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AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS

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that if they kept quiet they would be left

weapons of the Ministry of Labour against action against such call-up, such as that taken in Northumberland and Durham

The Ministry of Labour, outside whose dismal branches long queues were waiting

at 71. Streatfield Ave., East Ham, E.6 to yield on certain points-for instance, of unemployment. For us however this is organisation with so much power as the Ministry of Labour. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the enslaving trends of modern of government, at all-should see the William Godwin: institution which leaves certain men in charge of national servitude.

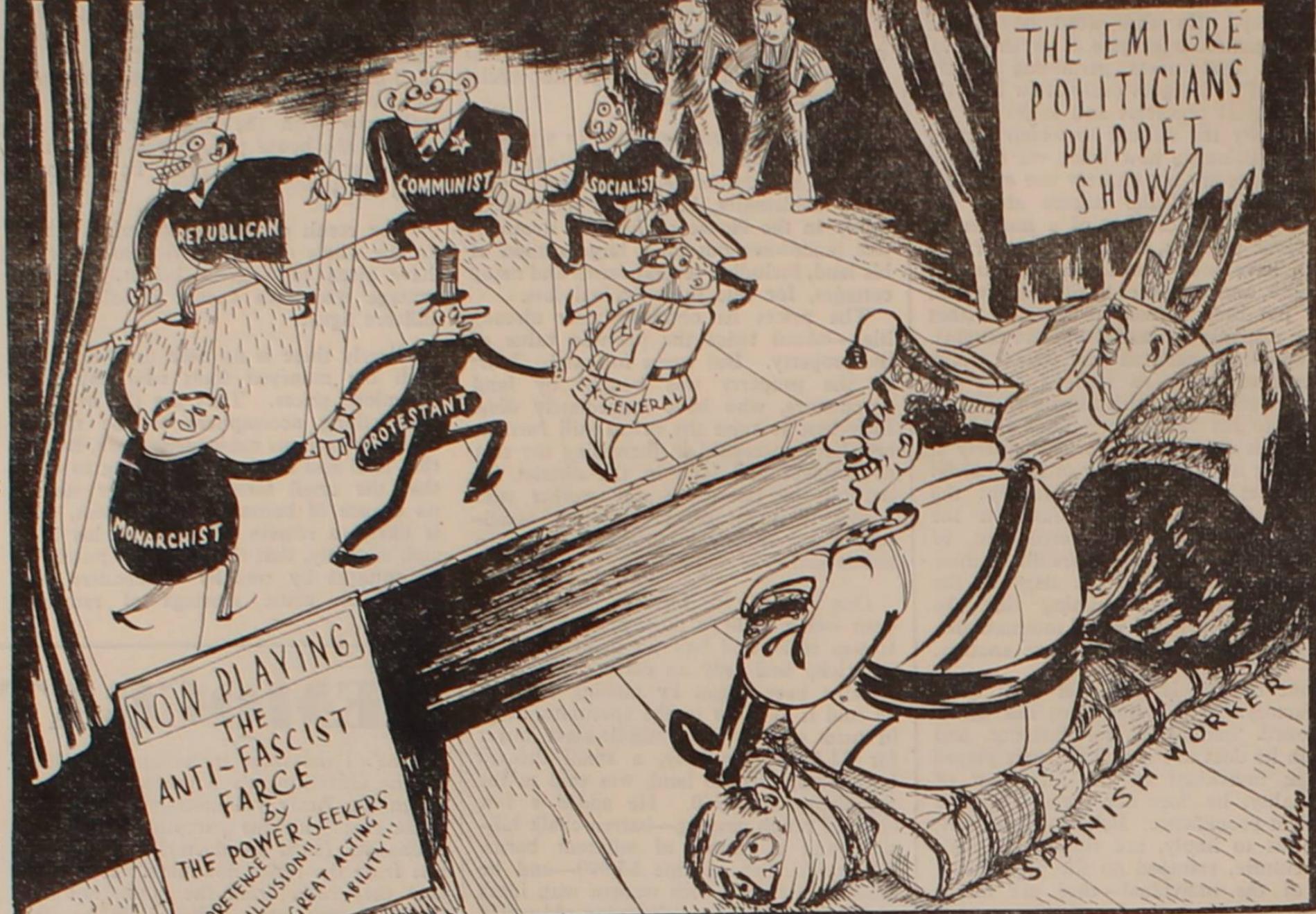
Church and Army in Spain (Continued from page 5) the Roman Catholic Church, aided by the A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM

Redemption by Labour in Catholic-Fascist Spain

Now the forced-labour system that was instituted in Spain under the Catholic-Fascist dictatorship approximates closely the forced-labour system of atheistic Russia. After victory over the Republican forces, Franco's State held more than a million prisoners, most of them working people, civilians. The subtraction of so many workers from the economy of the when the Axis powers looked to Spain for Coopers Hall, Shaw Street, essential raw materials and foodstuffs. Therefore, the Republican prisoners were set to work to earn their keep. This programme was officially credited to the genius of the Jesuit Father Pérez del

> The law called "Redemption by Labour" regulates the employment and payment of the political prisoners, most of whom have been given very long sentences. In 1945, the forced manual labourer Catholic-Fascist Spain received a dail wage of 4½ cents (50 céntimos). The wives of married men were allowed 18 cents (2 pesetas) a day and 9 cents (1 peseta) for each child under fifteen. Since forced labourers working at such wage rates could not be expected to be very productive, the prisoners were offered the chance to shorten their sentences for commendable work. Thus for one day of good work two days were to be subtracted from the prisoner's term. Clerical prisoner-workers received no wages besides food, but also had their work days count towards the shortening of their sentences. Also in Communist Russia, the policy of government-employer is to have political and common lawbreakers "redeem" themselves by labour. There too, the prisoner may shorten his sentence by the performance of commendable, productive labour. It is for such Christian statesmanship

that Franco has received the Pope's



RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY

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THE KRONDSTADT REVOLT WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA KROPOTKIN-HIS FEDERALIST John Hewetson:

ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI LL-HEALTH, POVERTY AND THE Cloth 2/6, Paper 1/ MUTU'AL AID & SOCIAL

> "correct upbringing"! State's Responsibility

ment cannot escape their responsibilities like that. If they thrust young men of 18 into unfavourable environments they must expect bad results. In addition, it prior to the Royal Visit? is well known from past experience that

Conscription & V.D.

Much has been said for and against as the food position of a defeated conscription; economic factors have been population worsens, prostitution increases. weighed against strategic factors, and the Desperate women and young girls sell Labour Government has now pushed the themselves to the soldiers of the armies Conscription Bill through Parliament as of occupation for the sake of trivial items

attention to the effect of conscription on means in actuality) ensures that the occuthe health of conscripts. Speaking in the pying soldiers take full advantage of these House of Lords on June 3rd, he gave dreadful bargains. Italy saw this sort some startling figures on the incidence of of degradation in the closing stages of the venereal diseases in the armed forces war, and prostitution is still rampant abroad. In September last year there were there; and hence also venereal disease. the following rates for new cases of V.D.:

228 per 1000 was rejected. But since parliament has In Burma and Malaya

Lord Moran also pointed out that since will do little or nothing apparently to give THE MIXTURE AS BEFORE real purpose was to provide armies of occupation. Yet the use of conscripts said to-day there is no evidence yet to overseas, he declared, was a policy which show that a future war is going to beno democratic European government had push-button. ever countenanced; and he was profoundly "As a soldier I couldn't possibly recomconcerned at its effect on health and mend to my Ministers that we scrap every-

The Government proposes to send a There is no evidence that land battle will large proportion of conscripts at 18 years disappear. Therefore as soldiers we have old, and straight from school, quite in- to be prepared for battle on land as in the experienced in the outside world, to Ger- past. many and other occupation areas for their "It is possible that atom bombs in the military training. In some of these areas future will be outlawed, as was gas. It is the new-infection rate for V.D. was higher possible, too, that atomic and guided than one man in five. Lord Nathan's missiles will be effectively countered." reply for the Government to Lord Moran. was very lame indeed. He spoke of giving intensive thought to the matter," of the work of Army Chaplains, and Army Education and Welfare organizations. Finally, he passed the buck altogether by

GLASGOW ANARCHISTS CHARGED Two of our Glasgow comrades, Eddie Shaw and Preston Clements, But, clearly, the Army and the Govern- have been charged with obstructing traffic in Maxwell Street. Is it an attempt to 'clean-up' the city More details in our next issue.

Stop Press

It is time the slavery of conscription

in refusing to subject himself to the hated

Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery

thing and turn over to button pushing.

Evening Standard, 28/6/47.

The Meaning of Freedom

Freedom is a word that means a lot of cost of producing the paper is to increase different things for a lot of people. the circulation. Are you taking as many FREEDOM we find, as we walk through the copies as you can, to distribute and sell to shops is a permanent wave, or it is a dish- your friends? Are you getting new subwasher. Passing from the soap department scribers? Does your newsagent sell "Freeto the soft-soap department, it becomes a dom"? catch-word on the lips of politicians. From right to left, they will talk about it, but it doesn't mean the same thing to all of them. or perhaps it means very little to any of what about it? One of our main problems, (and yours too, no doubt), is money. In ham: F.H. 9/-; London: E.L.D. 2/-. these days, when our rulers implore us to "work and pray, and live on hay", there isn't much cash about, but the Press Fund Previously acknowledged is a good use for whatever you can spare.

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To-day p. 4 Army-Church Plot in Spain p. 5

A Definition of Personality p. 6

Vol. 8 No. 15



"Patriotism is the most foolish of passions, and the passion of the foolish." SCHOPENHAUER.

> "After all, the Anarchists are right: the poor have no

CLEMENCEAU.

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INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

26th July, 1947

foreign policy, and, we must not forget, certain self-styled revoranks also, told the workers to Tories, the Front Populaire place of Franco. conceal their social aims from the against the Rightists. The Comoutside world. "Let the world munists for their part, felt disthink in terms of "Democratic credited after the Moscow Trials, Republic' resisting a rebellion," and backed the International they said, "and in this way, we Brigade as a propagandist will get help from the democratic counter-blast.

slogan—that 'of 'Democracy versus Fascism', the bourgeois opportunists who did not happen to find themselves on Franco's side, were able to frustrate and finally destroy the revolution finally destroy the revolution under cover of the magic words 'discipline' and 'unity'. They have not changed their tune since HERE was no battle at Hastings when the world's biggest union, the shop, persecuted their own fellow workers the defeat, and to-day, the same forces (and even the same faces), are to be found in Spanish mously sheep-like a flock of delegates as one could wish to avoid. And more pline, more control over the workers. emigré circles, expounding the shackles were well and truly fashioned for the British worker. same views, and playing at governments among themselves. lacking neither Ministers nor Ambassadors, and wanting only

Isolated groups claim to represent this and that organisation, which in Spain itself has or had hundreds of thousands of members, and persuade themselves that they are struggling against Franco, when they continue the popular measures through the trade democratic T.U. movement, was able to introduce the of labour. forces to take action". Is it not infamous regulation IAA against strikers, clear by now that the 'democratic | after putting into practice one of the most forces' have no desire to take action? These groups know this,

one thing—power.

way, by absorbing the unions into the

machinery of government, and turning

against the workers. The second method

complete systems of labour regimentation

in the world. And he was able to do this

without any large-scale opposition from

is now favoured by most governments.

the various elements known as existence, later on, to the masses Therefore, both the allegedly some cases, even with Franco fish was caught!) the Left Wing for eleven years, and it is pathetic to see how little inside Spain to whom they mean to present themselves as leaders. Included the antegethy some case and the left wing for eleven years, to present themselves as leaders. Franco himself have their alterntheir Socialist hangers-on, the By representing the Spanish war over of power to the Monarchists, years of anti-Fascism in Spain as some real demonstration of inter-Communist agents of Russian as one of heroic Republicans who, in turn want an agreement a build-up for their own political national solidarity and determinversus wicked Fascists, they pro- with the Left that will stabilise ends, and having got power as a ation, we do not need to wait selves, the Left against the Right, workers that they have at last their interest in the anti-Fascist sands, we can act now! lutionists among the Anarchist the Labour Party against the got back their own leaders in

Meanwhile, Spain suffers un-

the more acute because of the people's knowledge that even in victory, a sell-out is already plangovernments." That help did At the present moment Franco tribution to make. And there Hungary have been forbidden office. Wing' is deeply entrenched in regime is unstable and for that their intention to cash-in on the ment."

T.U. Bosses Preparing to Betray Workers

To-day, Arthur Deakin has stepped

tion rendered them docile, but it was Labour Front in Nazi Germany-the sub-

And at Hastings Arthur Deakin paved from the workers for less and less. And

When the Glasgow dockers were on On this Deakin is opposed to the gov-

strike two months ago, there was no-one ernment (theoretically). And yet, while

more violent in his attacks on them than he opposes preference for basic industries.

plinary action by the government. His dustries! And at the same time, call

pal, Will Lawther, of the Mineworkers. for greater efficiency in the managemen

has called for the prosecution of unofficial of industry.

Members of the Transport and General

Workers' Union have, in carrying out the

T.U.C.'s declared policy of the closed

stock the paper?

workers to them.

mainly because it was "our Ernie" doing jection of the workers and their reduction

the dirty work that made them think it to servile industrial robots.

Transport and General Workers, held it conference there last week.

THE Spanish situation has but only by these constant ap- same anarcho-syndicalist wave ments, by open discussions with struggle. (They no longer been on the consciences of peals can they justify their that swept over Spain in 1936. intermediary governments, and in needed to disguise the bait. The

Can we do nothing to aid the The Spanish people must them- Spanish workers? Cannot we for they have done about it. When The reason why the 'demo- ative plans. The Leftist politi- selves give the answer to their once take the offensive instead the Spanish struggle began in cratic forces' cannot be per- cians aim at stepping in with a discredited leaders and the shady of forever playing a defensive 1936, when Franco's clerico- suaded to take action is that they ready-made government to be opportunists. And we in Britain rôle? We must awaken an Fascist insurrection was pitted have never had any real interest installed with foreign bayonets must expose to the British Anarchist militancy that will at against the revolutionary achieve- in the Spanish struggle. To be when a workers' rebellion has workers, what lies and humbug least equal the militancy of our ments and aspirations of the candid, they backed it for its already taken place, while are perpetrated by the Left opponents. If we can arouse the working class, the Republicans, glamour value, and not for itself. Franco plans a gradual switch- opportunists here, who used the British worker's conscience to jected into it a symbol of them- the regime by persuading the result of it immediately dropped for a big organisation of thou-

Meanwhile, Spain suffers under Fascism, and its agony is all Workers of the World Unite Red Army Ban on "Fratting"

ned by those with the least con- RED ARMY officers in Austria and and released to the Press by his Paris

not come, and has not come to exists by suffrance of the great are those who are not ashamed "any social intercourse with the local Signed by Col. Gen. Kurasov, comthis day when the 'Left powers. They know that his to parade openly to the world population on pain of severe punish- manding general of the Russian Central Group of Armies (Austria and every European reason would like to see him re- bitter struggle in progress in This was disclosed at the beginning Hungary), the order, promulgated last placed. But they do not wish Spain by publicly talking of of the week in a "top secret" Soviet month, accused a number of officers to see his downfall followed by political deals and alliances, by order quoted at length by an Ameri- of falling under the influence of

a workers' revolution, by the the formation of dummy govern- can Columbia radio correspondent, "bourgeois ideology."

is quoted as saying, "have forgotten their allegiance and are attempting to satisfy their desires by personal enrichment, by acquaintance with foreign women, by attendance at foreign variety shows, cabarets and by the

temptations of hard drinking. "Some of the Soviet officers abroad them out of their jobs. All this in the have started cohabitation with foreign There was no battle, no struggle. The leaders were followed by as unani- name of greater efficiency, greater disci- women, have been put in difficult situations and, being afraid of punishment by Soviet justice, have turned to

sefulness of the trade unions. It can the workers. Admittedly the war situa- precisely similar to that of Dr. Ley's the fatal way of treachery. The order quoted the case of a major from the Political Division who was stated to have lived with a foreign woman and to have become a traitor into Bevin's shoes as the boss of the In vain has the government looked for to the Soviet Union, and added "some T. & G.W.U., most powerful figure on incentives to persuade more production the T.U.C. So if the government have from the workers. By the very nature of dozen similar cases throw doubts on piece of dirty work to carry out-who the capitalist economy to which it is tied our security and the preservation of better to introduce it to the workers than and the economic position of Britain to- State secrets entrusted to the Central

day, more and more is being demanded Group of Forces." the way for the government to re-intro- it is an indication of the confusion of In the present tense situation, unions has proved effective. During the duce a measure hitherto only tolerated in thought that exists within the T.U. movewar, Bevin, because of his standing in the this country in war-time—the direction ment that there is now conflict on the come our opponents," the order urged undermanned industries in order to attract | the imperative importance of showing the superiority of the Russian way of

Deakin. Calling the strikers "saboteurs" he is prepared to support the compulsory riminals", etc., he appealed for disci- direction of labour into those very in-

A B.U.P. report states that: "A limited amnesty for Spaniards serving sentences for offences against the Franco regime was decreed in Madrid to-day, eleventh anniversary of the outbreak of the civil war.

It affects Spaniards arrested for minor political offences after the end of the war who are serving sentences of less than 12 years or who have not yet been brought to trial."

We publish this report, taken from the

Dutch Using Bombers Australian Dockers Refuse to Load

Ships Bound for Indonesia Hostilities between Dutch and Indones- loading of two Dutch ships, because of ians in Java and in parts of Sumatra are "the reported violent Dutch aggression

reported as we go to press. The Dutch against the Indonesian people." One Government appear prepared to carry out ship is in Brisbane and the other full scale military operations against the Adelaide. Indonesians, and the use of bombing planes equipped with rockets, machine guns and light bombs has been admitted in the Dutch Army communique. The Indonesian Premier, Mr. Sjarifoed-

din, in a broadcast warned the Dutch of the hatred air attacks would arouse. The first working-class reaction to this latest aggression by the Dutch comes from Australia where according to an Associated Press report the Waterside Workers' will know their duty without waiting to Federation has banned temporarily the be asked.

The assistant general secretary of the you asked your newsagent to federation, Mr. Roach, said the ban would stand until the Indonesian situation became more clear. He added that the federation would also consider calling upon waterside workers in other countries, including Britain, the United States, and Holland, to impose a similar ban.

It is to be hoped that British Dockers

THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER OF THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER. WANTED: 2,000 New Readers! Are you helping to introduce new readers to FREEDOM? Have

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RESISTANCE

INCENTIVES

question of preferential treatment for the

This activity in the name of Socialism is laving down the pattern of society for the future. Whatever retrogressive mea ires the present government manage foist upon the people will undoubted be much more permanent than they pretend at the moment. The total State i in process of creation in Britain. The task of workers everywhere is to

the logical partner of military conscrip-

News Chronicle, (19/7/47) not that we believe in Franco's "amnesties" but tion, and in self defence and for our own | because we think it worth recording self-respect, we must reject these foul that Franco admits that there are still restrictions on our freedom of action. an unspecified number of Spaniards in Individually and collectively, class-con- gool since 1939 who have not yet been scious workers must be prepared to use brought to trial. Of course everyone all means to frustrate and defeat the gov- knew that but it is more convincing ernment's sordid regimentation of the when the information comes straight

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

26th July, 1947

plant. Now, however, it seems that another

reason may be the more important one-

that the effects upon health of working

on atomic research are becoming known,

and health is, rightly, considered before

We have to thank Bob Edwards

assistant general secretary of the Chemical

public notice (in a report to the T.U.C.

Workers' Union, for bringing forward to

what is happening to workers at the

Risley research station, near Warrington,

where, he says, the ill-effects of atom

News Review, 17/4/47, described Bob

gaged on atomic research are suffering

in rashes, and falling asleep in 'buses.

men's future health and well-being . . . '

To Birmingham University's Professor C.

P. Moon, the charges came as a complete

SECRECY DEMANDED

Shortly after Edwards' statement to the

"Most surprised were atomic scientists.

Their home lives are being disrupted.

"The C.W.U. claimed that members en-

work include sterility.

Edwards' report thus:

One can dispose of his opening argument speedily: it is true as he says that Anarchist movements are emerging from the war with great vigour but it not accompanied by "large-scale synd this is the fact that up to the present mass support for our ideas in any form movement has rejected syndicalist activity. it merely puts forward the ideas and it awaits the workers to take advantage it to appear as a psuedo-Messianic body that proposed to do the emancipating for them, like the political parties. What would be the point of "large-scale syndicalist" movements at this stage?

Then again it would be quite justifiab to sneer at the IWW as having "precious little to do with anarchism" if it cla anything of the sort: since it sets out to be an organization of workers run from the bottom up, if it were directed any way by anarchists it would be con trary to its own purpose (and as un anarchistic as a Government compo-Anarchists!). It may be true that "old-fashioned" since the modern U. worker follows Lewis or Green or Bridges but I don't see the harm of being "behin the times" in that respect. In instances where an organization has a great worker. history behind it (like the anarch syndicalist unions in the Latin American countries, for instance) it would be stiupic to change the name and form of the organization simply because it no longer had the support it enjoyed in the "oldfashioned" days when there was more action and less talk. To come to the point of George

Woodcock's argument: he claims that the commune was relegated to a minor place in syndicalist theory. This is not so. The local syndicates have always been essential industries-railways, post, etc.that could not possibly be local, can be run. The idea of 'one big union' need not frighten us into talking as our correspondent does of 'monster unions'. After unionism in the sense of participation volve "mass" movements-of everyor

taking part-rather than "representative What is more to the point, again is his statement, "We have tended in the past anarchist communism put forward by Kropotkin and Reclus." Surely any study of Kropotkin and Recus shows that their idea of anarchist communism basically in cludes syndicates. Kropotkin's ideas of the position of the labour movement were the subject of an article recently Throughout Kropotkin's writings on anarchist communism you will find his idea of the anarchist communi society based on "the trade union and th

ANARCHISM -Interpretations

We accept all natural authorities and all influences of fact, but none of right; for every authority or every influence of right, officially imposed as such, becoming directly an oppression and a falsehood, would inevitably impose upon us slavery and absurdity.

In a word, we reject all legislation, all authority and all privileged, licenced, official and legal influence, even though arising from universal suffrage, convinced that it can turn only to the advantage of a dominant minority of exploiters against the interests of the immense majority in subjection to them.

This is the sense in which we are really Anarchists.

Michael BAKUNIN.

EORGE WOODCOCK'S article on the anarchist movement to distinguish to 'write down' the necessity of balancing diverse, such as Kropotkin, Stirner and sense, is. It is not an official programme:

The Commune as a Factor in a ourselves from so many reformist and the revolutionary anarchist movement in the French syndicalists, seem to synthesise it is the unofficial spontaneous risings in Free Society" (Freedom, 14/6/47) betrays, pseudo-revolutionary tendencies, is simply a syndicalist and communist character, i.e., into an Anarchist position for to-day. industry as manifested in England and I am afraid, rather a lack of thought on the anarcho-syndicalist position, as you one of unions and councils. In fact, with Lastly, does not George Woodcock's elsewhere in the world. The object of the subject. It is surprising that even a will find it defined in Reclus, Malatesta, the distance of time from early con- statement that "there is no syndicalist Anarchism is not to direct such activities, troversies in the Anarchist movement, the activity in England to-day" seem to point but to show how they could be utilised could tend one to the belief that anarcho- I do not know of any "classical" various contributions made by such to a conclusion that he has simply over- for the building of a free society.

George Woodcock's Reply to A.M.

DOSSIBLY my article does display a "lack of thought" on this subject. for it: it is not the case that the Anarchist | than a provisional point of view which I hoped might provoke discussion on a vital topic. However that may be, A.M. shows an equally lamentable lack of them. The only alternative would be for reading power, since he represents me as putting forward contentions wholly different from those I actually raised.

It seems frankly incredible to me that anybody should gather from my article the impression that I condemn syndicalist activity as such, or contend that it is incompatible with anarchist communism. On the contrary, I stress throughout the necessity for working class struggle to end the present social system, and emphasise the need for the workers to organise themselves at the place of work. What I do argue against is, firstly, the tendency to relegate consideration of communal organisation to the background of our ideas, and, secondly, the perpetration of an idea of industrial organisation and struggle which ignores the technological development of modern industry.

I will quote two paragraphs from my article which. I think, exonerate me from any desire to condemn syndicalist activity in general, and which also summarise my point of view.

1. "I do not for a moment deny the

model for organisation in a free society, and, thirdly, that it should be realised that man considered only as a worker is a pretty lopsided individual. It is capitalism which makes men think of themselves as workers only-anarchism must make them strive to be whole men-and a whole man is a good deal more than a mere producer.'

anarchist communism, instead the now out-dated "Big Unionism" of the 1920's, necessitates a change in practical approach. Large-scale unity of workers in each industry is still necessary—but it is even more necessary to gain an intensive organisation in each place of work, and also the local association of workers of all trades."

Since A.M. seems habitually to confuse my meanings, I should say that by "organisation" I mean the sense 'self-organisation" in which the word is generally used by anarchists.

workers should be careful not is what I have been talking of-little to imitate capitalist forms of actual thought has been given to ideas organisation and set up unwieldy of communal organisation. If anarchist and ossified organisations, secondly, thought is to embrace the good elements

> I agree that our function is to put forward our ideas and wait for the workers to acept them. But this is no excuse for abstaining from perpetual self-criticism to see why these ideas are not accepted, and whether they still accord with current social developments. "industrial" organisation. Is that any The anarchist, surely, does not accept the various Marxist or mystical ideas of of maximum decentralisation as an the inevitablity of progress. He knows real progress has to be struggled for by continual relation of action to the changing circumstances of the social I think A.M. dangerously mini-

mises the dangers of large-scale organisation. To my mind any largescale body carries within it the dangers of affairs getting beyond the control of the individual members. The anarchosyndicalist movement in the Spanish civil war was an example. The workers communes and collectivised farms. The thing exists. C.N.T. itself tended in action to become more and more like any other large-But it is essential, firstly, that the theory. In recent years at least-which played at government, and pursued a this fact.

generally reformist policy. There were many reasons for this, but undoubtedly one of them was the unwieldy character of the movement with the distance which this placed between the rank and file and the "delegates" who had become much more like "representatives".

Decades of mass parties and mass that we should not necessarily ac- of modern sociological and technological unions have given rise to a widely-held cept the syndicate as it is evolved advances, it is certainly necessary for error that a big organisation is a more in struggle against capitalism as a it to give more thought to this subject. effective fighting organisation that a small one. In fact, experience proves that organisation and swift action at the point of production, by even a small number of individuals, can be just as effective and much more practical. Admittedly there are still some industries which would at present still demand reason for denying the validity immediate object?

> A.M.'s point about syndicalism being manifested in spontaneous risings in industry here and abroad is not wholly valid, unless one distorts the definition very much. Admittedly, strikers in England sometimes use a syndicalist technique, but the fact still remains that their struggle is reformist and not revolutionary in object. Hence these manifestations are only potentially syndicalist. It would be merely facile progressivism to take them for more at the point of production made real than they are and assume a revolurevolutionary achievements in their land tionary consciousness where no such

Lastly, of course the "classical" I wholly disagree with A.M.'s state- scale leftist organisation. It adopted a anarchist theorists supported the essening movement of the workers to ment that the commune has not been great measure of centralisation, threw tial ideas of syndicalist activity. I have precipitate the end of capitalism. relegated to a minor place in syndicalist up a crust of leaders who actually so far failed to find where I denied

Pacifism and Anarchism

of the 1939 war, a growing alignment own volition. movements. The alignment has been chiefly fortuitous, in that both movements were opposed to the war, although the war-resisters, and so it is that the pacifist and the anarchist movements now tend to

Before the war the pacifist movement in this country was large, and well-sponsored by well-known figures and intellectuals. continuance has shewn how flimsy was the peacetime pacifism of the majority of the bers of the pacifist movement, and also a widening split between the religious and

revolution was defeated and the sudden ment. The fact that the pacifist moveenthusiasm waned. The anarchist move- ment is being strongly influenced by ment has never recovered from the anarchism, is indicated by the constant tragic aftermath of the hopes of the

many people, that the State is just a thetical pacifist socialist government would technique. The people of some parts may danger, on the other hand, that the movepublic utility. The State began to reveal act in the conditions in which it must solve the problem of recalcitrant land- ment may be swamped by a pacifist inits true nature more plainly in wartime. find itself. The alleged 'public utility' shewed itself The fallacy of pacifist social democracy and the hanging of landowning families and lead it into paths of mere passivity? to have a life and an inhuman will of is apparent when we try and envisage how from the ancestral gateposts. But the This, and the danger of sheerly romantic its own. It shewed not only its physical it would work in pratice if there were a people of other parts may achieve the terrorism, is to be avoided by common powers of coercing the citizen quite government composed of men like pooling of land without resort to blood- work and mutual respect on the part of arbitrarily, but its amazing resources for Lansbury. It is not enough for pacifist shed. It is idle to dogmatize about the those who differ in their estimation of the stifling, debauching and moulding the socialists to deplore the intrinsic violence methods of revolutionary struggle which usefulness of violence in the achievement public will to accord with all its changing of the socializing campaigns of the must be used. Everyone can learn from of revolutionary ends. Such differences policies. Although this corruption of the Bolsheviks, Fascists and Nazis. They the lessons of the past and from the are largely academic as far as most of the people's will is only superficial, the mass must try to conceive how their own ideas study of other people's theories—but the real work which devolves on our

people profoundly. It was as though the Supposing therefore, that a hostile and thousand times more pacifist and humane any banal nonsense that the M.o.I. cared

The Pacifist Dilemma

Among the pacifists who have had the intelligence and the strength of character anarchist ideas have been rapidly spreadwhole has been dwindling, therefore, the struggle would flare up into open revolu-

That pacifists should become concerned direct result of the situation, the old John Most variety, than to the government. The authoritarian pillars of the pacifist movevilification of anarchy by writers and speakers of the pacifist authoritarian

The greater part of the non-religious They see in some form of socialist demo-

night with a change of government.

children of an orthodox family suddenly reactionary minority openly defied the found out that their revered papa was progressive legislation of a pacifist socialist cogs in the State machine. There is a curious theory however, which could actually govern by sheer moral While the pacifist movement as a that the pent-up stresses of the class anarchist movement has been growing and tion-with the 'government' as a passive spectator. That is, anarchy would be the himself that all anarchism in the future shocking to the die-hard anarchists of consolidating a new (non-pacifist!)

Pacifism and the Revolution

Let us now consider how pacifist ideas pacifist, nor can anyone seriously imagine are likely to fare if social change is to that such activity will take a specifically proceed on anarchist lines. Many people pacifist turn within any measurable time. fear that if the moderating, if suppressive, The probability is, in fact, that the revoauthority of the State were to break down lution will eventually be achieved by outside Russia some time to realize fully pacifists, while conceding much to completely, the sudden release of the people with somewhat differing views on anarchism, are however, social democrats. terrible stresses inherent in capitalist this as on other matters. It is inevitable society would produce such a welter of that the violence of the past, along with Nothing succeeds like success, and the cracy the solution to the problems of war violence that all the human values that a host of other stupidities, will colour 'success' of Russia under a centralized and social violence. Perhaps George pacifists uphold would utterly perish. all our theories and actions in the

dictatorship was pretty thoroughly sold to Lansbury best represented the case of the It is undeniable that in the first stages achievement of our revolutionary ends. the mass of the working class movement pacifist socialist in his Why Pacifists of any revolutionary outbreak violence will for very many years, and the libertarian Should be Socialists" (Fact No. 7). This certainly occur. People are conditioned In a movement such as ours there is ideas of the anarchists suffered a sad is certainly a well-reasoned argument to act in certain ways by the conditions room for action on a wide front. The shewing that capitalism is maintained by under which they now live. But the narrow-minded attitude of those who glory violence and must lead to war. But revolutionary movement can by no means in the romantic side of violence and scorn The coming of this last war gave a jolt Lansbury could not or would not really be committeed to the employment and all who are not with them, is not so to the comfortable illusion in the minds of deal with the question of how a hypo- establishment of violence as a regular much in evidence to-day. Is there a owners by the massacre of their supporters fluence which will strangle its militancy action resulting from it is far more base, would work out in practice, recognizing people themselves on the spot must im- movement. brutal and stupid than any actions the that the violence which is inherent in our provise and elaborate their own methods

is directing the revolutionary action, it is safe to say that ordinary men and A government, if it is to exist at all, women-even in hot blood-will be a

beast, will surely agree that a society in

which each man's actions, social or anti-

social, are his own responsibility, will be

which we know to-day.

nmeasurably more pacific than the one

Herbert Read has recently expressed

must necessarily be pacifist. This state-

ment is rather surprising, and, taken in

fact. No anarchist, whatever his views on

the subject, can deny the fact that the

genuinely anarchist activity which goes

on all over the world to-day is not entirely

TONY GIBSO

a literal context is a mis-statement of

T.U.C., a more sinister incident occurred The vice-president of the Chemical than when they are compelled to act as Workers' Union, George Turton, was due Pacifists will have to witness much violence whatever happens: only if social change proceeds along anarchist lines however, will they be free to try and make their ideas achieve some practical indiscretion in dealing with this matter. I fluence on how things go. Anarchists, is still on the secret list." Turton said that the letter implied "that any detailed It would, I suppose, be difficult to not deteriorate and, when a man sees the who would have left, even if only a violence, are utterly opposed to the idea of conscribing unwilling men for the Official Secrets Act and I am not week without making mention of the envelope, he does in actual fact derive 1 think, have been quite small. laughter. But pacifists who believe that Man it not a violent and insanely ferocious

"What I had to say would have been working not very many miles from even momentarily succumbs to the is probably now in fact somewhat higher in the interests of the community and not | Lincoln I had, in company with the other pleasant illusion that he really is better than the lowest paid urban jobs—anyhow, | where they can be heard, not ignored. of an alien country . . . A number of men, a day off in order to go and the off; which is, I suppose, from the State's when the lower cost of living in rural men are suffering from atomic sickness farm was shut down for the day—that is point of view, what matters. But, as the areas, especially the smaller amount of and I do not know how long they will as far as a farm can ever shut down. News Chronicle remarked sadly, in a earnings used up on rent and fares, is

GOVERNMENT SEEK

electricity load this winter."

ates. It was stated that the scheme should only be regarded as a temporary measure, not permanent, and that while the broad principles are laid down in the national agreement, the details were to be worked

out according to local conditions. A fortnight after the publication of this agreement comes the news that the government are now seeking powers to impose penalties upon employers and workers who

refuse to agree to work staggered hours. prison for the workers.

A FEW weeks back, we made mention governments openly banned the discussion in Freedom (14/6/47), of the govern- of atomic energy at the International Conment's latest scheme for recruiting new gress of Pure and Allied Chemistry which workers to its atomic energy plant at met in London on July 17th.

WORKSTOR

Disease for Atom Workers

Springfields, near Preston, Lancs. The The horrible thing about all this is Ministry of Supply is to open a training that not only are workers already school for boys and girls of 15 years and atomic research open to danger from over with the promise of salaries which radio-active substances, but that the cur-The salaries offered for older, qualified means that new entrants into the industry chemists, however, are not considered par- -including boys and girls just leaving ticularly good for the industry, and we school at 15-will take up the work in literally, in the hands of the police. Not are the same now as before. rather cynically thought at the time that complete-and one can only believe this lowness of reward was the reason why deliberately fostered-ingorance of the getting their licences renewed, but at any there was a shortage of workers at the possible consequences to their health.

The tightening up of secrecy on atomi matters has led to the Home Secretary declaring the atomic research developmen station at Harwell, Berkshire, the Department of Atomic Research at Risley, Lancs, and the Ministry of Supply Factory at Springfield, to be regarded as prohibited areas under the Official Secrets Act of

transformed from a township of huts and with American soldiers with money to multi-million dollar programme. The 7,000 workers are to be provided

from the effects of atomic energy with 1,000 new houses, six new blocks of flats, schools, cinemas and shops—and a Northern atomic station, more than 20 workers on the atom plant and their men are ill. They claim they have . . . families who all live behind an intense become sterile, that they are breaking out security curtain. At a new base at Sandia, New Mexico, the day.

according to the News Chronicle 17/7/47, "Complained C.W.U. Assistant Secretary Bob Edwards: 'The men are human guinea pigs. The scandal is that nobody seems to know the toxic effect on the under the orders of Gen. Eisenhower, Chief of Staff. They are answerable only to him."

All of which adds up, one way or posing that precautions so far taken are himself open to horrible disease. Even for such power is destructive. inadequate. There is no evidence of if he lives near such a plant, there seems

it is worth-while?

workers everywhere should refuse to work or national pride.

Only one thing seems certain. That in terms of humanity, not in terms of cash and refinements for the passenger, and was decentralised taxidrivers' syndicate.

admit I had hopes when I went of being

fill up these Notes. Unfortunately, I was

activities as long as they are controlled Britain, the Ministry of Supply an- another, to misery for the common man. by maniacs whose first thought is for nounced: 'There are no grounds for sup- If he works in an atomic plant, he lays their own power, and whose only use

> under the decentralised control of the we could get on quite well without to a community of any product are provements the drivers' desired for their of direct action by workers on the spot weighed against the cost of production own comfort and convenience plus radio which could be a feature of a militant,

TROUBLES OF A TAXIMAN

HOSE of us who take a taxi only when we are moving from one semi- a down-payment of £50 and £2 a week furnished room to another, or when the firm is paying, are sometimes inclined to forget that there is probably no body of workers more under the thumb of the police than taxi-drivers. And probably none in a better position must seem quite attractive at that age. tain of secrecy over the whole business to observe the character and behaviour of those known as "our betters".

only do they largely depend upon them for time their cabs can be tested by the police and if any fault is found, however minor its nature, they can be ordered into travel a day to pay the driver a living means of livelihood. The police, too, seem only too ready, should a taxi be involved in any accident, to jump to the conclusion that the taximan is in the wrong.

Earning a Living

During the war, taximen will not deny, they had a fairly good time-with regard In America, the "atom bomb town" of to monetary reward for their services, that Los Alamos, New Mexico, is being is. When England's cities were teeming trailers clustered round the atom plant | burn, taximen came into their own, and into a permanent institution under a were able to reverse their pre-war position.

For, before the war, it was not so unusual for a taximan to take his cab out in the morning and return with it at night without having driven a single "Of 250 men employed on research at the population is strictly limited to fare all day. And taxidrivers do not receive a standing wage from their employers —they are paid entirely in proportion to the amount on their clock at the end of

> "New forms of warfare are being being nearly 3,000 fewer cabs on the planned by a "superblitz board" of young streets of London, for instance, than be-Army officers working, with scientists, fore the war. So drivers are doing better. But they are doing better purely because

in their State's atomic research plants. | that price! That workers should boycott these filthy

We can wait for the possible benefits of lassitude or sterility. There has been one to be no guarantee that he cannot be atomic energy until all industries are workers in them. For only then can we scheme for maintaining a high proportion asked to pay exorbitant "rents" for the be certain that those industries are being of new taxis on the road. About 200 use of station approaches and could ply used for the common good; that workers of them got together and subsidised the for hire only at the one station for which will not be asked or forced to sacrifice | design and building of a prototype for a they had paid rent. The taximen boytheir health or their lives on behalf of new model taxicab to be built by Ford's cotted the stations and completely defeated Is it reactionary to suggest that maybe a larger lunacy; and that the benefits of Dagenham. It was to have all the im-

The livelihood of taxidrivers is, quite of the increased work they do; their rates

The passenger pays 9d. a mile, as the clock ticks. Of this, the employer gets get an idea of how many miles a cab must up on a time basis as well as mileage And, of course, the driver gets the extras for additional passengers over two, luggage or merchandise-and tips.

On the question of tips, most taximen find they get a better deal from Whitechapel Jews than from Mayfair ladies. who think 3d. 'over the clock' is generous.

The Price of a Cab

The position of the owner-driver is whether that number is going to increase Mr. Cox.

£395. To-day the hire-purchase price is see Mr. Cox to ask for representation, he £1,246 (£312 down and £3 13s. 2d. a is told that the union cannot afford to week for more than five years) which have him represented, and that he should means that a driver seeking his in- plead guilty and get off as lightly as he dependence must saddle himself with a can! It is difficult, in fact, to find out crippling debt, disastrously reducing his just what Mr. Cox does with his time, earnings for years to come. And if Mr. and taximen have now come to the same Daltons' little scheme for doubling pur- conclusions as many other workers with chase tax on expensive cars applies to regard to their union officials—that having taxicabs it will mean another £250 on won cushy jobs for themselves they are

At the moment, out of 3,500 new cabs promised for Britain's main cities last year, about 12 are on the streets of

Pre-War Scheme

to cost £150. This was to be paid for by

for a year, at the end of which time Ford would take the old model back and give the owner a brand new model for a continuance of the £2 a week only. And so on, every year. In that way, at a figure taxidrivers

could afford, they could all have their own cabs, which would have always been the latest model available and would never have deteriorated into the old boneshakers some of them now are. But the 6d., the driver 3d. From that you can police, who had to pass the model, could not tolerate anything so useful as that. For nine months they obstructed the wage, although the taximeter also clocks scheme, finding faults here and there, until finally they demanded such an alteration that Ford's threw up the job in disgust, and the taximen were back where they started.

> Now, two firms, Austin and Beardmore have practically the monopoly of taxi building and the prices are as I have

The Union

Taximen form a section of the Transport and General Workers' Union. Need somewhat different from the employed I say more? About two-thirds of London driver. But out of about 8,400 cab drivers pay union dues and the union drivers in London to-day, only about 1,000 boss, William Cox, is campaigning to own their cabs. And with the price of bring in the other third. But taximen I cabs as they are just now it's doubtful have spoken to are very bitter about

Should a driver be charged, for in-The pre-war price of a taxicab was stance, with a driving offence and go to no longer interested in the workers.

The Alternative

In May, 1944, the taxidrivers in Manchester staged a boycott against a system of licensing foisted upon them by the railway companies which operated Before the war, taxidrivers had a seriously against the taximen. They were

By the nature of their work decentralised into units of one, taximen would benefit considerably by the formation of a loosely organised syndicate with Land notes Wages & Reforms no paid officials to ignore their needs, circumstance. By practising mutual aid among themselves, no individual driver need suffer from persecution by the police, disclosures might constitute a breach of write anything about agriculture this extra ten bob written up on his pay smaller increase had been granted, would, and by boycotting high-priced taxis, the Royal. Since I happen just now to be some satisfaction from it and probably present economic status of farm-workers | that is for the men to decide for them-

> As it is, as one taximan said to me about his chance of getting a new cab-"When some lord sits on his arse in the thing might be done, but till then, we just

PHILIP SANSOM.

SEAMEN WILL SEE THE

"I have been reading a story about a boy who ran away to sea in the 1890's and I have decided to run away to sea. Is it easy? I am 45." (Reader's piercing yell.)

a drink and a smoke, it ain't worth Union and the Swabbers' Union and the Board has recommended an increase in Naturally enough, this move will not nothin'." Which, allowing for that ex- Nat. Union of Sea-Cooks and the Nat. the minimum wage for agricultural be without its effect, particularly as, in aggeration which is permissible in order Union of Watchkeepers and the Nat. Union of Binnacle-Polishers and the Nat.

News Chronicle (16/7/47). Sorry about that, readers, it just crept

themselves at all adequately supplied with tobacco or cigarettes. The Royal is a trade show, very in- The only political significance that this teresting to those in, or closely connected particular wage increase has is that it will

with, the trade, like most agricultural come into force more or less at the same "Full agreement was reached after a shows, but of no particular interest to time that the Control of Engagements four-hour conference between engineering people not connected with farming and Order comes to an end-for the time employers and trade unions at the Minis- having no political or social implications being anyway. This order rules that a tobacco is, I think, more resented than any try of Labour on a national scheme for | that I can think of, that might be of worker, while still permitted to retain the other action taken by the present governthe staggering of hours to reduce the interest to the layman. In our present privilege of changing his employer when, ment, falling as it does on those who can society, constituted as it is, the Royal and as often as, he may decide, is no! least afford it. My own foreman, who LASY as pie, cully, once you get past no doubt serves a very useful purpose, allowed to leave the industry in which had given up smoking his pipe, so he the Seamen's Union and the Marine the introduction or extension of night both from an educative and business he is at present employed—in this parsaid, suddenly appeared with it again one
Engineers' Union and the Stevedores' shifts and possibly working on Saturday standpoint. Having said that, there is not ticular instance, agriculture. It was feared Union and the DeckStewards' Union and mornings, where the five-day week oper- much more that one can say about it. by some that when this order was res- I remarked on the fact with the gleeful the Pantry-Boys Union and the Cargocinded, there would be a rush of men satisfaction of one who was wise enough Trimmers' Union and the Donkeymen's WAGES AND REFORMS off the land to more highly-paid jobs in never even to make the attempt, he nearby towns. The new increase is, there- laughed shamefacedly and then swore and Master Mariners' Union and the Marine Perhaps I should make some reference fore, granted largely as an incentive to said, "Well, I reckon if life ain't worth Apprentices' Union and the Bilge-cleaners' to the fact that the Agricultural Wages farm-workers to stay put.

interest to readers of Freedom; though I awful dilemma for the powers that be. who want the extra cash which can be

POLITICAL

workers over 21, with the usual corres- my opinion, the exodus would not in any to lend emphasis, is true enough. ponding increases for boys and women, case have been as large as some seemed to In a free society, no doubt, these Union of Bosuns' Mates and the Mercanfrom 80/- to 90/- per week as from the think. Granted that a very small per opiates, so necessary in a frustrating and tile Marine Control Board and the Board cent. of men at present employed in agri- life-denying existence for those who, of Trade and the Dept. of Overseas Trade Od lly enough, cottage rents will also culture, and especially perhaps by the through temperamental difficulties, cannot and a few more we forget. over-ruling a minority who "cannot be be raised to 6/- and board and lodging A.E.C.'s and mostly in some mechanical take to religion or Marxism, would play

Tuck in your beard like Tolstoy and tell allowed to wreck the scheme", is thus deductions for men living in to 30/- per capacity, only entered the industry in the a much smaller part. But that we could 'em all you ask is a tall ship and a star to be put into action. Minister of Labour week. So, when you add that on to the early part of the war solely with the very ever do entirely without them, that our to steer her by. They'll love you. George Isaacs and Minister of Fuel and | increased, and increasing, cost of living, understandable and sensible motive of lives could ever be so arranged (terrifying Power Shinwell have been given the task the worker is not really any better off. evading call-up if at all possible, and that word) that we hardly ever felt the need of devising the punishments, which will The most that can be said is that his many of these men will quit agriculture of either solace or stimulus, I myself am probably be fines for the employers and economic position remains static: if it as soon as they are allowed to do so; extremely doubtful. does not get any better it at least does even so the total percentage of workers

THE BASIS OF CIVILIZATION The great increase in the price

had thereby, or who find that they have

to have it occasionally in order to keep

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

Timothy Shy in

W/E can justifiably congratulate our- getting nowhere. vv selves on the widespread growth during the last two years. At the time of the 'Liberation', our groups and our militant comrades were dispersedengaged in various resistance activities, Nationalist political activity which they rightly considered to be ephemeral and potentially reactionary.

centration camps, and the firing squads conscious and vocal. had considerably reduced our numbers. None of the regimes which followed the camp, and Gourdin in Germany. The we must be content to remain a pacifist Ruff also died in Germany, and objectively negligible force. Volin, veteran of the Russian revolution, died as a result of his privations during the occupation. Many others, too; some, who paid dearly for the crime of having perceived the truth about the war, and for being unafraid to disclose it: and others who were unwilling to to maintain power, looks upon the submit, and continued their struggle in its various forms.

RE-BIRTH OF THE MOVEMENT

all these have influenced the growth of other excuses. a new and vigorous movement.

cliques and imperialist interests.

from Lille to Marseilles, from Brest to direct action. Mulhouse, and from Chambery to based on present realities.

Our challenge strikes to the very roots of the great social changes which shake the whole country. The opposition which has appeared, against the political parties which demand the trust of the working classes only in order to exploit them; the discontent which has the publication of the Libertaire during regrouping around the principles which silence, have not been able to suppress we have never ceased to proclaim. the libertarian influence in the recent Thus, there has been born the new strikes. Propaganda by action has been C.N.T. which is rapidly developing, far more effective than mere agitation. agitating and struggling. The thousands which is only its prelude. of letters which flood our offices testify to the new curiosity, interest, and faith

trol, adversaries of the total state, to discuss events or change library defenders of the rights of the individual. books. But, unfortunately, (with some exceptions) they seldom go beyond lipservice to these ideas. Rare are those who follow them to their logical conclusion, and free themselves from their electoral pre-occupations, their faith in some form of the State, some aspect of patriotisi or some sort of capitalist society.

THE INESCAPABLE

It was to these elements, no doubt, and especially to the left socialists, that Leon Blum addressed himself in his editorial in the Populaire for 17th

political, electoral or parliamentary action! Proudhon and Bauknin were

seek and grope blindly, to indulge in must remain independent. He cannot

more people of goodwill towards liberclash of ideas, shows that we have not yet learnt to take advantage of the have not yet learnt how to make it

We must build up a Libertaire with a circulation of 500,000, or a widely- are known to have died; "Only a circulated daily paper, we must organise handful of the 53,000-writes Peter vast, enthusiastic new audience, or else

THE FUNCTION OF PROPAGANDA

A political party, seeking to gain, or masses as a raw material, to be moulded into the required pattern, and must hold It promises high prices to the peasantfarmers, high wages to the industrial

Thus, for the politicians, the press This is why we have an organ which and platform are nothing more than each week reaches nearly 100,000 a means to power, and not a basically workers, despite sabotage, boycotts and essential aspect of their activities. To financial difficulties and the obstacles us, on the other hand, our printed and to criticise freely his allies and symplaced in our path by the parties, vocal propaganda, should serve to pathisers; any more than we can educate both our writers and readers, speakers and audiences, to prepare them, movement, here and abroad. Thus, we are addressing the people, and to make them capable of effective

Bordeaux. New groups are rallying When our comrades distribute their costs retain our integrity; we will not militants are revived by our enthusiasm. sake of enrolling them in an anarchist actually have. Such greater influence One by one, our conclusions justify group or to get their signatures to a belongs to the demagogic trickery of the themselves, for our theories relate to petition, it is in order to make them political parties. the present situation, our solutions are more conscious of their rôle in the that at the Renault works was a signi-

There have been many set-backs in

It is a lesson from which some of the anarchists themselves should profit, for too many groups seems to have lost Moreover, there are everywhere-in sight of the fact that we must intervene minded elements. There are a multitude activity, than a group whose members of federalists, partisans of workers' con- meet once a fortnight or once a month

OUR TASKS

mongers, who endeavour to climb into a privileged position by exploiting popu-

absolutely all forms of political action. continual contact between clear-sighted

right against Marx. The anarcho- does not wish to dictate the structure syndicalists were right against Guesde of the world of to-morrow; he wants to assist and inspire all the elements from which the free society will emerge. He its fifty years of existence, appeared And, indeed, neither we nor the grow- is anxious to work side by side with again within a few weeks. And Dr. futile activity like the squirrel contin- under the pretext of 'unity', or, in order Humana" because of his superhuman plement was published, is an effective ually turning the wheel in his cage, but to gain fresh support, give up his right

Anarchist Movement The Story of 22,000 Forgotten Men 31,000 more shot, tortured and starved to death

report by their special correspondent terrible. One eye-witness heard of 50 tarian ideas. But an examination of this in La Paz, Peter Grieve, on the fate deaths at that particular camp." re-orientation, which is revealed both of 53,000 men, who were hired by change of attitude, or, to be exact, we a time during the war when the main

East were in the hands of the Japanese forces. Of these 53,000 men, 31,000 trapped in the forest."

The story of the "death trek" as Grieve died in similar circumstances. calls it begins late in 1942, when the joint American-Brazilian plan was drawn up to produce the vitally needed wild rubber. The Rubber Bank was established and backed by American capital; Brazil undertook to transport the men from th Atlantic coast states of Brazil into the forest and to provide food, medicin

Men were recruited by various means workers, substantial profits to the for the "Special Mobilisation Service for capitalists and an easy life to the Amazon Workers" and Grieve describes It was necessary to start again from bureaucrats. When elected, it uses all the experiences of these men on their scratch. A few tenacious old comrades; the machinery of the State to maintain long rail and lorry trek to the forest. At Youth seeking the truth; a situation its power, and can conveniently forget a camp at Therezina, the men were kept clear to anyone not wearing blinkers; its promises in the interests of 'higher in "big open sheds for 15 days and the fulfilment of our past predictions; policy', 'national defence', or a host of guarded by troops with machine-guns. Soldiers were always present at meals to

indulgent with the faults of our own

We wish to deceive no-one-our cards are on the table. We must, at all

exaggerating our strength because of our propagandist and agitational activities. We must not mistake words for actions Our strength will not be measured by

THE News Chronicle have rendered frequent. "Six thousand men were already col- started work we were already heavily in problem. Every day the course of a public service in publishing a lected in this camp and the sickness was debt.

cattle trucks were provided to take one conditions at Sao Luiz as follows:-

and many died from yellow fever. There black-market." were shootings, too. One man, who in a

the town. In the suburbs they came up against barricades manned by troops with

kill as many as was necessary to quell the this sorry state there is still no official trouble. In the tense atmosphere arrange- answer to the question: "Where are these ments were made to place 8,000 men men?". aboard the steamer Pedro Primero and the other 4,000 between the steamer Para and

and we finally revolted and attacked the guards. Of course, we were subdued. water from the engine rooms on us. Those Amazonian scandals will leak out (after who caught the first shock had the flesh all we have only heard o fthe Amazonian

"I was eight days aboard the Pedro

Primero. Conditions were abominable,

SLAVE LABOUR

Ten months after the start of the journey, they reached Manios, where they round us, syndicalist elements are pamphlets at the Renault works, or betray our anarchist ideals; nor will we were handed over to the Amazon Valley

punished with solitary confinement.

"Now this is what happened at Manaos. Amazon Supply, saying: 'I can take so

cruzieros (£16) a head. The trader paid tons short of world requirements the Amazon Supply, but placed the sum

"From Manaos we were sent out in launches to the rubber areas throughout Amazonia. Our 6,000-mile journey was BOILING WATER CURE over and, though our work was just beginning, for most of us our lives were

was being built, and eventually held Grieve, of malaria, beriberi, skin diseases, "Only a microscopic part of the food and medicines provided for them ever reached "The camp finally held 12,000 men, them. These supplies went straight to the

ground at the feet of the camp com- are shackled there by "debts" which they mandant, was shot on the spot. Another have not the faintest chance of redeeming.

"Responsible Brazilians and foreign businessmen know all these things", writes Grieve, "for they have been spectators. And they are confirmed by American missionaries. But now, while the Brazilian Government and the Rubber "The commander said he had orders to Bank wrangle about the responsibility for Yes, where are these men, and where

are the million German P.o.W.s who have "disappeared" in Russia, the thousands of Italian P.o.W.s who have also "disappeared" in Russia, and all the men and women who are every day "disappearing" in Europe. The Nazis certainly have many millions of lives on their consciences, but when the full price paid for this "war "Well, they turned hoses of boiling salt. for freedom" will be known, when more peeled from their bones. Ten children scandal two years after the end of were among those who died in the Pedro hostilities) who will be able to honestly Primero. We had the boiling water cure say that the "Allies" have clear

STUPIDITY

EUROPE'S soil was exhausted. And coming to our support, and dispirited among the railwaymen, it isn't for the pretend to a greater influence than we Supply Service. The eye-witness quoted by yet, Hoover charged, "We, including our Allies, have been as busy as bees destroying the capacity to manufacture

> German nitrogen and phosphoric acid plants were being dynamited because they could be converted to munitions

The world's total nitrogen production

50 years of Anarchist Propaganda 50 YEARS ago, last month, a group efforts during the early years of the answer to those self-styled "working class

founded an Anarchist paper which the country when he defied official papers which try to give their readers not only articles on the "class struggle" but they called La Protesta Humana. It attempts to prevent the paper being also articles which in present-day language answered a growing demand for an sold, by hiring a carriage, which he would be referred to as "cultural". Duranarchist periodical in the Spanish filled with copies of the paper, and by ing the eight years that the supplement language; a demand which had been driving through the streets of Buenos in newspaper format and the supplement created by the agitation very largely Aires selling the paper with one hand magazine format) the works of the world's of immigrants from Europe, amongst and brandishing a revolver in the best social writers and thinkers were made whom our old comrade Malatesta other, ready to counteract any at- available to the workers of Argentine in played a leading role. It was in 1889 tempts at interference by the police! that Malatesta first published La Questione Sociale, an Italian anar- LA PROTESTA—DAILY! high praise" both for the editorship of this supplement as well as for the physical chist journal, in Buenos Aires, where moreover, the only way of playing our resistance groups among the bakers La Protesta, and in 1906 the weekly behand against the elements who under (1887), as well as of other groups. came a daily. But the road was still difficult and dangerous for our comrades. In various names seek to exploit some El Perseguida was published (in 1910 more reprisals resulted in more deaspect of libertarian ideology. In strikes, Spanish) from 1890 to 1897 in which portations culminated in the setting on fire cult years for La Protesta. It was supvities, on one side of the barricade we find the genuinely revolutionary forces, ed into La Protesta Humana. This streets carrying parts of the destroyed sion that lasted for 18 more months took anarchist journal was to appear printing machines as trophies. Then, its toll of the anarchists and the militants was not an easy existence for a paper once more in June 1912, as a weekly. Yet since varying in degree with the particular again the Anarchist movement and the regime in power. But one thing is cer-Direct action, thus conceived, is the for the workers struggle. By 1902- revolutionary workers' organisation tain: that no regime will succeed in supworking class realities, as they actually 1903 the movement had established F.O.R.A. which was anarchist inspired pressing this voice of Anarchism in Argeneither to expose oneself completely are; and to avoid for ever vacillating to all the risks inherent in the exerbetween idealisation and condemnation the most important strikes in the demonstrated their powers of recovery and our comrades insist that it should come Those who reject and evade the dif- militants and the, at present, less ad- Protesta Humana not only supported again appearing as a daily and continued The Anniversary issue of La Protesta ficulties inseparable from the exercise of power, must, if they are to be most suitable forms of action, applicable as one writer puts it, the "soul" of the reprisals by the hirelings of the reaction- Translate these cold figures into human consistent, adopt the second concluto any given situation, and in keeping strikes. Government reaction was aries, and in fact, in 1928, Emilia Lopez effort and self sacrifice, solidarity and comerciless; militants were arrested and Arango, who had been one of the editors The anarchist has no blue-print. He immigrants deported; La Protesta for 16 years was foully murdered. Humana was seized but with that determination which runs right through

of workers in Buenos Aires paper, created a sensation throughout revolutionaries" who sneer at anarchist

In November, 1903, the title of the effort of translating the major part of it. he was also one of the founders of the paper was changed to its present one of country (e.g. the dockers strike). within a few months La Protesta was out

SUPPLEMENT

refer to as "the father of the Protesta tant workers. The fact that during a be like to see La Protesta—DAILY!

Spanish translation. A Spanish Anarchist, D. de Santillan, was the editor who, to quote from La Protesta, "deserves

The past 17 years have been most diffiweekly for the next nine years. It during the years 1911-12 La Protesta was of the F.O.R.A. La Protesta has had a was not an easy existence for a paper published clandestinely, appearing legally more or less clandestine existence ever

ments, joy and disappointments. For as we join in sending our greetings to the comrades of La Protesta on its 50th Anniversary, we recall, above all, this record of human effort and tenacity in face of La Protesta has always been a paper overwhelming odds, which makes their ing band of militants, intellectuals, and all genuine and sincerely freedom- Juan Craighe, whom our comrades with a large circulation among the mili- achievement the greater. May the day tant workers. The fact that during 8 be not far distant when once more we

Background to Spanish Generals' Rising of 18th July, 1936

No. 21 of New Views in devoted to European Churches and great Spain, has crushed the dragon emotional, Bohemian son of Primo de a great deal to fear from the programme Events and Books, the interesting versus Hitler-Mussolini, the and he bites the dust in agony . . ." He Rivera, José Antonio. mimeographed bulletin published second to Religion and Irreligion the forces of religion and righteousness "spiritually" by the Roman Catholic from 505 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, is devoted to a study by been obliged to drastically con-Integer of Church and Politics in dense the second section for Our Time. The first section is publication in Freedom.

in the Spanish Civil War. Owing to space considerations we have A "National Government" was formed in at undercover plotting in Spanish hisory.

The revolt that broke out in Spain on force them to cultivate the vast tracks Tuly 18th, 1936, was not a Fascist coup. they used as parks for the hunt. It was the working-out of an Army-Church plot against the Spanish Republic. The Falange, the movement of Spanish Fascism, became important only after Mussolini (and Hitler) had taken a hand in the push against Spanish democracy and sent great contingents of troops as well as fascist organizers into Spain.

The plot against the Spanish Republic was first planned and prepared by the heads of the Spanish military forces working in conjunction with the Jesuit order. were Generals Mola, Goded, Queipo de Llano and Francisco Franco. Each of the four subordinate military leaders was going to take charge of the armed forces in his district. Obeying their officers the troops would move against the civil authorities. The plot looked fool-proof. The Republican government was without

Army of the powers and privileges they made by the negotiators. enjoyed under the king but had begun to lose with the introduction of the Republican regime in 1931.

Why They Wanted To Overthrow The Republic

six private soldiers. It was commanded their oath to support the Republic. Only break of the rebellion, he had almost Italian and Moorish regiments, ranks. This military class enjoyed un- Catholic Traditionalists, harangued by throw of the government, and he closed paralleled prestige and privileges. The their priests, moved behind General Mola his proclamation to the army in Africa Republican government retired about 900 in a holy crusade to extirpate godless (July, 1936) with the words "Viva la officers (on generous pensions) and very liberalism, which they believed had been Republica!"-Long live the Republic! of the national armed forces so that the after the French Revolution. In Burgos, The Spanish participants in the rebelcivil authorities might not be entirely the ancient city of old Castile, Mola lion were: the Monarchist (Alfonsist) Italians took rebel Spain in charge, the helpless in face of action by the declared: "The wretched government of officer class, the Catholic Traditionalists Falange was built up into a large organup after the elections of February 16th, 1936, returned a clear majority of "Left" parties to the Cortes (the Parliament)

the Church, which had always regarded Spain as its special preserve. The Roman Catholic Church was given the same Religious education by priests was excluded from the public schools, but was otherwise not interfered with. Marriage became a civil act, and for the first time divorce was recognised by law in Spain

The most serious attack on the privi ledged position of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain was the dissolution and expropriation of the great and powerfu Compañía de Jesus, the Society of Jesus. touched by the Republican regime.

The Jesuits were wealthy and influential. They possessed many churches and schools. They had profitable, big investments in landed property and in dustrial enterprises. The Jesuits were said to have been a very important factor in the Spanish money market. They have always considered Spain as their home grounds, so to say, having been first organized there under the captaincy of the lord of Loyola, Inigo Lopez

were obliged to expel the order from Spanish territory.

The promulgation of the Republican Constitution was the declaration of a war to the death between the Spanish Democracy and the powerful international Society of Jesus. The Jesuits could regain their great wealth and power and the abrogation of the Republican Constitution with its tricky foreign-allegiance clause. By this clause the Republic had decreed its own destruction.

In pre-war Spain, which was largely an agricultural country, the poor were very poor and the rich very rich. In a country of 24 million, 45% of the land was the hands of 27,912 proprietors, 55% i the hands of 1,427. The solution of the agrarian problem promised by the Republic was certain to scare many proud persons, the nobility of Spain with close connection in the higher levels of the Army and the Church. The Republican government began by confiscating the immense landed properties of the Jesuits when the order was dissolved. In case of other big land-owners, the plan was to pation of the capital, the Government

publican government was too easy with the Spanish poor. They said the situation called for less mollycoddling of the poor. They said it called for a strong hand, one that could be entirely trusted. Sanjurjo was going to provide that reliable force. The Army and the Church were going to take Spain in charge and set it

was, to begin with, General José Sanjurjo, the first chief of the rebellion, —the government named in Burgos at a all "infidels", liberals, Masons and "Reds". Jesuit influence. He had hesitated for a all "infidels", liberals, Masons and "Reds". the former commander of the national lost his life when the plane that carried time when the rebellion was checked elsegendarmerie (Guardia Civil) and acknow- him from Lisbon to the Spanish border where in Spain-Mola's claim to supreme It was even thought ledged first soldier of Spain. Aiding him crashed on Portuguese soil. Five months leadership were good. Then the "Catho-

There was bloody "cleaning" of liberals, rebels got the upper hand, but thanks to the decisive action of the civilian population in the country as a whole, the plot the Army-Church plotters appealed for immediate aid to Hitler and Mussolini.

The Saviours of Spain Soon Nazi planes forced the occupation of Badajoz, and Portuguese "volunteers" and Nazi material began to pour across the western border. Italian planes and After Sanjurjo's death, Mola began to

Church, Requetés and

Most of the Church hierarchy, with the head, took an active part in the rebellion. leader? Why, no other than Francisco Here and there a bishop dissented and was Franco, who had already been picked out sullenly silent. And, of course, some by the Germans and Italians as the among the lower clergy took an open Generalissimo of all "National" forces and stand for the Republic. It is true that the Caudillo (Chief) of New and United in some Loyalist districts, the sentiments Spain. of the people was bitterly anti-priest. At the inception of the Army Church revolt, the importance of the clergy in the making the head of the Junta of National Defence of Christ broadcast calls for the slaughter of

In 1937, upon the advice of the foreign patrons of the "National" movement, the Catholic politicians (the Catholic Traditionalists) and the Falange were merged in a single totalitarian party, named the "Traditionalist Falange"-Falange Española Tradicionalista y de

Franco, Franco!

The short, well-upholstered general with the placid face of a rug merchant from Smyrna had belonged neither to the Falange. He was known as a devout while before joining in Sanjurjo's plot

AN ARMY-CHURCH CONSPIRACY

Moorish regiments and the Foreign Legion commanded by Franco were left stranded and captured by the people of Barcelona. vanquished by the gallant gesture of the bers of the Spanish fascist movement

before, immediately after the Republican lic Traditionalist" general lost his life in squires from the Pyrenees who, fired by of becoming number one military figure and very eccentric radio general in the population for its armies.

The latter was a very ambitious little which the people met the rebellion, these

supposed to be monarchist. But in his without their foreign allies and protectors. population quelled the revolt of the hierarchy, he had flirted crudely with the Spanish columns on the rebel side figured military. Many officers refused to break Republic. A few weeks before the out- as inactive, not too reliable adjuncts to the

the socialist-liberal concubinage is dead, (Carlist requetés), and the Falange, mem- ization. The growth of the Falange was

parties had won a sweeping victory in a plane accident. Some people imputed their priests with the fanatical desire to in Spain if his superior, Sanjurjo, and The aims of the revolution were the the Cortes elections, he conferred with the accident to Nazi or Italian technicians; finish off all liberals and infidels, provided comrades like Goded, Mola and Quiepo de following: the overthrow of the Republic Hitler and Mussolini. It is not known the "Nationalist" side with native fighting Llano, were discredited and lost their and the restoration to the Church and what promises and commitments had been governments was neither Mola, nor men, before the rebel regime con- status as rebels against the constitutional Quiepo de Llano, the colourful, high-living trolled enough territory to conscript

> Such were the strictly Spanish saviours went along with the others. of Spain. In the face of the heroism with in Morocco. General Goded was defeated man. Like all Spanish militarists he was elements would have been quite ineffective Also in Madrid and Valencia the civilian desire to supersede older men in the army In the second year of the Civil War, the

The Reconversion of the "National" Movement

When the Germans and the Fascist army . . . Spain, the true Spain, Catholic organized under the leadership of the very offered itself as refuge for people who had

regime by the army, supported by the Axis powers, looked like a sure bet, and Franco Like the reorganized Falange, Franco

the Generalissimo and Caudillo was a creature of Hitler and Mussolini. The desire to get on was a strong characteristic of the swarthy little general and he could be relied on to serve his foreign backers. He would suffer no compunction about suiting dominated Spain to the World War plans of the German and Italian

Spanish Dictatorship Largely a Church Affair

Since the second year of the Civil War, Spain has been supposedly run by the Grand Council of the Falange Española Tradicionalista. The Council took the place of the Cortes, the Spanish

The united Falange Española Tradicionalista y Jons never became a monolithic, highly integrated party like the parties which ran Germany and Italy and Soviet Russia. It was never one party. It always was, and remains, an amalgam of several groups of politicians, sets of militarists and Church dignitaries. Inside, shift combination, the former cronies of José Antonio de Rivera, the original Falangists, went in for the typical Fascist carnival of coloured shirts, Roman salutes and mass spectacles at which children and adolescents shouted "Franco, Franco,

The last execution for heresy took place The spokesman at the Quai d'Orsay in Spain in 1826. Upon "Nationalist" told the Associated Press representative victory over the Republic, many men and that one aim of the reform was "to women were executed for the same crime. create an elite of young Moroceans and The word "Communism" replaced the old

the monarchist generals - education. morality, books, the theatre, even dress (on beaches and in other public places), A person who does not attend mass on munion infrequently, becomes suspect, and 1941, when at Franco's (or Hitler's) order foodstuffs were shipped out of Spain into Germany, and the lower two-thirds of the Spanish population lived on half-rations, An amusing footnote.—"The spokes- a working men had to show a ticket signed man was asked if he thought the reform by a priest, saying he had attended mass,

What is therefore this "Christian" State that still ran Spain two years after the fall of Hitler and Mussolini? Is it a "Fascist State"? Well, up to 1945, How the ungrateful Abd-el-Krim that is, up to the collapse of Hitler's merits France's loss of confidence in empire, the official theorists of New Spain him! He escaped after only twenty called it a Catholic-Fascist State. Franco's

(Continued on page 8)

Middle East Notes

"Culture" and Politics

"CULTURE" is a familiar shady liament and the club has amended of a higher standard of living—and for Nazi boosting of German culture and Wagner and the "Communist" boosting of Russian culture and Dostoievsky and (surprisingly) Tolstoy in order to glorify the current regimes in these countries are examples. The "Communists" indeed, evolved quite a technique of admiring national culture when supporting a regime or alternatively a

When Britain was dominant in Egypt, cultural relations between "Shakespeare's England" and "Pharaoh's Egypt' were all the vogue among the cosme politan Egyptian-minded middle-class, and English schools were fashionable for the children of even rabid nationalist politicians. Hence, the Anglo-Egyptian Union, which was finally dissolved last manding that it be wound up and its solved and the wrangling over the position in the Middle East. The Tru-

property, library and files commence real carnest. On similar lines has been the storm

fellow-traveller of politics. The its statutes in agreement with the assuring peace."

Marxist analysis when opposing it! ritziest club in Cairo?

when one reads what he said there: week (on the 4th July) after an in- "I don't think the Americans will prepare them for fuller responsibilities. word "heresy". "Communism" in New political power was so great in Spain credibly protracted series of meetings in continually be passive in Egypt's case. He said he thought it would go towards Spain stands especially for atheism. that the Catholic monarchs of the country | which leading members of the Union I just don't see how the U.S. can take meeting the demands of Morocean | agnosticism, or what we call in the United absolved themselves of their pro-English a negative attitude indefinitely. Egypt's nationalists". I dare say it will, since | States "free thought", ethical unitarianism. past by literally attacking English case is just-and the people of this the (French-educated) Nationalists ask domination of the A-E. U. and de- country believe in justice. "Speaking purely practically, Egypt is the bulwark of the United States'

> of protest in the Arabic press over the Gezia Sporting Club. "How can independent Egypt tolerate a body in its midst which discriminates against afford to antagonise Egypt." Egyptian members?" Cairo and and its wealthy class of so many nations, that among its exclusive clubs there has never been such discrimination (as has marked India so noticeably, for stance), but the Gezia Sporting Club is one of the clubs noted for its British military (officers) membership and has been exclusively English, later admitting more professors, more technicians," he

With the ending of military occuhave the government buy them out or have stepped in, after protests in par- tunity for understanding, the building up

This is a cause of great delight to placed is a matter of opinion. the nationalists who see yet another step towards full independence, but how does it benefit the impoverished fellah living in poverty and dirt, with a few pence between himself and famine, who may be landless with the next rising of the Nile, to know that he may now consider himself eligible for membership of the

Abdel Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League. professed himself delighted with the reception he has received in Washington There is no need to wonder at the

man Doctrine can't work without "Remember there are 20,000,000 people in Egypt and 7,000,000 in the Sudan. They have a high degree of agricultural production and cultural ad-

"Azzam Pasha grew enthusiasti when he enlarged on closer ties between the Arab countries and the Western

"We must exchange more students,

(Don't forget the "cultural" advance-

other Europeans and a few upper-class said. "There is a vast field for development in the Arab world. There is money to be made there, too. "But above all, there is the oppor-

Just where the "above all' should be

FRENCH MOROCCO

nothing more than the participation in

the exploitation of their "fellow-

politicians, guarantees landlordism and

provides more openings for "local

quite likely to meet the demands of the

Moroccan nationalists who are further

removed from the fellaheen than they

are from the French. It will also satisfy

those who call for careers for the

student class and do not place their

demands as high as bread and freedom.

not know and added that France felt

she could no longer place any confidence

in his words or thoughts or acts."

talent" in the legal administration.

On July 5th, France announced the

creation of a "full-fledged" cabinet for | Falangist rebellion, in which more than Morocco-consisting of ten Frenchman a million Spaniards lost their lives, the and ten Moroceans-under the premier- Roman Catholic Church is now enforcing ship of Grand Vizier El Mokkari. in Spain the same privileges that belonged "France continues to assume respon- to it in Europe before the Reformation. sibility for foreign affairs and national Practicing membership in the Church defence" and therefore follows the is compulsory to every man, woman and British technique of granting a show of child

In New Spain, topped by the rotund little figure of Franco and supervised by fall under the supervision of the Church. Sundays and feast days, or takes commay find his way to prison or concentration camp as a non-Christian Red. In would satisfy Abd-el-Krim-former Riff in order to get an extra ration of bread leader now in Egypt. He said he did for his children.

years imprisonment in Reunion Island! State was Catholic-Fascist in the sense

19 20 21 22 23 24 25 28 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

plot which preceded Napoleon's final

destruction of the French Revolution, has

attained an almost mythical reputation as

an early Communist. From the Stalinists

leftward, all kinds of Marxists regard hin

as an ancestor, and it is therefore sur-

prising that no important book on this

chist ideas wholly unrelated to the

authoritarian concepts of Babeuf, which

mention of syndicalism is used, quite in-

themselves creating the revolution instead

Nevertheless, in spite of these slips, this

of being directed by doctrinaire leaders.

London W.C.I.)

Meeting held in London recently.

of Freedom are well represented among

the many contributors.

4 0

and Marxist traditions. In fact, the one

had their logical descent in the Blanquist

conspirator should have been published i

England since the superficial work

Kegan Paul, 7/6.

Belfort Bax in 1911.

point for thought and discussion.

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND cative, exasperating and finally rather man's nature. A point at which con- the definitions are satisfactory: a knot dull; when an answer is given it is not vergence is already taking place is that of slips and the net lets the reader fall. a new one. However, the problems are the concept of personality, and this book One of these weak places in the writer's neatly presented against a background of endeavours to gather the facts supplied by argument is his definition of 'society' fact, and the book is useful as a starting each science and to combine them in a preliminary montage diagram. A barrier is very important to anarchists: the that workers in the fields of anthropology, of a common terminology: the writer definition of 'personality' and its con- sociology and psychology, are finding offers one, and one of the minor pleasures "consists of an organised group of other

sees at once that these definitions are dependent on each other: a group of individuals can hardly be "organised" unless for a cultural purpose: organisatio implies a way of life, culture. Later, when one reads that culture may be defined as "the way of life of any society" one wonders what society is when it is

not pursuing a way of life: Perhaps

cannot be led, except to destruction, by a of a particular society", in which the phrase "results of behaviour" refers to all those inanimate objects collectively called 'material culture'. In short then, Babeuf, personally a courageous and in | Professor Linton sems to use the word some ways a sincere man, leaves for the | 'society' as a synonym for 'persons': he offers two concepts, that of the personality way of life of two or more persons. That

own science; it is a little confusing for | mains uncorrupted by the nature of the

(Continued on page 7)

THE BABEUF PLOT The Babeuf Plot, by David Thomson. of the Equals became a movement of the time, received the tentative support of at if it springs from the mass of the people. Barras. It is true that there was a to go; if, on the other hand, a con- soon we find that a social institution is ness of the Prophet of Nazareth for the the Equals, represented by Sylvain of the revolutionary movement, then its | Or possibly the Professsor has machinery and social equality and the elimination of Any conspiratorial group has to be process? That this inference is also In developing his theme of the corrulership from human society. But the centralised and disciplined; it is therefore wrong is shown by the Professor's final ruptive influence of power, Read notes

Plot gives a sketchy but interesting power to a small committee of its leaders. study of a very significant episode in Babeuf's conspiracy traced the blueprint for many subsequent conspiratorial Mr. Thomson is not always accurate movements, of the Right as well as the or thorough in his information. Among Left. From his methods the Nazis learnt Blanqui, Babeuf's greatest conspiratorial really significant lesson of this abortive descendent, took a part in the govern- plot is that a closed conspiracy cannot ment of the Commune, when in fact, succeed if it does not assure itself beforealthough nominally elected to the Council hand of the neutrality of those in the key of the Commune, Blanqui spent the whole power positions, as most of the right of that period safely incarcerated in a wing putschists have done (like Franco government prison many miles from Paris. and Mussolini), or gain access to the working class movement as if it were way, and it is an ironical fact that the

The gap has now been partially filled and the Babouvists finally decided that a

by David Thomson, whose The Babeuf successful coup d'état should hand over

wholly Jacobin or Marxist, ignoring the one man who showed some sense of tactics fact that the revolutionary syndicalist was the police spy Grisel, who urged the movement was largely motivated by anar- conspirators to corrupt the armed forces.

and to realise how little revolutionary the change would have been if he had sucspiratorial body gains the actual direction only a "configuration of culture patterns" own internal discipline will produce the in mind, knives and forks and gravepower element to destroy the revolution. stones, the things produced by a social days of the conspiracy, when it began to avoid carrying within itself the seeds of group, like the Equals, who themselves

revolutionary only this negative lesson.

direct action advocated by the syndicalists was in some way descended from Babeuf's idea of the putsch by a disciplined body of conspirators. In fact, it was based on bear the function and bloom bear the putsch idea of the putsch by a disciplined body or who hear

because it recognises that Babeuf's ideas been thrown out of gear, not by a public demand for bad writers, in which normal sexuality is taboo but sadism and his plot had such an important in- work, nor even by public intolerance of social criticism essential, political thought replaced by operatic atitudes, of the American public is infinitely more broadminded in and the whole puffed with a figurehead author, usually From the standpoint of an anarchist its reading than in its atitudes—it swallowed Sinclair and a female good-looker, and groomed for filming. In view however, it is both confused and contrafrom the mumbo-jumbo of dialectical Dreiser and Steinbeck and paid them handsomely) but by of these conditions it is astounding that the best-seller materialism, he had all the basic ideas of a kind of sweepstake mentality derived from the gigantic market should be worth study. It has produced no great rewards which are involved in the production of a suc- novels, but several very interesting ones. I was thinking argument to support them. cessful book. To Englishmen accustomed to the small, of books like North-west Passage (excluding the superusher in the rule of "freedom", and so self-supporting publishing house, represented by dozens of added irrelevant second half, which is not part of the forth. Like the Marxists, he believed in self-contained businesses ready to consider nearly all the picture) or Anthony Adverse, an astounding combination imposing equality from above, a process possible levels of writing, it is almost incredible that 90% of goodness and badness, seems in the aggregate to be of novels issued by many American publishers are under- a successful illusion in genre-writing, a novelistic equiv-Farm, are "more equal than others". It taken at an expected dead loss, in the interest of the greater alent of Hassan or Rimsky's Scheherazade, which may be is significant that, in spite of all the talk or lesser literary jackpots on which the business is to be irritating but for which it is hard not to feel some respect. of collective ownership, his conspiracy made profitable. For this state of affairs the high wage The mechanics of the situation make it almost inevitable F.D.C. REPORTS of dollars, the amount spent on a forthcoming book being novelist with Hemingway the war reporter. FREEDOM DEFENCE COMMITTEE Demoralising as this is for the publisher, it is far more so is nothing like so discouraging. There is a common REFLECTIONS ON VIOLENCE 8/6 for the author, and the last state of the socially responsible illusion among readers, fostered by unsuccessful writers,

By G. Sorel BULLETIN, No. 5. July - August, writer is frequently pitiable—a literary guzzler surrounded that vast numbers of MSS of genius are in some way 1947. 8 pages, 3d. (Published by by tycoons to whom he has to be polite, writing drivel- suppressed, either by the commercialism of publishers or scripts or war propaganda with as much cynicism as he the stupidity of the public. It is important for intelligent can decently command, and revenging himself by slipping reading to recognise that at present very nearly everything in satirical asides which may get through. The responsible which is publishable at any of the many levels of fiction literature of America, except for occasional successes, like has an outlet. The rewards of the financially successful frequently published bulletin has just those of Farrell and Faulkner, depends almost entirely on author being nothing like as dazzling as in the United appeared and is of particular interest to philanthropy, the export of MSS to England, and luck. States, novels are written either as a regular employment, those readers of Freedom who would like I doubt if one American edition of Miller, Patchen, like making boots, or out of conviction, or from a comby the Committee, since it contains the Rexroth, or even many editions of Faulkner or the pre- pulsion to shine without taking any socially inacceptable Secretary's Report at the Annual General collaborationist Steinbeck paid their way: Laughlin runs action to draw notice on oneself. In spite of what I have NOW-8 NEW DIRECTIONS, the most progressive of the literary said about the "serious" intention of the novel, I have It is also encouraging to learn that the publishing houses, at a loss of some \$15,000 annually, no quarrel with the purely manufactured product except Committee is proposing to once more campaign for an amnesty for deserters. An publishing work which in England, published by a concern insofar as it competes unfairly for the talent of potential interesting report is published on the of the size and status of, say, Hogarth Press or Grey Walls writers and is acquiescent, collaborationist, and safe. I do Mutinies at Northallerton and Aldershot | Press, would cover easily and would be unlucky if it did not think that fiction has played any serious part in Military prisons, and Alex Comfort con- not show a profit of a few hundred pounds. Writers who "debauching public taste" or any of the other activities tributes an article on the Liberal "Bill publicly underrate the temptation of money are certainly attributed to lowbrow novels by those who dislike them.

THE state of the modern American novel is even more impossible for publishers to keep their minds off the sure socially dictated than that of our own. The entire thing. The "sure thing" is the moronic composite novel, has been published by Peace News, and is mechanism of publishing in contemporary America has written in collaboration by advertising agents and scriptrates, unwillingness of printers to strip machines for small that it should be the author's first book which is the best, impressions, and large overhead costs of commercial the others representing downward degrees of conformity, travelling in a large country are all to blame, but the Of Mice and Men compared with The Moon is Down, highest single item is advertisement running into thousands or Sinclair then with Sinclair now, or Hemingway the

advertised in the trade press to stimulate bookshop orders. The state of English publishing, as regards the novel, not proof against concrete offers in nine cases out of ten, Nor are the intentionally bad works, produced to measure, days when apathy is the general rule, that and the collapse of fiction-writers one after another into serious except as a sympton. The only really serious the Committee's special appeal for £500 acquiescence is even more depressing than it would be if mischief which can be done by fiction, from the social during 1947 to guarantee its continued state censorship prevented anyone non-acquiescent from viewpoint, occurs when a previously progressive or activity has met with such good response: being printed openly. The lack of any middle term reputedly progressive novelist is bought up. over £400 has already been received. And between dead loss and a financial bonanza makes it

ALEX COMFORT.

of Power

THE ETHICS OF POWER by Herbert Read. A "Peace News" pamphlet.

THIS pamphlet may well be a milestone teristic of this group, a culture." One violence. The newly renegaded Jew is said to eat pork three times a day, and Herbert Read certainly goes for the whole

"The doctrine of non-resistance to evil may be hard to understand and difficult to practice, but its effectiveness has been demonstrated again and again in the course of history.'

I agree: its effectiveness for per-Professor Linton is referring to social petuating all the horrors of exploitation institutions like the Church or Govern- and tyranny throughout history. Why In that case no band of conspirators can ment which, in more senses than one, else have the proud wielders of power propel the masses further than they intend | represent ways of death? But no, for | sedulously fostered the teachings of meekedification of the poor and humble? Non-'virtue' which the poor practice only too

> definition "A culture is the configuration | that order and peace have been established of learned behaviour and results of be- by power, and he goes on to quote the power, in which Acton states:

"Great men are almost always bad men, even when they exert influence and not authority, still more when you superadd the tendency or the certainty of corruption by authority."

But later in the pamphlet, the defeat of British power in India is referred to as being the work of ". . . a man in a loincloth preaching a gospel of meekness and non-violent resistance." This raises further confusing issues. Ghandi's gospel is here misrepresented as meekness, and although some attempt is made to distinguish between non-resistance to evil ologist to translate the definitions current too hurriedly passed over. Again, it is he reader, but once the necessary mental power he wields, but it seems doubtful if he can escape the aptness of Lord Acton's mighty condemnation quoted above. It is the nature of an organisation

This pamphlet, based on a B.B.C. talk, presumably intended mainly for P.P.U. readers. As such, it has the particular merit of focussing attention on the problem of power rather than that of violence.

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26th July, 1947

(Continued from page 6)

adjustment has been made one can follow Professor Linton into his discussion of personality. By this word he means: "The organised aggregate of psychological areas, where it has reached as great known Stalinist fellow-traveller. At the for new men to live in. A farmer friend individual". He goes on to show how the and economic consequences. psychological processes and states are individual belongs; how what we call our | Buckinghamshire which I visit frequently personalities are not entirely our own, but | there is a large estate, owned by a peer are reflections of the culture about us. | who, incidentally, belongs to the Labour The personality consists of a number of | group in the House of Lords. Recently, behaviour patterns, habitual or otherwise, this landowner put up a large section of which have been formed on the basis of | his land, including several farms and many response, and responses to situations which | cottages, for sale in individual lots. have not been formed deliberately (that | The prices he obtained were already is, the response is learned but not taught). | high-about twice the pre-war value of By 'behaviour patterns' the writer means | the property. But worse followed. Most patterns of covert as well as overt be- of the property was bought by land haviour; attitudes which remain subjective | speculators, who have immediately done come into his definition. Thus the per- their best to raise the prices still further, sonality is not, so to speak, entirely a and have succeeded in increasing the cost free state; it is the embassy of the external of cottages and land in the district far culture, set up within our territory: the beyond the pocket of any worker who turn of the head, the phrase on the wishes to invest his savings in a smalltongue, the flicker of resentment or | holding, or to buy a cottage for his own pleasure at the newspaper headline—these habitation. behaviour patterns are the flags of the frontier is illusory, the world international, been worth £300 at most before the war. that we are all members of one another. It was small and had no main water or

to say that the individual chooses and home". selects to some degree: that a behaviour pattern, like a symptom, is a compromise between subjective and objective pressures. Though ourselves are masklike, the masks are partly alive; we are like plastic surgeons operating on ourselves. Again, characteristic of individuality. Thus, the writer does not distinguish to a satisfactory degree between groups which are in process of conscious formation and groups which have become habitual—for though as the writer points out, social institutions begin as a way of life, culturally, they means more than a plurality of persons

set against convention; a person may be

from Buckingham Palace of the engage

ment of Princess Elizabeth, the King will

message will be the Prime Minister, who

Both Houses will pass messages of

Parliament then has to signify its assent

Parliament will also have to pass legis-

The last provision made for her was

Before the wedding Lieut. Mountbatten,

Constitutional experts have been busy

for some time studying the procedure, and

because of the fact that comparable pre-

cedent goes very far back, a good deal

citizen the London Gazette announced

that he had become a commoner, and

Lieut. Mountbatten is at present a

member of the Greek Orthodox Church,

but it is probable that in due course he

will be received into the Church of

After Prince Philip became a British he'll stay.

Evening Standard, 9/7/47.

Daily Express, 3/7/47. don't be angry with me."

of extra research has been necessary.

it is expected, will be raised to the peerage

lation fixing a new allowance for Princess

in 1937—£6,000 a year until she became

will announce it from the Bar. Then he

OUR ROMANCE

Parliament.

the King.

to the betrothal.

Elizabeth on her marriage.

and probably become a duke.

present has £15,000.

Philip Mountbatten.

It must be love!

reported yesterday.

A Definition of Personality LAND RACKET IN THE COUNTRY

A GOOD deal has been said on the Another example of gross profiteering cottages, which in its turn means that property ramp in London and the in the same area was that of a large there is not sufficient accommodation for

To give only one example, in a part of

electricity and only an earth closet. The the word 'individual', for instance, and | in turn sold it to a middle-class buyer

It will be seen that this book disappoints anyone who is anxious to find a satisfactory definition of individual, freedom, responsibility, society, or even of person and culture—that is to say, anyone who wants to find a logical and in as well as without, if we want to create

from Wandsworth reported last week has

been released following threats from the

LOVING AND LEAVING

people have impressed me most in this

the pulpit at St. James's United Church,

Much as he likes us, he doesn't think

Kept 1,600 miles from her husband by

the Russian refusal to let her come to

England, a twenty-three-year-old tele-

phone operator in the British Embassy

at Moscow is threatened with gaol-unless

Irena's plea, written in Russian, says:

yearly for tax because I have no children.

money because I must pay 1,500 roubles Tojo was dead.

because of the high cost of living. Please arrived, and saved his life.

she pays a tax because she is childless.

Russians refuse to allow to travel.

Montreal. He is returning to Canada.

A WOMAN AND THE

post-war Britain."

ful, yet strong, about this country. She reporters in the film "Front Page" should

"The kindness and courtesy of the work of two American war correspondents.

Dr. Norwood, Minister of the City Premier of Japan got there in time to

Daily Express, 30/6/47. Herald Tribune described as "a cross

Temple for 17 years, has resigned from hear the shot that nearly killed him.

no Duke of Cornwall". The Princess at is the same old England. She is still the read the accounts of Tojo's attempted pay funeral expenses.

Clearly there is no need to sympathize with the moneyed fools who pay such ridiculous prices. They are the more or is likely to remain a tenant all his life, and, secondly, that the continual purchase of cottages by wealthy weekenders has country without, proclaiming that the One cottage, for instance, would have caused an acute shortage of rentable

larger towns, but very little ,so far as I house which had been bought just before agricultural workers. In this particular proportions and has even greater social end of the war, when it was safe to return of mine can only find one man to help to London, the "comrade" showed his him on a medium-sized mixed farm-for that a man in Genoa claimed that he solidarity with the homeless worker by the rest he had to persuade labourers selling his house to an even richer man employed on other farms to work for him for four times the price he originally after their normal day is finished-which running a farm. The more cottages that arrest or not for saying so. The result of such profiteering is that are sold by speculators, the worse the in the whole of this district house prices situation becomes, and undoubtedly this have risen to a great height, and any is a contributory factor to the generally cottage that falls vacant is sold at an poor condition of farms in this district. Moreover, so far as I can see, no effort the many vacant large houses and turn Houses vacated by the military authorities or abandoned as Land Army hostels are instead of being used to house the workers who are necessary to make English agri-

Ex-Landworker.

culture productive to the full extent of its

None of this is new, nor is it quite socialist peer began by making 150%— satisfactory. The writer does not define he sold it at £750 to the speculator, who

though he does not ignore the part played for £1,500. Similarly, a small disused One of the most irritating half-truths seems to be quite an accepted thing as the remarks of its (unnamed) corresby the individual in the formation of farmhouse, with no land, was sold to the in the Government's advertisement cam- regards officers. Some while ago in personality, he does not seem to give it | speculator for £950. He added a few | paign for Army volunteers, is the state- Palestine an officer shot a bystander on a sufficient prominence. Behaviour patterns, acres of rough grazing—barren chalk hill- ment that with the exception of a few day when there was apparently no he seems to imply, are simply the seals | side—and a couple of adjacent barns. specialists (such as doctors) all officers terrorist activity, as his nerves seemed to London? of a culture, stamped on the plastic sur- The price then became £3,900—and he rise from the ranks nowadays. It is true be on edge owing to previous days face of the individual—they are masks | received it from a rich woman with ideas | that they come from the ranks, but the he was charged with murder and found put on a blank face. It seems more true of turning it into a "charming old-world voung recruit may quite easily be deguilty of manslaughter and sentenced to ceived by the belief that they rise from dismissal from the Services. the ranks. There are ranker officers, certainly; especially on temporary com- been trying to get that 'sentence'! missions in these days of understaffing, who have been perhaps twenty years in the ranks and risen to perhaps Company Sergeant Major and who are getting tem-

and the like in the present time. But the majority of officers are far too young for that: they are recruited from the ranks when they have not been long enough in the Army to qualify as a lance-corporal or leadership, argues the Army. And appar-

of conscription if applied to the ranks Courts then!

Rowley said last night: "I cannot send

her this money-it would mean about

one thing we want most dearly, to be

Clapham, S.W., who applied for a visa

suicide in "Star-Spangled Mikado", the

Six of them who accompanied the

officers who went to arrest the former

Bursting into the room, they took part

in a scene which Frank Kelley, of the

between a Marx Brothers movie, 'Hellza-

While one reporter shouted his story

over the telephone, a pal told him what

in blood . . . He's not dead yet . . . I

A photographer put the dropped

revolver back in the hands of the man

they thought was dying and moved his

head, "to improve the picture". Another

camera man placed the ex-Premier's

another correspondent telephoned that

Misunderstanding the signal given him,,

"Who it it?" asked an Army photo- hold them until it was obtained.

The People, 6/7/47.

samurai sword between his legs.

was going on: "The joint is swimming

poppin', and an Irish wake.

Daily Mirror, 15/7/47.

together and start a family."

Think how many Other Ranks have

But it is not necessary to shoot anyone of honours in the Birthday List as regards

"There are many high officers in the fighting and civil services to-day who

discredit on the service. If it does, he can be asked to resign."

And what would be amazing in view would be the queue to the Divorce

THERE IS NO GOD

DIED BEYOND HER

Hotel, London, to-day.

near her home in Bavaria.

While praying in Westminster Cathedral,

little later he found that case and contents

An alley cat named Lily in Sacramento,

board box were confiscated at Croydon

Airport from a woman on one of three

The Standards of British Journalism

The low level of the standards of British journalism is shown many times in the capitalist press. As a typical example, we take the Sunday Pictorial (8/6/47) which has an article headed: "STERN GANG 'CONFESSES': 'I SENT KING A LETTER-BOMB'." This story states posted twenty-four letter bombs to prominent Britons, including the King, but does not say who the man is, or to whom is certainly a very unsatisfactory way of he confessed, or whether he is under

The article then goes on to the followextraordinary remarks:

"The Genoa plotters live in dirty, narrow streets in what were once the marble palaces of the merchant princes of the old city.

They meet in back rooms and the language they speak is German.

Nearly as many women as men attend

rooms in which they make up the bombs, women and even children lend Ten Scotland Yard officers are in

Northern Italy combing out Jewish circles in efforts to find the senders of the What are the ten Scotland Yard officers

combing out Jewish circles in Italy for, when the Sunday Pictorial knows who the terrorists are, where they meet, what language they speak, how they discuss and pondent-been in their hide-out?

Could this story have been written in

How many other 'inside' stories are

You think this is an isolated case? Just pick up a newspaper at random and pick out similar stories. While writing the above on June 10th,

the Evening Standard for that date caught to get dismissed from the Services (if you my eye. "HOW NEW YORK'S JEWS happen to belong to the class that gets | RUN THEIR WAR WITH BRITAIN". commissions). When discussing the award | In this article a reporter states of the "four powerful Jewish language daily papers" in New York:-"Editorially their policy follows the

Zionist line. Officially they all mildly favour Haganah (the group which is concentrating on trying to demolish British military installations in Palesthe rules to the Services, civil and tine in order to quicken illegal immigraterror as a political weapon, supported by the anarchist "American League for a free Palestine," which receive the editorial approval."

> How long has this League been anarchist? And all those papers supmoving faster than we think!

NECESSITY OF LIFE

Through the Press Worried man is Colonel Douglas Lyall-Grant; president of London Scottish Rugby Football Club. Some days ago Mrs. Lyall-Grant was

taking the colonel's sporran to be cleaned. When she reached the cleaners she found she had left it on a bus. Mr. Albert Thibeau, of Keighley, York-

Now, the colonel tells me, he may have to cancel important engagements unless the missing sporran is returned to him. Evening Standard, 2/7/47.

THE QUESTION

Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery told ex-Servicemen at a luncheon to-day about his hours of work. He did a seven-day week and "long hours". "I have had no let-up since the be-California, who was left £1,250 in the will

ginning of the war-it is a question of how long one can carry on without going

Sunday Express, 13/7/47.

Daily Express, 3/7/47. GREAT AND IMPORTANT As a rule, strikes take place only when

Horse-racing is costing owners the workers are fighting for a genuine £2,500,000 a year, according to an demand . . . The Daily Worker underestimate by the council of the Racehorse takes to state the views of strikers whether Owners' Association, who held their third official or unofficial; especially as other annual general meeting at the Dorchester newspapers are not usually prepared to extend this measure of fairness.—Daily This is an impossible state of affairs, Worker, July 8.

and obviously cannot continue in- "Members of the Daily Worker waredefinitely," the council's report says. "If house staff stopped work at a moment's racing, which is a great and important notice last night. After a short stoppage industry is to survive, it must be organised work was resumed on instructions of their and conducted on a rational and economic union officials."-Daily Worker, to-day. I had to turn to other newspapers to Evening Standard, 7/7/47. find the cause of the strike: reason given by the men is that they allege the Daily Worker dismissed a man for redundancy, and then employed a member of a different union to do his work.

Evening Standard, 14/7/47.

special airplanes bringing German brides RE-EDUCATION

Customs' officers said the snowdrops Mixed concert parties and mixed bands needed an import licence, and decided to of both British and Germans are Hiroshima are to be kept under medical "I am fed up without you. I love you grapher, seeing the body. Smoking a The snowdrops belonged to Mrs. Ruth (a) British and German acts are supervision for several generations, so that more than life. I think always of the cigar and exploding flash bulbs, he Wieland, an English girl who married a separate.

any effects on human heredity can be happy times when we were together. actually argued whether he should smack German before the war and was returning (b) Bandleaders and compères are studied.—Dr. Austin Brues of the U.S. "Forgive me for having to ask you for Tojo with his camera, to finish him off. to spend a holiday with her parents. She British. Atomic Bomb Causualty Commission money. At present I haven't a penny, Tojo bled for two hours. Then doctors had dug them up specially in the woods

Extract from the Special Routine Order issued by the Control Commission for Germany.

15 19 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