on the strikes and demonstrations in

the Ruhr in the spring. As we go to

press 30,000 workers in Cologne have

against the cut in the bread ration from

Klöckner-Homboldt-Deitz engineering

Our position is clear: we are for the

German workers in their struggle against

oppression and starvation. But it is our

position also the world over. Hating

Bolshevik Imperialism, we do not em-

brace American Imperialism. Rejecting.

private capitalism, we do not rush into

the arms of Russian State "collectivized"

capitalism. We refuse to take up the

struggle on behalf of one or other of

the ruling—that is to say, exploiting—

groups. Our position is by the side of

Empire and its subsidiaries, or whether

Support for one or the other im-

perialisms means support for power

politics, means support for the coming

American workers.

out to catch him; they make a gala of it.

meetings and

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R.A.C., both on good rates of pay, young

riting to the Daily Mirror (21/6/47) Flying Officer Matwiejczuk Marian, of the (Polish) R.A.F., said: "I met Zborowsky

At the age when he was supposed to form his character he learned about the injustice legalised by law."

According to F/O Marian, there were Dniepotrovsk prison and was realesed from Siberian hard labour in 1942, after serving 1940-1942 with the prison labour that is the basis of Soviet economy.

F/O Marian who accepts the legalistic Zborowsky. I accepted it with pain as | Soir (Paris). the consequence of the years spent by him in Russia. I have seen hundreds of Dniepotrovsky gaol . . . It is difficult to Party is a "miracle of faith". place in my mind his boyish face, I remember from Dniepotrovsky prison,

together with the name 'Gunman'.

While Zborowsky's character was moulded at his early age in Dniepotrovsk prison for the plain reason that he happened to be Polish and his father had fought In article entitled "Randolph Bour in a Polish Army, let us not forget pro- and the State," page, 6, col. 4, 14 Soviet hysteria was sweeping this country, and those who may find and try lines from bottom, after "dynasty, Zborowsky for what he has done and read "or a reformed descendant of what he yet may do, ought to be standing in the dock themselves. The Press dynasty, could not possibly make maintains its commercial basis by sensa- [war upon each other]. tionalism over an occasional case like Zborowsky or say Dov Gruner. Let us remember how they came that way. It it a direct consequence of Hitler and his erstwhile partner Stalin. And do not let us overlook the fact, as the liberals do, that those who supported either of those HE WENT OVER TO THE regimes, must share responsibility; and more particularly the Western democracies who close the doors of Continents to all these "displaced" persons-who slam tight

sary for a man to shoot his way out of deportation to Russia.

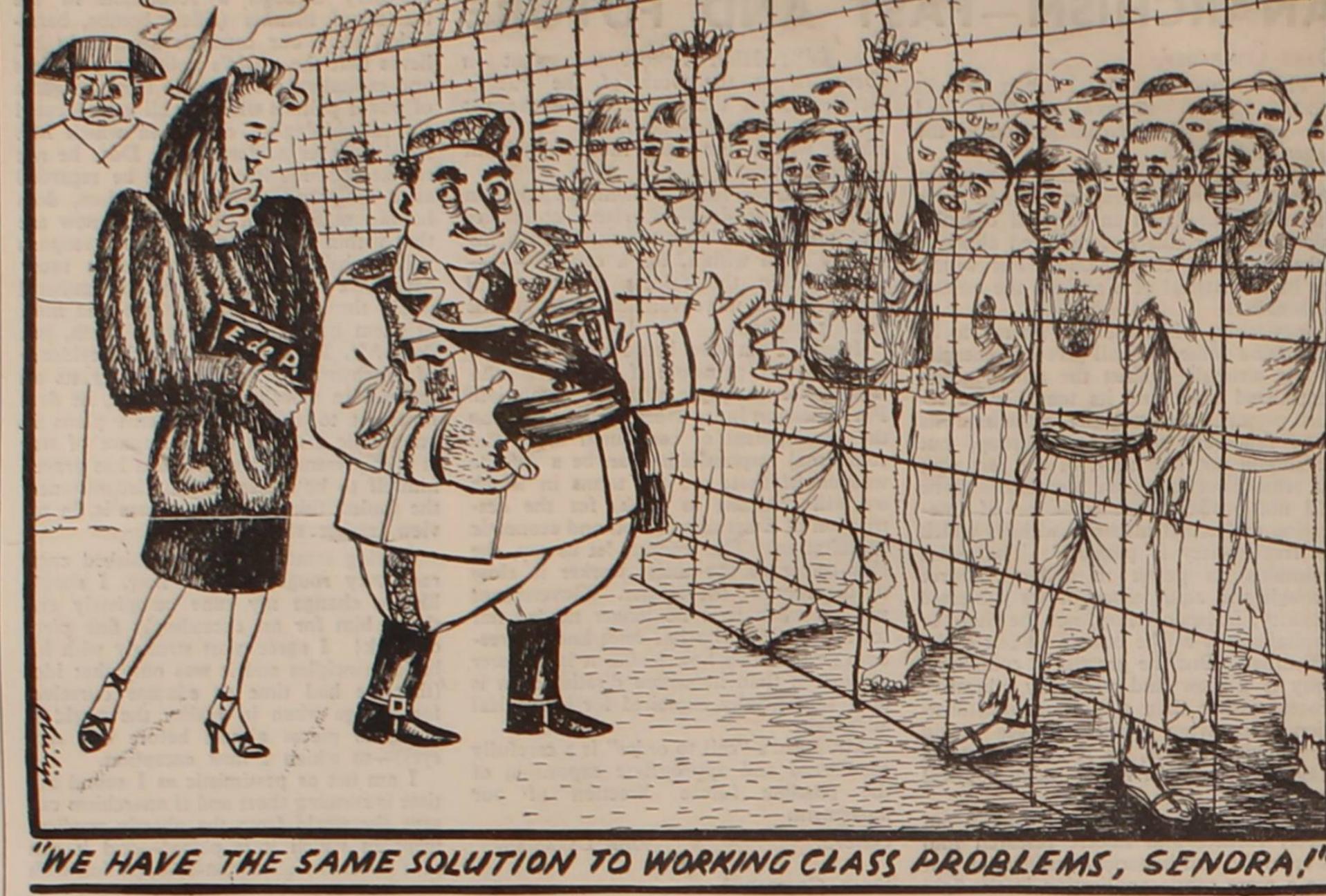
Postscript Zborowsky is found. A vicar gave the Miners' Federation.

Daily Herald, 23/6/47 (our italics).

The Rev. Stanley Pearson would, no doubt, be fortified had he been with the Daily Mirror reporter (D.M., 23/6/47) whose "good news" was:

"I saw Zborowsky arriving at Southend Police Station. His hair was matted and dirty, his cheeks drawn, his To cap it all, he became a Coal owner!

The hunt was up. The quarry was the moral for the working class is similar. gained. Yoicks, tally-ho, and the parson | Control your delegates, or they will received the thanks of the hunt master. | control you!



THE PRINCESS, THE CITY -AND SOCIALISM

After speaking of Empire peoples. uch a single act of faith as miracle

Evening News, 11/6/47

idea that Zborowsky "committed a crime "Princess Elizabeth is no longer proud . . he had to be punished" nevertheless | She will be a democratic Queen. They points out, "I was not shocked by the say that if she were to vote she woul at 71, Streatfield Ave., East Ham, E.6 account given by newspapers about vote for the Labour Party."-SAMEDI

> Quoted in News Review, 5/6/4' children between twelve and fifteen in the Like the Commonwealth, the Labou

CORRECTION

OTHER SIDE

The death of Frank Hodges SUNDAY, JULY 6th. Mat Kavanagh the opening of immigration to America June 4th draws attention to yet another "Opposition to War in this Atomic Age" and the British Empire—have stopped the example of how a union leader climbed hole out of which they could have escaped | power and luxury over the backs towards a better existence. If America, one-time fellow-workers. And power, as Canada, Australia, etc., opened their usual, corrupted him. empty spaces to Europe's thousands of

Hodges was born in poverty and went unwanted persons, it would not be neces- to work in the South Wales mines at a very early age. He eventually won a scholarship to Oxford, and later on with the financial aid of his fellow-workers, went to France to finish his studies at the Sorbonne. Towards the end of the 1914-18 war he became Secretary of the

But after the "General" Strike of 1926, "The Rev. Stephen Pearson told me: when the working masses were fighting 'I saw the Pole talking to some men in desperate battles against the coal owners a motor car. Then a police car came and the government, Hodges "crossed the tearing up and asked me if I had seen border" and gave his support to the anyone of the Pole's description. I was | capitalist class. His economic investments able to give them the good news'." grew larger, and his list of "achievement

> Director of the Bank of England. Electricity Commissioner. Member of the Lancashire Cotton Corporation.

Director of Messrs. Beardmore's. Farmer and Stockbreeder in Leicestershire. Altogether a remarkable career—of which | couraging those whose convictions are Previously acknowledged

Power Politics (Continued from page 1)

Britain as the Rejoicing Third Such a situation restores the British 1,500 to 1,000 grammes a week, and overnment to its traditional position of the measures taken by Military Governholding the balance of power. British ment to prevent any supplementing of Imperialism hopes to be the gainer from rations. The Cologne workers have sent the weakening struggle of the other emissaries to the workers of Dusseldorf two major powers, and it is a mistake to describe their conditions to them. to underestimate its capacities in this Now the workers in the Ford, the

It has been noticeable that during the works, the Westwagon railway wagon Hungarian crisis, the British Govern- repairing plant, the Felten and Guillment and the British press have made faune factory, the Karlswerk cable what capital they can out of it, but they factory, the Kalk chemical (fertilizer) have made no move which might factory, and other plants have stopped seriously embarrass the Russian fait work. In addition there are said to accompli. It is legitimate to conclude be widespread go-slow movements, and that Russian influence in Hungary is sabotage of the dismantling of factories conceded. In short, we are seeing once for reparations which would create still again the whole dirty business that be- more unemployment and misery. came a commonplace between 1933 and 1939; where sanctimonious principles were loudly paraded, but workers were massacred by police states without the "freedom-loving" nations moving a finger. Let property be threatened and they will intervene to the utmost; but for mere workers' lives and libertieswell, that is a different thing altogether.

Don't Take Sides: Support the Workers!

But it is useless to take sides, and the exploited, the ruled, the oppressed: reproduce the war "to end fascism" all in short, we are for the workers. over again. If men languish in political whether they are groaning under gaols under the Russians, they rot in military occupation, or the Russian economic misery under American- police state dependencies, or the British sponsored capitalism. The two "alternatives" may differ, no doubt: but only they are suffering under a capitalist in degree, not in kind. It is not so economy propped up by American loans much one ruler or the other; it is for paid for by the exploitation of the the ruled against all the rulers that one must struggle.

German Workers on Strike The chaotic situation in Germany war. Support for the workers whatever illustrates the same power conflicts on their "nationality" (a meaningless term a smaller scale, with the various German when applied to men and women who politicians throwing in their lots either sell their labour to live) means support with the West or with the Russians. for the revolution, means joining in the But lying dormant beneath them all are fight to destroy war, injustice and the millions of the German workers. oppression. It is the workers whom In this issue we publish a manifesto anarchists support.

trade journal with the largest circu-

"Periodical Pars for Alert Agents"

lation). Under the general heading

the reference to FREEDOM reads as

informed opinions for the benefit of con-

verts to anarchist philosophy and en-

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In this Issue:

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The Coventry Venture - p. 2

The Railwaymen's Case p. 3

News from France - - p. 4

"Patriotism is an artificial and unreasonable sentiment. It is the cause of the worst evils that torment mankind."

TOLSTOY.

Vol. 8 No. 13

28th June, 1947

Russia and America Tri Stake Their Claims

LIAVING no political ambitions like the political parties of left and right, anarchists are not obliged to employ the prevaricating jargon whereby political moves are dressed up to appear as if they were animated by some kind of morality. Ernest Bevin may describe the Marshall plan as having "behind it a conception of great co-operation between Europe and the wonderful and powerful Western Hemisphere", but it is obvious enough that it is in actuality just another step in the power politics which twists the fate of millions of ordinary men and women and

The struggle for spheres of influence has been sufficiently evident since the moment that the war ended, and the various moves and counter-moves have been noted as they occurred in Freedom. Moves which demonstrate the expansionist rivalries of Russia and the United States on the one hand, and on the other measures for the protection of the communications of the British Empire taken by conservative and labour governments alike. It is sufficient here to recall the out in the last issue—to abduct politi-Azerbaijan "revolt" in Persia, the com- cians for extracting confessions from, are drawn by weight of power. plicated policies in Greece, and the while the rulers of America reply with endless discussions on the future of Germany. Both Russian and Anglo-U.S .spokesmen define their respective policies in terms of protecting democratic rights, safeguarding freedom, eliminating fascist elements, and so on. But, as a result of the friction they initiate or maintain, the workers pay the price in economic misery or political oppression or both. The administrations favoured by both groups are united in determined repression of any independent moves on the part of the working and Wilts & Dorset bus companies staged class and peasants to improve their a token strike last March (Freedom, situation without reference to their too | 22/3/47), they were fobbed off with the eager "protectors".

COLLIERY CLERKS STRIKE N.U.M. TO BLACKLEG?

Following dissatisfaction with the administration of the South Western Divisional Coal Board (see page 3), 4,00 colliery clerks in South Wales have gone on strike in protest against anomalie. under the five-day week agreement.

They are joined by timekeepers, doorkeepers, foremen and certain grades o technical workers who claim that the National Coal Board refuses to recognise their union-the Clerical and Adminis trative Workers' Union—as a negotiating body. The strike, however, is unofficial.

There is a possibility that they may be | ceeded in a few cases in South Durham joined by overmen in the same coalfield, and North Yorkshire, but there is every whose union—the National Association of likelihood of the strike spreading and Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shot- reaching national proportions. The time firers,—is also not recognised by the that the negotiations have been dragging Coal Board.

In both the unions concerned, their members are still working six- and seven-day weeks in spite of the general five-day

LATER: week agreement, and are ham-strung because they cannot negotiate with the Board. Perhaps a little direct action will succeed where constitutional methods have

National Union of Mineworkers-the "big" recognised miners' union-is going to distinguish itself by black-legging against the smaller unions. Mr. Wil Arthur, vice-president of the S. Wales area N.U.M. said: "Our men will do any job which arises in the collieries to keep the pits going." But in view of the general discontent with the Coal Board, dropping in production and rising ab- bus concerns:senteeism, maybe he is speaking too soon? It is a terrible thing when workers as militant as miners-with their traditiona solidarity—can be played off against each other by union leaders.

As in the Winders' strike in May, the

Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan

The so-called Truman Doctrine was clearly directed to checking the expansionism of Soviet Imperialism and ensuring the predominance of American Imperialism. The offers to Greece and Turkey and the guaranteeing of territorial integrity of these countries on the Russian fringes was an open indication of U.S. power policy.

American interference.

the willing agents of American economic Stalinism. policy-doubtless because they have good reason to fear Russian control. Their "democratic" victory in the last elections (59% of the votes, as against the Communist 17%) has not the slightest significance in the light of the power struggle, for the rulers of Russia

economic pressures by cancelling half of a 30 million dollar loan. Neither power has any concern for the well-being or the wishes of the mass of Hundarian workers and peasants.

The Crisis in Hungary

Regarding the international situation from the broader European point of view, the Hungarian situation fits into a general pattern—the pattern of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, Union. Defeated in the last elections confessions of "treason" out of him. politics masquerades under.

While the Hungarian Communists On the other hand the Russian pupper kick out the politicians who look to the States from the Baltic to the Danube West, the Christian Democrats in Italy indicate quite clearly that Russian kick the Communists out of the Italian also in the West, the French Premier | with many other political opponents The political crisis in Hungary (re- Ramadier also sacks Communist minis- of the Communist Party. Once there ferred to on another page) is revealing ters while the American government not in this connection. The political leaders only applauds but offers subsidies for of the Smallholders Party are evidently the purpose of combating French

What is happening, in fact, is a re- smuggled letter (according to Time, cognition of spheres of influence. The Russians can have the eastern states of Europe, except Turkey and Greece (and the oil countries of the Middle East) while the Americans will look after have not scrupled—as Freedom pointed France and Italy (? and Spain). The frontiers of these spheres of influence

(Continued on page 8)

THE Communist coup in Hungary Kun, the Hungarian Bolshevik of the was achieved by methods only too 1918 revolution, was made to stand familiar to students of the Soviet for many hours in order to get similar

—they only got 17% of the votes to the Smallholders' 59%—the Com- On the other hand, the prime munists used their control of the minister Nagy, who resigned in police force to secure power. They Switzerland and is now in America, arrested Bela Kovaçs, secretary- was almost certainly in contact with political control is not going to permit government (using rather less brutal general of the Smallholders' Party, the American Government, just as methods). And at the same time, and and took him off to Russia together Rakosi, the Communist leader, was in touch with the Russian Government. One must beware of taking a one-sided confessions" were extracted from view of the business. One would feel them by the same methods as were more sympathy for Nagy is he had used to provide the "evidence" in the protested when his lesser colleagues Moscow Trials of 1937 and 1938. A were arrested. But instead, he went 9/6/47) describes these methods: to Moscow himself, and was presented "The interrogation was a nightmare. with an automobile by Stalin only a I was allowed to lie down only six few weeks before his flight. hours in two weeks . . . I stood for

> 20 hours continuously." Other ac- Both parties are simply acting for counts have described the blazing the rival imperialisms of Russia and arc-lights under which these interro- America. Instinctively the Hungarian gations take place. In 1937, Bela peasants and workers will have realized this. And although the crisis involves their freedom in various degrees, yet they cannot usefully make common cause with either side. Inevitably such situations produce apathy and confusion, even when the charges brought by the Communists and is not paid for. But driver and men refused to go back after one day. The majority, so why should they want to 'conspire" against the government? Such conduct would be understandable from the 17% Communists, but

> > fallen back into fascism, this time of the Red variety.

BUSMEN'S STRIKE from one trip and leaving on the the men were going to strike anyway. The are as ridiculous as these. For the next, does not count as working time, trouble for the union started when the Smallholders are in power with a

one-day token strike—they probably knew be a piece of history."

conductor have to stay with the bus. strike, although it did not last long, was

NATIONAL STOPPAGE AVERTED When busmen of the Hants & Dorset

argument that their grievances were of a national character rather than local. Now the fight has reached boiling point in other parts of the country too, and at the moment of writing between 10,000 and 20,000 bus workers are on strike in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Northumberland and Durham and in the Midlands, where Derby and Nottingham are strike-bound. The strikers are all employees of

privately-owned companies and their grievances are mainly that their conditions. under a recent Arbitration Tribunal award, compare badly with those of employees of municipal passenger transport Under the award they are granted a

44-hour week, but no provision was made for new Sunday rates, overtime or paid Officials of the Transport and General

Workers Union are working hard to prevent the strike spreading, and have sucon may be judged by the fact that it is now three months since the Southern counties busmen struck in March.

Men Going Back Since the above was written the strike has more or less collapsed following inter-

vention of the Ministry of Labour. Strikers were told by the M. of L. "the country cannot afford this stoppage" and apparently they fell for it. They have gone back on a promise that a special meeting of the National Joint Council would be called on Friday, 27th June to Owing to the breaking up of families, actually in need of outdoor relief, and Nevertheless, the Conservatives may

Bus Company, one of Yorkshire's biggest these destitutes. But in fact many of things in spite of rationing.

EUROPE'S CHILDREN

for grievances of their own.

At a conference organized by the Howard League for Penal Reform on 16th June, Francesca Wilson spoke on the problem of child destitution and out lined the relief measures organized UNRRA camps.

The second speaker was Dr. Stephen Schafer on "The World War and Chil Delinquency in Hungary". Dr. Schafer analysed the causes of juvenile crime, an drew attention to the fact that where t State supplanted the head of a family a authority, children were readily taught engage in Nazi greenshirt organization (both for boys and girls) and he himse had had his flat broken up and his books and records destroyed by greenshirt youths of 15 to 18.

But in addition to this he drew attenand in the recent war showed a catas- registration as Mrs. Lovelock, of slavishly in the pre-war Left Book Club trophic increase. He blamed the utilization Wootton Rectory, Canterbury; Miss threatened to sue anyone labelling them and adolescence by "the false romanti- and Mrs. Bloice, of Sideup, Kent; none of political trends can hardly be called cizing of war."

them were being cared for in UNRRA The criticism of the Housewives' genuine complaints to think twice before 1. Drivers and conductors are only paid camps. It was noticeable that the initia- League made by Labour Party spokes. she makes any, in order to avoid being for time spent in actual driving or tive of looking after these children was men has, of course, been quite valid; associated with the exploiters of preconducting. Time spent in bus chiefly derived from individuals, who, by why is it that in the days of "peace and war misery, and in this way it may be stations and stands, which averages their own efforts, got round or overcame plenty" none of them thought of organ- of more benefit to the Labour Party.

Another Political Stunt The Housewives' League

results are apt to be a bit comical at and rationed according to their purse? times, particularly with the Socialists Because the basic absurdity of the She gave some idea of the magnitude of in power. One of the most amusing Housewives' League is so patent, and of the Fascist movement when Society able to brush it aside, the real danger ladies such as Lady Houston and Unity lies in the fact that with the brushing Mitford were up to their stunts in the aside of the so-called Housewives" first rush of enthusiasm, has been the League the real housewives and their activity of the Housewives' League, and complaints are liable to brushed aside it has been quite a light relief to see as well. well-dressed and fed Conservatives on The Conservatives have given much Hunger Marches. And some of the publicity and effort to the Housewives" stunts they have adopted can only have League, which has adopted quite merrily been taken direct from the N.U.W.M. the age-old Communist tactic of "fellow-(National Unemployed Workers Move- traveller"-denying vehemently they ment) of pre-war days-only instead of have anything to do with the party

tion to the fact that the statistics for The British Housewives' League's them "Conservative"-quite as Mr. uvenile crime both in the first world war "Big Three" have ben revealed by their Gollanez when following the C.P. line of the romantic imagination of childhood Dorothy Crisp, Berkeley Street, W.1; "Communist"-although fair deduction of whom appear by their addresses to be libel. tens of thousands of Hungarian children indeed by attending any of the League's have backed another loser. It may Meanwhile, from a correspondent in were destitute. Since Hungary was an meetings one can see quite plainly that well be that the reaction to the revealed Yorkshire we receive the following details "enemy country", it was supposed to be they belong to a class which does not political intentions of the organised of working arrangements in the "United" the responsibility of Germany to feed do too badly in the present scheme of "housewives" complaints may cause the

about 20 minutes between coming in the red tape of official salvage work. | ising the same agitation against the

IT is a good many generations since Conservative Government when the the Tories were in opposition, and the mass of the people were undernourished

sights we have had since the early days the Government spokesmen are so well

parading outside the Ritz or the whose tactics they follow. They have Dorchester they parade outside the even gone to the lengths of threatening libel actions against people labelling

working class housewife with her K. A. E.

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 18 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 28 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

Sunday and overtime rates are only at least sufficient to jerk the M. of J time and a quarter, as against time into action—for what that is worth! and three-quarters in other companies. Our correspondent adds: - "Let us The "United" were on strike, and many hope for the day when transport workers not from the 59% Smallholders! mployees of other companies were on will have no need to support useless orstrike as much in sympathy with them as ganisations and disrupt the community The upshot is that Hungary has in the attempt to make a living wage— Apparently the union had supported a when, in fact, wages and employers will

A Comment on Herbert Read's Lecture

my experience has taught me, in discussions with my friends, as well as in definite attempts to get across anarchist ideas to those who know little of them.

The Power of the State

an increasing number of spheres we find that it is the State rather than with some private body that we have to deal. There Briefly, the anarchist was supposed to be "agin' the government". The dilemma The sphere of State action is spreading operation'. Anarchists condemn the State they would develop a co-operative 'Society such as preceded the State system, and being penetrated by state agencies is as still exists to this day on the fringes sheer folly. It is not unplausible to sugco-extensive with 'society' and is fulfilling porated into a Statist structure. It will functions of arbitration and co-ordination effectively consign many traditional that would, in the event of social re- anarchist attitudes to the scrap heaps volution still have to be carried out by history. some organized body. Aldous Huxley deals with this question at the start of the eighth chapter of Ends and Means. He writes this:

"The Anarchists propose that the versus revolution' must be reconsidered state should be abolished; and in so far Of course, if all "reforms" are to be conas it serves as the instrument by means demned as "sops", and defined as minor of which the ruling class preserves its concessions to avoid major losses, then the privileges . . . the state is obviously question has been begged, and the arguworthy of abolition. But in complex ment proceeds in a gratifying circle. All certain other and more useful duties to not corrupt, most men live their lives in in any such society there must be is right, but since all proceed from difsome organization responsible for co- fering basic assumptions there is confusion. ordinating the activities of the various constitutional groups . . ."

The point then is this. As some time in the past it may have been sound anarchism to condemn all state activitie lock, stock and barrel. It is unsoun to-day, and becoming unsounder. take that line in a country increasing

ANARCHISM -Interpretations

"In free surroundings based upon Equality, man might with full confidence let himself be guided by his own reason (which, of course, by necessity would bear the stamp of hi social surroundings). And he might also attain the full development of his individuality; while the "individualism" considered now by middle-class intellectuals as the MEANS for the development of the bettergifted individuals, is, as every one may himself see, the chief OBSTACLE to this development. Not only because, with a low productivity, which kept at a low level by Capitalism and the State, the immense majority of gifted men have neither the leisure nor the chance to develop their higher gifts; but also because those who have that leisure are recogmized and rewarded by the present society on the condition of never going 'too far' in their criticisms of that society, and especially-never going over to acts that may lead to its destruction, or even to a serious reform. Those only are allowed to attain to a certain 'development' of their individualities who are not dangerous in this respect—those who are merely "interesting", but not dangerous to the Philistine."

6 4

Peter KROPOTKIN.

On Being An Anarchist in 1947 THE COVENTRY VENTURE Dr. K. BARLOW

proceeding from this agreement, my comment is going to take the form of an nowadays is very pleased with their diet but few on which a healthy community must erect itself.) elaboration of some of his suggestions realise that the way their own family is able to eat concerning things the importance of which removes their chance of ever being healthy.

The diet of the British working man consists of white bread, margarine, over-sweetened tea with a little milk, boiled potato, tinned meat and tinned jam. If you feed it to rats they develop ailments Woods Farms Ltd., is an off-shoot of the Family is its own reward. A really healthy farm with an of the chest and stomach, just the same as the British Health Club Housing Society. This society spon- assured retail market on its doorstep must eventually Firstly, the all-important question of working man does. The Sikh races of Northern the State. "The power of the State, of our enemy, is now absolute," says Herbert our enemy, is now absolute," says Herbert extent. Nor do rats fed on their food. The first organisation. Everyone in the society can put in capital in amounts of £1 upwards: It promised to our enemy, is now absolute," says Herbert extent. Nor do rats fed on their food. The first extent. Nor do rats fed on their food. The State is everywhere triumphant and thing needed to form a healthy body is a diet of everywhere its influence is spreading. In the right sort, grown on healthy soils.

enough. It is a tale which as you may suppose, no instance it is different. A whole community of chists. That any State institution or Coventry families is taking the matter very seriously function is, ipso facto, to be condemned. | indeed. They have bought their own farm and

difficult for the anarchist to avoid 'co- deception to describe as a health service a set-up grocery for families who will live beside it and will stature and becoming mature in his manhood.

"Reform versus Revolution"

Most people agree that anarchy is

desirable condition, but they invariable

assume it to be impossible and visionary

and therefore do not investigate it. Edu-

fundamental task, as well as a policy

of co-operation with all libertarian tend-

encies that appear whether or no they are

based on an exclusively anarchist theory

We must counter the growth of State

power by devolution and decentralism.

We must nourish the idea of workers'

control and "vocational" employment in

the huge industrial structures that the

"Socialist" State will erect. We cannot

bring these structures down, we cannot

destroy them. If we refuse to co-operat

with any State enterprise we shall simply

be isolating ourselves from any contact

with real production or administration

We must endeavour to transform what w

see before us, rather than to fight again

Importance of Ethics

Thirdly, the ethical question mu

occupy an increasing proportion of ou

attention. By discussion and action, we

social scene a conscious body of opinio

idea of a free society with the same logic

as current ethical conceptions reflect the

property society we know so well. A

utilitarian and humanist ethical system is

a weapon that can do more damage to a

corrupt society than an atomic bomb. We

make the customary salutations and

serve the traditional rites. Each one

actions to the individual reason, an

In Conclusion

In summary: I have found in Herber

Read's lecture the outlines of a satisfactor

answer to the headaches of an anarchi

in this year of 1947, year in which "th

State is supreme", in the era of the atomi

we must reground our anarchism on th

newest developments in the field of know-

ledge, and then go ahead to educate mer

for freedom, always concentrating on the

To which I add my own conviction that

the field of ethics is that which to-day

holds out the best promise of advance

ALAN SMITH.

concrete achievement, rather than

dictates of our dogmatic traditions.

bomb. His argument, as I see it, is that

us should be able to justify his

that alone. This is the way ahead.

certainly to the strong.

Secondly, the old antithesis of 'reform

Britain are townsmen. They know nothing of the soils on which their food is grown. Quite a control of the soils on which their food is grown. Quite a control of the following the farm will be the green belt of this new township in the soils on which their food is grown. Quite a control of the following the farm will be the green belt of this new township in the soils on which their food is grown. Quite a control of the farm will be the green belt of this new township in the soils on which their food is grown. Let me say, at the very beginning, that number of them believe that apples grow under Coventry Experiment is an extension The society found that the soils of the farm I wholeheartedly agree with the general greengrocers' counters. Nobody is much concerned of the conceptions developed by the Pioneer Health fields were deficient in fertility. That the crops were "Anarchism: Past and Future". And, Nobels In this article Dr. Barlow sketches the dietic basis "Anarchism: Past and Future". And, proceeding from this agreement, my com- what happens to it when it is grown. Nobody on which a healthy as died desired. Tet on these crops their farm animals must be fed. The truth there-

> which does nothing about nutrition. The present soil is built up and thereby the health of the farm "Health" service is purely a breakdown service: it animal that food of first quality for health can be does not deal with faults in nutrition and in living got. Only then can the real basis of a health which lead to breakdown.

they would like to give it-can be discussed. When Coventry.

NORE than eight people out of ten in Great | (Dr. Kenneth Barlow, the author of the following | be able to see that only the best is provided. For

service be established.

The Coventry venture-known as Brandon There is every reason to suppose that fertility sors the first attempt to repeat the famous Peckham be a profitable proposition if well managed. Brandon his own oar and help to row the boat. The farm pay 3½% on its loan stock and to secure it upon work for example has received great help from its attested herd of Ayrshire cattle and upon its other members. The society provides a forum where the stock and implements. Application forms may be eventual shape of their own world, the shape that obtained from the Secretary, at Binley Farm,

you have families discussing the life of their homes The recent reform by Parliament of medicine you have to deal with a community on the scale of and schooling offers to the common man no reasona township. The Coventry society recognised this able prospect of either health or maturity. He is started to grow food they can be sure of, for their and is planning in detail to build its own township therefore driven outside the plan. He is compelled at Brandon Woods on the immediate outskirts of to improvise experiments such as those at Peckham Coventry. The farm which has been bought and is and Coventry in order to create about him a com-They have realised that it is nonsense and now being farmed is to provide milk and green- munity which will permit of his growing to his full

Anarchism & Public Dinion A Reply by George Woodcock

George Woodcock writes:-The following article was written in reply to a point which George Orwell made in an article on Politics vs. Literature which appeared in the literary magazine Polemic last year. As will become evident from this reply, Orwell's essay was a study of Swift. I submitted my reply to Polemic, and it was duly accepted on the 31st October last year. Since then several issues Here an old question arises—how are of Polemic have appeared, without the reply to Orwell. As eight months had passed and the gap between the original article and the him? My answer is that 90% of crimes reply was growing steadily, I made enquiries, and found that, although my article had been accepted, it was not planned to publish it in the near future. I have been unable to find out why an article whose nature gives it a certain urgency has been pigeon-holed in this way, but your guess is as good as mine.

In George Orwell's essay on Politics vs. Literature (Polemic 5), there occurs

the following passage: "Gulliver's master is somewhat willing to obey, but the 'exhortation (a Houvhnhnm, we are told, is never compelled to do anything, he merely 'exhorted' or 'advised') canno be disregarded. This illustrates very well the totalitarian tendency which is implicit in the anarchist or pacifist view of Society. In a socity where there is no law, and in theory compulsion, the only arbiter of haviour is public opinion. But public opinion, because of the tremendous urge to conformity in gregarious animals, is less tolerant than any system of law. When human beings are governed by 'thou shalt not', the individual can practice a certain amount of eccentricity; when they are supposedly governed by 'love' sure to make him behave and think i exactly the same way as everyone

I contend that this passage gives a wholly erroneous view of the anarchist idea of society. Orwell's argument begins with an obvious non sequitur. quotes a statement by Swift, and then states that this "illustrates very well the totalitarianism which is implicit in the anarchist or pacifist view of society But Swift never declared himself anarchist or pacifist. He accepted neither the anarchist idea of a classless society without government, nor pacifist's total rejection of violence, and he has never been taken by either anarchists or pacifists as one of their theoreticians. Therefore, to quote his ideas as typical of either of these social

theories is illogical and misleading. Secondly, Orwell confuses the issue by identifying anarchist with pacifist. Many anarchists believe in violence; on the other hand, many pacifists admit the need for law and coercion on a lower level than that of war.

criticism is that Orwell's whole idea of nationalist movement, and so forth, all taneous life-of advance towards anarchy. the anarchist attitude towards social create their own systems of conduct and relations is inaccurate, and seems to stimulate a public opinion either to sup-

spring from a superficial acquaintance with anarchist writings. The anarchist does not believe in the rule of public opinion, any more than in that of law.

Very few anarchists have claimed that men should be governed by 'reason' or I would rather fight against public vironment, and Tolstoy talked of love, anarchism. but he was always more a spiritual authoritarian than an anarchist.

Most anarchists have based their conception of society on the idea of mutualism, the reciprocal interplay of personal interests to produce a natural and balanced social order in which men would act decently towards each other, not because of laws or public opinion, but because it was in their interest to co-operate and because, as Kropotkin showed, there was a natural tendency among men towards mutual aid, which is quite a distinct thing from the kind restrictive gregariousness Orwell

Public opinion, moreover, is dangerous only in a large and centralised society. But anarchists envisage a radical decentralisation of society into a very loose federation of small social groups, where there would always be room for the eccentric to find some sympathetic environment. Moreover, public opinion attains really large proportions only if there are large authoritarian institutions for it to support or resist. A hostile state, an alien government, a church, a

port or to oppose them. But where there are no nuclei of positive institutions or fixed systems of conduct, where society is diffused in small intimate units, connected by a loose network of reciprocal ties, it is difficult to see how public opinion will be able to grow into a dangerous force.

Causes Of Crime

we to deal with the criminal if there is neither law nor public opinion to coerce to-day arise from the institution of property, and most of the rest from some maladjustment due to a faulty society. By the time man has reached anarchy, these causes of crime will have been eliminated, and the isolated outbursts of anti-social behaviour can surely be left for the groups in which they occur to deal with as seems best to them in

Finally, following the method emploved by defendants in libel cases: Every anarchist, from Godwin onwards, would contest Orwell's general statement that the law is in fact less resexercise of private judgment. Godwin, trictive than public opinion. Athens, it is true, declared that in every situation where the law was never very strong. there is only one possible right way to was much richer in creative eccentricity act, but he also claimed he could find it than the rigidly lawful Spartan republic. only by the exercise of his own reason. The comparison holds in our own day. and he was always anxious to avoid any In America, there is a strong public kind of pressure from 'public opinion'. opinion against anarchism, but anaranarchists have consistently chists work fairly freely. In Russia attacked the idea of imposing the will there are laws against anarchism, but of the majority, and have specifically probably little public opinion, yet there indicated the evils of uniformity of are no openly avowed anarchists outside the jails and concentration camps.

So, if we must have one or the other, 'love'. Godwin, it is true, advocated opinion any day than against the law. reason in his earlier period, largely be- invested with all the power of the state. cause he developed his ideas in the But, as I have already said, I do not eighteenth century rationalistic en- think this has anything to do with

> "The State must be abolished! In that revolution I will take part! Undermine the idea of the State, make willingness and spiritual kinship the only essentials in the case of a union—and you have the beginning of a liberty that is of some value. The changing of form of government is mere toying with degrees — a little more or a little less—

> > HENRIK IBSEN.

28th June, 1947.

THE BAILWAYMEN'S CASE

VOTING WITH THEIR FEET

TITHILE the railway workers' claims have been shelved by the companies for four months, the railmen themselves have been making quite clear how much they value their jobs by "voting with their feet", and walking out to better paid, more comfortable jobs in other industries.

During the war, the Essential Works combat the justice of the men's claims workers, tying them to the job. The conditions under which the men work. results of their efforts to obtain more satis- These are in fact irrefutable. factory wages for themselves are described

of this year, no less than 13,486 members pre-war level. of the permanent appointed staff, among the conciliation grades alone, have resigned, according to the General Secretary of the N.U.R., J. Benstead. This takes no account of retirements under age rules, and although the companies claim that they have "attracted" more men than they have lost, still there would appear to be about 20,000 vacancies for railway workers.

DANGEROUS WORK

Not only are the wages low throughout the industry (minimum standard base rates range from 84/- to 87/-) but a high proportion of industrial casualties occur on the railways. If miners and seamen 25 per cent, of deaths while at work creasing with the deterioration in rolling stock and locomotives.

The workers claim that the number of locomotive breakdowns is double now what the materials involved, but also for the it was in 1938, and that locomotives are in a worse condition than they have ever punchers, ticket printers, form-fillers, been. Obviously these are hardly cir- etc., to say nothing of the shareholders. cumstances likely to encourage workers to enter an underpaid industry.

THE COMPANIES ARGUE

At the moment of writing, the M. of L. Court of Inquiry into the railmen's claims abolition of capitalism and the money is still sitting. The men have put up a system altogether. strong case, from which the above facts have been taken, and the companies have replied by merely stating what would be the cost of the increased wages and shortened hours. They make no effort to

Transport Strikers Sacked

A feature of a strike of 200 transport workers at Dawson's, general carriers, of strike on behalf of the union, who are not officially supporting the workers. At the time of writing, the strike has lasted a

The dispute arose because of the firm's refusal to recognise the union status of their black-coated staff. Drivers and retaliated after five days at a standstill by receive applications from former em- sanity. ployees willing to join in the rebuilding of a sound organisation". A pretty obvious attempt to weaken and divide the strikers.

There are standing firm, however, and are contacting workers of other firms with a view to spreading the strike. They are are mounting 24-hour pickets outside Dawson's yard. Three men are allowed in to groom and feed the 33 horses stabled

so wish, will be forgotten in the attempt more congenial job, that of carter. to alienate the public's sympathy by the scare that 'the rations are in danger."

Mining Clerks Threaten

From the beginning of the five-day week, colliery clerks have been labouring under grievances too. The Mineworkers' Union, under the stalwart Arthur Horner, have for months been "negotiating" with the N.C.B. "on their behalf", but the have threatened to strike if something is not done soon.

It will, of course, be an unofficial strike, so look out for a few thousand more saboteurs in our midst! (See page 1)

further wage claims were made until the 7/6 a week. end of 1947. This would seem to be the answer to the railway-workers com plaint that negotiations are being dragged on too long.

Some day, railwaymen and other workers will see the necessity for having control of wages negotiations and then they will get a quick settlement.

Reasons For Pessimism

Why are railway-workers so doubtful about any chance of a good settlement One reason is that settlements during recent years have always fallen far short of the original demands. The present demands are for £1 a wee increase and a 40-hour week, with 35-hour week claim by the R.C.A. Rail way wages have lagged considerabl behind the increased cost-of-living, more

A RAILWAY CASUALTY

Lewis Arthur Lamb, 63, a locomotive fireman, of Plashet-road Upton Park, who left his engine "out of goodness of heart" to help three shunters to move a brake van clear of a cross-over at Plaistow goods yard, was crushed between his engine and the brake van.

Verdict at to-day's West Ham inquest: Death by misadventure. Evening Standard, 18/6/47.

PAILWAYMEN are extremely scepti- so than in other industries. The cost- must insist that there shall be less cal about the possibility of a of-living is going up during these pro- salaried officials and superannuary pettyreasonable wage increase resulting from tracted negotiations, and the politicians officials in industry. It is fast becoming the present negotiations. This is my are warning us that life will be even a joke of ribald character that, on the belief after talking the matter over with more tough in the near future; so that railways there will soon be as many my mates of all grades at every the present wage demands should really officials as workers. Perhaps it is a sign

THE WAGES STRUGGLE

At the last national negotiations on During the war years, railwaymen re- coming local petty-officials and lackeys wages, it is not generally known that the ceived but a fraction of their demands of officials. Surely, we should be asking Labour Minister in the present govern- as is shown by the following: In ourselves, is it not ludicrous that we As usual the demands for higher wages ment intervened to make some sug- December 1939, 4/-; in April 1940, have organisations in which there are August the E.W.O. was lifted, and the is turned into a threat against the public gestions were not for 3/-; November 1940, 4/-; 1942 saw railway-officials as well as workers? right to quit the job given back to the of higher fares. Meeting the men's full the purpose of helping the miserable Every railway-worker knows that the workers. And they grabbed the oppor- demands would raise the annual wage bill workers to get better wages. According amounts, for we got 8/6. In June interests of the officials and the workers tunity with both hands in thousands of by nearly £90,000,000, a figure which to a propaganda leastet recently issued 1943, 5/-, and then another 5/- in are not the same. The trade union could only be balanced by raising pas- by the N.U.R. directed against the 1944; finally we got the 7/- added organisations have become transformed. senger fares and transport rates 65 per A.S.L.E. & F., the suggestions at that in 1945. These amounts seem to have They are no longer the bodies that Between last August, and February 15th cent. and 70 per cent respectively above time made by the Labour Minister were created the impression tht we can ex-

Need For Changes

tioned by the workers. This is in itself Officials and Government Ministers. a step towards a better understanding of the needs of organised labour to-day It is not good enough for us to continue to tolerate control of the unions by a hierarchy of officials, especially when the officials are more influenced by political considerations than the interests of the members of the union. We read in the newspapers that the union officials made a midnight dash from the conference of the Labour Party at Margate. to a meeting in London with a government Minister. Precious little inspiration would be obtained at the Labour Party conference, where Mr. H. Morrison was telling the delegates and others, "From now on, what we get in social benefits or higher wages must be earned by higher production." By this argument railway-men may conjecture; for the newspaper city-notes are telling us that railway receipts are declining, and there will be a large deficit at the end of this year on the £43,000,000 rental guaranteed by the government!

If railway-workers, or any other workers are to prevent the dire effects of the economic crisis being visited upon them, it is necessary to think in different terms from the usual trade-union negotiations. First and foremost workers

be amended in an upward direction. of the times, but nevertheless, a fact, that local trade-union officials are beworkers in many places are learning

from bitter experience these facts.

Railwaymen at Paddington, Stratford,

L.N.E.R., Bishopsgate, Broad Street,

and other places have seen their legiti-It is plain that orthodox trade-union mate activities frustrated by the comnegotiations are being seriously quesbination of Railway Officers, T.U.

Because of these glaring contradictions some railway-workers are thinking in practical terms of a definite alternative to all this lack of unity, want of workers' solidarity and what is generally understood as good unionism. These workers are trying to lay the foundations of one workers' industrial union, in which the workers will really control their own affairs, since there will be no centralised bureaucraev. Instead of sitting back and waiting with cynicism and scepticism while the bosses in industry and the trade unions bargain about a few shillings, we should then be in a position to improve our wages and conditions, and plan for workers' control of industry without officials.

ENGINEMAN.

Read RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY by George Woodcock

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FREEDOM PRESS 27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.I

Land notes

The companies also argue that the

short of those of other workers

privileges that railmen have, more than

offset the amount by which their wages

(specifically mentioning the Civil Service).

Railmen's privileges amount to free rail

warrants at holiday periods, privilege

tickets at quarter fare and free uniform

and clothing. Only the last items, be it

noted, can be said to cost the companies

NON-PRODUCTIVE

a higher proportion of non-produ

workers than any other essential industri

The public should realise that when they

are paying their fares and transport rates

they are not only paying for the services

existence of a huge army of clerks, ticket

"Engineman" has pointed to the form of

organisation which will really fight for

interests lie in the elimination of the need

for thousands of unproductive consumers

in every industry. The interests, there-

fore, of workers both as producers and as

consumers lie in nothing short of the

the workers' interests. The consumers'

WORKERS

The transport industries probably carry

Between Two Worlds

Dr. Johnson, Boswell tells us, once remarked that "No one but a fool ever wrote except for money," and when, on a soft, still summer evening, I am forced to stay at home and write these Notes instead of peddling off down to the local, I feel strongly inclined to agree with him Futhermore, all irksome tasks are the more easily performed when they have become habitual. Indeed, without the formation of habits much of what one has to do sacking all the strikers as from the first each day, like getting up early and at the Announcing its same time every morning, would be quite decision to re-form the business, the unbearable. The acquirement of habits management stated it was "prepared to are almost a necessary safeguard to one's

Having written the above (in case you condition. begin to wonder, quite rightly, what relevance it all has) largely to gain time while I wondered what the heck I was going to write about, I have to admit that I am guess is as good as mine. One thing with all its agricultural and social implications, is the vast difference between Surely there can hardly have ever existed such a complete break between two generthe two. In every way, politically psychologically and what you will, there links of a whole chain of culture, a whole in the natural order of things and which

(With this issue, G.V. is resuming hi Land Notes after a few months intermission during which this feature he been replaced by a series of five articles on "Agriculture and the Social Revolution in Britain.")

The Old Tradition

Firstly, then, the older men with their

of all, or nearly all, the new-fangled ideas and machines, their distrust of "modern", they won't have to get off it. "scientific" means of farming, a distrust which, one must admit, is very frequently quires a hell of an effort to get them lived and worked and their deep respect which I am consequently not very pro- were employed to do it or through fear Inside the yard, lorries are waiting ficient. (Yes, the beet is very late this of the sack, but because it was a pleasure loaded with butter, eggs and bacon ready vear, this operation being normally com- to them and they derived an abiding satisfor delivery to Portsmouth, Norwich and pleted a month ago.) Fortunately, the faction from a job perfectly executed, the Midlands. Should the strike spread, tractor-mower went into the first field to whether it was a hedge properly laid, a the issue causing it, the obvious right of be cut for hay this morning so I can stack neatly thatched or a horse or cow clerks to organise in their unions, if they reckon on returning to my normal and with that smooth, glossy sheen and flow-

> In these men, too, the knack—one might is not sufficient for them. And why of Mr. Iestyn Williams as chief executive even say without exaggeration, the art— should it be, indeed? Inwardly resenting officer of the Labour Relation Department of manual work reached its zenith. and rejecting the old master-man relation- of the N.C.B. Mr. Williams was formerly Though their movements may appear slow ship, yet they do not see any alternative and heavy, like the great ponderous Shire to it. Truly they are indeed "between South Wales' Coalowners Association. horses to which so many of them devoted two worlds, one dying, one powerless to more loving care and attention than they be born." ever bestowed on their families, they can load a muck-cart, pitch a sheaf or handle a hoe with a swift, swinging ease and speed which makes us younger men seem stiff and awkward by comparison. For the older men, then, the trivial round and the common task, performed within a social structure that the great majority of them accepted, with all its privations and injustices, as more or less

no one could change very much for the

better, did provide them with pretty well

all they asked, because really they asked very little. Those who know something of the history of the English agricultural

labourer may realize why.

Born Into Decay

Not so the young men born into, and growing up, in a decaying and disintegrating rural society dominated by an state control they are even more secure urban industrialism and, with the growth in the privileged positions than if of mechanical transport, increasingly con- employed by private companies. nected with it, physically and ideologically. Essentially urban in outlook, for the most part they dislike and avoid manual work approval, or, at best, mocking tolerance, as far as possible, their ambition being In the last issue of Freedom we printed to sit on a tractor seat and their hope that

Strongly attached to machinery of any kind, they also regard working with it as a step-up in the social scale. Their recreation is the nearest cinema (it doesn't considerable drop in output from S. Wales matter much what picture it is; they are and, through the unions, criticism of the much the same—which is true enough), Board and its members. or, on a Sunday evening, they stand in the central place of the village dressed in smart suits, smoking cigarettes or whistling the latest popular tune, their pointed shoes tapping out the restless, fidgetty

The Urban Mind Dept.

"Dull, flat country I call it. Nothing | May 1st, and was 60,000 tons short of

COAL BOARD UNDER FIRE

As opponents of nationalisation we have often pointed out that under state ownership the relationship betwen workers and management is no different from that under private ownership. And moreover, that even the personnel of the officials remains the same. The main difference in the status of the managers is that under

The miners of South Wales have had this very clearly brought home to them. information showing how the N.C.B. was buying up mansions throughout the country to house their officials. Now come rumblings of discontent from the coalfields, which has already resulted in a

No Confidence

Even before the state took over on Jan. 1st, the Executive Council of the South Wales area Mineworkers' Federvague, inchoate social awareness that did ation passed a vote of no confidence in which they themselves are hardly aware, Divisional Coal Board, General Sir R. ing rhythmic lines that betoken perfect they are not content with the social Godwin-Austen and Mr. G. E. Aeronstructure in which they live and work, Thomas, former coal-owner. Now the and the trivial round and common task E.C. is protesting against the appointment secretary of the Monmouthshire and

> While the union bosses are passing reolutions, the miners are using a form of direct action. It can hardly yet be called What I have written reminds me of a go-slow movement but many may well part of a conversation I recently heard develop into that later. Coal production between two town-workers. It ran like in the week ending June 7th was the lowest since the five-day week began last Mr. Shinwell's target for South Wales, "Good farming land though, I believe." and nearly 20,000 tons below the highest "Yes, I suppose that's all its good for week. South Wales miners now number 108,450 as compared with 105,854 at the G. V. start of the year.

25 27 28 28 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

RBBNOH

category of mercenaries is well-known. It enjoys the general contempt of the working class whose conditioned reflexes immediately associate the "flic" with his

task of repression. The recollection of "passages à tabac" pression squads of the municipal police, particularly in Paris where 30,000 policemen uphold "law and order".

Instinctively the word "flie" has acquired a pejorative meaning and we remember an old militant of the Labourers' syndicate who refused to see his son who, being unemployed, had joined the police.

But a whole literature has built up the myth of the plain clothes policeman who pursues thieves, who unravels international mysteries, who detects and arrests murderers. Magazines specializing in crime, publish each week articles on the extraordinary underworld battles against the defenders of law and order. And astute editors transform smallest police enquiry into a detective

The recent scandals which have besmirched the régime of the 4th Republic throw a somewhat different light on the quickly disappeared. rôle of the police.

The Police and Their Aids The French Police Force is composed of two bodies both under the control of the Ministry of the Interior: the Sureté Générale, which operates over the whole of the French territory, and the Police Iudiciare, whose powers are

limited to Paris. A lively rivalry has always existed between these two bodies. The Surete often demands to work in Paris on cases that have originated Provinces, while the Police Judiciar wants the right to conduct its enquiries in the Provinces on cases that have

started in Paris. repressive organisation relies for its brevity are referred to simply by their strike to their agitation. information on the very people who initials. Our contemporary l'Adunata associate with crime and delinquency. dei Refrattari published a column They have their ramifications among the groups of pimps, in every café where currency exchange offices, among concerned, but undoubtedly the only Paris correspondent, Alan Houghton smugglers and black-marketeers. In solution would be for the papers con- Brodrick in a dispatch headed return, the informers receive police

Needless to say, the Police, with a glossary translating the initials into capital 'P', does not possess its own more understandable terms. classified and paid informers. It is left to the policemen themselves to choose their aides and make the necessary arrangements with them.

As police officers are generally badly there is no clear demarcation line bemight appear monstrous to those who still have faith in bourgeois morals, is nevertheless quite commonplace.

In 1939, in one of those Paris districts where prostitution was more wide- and C.N.T. with the Spanish spread, Boulevard Sébastopol, one could squad, arriving in the traditional Renault of the Police Judiciare, to collect the earnings of his women. In this case the alliance was so close that the delinquent and the policeman were the same

political sphere. Before the war, and ments through the columns of the still today, there are specialised police press, since in Italy, the work of our

The rôle of these squads is to watch times of crisis. The political police acts

THE ARTS UNDER SOCIALISM

ON

val, Shostakovich made one speech, to the longed to the Spanish C.N.T. as well International Congress of Composers, but anyone who expected to hear new theories as the traditional militancy of revomyopically under the klieg lights, he read a dull account of the bureaucratic organizideologists eleven years ago ("Screaming, trotskyist hostility towards the C.N.T. 120,000 supporters." neurotic music"), it was hardly a nice It would seem, however, that in question. Shostakovich made an abrupt bow and walked from the stage.

Policemen and Politicians

During the occupation when the resistance began its activities, the Police acquired immense importance. It was bonne, adventurer of genius, and the divided into factions, some in favour of glory of French culture, member of the the Allies, some of Germany, some of pro-communist organisation, Front both. Simultaneusly, intriguers and National and involved in shady dealings political groups contrived to win the in currency, with the consent of the collaboration of the police either by Gestapo, has tried to commit suicide. privileges or money. British, American, German, Russian, Vichvite and Gaullist Intelligent services thus spread their

police was represented as having played papers and merely get ten lines, on the a great rôle in the resistance, with the third page, in others. pro-German. But when the Resistance fell to pieces and its hidden quarrels to suit the political struggle. In the and internal struggles came into the meantime, the police remains open, the patriotic halo of the police touched.. The slightest hint of a purge

Communist cells, American stooges. They know that regimes may change, dossiers patiently compiled for attack their services will be indispensable to or for the purpose of defending them- those who hold power. selves. As soon as a scandal broke out They are no longer the solid casing the opposing factions were able to of a State. They are a weapon ready supply the Press or the magistrates with to serve whoever is in power. documents discrediting the accusers.

Foreign Commentary

In the writer's opinion, our com-

lowed the left wing movements, F.A.I.

"National Confederation of Labour"

rather than the French organization

follow the activities of these move-

omrades is slowly but surely gaining

support, and in France the C.N.T. is

rapidly becoming an organization to

our comrades have chosen the ideal

moment to launch their organisation:

dissatisfaction with the Stalinist-

controlled C.G.T. (General Confeder-

taion of Labour) and the thousands of

exiled Spaniards who formerly be-

lutionary syndicalism in France have

combined to put the C.N.T. on the

map right from the start. The French

popular press have already given the

usual sensational publicity to our com-

rades' activity. France-Soir, for in-

cells of the C.N.T.", though better in-

formed people are aware of the

France as in this country, the term

be reckoned with in the industrial

ganizations which for the sake of French C.N.T., attributing the Renault

cerned to include in each issue a "Power of New French Labour

is associated with the Spanish "Anar- that the C.N.T. is playing an important

chist Federation of Iberia" rather than part in the labour unrest. It is gaining

Each of these scandals enjoys a more or less wide publicity according to the allegiances of the newspaper in which they are reported. They are displayed At the time of the liberation the with enormous front page titles in som

All these scandals have been known unites all the Employees of Repression

POLICE U.S. Imperialism in Far East

North West Airlines have begun adver-

owned by the powerful Monde Catholique But the force behind Viet Nam American capital. The complex nature of the U.S.—French imperialist rivalry is indicated by this account from Jackson

the Chinese troops who had come in with They seized all Japanese arms more branches in Siam, Burma and Malaya, their ancient arms to the Indo-Chinese, and commerce representatives who will The Kuomintang in China sent in deliver raw materials and crude products. wild inflation was destroying the economy, corporations in Indo-China go far to ex-Indo-Chinese, they had cleverly permitted It may explain, too, why the French rethe birth of a lusty young industry that quest for surplus American arms in France had hamstrung for 85 years, and Belgium was rejected. Yet on their part

Mayers of Worldover Press:

Chinese-unquestionably Asia's shrewdest been completely exploited by the Bank of bargainers—showed that in their long role Indo-China, owned in toto by Le Monde as a semi-colony, they had learned a few Catholique, dominating force in French of the tricks of imperialism. With the banking, the Army and the colonies."

Chinese General — U.S. Capital

At Haiphong, the important Commerce Hotel and all commercial import and export passed into the same hands. General Chinese general staff and governor of d'Hai-Nan, and suspected of relations with the Japanese as far back as 1932 in Wang, associated with M. Koung Sun De, Commerce, founded a trust at Haiphong n order to launch businesses and a

But General Wang and Sun De were Union Development Ltd., and the Viet-Nam Chinese Union Banking Corporation -firms with a Chinese front but American capital. They were, actually, subsidiaries of an American corporation, the Sino-American Union Development Ltd., whose chief seat is in Chungking. This huge development corporation en-

visages the opening by 1948 of similar

millions of counterfeit piastras until the . The activities of the American-Chinese something the Japanese had shrewdly plain the present American opposition to avoided. In the Japanese appeal to the French suppression of a colonial revolt. which now the Chinese were swiftly dis- the French have been responsible for some vicious repression and an 85-year traffic During their brief occupation, the in opium. Moreover, Indo-China has

THE FRENCH C.N.T.

Even in the English Press attention recently, dealing with a few of these is being paid to our French comrades. mysterious initials so far as Italy was The Sunday Observer's (June 15th)

Union Growing" writes: "This afternoon and to-morrow, the central committee of the C.N.T.-Confederation Nationale du Travail-will rades in Italy by referring to their meet in Paris, and it is expected that the new organization as the C.N.T. have new membership figure will considerable helped to increase the confusion, since exceed the present total of 120,000. Puny in the minds of those who have folfederation Generale du Travail-the

The C.N.T. was founded only in May of last year. It is anti-Communist in brand of Communism, which is the officia However this confusion would ap- creed of the French Communist party, but it is no Rightist body. Indeed, spokesmen openly claim that it is a party with the Government and hostile

ground in most industrial centres, and

Government interference in fixing wages or determining working conditions. The Communists accuse the C.N.T. of being composed of Trotskyists and anarchists and of taking money from business. Possibly the C.N.T. has help ing the Communists and the C.G.T. not have shown that these organisations followed rather than led."

Bernard Causton writing on FRENCH STRIKES in last week's issue of Tribune, also refers to the C.N.T.:

"Although the Communists would considerable power, they have yet to exercise care in their choice of tactics. Their predominance inside the C.G.T., with its There is growing rivalry, for instance, from the Christian Trade Unions, as well Confederation Nationale du Travail. which follows the old anarcho-syndicalist

Time (U.S.A.), 9/6/47. "trotskyist" is used in an attempt to does not, unfortunately, contain a was clearly shown . . ."

THE more one reads the foreign blacken an organisation. The weekly report on the meeting of the C.N.T. As readers know the Ramadier press, the more is one baffled by illustrated magazine Point de Vue referred to in the Observer, but it will Government was forced to accept the These two departments have their the ever-increasing number of or- recently devoted two pages to the be interesting to see what progress French railway workers demands. our comrades of the C.N.T. have made during this first year of their

> THE FRENCH RAILWAY STRIKE Commenting on the recent strike of

(19/6/47) comments: Never has anarchism won a similar victory in principle since those hours of feverish hope in 1936. And never has it more clearly imposed itself as the foundation of a new

"For the indiscipline of the railmen, ciency with which this work was carried out had to be generally recogframework of the general interests of the working class as a whole. And of a universal guilt . . ." they demonstrated by this that the railways and their personnel, both from the technical and moral point of view, were ripe for socialisation—for Have you received a Renewal direct management, without the State or the Boss-in a word, for libertarian Be sure of receiving FREE-

disorder, more than the black flag When Renewing your Subunfurled over Villeneuve-Triage, scription why not order 2 crushed the authority of the Government and of the C.G.T., by showing that authority was useless . . . Useless because in the Rail Strike as in the Renault strike, the capacity for eman-The latest issue of Le Libertaire cipation by the workers themselves

"PEN CLUB" CONGRESS

The 11th International Congress of

"Pen Clubs', the second since the end of the war, was held this year at Zurich. The sessions were animated, even tumultuous, according to Combat French railwaymen, Le Libertaire (20/6/47) during discussions on the proposal to re-establish the German section. It was agreed in principle that the German section should be re-established by nineteen votes to one with nine abstentions. The most notable contribution was made by the well-known Italian writer Ignazio Silone, who declared that "military victory has left untouched all the in refusing for a few days to recognize problems which gave birth to Fascism the authority of the State-Boss, of and national-socialism. I know of no the party-chiefs and of the slave- party, no institution or Church which driving syndicates (du syndicat garde- is not affected to-day by the resigchiourme) was in fact an organized nation of the spirit . . . We see that indiscipline. Masters of the whole those who, in the past years, have railway system, the railworkers en- been in the forefront of the struggle sured, by their own initiative, the against racial hatred, who have been perfect timing of the suspension and loudest in its denunciation, are not resumption of services; they effected adverse to judge their now defeated the smooth running of special trans- adversaries, in the spirit of racial port, and without which food supplies madness. One defends justice when it for large towns would have been is convenient for one to do so. It irretrievably endangered. The effi- is nevertheless clear that one cannot properly understand this crisis of our time if one does not examine its nized. The railway workers defended general characteristics. No unilateral condemnation of scape-goats can silence in our conscience the feeling

Reminder? DOM regularly by sending Now, this absence of violence and your renewal without delay! copies and pass one on to a friend? (Special rates for 2 copies: 5/6 for 6 months, 11/- for 12 months).

28th June, 1947.

DOWE WANTELA PERDN' HERE?

making munitions of war to be used

against themselves in all probability.

TRANCO has made his prison-house State gay in honour of the his distinguished visitor—Senora Eva Peron, the wife of his fellow-dictator in the Argentine. Vast civic processions and displays have covered the surface of the poverty and misery that exists in Spain to-day. Doubtless the dignitaries of Fascist Spain have regaled the Senora with stories of the common ideals they have with her husband: and she has been reassured as to her personal safety by realising that political prisoners are dealt with in the same way in Spain as in the Argentine.

This Nazi queen of the Argentine taught them our technique. And needafter her triumphal tour of Spain. She wrapped up in the Big Business we put is due in London on June 30th. The over-Japan became the land of happy, British Government do not dare to give smiling places, the land of the orange her a triumphal reception. Those who blossom the "Britain of the East", until sympathise with the political prisoners she was fully industrialised, fully preof Peron cannot be put out of the way pared for war, and she went to war so easily in this country, and the with us. Peron may well follow the Foreign Office has to reconcile itself same pattern. Nowadays our bit of Stop Press with allowing the lady a private visit sentiment has to have an ideological without giving her the sort of State. flavour, and just as the U.S. liberals reception that rulers of the country like have "found out" that the Argentine is to give each other and charge to the

Argentine mutton, but we are indeed democratic justifications for Peron's in a poor way if purchase of mutton has dictatorship if his business deals go over. to be mixed up with silence over human carcasses. This is however a very lame excuse, since the Argentine Government has never been over-genrous with its "gifts": the mutton get from the Argentine has to be paid for; and the very reason the Government give us for the fact that everything we produce is in short supply at home is the fact that it goes to bring us in such necessaries from abroad. If we are going without our own products in order to purchase mutton, therefore, what is the purpose of kow-towing to Senora Peron? Is independence another item which is in short supply and marked for export? There is no need to be grateful for goods which are very well paid for. What the Government may very well be fishing for is seen in the reported statement that the politically influential Senora Peron may place orders for British warships, for the Argentine Navv. and that the latest inventions incorporating designs previously secret, may be used on ships from our dockyards for the Argentine Navy.

try is to be a leading maritime power a strong navy is essential.

An expert in close touch with with the negotiations told the Sunday Empire News yesterday: 'If Britain lands this order it will keep our shipyards busy for a long time.

"The only other country who could possibly compete is America, and so far our tenders are lower.' We have had ship building experts in the Argentine for some time now and parallel discussions have taken in this country.

WAR-TIME SECRETS 'It is impossible at the moment say how large the final order will be. but it is quite likely to exceed the £50,000,000 generally accepted

If Britain gets the order many wartime secrets may be included in the Sunday Empire News, 15/6/47.

There is a certain amount of friction between the U.S.A. and the Argentine. because under Peron the Argentine not too keen on seeing the U.S.A. spread the tentacles of "Yankee Imperialism" across the continent of Latin America and might prefer to place the

business in British dockyards. It is a well-known fact that Peron has ambitions at making his nation what is known as a "first class power" simple as one might think? Surely they pits, they went out on to the streets but learning it is so profitable! Japan on some days there have been a million tomer forty years ago. We built her streets of the Ruhr. ships and trained her Army and established her industries: we took her same: STOP THE REGIME OF HUN-Princes around our battleships and GER! STOP THE OPPRESSION!

undemocratic at about the time the dietatorship resisted "Yankee Imperialism". so our left-wingers may find all sorts of If Senora Peron's visit is to negotiate

for a deal for battleships, as has been reported, we protest not only in the prisoners of Argentine, Anarchists and other revolutionaries who languish in ail for the 'crime' of opposing dictator-

this representative of the Peron Government concerning the political prisoners in the Argentine, and we hope she

Energetic protests should be made to

that before she goes she considers joining Miss Crisp's Housewives' League! We do not want to "strengthen the ties between this country and the Argentine", to use the verbiage of politicians

But Nazis Wives Arrested

to "explain" her giving the Fascist the people who had been most actively be established there. salute to Franco. But the government and intelligently opposed to war in peace- "Such Governments do not exist to-day may also entertain her.

wives of other (defeated) fascists are of the war, and how the nations would be a profession out of apologizing for imbeing arrested under denazification reconstructed, how the war was in reality perialist wars. They will simply get ready purges-Frau Goering, Frau Schirach a silent revolution, and the like. and the rest. One wonders why Nazis wives should be arrested while other It was only a question of time with the and return it to its rightful owners when fascists' wives are being officially end of the war to await a practically they have had their use of it.

What Good Came of It?

The Problem for anti-militarists

have given it any active and enthusiastic support if there hadn't been some better time who supplied all the popular slogans in those countries." in this war, and talking of the new world At the same time, in Germany, the that was going to come about as a result

official definition of the fact that all this

HOSE who intend to take up the was merely "war propaganda". It could rised by the complete failure of twenty Truman's statement on June 14th on the and more years purely negative and occasion of signing the Act of Ratification pacifist "No More War" movements. of the Peace Treaties with Hungary,

> "I feel I must publicly express regret majority of the people, but have resorted to measures of oppression against them.

"Ever since the liberation of these counslogans than the outworn "King and tries from the Nazi voke and the commit-Senora Peron is to be given a party | Country" and other patriotic slogans with ment undertaken by the three Allies at in London with Lord Stragboli as host. which the State disguised its previous Yalta, I had hoped that Governments He has already taken it upon himself imperialist wars. And it was preceisely truly representative of the people would

This will not deter anyone who makes to borrow anti-Bolshevism in the next war, as they borrowed anti-Fascism in the last.

after being treated for 14 years as

cannon fodder, as beast of toils without

any will of their own, are again thinking

for themselves and beginning to move.

of the Ruhr

among themselves about who shall

the Nazis in bringing the German

The great powers look on and quarrel

Revolutionary and the working class youth, because The Answer of the Comrades Manifesto they don't want to, and cannot, go on

Nazi terror and occupation terror, hun-Despite twelve years of oppression under the Nazis, and two years military ger and want. But there is a limit to exploit the coal of the Ruhr in the next "Argentine naval experts have occupation, during which period the most energetic attempts have been made everything, and the limit to the patience war, and who shall take the place of convinced Col. Peron that if his coun- to liquidate revolutionary workers, it has yet been impossible to root out revolutionary ideas. Freedom has already drawn attention to the strikes and demonstrations of German workers in the Ruhr in the spring of this year. The manifesto which we translate below clearly shows that ideas of revolution ary working class struggle are still alive and active in Germany. It is headed by the slogan "Workers of all lands, unite!" in German, French, English and

> "SPARTACUS" Independent Proletarian Revolutionary 1 May, 1947

HUNGER

After 12 years of totalitarian dictathem, 2 years of military occupation strations. In fact, the party and trade workers of the Ruhr are awakening to a new life. And behind them are the workers of the whole of Germany.

Mass Strikes and Demonstrations

Already for several weeks, workers had expressed themselves here there in unofficial strikes. At the end of March this movement was increasing like an avalanche several hundred thousands and involving the great majority of the industrial

workers of Western Germany The working masses did not limit themselves to leaving the workshops and

Their watchwords were always the

and Trade Unions been?

Where Have the Parties

union leaders, already in pitiable depenabroad, have to give way, but also the political parties have sought to put the latter did not even try to oppose the certainly done everything they could to do so, and were not even sure that British soldiers would be willing to union leaders later on undertook the massacre the German workers. task of putting an end to the movement Thus they proclaimed a 24-hour general miners, among the occupation soldiers strike being afraid that things might get

But the full demands of the workers have never been successfully achieved by such a short strike. This means that instead of stopping half-way they mu go on with the strike.

No, the party and trade union leaders have certainly done nothing to assist the mass movement. And it is not, as some claim, the work of the Nazis. Nazis have neither the wish nor the motion. That doesn't mean, of course, that this or that national group or other.

working people demonstrating on the The Movement Comes from

It comes from the great masses of in this immediate success, but rather in th Ruhr workers, from the working man the fact that the German working class,

Since the glorious struggles in the Ruhr in the 1920's, when the Western German working class was in the forefront of the international working class,

to Give Way

Among the British soldiers are many

there are many workers who well know

what strikes mean, and know that it is

necessary that the workers of all coun-

fallen back before the strikers and

movement and a set-back for the

movement will break loose anew and

The Significant Change

The significant change is not so much

will be difficult to stop it.

It is already a success for the mass

The latter have made some fine

tries stand together.

military authorities.

any longer living as they are at present.

much of oppression, war, bombardment,

They have suffered more than too

The Ruhr proletariat, the working women and youth, from Dusseldorf and Osnabruck, Essen and Gelsenkirchen no such movement has appeared until Aachen and Cologne, have given their answer: NOBODY! The Occupation Powers Had

It is they, the workers; those who have sacrificed their whole labour power and their health to bring the coal to the surface.

This coal goes to the international

But the workers starve and freeze! occupying powers themselves. These The workers, their wives and chilren, starve and freeze throughout the

masses directly. They could not afford whole of Europe! Therefore it is not sufficient to make a single protest strike. That can be merely the beginning of a far greater and more long drawn out struggle that will end only when the workers take over the mines and factories into their

Who should control the coal and steel, if not the workers who produce The British authorities, who are facing great difficulties in Britain itself, have it all?

Who then should control the food supplies and food distribution, if not the workers who produce it all?

cise control through their own trusted delegates, men tested in the class struggle, controlled at all times by the workers who have elected them; through their action committees and councils they must take into their own hands throughout the whole country the places of work and the distribution of

In their OWN hands!

Not in the hands of the State-no matter whether the state officials be German, French, British, Russian or American.

By JOHN OLDAY neither God, nor Emperor, nor Marshall, nor Leader, nor State!

When the strikers and demonstrators occupy the factories and mines, when they have taken the distribution of food into their own hands, when they appeal across the Zones and the frontiers to the workers in other countries, the workers in the forces of occupation, and fraternize with them in a spirit of working class solidarity—then will the great Powers be powerless, and the international armaments kings have to give

And then, also, the hour will strike, SPARTACUS.

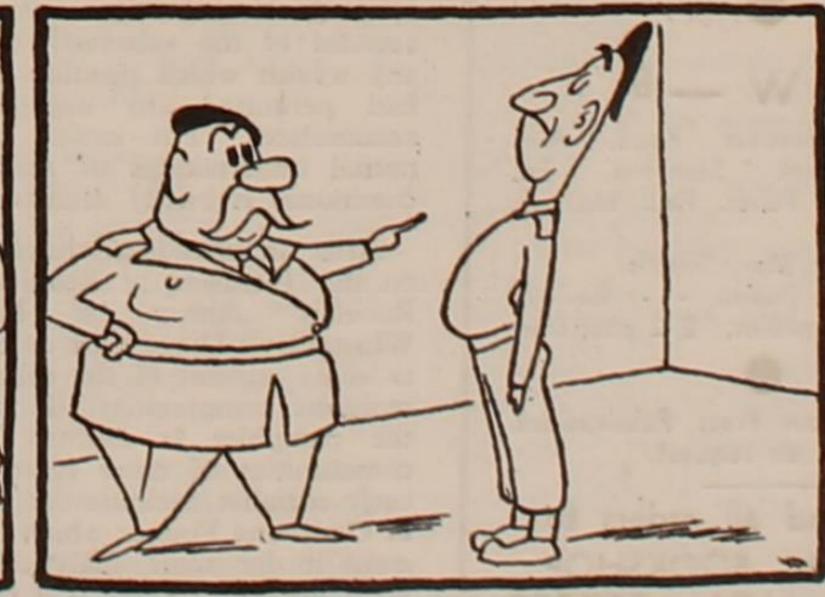
is taken from a revolutionary song by Johann Most.—Ens.

THE THREE MUSKETEERS-10



I can't bear to see the poor wretches eating out of the dust-bins . . .

CHRISTIAN KNIGHT



... something ought to be

dome about it . . .

23 24 25 26 27 28 28 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

.

The workers should themselves exer-

the means of life.

There is no deliverer from on high,*

when oppression and exploitation, starvation and war, will be ended for ever-*This line, well-known to German workers,

- the first the same of the sa

alternative to war.

pp. 253. 4/- thought—on education, the legal system

pp. 26. 6d. producer". We might, for instance, query

etc.; but as Anarchists, we may entertain

the feasibility of maintaining, in a "free"

society the employer—worker relationship

an interesting introduction referring to the

instigators of the Indian communal riots:

"They make use of the credulity

the ignorant masses by frightening them

that their religion is in danger and that

to protect it any sacrifices on their part

are an obligation on them. The leaders

remain at a safe distance while the

orgy of murder, rape and incendiarism

is allowed to run riot among maddening

crowds. Wherever and whenever the

communal riots have taken place they

have taken a toll of innocent persons

while the real culprits go scotfree. We

hope therefore that this booklet will

serve a useful purpose in opening the

eyes of credulous people and they will

see that they do not fall a prey to the

evil designs of the mischief-mongers and

This edittion contains the long and very

interesting footnote on the purposes of

Another enormous footnote—itself the

length of a pamphlet, occurs under the

C. L. Swartz: What is Mutualism? Mutualism to other aspects of Libertarian

These books and pamphlets are pub- The reprint of Bakunin's splendid

ished by our energetic Indian friend polemic is especially welcome, for since

R. Bhavan of Bombay, from the Modern the "Mother Earth" edition of it and Guy

Publishers, Indore. We welcome his many Alfred's "Spur" Bakunin pamphlets have

of the Indian Institute of Sociology and of Bakunin's available in English. The

the publication of the "Indian Sociologist") publishers, who are also issuing

which are doubly valuable in view of the Hindustani version explain their aims it

"Mutualism operates, by its very education, arising from a conversation

nature, to render political government, between Bakunin and Mazzini. It should

founded on arbitrary force, superfluous; be noted that "God and the State" has

that is, it operates to the decentraliz- never been published in a complete form

ation of the political power, and to the -a fault due to Bakunin's method of

transformation of the State, by sub- composition because of his hectic life,

stituting self-government instead of rather than to any of his publishers.

Swartz's more comprehensive "What is title of the whole work in the 1st Volume

Mutualism?" was originally written as one of "Oevres" (Paris, 1895), and the most

of the volumes in the excellent American satisfactory English edition, with Max

"Vanguard Press" series published in the Nettlau's notes on the sources of the work

1920's and now unobtainable. It naturally was that published by Freedom Press in

27 Red Lion Street

W. B. Greene: Mutual Banking.

Rudolf Rocker: Socialism and State.

chism in Socialist Evolution.

coming crisis in Indian history.

10

"Mutual Banking" was written as far

back as 1849 by an early American disci-

ple of Proudhon, and sets out the evils

of usury or interest and of a specie cur-

rency (backed by gold or silver), and

advocates mutual credit and a mutual

money, independent of currency, used

between producers. The purpose of the

mutualist bank, as summarised by the

publisher "is to advance money on sound

personal guarantee on their future earn-

ing or production, even without the mort-

cent. interest per annum. This amount

of interest covers the whole expenditure

of the establishment and leaves something

Besides, loans on low interest would give

impetus to honest industry and it will also

help to increase employment by creating

efficient demand." Green, following

Proudhon, declares that:

government from without."

covers a broader field, and relates 1912.

to be carried forward to reserve funds,

gage of property at the rate of one per

Peter Kropotkin: The Place of Anar-

THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT 6d.

THE FRENCH COOKS SYNDICATE 3d.

Randolph Bourne

F somehow, suddenly, Randolph why many of the ideas had been so called "his deadly wonderful analysis Bourne were alive again in to- inadequate to the test of war. Bourne saw a clue to the crisis in day's world, he would not be as bewildered or as bewildering as some ideas in the acceptance by intellectuals of those who did not die. Though it of the instrumentalist philosophy of John Dewey. Accepting that philosis perilous to draw parallels between historical periods, it is safe to say that sophy, the liberals had couched their support of the war in such terms as if more desperate, plight. Then in 1918, the year of his death, as now, a world war had left in its wake a stream, they say, that one has any shattered Europe of starving, des- chance of controlling the current pairing people and, in the words of forces for liberal purposes. If we obone of Bourne's contemporaries, " an struct, we surrender all power for our time, though it had been discernible in the past decade, the liberals- Bourne's answer to all this was

as exemplified by The New Republic deeply prophetic, echoed as it was by the State in wartime is the opporunity the monster State of Russia, the the Versailles Treaty soon after his it gives for this regression to infantile ularly Catalonia) in their co-operative time and the Potsdam Agreement and attitudes." the impact of the atomic bomb in ours. Wrote Bourne:

"Well, it is true that they may example of domination, set by the everywhere before the State hurls us liberal heritage of self-reliance fos- guide, but if their stream leads to centralized power, pervades the re- into complete destruction. tered by Emerson and Thoreau. They disaster and the frustration of national lations of the citizenry. All this were the same liberals who, in life, is their guiding any more than a reaches its culmination in war, for as Bourne's time too, had accepted the preference whether they shall go over Bourne emphasizes again and again: ballyhoo of a war fought for high- the right hand or the left hand of the sounding purposes, a war to end precipice?" (Twilight of the Idols").

hoped would be sterilized of its more But Bourne's diagnosis of the a federation of free communities, frightful aspects, only to be left, with- disease of the modern spirit did not nations organized in any way except end there. More underlyng than the that of a political centralization of a will shortly be available.) malignancy of ideas was the can- dynasty, war upon each other.* They cerous nature of our institutions. Here would not only have no motive for But Bourne had held back. His Bourne, in the winter of his life, went conflict, but they would be unable to colleagues of The New Republic for- to work on what Paul Rosenfeld has muster the concentrated force to make



Kropotkin's pamphlet is a general introlecture given in Paris, and Rocker's from the chapter of that name in his "Nationalism and Culture" which we hope to publish in its entirety at the end of of Libertarian Thought" which appeared

iteresting short biography of Rocker.

CHOSE FREEDOM

Ralph Linton

By Henry Miller

By Henry Miller

By Louis Macneice

By Wilhelm Reich

By Wilhelm Reich

By KENNETH BARLOW

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of the State."

wrote Bourne, and in his full realiz- develop fully the constructive side of ation of what that meant, recognized his argument. Implicit, however, in the roots of modern totalitarianism all of his writings of this later period years before the psychoanalysts of is the philosophy of anarchism, the fascism. As Bourne put it:

Labour Party oligarchy in England, or the atom-armed fast developing corporatism in the United States, Bourne would not have to revise these views one whit.

FREEDOM

What then is the alternative? War is the health of the State, Randolph Bourne never lived to development of a decentralized, cooperative society where man's personal "There is in the feeling towards the responsibility can flower. It is the State a large element of pure filial practical alternative to Statism shown mysticism . . . The chief value of by the anarchists of Spain (partic-

America harried by frights and intolerances and mob fanaticisms." In we then retain our power for guiding."

Bourne shows in full how this attitude is cultivated by all States, and how this We must seek that alternative

"Nations organized for internal administration, nations organized as war effective . . . We cannot crusade Are you helping to introduce new against war without crusading implicitly against the State."

Thus, just as he had rejected the Can you sell a few copies among of progress. Were he alive to-day, nfronted with the sham socialism of

communities during the Libertarian Revolution of 1936.

MICHAEL GRIEG. (The above article forms the introduction to the new edition of Bourne's pamphlet The State, published by the Resistance Press in New York, of which copies

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

profit system in such essays as What your friends? We can supply you Is Exploitation? Bourne ended by with copies of the current issue rejecting the State entirely as a lever (6 copies 1/-, 12 copies 2/- post

duction to Anarchism in the form of a A New Freedom Press Pamphlet THE BASIS OF COMMUNAL LIVING

"The Basis of Communal Living" by George Woodcock.

COCIALIST theories have (or should by others is unnecessary, and both could and should be replaced by a social order of mutual co-operation. But as socialist disillusionment has grown, it has come to be less readily taken for granted that men are naturally social, and a search for evidence which confirms the possibility of social and co-operative living has been felt as a need. Such evidence is provided in a thoroughgoing analysis of the historical as the extreme ideas of anarchism, the material and its lessons.

stressed. And the basic equalitarianism the necessity for it. communes is briefly discussed.

After an exceedingly interesting chapter on the 'Intrusion of Religion" (in which Rabelais' Abbey of Thelema and Winstanley's Diggers are described, as well as some account of the cohesive force in monastic communities) the remainder of the pamphlet is devoted to historical communities of more recent date. The early socialist communities, and the ideas of Owen and Fourier which inspired them, come in for some analytical criticism of great interest. There is a chapter on the the Spanish Collectives of 1936; and one These are only a few of the stimulating on the Palestine communities; finally one questions which this timely pamphlet on the English community movement raises.

George Woodcock makes a very important distinction betwen the primitive communities and the medaeval communes religious and revolutionary communal experiments of these later chapters. Whereas the former were a spontaneous growthfrom the conditions and economic necessities of their time, the latter are more or less conscious attempts to determine a course of life in accordance with certain ethical, religious or social theories. The former were in line with the trendsof their times, were an expression of them; but the latter are a reaction against the captalist society. They represent either a retreat from capitalist surroundings, or

collecting the relevant material into this sympathetic social climate, and Woodcock 44-page pamphlet. But he has not been shows that the more radical the social content merely to collect facts: he has set theory, the more these communities apthem in a proper perspective and provided proximate to what is commonly regarded more likely have they been to succeed. Some of the most successful wartime In an account of the primitve social agricultural communities, and such other community the existence of common work, attempts as the Peckham Experiment have and a common responsibility for matters been more or less consciously directed involving the welfare of the community, is towards anarchy, as experience has taught

of such communities is shown by the Not the least important lesson that account of the voluntary distribution of emerges from this survey is that social any wealth which peculiar circumstances living is more commonly achieved when had permitted any one individual to it is not the main object in itself, but accumulate. The extent of the com- arises as a by-product of some activity munal undertakings of mediaeval urban undertaken in common. Hence religious bases for community are less effective than a common aim in work. The far reaching conclusion from this is that if men have a social framework of equality and common responsibility they are more likely to live together harmoniously, than if they consciously seek to "behave socially". The corollary is that social life of the future will depend less on "a change of heart" than in the setting up of social conditions which permit of equality and individual responsibility for

the affairs of the community at large.

lettess to the Salitors

ANARCHISM-PAST AND FUTURE

DEAR COMRADES,

pages of Freedom.

The most effective and permanent opportunity. the basic material of a society, the human Inevitably, while holding liberty to be ranting without.

a supreme value, we will give our energies gration and social maturity without which truction of State domination and economic view, rather silly. no free society is possible. The State exploitation. The teacher, let us say, the Capitalism, is at the bottom of our social tolerated. He who has once known freedifficulties. But the growth of communal dom and learned how to use it is of surer process rather than a sudden transform- only superficially exploited for ideological ation. Involving radical changes within advantage. the individual it is, as Read suggests, a danger that must be not so much political considered and appropriate exposition of

The anarchist movement requires not movement. merely further and sincere research into Oxford. its scientific and historical justification but also a more subtle application in the field DEAR COMRADES, of sociology where confirmation of our I feel sure that the majority of anar- an alternative to the present slavish ad- As usual, the current issue is interesting rather than in the emotional reasoning of that Herbert Read's recent lecture on our and other organisations based on petty space for these comments?

The Pioneer Health Centre at Peckham, convincing expositions it would be possible

MARKETS AND

de-hydrated or tinned?

we shall get somewhere.

DISRESPECTFUL

tion in order to keep up the price.

In Germany people are starving, and

Could there be anything more callously

ships are required: cannot the potatoes be

Of course there are difficulties: but who

given the will to do so? Everyone is far

liberty and iron curtains. Words and

empty stomachs are a poor omen for

peace. Let the statesman prove that they

true values: let the United States be as

generous in loaning money for armaments

and fine phrases for debate, and perhaps

The other day, when passing a Shrews-

bury hotel, I recognised a titled lady who

was being assisted to her car by the

chauffeur. Remembering the magnificent

certainly have given the lout what for .-

Emanuel Shinwell in

Labour's Conscription Bill.

Tory Press praised and supported

holding an exhibition in the headquarters

Wrottesley opens it on Tuesday.

at Buckingham Palace.

the inmate of the palace?

is why I am anxious to help them."

What treatment does she suggest for

Letter in New Statesman

We are told that refrigerator

should like to give my views on that part In reply to Stephen Marletta's letter of the lecture wherein education is dis- in the last issue of Freedom, he is quite cussed, or rather, I should like to criticize most strongly the views put forward by Mr. Read on that subject.

to carry through a revolution in the nounced as "churchy-pacifist" is the inept traditional manner (rifles, bombs, barri- doctrine that one should not be prepared and the Alice-in-Wonderland economics he not realize that the chances now are lution, in some of its stages, is a violent a long-term educational policy will bear ation (whether this is considered alone as and consider the best means of changing that within 50 short years atomic weapons upheaval: Anarchy is a social condition fruit. either political or economic) but within society from within, for a careful -? - will probably destroy the human race? of freedom and peace." from within the falling structure will Men have preached morality to an immoral I think you over-rated the lecture by side by side with other developments. Just ultimately be more valuable than all the world throughout the centuries and most Herbert Read. It is a comment on the as at present the majority accept both of them have died a maytr's death, but position since the last war when the "left the idea of the money system and clothing It will, I am sure, be no betrayal of our does Mr. Read believe that the evidence wing" has adopted such an inferiority coupons, the next step is to encourage revolutionary principle if the word edu- of Buchenwald and Dachau suggests an complex and lost all its aggressiveness. the idea of abandoning the former while centralized State and its tendency to re- cation takes the place of that of revolution. increase in morality? Of course, he does Rebelliousness has come entirely from the using the latter as "currency" until such For education in its widest sense, involving not, but to talk of long-term plans in right wing and "left" has trailed behind time as production once more overtakes of a relatively small power-group, but the development of communal unity and an atomic era where the menace of war it with such negative slogans as antiwe should not lose sight of the fact that communal responsibility can be a definite is ever-present and where man has proved militarism and even now tres will be provided on a "help yourself"

> Mr. Read's "call to order" is a carefully eves)-to which I took exception. I am not as pessimistic as I sound but the possible future direction of our time is running short and if anarchism can

save the world from the ghastly predica- London. JOHN LARKMAN. ment in which it is placed-and it can the State must be shown to the people as movement was one of the most lucid and nationalism and narrow class interests.

to make. Having said that, however, I DEAR COMRADES,

right in saying that violence is not is considered firm and consistent or just cades, etc.), our comrade apparently be- to defend oneself and in the event of a among the last to claim that the inthe Folle High School movement in lieves that the world's politicians, soldiers revolution should not resist coercion or tellectual is in a class apart and surely Denmark or the work of the Pacifist and capitalists are going to stop the game compulsion. (To quote Berkman in the Stephen Marletta himself exposes the Service Units during the war—the list of power politics while we all get educated same book Marletta quotes from) "The weakness of his argument when he says, Present is a welcome contribution to the may be extended—point to the road for this biological change in which Mr. social revolution will attack no one but it "To me non-violence is the MOST along which lies our most significant Read believes so fervently. Does he not will defend itself from invasion from any POWERFUL WEAPON" (my emphasis) realize that his ideas should be regarded quarter. Besides, you must not confuse for as J. McD. points out in the Atomic Let us leave, for a moment, the agitation as a long-term view? If he does, does the social revolution with Anarchy. Revo- Age we are likely to be wiped out before

> thank him for an exceedingly fine piece prepared to forge ahead aggressively. The (subject to the prior demands of food of work! I agree most strongly with his Anarchist movement while not copying processing). basic principles and it was only that idea the futility of such, should recapture going to pieces almost before our very the general evil of left-wing timidity in challenging the State.

It seems a poor form of argument to

basic beliefs may be found in experiment chists will agree with me when I say herence to political parties, trade unions and provocative, perhaps you can spare [A further contribution to the discussion appears on page 2, column 1. J. S. assert that the other fellow is following -EDS.]

STARVATION SIR,—The U.S. Government is buying two million tons of potatoes for destruction and the price.

FOOD WASTED

Courant of May 19th. Hehe it is: ended supplies of spinach carried to the received by the King. kilograms of spinach therefore had to be the Duchy of Cornwall. too busy talking about democracy and

thrown away at once."

have preserved a sense of proportion and HARD LIFE

the South of France for a vacation. Might Princess Elizabeth's income of £15,000 a Jew, anti-Catholic league of hooded men,

work she had done for this country whilst in America during the war years, I was about to pay my compliments when a Amber will not now be accepted for carriage through the post, the U.S. Post voice what I took to be, "H'up the Landed Office Department announced in Washing-Gentry," following this remark with an

carrying my riding crop, or I should through the mails," said Mr. Roy Frank, Forever Amber successfully appeared as a defendant in a Boston trial early this

Wasn't it Keir Hardie who said, "When the Tory Press praise you be

charges of impurity and was given the "freedom of sale" in the State of marriage: Keir Hardie also said "Conscription is Massachusetts. the badge of the slave". And the Sunday Dispatch, 9/5/47.

Massachusetts for not banning book was that he merely found For nearly a decade Honor Earl, Lord condusive to sleep (alone). Maugham's artist daughter, has been an

official prison visitor. Next week she is OFF THE RATION Londoners would probably rub their of the Institute for the Scientific Treat-

ment for Delinquency in Bourdon Street, eyes if they learned that Selfridge's was off Berkeley Square. Lord Justice advertising: "Come to our store and go to Mass. Then do your shopping." "I have seen many tragic people whose That's what is happening in Tokyo, misery could have been avoided by the where the largest department store has reright treatment," says Mrs. Earl. "That modelled its entire top floor as a Catholic

Chief attraction of her show will be It was blessed by Archbishop Tatsuo a new pastel portrait of the Queen. For Doi of Tokyo. The Mass which followed this, Mrs. Earl was given three sittings was crowded. There is a lift to take shoppers to Mass Evening Standard, 28/5/47. on the seventh floor.

Hell, they'll be queuing for it next!

"HAVE A TOWN, SON" APPEAL TO REASON! Lord Warden of the Stannaries is a title Appealing to them to support

Since 1336, when King Edward III its revenues have been the birthright of added.

every male heir to the throne. Back in Britain after a five-month U.S. To-day, as there is no male heir, they vacation were the Duke and Duchess of are paid to the King and amount to about DRAGON'S TEETH Windsor, who would presently push on to £117,000 annually. From them is paid The Ku Klu Klan-anti-Negro, anti-

reporter. "Well, I might some time, but Lord Radnor, in his early fifties, has held court here to-day to dissolve. I have nothing definite in mind," replied his office since 1933. He is a farming The State of Georgia had entered the added. "I never have and I never shall." interest in his 1,600 Wiltshire acres. In the Klan. Time, 26/5/47. 1924 his father, the sixth Earl, made him

The Star, 24/5/47. fight the State campaign.

Over 500 industrialists, bankers and insurance men representing 35 countries will RED TAPE—1 assemble at Montreux, Switzerland, on June 2 when the International Chamber of Commerce holds its first post-war for permission to swop his council house and 80 women have formed a break-away

After it had been proved that the book THE BENCH AS PULPIT had sold 1,250,000 copies throughout the Mr. P. Bond, Willesden magistrate, world, Amber was found not guilty on told a man who said in court yesterday

> "You are lucky if that is all you Mr. Bond, whose wife died seven years

ago after forty years of happy marriage, RED TAPE—2 "All marriages contain the seeds of disaster. One wife is enough for any man,

but I doubt if one woman is enough for

many men." Marriage was an unnatural state but he knew of no alternative. "I believe marriage carries on because of a county officer to clear up a point men have more or less deliberately con- in the Act.

veyed the impression that a woman's job is to get married." Marriage had been idealised out of all relation to reality by poets, film stars and, above all, by the Church.

union at which I scoff," he said, "for marriage is earthly." Daily Mirror, 10/6/47. With it, big (6ft. 4in.), handsome Mel Fund. There's nothing like the Bench for

The Universe, 11/5/47. voicing your opinions with people's liberty in your hands.

which puzzled many who read to-day that he has to punish their children, Mr. H. "Naaldwijk. During the week now the holder, the Earl of Radnor, had been Bates, headmaster of Montem School, The Stannaries are the tin-mining dis- Association that although he detested the farmlands and properties owned by gation into school punishment, he said.

deeply seated than that.

Education Act—and unfortunately he was

bridgeshire Education Committee yester-

NO PLACE LIKE HOME

day. She was describing the vain visit

Reynold's News, 15/6/47.

not in," Mrs. C. Rackman told Cam-

finding it unbearable . . .

death in the streets of Palermo to-day. their victim had not given them their share of the proceeds from the sale of American cigarette ends.

landed in Canada at the end of last century, they have been a worry to the Dominion Government. Notorious for their nude parades in protest against the education of their children, they lately caused a stir by announcing their inten-

British Overseas Airways. Every morning Piously renouncing private ownership on his motor-cycle he passes Mr. Pepler, of land and money, the Doukobors bewho is on his way to Burnham-on-Sea, lieve that private ownership of persons an overseer of building sites in the district. and families is all part of the same old News Chronicle, 14/6/47. order, and should be renounced. But while British Columbia's clergy furiously attacked the sect and real estate prices in the neighbourhood of the settlement slumped heavily, the provincial Attorney-General admitted there is nothing he can do about it. Wife sharing may be a moral offence. It is not a legal one. *A much-persecuted group of Nonconformist Russian peasants who believe in equality and are opposed to killing and violence. Total number

At a "shooting party" in Boston's Al- Money earned for the U.S. Government gonquin club last week. Host Melvin by conscientious objectors working for "They speak of a mystic and spiritual Maynard Johnson, Jr., president of John- private employers during the war-some son Automatics, Inc., introduced his \$1,200,000 (£300,000)—will go to the latest "weapon"-an indoor target gun. United Nations Children's Emergency

> automatic rifle and machine gun, hopes. House of Representatives Armed Services Evening Standard, 13/6/47.

L.H. display this tendency-after all it depends on the point of view whether one damned obstinate. Were the Nazis in power-we would be applauding that gallant resistance of the Jews. As it is, the Government feel hurt that the Jews I am sure that Herbert Read would be

a party line. Both George Woodcock and

My view is that education can proceed the removal of repressive institutions alone weapon (if these are the terms in which himself to be under certain circumstances cannot jerk out of it, and even such basis. J.H. deals with this so far as we will continue to think) for the des- the foulest thing in the universe is, in my libertarian thinkers as Read are concerned. Agriculture is concerned, but developover the atom bomb "preventing" workers' ments in the Plastics industry indicate Having treated our distinguished com- action, while right-wing nationalists (such even closer associations between Agriculmaintains its power in a large degree club-leader or the social worker is close rade very roughly up to now, I should as the Stern Gang, for instance!) have no ture and Industry with the prospect of

> John Olday, of course, needs no defence for his Three Musketeers and I can understand W.H. who found that these cartoons prejudiced the officers against the paper. "Ah, would some power the giftie gie us." NUFF SAID.

UNBEARABLE Australian-born Earl of Ducie returned

to England yesterday to ask for the return of his requisitioned 5,000 acre Gloucesshire seat, Tortworth Court, in the grounds of which are the huts of Ley Hill prison, "the jail without bars." Lord and Lady Ducie are going to Tortworth next week "to see how things

accommodate juvenile delinquents. It

Be sure the Duke is not the only one

CIGARETTE

CIVILIZATION Two Sicilian vouths kicked a third to

News Chronicle, 17/6/47.

WHAT THE LAW DOESN'T COVER

and had decided to abandon his efforts to News Chronicle, 14/6/47.

Unfortunately, racial bias is more

tion to share their wives.

for the one occupied by Mr. Pepler (of sect in opposition to the main group and News Chronicle, 22/5/47. Bristol), have condemned both to waste openly proclaimed marital shuffling. To 1,248 man-hours per year in travelling charges of immorality, their leader Michael 35,000 unnecessary miles to and from Verigin replies: "Wife sharing eliminates adultery, deception, jealousy and other Mr. Choules is an inspector at the evils common to modern matrimony."

News Review, 12/6/47.

Johnson, inventor of the Johnson semi- Legislation for this was approved by the

to bring the rifle range into every home. sub-committee. Time (U.S.A.), 9/6/47.

0 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60