.

Meanwhile, the U.S. government has "replied" by cancelling its loan to Hungary, and depriving the country of an UNRRA allocation.

ment has plans to "help France to combat | hands managed to shoot her out of the Communism", and has granted a loan of Middle East: Arab nationalism, by which £62,000,000 which will probably be used Britain first ousted the Turks and used French Stalinists is diminished.

confuses the issue and renders the ordin- France, always insistent on locking-up ary man thoroughly apathetic-induces a anti-imperial prisoners, has been granting state of mind very favourable to the intro- amnesties to the lesser fry. Certain duction of one form of totalitarianism or better-known prisoners she could not, other.

And in fact the American economic aid Husseini, ex-Mufti of Jerusalem. (Whom, of reactionary groups against the Com- by the way, Russian-dominated Yugoslavia munists provides the latter with very good arguments based on "patriotic" grounds. Inevitably, they will derive some sympathy from those workers who are not sufficiently advanced politically to cry "a plague on both your houses!"

#### The Australian Aborigines

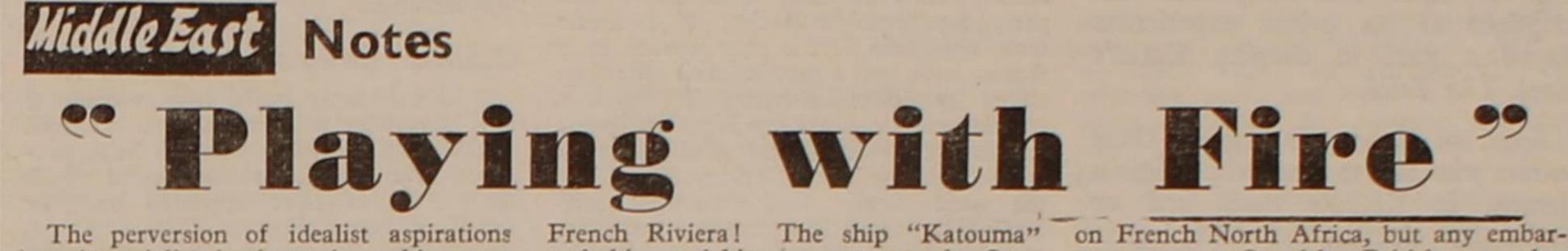
British colonial expansion exterminated the Tasmanian race about 100 years ago, since the Sultan of Turkey lost his throng and the anthropologists have never ceased every Christian power has wanted t to lament the loss on scientific grounds assume the role of Protector of Is (not to mention humanitarian ones). For | They thought the French had him safe years now the Australian Aborigines. However, one morning he "escaped" officially protected in Reservations, have | walked on a plane and flew to Cairo been drawn into the poorest paid jobs. | where he signed his name in the visitor where they pick up all the worst vices of book at Farouk's Abdin Palace, and a slum civilization, and die like flies from tuberculosis.

Government trusteeship has now shown another example of the worthlessness of its pretensions. Seeking a range for rocket projectiles, the Australian governmen have taken over the Central Aboriginal Reservation for this purpose and are proposing to move all the natives out whether they like it or not.

This was too much for at least one member of the Government Aborigines | union Island in the Indian Ocean, follow-Protection Board, Dr. Charles Duguid, ing the Riff rebellion against Spain in who has resigned from the Board in pro- Morocco, has "escaped". (It may be noted test. He has denounced a government | the French so-called Popular Front saw to which claims to be "protecting" the it that he was still safely interned during aborigines, and then turns them out as the Franco rising). After all these years, soon as it suits them to make secret Abdel Krim was given permission to researches for the world's destruction.

police is above the law and not bound by describes how the men appointed to kill interesting to note that the extent of the going drafts. This problem has been most such legal gesticulation. Even if the off the wolves in France were careful to police control of the now illegal brothels acute in India, where several generations judges do not pronounce the death look after the animals' breeding grounds was corroborated for the reporter by penalty, it is very unlikely indeed that the for fear that they should die out, and so Mme. Marthe Richard who was mainly shooting in the back of the neck in a deprive the wolf-catchers of their jobs. A responsible for the illegalizing of the similar farce is being enacted in Paris brothels. But presumably those who would have following the closing of the brothels a been sentenced to death for capital year ago. According to the Sunday It is just one more example of the incrimes other than opposition to the rule Pictorial's reporter, the brothels are now ability of reformist measures to stamp Indian" implies what is called in India of the Communist Party, will now go to being run by the police who exact a rake- out an industry in which there is a great

And very good for Russian propaganda, Police Run Paris Brothels from the law. No doubt some of the lurid reports of the Sunday Pictorial will realising that the fond dreams of London safeguard in a country where a secret In his pamphlet Anarchy, Malatesta be treated with some scepticism, but it is and New York vanished with the out-



convenient crop of complications by the port of Zionism (if not of the Iews) through introducing the Nazi-style pogroms in her occupied countries and thus

accelerating immigration, and now France. At the same time the American govern- France is using a weapon that in other however, release without a major diplomatic squabble. For instance, Jamal el listed as a war criminal that Britain wouldn't turn over to her-to please the Palestine Jews-and whom she didn't try very hard to get herself-not to offend the Palestine Arabs!).

> The British did not want to try the Bill. Mufti, though he was "wanted" for (as well as the pre-war Palestine rising) the pro-Nazi revolt in Iraq under Rashid Ali; the reason being his religious office, as reported to be waiting the day to fly independent Lebanon, where the Palestine Arab terrorist army (set up after the Arab League conference at Bloudan last year) is being trained in the mountains by Nebih el Azmeh and Fawzy el Kawukji, with its battle headquarters close to the border, ready for the civil war, the imminence of which Palestinians avoid

And now, Abdel Krim, imprisoned by the French for over twenty years in Remove his restricted domicile to-the

24 25 20 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

16 17 18 19 20

### THE ARCTIC IS THE LIMIT

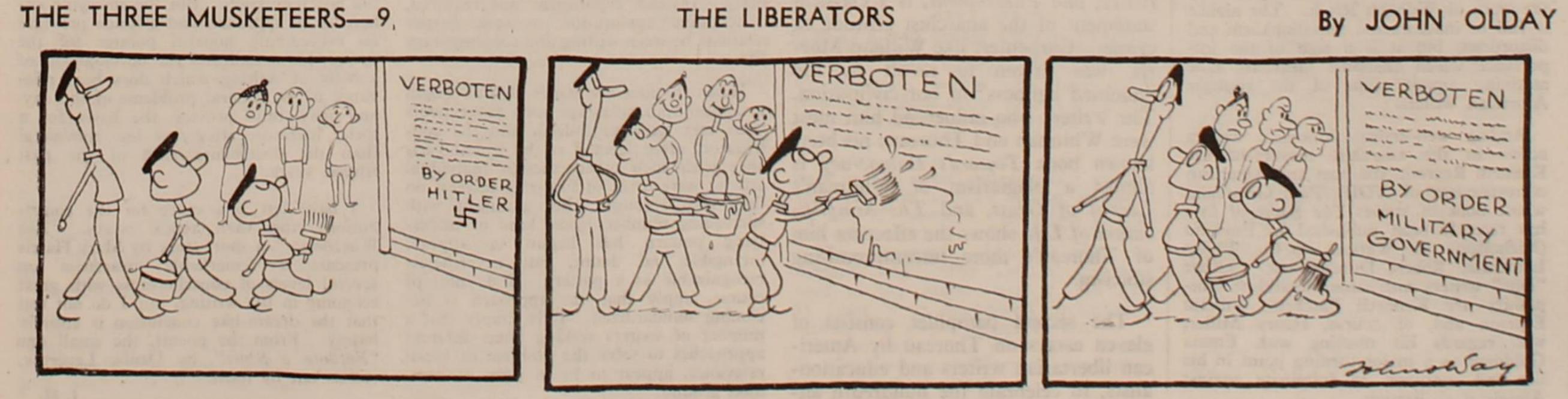
altogether unjustified.

President Truman has asked for \$1,429,197,800 for the U.S. Army's House Gardens, where they will be domicile military budget. The House of Repre- gratefully received. sentatives Appropriations Committee has made a cut of 8.3 per cent. If Congress upholds the Committee's action the Army will receive a mere \$1,310,245,000 for the year starting on July 1st. This will not include foreign relief and other civil funtions of the Army which will be financed by another

Reasons for a peace budget three would travel at 3,000 miles an hour. Congress will not be asked to vote single dollar however to overthrow

times the size of the total federal bud get before the war? General Spaaz (of razing Germany to the ground repute) declared that the United State forces must be on the "Arctic Frontier" and the War Department requested funds to finance large scale manoeuvres in the Arctic and to develop missiles that Franco or General Peron.

DAMMIT, SIR ! Mr. Dunne frowned curiously on the bench. "He wanted to join the Army, did he?" he inquired. "Yes, sir," said the constable. "An odd business." "Yes, sir," agreed the Constable. "He seems to be rather feeble-minded, sir." Evening News, 27/5/47



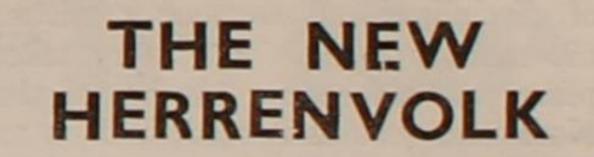


of occupation by expatriated soldiers have naturally led to extra-marital relations that have created a new "race", the Anglo-

India

The Anglo-Indians (as they are known in India-or Eurasians as they are known in England where the term "Anglo-"domiciled Englishmen") have yielded very strongly to the ever-present Indian

on its being independent of both, Arab acting to past insults. Arab League!



have I been so ashamed of being English.

The situation in Germany is appalling. Men, women and children are dying in the streets, while fat, bloated, snobbish wives of Colonial Commission officers sit back in the house of some evicted family whose underfed daughter is a slave for a meagre wage.

I have seen silly little typists, their heads swollen by the treatment they have received, walk about with their noses in the air as if they owned the country, more often than not ignoring the polite salu tations of the Germans.

I have fought against the Germans. My brother and father were both killed in the war. Yet I bear no persona grudge. Must we kick a man when he's down? It is British? .- Captain D. E. H., D.S.O., G.H.G. (I) India Command.

Letter in Daily Mirror. But we thought it was something inherent in Prussian arrogance that made the Nazis act that way, when they were top-dogs.

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

By JOHN OLDAY

in its temptation of forming a new caste, and abjured the idea of India being their nation and looked on themselves as soldiers, and there are many nations in the a superior race second only to the Anglo-"Herrenvolk", and the daughters of "Anglo-India" have been most anxious to fulfil the desires of the "European" (a term which, in Asia, includes Americans and Australians!) soldiers in the hope of becoming more "European" in the course of generations. Politically, the Anglo-Indians have been "more English than the English", adopting wholesale the preudices and narrow nationalism of the "pukka sahib" which are merely ridiculous to the majority of his countrymen. More than any other Indians, except the Princes, view with regret and dismay any departure of the British.

Problem we

Leave Behind

It is not unnatural that Indian nationalists should look askance at the Anglo-Indians and condemn them as "aping British customs", as being "neither flesh nor fowl and nothing but a memorial to British adulteration" and the like, and in one Indian magazine I read to my surprise a statement by a Congress supporter that as "only those who fight will be entitled to share the fruits of freedom" the Anglo-Indians should know this fact and "if they do not want to be treated in India in the way Hitler treated the Hungary, for example, the Russian govern- into imperialist intrigues is nothing new took him and his entourage up the Suez rassment to Spanish, British or other Jews in Nazi Germany they should imment is employing its usual "plot-and in the Middle East and was losing its Canal and-would be only too mediately join the Indian National Conconfession" technique in order to destroy | novelty at the time of the Crusades. Not all stepped off the ship at Port Said and welcome. It is playing with fire in the gress and thus help India in her fight for

to summon members of this party to factions in the "Holy" Land, under the instead, while M. Bidault wrote a diplo- with them in exchange for his "escape" guage would not be owned by the Russia and then imprison them on vague | Turks, served as a pretext for the great matic "protest" and the Albanian King of which he may or may not keep. The next | majority of Congress and least of all by treason charges which they refuse to powers-Russia, France, Britain-to in- Egypt politely explained "traditional scene in the play we obviously cannot Gandhi and his followers, it is the sort prophesy exactly; but we do see the way of tone that is frightening Anglo-Indians readily and there are in store for them powers stepped in to make things a bit intrepid rebel against European domin- In the same way Britain has appeared many unpleasant shocks in being snubbed more difficult-America by overt support ation. Somewhere-but where? France as the champions of Sudanese in- by ignorant and colour-conscious people of the Jewish terrorists, Russia by sup- is obviously not willing to forego her hold dependence against-the Anglo-Egyptian here in the same way, perhaps, that condominion! Egypt insists on the Sudan Anglo-Indians themselves offended in their becoming soley Egyptian; Britain insists heyday those Indians who are now re-

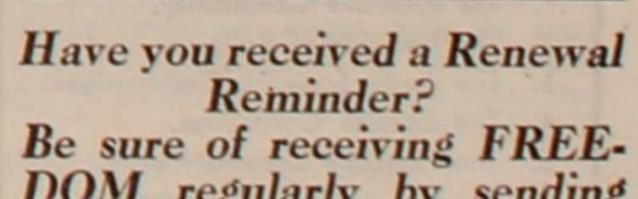
independence being a card Britain plays | We have got to abolish wholesale and much better than Egypt, the queen of the completely the lunatic modern idea of shifting populations from this part of the world to that part of the world, and try-Meanwhile America forges ahead with ing to divide mankind into ethnological her commercial penetration of the Arab compartments as if they were breeding in such a way that the influence of the with success in getting France out of the Recent talks of disarmament were countries; Russia trains her political chickens, which reached such a pinnacle Levant after the latest war for ideals. greeted by this paper with what some agents; and France enters the arena! Let of absurdity under the Nazi regime that Some very striking coincidences have people think is a systematic cynicism. us hope nobody thinks this is just a game everybody else in the world managed to But such imperialist intervention only taken place within the last few months. The last United States military budget of naked imperialist power politics, and do the same thing under cover of the seems to show, however, that is was not anybody with a second-hand ideal or two greater stupidity. Instead of making to spare should send them along to the domicile fit Nationalist convenience we Right Honourable Ernest Bevin at Carlton must make the world our nation and

> There is a very great problem that is going to face a Free World (we will never get in even theoretical distance of it in a capitalist or State-run world) and that is the problem of reconciling and uniting East and West and all the great continents. In the solution of this problem, one which divides the world into "colours" and races, the nations which cannot settle in the present chaos of nationalism because of their position on the border-line, I have just returned to India after a will have the greatest part to play in spell in Germany. Never in all my life bringing the nations together for their coalescence into the anarchy of nonnationalism. Any "solution" under the present system of shifting nations or trying to reconcile them in countries where the preservation of the system requires caste division, is worthless, and the only temporary solution that can be of use is for those who believe in Freedom to endeavour to dispel the illusions and prejudices on the subject that clog our minds like ghosts from a discreditable past.

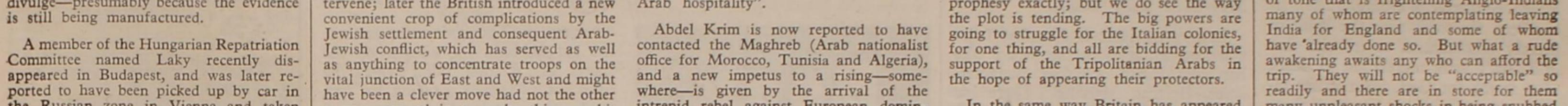
### **ARAB WORKERS LEAVE RIGHT-WING UNION**

It is learned from Haifa that some 1,500 Arab workers employed by the Iraq Petroleum Company have announced their ecision ot secede from the right-wing Palestine Arab Workers' Society and establish their own trade union.

According to Arab press reports the cause of this withdrawal is the action of the chairman of the Palestine Arab Workers' Society who, during the recent 12-day sit-in strike, came to an agreement with the I.P.C. managers without consulting the workers' committee. From Jewish Labour News, 22/5/47.



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many of the really significant writers, the revolutionary writers in an artistic ial for his fantasies by observing the sense, have not only reproduced in strange and quite inhuman way in their work ideas which they hold in which capitalist society dealt with its common with anarchism, but have victims. He was also however, posiactually been directly interested in tively interested in anarchist ideas. the anarchist movement itself. In Before 1914 he was a frequent at-Gorman's biography of James Joyce, tender of an anarchist circle in for instance, there is a note on the Prague, to which Hasek, author of New York, social writers who interested the The Good Soldier Schweik, also author of Ulysses. Almost all the went, and during the 1914-18 war he Rexroth's book, The Phoenix and the names in this list are those of anar- spent a great deal of time studying Tortoise (10/6) and William Everson's chists or near-anarchists; they include anarchist writings; in fact, of a list Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta and given by Brod of six authors who Elisée Reclus. At the same time, while Joyce enjoyed reading anarchist writers, and no doubt found that their ideas had much in common with his own revolutionary theories of writing, novel, The Trial. he could not stand Marx. It is said that he read only a few pages of Das Kapital, and then abandoned it as too pompous to be readable.

#### Kafka and Anarchism.

OF

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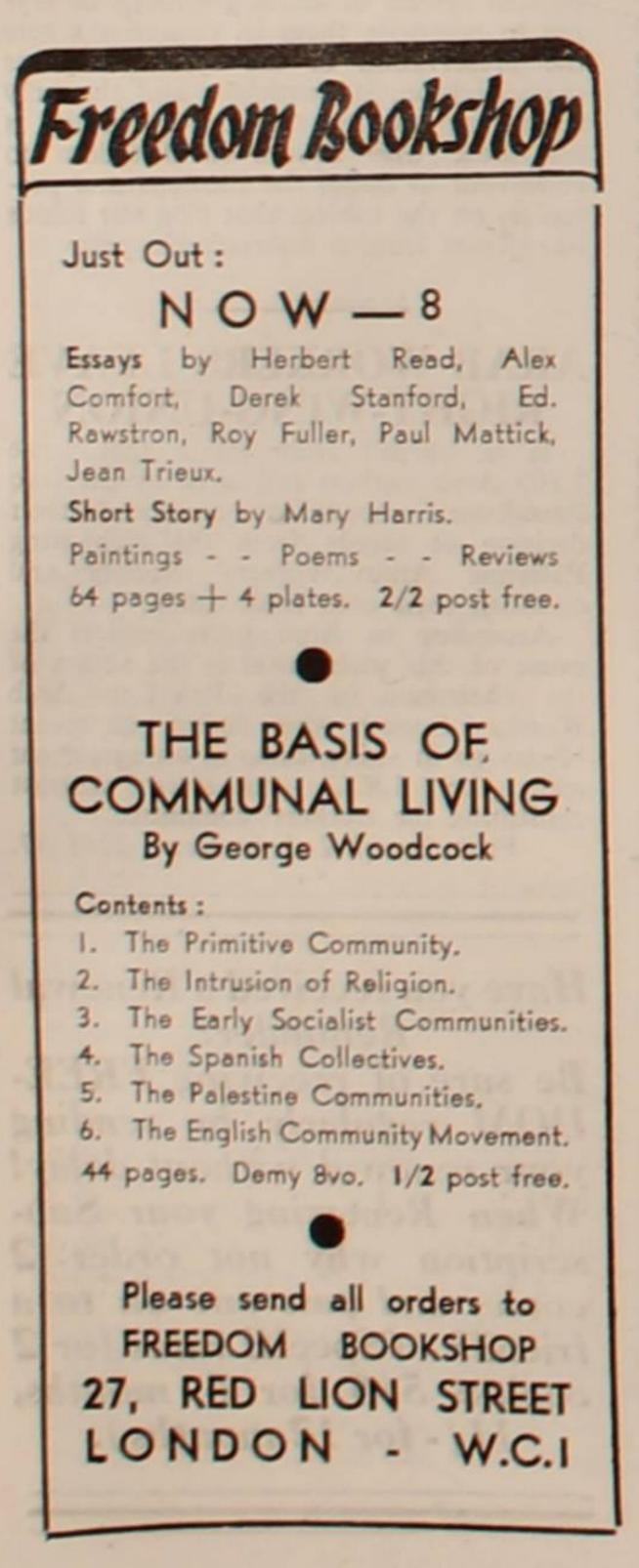
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In

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according to the recently published and attain freedom and happiness. biography by Max Brod (Franz Kafka, Secker & Warburg, 12/6). It Melville's Billy Budd. has been for some time the habit of literary obscurantists to try and find in Kafka's work merely the evidence of a search for God. But it has always struck anarchists how well those now been published a short novel, magnificent novels, The Castle, The Billy Budd (John Lehman, 5/-), Trial and America, could be taken as which has never before appeared in and activities of the State. Nothing which has an even stronger anarchist could illustrate more aptly than The flavour than Melville's other books. Trial the nightmare quality of "jus- It is an allegory illustrating the differfull life are very reminiscent of those minds of a number of naval officers at odds with the State, The very working of justice and bureaucracy in Kafka's novels is so fantastically reproduced in the world to-day that his social insight seems almost uncanny.

Brod's biography now throws some quite important light on this subject. Kafka worked for many years in an insurance office, dealing with his workmen's compensation claims, and it was there that he gained the mater-



interested Kafka most during that five Fellow Travellers' Difficulties.

my mind it was not nearly so strong

In a recent issue of Freedom I devoted an article to another writer who has very strong anarchist characteristics, Herman Melville. There has struck and accidentally killed a superior officer. According to every natural concept of justice the man on

in common.

#### Harper's Magazine attacks American Anarchist Writers.

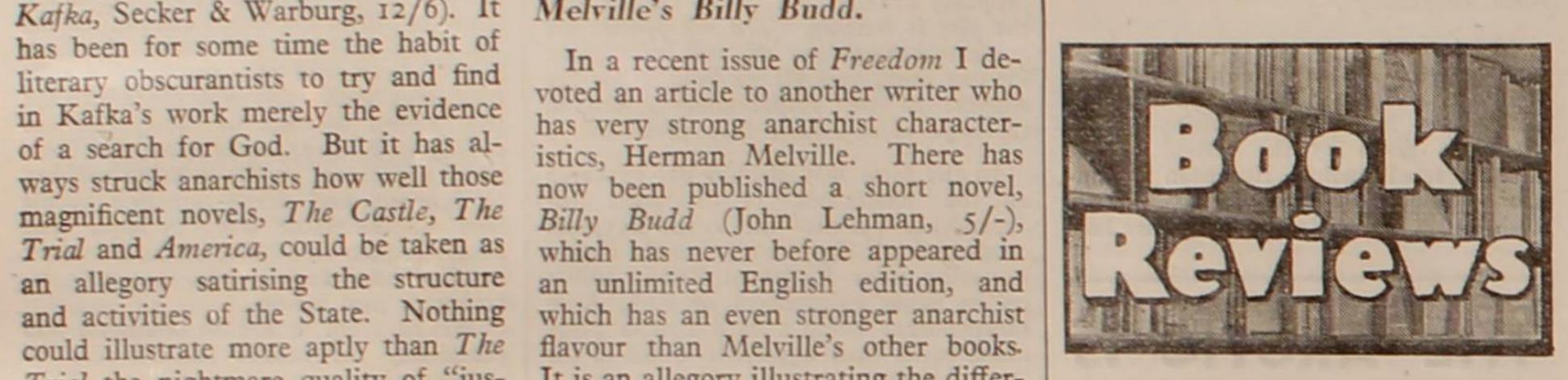
American anarchist writers have come in recently for somewhat doubtful pubportance which anarchist ideas are now attaining among some of the younger American writers.

Among well-known American writers active in the anarchist movement are Kenneth Rexroth, the poet and American has recently been published in England (Nicholson & Watson, 8/6), Philip Lamantia, Robert Duncan, etc. Other "lone" writers with strong anarchist sym- | Stoicism. pathies are Kenneth Patchen, William who regards his meeting with Emma eleven essays on Thoreau by Ameri-Goldman as a major turning point in his life and continues to fulminate against American civilisation

with WHY, the New York anarchist denounced and persecuted just because he review, which is shortly to change its has persistently refused to become an name to Resistance. Others in California official party songster. Incidentally, there have just brought out the first issue of is one very significant verse in the poem a large anarchist literary magazine called translated in Penguin New Writing, The Ark, while for some years Holley Pasternak begins by writing a very Cantine has published a live occasional anarchist review, Retort, from Bearsville, then he says, quite abruptly

(Copies of American editions of Freedom Press.)

It is very likely that Kropotkin's de- literary fellow travellers of the Communist regimentation. scriptions of his prison experiences party experience in facing up to brute played a part in shaping Kafka's facts regarding Russia was shown in a Chinese Edition of Kropotkin. recent issue of Penguin New Writing, edited by John Lehmann, in which a I have recently heard from a comrade Brod, of course, is one of those translation of a poem by Boris Pasternak in China who tells me that a collected was inserted, with the note that Pasternak edition of Kropotkin's works is being prewriters who like to stress the religious is the "leading Soviet lyric poet". Since pared in a Chinese translation, of which Alexander Berkman: element in Kafka's work, and no the word Soviet has, somewhat mis- three volumes have appeared and the A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM doubt that element did exist, but to leadingly, passed into common usage as fourth is being prepared. That, surely, meaning the official government of Russia, should be an incentive to the English comreaders would be forgiven for assuming rades to make it possible for our own as the anarchist consciousness of the that this paragraph was meant to convey collected edition to appear as quickly as A similar interest in anarchist way in which modern society treats that Pasternak is officially approved in possible, which can only be done by some MUTUAL AID & SOCIAL writings was shown by Franz Kafka, those individuals who try to stand out Russia. This, although Mr. Lehmann pretty substantial contributions to the says nothing about it, is very far from the Press Fund.



The Libertarian Group.)

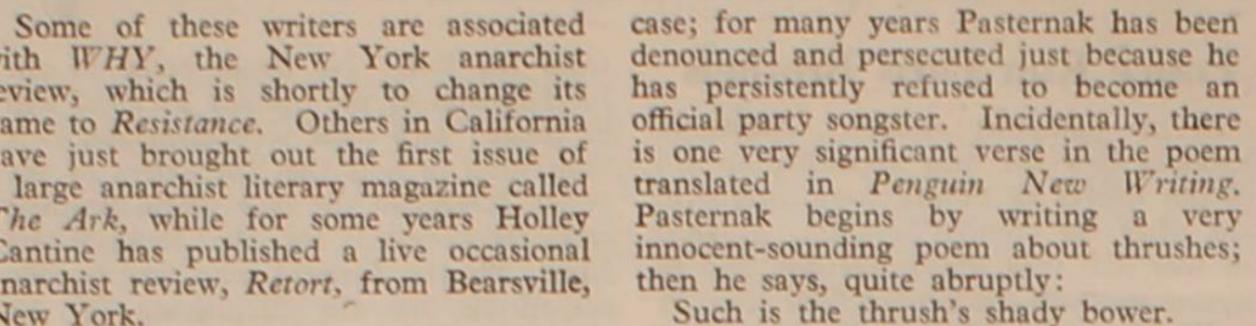
Centennial Appreciations. (Los Angeles: who despised any sort of veneration Rocker Publications Committee.)

Thomas Bell, the author of the trial is morally innocent and the dead first of these pamphlets, was one of to be minimised, as a writer or as a and, through its influence on Gandhi, man deserved what he got. But the the pioneers of anarchism in Scotland man. He went to prison rather than his essay "On the duty of Civil Disofficers have to judge according to a and an early friend of Kropotkin on pay the tax for the imperialist war obedience", has altered the history of naval code based on the maintenance his arrival in this country. (It was with Mexico; he was, as Havelock an empire. of discipline, and so they condemn Bell who, when Tsar Nicholas II Ellis said, the one man in the whole These pamphlets are obtainable the man to death. The story takes arrived at Leigh on his visit to Queen of America who publicly declared from Freedom Press at 1/- each. place just before the Mutiny of the Victoria, broke through three ranks Nore, and should be read, both as an of soldiers and police and shouted in \_ excellent piece of writing, and as an the Tsar's face, "Down with the Rusapt and almost timely comment on sian tyrant! To hell with all the the inhumanity of military law, courts martial, and law in general. sian tyrant! To hell with all the Empires", which so shook the Tsar, that he cut short his visit and returned that he cut short he cut Here again, obscurantist critics find to his yacht from a little fishing vil-God lurking, but personally, I found lage). Bell has written a fair and not NOW (No. 8, May-June issue): Edited not the slightest trace of the deity in over-fulsome appreciation of Edward by GEORGE WOODCOCK. this very straightforward allegory. I Carpenter who, like Cunninghame- It is good to see the eighth issue of think we should always be very wary Graham or H. W. Nevinson, was an Now following so closely on the seventh. of the contemporary tendency to read example of the highly-cultured and After an initial set-back due to the power religious meanings into various "well-born" Englishman who devoted this magazine will be able to settle down writers. If we take too much notice himself to all sorts of unpopular and as a regular bi-monthly. of it, we may tend to neglect many revolutionary causes. They are large- For many years there has been the need can be felt even though it is never exgood writers and abandon them to the ly forgotten to-day because so much for a magazine animated by a recognition plicitly defined. claims of philosophies and creeds of what they fought for is now taken of the social issues of our time, but not with which they may have had little for granted, though little of it is yet sterilized by a doctrinaire adherence to Something of the same feeling is to be some political nostrum or other. The found in the other articles, though it is actually achieved.

view of our civilisation-that all is for the best in this best of all possible worlds-he attacked the view of attractive phrase) must base itself on of Now-and Roy Fuller on Matthew women as a household ornament, the formulae. But their failure by no means articles on French literature to-day, and licity in Harper's, one of the American dogmatism of the 19th century science showed a positive way to relate writing the first part of a long review by Paul society magazines, which contains an and of Marxian socialism, he pleaded to the social questions. Clearly it would Mattick of Trotsky's biography of Stalin. article entilted Sex and Anarchy, dealing for a reasonable attitude towards be to court the same kind of failure to rub The articles in the present issue show with the group of anarchist writers in homosexuality, and his Prisons, apply anarchist generalizations in their them reaches the standard of the best in California who are much influenced by the work of Wilhelm Reich. The article Police, and Punishment, is a classical place. Instead, exploration to seek deeper herence in approach and attitude provides is full of inaccuracies, sensationalism and statement of the anarchist attitude to a tentative exploration to seek deeper herence in approach and attitude provides distortions, but it is a sign of the im- crime. Carpenter, like William Mor- relations between writing and contemporary an exceedingly hopeful pointer for the ris, was driven to revolt by the "damned ugliness" of our civilisation. When the first few issues of Now began vance to the general problems of the day, The writers who influenced him most to appear four years ago such experiments and may thus provide the basis for a were Whitman and Thoreau; his best- tributors often seemed at the widest vari- than the doctrinaire stuff of the past known book Towards Democracy is ance with each other, though individual fifteen years. correspondent of NOW, Paul Goodman, almost a plagiarism of Whitman's articles were often of first-rate interest on whose book of stories The Facts of Life Leaves of Grass, and The Simplifi- their own account. But gradually with I have left litle space for the contri-

A New Monthly Feature by George Woodcock-

WHEN one studies the history of contemporary European liter-ature, it is interesting to see how

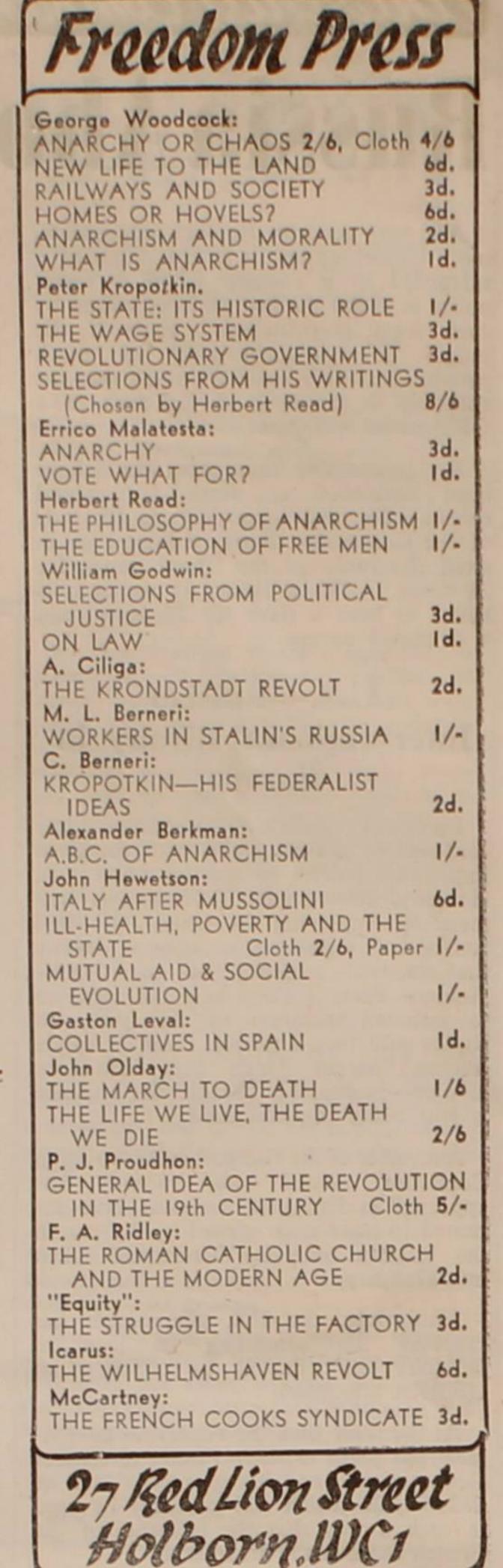


They dwell in woods spared by the

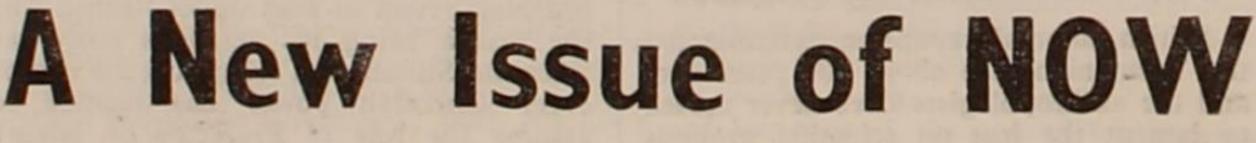
As artists should, tuned to this power. Their's is the way I also take.

I do not think it requires any great ingenuity to interpret this verse as an William Godwin: indication of Pasternak's annoyance at the years, two are Kropotkin and Herzen. An example of the difficulty which subjected and his desire to get away from restrictions to which Soviet writers are JUSTICE

niversary of Thoreau's retirement to the hut he built for himself on the shores of Walden Pond where he lived for two years growing his own food and observing his surroundings, an experience he afterwards described in one of the best of naturalist books, and one of the best expositions of individualist philosophy, Walden, or Life in the Woods. While most of the essays in the pamphlet are very tice" as it is practiced in capitalist or ence between real justice and artificial socialist states, while the useless codes of law. Superficially, it is anefforts of K. to gain from the authori- other sea story, but the whole inten- "EDWARD CARPENTER, The English sophy and his terse and epigrammic ties in The Castle the right to live a tion centres round the conflict in the Tolstoi", by T. H. Bell. (Los Angeles: style, they do not entirely avoid a certain degree of repetition, or a of the modern individual who is set called on to try a sailor who had "THOREAU, The Cosmic Yankee". rather uncritical adulation of a man of "the great".



himself on the side of John Brown, who took up arms against the state on However, Thoreau is certainly not behalf of the runaway Negro slaves;



This feeling is especially noticeable in the present issue. Derek Stanford on "Rights of the Imagination", Edward Rawstron on "Science and the Novel", and Herbert Read's fugitive notes on the distinction between liberty and freedom, all show a common ground of values, a general feeling for basic human needs. And the presence of this common ground

slavish acceptance of Marxist dogmas re- less obvious because the subject matter is duced the politico-literary reviews of the less general: Alex Comfort on "Censor-Carpenter challenged the Victorian thirties to the most unenlivening aridity, ship and Pornography"-a companion and showed quite clearly that a "socially essay to his discussion of sadism in conconscious" literature (to use an un- temporary literature in the seventh issue something altogether wider than political Arnold's Poetic object. There are also future, for it indicates the development of a body of writing which does bear relewere very tentative indeed, and the con- social literature altogether less ephemeral

cation of Life shows the effect on him lying pattern has begun to appear; Warehouse", a short story by Mary Harris succeeding numbers some kind of under- butions other than critical essays. "The of Thoreau's more uncompromising intangible, no doubt, but nevertheless presents a remarkable awareness on recognizable as a pattern. I do not, of several levels of consciousness with great course, imply that the approach is be- economy in the writing, but I do not feel Everson and, of course, Henry Miller, The second pamphlet consists of coming standardized. It is simply that a that the dream-like conclusion is entirely number of writers seeking from different happy. From the poems, the small one approaches to solve the problem of social "Folding a Shirt", by Denise Levertov,

### FREEDOM

14th June, 1947



### **ANARCHISM—PAST AND PRESENT**

DEAR COMRADES, I think it does credit to Herbert Read violence in his recent lecture to the the known laws of nature. The trans- dilapidated and bombstruck street that London Group.

I think that non-violence merits the earnest consideration of all workers, particularly of anarchists as propagators revolutionary thought and action, though from experience I have found some to scoff at the idea. To me non-violence is the most powerful weapon that workers sive measures and war, and only if he, for instance, consider that if the vast treated as a weapon for action can I see majority of human beings should by some any hope of ever impressing the workers miracle be converted to Anarchism over- like this? Britain Can Take It! (If as to its efficacy.

And why should anarchists consider non-violence solely as a "churchy-pacifist" by the following morning? attitude (as one once put it to me)? The present structure of society cannot Surely anarchists haven't forgotten their be changed by our mental attitude to-(Berkman) A.B.C. or have they? Berkman wards it. All the wishful-thinking in the on page 74 deals with this question, and world will not make any difference to the the editors would do well to quote him in lot of the common people, except it is DEAR COMRADES, future issues of Freedom. Max Stirner supported by physical action. To assume who did not adhere to absolute non- that our rulers will meekly surrender violence, recognised that the greatest power because of some new-found powers of the workers lay in their with- 'education' is retrograde in conception, and drawing their labour powers from the incompatible with reason. ruling powers.

anarchist sources but enough has been the perpetuation of slavery. All past Souris" now at Studio 1, entertainingly said. As I have said, if our studied concessions torn from the Boss were only aim is libertarian socialism it makes non- accomplished through physical, energetic sense of the fact if we advocate violent and resolute militant action, in fields, means. Violence implies compulsion, factories and workshops. there is no escaping that, and where does In this critical stage of human history, ally demonstrates mob hysteria against a the Anarchism come in?

said that "The most pernicious idea was cating millions of illiterate people in form school. The surprising point of that the end justified the means, eventually 'ethics' and 'morality' is simply a waste of this picture is the amazement that these the means became the end and the real time. If this generation is to survive, young children should be classified as end continued to recede." And Trotsky, the policy of education as envisaged by criminals. I mention only a few, but when he wrote "who aims at the end cannot reject the means."

Fraternally,

Greenock.

STEPHEN MARLETTA.

DEAR COMRADES,

Herbert Read in his analysis of Anarchist policy past and future, abandons DEAR COMRADES,

to convince the meanest intellect of the carpenters and painters were as cheap as EDS.]

### LOVE AND MARRIAGE

Sex relations are being regarded more and more by young people as unconnected with the sanctities of married life, declares a committee of the Church of Scotland.

"What is called 'being in love' is often slept downstairs," said the judge. considered as in itself a sufficient justification for marriage, divorce, or pre-marital relationships, according to circum- COMMUNAL SERVICE stances or inclination," says a report issued to the General Assembly by the Committee on Church and Nation.

to a feeling of a lack of meaning in The scheme, estimated to cost £322,000, existence, produced by the monotony of has been submitted by the town council to industrialism and the tragedy of war, and the Ministry of Health as likely to save partly to the influence of certain films and thousands of tons of coal each year. books.

"The devastating effects of this way of shops, a cinema, a public house and a thinking on the stability of marriage is church will have 55 degs. of warmth and obvious, and that a decline in sex moral- hot water night and day if the plan i ity is accompanied by a decline in honesty approved, Councillor G. L. Hay, housing and other virtues is not to be wondered committee chairman, explained yesterday,

"Steadying influences" proposed by the fireplace. committee-An increase of young people's clubs.

An attractive gift brochure, setting out the Church's teaching on marriage, to be given to young couples marrying. Daily Herald. of the scheme.

That being so, the committee would an ideal marriage : ---In the Divorce Court here to-day Judge

Tucker cited these examples of what he KIDDING HIMSELF said the slightly built 53-year-old woman had in two years done to her 51-year-old husband: Hit him with a fire shovel and a frying

Threatened him with a carving knife.

street and called him abusive names. Followed him upstairs, pulled his hat off, threw it through the window, then pulled Civil Servants, and particularly those in with the same firm. his hair and struck him.

munition on the fire. "These might have killed me," he told

She denied throwing ammunition on the

"that she did say: 'It is no more than Association for Mental Health, were asked Lawler, who lives at Matilda House,

with other expressions she used." in schools, Mr. R. Wetherall, an Eton prison for three months. Later, when he asked if he had to go college master, said at Eton boys were

absurdity of such proposals. To me, the idea of a 'humane' revolu-

Herbert Read, like many more intellectuals has lost touch with realities. Does night that the whole edifice of Capitalism anything's left over). would disintegrate and completely collapse

Passive resistance as a weapon against One could go on quoting from other tyranny means subjection, submission and

when all humanity is threatened at any recluse. "La Cage des Rossignols" is Emma Goldman stated, it well when she moment with extinction, to talk of edu- a delightful picture of the inside of a re-Herbert Read, although admirable, must a competent reviewer could probably quote be cast aside and a new strategy evolved, further examples of these intensely human which will speedily end the present struc- pictures. ture of society and save the world and all mankind from destruction. Clydebank, Glasgow.

on duty without breakfast, she said "Yes," and that she hoped he would get a bullet through his head.

"Because of her conduct he chose the discomfort of a chair in the kitchen rather than his own bed and for two years he

News Chronicle, 4/6/47.

Hot water laid on and central heating from the main is planned for a whole and wore six canes out." suburb now being built at Luton, Beds, This is due, suggests the report, partly to house 7,000 to 8,000 people.

Without needing a fire, 1,800 houses,

but each house will have a 'topping-up

Radiators will be built in and the weekly cost to each tenant will be 8s. 6d. added to the rent.

Use of very cheap coal, impossible to burn in an ordinary furnace, is the basis

The new town's roads, beneath which the hot water mains are to run, are now probably consider the following case being laid out: Luton expects to begin the first houses in a few days. Daily Herald, 29/5/47.

Mr. L. A. C. Herbert, general secretary of the Institution of Professional Civil Servants, told the London conference of the institution to-day:

Struck at him with a knobby stick in the be disabused of the idea that the civil 45, storeman, worked for British Drug service is a non-productive profession. membership of our Institution, are as cre-

> sections." The Star, 28/5/47.

### OUR BETTERS

"But I am quite sure," said the judge, Windsor last night by the National because you were a trusted servant."

supplies of wood and paint. Coming back recently, I saw some boys going in what used to be the school, which was brightly and freshly renovated. I looked inside to see an oak-panelled waiting room, an air of modern efficiency. Such a smart place for a special school in these austere times! I thought . . . but I found it wasn't a special school any more, it was yet another department of the Ministry of Labour, the Juvenile Labour Exchange,

I find that some people don't know how to find places to live in London, yet only formation of our present mental and Freedom is published from, I saw a block emotional attitudes after millions of years of luxury flats facing a spacious square, of evolutionary process into loftier and with no residents that I could gathermore brotherly relationship, would pro- needless to say, it was a department of bably take millions of more years, and in the Ministry of Labour like so many this Atomic age, Time marches with the blocks of luxury flats in so many London squares . . . And wherever you go the M. of L. note is Modernity and Comfort. Who said the country was facing austerity when a perfectly useless organization like the Ministry of Labour can multiply

Yours fraternally,

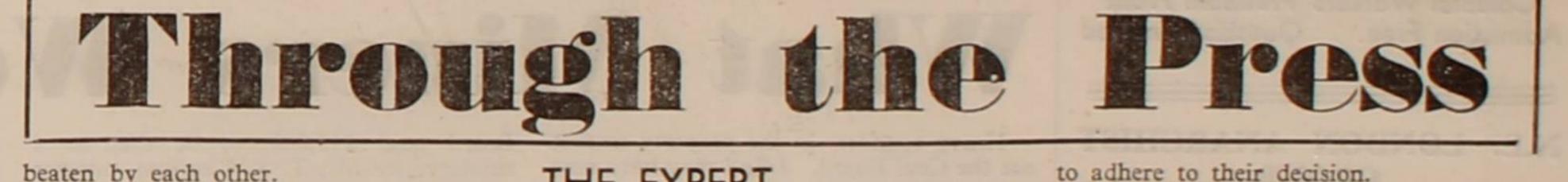
### SUGGESTION\_ FILM REVIEWS

It has occurred to me that it might be advantageous to occasionally include reviews of the half-dozen or so Continental films that are currently screened in London.

The social value of these films is considerable. For example, "Monsieur La illustrates the helplessness of a down-andout, who after actively assisting the police, is thrown out when a case of murder is solved. "Panique" at the Rialto graphic-

Apart from the artistic influence Continental films exercise on the British WHO SAID AUSTERITY? Hollywood concochons of supplets and dialogues. London.

mendous task, when we contemplate the and dreary outside and equally dismal Ed. Board it was decided that the book this aspect of Army life). mighty educational machine operating at within. Those were the halcyon days of page should include a film review section. At any rate for what it's worth, the the disposal of Capitalist society, ought peace and plenty when unemployed We hope to introduce this feature soon.- attention and interest shown in The Three Oberhausen, Germany.



He said, "Six months ago in one house some of the little boys had been rude to

**REWARD FOR SERVICE (I)** When Alfred A. Powell (62), in the G.W.R. service 24 years, was bound over RUSSIAN INVENTIONS ... a gaol there? Mr. Silkin: Yes, if it was an attractive by the local Bench last week for stealing sixpenny-worth of the company's coa they expressed the hope that he would

not lose his job.

The chairman said the case was "one of the human tragedies which came before the Bench." But after leaving the Court Powell

received notice of dismissal from the To-day, he wrote to the manager

an interview. He has the support of his union and the letter carried the N.U.R. There is talk of a protest meeting if

his appeal fails. He has also written to the Ministry of Labour. For his job of sweeping up coal which fell from engine tenders Powell was paid £4 5s. a week.

accident a year ago. News Chronicle, 14/5/47.

**REWARD FOR SERVICE (II)** "It is necessary for the public mind to For 31 years George Thomas Lawler, Houses, Graham-street, Finsbury, and his

To-day Lawler, junior, stood in the One night in the summer of 1941- ative, as productive and as socially useful dock at Old-street and admitted stealing he was then L/Cpl. Plaskett, of the Home as any other section of the community from his firm a bottle of nut oil value OUR AESTHETIC Guard-he found 10 rounds of am- and a good deal more so than some 2s. 2d., 13 bandages, two pieces of lint, LEADERS and other articles, total value £1 13s. 6d. The magistrate; Mr. Geoffrey G. Raphael, said: "The fact that you have plan to build a new power station at and called them "Our friends from the Bankside, Mr. Lewis Silkin, Minister of camp", some townsfolk are very annoyed. been in the employment of this firm Town and Country Planning, said in A woman who lost her only son in the When a brains trust, organised at 31 years is an aggravated circumstance parliament this afternoon:

### MORE BLOOD-MONEY !

EAR COMRADES. any of us must have read with ho recently gave his entire gratuity of 50 to Freedom rather than accept bloodmoney. Since this payment has now been tended to those still in the Services, have received mine, which I enclose erewith. Unfortunately-in spite of ield Marshal Sir Cyril Deverell's accompanying advice 'not to fritter it away' and 'not to touch it until you require i for some really important purpose which can benefit your whole life'-the amount e calls a 'well-earned nest-egg' only ounts to £1 6s. 1d., thanks to absence, tention, etc. However, in spite of this, hope it will add to the resources of the Press Fund. H.M.F.

SOLDIER.

#### CRITICISM— THREE MUSKETEERS, **CHILDISH ?**

Bearing in mind that it might be suggood effect for me to notice it, may I say that "The Three Musketeers" are extremely naive and childish . . . and pointless. What for instance was the whom I have shown them have either only grinned or remarked "How silly" ... such pseudo-panacea. Among the officers-who it seems, don't matter anyway-they have no effect and, Reading. f anything, prejudices them against the emainder of the paper.

Manchester Guardian type-but the peo- concerned?.-EDITORS.] ple are distressingly, bewilderingly, almost S. Africa.

Musketeers by Inspector Whitehead and

his Merry Men of the Special Branch during their investigations into Freedom's -then, War Commentary-Army record two years ago is significant.

What do our Service and ex-Service readers think of our correspondent's criticism?-EDITORS.]

#### MORE CRITICISM-**PARTY-LINE TONE ?** DEAR FRIENDS.

I find great value in many of the articles you print (especially Herbert Read's speeches) and in the "inside news" of reasons for strikes which are always nisrepresented in the rest of the press. But I offer as a general criticism, and am sure that I am by no means alone among your correspondents in so doing, the opinion that much of your subject matter is spoiled by the intrusion of catchphrases and the "party-line" tone which have no place in a truly anarchist publication. All parties have taught that all the world's trouble are caused by this or that dragon, but that by following this or that programme a sort of stilted Utopia must logically follow. The distinctive gested that it must be producing some feature of Anarchism has always been (to my mind), not that the dragons, the plans and the Utopia are of a different nature, but its insistence on freedom as a cardinal principle-including, as Herbert point of Number 4? Again all officers Read says, freedom from obsessions. are not as portrayed in these cartoons- Emancipation takes place within indivery far I should say. Those officers to viduals; we have to do more than work for " a society of free communes" or some Fraternally

We publish L.H.'s letter though unable Your letters and articles on deserters to accept his criticism because in our are very interesting. They are very opinion it is not based on fact. Freedom true . . . The treatment doled-out to has no "party-line", but in order to com-"Deserter" (in your 22nd March issue) is ment on events from a Anarchist viewnormal as regards accommodation and point one must start off with certain basic food (except for the dirty blankets) . . . principles and an "insistence on freedom" Re vour article "The Man who Defies of the individual is the dominant theme in the Colour Bar", how very true! The the pages of our paper. Since this is not Cape Times and Cape Argus both pub- the first occasion this criticism has been lished sympathetic portraits-without com- made by our correspondent, may we sugment-of Scott. The Press here is very gest that perhaps he himself is not "free fair on the whole-rather of the from obsessions" so far as Freedom is

frighteningly childish in their emotions FREEDOM IN GERMANY DEAR SIR.

I am writing in acknowledgement of the cinema, a not inconsiderable factor is the [Our artist's knowledge of Service life receipt of Freedom. Three issues have resistance against the highly advertised has been gained in the Army, Detention reached me up to now. Thanks for your Hollywood concoctions of stereotyped Barracks and Prison in approximately kindness. Somehow I hope I will be able equal doses! Perhaps our correspondent to recompensate sometimes. At any rate A. CLARKE. has so far failed to notice that playing at I am making good use of the same and soldiers is childish, that the ordering take pleasure in translating the same to Revolution, and in its place substitutes I used to assist occasionally in taking [We agree with our correspondent's about of men by youths young enough friends or pass it on to those who undera disabled boy to school. The 'special suggestion. When the new format for to be their sons is not only childish but stand. We are here very poor for good The futility of attempting such a tre- school' was a dingy little building, glum Freedom was originally discussed by the ridiculous (Cartoon No. 4 dealt with reading and am therefore double indebted to you.

Yours sincerely, H. B.

Evening Standard, 29/5/47. murderer is before the end." News Review, 15/5/47. why.

There are few major inventions which gaol. the Soviets do not hold to have first been thought out in Russia. Last night Moscow radio started a broadcast with: SPEAK FOR YOURSELF! "When Alexander Popov, the great Russian scientist, invented the radio . . ." Writing in "Voks", the Scientific Sec- 'anti-social'. This opinion is hardly likely cretary of the History of Engineering to be shared by the more responsible Committee of the Soviet Academy of members of the community ... Sciences states flatly: "The helicopter is the company, Sir James Milne, asking for a Russian invention, evolved from the theoretical and experimental investigations On the contrary, we quite agree! of the famous Russian scientist, N. E. Zhukovsky, and his school."

Television?-Russian. Discovery of electronic radiation?-Russian.

Synthesising of protein?-Russian. The list includes the steam engine, electricity and the phonograph.

We can think of a few major in-"We claim that the vast majority of father has only just retired after 54 years spontaneous confessions, summer-

you deserve,' for that is quite consistent for their opinion on corporal punishment St. Catherine's-way, Wapping, was sent to light of the public discussions and, having against what she calls stupidity of our reviewed all the objections, I am bound leading citizen." Evening Standard, 9/5/47. to state that the Government feel obliged

to adhere to their decision. In that decision he had the support of his colleagues in the Government. big boys, so the big boys beat 32 of them Stalin's library, usually only half-read. The arguments against the plan had He explains: "I always guess who the been merely that a power station was inappropriate and objectionable. He asked Mr. Brendan Bracken: Would you put

a gaol there? The Star, 23/5/47.

## "Cardinal Griffin, Archbishop of West-

minster, described the profit-motive as The Journal of Commerce.

### DEMOCRACY

The conference passed the equal pay resolution by an overwhelming majority of five to one, and there will be many Labour M.P.s prepared to press for the concession. Ministers are well aware of the strength of the opposition, but they also His youngest son, Fred (he has eight Western scientists remain unperturbed. feel that they cannot accept a position children), is 21. Fred lost both legs in an "Britain's claim to inventing the sand- where they become the slavish flunkeys wich still stands unchallenged," one said. of the rank and file. They agree that the News Chronicle, 9/5/47. Party conference has the right to lay down the broad outline of policy, but the Cabinet must, they argue, have the final tions Russians could rightly claim as word and be left. free to judge every their own, i.e., concentration camps, issue in the light of the general situation. Observer, 1/6/47.

### What price "representation".

### WHO IS STUPID?

Because the Mayor of Slough, Bucks. (Alderman John Taylor), handed cups of Replying to a debate on the government tea to German prisoners at a film show war has written to a local paper suggest-"I have reconsidered the matter in the ing that to-day should be a day of protest Sunday Pictorial, 1/6/47.

