POLITICAL CAREERIST OFFICERS

T the time of the Election, 1946. The Labour Daily Herald of Freedom attacked a particular 11/6/47 states: to pursue a political career. "Ideals"

Many people have thought we were thought the people the Labour Party But the Labour Party knows better. Lord Woolton has just announced that Colonel Mark Chapman Walker is to be his personal assistant and righthand man at the Conservative Centra Office, and he had in fact been performing these duties since September,

meetings and

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crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to t

being too cynical; perhaps some on the administrative and executive side of

It will be appreciated that everybody who fails to get a job (whether of the workers, or as an M.P.) with matically get it with the other. When he does, as in this case, it is quite good publicity to expose the fact, as the Labour columnist has done. Bu never revealed?-when instead of becoming M.P.s or staff, the people for whom no vacancies are found go int business and exploit the workers in

The sooner people realise that those any more than lawyers care about a be. Of course, if you happen to bejust as a barrister gets on better when he knows his client is really innocent. but why do the rank-and-file make the

Postcript: But can anyone explain why the Daily Herald had to go back to St. Paul for a reference? There have been many blindin flashes since then. For instance, the leading Communist intellectual 1939 (Mr. Strachey) is a Labour Minister to-day. Admiral Evans spoke on Tory platforms in the Election and became a Labour peer afterwards.

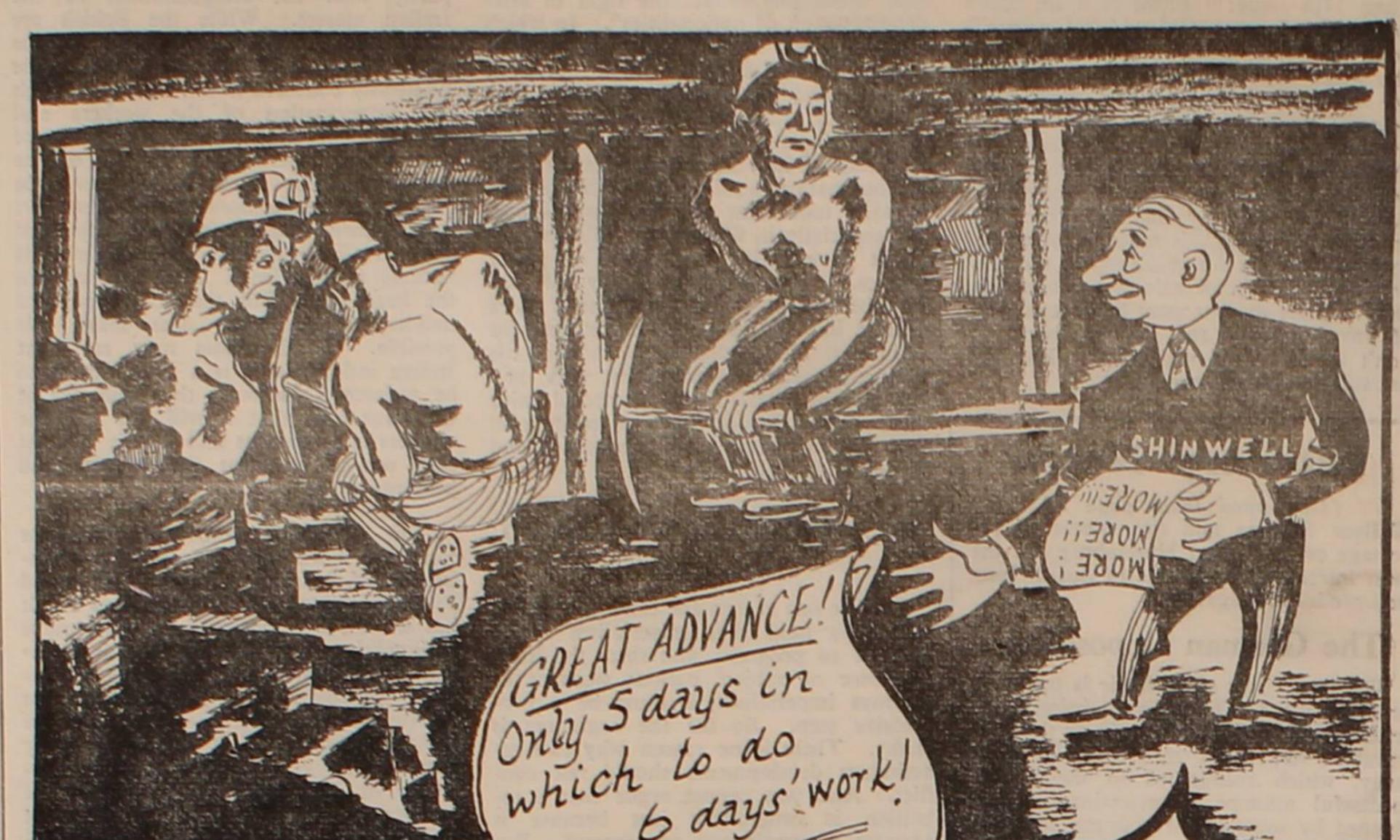
The Postmen's Strike

A short strike by Post Office workers a Wallington, Surrey, has resulted in It started with the refusal by C. Hadley, secretary of the Wallington Branch of the Post Office Workers' Union to deliver telephone directories. Obviously, he was making a test case of it, and the official bit, and suspended him. Whereupon his fellows-100 men and a girl-struck

telephone directories, football pool coupons or fuel pamphlets. They were ex-At a meeting between the strikers (unofficial, of course), the union district organiser and postmasters, the men demanded: -

No victimisation of the secretary or any other suspended worker; overtime dealing with accumulated mail; overtime and, if possible, a special delivery of directories to be arranged by local firms.

The strike only lasted two days, and th workers went back on satisfactory terms Office is perhaps one of the reasons why it made a profit of £22,500,000 last yeara sum which is not used for the improvement of equipment or reduction of charges, but is handed straight over to Mr. Dalton.



('CAN'T YOU SEE THE ADVANTAGE, COMRADES?')

Glasgow Group have lost a staunch

Always a rebel against the established order his faculties were clear to the last. His hatred of Church and hypocrites. At every opportunity he for: took pleasure in exposing the cant of Burnsites and Free-Masons by quoting Robert Burns to them.

TOM McEWAN

parasites who had fastened on the backs of the Working Class move-Union officials, particularly Shinwell of whom Tom had personal experience having been a ship's stoker (greaser) most of his working life.

Literature Funds had been pilfered Study Group, he volunteered to look after our bookshop in George Street, Minister. Why give where it was a pleasant experience to hear Tom encouraging enquirers to read our literature.

> His funeral took place in Riddrie Cemetery, near that "Christian Prison, where he lies buried beside his companion, Mary Chalmers. Mary and Tom spent over forty years torecognition of the right of each

To old-time boxers he will be remembered as one who fought with Mick McGowan and Jimmie Lundie. To us he will be remembered as I have described him.

His knowledge and experience will

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

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CHEMICALS -- The Means of Plenty

duction of chemical products in order to

Restrictions on Plenty

in argument and thought he had keeps production at an artificially

is limited. Upon its expiry competitors ship, but also of state control. The two are free to use it. Consequently, the big are clearly incompatible. As Russia has combines secure a whole range of supple- shown, a socialist state can make as gross of this monopoly indefinitely, besides capitalism; the state, with its vested which, big business is constantly extending interest in war, is likely to turn the the scope of its operations by invading chemical industry to destruction rather for example, makes the raw materials from "National Council of Workers" such as which drugs and plastic mouldings are Bob Edwards purposes, with a mere panies. The aluminium combines are in- the power interests of the national terested in all light metals—so they move politicians, and its members would probas magnesium and aluminium are basic operation with governmental institutions. and our printing press destroyed by materials in the production of aircraft and marauding members of a Marxian motor cars, they establish interests in these industry can be removed from the orbit of interested in chemicals and rubber because means of interlocking directorates and both these industries. The close alignplastics compels Courtaulds and British to social freedom. latter industry. For these reasons they known patents—not necessarily for use but often to prevent them being used by

gether held together not by any To-day, it has become almost banal to conventional or legal ties but by their say that we live in a world of potential natural mutual interest, a companion- plenty. But this fact is abundantly true, Arthur Horner—is a miner's leader, and and the recent technical developments chemical industry have made it possible to achieve abundance with a minimum of work and industrial centralisation. For, like so many other recent changes in industry, modern chemical developments show a great potentiality of decentralis ation, which will mean the end of the kind of industrial society we "enjoy". We are no longer bound to the old centres of industry, since the metals of the future, aluminium and magnesium, can be brought, by relatively easy processes, out of common clay and sea water respectively. The most important agricultural fertilisers can now be produced from the inexhaustible nitrogen of the air, while the surplus straw of our fields can be converted by modern chemical processes into good

paper. Textiles can be produced from such strangely assorted products as coal, Christchurch: E.L. 1/6; Edinburgh: W.M.C. pea-nuts, soya-beans, glass and woodpulp. Plastics can be made from a whole range of common vegetable and mineral products, including such simple materials Angeles: R.B.G. 8/10: Anon 5/as limestone and surplus milk. We are H.F.G. 10/-: Leeds: reaching an era when no particular locality E.H. 4/6; Bishops Hull: A.P. 5/ will be more favoured than another, since F.J.P. 26; Bardney: W.A.L. 1/6. the earth and air and water in any part of the world will be able to produce the essential goods for an abundant life. Previously acknowledged

bination with the new sources of physical 1947 TOTAL TO DATE

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The chemical industries, taken in com-

energy which are potentially available in nothing better than a means of power and

least explicit and least satisfactory. The "As we have seen, the life of a patent author talks in terms of common ownerindustries closely related to its own. I.C.I. than the production of plenty. A industries by establishing subsidiary com- industry", will be able to do little against into the control of magnesium alloys and, ably be corrupted in the process of co-

The big oil combines are both monopoly finance and power politics themselves, by the men who have the most purpose but the general good of the comeconomic plenty which is complementary

At a Doncaster dinner at which Clement Attlee, addressing mine-workers in the presence of Lord Citrine, appealed for "the team spirit in a Test Match against injustice," such fervent demands for increased output were made by Horner that Attlee cordially shook his hand in And a Tory mine-manager shouted,

"That's the stuff!" The People, 29/6/47.

June 19th - July 5th

Epping: L.W. 4/-: Blandford: J.T. 14/6:

£3 13 4

give immediate strike notice.

July 12th, 1947

"Without unlimited freedom of the press and of association, without the free discussion of opinions, life ceases or becomes a fictitious life in which bureaucracy alone is the active element."

ROSA LUXEMBURG.

being a pessimistic paper, unwilling to in Paris has resulted in still further ful cleavage between the workers and detect any good intentions in the strengthening of the hands of the anti- the dictatorship. Our struggle against policies of the various governments. communist forces. The Italian Com- oppression at home and in the British We are used to that; but our general munists' attempt to bring down the De colonies, is also the struggle on behalf analysis of contemporary political moves Gasperi government (in which they of the Russian workers and peasants is founded on the lessons of history, hold no office) and secure general who have shed the chains of Tsarism we have seen our analysis justified in Constituent Assembly having post- more heavy tyranny of the Bolsheviks. no better off than those who work for the event-however gloomy. But it is poned elections for at least six months. For nearly thirty years anarchists have employers who make no pretence to be seldom that the truth underlying our Similarly, the French Communists have exposed the new rulers of Russia; but out for anything but their own profit. "sour" view of political motives is so failed to oust the Ramadier government. Marshall plan. Every point made in Problem for Soviet Vassals in the last issue has since been made Greece have all indicated that they will manifest and underlined by subsequent accept the Anglo-French offer to the

In this Issue:

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Four Forces in

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S. America p. 5

groups. It is not "idealism" which lies Finland. use of the economic lever to place have already refused. Thus the certain states firmly within the Rumanian government has announced American ambit, and strike division into that their policy will be "found in Mr. the more economically shaky among Molotov's conception of the recon-Russian satellites. Such action is not struction of Europe". But for some of to be regarded by workers as something the Russian border states the problem in which they have to make a choice. is more difficult. Thus, Polish and The choice between Russia and the Czecho-Slovak economy would U.S.A. is, for the workers of the world materially assisted by a loan from -including Russia and the U.S.A.- America. But such a loan signifies cona choice of two evils. It is, moreover, cessions to the U.S.A., and that con a choice of war. For the workers there flicts with dependence on the U.S.S.F. is only one sound course: to line up The Czecho-Slovak Prime Minister. with their fellow workers in all coun- Gottwald, Foreign Minister Masaryk countries. It is to join with the ruled, the oppressed, the exploited against the rulers and exploiters, whatever national label they bear, whatever slogans "freedom" they may mouth.

Molotov as champion of Freedom The move to call the foreign ministers

to Paris was an adroit stroke of Anglohypocrisy of "Perfidious Albion" in the The Marshall plan, said American interference in the internal affairs of smaller states. And he is quite right; that is what it is. But when the Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R says that his country cannot be a par to such plots, because Russia stands the absolute freedom of every nation brazen face of a government which made blatant and brutal political interference its main instrument of foreign policy. For not even Britain or America maintains a political police of its own countries nominally "independent", nor Communist Dimitrov said in Bulgaria few days ago, "Whoever stands in ou way . . . will go behind bars."

Consolidating the Anglo-U

Marshall plan was sufficient to give new life to the non-Communist governments of Italy and France. The diplomatic

Railmen's New Award

railwaymen of 7s. 6d. per week is exactly and the Bank of England, the very tardy a 40-hour week: they awarded 7s. 6d. and murdered and persecuted.

protest to headquarters immediately the the G.P.U. are now suddenly loud in award was known, viewing the award the praises of "democratic ways of life". executive committee to reject it and that the Kremlin only reflects what the

European Conference on the Marshall Briefly, we look upon the Marshall offer. The Scandinavian countries have plan as a clear return to power politics, called a conference in Oslo to discuss a recognition of Anglo-American and it, but it is understood that Norway, Russian spheres of influence in Europe, Sweden, and Denmark are willing to and a move in the manoeuvring for attend, but that the decision is more position in the conflict of two power ticklish for the Soviet-dominated behind the Marshall offer, but an open Some of the other Soviet vassal states

and Minister for Foreign Trade Ripka have gone to Moscow to discuss

In Poland the Socialist Press made guarded approval of the Marshall Plan, while the Communist papers fell in behind Molotov. But the latter have now ceased to mention the question, and it seems that the Polish government's urgent economic needs may make in transigence an impractical policy. is clear therefore that the Marsha plan has thrown a spanner into the Soviet foreign policy works, and "refusal of American aid" may well weaken Russian influence in the more economically depressed among th

War Clouds Ahead Marshall plan in defining spheres of Paris debacle, remarked the Washington goes on with significent hints of the costly struggle for us. But we must strive to understand its implications: to THERE have been several reports about prominent Spanish political commentator, Lord Templewood went on to say that talk before-day and night for six years between 1939 and 1945!

During the recent war. Freedom constantly distinguished between the Nazi government and the oppressed and torto Reichbank made by Montague Norman

again the circles which were friendly Strike action is likely. Paddington towards Stalin and turned a blind eye on Siberia and the torture chambers of "with disgust" and urging the national Once again they are beginning to say Russian workers want, that a people gets The matter was tabled for consideration the government it deserves and all the at the N.U.R. general meeting in Ayr this old Vansittartist stuff dressed up for the new conflict.

keeping the wheels of government controlled industry turning for the profit of

Double Day Shifts Coming? Committee's

Recommendation

in the Factory Acts, which were framed in the workers are taking action into their the days when workers were more plentiful own hands! than jobs and production was something At a stormy meeting at Woolwich to be kept down in the interests of market | called by the union, the directors sat on economy. But Mr. Isaacs is not afraid the platform with the union officials, and a union which has never been backward of a little fiddling with laws. True, the attempted to calm the angry workers— in pressing the claims of its members." report says that workers are reluctant to without conspicuous success! On being How true this is we can judge by the change over to the system, but it hastens asked by the union's area secretary to to add that once they get used to it they remain at work for nearly another week Referring to the London bus strike,

for women or young persons.

Co-op Workers Strike We have often shown how workers selves an increase from £400 to £600 a

Now workers in the Royal Arsenal of the strike (Saturday, July 5th).

Co-operative Society are claiming that Reynold's News, the Co-op Movement their wages are below those paid to newspaper, proudly announced that 2,000 employees of neighbouring private stores, of these had stayed at work. By the and are staging a strike until their de- Monday, however, 90 per cent. of them mands for substantial increases in pay are were out. granted. The Union-Shop, Distributive The strike committee had efficiently and Allied Workers'—are not only playing organised pickets, who entered all those their usual game of trying to get the shops still operating with a full staff, and workers back as soon as possible, but are urged the assistants to leave. This they actually claiming and negotiating for in- did in most cases, and the managers did creases far below what the workers their best to carry on alone, but soon had

This unofficial strike is organised by formation is the outcome of long delays the workers' grievances.

THE CLAIMS

until the Wages Board decision was Reynold's News states: As a gallant concession, the report sug- known, the workers began to take control gests that a factory ballot should be taken of the meeting. "How much longer must delegate conference. These strikes point before double day-shift working is allowed we wait for action?" cried one. "How the road to anarchy." long did it take the directors to give them- We quite agree!

The meeting ended with the secretary of the strike committee, J. P. Connor, reasserting the workers' decision to strike.

WORKERS WELL-ORGANISED

The Royal Arsenal Co-op employs about 4,000 workers. At the beginning

The position of socialists and trade unionists is very clearly shown in incidents of this kind. The determination and to officialdom that independent, militant The strikers are making claims through action by the rank and file can only earn adoption of double day-shifts is apparently their committee for increases of 25s, the disapproval of their supposed

adherence to the Government and the

T.U.C. to make such statements as "The employees of the Royal Arsenal

"An Embargo on the Import of oil, rubber and cotton into Spain would ideological preparation for such a war: The Marshall plan must not be allowed bring down Franco's regime in a impending open clash between East and West has begun. It will be a hard and few weeks or months "-Samuel Hoare

conditions in Spain recently. These Rafael Martinez Nadal, resident in this "an embargo on the import of oil, rubber all show the same picture: grinding country. The latter has been an out- and cotton into Spain would, I am conin life." We have heard that line of workers, shameless luxury for the Spanish Special Correspondent for the Observer. a few weeks or months. The very threat. idle classes. The vulgar splendour of the It will be remembered that he was dis- indeed, might turn the army against him banquets given for Mme. Peron serve to missed from the BBC's overseas broad- on the ground that our intention was offset the misery of Spain's starving casting service to Spain, because his clear proof of Anglo-American hostility

tured German working class. We Spain from England and America show up the hollowness of the "detestation" for Nazi struggle of the workers which the Franco regime which Labour's Hector anarchists have supported before and McNeill so frequently avows in the since 1933; and on the other the friend- Commons. When the United Nations ship of British ruling class circles for severed diplomatic connections with Spain, the Hitler regime between 1933 and and were greeted with a chorus of ap-1939, the loans to Schacht and the proval from Communists and Liberals in Britain and America, Freedom declared that such a move would only strengthen in line with their general expectations (see recognition by the British Government Franco's regime. And so it turned out. Freedom, 28/6/47). The claims before in 1939 that concentration camps | Lord Templewood (Samuel Hoare, the the court were for an increase of £1 and existed and that the Jews were former British Ambassador in Madrid) in a significant broadcast recently on the 44 hours "on a short term basis and as an We now see the same dangers. Once Third Programme, declared that "we should . . . take into account the new instance, that the United Nations'

Alfredo Martinez Nadal, the brother of a Basque country on May Day.

broadcasts were unacceptable to the Franco to his regime.'

tests, have done nothing to strengthen some authority ready to take over from the hands of the underground resistance Franco the task of keeping the Spanish movement in Spain, and have not even workers in subjection? Such suggestions though such inaction tends to increase the to make the workers in Britain and influence of the Spanish Communists. America think that their governments in-Once again such action only makes the tend some action against Franco. But workers suspicious for they do not care such ideas are delusions. to play into the hands of foreign govern- The Franco regime (or its successor as ments, knowing them to be just as un- oppressors of the Spanish workers) can concerned about human values as the only be brought down from outside by dictatorship itself. Time's correspondent direct economic action on the part of the reports a U.S. consular official as saying workers in other countries. Such action that his contacts among Spanish Republi- to take the form either of direct action cans no longer come around-"I think to bring pressure to bear on their own they've lost interest in us", and Time takes governments to take action against Franco; this as meaning that the opposition to or a direct embargo by the workers on Franco is not strong. Fortunately, the goods and trade with Spain. That has opposition to Franco-does not base its been our belief all along; and events are strength in furtive visits to the back doors bearing it out as procastinating month the strikers' who idemonstrated in the and killed while the workers of the world

for the spoken critic of the Franco regime as vinced, bring down the Franco regime in But what likelihood is there of such

action, unless the British and American The United Nations, for all their pro- governments were sure that there was ncouraged Spanish "Democrats" even are made from time to time in order

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

One hundred years ago, this was the of the chemical industry. It should be

The Stranglehold of Monopoly Capital over the Vital Industries

it is valuable in estimating the direction to a high degree dependent on chemical which it has a monopoly control of salt of social change, and the power of those forces that militate against the liberation thus be seen that the interests which con- near monopoly of lime at Buxton, it dis-

For these reasons, Bob Edwards's new points of industrial power. book, Chemicals, Servant or Master?* must be regarded as an important study in this book, nowhere else is monopoly of social facts. One might make certain capitalism so securely entrenched as in the stylistic criticisms of the book—it is not various branches of the chemical industry. presented in a particularly vivid manner, Imperial Chemical Industries is the most and a more careful attention to punctu- famous of these monopolies, but, although ation and similar details would have made most people realise this corporation as a for much greater clarity. Nor can we shadowy menace, it is not generally underagree wholly with the political conclusions stood just how great its power really is, which the author derives from his material. or how strong the hold which it and a few But the facts presented are of the greatest other monopolies have over the major reasonably good idea of the situation in small-scale capitalist undertakings have this industry. For a comparatively short been almost completely squeezed out. To book, it is surprisingly well-packed with illustrate this situation in concrete terms, Spinners Ltd., it has acquired a strategical dustry, showing how badly chemical workers were treated in the past, and the struggles involved in forcing the manufacturers to accept responsibility for and

take precautions against the many forms

National Labour Press, 3/6.

In 1945, for instance, there were 5,996 duction of industrial alcohol and spirits factories, and the precautions taken against Distillers Co. Ltd., which controls 30 subthis disease are still inadequate, while in sidiary companies and in 1945 showed a and gases. As the author reveals, there Drugs and Fine Chemicals. Majority is still very little research into the of production controlled by rival combines

Monopoly Control

But, if these are unpleasant facts, even

more sinister are the data which Bob

longer restricted to the production of what

These products, which include drugs and

industrial acids and alkalis, remain im-

And in fact, as is shown emphatically

Dyestuffs. I.C.I. controls about 75%

commonly known as "chemicals"

Edwards presents regarding the structure

chemical works. Even to-day, many hun-

disease-provoking qualities of new of Boots and I.C.I. Majority of patent chemical processes, and "the chemical medicine industry controlled by the mental animal and steps are taken only sidiary companies and annual profits of after there is a noticeable effect on the £2,800,000. Heavy Chemicals and Explosives.

Virtual monopoly of I.C.I.

Alcohol. Almost the whole of the pro-

Soap. 80% of production controlled by the Lever combine. This combine has 400 subsidiary companies, owns 800 factories in 27 countries, and dominates world production of both soap and margarine, as well as controlling several chains of food stores.

The Power of I.C.I.

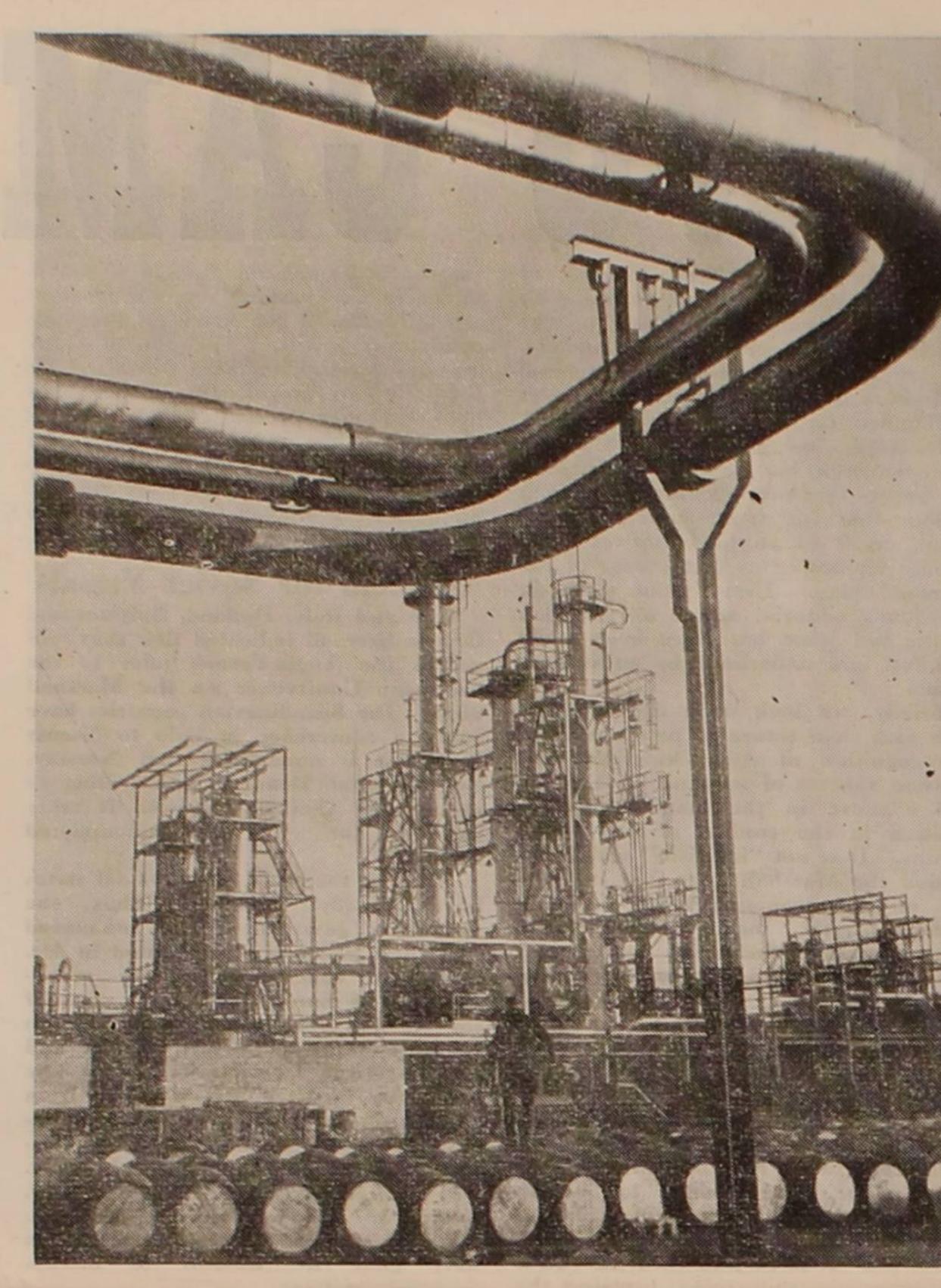
But among all these great combines the portant. But the chemical industry also tormidable and decisive influence is cerprovides necessary raw materials for tainly that wielded by the I.C.I., which agriculture, engineering, the textile and is summarised in the following paragraph: food industries, and its importance can be "To-day, I.C.I. is not merely the seen when it is realised that such products largest industrial concern in Britain. Its as aluminium, magnesium, explosives, authorised capital is now £94,000,000, and fertilisers, plastic products of all kinds, its assets total £141,000,000. It controls rayon, nylon, synthetic rubber, dyes and 95 companies through which the proall the other bye-products of coal tar, coal duction of thousands of vital chemical oil and soap, are all included in its products, including dyes, fertilisers, exprovince. It is no exaggeration to say plosives, plastics, drugs and insecticides that every important industry to-day is is to large extent monopolised, besides products for its raw materials, and it will production in the Northwich district, a trol these vital processes hold the key tils oils and aviation spirits by the millions of gallons at Billingham, manufactures Birmingham, refines Britain's nickel at Swansea, makes copper and non-ferrous metals in Salford and Wolverhampton. In agriculture it occupies a strategic Agriculture, Ltd., and its fifty per cent. control, through Plant Protection Ltd. By means of its patents agreements with American du Ponts, it controls the British Magnesium Elektrons Ltd., together with Nylon. Sole control held jointly by In partnership with Stewarts & Lloyds-

the great steel-tube combine, it controls housing programme."

CHEMICALS-THE MEANS

the new house-prefabricating firm of By virtue of their monopoly controls, the Arcon and has government orders for great chemical combines have been able 41,000 pre-fab. houses, which represents to make vast profits out of their products, 50 per cent. of the government's temporary since even during periods of depression

TOPLENTY



skill of the workers, technical resources are such as these. Are they to be used for the continued slavery or for the emancipation of mankind? A view of the Shell Petroleum Company's Teepol Plant (Ester Salts) at Stanlow, near Chester.

Silone on The Will to Keep Faith

In our last issue we mentioned the International Congress of P.E.N. Clubs at Zurich, and the notable speech of Ignazio Silone, the Italian author of Fontamara, Bread and Wine, and The School for Dictators. We reprint below the report of his speech from Combat (20|6|47).

TGNAZIO SILONE began by sayin that he was not thinking only the re-appearance of an Italian deleunderground nation created during certain members of the congress, and attitude on the part of intellectual amongst others who were no longer with us. We are all," he added, the leadership of public opinion in the "in a certain sense citizens of that present crisis."

"It is essential that we should set aside the slightest hint of selfcongratulation. Insofar as we are writers, artists, intellectuals in the best could not identify the "moral élite" sense of the word, have we any reason with the "intellectual élite", and that for priding ourselves on the role we "This degeneration is too widespread have played collectively in these for one to condemn unilaterally this living? Events have once again de- to want to find scape-goats. I do not monstrated the limitations of Human- know if there has been in the last more wisely than that class.

virtues and the faults of their fellow- "it is dangerous to identify the cause few years, have been in the forefront countrymen, and their environment. of spiritual values, with that of the of the struggle against racial hatred, may."

than to risk death. The exceptions and justice, who heedless of personal loss or risk, set themselves against their own country, their own class,

THE CONSCRIPTED

Silone went on to declare that one difficult years through which we are or that national group of writers, or ism; they have shown that professional few years a single country or a single consecration to literature or to art is party, where the human spirit has not no guarantee of moral rectitude. been debased to the status of a war They have shown that everywhere, material. It cannot be denied that the liberties", continued Silone, has been by the resignation of the spirit .

"I am not speaking of this, in order to complain about the past, for it is subject of present importance. Have we not heard to-day at this congress writers' allusions to a new ideological crusade? It must be made the feeling of a universal guilt . . ." perfectly clear to these zealous defenders of the spirit that there is no greater danger to spiritual values than to tie them down arbitrarily to any particular epoch or to any particular economic or political systems. This brings down upon them all the hate this contemptible muddle-headedness must always refuse to identify the cause of truth with that of any armed

To-day, to take sides with one group of powers against another, is, politically, nothing less than to capitulate in advance to the threat of future wars, to justify them in advance, and to accelerate their onslaught. It is, consequenty, not only an insult to the human spirit, but a contemptuou

After declaring that "military vicwhen a dominant class is carried away general principles of "liberty", or tory has left untouched all the probinto error and delusion under the "human dignity", or of "security for lems which gave birth to Fascism and political note than one would have pressure of a crisis, the majority of all", have been mobilised, like a bit national-socialism", Silone went on: its artists and men of letters act no of military equipment by the war "I know of no party, no institution leaders. The cause of "democratic or Church which is not affected to-day a way of existence which is perhaps "Writers have their share of the that of a certain group of powers; We see that those who, in the past

And it is often more difficult for a forces of the state. The human spirit who have been loudest in its denunwriter, than for anyone else, to swim must be free to go its own way. It ciation, are not averse to judging their against the stream. For him it is is a priest-like pretence to assign it now defeated adversaries in the spirit perhaps harder to risk unpopularity certain paths and forbid it others." of racial madness. Justice is defended when convenient. It is, however, clear that we cannot properly understand this crisis of our time if we do not examine its characteristics. No unilateral condemnation of scapegoats can silence in our conscience

SALVATION BY FIDELITY

"We cannot save ourselves through our intellectual modes of thought, but through our way of living and and scorn directed at the systems to feeling. Salvation does not reside in which they are tied. Whoever wants ideas and theories, for the universal to avoid consciously participating in degeneration has carried away the spokesmen of the most varied and contradictory doctrines. Salvation is found only in an honest, straightforward fidelity to the tragic reality behind all human existence. The uneasiness of our hearts will not be pacified by any progress or social and political change. The suffering of the poor, the Chinese coolies, the South American peons, the Arab fellaheens, the Italian cafoni, or the workers in general, or again the Jews, —these constitute the only basic reality of human history."

"These remarks," concluded Silone, wished, but my intention has been no more than this: To bear witness to no more than mere survival, and to proclaim the will to keep faith with it, the will not to betray it, come what

they can control prices in such a way as to prevent loss. During the war, of rate—the following figures show the pro-

£39,000,000. £20,000,000 £6,600,000 £3,000,000 £36,000,000 £12,000,000 Dunlop Rubber £15,600,000 £3,300,000

Almost all these combines have their ernational organisations, and Bob Edwards gives copious details of the (Continued on page 8)

ANARCHISM

Interpretations Men thrown into Government by a revolutionary wave have never been able to accomplish what was expected from them. And this is UNAVOIDABLE. Because in the task of reconstructing society on new principles, separate men, however intelligent and devoted they may be, are sure to fail. The collective spirit of the masses is necessary for this purpose ... During a revoution new forms of life will always germinate on the ruins of old forms, but no Government will ever be able to find their expression SO LONG AS THESE FORMS WILL NOT HAVE TAKEN A DEFINITE SHAPE DURING THE WORK OF RECON-STRUCTION ITSELF which must be going on in thousands of spots at the same time . . . It is impossible to legislate for FUTURE. All we can do is to tendencies and clear the road

PETER KROPOTKIN.

July 12th, 1947

THE CATERING TRADE

The purpose of this brief article is to form a appendix to the excellent pamphlet written by W. McCartney, entitled "The French Cooks' Syndicate". For McCartney's account of the heroic efforts of the early syndicalists, finishes in the period immediately following the first world-war.

higher wages in all grades. These are

In the luxury catering trades the

fact, they have better trade unions than

the workers, and among the directors of

these organisations are men like:-

Assoc., Mayor of London). Earl of

Warr (First Commissioner of Works,

London Ass., Midland Daily Telegraph).

Sir Alan Anderson (Bank of England.

P. & O. Railways). Earl of Bessborough

Perhaps it will not surprise the reader

to learn that all these are Tories! As

an example of the pious and touching

concern that they have for the men

they employ, I would like to quote a

director of Smallmans of Manchester.

who employ approximately a thousand

ment of the workers, that have been

operating in the catering trade for many

years." Yet it is worth remembering

that Smallmans pay cooks £2/15/0.

assistants £1/18/6 and staff hands

THE CATERING BILL

In July, 1942, Bevin proposed wage

To set up a Catering Wages Com-

atives of workers and employers

to report to the M.o.L. with

The M.o.L. may issue an order of

not in the Catering Trade.

people. He said ". . . as a practical

(Allied Assurance. Etc.).

employers are strongly organised.

still bad, although not quite to the ex- the highest wages in any agreement yet tent of that post-war period and very made. few official enquiries have been made; in fact, the main investigation was made in 1929, and a report was published the following year. Entitled "Report on the Enquiry into the Remuneration of hours of Employment in the Catering Trades" it painted a very grim picture of long hours of hard work in a sweltering atmosphere, with extremely low wage

At this time only five per cent. the catering workers were in any unio However, this figure includes maintenbelong to their own unions. The cooks. waiters, porters, etc., belonged to clubs and political groups, all small an relatively weak.

There has been no official enquir since 1929, and until 1939 the on data available was from the records the M.o.L.; which give no details wage scales.

THE EARLY '30's

During the early part of the thirties the seven-day week was still common. Long hours were normal, but faced with mass unemployment in the trade, it was a case of work under the employers' conditions, or tramp the streets. There was a joke current in the trade at that time about a chef, whose children asked £1/14/0. their mother who the "lodger" was.

It was during this period that I finished my apprenticeship, and entered the trade. My day began at nine in the morning, and finished at nine in boards. The employers formed a joint action the evening, with a break of two hours committee of the catering trades and in the afternoon. However, this break launched an opposition campaign. They did not materialise very often, there also set up a parliamentary committee were many odd jobs to be done, and the of five M.P.s to organise opposition to young "commis" was usually told to get the bill, in the House. on with them. Our "off duty" periods were half-a-day one week, and a day The Propositions of the Bill the next week, and for this I received the munificent sum of 30/- a week.

In 1931 Margaret Bondfield (M.o.L.) tried to establish a Trade Board for Catering. This was taken to the High Court, and here the decision was made in favour of the employers. This decision was reversed by the Court of Appeal . . . so the employers took the

matter to the House of Lords. Shortly after this the Labour Government fell, and the new M.o.L., Sir Henry Betterton (now Lord Rusheliffe) stated that he was not prepared to apply the Trade Board's Act.

THE LATE '30's

1938 was a slump year in the catering trade, and many hotels and restaurants were nominally bankrupt. It was in this year that catering workers became eligible to join the TGWU and the

From 1939 profits have improved, and high dividends have been paid to the shareholders. For example, a share in the Frederick Hotels which stood at

employers were forced to raise wages | validity of what they are doing and yet, and lower the hours, but these improve ments were patchy and uneven.

INDUSTRIAL CANTEENS

issued a questionaire on canteens, in much apathy can become as dangerous June, 1942. The result showed an to a ruling class as too much social average rate of 8d.—9d. per hour for | criticism because of the latent resentment female kitchen and counter hands, and and frustration of which it is the a shilling an hour for cooks. One of expression. the reports said "... staff are provided One knows, in brief, that education in with breakfast and dinner, but their its widest sense is probably the most breaks are so congested that they have powerful single instrument by which the no real breaks in which to eat their existing order, or, as our popular leader-

dustrial Council was formed between the modified to suit changing conditions. National Society of Caterers to Industry

the following pay rates:-

for and 283 against. The line of oppose seen many times. sition to the Bill was that it had nothing to do with the war, that the Government had promised not to bring in ative for a notice to be displayed, it will controversial legislation, and that the Bracewell Smith (Chairman Hotels "dictatorship of the bill was unfriendly". the consent of the management, whose Workers' Syndicate. The Bill never reached the Com- signature it will bear." Clarendon (Barclays' Bank, Former mittee Stage, and has since been

Governor, South Africa). Earl de la forgotten. CATERING

In October, 1946, the NUGMW inunion had about one hundred members "protection money" racket. real thing, the whole trade joined in. in order to re-instate the waiter Frank bulletins will be sent, free of charge. Union membership jumped up to Piazza in his job at the Savoy. The

sentatives of employers and workers. 10,000. Excellent solidarity was shown It will deal with wages, hours, by the food suppliers of Smithfield and mealtimes, holidays and tips. It Covent Garden who stopped supplies.

reports to the M.o.L. who can make An agreement was signed, with the a Wage Regulation Order, which is promise of "another strike later" . . . and so the Union sent the men back A Wages Board may also deal with to work. One of the clauses in this welfare and industrial development to agreement was that a shop steward be referred to the appropriate ministry. could not negotiate unless he was Then on February 5th, 1943, thirty- approved by the employer! The extent one M.P.s tabled a motion for the that collaboration between union and rejection of the Bill. On February 9th employer has reached is clearly shown the motion was defeated by 116 votes in the following notice, one that I have

UNION NOTICE BOARD. "On the request of the staff representbe displayed on this board, subject to

1940). Lord Iliffe (Guardian Ass.,

TRADE UNIONISM IN

a notice for a strike, it would have to our hope and our weapon for the future.

bear the signature of the employer !! It is not simed at referming conditions. tains the whole germ of the union the workers' control of the industry. ideology, "subject to the consent of the Any worker interested in learning stigated a strike at the Savoy. This was management". An idea that smacks more of the CAM, can write to the a remarkable piece of bluff, for the strongly of the old Chicago gangster Secretary, Raymond Upton, 159,

May 27th. The shop stewards warned us to be ready for a strike, telling us that the case had gone before the Court of Arbitration. It is now July, and still the strike has not materialised. The shop stewards of the NUGMW have no explanation to offer us. Where is Piazza? Has he been reinstated? The shop stewards can give us no answer. Perhaps the truth is that the management have refused to sign the strike notices and unlock the glass doors of the

Union notice boards! SYNDICALISM IN CATERING

A few months ago the nucleus of the catering syndicalist movement was formed and three weeks later the French C.N.T. formed the Hotel and Café

Named the CATERING ACTION So by the clauses of the agreement, MOVEMENT, based on good solid anarif the shop steward wished to post up cho-syndicalist lines, this syndicate is In fact, the above announcement con- in the trade, it's ultimate objective is

Ledbury Road, W.11. Copies of the at that time. Thinking that it was the Recently, a new strike was promised, aims and principles, and of the monthly BILL MANSBRIDGE.

caterer, I hold very strong views on the distressing conditions and the underpay-

appeared vague and confused. It again. largely still is, although since then This time they were joined by action. another dispute—this time among workers at scattered points in the London busmen-has led to strike South of England. At Plymouth,

busmen have handled this dispute with 400 Hants & Dorset busmen were out, any display of organising ability, or but the Wilts & Dorset busmen, who even any great show of solidarity. In came out in March with the Hants & the North, men have been coming out Dorset men, stayed in this time. and going back, and no real effort the strike on a solid nation-wide basis, National busmen refused to work mission of not more than seven although in various other parts of the overtime at th old rate of time-andmembers, including some represent- country busmen have also struck.

The Commission to have power to many of the original strikers in the North went back to work pending the Council for the Omnibus Industry. At this meeting, the employers' re-Where no satisfactory wage regu- jected the union's claims aimed at lations are in operation at all, the putting employees of private companies on a parity with those of municipally-run undertakings, so the more than three independent per- men who had gone back on the union's cause they all work for the same com- "action" can be taken against these sons plus equal numbers of repre- advice—"so as not to prejudice the pany—the London Passenger Trans- unofficial strikers.

300 Western National busmen struck; It cannot honestly be said that the at Bournemouth, 80 coach drivers and In the Essex dock areas, around

Grays and Tilbury, the Eastern 44 hours for the week, simply took Sundays and Bank Holidays.

LONDON'S SUNDAY

When the article on the Busmen's success of the negotiations"—found port Board—and their large numbers strike which appeared in the last issue themselves in the same position as are concentrated into a relatively small of Freedom was written, the situation before the strike and so came out geographical area, have shown themselves more united in their strike

> Under a new agreement, London's busmen now have what they have been wanting for a long time—a 44-hour week instead of 47 or 48. But because of the "manpower shortage" the board say it is impossible to find extra staff to maintain existing services with a shorter working week, so that the busmen will have to continue working the old hours but with overtime pay for hours over 44.

Unfortunately for the board, the the rates for Sunday work-time-anda-quarter, so London will be without buses on Sundays until the board meets the men's demands for timeand-a half. The first day of this action by the men (and not forgetting the "clippies"), July 6th, has already seen the strike call well responded to—80 per cent. of busmen staying at The London busmen, probably be- home. The union is considering what

Land notes

mild and uncritical interest in their work; with it without being unduly bored and

writers call it somewhat more formidably, Then in 1944 a National Joint In- the status quo, is maintained and suitably

Nevertheless, it was not without a cer-

and the NUGMW, setting minimum tain amount of ironic amusement that rates in canteens ranging from £3/17/6 | while paying a visit recently to my eldest for Chargehand Cooks (men) to boy (aged nine) at school, I noticed £2/0/6 for Cleaners in London, the | chalked up in capital letters on the black-Provinces being in general slightly lower. | board of his class-room, the slogan-These rates are still in force, and "Exports mean more food". On my it is worthy of mentioning that E.W.O. | enquiring whether his teacher had sucwere applied to keep these workers ceeded in adequately explaining why chained to their jobs, as many wished to exports meant more food, he replied, in get into the munition trade where pay his own words, that it had all seemed rather involved and complicated and that. The NUDA and NUR have an no, he had not really properly understood agreement with canteen staffs, giving it. He then added, with a quick, coy smile, that he rather suspected that the Chef £4/10/0; Female Cook £2/12/6 | teacher didn't really understand Asst. Cooks £2/6/6; Kitchen Hands properly either. Hastening to the defence £2/1/6. Food and everalls supplied. of the world of grown-ups, to which it An agreement has also been made is my misfortune to belong, I replied. between the TGWU and NUGMW and in as simple terms as possible, that that unappreciated and he merely smiled with he could easily, as with corn and manure before entering will give the hens a chance National Service Hostels Corporation was quite likely since the world of that good-humoured tolerance that most drills, stand on a platform at the back, to know you are coming and they won't Ltd. giving, for instance, a Head Male | capitalist economics was indeed so in- children show towards adults when they like a tractor drill, and perform his job be scared'." Cook £6 a week, and proportionately | volved and contradictory that it frequently try to be funny.

AN EMBARRASSING OUESTION

interested. Then he suddenly said with an farm tractors. interest, "But why do you have to make things and sell them for money so that you can buy other things? If you can't make some of the things you want, people who could make them could give you some and you could give them other things that they wanted instead. Sort of swap things. Wouldn't that be much

Somewhat at a loss for a reply, I tactcease to ask such stupid and embarrassing at all, like keeping out the wind from questions. So I suggested that we had a around the legs. The seat, instead of look at the little patch of garden that he being mounted on a stiff swivel, is fixed and some of his friends had made out of so that in most field operations the driver a piece of waste ground and then, in a really needs two heads like the old Shell moment of bitterness, I asked him if he had adverts., and since he hasn't, he easily considered the possibilities of working up gets a stiff neck instead. The cost of an export trade in the few potatoes, providing reasonable weather protection lettuces and whatnot in the little garden, for the driver would probably not add on for he must surely see, after what he had much more than 5% to the selling price sold them for money he would be able often applies to a lesser extent to im- something from the Daily Mirror:to buy a nice tin of dehydrated something plements including, and especially, horse- "Politeness to hens is advocated in a

MEN AND MACHINES

The attitude of our society to its I was reminded of this fact once again that courteous patience that children only while looking at one of the newest and failed to make them passively accept

must not be fitted with proper silencers the new employer is usually worse off for because an infinitesimal amount of power for the change, to the animal in question and fuel would thereby be wasted. Like- it makes little or no difference. wise, the exhaust pipe is so situated that, So, all over the country, one finds, time in addition to his hearing capacity be- and time again, the really fantastic coming half-numbed by the constant, and position of cowmen, whose charges have continuous din, he is also enveloped in water laid on in front of their noses, paraffin fumes for the whole of his having to fetch their water in buckets from working day. No protection from the a pump or well for use in their cottages fuly changed the subject, consoling myself weather, from sun or rain, is provided, which are nearly always of far greater with the fact that when his education even that amount which could easily be antiquity than the cow-houses in which was further advanced he would no doubt provided without much additional expense they work. been taught, that it would be quite stupid of the tractor but, in a profit economy, profits), this consideration for the comfort and ridiculous to eat them himself. If he this is apparently unthinkable. The same of our dumb friends can go, here is

Education & Exports LIVESTOCK ARE

BETTER OFF

animals, the reason being of course, that, at all, is shown clearly, I think, in the unlike human employees, they cannot be made to yield a greater profit by being Indeed, some cows and horses of militant various forms of direct action by way of To begin with, convention has long protest, often change their place of work since established the fact that tractors with remarkable frequency. And though

During the war years it was far easier. and usually still is, to obtain the necessary permit to have water laid on to a cowhouse, or in the fields than it was to have water laid on to a farm worker's cottage.

To indicate to what lengths, solely of course in the name of efficiency (i.e.,

drawn ones where the horseman often has Massachusetts University Bulletin, which Fortunately, perhaps, the irony passed to follow his team all day on foot when says: 'Knocking on the laying-house door

Sorry, just a minute, please. G.V.

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

these without even giving a reason. Yet State ownership on the British model. ever the Communists, in spite of th in spite of this fact, our politicians go The third party is the K.P.D. (Com- intensive propaganda have met with on promising things to the people, and munist Party of Germany) and its little support and few votes. This telling them what they will do for them, supporters are mainly workers. Its particularly interesting in view of the

they are liars the world over.

There are three parties of consequence,

and four or five others with considerably

The second party in importance is the the Communists. The parliaments in this country S.P.D. (Socialist Party of Germany) In the Russian zone of Germany Treatment of operate as in the 16th century when which obtained 70 to every 100 votes K.P.D. is a party of the Government England was ruled by the Tudors. Our east in favour of the C.D.U. Its sup- and all-powerful, ruling the zone with Russian Prisoners politicians can pass a Bill or submit a porters are found among the workers the aid of the Russian political police,

Nazis. The Communist vote has fallen anti-Nazi parties put together. Even the ever, what I have written.

policy is State Capitalism on the Russian fact that the Party had more victims

This is the reverse of the Jesuit, the

Remarkable Recoveries

Communist and Fascist attitude

children, with their regimented you

movements; it is a fair approximation

an anarchist attitude.

petition, but the Governor can veto and the middle class; its policy is N.K.V.D. In the Western zones howdied of starvation in the Nazi camps, Had the Germans been allowed to reand the transport from the battlefields main in E. Germany, even under to the camps resulted in an even greater Polish rule things would have been death-roll. Prisoners were herded stand- different. But these so-called Statesmen ing into railway trucks, and when a agreed that all the Germans had to leave truck was filled to capacity, so that the country, leaving behind all their down, the doors were bolted from out- pounds weight which they could take side. There was, therefore, no pos- with them. sibility of prisoners escaping during the The point was that Stalin, with the journey. No water or nourishment was help of Hitler, had conquered Eastern provided during the journey which in Poland in 1939, and was determined to some cases lasted a week, and the hold on to his conquests. So he has prisoners were forced by circumstances forced the Germans out of E. Germany to shift for themselves. Unbelievable and the Poles from E. Poland have been

things happened, including cannibalism. forced to rebuild their homes in What of the results? "That nature for a dictator the life of a man has no some 20 million displaced persons. For is on the side of cure," writes the author, more value that a dead rat. These are Western Germany this has proved a "It is most important that allegiances "has nowhere been more noticeable than the fruits of the Nazi dictatorship. catastrophe, since 11 million Germans formed under the stress of this phase of in the condition of war-damaged children; Now let us turn to the fruits of the development should not be exploited. the rate of recovery, and the degree to Communist dictatorship.

Propagandists can point to the child's which even severely affected young beings apparent enthusiasm in order to win him were able to rally, is only slightly more Russian Treatment of permanently for their cause. Young miraculous than the fact that some of German P.o.W.s

strictest possible authority, though this all." The success which attended the The Russians place more value on the life of a man than did the Nazis-proto a new one that their independence of children is immensely encouraging, for it | vided of course that he is an ablenever induce him to close the door on exaggeration of the normal attitude of before he dies. They provide him with workshops. others, or to avoid giving the children society to its individual components. some sort of housing, some rags for And though, for the ordinary man. beating to make him work, and when their own export plans. even a beating won't shift him they let

Communists treat their prisoners of war; and if anyone doubts this story, let him come to this country and investigate. There are thousands of witnesses who escaped from this living hell with their lives who will confirm, model, and the prosecution of former of Hitler's repression than all the other in much more forceful language howfrom 6 million before Hitler seized Communist-inspired S.E.D. (Socialist The way women in the countries from

him die like a dog. That is how the

FREEDOM

power to one million 200 thousand. Unity Party) has failed to impose itself. the Baltie to the Danube were treated This sharp drop is accounted for by Apart from the fact that Russian rule by the Russians is a story which should this country instead of beating about The largest party is the C.D.U. the actions of the Russian communists. in their zone does not commend itself be taken up by the world Press. An the bush or writing a lot of nonsense? (Christian Democratic Union) which Many Germans looked to the Russians to the German people investigation should be made in all the Of course, the German papers are no has the support of the capitalists, former during the Russians with (1) the ill- small and large cities and villages. better (they have their own faults to Nazis and the Churches of all demonin the Nazi voke, but contact with them treatment of their prisoners of war, (2) Indeed, wherever the Russians went cover up); and if they did print the ations. This party stands for private has made them revise their ideas, and the ill-treatment of German women in during the war. Of course, many facts they would soon be suppressed, ownership, special privileges for the even old German bolsheviks, who had the Russian zone, and (3) the secession women are dead, many are in hospital because democracy in this country does Church and protection for the Former been in Hitler's concentration camps for to Poland of the Eastern part of Ger- with V.D. Yet there are many left to not, as yet, tolerate a free press. Nazis. The Governments of the their political convictions, have torn up many, thus rendering homeless 11 recount what happened, because it was Newspapers in Germany as everywhere Western zones prefer this party to the their membership cards and have sworn million Germans whose only recourse is the rule and not the exception among never to have anything more to do with to enter Western Germany and there to the Russians to take everything, from the girls of 14 to old ladies of 60. Only those who hid in the woods or in the cellars could hope to save themselves.

But before I refer to the Russian The Secession of E. Germany recall the treatment of Russian prisoners Poland was an agreement made in the captured in Russia by the Nazis. At summer of 1945 at Potsdam between least a million Russian prisoners of war Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill-Attlee. there was no room for anyone to lie property with the exception of 50

But dictatorship is dictatorship, and E. Germany. These moves created have come into a country where most of the cities are in ruins and the people starving. A further 4 million Germans have come from the Danube States.

On top of all this the Governments of the Western zones have been closing down factories and workshops wholesale, presumably to keep German competition off the world's markets. But choice can only be established after a is difficult to imagine more apparently bodied man. They do not let these now they are finding themselves faced considerable period of trial and error. hopeless material. It is impossible not men die in sealed railway trucks or kill with a dilemma: whether to let Ger-However favourable the adult helper him- to feel that the brutality and impersonal them in gas chambers. They are many live on charity and keep the self may be to one or other of the move- cruelty to which these children were sub- Marxists and therefore materialists, and factories closed or whether to stop the ments the children favour, this should jected was only an immensely extended aim at getting some work out of a man charity and re-open the factories and

every opportunity for comparison. Con- Could not a similar response be expected, clothes, enough nourishment to keep the answer is clearly that the factories When the 300 children from Belsen, tacts with groups outside their own, in- away from anti-social and delinquent be- alive a child and enough work to keep should be opened, Governments will Buchenwald, Auschwitz and other con- formation about the world at large and haviour, if every member of society were a well-fed man fully occupied all day. hesitate because the spectre of cheap centration camps arrived in this country, the pros and cons of all social and treated with generosity, understanding and Eventually such men break down as a goods being dumped on the world's they had already made considerable political as well as religious problems, tolerance? Is not this what "the replace- result either of the hard work or of the markets (and hungry people will work physical progress from the skin and bone will help to stabilize the choice made in ment of oppression by fellowship and rigorous climate. He then gets a good for almost nothing to sustain life) affects

Children from Concentration Camps

"THE subject of this excellent pamphlet" scheme of community rehabilitation, has young person's own volition." is the rehabilitation of children re- been the replacement of oppression by leased at the end of the war from con- fellowship and equality . . . the democratic centration camps. The author worked in forms of community life, and their flexisuch a rehabilitation scheme at Winder- bility and variation, will allow for the mere, and she has used her own experience inner freedom of the individual which in order to indicate the main difficulties alone can secure complete recovery from encountered in this work, and the kind group oppression." of principles which give most hope of And the same attitude is revealed in a success. In outlining these points she has passage on certain dangers during the conveyed an attitude of mind, a set of recovery phase: values, of the highest humanity. But more than this, she shows that the application of such high standards of values and humanity, which in everyday life in our society would be regarded as wildly idealistic and utopian, are necessary and practical when it comes to trying to repair the appalling effects which concentration camp life had on these children. Not that she herself draws these comparisons be tween the rehabilitation methods employ and current social values; but the reader cannot help being struck by the difference in the outlook of these psychiatric socia care, and that obtaining in general between individuals themselves in our society.

skeletons of the victory news-reels. But the end, and give validity to the decision equality" means? they still retained much of the concen- as it will be made honestly, from the tration camp mentality. Many of them ____ had seen their parents killed with the utmost brutality; had seen their sick had grown up in concentration camps and England, still having no say in their own readers may be interested to know what Time (23/6/46) gives some interesti fate, and prone to treat all who held their are the principal points of this Bill about figures for comparison. According to this

workers at their disposal to combat this (1) The closed shop (making union 89 divisions in service when Germany fell, formidable heritage? They were provided membership a condition of employment) is the Army has only twelve left. Less than with accommodation, adequate, but with forbidden and the union shop (requiring three are available to join the Marine certain drawbacks, and limited but workers to join after they are hired) is in immediate action to-day, and all moderate supplies of food and clothing. greatly restricted. To these physical requirements they added (2) The National Labour Relations 2nd Armoured and 2nd Infantry, three others, summarized by Margot Board's administrative and judicial func- 82nd Airborne. Hicklin thus: "Generosity, both material tions are separated. and personal: Time, which means (3) To "equalize" the Wagner Act, mostly green youngsters—the new, volunpatience on the part of the educators and which limits unfair labour practices to teer, "one-shave-a-week" Army. They are a sense of continuity for the child; and those committed by employers, a new Understanding, i.e., acceptance of the section is added banning unfair labour child as a whole, including its practices by employees. disturbance."

Treated As Individuals

10

Of course, what this meant in practice was that the children were always regarded as individuals. Their peculiar or 'immoral" behaviour was understood as deriving from their individual problems and experiences, and they were not treated with that impersonal judgment on moral principles which is of the essence of the State's attitude towards the subject citizen. Taking this individual attitude it is not perhaps surprising to find sentiments not far removed from anarchism being advocated. "In the opinion of one of the social workers who had been connected with this work from its beginnings, the most powerful factor in this broad

Foreign Commentary The Anti-Labour

people who lived for so long under the them managed to survive their ordeals at

had never been to school or known any THE American Labour Bill which "occupied" country there are still about and became more puzzled. In each case, then we should have found jesuitical other life. All had learnt the utility of was passed by the Senate in spite of 35,000 British troops kicking their heels after half-an-hour of this, the suspect justification as in the case of atom bombs petty bribes to guards, of ingenious Truman's veto attempt is discussed at in that country. It now appears that talked." methods of stealing, of all kinds of be- length in an article recently published these troops will be withdrawn "90 days haviour which were necessary for survival in the New York Times. The article dis- after the Peace Treaty has been ratified". SHARING GERMANY'S in the camps, but which are ordinarily cusses at length the nine principal pro- Does that mean 35,000 more men for regarded as delinquent and anti-social. visions of the new Act, and whilst space British Industry or will they just be And they had been collected by the considerations do not allow even a sum- absorbed in Palestine and Germany? UNRRA authorities and sent over to mary to be included in this column, Whilst on the subject of Army strengths

from the sensational angle (threatened is "a little above a million men, but they stoppages of work, fillibustering, etc.) and are largely tied down by occupation What means had the rehabilitation so little from the factual angle.

(4) The right to strike is restricted in some respects but is not banned. (5) Employers' "free speech" rights are

(6) Injunctions and damage suits against unions are made easier.

(7) Industry-wide bargaining is limited. (8) The individual employee's right (9) Political expenditures and contri as well as to elections are prohibited tended to defend there can be little doubt

BRITISH TROOPS IN

destinies in their hands with the utmost | which the Press here has written so much magazine the U.S. Army strength to-day supply, and housekeeping chores. Of the

> largely police and riot squads. There are down by accupation duties, and the equiv-In the Pacific, General committed to the occupation job."

SUBTLE THIRD-DEGREE

The Miami Herald seems very proud of the way SHAEF officers manage to obtain information from Germans who at "A SHAEF ministerial control liaison

interrogate some Germans who were sus- where the buzz bomb and the giant V-2 pected of possessing Nazi documents and rocket were developed." plotting a revival of the Nazi party. Each The writer explains that they were of the suspects was questioned separately. brought to America "first, to be "milked" There was no third degree, no rubber of their knowledge about rocketry-in hoses, no punching, no pushing around . . . which the Germans were some eight years The liaison team employed a painless ahead of us-and, second, to continue method which was just as effective and their studies, planning and design work for in Parliament. So the figures of British just as successful. When a suspect refused American benefit." troops in Italy quoted in a recent issue to talk he was ordered to remove all his . It would now appear that the references of the socialist (fusionist) Avanti! of clothes. Then he was ordered to stand during the war to the murderous V-2's Milan (15/6/47) are of special interest. on a table. The questioners didn't say as a crime against humanity were due to

trials and the trials of thousands of former Nazis which are taking place in Germany way the Russians are using von Paulus ing of their past warrant such a reward." purposes (Freedom, 14/6/47) and for the U.S. authorities to convert these Nazis training the Red Army (Freedom, into anti-Nazis overnight. At the moment 3rd May). Now one can read an article they are classified as having been "nominal in the New York Times (22/6/47) under Nazis, von Braun was decorated by Hitler the heading "German Experts Give Lift to Army's Experimental Rocket Pro- of them, according to Army authorities,

"One hundred and eighteen German scientists and technicians and their 240 dependents, gathered up in the Reich after the war in "Operation Paperclip", have formed a miniature "Peenemunde", a visit the outskirts of El Paso, Tex., reveals."

"The Germans, headed by the 33-yearsold Prof. Wernher von Braun, the "boywonder" of German rocketry who received vention" and development of the Vrocket, are working for the Army on secre

One further learns that most of these Germans were "key men in the Nazi's team was sent into Bavaria recently to famous experimental centre at Peenemund

In spite of the fact that the war ended a word. They merely sat there silently, the fact that we were 8 years behind management! Drive, Acton, W.3. 28 pp., 1/6 two years ago and that Italy is not an while the naked suspect fidgeted, wondered Germany. Had we been 8 years ahead

But there are other advantages offered

to these Nazi scientists. As readers may know a declared Anarchist is denied the right of entry into America or of obtaining American citizenship. But no such harsh treatment is reserved to these Nazi war scientists. Not only have they and their dependents been taken over to America at the Government's expense but "moreover, the hope of American citizenship is held out to them if their work and their conduct and a thorough screen-It would be a little embarrassing for were active Nazis, and presumably, long

war is over and conscription in abey- wars are essentially Trade Wars, those hand of friendship to all genuine peaceance, that we can afford to relax and of 1914-18 and 1939-45. throughout loving and anti-militarist organisations regard the possibility of military dicta- their whole course, certainly being no all countries. before citizenship papers are granted, all torship as a thing of the past. Such exception. The Third World War (for is not the case. Militarism is still very which the militarists, under the dominvinced of the benefits of democracy." powerful in Australia, and it is even ation of their political and economic now pressing that you and your children masters, are already preparing) will INTERESTED

form, a manifesto received from Australia, anywhere in the world.

in the form of the principles of "The League for Freedom". The League is Australian citizens do not organise to

of people who have joined together Anti-War

and particularly the dictatorship of Militarism. It is an organization arising out of and continuing the work of the sources of raw material. All modern of these Governments but extend the wage-pegging remains.

top may reap the rewards. That is the democracy and liberty. It is the very too must be opposed. only sense in which any war is a spirit of Fascism. It desires the ex-"People's War". The League for Freedom declares bombs and their sites, of huge sums of Modern war is fundamentally a war that none of the Great Powers now en- money wrung from you, the taxpayer. between the ruling groups of each nation gaged in the armaments race has higher That money could have been spent on country. What we do oppose is the or Empire (or Republic) for power and motives than those above-mentioned and Health, Housing, and Education, all misuse of that feeling by militarists and

Militarism must be opposed in peace, activities of all Australians. War and shall be conscripted not only for com- arise from similar origins. Modern no less than in war. As indicated above, preparations for war have brought about

War and preparation for the next war

are responsible for the heavy tax burden you bear. Peace and plenty are not possible if war preparations over-shadow and dominate as they do to-day the

THE THREE MUSKETEERS-11

described as Non-Party, and non-sectarian,

and it appears to be markedly influenced

to oppose dictatorship in all its forms

"The League for Freedom is a body

by anarchist anti-militarism.

"No Conscription Campaign".

Michigan prison, the largest prison in the country, have appealed to state authorities to let them foot the bill for an investigation of the prison management.

PHILANTHROPISTS

"When the investigation, ordered by Gov. Kim Sigler, bogged down recently for lack of funds, the prisoners flooded the Capitol with offers of help. A total of \$25,000 was pledged. Three of the convicts alone offered \$2,000.

Special Assistant Attorney Generals, conducting the probe, said that they would be unable to accept the money, but thanked the convicts for their 'display of

One could, of course, point out that the prisoners generosity was prompted by

LIBERTARIAN.

FOUR FORCES IN SOUTH AMERICA

American countries as comic-opera nations, the threat of the revolutionary movement, dominated by the Stalinists. A ministry was formed which included The fourth force does not yet exist as a power. where armies of generals command a single company three communists. At once the struggle began. The the danger it represents is enough for the governments to of soldiers and revolutions occur weekly. But a United States curtailed the import into Chile of manu- try to suppress any awakening of the revolutionary movestudy of the facts should correct this over-vivid fairy factured goods, raw materials and foodstuffs. Prices ment and to destroy any revival of the old independent tale. Huge sums of American capital are being rose like lightning. The communist ministers proved organisations.

It should be remembered in this connection, that

invested in the nascent industry of Brazil. The war lead the working-class movement to the point of most of the big left-wing organisations in both North and South America, were the work of immigrant elementsto buy the former British enterprises, particularly

It was the third rogue who won the day. Peron Spanish, Italian or Swedish, strongly influenced by can use cigarettes to some degree to buy railways. An awakening local capitalist class is negotiated a commercial treaty with Chile, to supply libertarian doctrines and tactics, and carrying this influence food, goods, services, or to exchange for claiming these undertakings and the exclusive rights foodstuffs and to buy part of her mineral output. The into the unions and working-class organisations. In the for the exploitation of its national riches. Formerly and uprising peasants, were beaten. Their fear of revo-contained a large proportion of recent immigrants (mostly to handle in quantities, last a long time a source of raw materials and cheap manual labour, lution had thrown away the one deciding factor,—the Scandinavians and Latins), so in the Argentine, Brazil, if properly packed. Moreover, when you Latin America is in process of transformation into proletariat.

Uruguay and Chile, left-wing activities were first known want to you can always smoke one, which is more than can be said of a bank-note.

Villaroel tried to wrest certain privileges from the United The F.O.R.A. and the "Antorcha" movement in the is not the case with some European

Each time that a new dictatorship installed itself, its first move was the expulsion of foreign militants, their deportation into the hands of the authorities of their countries of origin, their return to the concentration camps. In 1930 General Uriburu purged the Argentine in this terrible way, decimating the revolutionary move-Other examples could be cited to show the method ments. The same concern is shown to-day by the care

THE ANARCHISTS

But these measures are ineffective, for the progre Within the Argentine Republic a five-year plan has been of industrialization is itself creating a new proletariat more established to build up a vigorous industry, capable of compact and well-established than before. Peron knows absorbing the greater part of the raw materials of the this and seeks to absorb the unions into a corporate state than in fact. In every corner of the globe appears the neighbouring countries, and avoiding the cost of sending on the usual fascist lines, where the workers are conflict, not only of the interests but of the actual them to the United States for processing and manufacture. "represented" by officials drawn from the ranks of the union bureaucracy. But after 17 years of dictatorship, Where stands the working class in this jungle of selfthe anarcho-syndicalist F.O.R.A. still has deep roots in United States. Unable or unwilling to assist the struggle interest? The bulk of its forces is being dissipated for the the Argentine. The glory of the Forestal and Patagonian for social revolution, unable to influence the South benefit of the political parties, supporting the local ruling insurrections, the memory of the general strikes, the American capitalist class by economic means—with class, or one or other of the great powers, U.S.A. or heroism of the Anarchist militants like Ruano, Badarraco,

> The workers of F.O.R.A. are in the British refrigerating firms and the American factories, as well as in the rested by the Bombay police after a two-U.S.A. forces. The "Apriste" movement of Haya de state-controlled ports. They boycott the ships of Franco, year hunt. la Torre in Peru, shows itself equally in favour of a they are fighting at Rosario for the six-hour working day, continental bloc-the conception of Roosevelt, and the and despite prohibitions, imprisonments and executions, permanent aim of the White House. As for the com- they maintain their underground network of militants. munist parties, the distance of the "Russian Menace" and And in Brazil, a few days after the relaxation of the rency notes. He earned the nickname of their strict instructions never to take social unrest to its dictatorship, several anarchist papers appeared,—evidence "Indian Robin Hood" when he said at his revolutionary conclusions, have obliged them to found of a need that twenty years of oppression could not stifle. | trial that he robbed the rich to give to

their influence at the moment on the working and middle Even in the little towns of the interior of Colombia | the poor.—Reuter. so as to seize control of the unions, they will not show nepotism, and the private armies of the factory-owners their strength in full measure until the day when the are the law, there still appear propaganda sheets, printed your present social ills.

conflict between Moscow and Washington has become by militant comrades, passed from hand to hand, supported by meagre subscription; which sustain the tenacious

stances, to conscription of all kinds,

very heart and soul of Fascism. Conscription is the scourge of the working class in all countries. It seizes upon youths at an early and vital age and ruins their lives and careers. And military conscription in these days means industrial conscription as well. You saw that in the last war and you pulsory military training, but for service States no not fight over ideologies or the military caste is always alert to will assuredly see it again in worse form "isms"-no matter what their propa- extend its power. It profits by war, if you allow yourselves to be dragged The precedent for overseas conscrip- ganda agencies may put forth to the it encourages war. It strives to in- into a Third World War. Bureaucracy tion of 1943 was set in the Act, and it contrary. They fight for plunder, and culcate a war spirit in our children and regimentation are the methods by will be followed, if you and all other it is their people who shed the "blood, from their earliest years, it encourages which industrial and economic conscripsweat and tears", that the few at the jingosim and race hatred ,it sneers at tion are implemented, therefore; they

In Brief

BETTER THAN

MONEY

money. Cigarettes have many of the

qualities of currency—they are light, easy

Also, nearly everybody wants them, which

British and U.S. Forces' vouchers, and

cigarettes; and of the three, cigarettes are

the stablest. Nobody is really interested in

the Reichsmark, since no-one has any faith

W/HAT African natives are up against

pression, is indicated by the fact that in

the Somstfeu Road location of Durban,

where recent elections for the Advisory

Board were held, only 84 had time to

register their votes out of a total elector-

ate of 4,000. The native voters were

allowed only two hours in which to cast

all the ballots, and when the polls were

closed, hundreds were still standing in

Indian 'Robin Hood' Caught

After 2 Years

∆ 55-year old ex-convict and so-called

The man, who has been charged with

We are opposed, under all circum-

military (including compulsory military

"robber philanthropist" has been ar-

a £1,538 fraud, was convicted in 1942 of

line. (Worldover Press Service.)

in trying to secure democratic ex-

Picture Post, 28/6/47.

Wherever there is a cigarette famine you

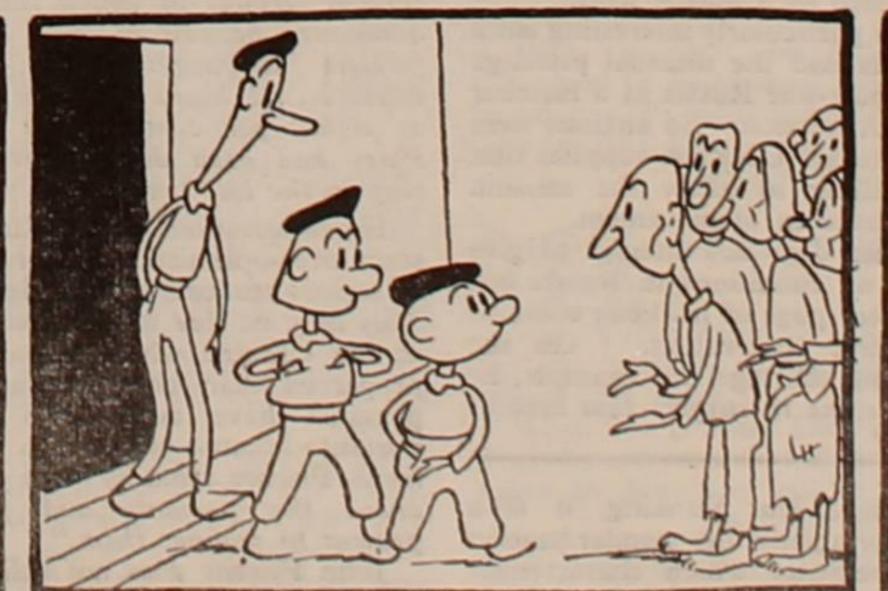
We do not oppose the genuine love economic domination, above all for that there are among them no "peace- much neglected in Australia. Even now, jingoes and patriots of the "my country overseas markets and the control of loving" Governments. We support none military pay is being increased, while right or wrong" school. This "Nationalical "patriotism"is what we oppose. is only another form of Imperialism with which it works in close co-

Racial Equality

We stand for the right of every individual to be free from discrimination politically, or industrially, on account of

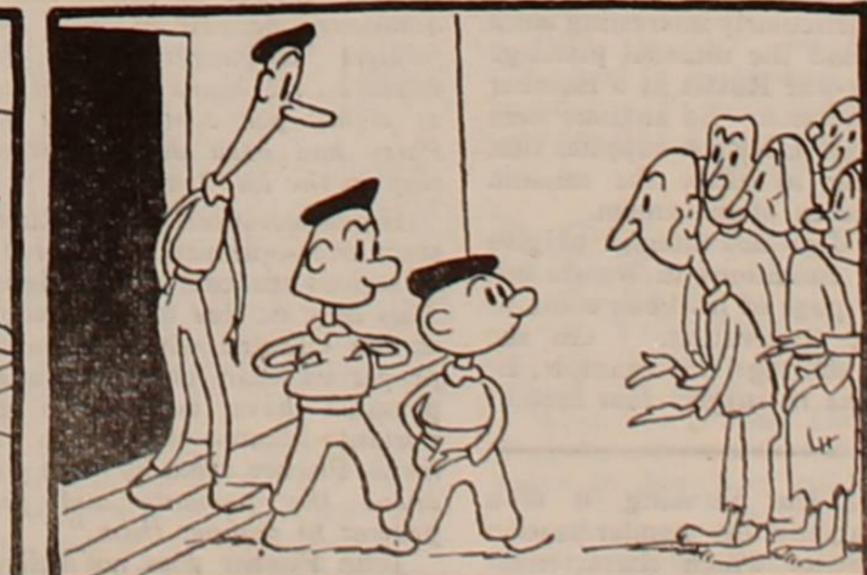
Freedom of Conscience

We stand for the right of every person to express his opinions and to be free



BLESSED BE THE SOFT-HEARTED

Thank heavens for a smoke . . .





... brother, can you spare a fag?

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

July 12th, 1947

HE popular imagination still thinks of the South not obtained, the Chamber of Deputies chose Videla, under

debts of Great Britain have enabled the Argentine insurrection.

a new world centre of production, capable from the In Bolivia it is necessary to go back again to 1946 after the arrival of European manual workers, well to retrace the chain of events. The nationalist dictator educated in the social struggle. first of satisfying the needs of local consumption. Nothing demonstrates more clearly the reshuffling States firms, notably those concerned with the extraction Argentine, the F.O.R.U. in Uruguay, the Chilean C.G.T., | currencies. of the great imperialist centres of activity than this re- of tin, the country's principle raw material. A move- at one time constituted a serious menace to the newlyorganisation of South American economy. Formerly ment arose, in which communists and American agents organised states. That is why these regimes depended example of a cigarette-currency country. London, Paris and Washington dealt directly with each intervened, which overthrew Villaroel. The communists on the support of the army—the only guarantee of It has three currencies—Reichsmarks, local government, frequently controlling from outside the were in partial control of the political machine, the capitalist "order", and on foreign intervention. progress or decline of their economies, facilitating or im- Americans held the economic levers, but once again the posing the growth of this or that crop in this or that Argentine came out on top, carrying off the market with region. Insofar as a certain measure of economic unity offers to the independant producers, of better prices could be seen in the Spanish-American countries as a than those proposed by America. At the same time whole, its origin and explanation could be found in the Buenos Aires undertook to finance a trade route between policy of some great capital outside the South American Bolivia and the Atlantic coast.

To-day, with the regression of Britain in the World employed by Peron to cash in on Russo-American rivalry, with which Peron controls Italian immigration. His markets, the extension of Yankee imperialism and the dis- to unify nationalistic tendencies to his advantage, and to recruitment of Italian labour is accompanied by the superappearance of that of France, a different situation appears. work for an economic-military entente between all the vision of the religious authorities, at both arrival and Only the United States now dreams of controlling the South American countries. This last aim is, indeed, only depature;—the "Black International" is never short of a unification of the New World. But they have run into lightly stressed, for Mexico, like Brazil is completely under tob! a dangerous rival, still weak in capital and technics, but the broad thumb of Washington. But as he is working potentially rich and skilled in the art of utilising the forces to a long-term policy, Peron hopes that first of all the of political and economic nationalism. This is the local industries will be well-established by the Northern financiers;—it will then be easier to impel the nationalist What took the form in the British and French bourgeoisie to rally to the point of view of Buenos Aires.

Argentine of Peron. empires, of the emancipation of subject colonial people appears in a different guise in South America, although war machines of the two great rivals, Russia and the materials, technicians or capital, Russia contents herself U.S.S.R. The greater part of the socialist organisations and di Giovanni, are not yet dead. with political intervention by utilising the footholds of turn their eyes to Washington. In Chile, for example, support she possesses in the left-wing movement and the socialist leader Schnake, one-time revolutionary leader manoeuvering support for the anti-U.S.A. elements and ex-ambassador to France, is trying to unite the proparticipating in the governments.

U.S.A., U.S.S.R., & PERON

illustrate their functioning: Last Autumn, the presidential elections were held in Chile, a nation whose rich mineral deposits are in the classes. Cleverly ensconced in key administrative positions, or Ecuador, amidst frightful poverty, illiteracy, and Copper. (The White House specialist in South American affairs is Spruille Braden, the principle shareholder) functions are similar to those of the President of the acute. by the Yankees, and although an absolute majority was elements or the Anglo-phobe nationalists.

Supreme Court in the United States. The communists, With the same facility with which they preached the faith of the workers, both Indian and immigrant in through the Chilian Confederation of Labour, of whom sacred union of the allies during the war, they now preach future without oppression.

they are the nucleus, entered the fray on behalf of anti-imperialist war against Washington. To-day they are A weak and poor movement, no doubt. The fourth Videla, a verbose and narrow-minded radical. In spite attacking British enterprises in particular, discovering on force is perhaps the least powerful. But only those who of the opposition of conservatives and liberals, supported this occasion, a certain sympathy with the pro-American fight for their own freedom will ever get it.

From Anti-Militarist Manifesto

training) industrial and economic. Conscription is the very basis of

Militarism, without which it cannot grow strong and for which therefore it is always striving. Conscription is the

penditure on armaments, such as rocket Anti-Nationalism

ism" that arouses a war-mentality, race-animosities and unthinking hysteroperation. Much of the talk about "Australia a Nation" is a cloak for monopolies to develop at the expense of the people. True nationalism is that which provides first and foremost for the well-being and happiness of the people, which endeavours to raise the standard of living to the highest point commensurate with Australian productive capacity. A genuine Nationalism, such as this, is quite compatible with a genuine Internationalism for it has no cause to quarrel with other nations and no strivings against them.

his race or colour.

from any persecution on account of his political or religious views. We support, in particular, the cause of conscientious

George Woodcock: ANARCHY OR CHAOS 2/6, Cloth 4/6 NEW LIFE TO THE LAND RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY HOMES OR HOVELS? ANARCHISM AND MORALITY WHAT IS ANARCHISM? Peter Kropotkin. THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE I THE WAGE SYSTEM SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS (Chosen by Herbert Read) Errico Malatesta: ANARCHY VOTE WHAT FOR? THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM I THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN I William Godwin: SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL ON LAW A. Ciliga: M. L. Berneri: WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA C. Berneri: KROPOTKIN-HIS FEDERALIST Alexander Berkman: A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM John Hewetson: TALY AFTER MUSSOLINI LL-HEALTH, POVERTY AND THE Cloth 2/6, Paper 1/-Gaston Leval: John Olday: THE MARCH TO DEATH IN THE 19th CENTURY Cloth 5/-

FROM time to time a book is published

which deals with little known events

or personalities of American History. The

Yet, like so many books written in this

vein, it suffers from a lack of discrimin-

tradictory evaluations. These faults stem

from Madisons' approach to the people

for their courage, one senses that he regards

them as too radical, too advanced. His thesis

seems to be that radicals are necessary,

even if not practical, because they act as

a sort of conscience for the rest of society

and help to keep a good balance. America

with all its evils has progressed much and

crusaders which was most responsible for

crusaders were trying to prevent. It is

ized human beings, the America whose

people accept prefabricated ideas and

attitudes as well as prefabricated houses,

which the Fullers, the Thoreaus, the Debs

author make statements that are often

new world, but he is "realist" and winds

up accepting the New Deal-Roosevelt-

and the Goldmans despised.

the America of to-day with its standard-

America to-day is what the critics and of America."

popular opinion.

this progress.

0

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT

THE STRUGGLE IN THE FACTORY 3d.

THE FRENCH COOKS SYNDICATE 3d.

AND THE MODERN AGE

lished in this country. This is Frank Harris's My Life and Loves, long a favourite article of contraband for cross-Chanel travellers, which has now appeared as Frank Harris, His Life and Adventures (Richards Press, Unfortunately, this represents no triumph for the freedom of writing, as the original has been heavily expurgated, and those who have a taste for Harris's smoking-room type of frankness will be disappointed. Personally, I found this side of it someexcuse for the discrimination which banned this book for so many years and still prevents it being published in

ud women like a musical comedy liber-Saturday Review under his editorship published such rebels as Cunningham Grahame and Wilde, as well as Shaw and Wells at their early best.

His individualism always made him

now, for all the present impracticability

endears him to all freedom-loving peoples.

Randolph Bourne, the most intransigean

of the anti-war intellectuals of 1917. He

talks of Bourne's passionate struggle

Prussianism we would expose ourselves to

a similar militarism . . . His dissenting

expression to an ideal of the ultimate good

at a time when practical citizens were

concerned solely with matters of im-

What Madison misses are the deeper

these eighteen radicals, As a result, there

mains is a vague emotional admiration

of American Protest. By Charles jugation of the individual by the Leviathan

A. Madison. Henry Holt & Co., such uncompromising idealism. Yet even

Critics and Crusaders. In it the author at odds with Madison. In one chapter he

briefly discusses the lives and ideas of discusses Benjamin Tucker, one of the

eighteen men and women who are little leading exponents of Individualist Anar-

more than names to most people. The chism. During the first world war,

book is divided into six general classi- Tucker was carried away by anti-German

fications: abolitionists, utopians, anarch- hysteria. In my opinion, he betrayed his

and socialists. The author does a good start I have favoured war to the limit-

job of telling the story of each person. war till Germany (rulers and people alike)

cusses them as intelligent, independent mention persuasive logic and good sense

thinkers and not as the crackpots of Yet, a few chapters later he discusse

This is a rather naive idea. It is true mediacy . . . It was this nobility

ized the development of capitalism in time of crisis and yet so vital to the mora

America has been softened a bit, made health of society-that places Randolph

more subtle. But it is equally true that Bourne among the true, if minor, prophet

of Henry David Thoreau: "It was just ideas of these men and women can

that the gross brutality which character- vision-so irritating to men of action

George Woodcock's LITERARY NOTES

FRANK HARRIS

it. In spite of all his faults, and his sometimes extremely shabby treatment of individuals, the balance was much in his favour. Perhaps the best final injustice and bad art, and never spared them in his own interest."

Frank Harris has one special point of interest for anarchists; he wrote one around the story of the Chicago anaroddest figures who stepped into the chists. I first read this book as a boy, London literary world. He was a long before I knew what anarchism found it just as good. It has always himself look tall, and behaved towards been surprising to me that no pub-



law. He denounced the war of much of the Victorian dulness which vital illustration of the psychology of 1914-18, and, when it began, moved is being laboriously exhumed at to New York, where he tried in vain present. At any rate, until that time, to persuade the Americans to keep there is much amusement to be found constantly interesting American intel-

Shaw's little epitaph—"Here lies a articles I have read are contained in the passive of bourgeois novelists, Henry two issues has been devoted to an amazingly comprehensive and penetrating stand, since we already have Horizon, and Wallace's personality than would ever be these two article certainly forms one of

interest. The first is Simone Weil's The

the Thames Estuary in a quixotic plan lisher has yet had the enterprise to unusually satisfying study of classical to rescue him from the hands of the reprint it—certainly it is better than literature from a social standpoint and a

out. He assisted many rebels, in- in Frank Harris, His Life and lectual magazine I have yet encountered. cluding some anarchists, who found Adventures, particularly if you keep a Review held something like the same themselves in difficulty, and he always salt cellar beside you, ready to take position, although it was more literary opposed injustice where he recognised a good pinch with every other chapter. in character. At that time Macdonald capitalists "give in" to Socialism (we know of obvious psycho-analysis on Melville, a Henry James in modern dress and under the influence of Freud. Some poems by

(Continued on page 7)

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support others who were up against authority. He was of the few people who stood by Wilde in his downfall, who stood by Wilde in his downfall,

KREMLIN, by John Fischer (Hamish

John Fischer's book The Scared Men in

with special reference to Russia, traveller's stories to tell about the "so-called classobservations, acute remarks on the regime less society". Like many others he has and sometimes profound theoretical con- observed the tremendous differences of siderations delivered in a light and incomes and particularly of privileges. pleasant style. But while an intelligent Khrushchev, boss of the Ukraine "enjoys American democrat-liberal is quite capable a home in Kiev that would do credit of seeing where communists go wrong to a Long Island millionaire; he also is according to the lights of their own said to have an apartment in the Kremlin, policy of his country which is also very holidays. For entertaining official visitors remote from the democratic principles it he has a separate guest house of truly claims to follow. The last part of the oriental splendour." book can be dismissed as wishful thinking. Peace cannot be achieved by a balance of powers. Imperialism, whether Russian or

of being attacked by a hostile world.

the author has had the unusual privilege foreign languages and the outside of observing post-war Russia as a member world . . . I heard estimates that as high of an UNRRA mission. So anxious were as eighty per cent. of the Jews in the the Russians to get UNRRA supplies that Party had been dropped from memberthey were willing to allow the mission ship in the last ten years." implications of the ideas put forth by considerable freedom of movement.

(Reprinted from Resistance.)

contradictory. Emotionally he admires for the original thinking, independence these people who looked forward to a and courage of the men and women. The book is at its best when it des- useful antidote against the standardization pedient to pamper them." liberal position. The contradiction be- cribes the ideas and struggles of each and blind obedience which characterizes tween his admiration for the radical and person. This is its most valuable contri- most Americans to-day. his "realism" is evident in what he says bution. If the retelling of the lives and

homes, together with food shortages, might Russian people that war is a real and that the Russian rulers are aware that dustry. "The rude language of the the people's patience has limits.

knowledge of Russian bureaucracy which, efficiency with that of capitalist countries writer Louis Fischer) approaches the taking any initiative. Furthermore, it is

John Fischer has many interesting doctrine he shows himself incapable of a country place thirty miles outside applying the same critical mind to the Moscow, and a villa in the Caucasus for

Readers of the Daily Worker's vituperating articles against antisemites in this country may be surprised to learn that i Russian people and that there are indi-The title is rather misleading as the ruling class itself. Fischer remarks: "I book may be taken as an account of the did not encounter a single few in the men who rule over Russia to-day, whereas upper ranks of the Ukrainian bureaucracy, it deals mostly with the author's ex- although a considerable part of the periences and observations during his stay republics' population is Jewish; nor did in the Ukraine in the Spring of 1946. I see a recognizably Jewish face, aside Yet the main theme of the book is the from Litvinov's, in the session of the Soviet leaders' fear of losing their hold Supreme Soviet. Only one Fewover the people. Fear is also their weapon Kaganovitch—sits on the Politburo. In -submission can more readily be obtained recent years, moreover, Jews have been if the Russian people live in constant fear barred from recruitment into the Soviet foreign service, in which they once pre-The book is particularly interesting since dominated because of their knowledge of

His observations on the Russian peasant John Fischer does not attempt to give seem over-optimistic compared with those is no attempt to analyse, no attempt to a full report on conditions in Russia but of serious students like Sir John Maynard. discriminate between any of them. At practically every page of his book contains This may be due to the fact that he was most, he makes the kind of generalizations some interesting observation. On the in the Ukraine where peasants are more that are so often repeated, i.e., anarchism terrible housing shortage, for example, he properous than elsewhere and also that is a fine ideal but so negative. What re- remarks: "I came to suspect that lack of peasants have acquired a greater importance because of the war. The government, Fischer remarks "is a trifle nervous stimulate independent thinking, it is a about the peasants and finds it ex-

John Fischer does not believe in a war with Russia in the very near future. The Russian government's threatening attitude is designed to convince the

be one of the main reasons for the immediate peril to reconcile them with the Kremlin's reluctance to bring its troops idea of giving up the good things of life back from the occupied countries", a hint in order to build up a great defence inmeasure of the Kremlin's troubles at

This book is written with a critical mind, which prevents him from attributing the faults and ruthlessness of the Russian "wickedness". However irrational its

FROM OUR STOCK THE CIVILISATION OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY 7/6 Jacob Burckhardt MAN & SOCIETY IN AN AGE OF RECONSTRUCTION 17/6 Karl Mannheim EASY MONEY AND TWO OTHER PLAYS Alexander Ostrovsky Levine & Seligmann YOUTH AND TO-MORROW 4/6 MODERN MARRIAGE List of "Freedom" Publications, etc., NOW-8

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what Next in India? ? national independence. They would argue that the national independence of India is

not sure of the answers either.

Literary Notes

(Continued from page 7) Wallace Stevens and two pieces of reportage on Paris and Nuremburg are the most interesting fragments of this at least well-produced magazine.

The German Opposition

Dwight Macdonald, in which the latter defends Orwell sensibly against a somewhat self-righteous attack. 1. Available from Freedom Press, 2/6 ea.

2. Available from Freedom Press, 1/6. 3. Available from Freedom Press, 2/-.

Imperialism an Obstacle to

should be supported.

pendence of subject nations weakens or servative opposition movement in Ger- shaky. There is no reason why two resufficiency, in place of the development towards a world division of labour. It is sort will appear in India. And this has made some people doubtful about supporting Indian nationalism in the past.

Political "Experience"

peasants will come with the overthrow of brought to see the need of a different sort workers and peasants and that it will not the overthrow of capitalism, with the idea turn out to be what the workers and that this would be the same thing as the Read would be unconvincing as a Now all this is difficult; as questions

often are when they get down to a discussion of "necessary stages". It would the Conservatives, being nearer to Hitler, subject peoples will make it possible for ment of the working class movement? Of course, socialists may say at once that awakening working class opinion to the among the people and will only retain to further the working class movement when they lead to the loss of any working

> either in the sense of furthering the development of productive forces, or in the sense of furthering the "enlightenment" of the masses.

Anarchists have always favoured de-But the Leninists also have political centralization. But is may not be that reasons for supporting movements for important. But it may be that distinctions the exasperation voiced in our Glasgow

are needed here too. We are opposed to comrade's letter in Freedom for 14/6/47, so obviously a breathing space between cataclysmic conflicts, it seems a little unrealistic to talk so exclusively of plans for research and study. McD.'s letter Indian independence is a development to have now. I don't say it would. I don't for Read's final paragraph we would be welcomed, although they will say at know. But just as socialists were not clear indeed have to describe his attitude as the same time that it will not free the what they wanted when they worked for "out of this world".

achievement of socialism, so we may not honey-worded seducer, but there are be clear what we want when we work he paints of the anarchist's role as an along his seven-fold path, for a scholarly AGITATION FOR SPAIN of us than the thankless rough-and-tumble of agitation, propaganda and resistance, and it would be fatal to our movement to delegate these tasks to "those comrades whose temperaments are extraverted and

> It is not true to say that "the last important contribution to anarchism was Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid". Are we justified in so lightly setting-at-nought the should teach us and encourage us. The libertarian community established by the Mexican peons in the wake of Zapata's army, the exploits of the Makhnovists in the Ukraine, the achievements of the Spanish working-class, and even our own "pushed forward the landmarks of liberty" just as surely as the works of our great theoreticians. The vindication of anar-

-For those who consciously embrace anarchism, there is the harder, and less rewarded task of fighting for it.

"We wanted to marry, but then we were

reminded that I was a prisoner of war

or, to put it in a better way, a member

of a defeated army, a man who had no

right to love. But we two were happy,

Peckham and Coventry.

three functions. She has won the hearts of Spaniards

by her interest in working class problems and has given considerable sums children in the streets. Before her tour of Spanish provinces she will give a gala dinner and ball at

the Argentine Embassy. Sunday Express, 15/6/47. We know the sort of interest in the workers the philanthropic Senora has!

ANARCHY—I States within the States (Coal Boards,

Do not suppose that, if Mr. Attlee is Brighton, it would not be surprising replaced by a Conservative or Liberal before year ended Government instructed Prime Minister, you, the toad, will find book trade as to exactly what books they much difference in the harrow. They will may or may not publish. all promise you more liberty and they will really mean it, but, since you will also be demanding a more complicated, a ENTHUSIASTIC more intricate, and a more phycially comfortable existence, and threatening them regulate you more and more.

and less. Therefore it is most important Age." that liberty in spiritual and intellectual affairs should become more and more

the production of wealth; let us cherish

'A true enough prophecy—but anarchy Frankfurt said yesterday. in the production of ideas leads to demands for simplification, not complication. And we demand anarchy

in the production of wealth, too. The Western Powers should therefore

seek the agreement of Russia to the For "degenerate" read "progress".

larger buildings and hot steam for houses were a real and early possibility in cities, ment" to-day. Dr. Arthur H. Compton, Nobel prizewinner, told a gathering of American

Through

Hiroshima had that two years ago!

Mr. Sydney J. Goldsack, publisher, said at Library Association conference Evening News, 11/6/47.

with the political wilderness if they don't ready to make test flights on the B-50, the give you what your bodies want, they will Super Flying Fort, 133 of which are on order for the Army. It is called by me last night: "Invitations to serve on the Liberty in economic matters will get less enthusiasts "The Bomber for the Atomic

anarchy in the art of living and the Zone are fleeing into the American Zone "In the first two weeks of this month

All men in Saxony between the ages of

at least 2,000 refugees crossed the border,"

establishment of spheres of influence. On June 14th, refugees say, a Soviet meets in conference on Wednesday, a reso-They will, of course, be accused of play- raid was conducted in the cities of Halle, lution to this effect will be moved. ing power politics. But without power Erfurt and Mulhausen to question all men rapidly degenerate into powerless anarchy. who had served in the Luftwaffe or navy Evening Standard, 16/6/47. were sent to unknown destinations.

The People, 29/6/47.

ANARCHY IN

Ramsgate is a town without a "govern-The Council, led by Alderman S. E. the town clerk, town crier and other

officials, are sailing for France. Look out for news of a crime wave

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

veloped during the last few years. the chairmanship of ex-Tory chief, Lord Davidson, has been set up in London to secret electric torpedo which seeks out and profess to be Socialits, who appear to welcome Senora de Peron, wife of the tracks down its target, new high-accuracy condone things that are done by Govern-Argentine dictator, when she arrives in rapid-fire 3 in. anti-aircraft guns which ments of the Right. Britain on July 15.

be a very powerful and important com- of approaching aircraft or guided missiles, uphold absolute moral values and that mittee of British people who have long- and new types of mines and components justice should be done, whatever the views The Boeing Aeroplane Co. of Seattle, is standing associations with the cultural, for which no counter-measures have been of the individual. social and commercial life of Argentina." developed. Mr. Kenneth Grubb, the secretary, told committee will be sent out on Monday. We expect to have 50 V.I.P., including NATURE vs. LAW News Review, 5/6/47. directors of firms, such as Imperial Chemical Industries, Shell Mex, and General Electric, who have commercial Vetter, German P.o.W., who pleaded to choose its Government whatever its links with South America. No politicians guilty at a court-martial at Hampton political character. will be invited."

Conservative Party from November, 1926, Reynolds, mother of his child. Sentence The Leader, 14/6/47. operated uranium mines, U.S. officials in to May, 1930, and is on the board of the Central Argentine Railway Co.

it was stated, "and most of them tell the THOSE HUMANE

sixteen and sixty, they say, have been The closing down of Dartmoor Prison promises to us, but it was never thought ordered to register for work in the pitch- "in the interests of humanity" is to be blende mines 3,000 ft. deep in the urged once more.

politics the affairs of the world would between the ages of 17 and 35. Those Why stop at Dartmoor? In the in-

IMPROVEMENTS

the Press

liberty are pushed forward."

[Literary and Social Judgement

It would be hard not to sympathise with

Chicago University, where the atom bomb will be on my side for ever." present American supply of "new and im- And the sentence the C.M. ordered proved bombs" was big enough to destroy was 12 months imprisonment. all the world's largest cities. "The Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs,"

In view of the latest outrages in Spain

European countries human rights were Congress hitherto secret weapons dement was a travesty. He added:

or a worker, a Conservative, a Liberal or Present foreign policy was based on the Cradling his baby in his arms is Werner principle that every people had the right

President Peron calls himself a Labour man, and describes his party as the

Government in the Argentine is Fascist? war very late; but so did some of our other allies. Admittedly, also, there was German influences. Certain phases of the Government are certainly dictatorial but we must remember that this is South America, where democracy is com-

in Sunday Pictorial, 22/6/47.

"We did not worry about rules or regulations, because love is a law of its own, a law of human nature, and nature won. I know the mother of my child

happy beyond words to describe.

Mr. Attlee said that in certain Eastern

The U.S. Navy revealed in a report to denied and so-called democratic govern-These included the closely guarded people in this country and people who

can fling their proximity-fused shells "It was vitally important to the health Lord Davidson said yesterday: "It will 50,000 ft into the air to burst in the path of the Socialist movement that is should

"Freedom of speech, freedom of con-Evening News, 25/6/47. science and personal freedom is the right of the individual, whether he is a capitalist

How true is it to say that the present

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

should be closed down.

Lovett, near Droitwich, yesterday to im-Lord Davidson was chairman of the properly associating with Miss Olive will be promulgated. This is what he

said in mitigation:-Reynold's News, 22/6/47. "As a boy of 17 I was plucked away an insane war leader who wanted to Labour Party of the Argentine. conquer the whole world with our young lives . . . they never tired of making

When the Prison Officers Association at last a different meaning. I met a my worries, well knowing that I was understood and knowing that that person

had no hatred of me. "The whole day I was thinking of the paratively young. joy of the evening hours. We made plans

-Lord Stragboli (leading Labour Peer)