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ine Implications of Nechaevism Any enquiries to:-

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Open Air Meetings at Maxwell Street, (Argyll St.) every Sunday at 7 p.m.

Eddie Shaw

Preston Clements

### LANCASHIRE GROUPS MANCHESTER

No. I Committee Room, Houldsworth Hall, Deansgate. Friday, 15th Aug. at 7.15 p.m. Mat Kavanagh on Nationalisation & the Worker

Open Air Meeting. Platt Fields, Sunday, 17th Aug. at 7.30 p.m. Enquiries to S. L. Flackett, 28. Braeman Avenue, Stretford, Nr. Manchester

### CHORLEY

Public Meeting at Oddfellows Rooms, 9, Cunliffe Street, Tuesday, Aug. 19th at 7.30 p.m. Mat Kavanagh on Why Vote? Enquiries: Chorley Area Group II. Ribblesdale Place

### LIVERPOOL

Coopers Hall, Shaw Street, Sunday, 24th Aug. at 7 p.m. Mat Kavanagh on Why Vote?

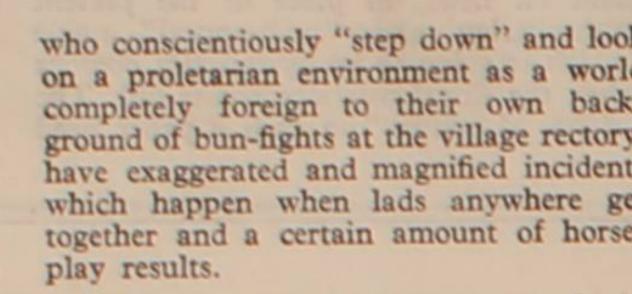
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Regular fortnightly public discussion meetings are held on Sundays at 7 p.m. at Dick Sheppard House, 36 Holloway Head. Next Meeting-August 10th

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

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so much the appeal for wider diffusion of tions about "slacking". On this a right perspective is needed.

labour and that a fair return for a fair

garded as an oddity, a despised 'Master's Man' toadying to the bosses.

pect other people's property, but he finds scrounging almost universal." (Daily Herald, 11/6/47,)

This is interesting. The first paragraph proves how true are allegations that the ganda—Church and school—as well as sidering the parents are quite likely to rate. And anyone with a knowledge of own influence by being so unashamedly on Press, radio and cinema) take a great dignity in labour (if so we have never noticed it in a capitalist society—where dirty hands and overalls are a sign of are a sign of superiority) and that a 'fair return for a fair wage is right'. It is not. The only 'fair' solution is an abolition of the wages system. Who can tell what work merits what pay?-how can you money?—a professional man with his socially useful dustman?—a bishop or a in one trade or a worker in another? The



SO WE DION'T LOSE EVERYTHING, AFTER ALL!

# "Everything about the factory contradicts this. Everybody expects him to dodge as much work as possible. If he

On Sunday, 22nd July, the police meeting.

Coinciding with the visits of the King McMasters, they entered the proletarian and Queen, etc., to Scotland, the police arena and charged comrades Eddie Shaw felt obliged to move against the Glasgow and Preston Clements with causing an obstruction at the Maxwell Street

reserves were called up from the Central These meetings, which have been held Division. Gallantly led by Inspector here regularly over the past three years,

Why not therefore dodge as much work as possible? What is the reason for consrationalist, there are the patriotic appeals

which the State provides. what they thought was 'fair': they only So far from the Church being able now brought to bear on the home? make a profit by paying the standard to assist the capitalist class, it loses its

selves have produced. Cannot this be thropically inclined towards him, and that

In a free society, such as could be achieved by the syndicalist methods making capitalism unprofitable in preparwould be no more an oddity than the man who nowadays works steadily through the The spirit of Al Capone, according to These attempts, like so many others evening on his own allotment. But who Hoover, is abroad in the land again, and from so many different sources, which en- could deny that a man who nowadays works his "gang busters" admit ruefully that to toady to the boss, is an oddity, unless of organised thugs as have ever challenged employer is obliged to pay. Nobody could another, are clearly shown to be deficient he were under the illusions fostered by American Law and Order. stay in business by paying the workers in their appeal to the mass of the workers. Church and State and the influences

# Squatters Again!

WHEN the engagement of Princess have been waiting for so long. The Elizabeth was announced, the offer Crown agents, the police, and the local of the mansion at Sunninghill Park to Council have pleaded with them and a Windsor Rural District Council for "truce" was agreed upon, but the homehousing was withdrawn and the R.A.F. less Windsorians are still determined to hastily packed up and left the 300 ex-U.S. seize the huts, with a shocking disregard Air Force huts in the grounds. But, with of our English traditions of respect for a wicked disregard of the peace of mind Royalty-as symbolised in their massive of the happy pair, 400 would-be squatters castle-and our spirit of fair play reprehave announced their intention of taking sented by the famous Playing Fields of over the huts, which in any case are more Eton, close at hand. comfortable than the prefabs which they

### INCREASE FOR FARM WORKERS

The Agricultural Wages Board for England and Wales have awarded an increase of 10s. per week for farm workers (men) and 8s. for women.

This makes the minimum wage for the men who grow our food the princely sum of £4 10s. 0d.—women £3 8s. 0d. The employers' representatives voted against the increase, and both sides have until August 19th to lodge objections.

Not all the increase will be borne by the employer, in any case, for the board also ruled that the rent for "tied" cottages shall be increased from 3s. to 6s. rendering the increase in wages only 7s. actually.

The farmers are already talking of raising prices. And so the whole money farce goes on . . .

### TOO BAD

After all, it would be too much to expect the newly-weds to stay with their "in-laws" at Buckingham Palace, of the building of which a contemporary his-

"Never was there such a specimen of wicked, vulgar profusion. It has cost a million of money, and there is not a fault that has not been committed in it. Raspberry-coloured pillars without end, that quite turn you sick to

tic young lovers, and a little place in the country is just what is wanted. But you can't have those awful people "squatting" on the lawn!

NOBLESSE OBLIGE We are sure that Princess Elizabeth has taken her place on Windsor's housing

jumping the queue, and we have no doubt

that plenty of building workers will be

found to get the place in order.

squatters, we have noticed in the papers that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to offer certain sites for housing folly good show, what!

One reader writes to complain that he has not received his before the police arrive." copy of Freedom and wonders whether we have closed down for desperadoes in jeeps used lethal flamethe holidays. No, Freedom does not close for the holidays! Since 1939, when the first issue of War Commentary was published our paper has appeared regularly. If our comrades and friends are interested in seeing that Freedom continues to appear regularly then they must help us to meet our ever-increasing commitments. Production costs since 1939 have more than doubled yet the paper is still sold at the same price. We can only bridge the gap of expenditure and income by increasing the number of lists, and that there is no question of her readers and by a regular flow of contributions to the Press Fund. Are you helping?

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provide the most popular platform in Scotland, at times attracting between two and three thousand people. On Sunday, when the police interfered, the audience numbered a few hundred.

After the charge was made the same police force was very busy in Scotland dragooning, coercing and roping the ways for a carefully rehearsed reception Buckingham Palace Barnacles.

This charge against the comrades of "causing an obstruction" in a Glasgow There is no evidence yet to support

the opinion that this is the first step to stamping out street meetings in Glasgow and destroy what is the essence of freedom of speech.

We understand that our Glasgow comrades have no intention of packing their bags at the first knock on the door

## AMERICAN "EFFICIENCY"

a set of new 1947 model gangsters on hisation for the time when the workers could hands-complete with flamethrowers, take over the factories for themselves, the | walkie-talkies, jeeps, the latest automatic man who worked steadily through the day | firearms, and just about everything else

twenties, and are described as utterly

We wouldn't be surprised to see some gangster turn up with dive-bombers any day now," said Hoover to-day, "because quite a lot of surplus Army 'planes have

"These post-war gangsters make the old-time criminals look like characters out the Old Curiosity Shop.

"To-day's big-time hold-up men and bank robbers are adopting the Army's famous walkie-talkie two-way radio tele-NO HOLIDAYS FOR phone as part of their standard equip-ment, and get last-minute instructions

from the master-mind right on the job. "When the police are on their track spies hidden in strategic spotting places give the front-line man a radio tip-off, and

throwers to beat back FBI squads when

Evening Standard, 2/7/47.

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Vol. 8 No. 16



9th August, 1947

"We do not understand by the term Revolution merely, an insurrectional period which, though necessary, if not followed by the liberation of all the latent forces in the masses, would be sterile and serve to substitute one state of coercion by another." MALATESTA.

Anti-Semitic Demonstrations are Debasing and Futile

THE hanging of the two British sergeants kidnapped by Jewish L terrorists is undoubtedly a horrible incident, but it is only an incident in the history of bloodshed that has marked British rule in Palestine during the past twenty-five years. Terrorism in Palestine has not been the exclusive weapon of the Jews. For many years Back to Wartime Shackles before the war it was the Arabs. And the methods used by the British administration throughout can only be described as governmental terrorism.

ment over the newsprint cut on the execution. None of these men so far splash the Sergeants' case over the front to death by a military court for their Hastings, has been averted for the time the evening papers of Wednesday, hundreds of Jews are being held, withtwo sergeants had been "found Roped ists". They were successful in the may happen within the next fortnight is to Trees" was headlined, though later attempt to release their comrades and that same evening it was announced in presumably this is the "crime" which the 9 o'clock news by the B.B.C. that earned them the British hangman's rope. in fact they had not yet been found! It was only the following morning that

the bodies were found. the irresponsibility of the Press in this that drastic measures must be taken, and Palestine. But the main charge to be that terrorism in Palestine will be levelled at the National Press is the stamped out. But, in fact, increased eagerness of certain papers to give un- governmental terrorism will only me due prominence to this case, knowing with more terrorism from individual that it was bound to have unpleasant repercussions in the country. We do not suggest that the incident should have been suppressed, but that it should not have been presented in such a way to be used as an excuse for anti-semitic

demonstrations. Incidents have already been reported in Glasgow and Liverpoo where Jewish shops have been stoned fired and looted. In Manchester crowd of civilians and soldiers starte a demonstration in the Jewish quarte which was preceded by windowsmashings in various parts of the city and as we go to press an anti-Jewish demonstration has taken place in cerned but with the mentality of the people who take part in these demonstrations. That latent anti-semitism

anarchists will be using all their powers | we have heard so much during the last

semitic demonstrations.

A vear ago we published an editorial on this page in connection with the blowing up of the King David Hotel (Freedom 10/8/46) in which we pointed out that "No doubt the blowing up was a horrible business; loss of life is always something which shocks humane feelings. But to raise one's applies equally well to-day in the case of his own job yet.

men have been attacking the Govern- committed suicide on the eve of their and to the restrictions saddled upon the workers during the war. pages of their papers. In the case of part in the attack on Acre gaol where being by general opposition to the idea

In Palestine to-day the death sentence can be passed on Jews caught carrying arms. Presumably, the anti-semitic demonstrators of Liverpool will answer it is only by threatening the big stiel and illegal organizations.

The British Government has hanged their two comrades kill five Jewish mandos fighting for "democracy"!) cancivilians in Tel-Aviv. A further 23 Jews not be denied, and their fanatical were injured the following day during nationalism continued British adminis-

grounds that it represents an attack on as we can ascertain were charged with The threat of open direction of labour The government, it seems, is thinking the Freedom of the Press have, never- being responsible for the death of a on the wartime model as advocated by theless, found all the necessary space to British soldier. Three were condemned T. & G.W.U. boss Arthur Deakin at the workers where they want them. First, away from non-esential industries, so that workers in the former will find themselves unemployed and compelled to work in the latter industries. Secondly, the government will order the "freezing" of labour

the funeral procession for the five victims. Now Hagana (the Jewish organization whose co-operation the British have been seeking in their anti-terrorist campaign) retaliates b threatening "reprisals against troops and two sergeants'." How will it all end? At the moment it is clear that terrorism

will be answered with terrorism. The Jewish terrorists (as, incidentally, the Arab terrorists earlier) have shown their vince the British that intimidation nine "terrorists". The terrorists have threats and even the hangman's rope hanged two British sergeants and will not succeed in stamping them out. threaten to hang another seven. The Their sang froid and skill (which many British troops in avenging the death of of them learned in the British com-

### ness to be used in this way hinders the London, and stone-throwing damaged six windows of a synagogue at Catford Hill. It is not the material damage to property with which we are here conmutual solidarity of Jewish and Arab workers. "Realist" political theorists

got from saving "We told you so", the sheer economic necessity, and not because editors of Freedom would be rubbing their our rulers are solicitous for the welfare of the sensational press must be aware hands with glee. Have not these columns of the hundreds of thousands of men who and some even responsible for this, and for years forecast the nature and the in- are aimlessly waiting for their tickets in in presenting the news of the sergeants evitability of the "crisis" which is now countries where their presence is as in the way they did, they are guilty of upon us and whose seriousness is now welcome as it is unnecessary. Our soinciting hooligan elements to take part | constantly drummed into us by the called "socialists" are not anxious to within anti-semitic demonstrations. Not one government. We have continually ex- draw from their imperialist role—they are show that the Jews in this country can- we work so hard to produce things we themselves—there is no recognition by appeal has yet been published to restrain if we developed our agriculture, merely to for the years of servitude—the pointless people from excesses such as in the level it has reached in, for instance, restrictions and humiliations of military Holland, could be produced at home.

The government hopes to increase proparison, but at least we know that the duction by the economy measures of which of persuasion to stop people from join- few weeks and by various schemes for ing in vocal as well as physical anti- directing labour to vital industries (as was foreshadowed by Deakin's "try-out" speech at the recent conference of the T. & G.W.U. (Freedom 26/7/47), and by reducing Britain's overseas commitments. and by consequently reducing the size of made conditional upon direction to some armed forces, thus lowering overseas ex- particular job or industry. This was a penditure and making more men available

for productive work.

hands in an attitude of pious disapproval was enough to make Field Marshal posals is, of course, that the individu is just not enough. These things do not | Montgomery, Chief of the Imperial soldier, the individual worker, whose whole happen without cause; and when one | General Staff, cancel his proposed visit fate is in the hands of some anonyr considers the background of such acts of to Japan and leave New Zealand for statistician of the Ministry of Labor terrorism, the sanctimonious hypocrisy home. Monty, doubtless disappointed at is not seen as a human being at all, by of the Government stands revealed. For, not being able to meet that other great as a labour unit-a bundle of man-ho as in all terroristic acts by individuals actor, Gen. MacArthur, was at great pains to be used up when and where conven or illegal organizations they are a seem- to emphasise that he had not been sent As Silone said in "The School ingly inevitable outcome of long con- for, but was returning home of his own Dictators" tinued governmental terrorism con- accord. Which was probably true—he "There is no greater condemnation ducted under the mask of law and must have been perturbed at the idea of order". The argument we used a year a cut in the power and glory of his army, results in means becoming ends, ago to explain the King David explosion | though he needn't start worrying about the true end, which is man hims

We welcome this proposal of the expensive only than a dog, but cheaper This year nine Jewish "terrorists" government.. The sooner it begins to take than a cow or a machine gun." have been sentenced to death by the effect, the better; but I don't think we

they advance as "solutions". When there is no solution within those terms If there were much satisfaction to be being taken in desperation, through of reference, and therefore it is necessary radically to alter the whole framework of Palestine affairs before any But it is clear that in fact our position "Palestine Plans" and partitions and compromises which in reality only of these papers has so far attempted to posed the crack-pot economics by which being forced to. And as regards the men serve as a cover for the continued prenot in any way be held responsible for need so badly, only to export them in ex- the authorities that this step should have the schemes of other Imperialist powers what is happening in Palestine, and no change for foodstuffs, the bulk of which, been taken years ago. There is no redress to share in the gains of Palestine.

### TAKE CARE

introduction of industrial direction general, there is one particular aspect of great importance to the soldier still waiting for his demob, after several years of service. Take care that the proposed increase in releases from the army is not card which the Ministry of Labour kept up its sleeve in the earlier "Class releases, but did not make a great deal of use of it. See that they don't try it now! The most striking thing about the pro-

has become a means—no doubt more

HE poverty of Labour Party socialism as an inspiration to the people is opportunism, with expediency, not liberty, now making itself apparent, and it is truly pitiful to see the so-called as the principle. AUSTERITY

But the National Press whose spokes- British. Seven were hanged and two planners for peace reduced to appealing for a return to the "Dunkirk Spirit" It is not only our freedom which is being cut, either. The austerity existence which has been our lot for the last seven years is being ensured for at least another vear-and when the government promises they are going to divert raw materials austerity for a year it can mean anything

> in the basic industries by a re-introduction of the war-time Control of Engagement Order, tying workers to their jobs.

The first step in solving the Palestine

question must be the complete and im-

mediate withdrawal of British troops

Let not the part-time "humanitarians"

raise their hands in horror and cry "If

we leave Palestine there will be terrible

used as an excuse to maintain British

rule in India during the past 150 years,

and yet the British are now having to

leave, bloodshed or no bloodshed. This

hypocritical argument must not be

allowed to prevail as a justification for

by walking through the streets with

placards marked "British Must Quit

Palestine Now". At least they will be

showing some practical understanding

whereas their present actions can only

come under the heading of "attempted

Palestine appears on p. 5.)

from that country.

IMPOSSIBLE There is probably no experience which workers could undergo more fitted to show the identity of all forms of government, tration in Palestine will only intensify. and the impossibility of improving the Is there a solution to the "Palestine rotten condition of society without question"? As we have pointed out on other occasions, in discussing this conomic system. And what government question the fundamentally incompatible s going to do that, when its very power relies upon economic control of society? The clash of Imperialism: the determin-If one allows the present government the benefit of the doubt as regards their Palestine, and guard Imperial lifelines; sincerity, one can only say that they are the political ambitions of Zionist Jewish attempting the impossible. To seek to attain an equalitarian society while retain-Arab politicians in Arab Nationalism: ing a money and wage system and through the setting-off of these two against each other by the British, and their willing-

promises upon which they were returned The work of building an equalitarian 'utopians" like the Anarchists say that society, inspiring the people to give of their best through the best possible incentives—the certainty of justice and freedom—is the work of the people themselves, not of politicians of any brand.

sincere which so obviously and promptly

Not only are luxury (?) goods to be cut

through the control of raw materials, but

the import of meat, which costs us those

This, with the T.U.C. arranging with

the government for workers to work longer

hours, is very soon going to bring into

grim reality the cynical exhortations of the

workers' song-"Live on hay, work all

day, you'll get pie in the sky when you

ATTEMPTING THE

precious dollars, is also to be reduced.

To combat this new economic slavery, and to hold back the dawn of a new epressive era, with only the promise of war in the background, the workers must lose no further time in creating their own free organisations, with the revolutionary aim of workers' control and an end to

Until then—let everyone of us resist individually every attempt to reduce us from our human status to economic

### CEASE FIRE IN INDONESIA

HOLLAND'S decision to call a halt to the fighting in Indonesia following the bloodshed". That argument has been lack of support and even opposition received in Holland and the open hostility public opinion throughout the world.

The Republican Government has also

keeping troops in Palestine for years to accepted the Security Council's proposals and in a statement "earnestly appeals to If those misguided hooligans who e Security Council to send a commission have been "avenging" the two British hosen by the Council so that it can be sergeants by smashing up Jewish shops nvinced and see for itself the actual and stoning synagogues are genuinely lation in Indonesia to enable speedy shocked by what is happening in Palesettlement of the conflict." tine and are anxious to stop such things seems doubtful that a "speedy happening on a much larger scale, they would do well to use up their energies

tlement" will be reached in view of the afficting interests at play, and the resent conflict has created new differences garding the Linggadjati agreement (setting up a United States of Indonesia), the ndonesians accusing the Dutch of being guilty of breaking this agreement and thereby consider themselves no longer bound by it. The Dutch on the other (An article by our Middle East Corres- hand, say the Indonesians have pursued a pondent on the Political Background in policy of aggression and have not carried

out the terms of the agreement.

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

DEAR COMRADES,

I would like to interest your readers in Burgess Hill School. This is achieved some reputation in recent years as a progressive school uphold-

This Summer, the Company that owned the school decided to close it down for their own financial reasons. The staff, however, were opposed to this decision, and have been sufficiently devoted to the principles of dicate to obtain possession of the bought the school, and the school will be run henceforward with a constitu tion embracing both the Staff Syndicate and the parents of the children. Among other interesting features of this constitution is the fact that all domestic-have elected for equality of pay. This principle has shocked many of our well-wishers—the fact that highly qualified teachers are prepared to work for the same wages and conpractice that it is a very good arrangement, and the equalitarian atmosphere of the school is a healthy influence on

of Freedom to take a practical interest in Burgess Hill School. We, the staff, do not wish to run our pioneer effort in education in a Vacuum. Its value is largely dependent on the number of progressively minded people who are interested in it, and they can help us in many ways-by publicising the school, by putting the right sort of parents in touch with us, by attracting first-rate progressive staff to us.

I have not the space here to enlarge on the kind of education which we aim to provide for the children, but I shall be happy to answer enquiries of every kind if readers will write to

> Yours sincerely, TONY GIBSON.

Burgess Hill School, 11, Oak Hill Park, London, N.W.3.

### ANARCHISM -Interpretations

wrongs and evils of which government and monopoly are the parents. Government and law can only punish the criminal. They neither cure nor prevent crime. The only real cure for crime is to abolish its causes, and this the government can never do because it is there to preserve those very causes. Crime can be eliminated only by doing away with the conditions that create it. Government cannot do it.

Anarchism means to do away with those conditions. Crimes resulting from government, from its oppression and injustice, from inequality and poverty, will disappear under Anarchy. These constitute by far the greatest percentage of crime.

Certain other crimes will persist for some time, such as those resulting from jealousy, passion, and from the spirit of coercion and violence which dominates the world to-day. But these, the offspring of authority and possession, will also gradually disappear under the wholesome conditions with the passing away of the atmosphere that cultivated them.

Anarchy will therefore neither breed crime nor offer any soil for its thriving . . .

Alexander BERKMAN in "The A.B.C. of Anarchism" A Summing Up by the Editors

S the editors had hoped, the publication of Herbert Read's lecture on "Anarchism - Past and Future" in Freedom two and a half months ago has produced considerable discussion, a selection of readers' comments being printed in recent issues. Hitherto, the opinion of the editorial group on questions raised has not been expressed, the various contributions to the discussion being printed from strike pickets whose successful without comment. The following article limits itself to expressing in a discursive way, the editorial group's view; it does not seek to sum up or summarize the discussion, for our readers are quite capable of doing that for themselves. We do not wish to engage in polemical discussion, but to emphasize certain points where we are in agreement with Herbert Read and to make clear where we differ, of struggle, and that preoccupation with

Why) which has just reached us, re- more or less stable class-divided society. seemed so impractical, become the only vites its readers' comments. The fact spontaneous creativity of the revolution- action. illustrates a value in the article inde- ary masses, "the spirit of revolt" as he We do not accept therefore Read's pendent of the views expressed: that it called it, drew attention again and discarding of the traditional attitude of ing many principles of freedom in acts as a ferment for further discussion, again to this lesson from revolutionary anarchism. It seems to education, such as are advocated in and provides a jumping-off place for a history. re-examination of anarchist conceptions in the light of modern conditions. We situations appears also as an undue about the disintegration of the class do not advocate revision of traditional optimism about the potentialities for founded institutions in society and views merely for the sake of revision. progress in stable societies to-day. thereby presenting an opportunity for Indeed, we shall appear in this article Despite the value of progressive experi- the building up of revolutionary instituas the defenders of certain traditional ments in education or the application of tions based on mutual aid. While bert Read throws overboard altogether cal research, it is obvious that the chological hangovers, to make too much too lightly. But that does not absolve extent of such applications can only be of these is to fail to recognize that the us from doing continually what Read tiny in a State dominated society. Yet psychological attitudes found to-day does in his lecture: subject the ideas of Read himself (and in a still more ex- draw a strength from the environment Unless a movement undertakes this ever, the oppressive weapons of the Craig, Freedom, 31st May).

> survey, rather than in the particular opinions expressed, that its value lies. Little Advance in Anarchist Thought

> Our correspondent C.W. (Freedom, July 12th, p.7) points out-in pinion rightly—that the advances anarchist ideas in the last 50 years have come from revolutionary peasant movements (Zapata's peons, the Makhnovists, the Spanish collectives, even movements like the squatters) which have not penetrated into the world of intellectual ideas. Yet Read's challenge: "no fundamental thought has been deany complacency. Nevertheless we agree with C.W. when he asks "Are we justified in so lightly setting-at-nought cause they have not found a literary expression?" The task of incorporating the lessons of these revolutionary experiments (worked out as Kropotkin noted again and again by the anonymous working masses in the struggle itself), into anarchist general theory, is one which the movement cannot indefi-

> > The Empirical Basis

Read's insistence on basing our ideas on concrete happenings is something which these columns have already agreement too strongly. And we would agree also that the fields of social and individual psychology, of anthropology, education and ethics, are of first class interest to anarchist ideas.

For the moment it is enough to point out that however imminent disaster may appear to be, long term studies still have to be undertaken. Atom bomb or tions remain the fundamental ones, and they cannot be indefinitely shelved without damaging the cause of the revolu-

The Tensions In Society that non-violent methods provide the only solution, his almost despairing redirectly, but proceed to examine the issue which underlies them all-Read's attitude toward the tensions in society. the conflicts and stresses that are loosely grouped under the term "class struggle". Many correspondents criticised (in effect) Read's pessimism without how-

ever, showing any concrete grounds for optimism. It is perhaps no accident that his original "challenge" ignores the revolutionary advances made by workers and peasants in the heat of revolution ary situations. Read seems to regard revolutionary situations as regrettable tion," he wrote, "are almost immediate-

The current issue of the New York crete directions than in years of patient cleaned the slate, the experimental and anarchist paper Resistance (the former plodding within the framework of a progressive methods, which formerly short term present also. The problems prints Herbert Read's article, and in- Kropotkin, with his conception of the reasonable guides to revolutionary

Read's pessimism about revolutionary the role of the revolution in bringing anarchist concepts which we think Her- knowledge acquired through psychologi- allowing that difficulties arise from psythe type of society that stultifies man's

The Value of Education

half a century (since Mutual Aid)," is not of itself prepare the revolution or them successfully with these "out of sufficiently true of the intellectual ex- even hasten it; its great value lies in date methods". pression of anarchist theory to destroy laying the ground work for action during a revolutionary situation. At such times the outworn methods o orthodoxy seem completely inadequate

us to be based on a misconception of tical discussions of the anarchist move-

influences of change and movement, sition which exists to such state mach- have not been slow to confuse still fur- support for national wars, excusing parthey will wither and become sterile. inery. Far from being a symbol of ther (see Stephen Marletta, 14th June). ticipation in "revolutionary" govern-Thus it is in the breadth of Read's stability, the concentration camp is a We do not propose to reopen, once ments, and the like. But they have all symptom of the internal tensions within again, this thorny matter. It will be been shown up in the event, and their totalitarian societies. These tensions can sufficient to indicate a leading confusion very failures have strengthened the trareach a breaking point, and the breaking in the original lecture. After insisting ditional anarchist position. point can provide the opportunities for on non-violence. Read derides "the ro- But too much must not be made of revolutionary advance. Whatever the mantic conception of anarchism", and these criticisms, for discussion and superficial disadvantages in outbreaks dismisses, among other things, "citizen theoretical differences are the life of a of violence which conflict in society armies and barricades". Now, ever movement such as ours which does not creates, without such conflicts there since "general" Engels' time, revolu- require any official orthodoxy. Read's would be no hope whatever of ending tionary theoreticians have been declar- "sevenfold system of study and creative ing that the days of the barricades are activity" provides a programme which over. The atomic bomb has raised the will take years to exhaust. Meanwhile chorus all over again. But the histori- it serves to draw attention to the fact cal fact remains that whenever the that every advance in the human workers have seized the means of pro- sciences tends to confirm the central This is not to belittle the usefulness duction, they have found it necessary to philosophy of anarchism—that men can of progressive movements in educational defend them with barricades and citizen only develop when they have responvoted to the principle of anarchism for and other fields. But such activity does armies. And they have often defended sibility and freedom. Inevitably we are

> Non-violence and Strikes for they are no longer supported by an idea that non-violence does not exclude made not by abstract terms like institutional and social framework which strikes. If non-violence means any- "masses", "the working class", but by gave them a semblance of practicality. thing it means recognizing an essential men and women of vision, humanity When a revolution has, so to speak, brotherhood even in the oppressors, and and determination.

an attempt to extend the human hand of friendship even to such. But the embracing of strikes means acceptance of the class struggle, which nonviolence seeks to jump over. In this connexion, the Irish Citizen Army grose strike tactics depended just on their

The fact is that a philosophy based on mutual aid does not exclude the idea long term essentials does not relieve one of the necessity of considering the of envisaging a constructive world while at the same time seeking to do away with the oppressive institutions of the present are inevitably complex. It does not solve anything to lay down a single method as sovereign. The great theoreonly a very few basic principles are primary-rejection of the idea of authority, respect for the initiative of the individual. Arguments on methods are useful, but there is no golden road.

Past and Future

It will be seen therefore that our criticisms of Read's lecture fall on those our movement to perpetual self-critic- aggerated form, Alan Smith, Freedom, of class society which they will lack sections which advocate some kind of ism, always in the light of changing June 28th, p.2) seems hypnotized by when revolutionary events have washed a revision of traditional anarchist conditions and advances in thought. the power of the State. In fact how- away this environment. (See C. S. theory. We do not subscribe to any slavish acceptance of tradition, but there stocktaking in the field of theory, its totalitarian state reflect the difficulty Read's insistence on non-violence as have been plenty of attempts to revise ideas will become stereotyped and har- with which it imposes itself. They re- the only true course is also productive basic anarchist concepts in recent years. dened. Separated from the fructifying fleet, in fact, the very powerful oppo- of confusions which some contributors. These have taken the form of justifying

preoccupied with the masses of the workers for they provide the energy for social change; but it remains true, as Read insists ("the real revolution is internal, the most effective action is mole-Still more confusing however is the cular . . . "), that the revolution is

# It is For Us to Decide

"HUMAN suffering is so great, so peasantry still more enormous levies barism' or between 'Soviet Economic endless, so awful that I can of food to keep his army of five hardly write of it," said Richard Jef- million men, in the field. eries sixty years ago, thinking of the We cannot avoid the conclusion great natural calamities that befell that if our rulers had tried to bring mankind in his day. But to-day the about the maximum of human misery, cruelties of untamed nature are they could not have been more grueeclipsed, in magnitude and horror by somely successful. But, as we all those perpetrated by civilised man. know, they are actuated by the high-The ravages of fire and earthquake, hurricane and flood become insignificant when viewed against the unspeakno atom bomb, the fundamental ques- able suffering seen on the Western slogans and abstractions mankind at present engulfs the region where Eastern Front in the Second. The Rotterdam, Stalingrad, Buchenwald, upheavals that engulfed Nagasaki and Hiroshima were far more fearful than stations on the universal road to Cal-Several correspondents have pointed any tremor of the earth's crust. The vary, trodden at the behest of our dual rights and responsibility, must out a number of weaknesses in Read's fires that destroyed Hamburg and political Messiahs. more detailed argument. His insistence Warsaw were not the result of spon- In the age of universal suffrage, the taneous combustion. The "Death 'Century of the Common Man', the liance on education, and his related em- Treks" of the Burmese forests and of individual is more helpless than ever phasis on psychology are examples. the Amazon jungle were not epics of before in the face of the cunningly We shall not discuss these questions Man's conquest of Nature but of his exploited mass emotions of power enslavement of his fellows. The politics. Few and feeble are the migrant populations, the displaced voices raised in protest against the persons are not, like the children of universal brutality, and many who pay Israel fleeing from barren lands to lip-service to human values have almilk and honey, they are the odd- ready joined in their destruction by

tinction of the Skolt-Lapps and the resigned.

est of motives. Liberty, Democracy, National Self-Determination, Social Security, for these and countless other crucifies itself. Warsaw, Hamburg, Monte Cassino, Hiroshima, are

men-out of nationalist geography. taking sides with one or other of the The decimated nations, the Jews, the rival tyrannies which seek to dominate Armenians, are not the victims of mankind. Others have given way to natural calamity, but of enlightened apathy, and joined the ranks of the statesmanship. The threatened ex- indifferent, the irresponsible and the

off. Short-lived such opportunities may be, but in their few weeks they achieve Butcher' and 'Our Gallant Ally'), is make distinctions between the 'Demo-rulers: It all depends on you. more progress in ideas and in more con- now demanding from the half-starved cratic way of life' and 'Russian Bar-

Democracy' and 'Anglo-American Plotocracy', for behind all these phrases lies the reality of a universal contempt for human freedom, a unanimous denial of Man's right to his share of the produce of the earth.

Those who are unwilling to resign themselves to the tragic future that seems to approach inevitably, those who will not conform to the policies of whichever of the predatory gangs they happen to live, those who refuse to be swaved by the torrents of conflicting propaganda, and those who will not accept the rejection of indivi-Resistance movement, the underground army without generals or uniforms or battle-fields, the "Third Front of the victims and the under-

Wars will continue so long as people are willing to fight in them. Atrocities will go on until we are no longer willing to commit them. The atomic bomb will continue to be made and used so long as there is anyone who is sufficiently irresponsible to make and use it. To-day when commonsense is rationed and human consciences dehydrated, there is little sign of unwillingness to participate or incidents: "The few sane and enlighten- Australian Aborigines, is not the Both these attitudes, as Ignazio Silone We must counter it with the weapons result of the rigours of the Arctic, or recently declared, are a cynical be- that are at hand for everyone who ly swamped by the forces of the the desert, it is a hardly noticed by- trayal of the human spirit, for resig- cares to use them, the weapons of discollective unconscious which the vio- product of universal militarism. Con- nation makes the Third World War obedience, and of human solidarity. lence of the revolutionary event re- sider the fate of the Chinese, a nation inevitable, while to take sides is to These do not have to be bought in which has been ravaged by war justify it. And the specious plea of any black market or smuggled across chance for men to express their real throughout the lifetime of the major- "defending the bad against the worse" any frontier. They spring from the (i.e. human) nature, as soon as the ity of its population. Chiang Kai is a poor recompense for the slaughter heart of everyone who thinks and acts shackles of authoritarian forms are cast Shek, (variously known as 'the of millions. It is folly to try and for himself. In the words of our

9th August, 1947

# COAL BOSSES DECLARE WAR ON MINERS

T the recent Annual Conference of the National Union of Mine-workers, Lord Hyndley (late of Powell Duffryn, now chairman of the National Coal Board), launched an attack upon those miners who, when faced with a worsening of their working conditions or confronted with the pitiful spectacle of the union officials conducting protracted negotiations on some outstanding grievance, decide to take strike action. Hyndley rounded off his attack with the threat of prosecution.

Threats of this kind to militant thousand fold throughout the entire miners come as no great surprise to the coal-fields, for the miners know full regular readers of Freedom, for this well that the start of to-morrow's shift paper has always predicted the inevit- may mean to them the necessity of able use of these methods within Nat- stopping the "big wheel" in order to, ionalised industry. We are only amazed perhaps, immediately rectify yet anat the remarkably short space of time other piece of managerial abuse or which has been allowed to pass before prevent its imposition, and by their they were introduced. The almost in- action expose their necks to the axe decent haste can only indicate either, wielded by the Coal Board's Gilbertian the depth of contempt that the N.C.B. Lord High Executioner. has for real unionism, or that the In what was apparently to be the rethrow discretion to the wind and force a show-down now.

sentiment was re-echoed a hundred Lawther had rejoined the ranks of the sufficient to say that if, prior to the

previously read at the conference from like old times again in the coal-fields Lord Hyndley, threatening prosecution and yet, union yes-men are still heard of "unofficial strikers", Will Lawther, blindly chanting "... them days is ONE of the most distasteful tasks I Waste Again blindly chanting "... them days is President of the N.U.M. gave a carte gawn". True to type, as the coming coal blanche backing by the union to the With the futility of political action when, in 1941, at a time when the ject was the fact that this horrible crisis casts its ominous shadows for- threats of the noble Lord. In the daily becoming more and more apparward, the mask of the "new benevolent words of this paid "servant" of the ent to the miners, the powers that be Coal boss" slips, to reveal the self- mine-workers, the miners may read the are attempting to suppress the inevit- and the U-boat campaign was making taking place again now. And in view same hated features of the old boss, inevitable result of the much-lauded able use of economic direct action by itself felt against our imported food of the present world food situation it magnified, mouthing the dire threats close co-operation by the union officials the workers. Determined efforts on used so often in the past. The first re- and the National Coal Board, which is, the part of the miners can soon put action amongst many of the miners' by far and large, functioning in direct to naught the machinations of this un- a field of spring cabbage. delegates was summed up in the words conflict with the true interests of the holy Alliance of State, Employer, and of one delegate who is reported as ex- miners. "We say to you-and your Union Boss. pressing the opinion that such threats colleagues-Go ahead and take whatwill have the same effect, little or none, ever action is essential to meet the sitas those of the past, and prosecutions uation . . . " brays the donkey. From As a tragic commentary on the above would only create bitterness. This his remarks one would imagine that betravals of the miners it should be

ed in the task of winning coal, but no! by strike action, by the Barnsley bosses' greed for "pelf and place", we Lawther's industrial efforts are indi- miners, of safety measures to rectify the miners soberly point to those whose cated by an increasing waist-line and a pit's unsafe condition (which was well lives may have been saved but for the shiny seat to his trousers. He seems known to the men), perhaps would treacherous betrayal of the miners' deto forget like many others of his ilk have saved the lives of those killed, sire to control their own lives and inthat it is still the miners that get the By discouraging the use of independent dustry. "Close on one thousand of our coal and not the bureaucrats.

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

The insult to injury is rubbed well in, with the speech made at the conference on the following day by Shinwell, the Fuel Minister, when he stated that where unofficial strikes were holding up production, the closing down of the pits concerned was being considered. First the threat of prosecution from the gent with a title who is given the "Go then the people's representative kicks in with the threat of dismissal, unemploy-

Meanwhile, the Commission's Repor

of miners. Even as the conference was working conditions. in session the news was brought that Brinley Pit near Coventry. To the State's inhuman lust for power over

working miners and was actively engag- recent Barnsley pit deaths, enforcement, men, to the Employers and Union action by the men, the mouthpieces of lives will be lost in each of the coming the Unholy Alliance, in no small way years. We can greatly lessen this share the resopnsibility for the deaths awful toll by our enforcement of safe

"Our lives are at stake; for our lives

we will fight and strike!" TOM CARLILE.

# urgency of their attempt to solve their problems of coal production has led Hyndley and his backroom boys to the wind and force the wind and the companion against the wind against the wind and the companion against the wind against the wind

supplies, I was ordered to plough in seems even more obscene than before.

found its way to market. And that's when housewives were being charged where the trouble had started. Plenty anything from 1s. to 2s. for a cauli., loads to market and consequently the price had fallen pretty sharply, and

It won't pay us to cut them and cart them to market," the foreman told me. And as this was a farm in their costs per net of 20 cauliflowers and provides weekly minimum rates for mous with "London". Yet down in haulage 1s. 6d., use of nets 6d., wholehousewives were pretty sore at being ing the vegetables. harged that price, too.

It was certainly a pretty shocking order to receive at that time—wastage of food is bad enough at any time nd it was one which had a decisive effect on my social attitude. Up to as saying: "If more licenses were that time I had been merely-how issued to greengrocers it would autoshall I describe myself—a humani- matically create a wider market and Mr. Shinwell, Minister of Fuel has tarian war-resister? My rebellion greater sales. Competition would written to the Rev. Austin Lee, 43, rector against existing society was limited to bring prices down." It would be inof Claxby, Lincs, who volunteered to work my resistance against war. But this teresting to know if they have any "The work," wrote the Minister, "calls to open my eyes to the sordid nature population rapidly so that it could for a high degree of skill and experience of our economic system and set me absorb all this food! which can be acquired only after a long thinking on a trail which ended up in The market men, confusing London Anarchism, and the realisation that with England, blame it all on the In reply to the parson who suggested war, waste and Capitalism are in- holiday season. "Everybody is away,"

that he and others should work in the divisible. and I loathe the cold—than forgo the A Share Out

life rather than have the clergy work in bage—I did manage to save some of finding shortages at their holiday "Yes" on pain of expulsion. It sounds the coal mines—(Mrs.) Marjorie Haynes, them. After the foreman was safely resorts? Daily Mirror, 30/7/47. out of the way, I hopped off my tractor and cut two or three bags full and not go home for dinner ate their all consumer goods which are basic sandwich was called-I told all the would eliminate all this unnecessary nationalisation. At a recent conference bages. And within half an hour of are so inevitable in a centralised capi-Certainly, building workers have been that part of the field still unploughed would ensure that food was sent where of trouble with my tractor that after-

Amalgamated Union of Building Trade African workers at Mombasa, Kenya, that to all and sundry, and that I did not need not their pocket book. the building industry and the creation of wide strike they would have their ears is a matter of great regret to me now.

have ever had to perform was What really started me on this subprice of food was beginning to rise, business of ploughing in greenstuff is

In Lincolnshire last week, at one farm alone, 22,000 cauliflowers were It was a field which had already destroyed and ploughed back, with been "gone over" once, and one good another 150,000 possibly joining them oad of succulent young cabbages had if the market was still low. At a time any more to the markets.

As one farmer said- "If I could get them to town and sell them myting to be made from this field, the self I would make a handsome profit at 3d. a cauliflower. As it is, I shall lose hundreds of pounds." That seems to give a pretty good indication of where the money goes—not to the grower. Other farmers were finding to total up like this: Cutting 6d., the local town, less than two miles saler 6d.—total 3s. And in the marfrom the very field on to which I was kets nets of cauliflowers were fetching driving my tractor, cabbages in the just that 3s., so that the farmers were hops were costing 6d. per lb.—a dear receiving precisely nothing for the price at that time-and the local work, long, hard and patient, of grow-

N.U.F. Stupidity

Believe it or not, the only solution the National Farmers' Union have for this sorry mess is to increase the num-

An official of the Union is quoted incident and one or two others helped bright schemes for increasing the

they say. But people on holiday still eat, don't they? What sort of brilliant organisation is it that brings food into the centre at the same time But to return to the field of cab- as people are leaving it—and probably

of society and the free distribution of principles of a free, anarchist society, transport and criminal waste which talist society. A flexible organisation of distribution according to need The abolition of the money system with its restriction upon consumption for the many in order to ensure profits Technically, those cabbages were for the few, would release for producstolen, but I couldn't care less. What live work that vast army of parasites I should really have done, of course, who produce nothing, but batten upon is to have loaded up a trailer and the labours of others, besides ensursailed down the High Street of the ing a full share of the abundance thus local town, distributing free cabbage produced, for all, according to their

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

Behind the gilded scenes, however, the The Catering Boards Orders governing The main point of the report was that kitchen staffs have had to sweat in foul the wages and hours in unlicensed prethe public should stop tipping waiters and conditions for no extra reward. laid down by law for all workers in the Corner House Strike Threat a 47-hour week. "harmonious relations" between waiters The immediate result of the Commis- suggests "where necessary, employers and

Anomalies of Tipping

Catering Wages Commission on Tips to work at the hotels in the own chauf- progress or won by the Corner House

THE recently published report of the doormen) were able themselves to arrive being read the struggle will be either

catering trade, and that tipping affects the and kitchen staffs, and even between em- sion's report is that the public have cut workers will no doubt seek such method ployers and staffs generally.

Industrial News in Brief

has already had its effect on the income feur-driven limousine!

The practice of tipping has always led the consequent drop in income for waiters adjust the differences between tipped and to serious anomalies among workers in and waitresses. The position, therefore, untipped workers. has heard fantastic stories of how workers Houses, the shop steward presented a de- lines will be a matter of urgency in those will actually pay to hold certain positions mand to the management on 31st July for establishments where the wages of, say, where tips are especially frequent and a weekly wage of £4 excluding tips. lucrative. Head doormen, for instance, The management have been given one enced by the fact that tips were received one time, if not now, to pay for the not granted an unofficial strike will be honour of bowing and scraping (with called for the week-end of August 9thdignity, of course) to the rich, who re- 10th.

waitresses since minimum wages are now

down their tipping quite drastically, with of pooling and sharing gratuities as wil

going to be acted upon immediately warded them so handsomely for opening This will be after this issue has appear- the public

their car doors and so forth that they (the ed, so that by the time this report is PARSONS—KEEP OUT!

T.U. Democracy in the mines on week-days, declining his

of the big unions. The report states: expelled from membership because they failed to fall into line with a majority

"They will also forfeit superannuation money and other benefits. ing the continuous burning of open-hear furnaces, which would mean more steel

production and less fuel burning "A ballot was held in the branches. The result will not be announced unt to-morrow, but it was learned here to-day that the men have rejected the agreement by a big majority. "They had been warned of the conse-

A union official told me this evening 'Those in the branches who voted against

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

Can you sell a few copies among ration of Building Trades Operatives, has your friends? We can supply you with copies of the current issue (6 copies 1/-, 12 copies 2/- post free).

offer "with regret". News Chronicle (21/7/47) which in- branches will be formed for the minority dicates very clearly the dictatorial nature who voted in favour.' "The branches affected are all in South

The fact that all the offending branches conditions they are prepared to accept? ministrations of our priest. "All but four of the union's 146 And what was the point of having the I would go without luxuries all my rather like a Nazi "free election" does it | Shorton, Valley Road, Paignton, Devon.

Presumably the new "stooge" branches plished fact and like it or lump it! Such is trade union democracy!

PAYMENT BY RESULT IN BUILDING TRADE? for incentives which is occupying some of the most powerful brains among governspicuous lack of success.

The first industry to be afflicted thus is one union for which, the National Fedealready met employers' representatives to

a State corporation as a preliminary to cut off.

targets lately for much criticism regarding —and I seemed to have an awful lot it was wanted when it was wanted. the speed at which they work. We remember, however, the demonstrations and marches of last year which they held to draw attention to their several grievances. If they are going slow, be sure they have good reason for it.

Boys" scheme, and whether the lady so

freeze rather than have anybody working

in the mines?

TIP FOR THE T. & G.W.U. Daily Mirror, 30/7/47.

a completely independent community naturally their independence, until an which is in a position to ignore the Allied parade of force through the city's mother state, its currency and tradition- main thoroughfare succeeded in intimial ballyhoo, and proceed to frame life dating them. Hardly a wall, from talgia for the old days of fascism. It relying on compulsion and police methfor example, where the central govern- widespread hatred of the king, the peoples' minds, without any reflection retrieve its authority, would be widely ment's power is not absolute, the recal- police, the church, and the fascist rule. on the implications of such sympathies. resisted by an economy and a way of citrant areas are still under an equally At that time all four institutions were Standing by a railway where the grass life which rests squarely on constitubarbarous dictatorship. It is equally synonymous. Equally apparent was the was growing between the sleepers and tional illegality. impossible to feel any hope that the same form of ostentatious demand for a the Italian by my side muttering, ruecommunal tendency towards decentral- complete reconstruction. ization is, at the present moment, other than a transient flowering before the All this fervour for change and re- nearby school being taken for a walk central governments become more construction, however, was never given by their teacher and dressed in differfirmly empowered under either the aegis the opportunity to flow into the correct ently coloured clothes. In the good old of the dollar or that of the Kremlin.

roaming observers is to confuse the out- campaign, by parties anxious to be price tickets in show windows someward semblance of independence and proved the most partisan, which suc- times not displayed so that the unwary communities, with an absence of gov- which left the real criminals with all ernment authority. The recognition of their old authority: i.e. industrial government is still there, even if all leaders, church, the landowning aristocommunity practices are not to the cracy. They, as we all know, had found letter of the law. In this light the sit- ample shelter and even reward among mation in Europe to-day is not as their class brothers of the Allied aristoanarchic as Moorehead's article tended cracy. So this magnificent, transient to convey. What is, however, far more moment, when it needed but the slightactual and threatening to the stability est encouragement to bring about enof central government is the indifference lightenment and change, passed insigniand disillusion scattered over quite het- ficantly. crogenous individuals who, as individuals, have lost faith in contemporary institutions. Those who refrain from take advantage of the situation. The voting, see in each uniformed state ser- outcome is the prevailing frustration vant a threat, evade taxation, view and indifference, a sort of inverted religion with an open cynicism, are a anarchism minus the idealism, which, more dynamic potential, a more explo- if it were not for the more pressing sive element, than the peacefully flour- need for combatting hunger, might well ishing commune, no matter how inde- become explosive. The reaction has on until last night, when Mississippi' pendent of the mother state. This taken place on three levels. Primarily, Governor Fielding Wright rejected lastmust that fact be recognised.

Italy provides an excellent example of this state of affairs, and also where it could lead. Or, rather, where it coul lead were the Americans not about t give it a dollar transfusion.

signs of a libertarian society. The old order had completely collapsed. The land owners had fled to their remote luxury villages near Como or into Swit-

### P.o.W's. AS A PROPAGANDA WEAPON FOR AUSTRIAN C.P.

FURTHER example of the way in which the Soviet Governmen seeks to increase the prestige of not controlled by the Communists Austrian prisoners of war.

the Austrian Minister of the Interior there are over 100,000 prisoners in Russia. For months the Austrian Government has been trying to persuade Russia to complete their repatriation, but these requests met with little response. Two or three weeks ago the Communists of Austria wrote to Generalissimo Stalin making a similar request. In reply of July 21st rationed petrol with foreign currency, Stalin promised that all prisoners would be back in Austria by the end Government would be informed accordingly. The inference which the people of Austria will be expected to draw is obvious.

[Footnote: Most of the Austrian prisoners held by Britain were repatriated by the middle of last year and do not represent security. On the other all were back by the beginning of this year. All held by the American were returned by the beginning of this year. The French completed the repatriation a few months ago, so that no Austrian prisoners are held by any of the allies outside Russia.]

day papers, Alan Moorhead presen- as a matter of course prompted by their and sympathetic, a fact which stresses old days—in fact there is a desire, ted a survey of the anarchie tendencies inherent sense of justice, had appropri- the corrupting force of competitive city despite everything else, for a little neatcentral governments. Becoming, in fact, owners of the factories, the fascist capi- found. They have not yet realised that talists, expecting little sympathy from their vague hatred of authority is valid

channels. The ebullient spirit which days they all wore the same uniform. prevailed in the masses was eleverly The streets are just a little dirtier, the A common error made by many twisted into a senseless "epurazione" eceded in punishing minor officials but

The forces of reaction were quick to revalent indifference is confined to no of course, the scheming malinfluence of minute appeals. the allied administration, moulding the people. Secondly is the example set by the political parties, inane and selfof an assembly of Silone's village orators and quite remote from the really pressing problems. And lastly, like the jackal emerging after the departure

influence behind the government.

If one follows these very general out-

in Italy to-day, it is not difficult to see the promise and the dangers inherent in the situation. Lack of faith in government has brought lack of faith in currency which, in turn, has brought lack of faith in the whole structure of society as we know it. Shortage market, has caused an inflationary spiral not yet stabilized. Paradoxes are evithe black market becoming a symbol valid free enterprise while any attempt to restrict it is looked upon as repression. In the chaos of the unknown and the insecure, living for the moment and having not the slightest direction other than the urge to personal enrichshop with one's food coupons to be told that the commodity, openly displayed, is only for sale at black market prices. The authorities simulate helplessness or set for a probe of the "reds". actually connive. Faced with the question these same authorities blame maladministration and evasiveness of the death penalty for the 'crime' of peasants to surrender their stock. They forget that it would be folly to turn over produce at a fixed minimum price when been such a penalty during peace. an inflated level. And who knows that Already persons labelled 'reds' have the government are not in the black been fired from government jobs, and market and selling at the inflated at least one, who had denied his prices? The tourist can only buy dollars, sterling, or the swiss franc. The to a number of years in prison. Even leading banks pay 900 lire for a £1 | the august Supreme Court has not retraveller's cheque yet give over 2,000 monopoly eigarettes can be bought without coupons at a higher rate.

In this situation a sharp division is noticeable between the outlook of the peasants and the outlook of the city crime-opening the door, thus, to the dweller. With currency unstable, work and wages bear little relationship and hand the peasants have something concrete in their lives. The land will always be productive, the part they play always well defined. Though their

one of those sudden decisive moments like. Nothing stands out. There are

fully, that it was never like this in Mussolini's day. Or children from a train services never to schedule, the

Two Negro boys, aged 15 and The boys, James Lewis-the 15-yearold-and Charles Trudell, admitted months ago that they killed by shooting their white employer, James McKey,

News Chronicle, 24/7/47.

IN a recent article in one of the Sun- zerland. Behind them the peasantry, always the poor peasant is more human buyer is overcharged. But in the good

It is difficult to gather up all these government nor the big powers can fill souls and the hearts of nameless people. prophesied is that so prevailing is the Accompanying this vacuumatic pano- feeling of mistrust towards government rama there is also a good deal of nos- and their parties that any future policy

The recent visit of Peron's woman to

Italy has underlined the state of affairs already mentioned. The earlier emifollowed in the direction of the Argento enrol as many Italian sympathisers as possible. The emigration is akin to the Britishers' exodus to the dominions Il Libertario. (the Anarchist paper published in Milan), sees this emigration as a form of nostalgia for fascism and concerning, significantly, not only monarchists, demo-christians, liberals and qualunquists. One should, however, be careful not to confuse the genuine frustration of politically indifferent workers with the more definite motives of fascist sympathisers. Another favourite destination for Italian emigrants, no democrats please, is that other authoritarian state, South Africa. It would be interesting to discover how many are trying to get to Russia.

In the meantime Peron's woman continues her holiday and hands out 5,000 lire notes to workmen repairing the embassy boundary wall. Publicity tells us she has sympathy with the workers. It seems more likely that she wants the boundary wall built mightly high and

freedom we have."

CHARLES HUMANA

### WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE—2

"Science is not International" says Russia.

In an attack on those Russian scientists who look on science as international, who believe in the free flow of information and show "indifference to the superriority of the scientific discoveries made in Russia", Moscow Radio

"Science is international," these people say, "and it is therefore of no importance by whom when, and in what country a scientific discovery or technical invention was made. In an era of well-developed international communications a scientific discovery is bound to become sooner or later common property of all countries." Such talk shows the absence of the desire to magnify the glory of one's own motherland, and forgetfulness of the interests of our country and of one's own

In defending what the Manchester Guardian refers to as "startling doctrine with terrifying implications", Moscow Radio brought up the old familiar clichés which only the blind fanatics can possibly accept:

"The Anglo-American warmongers have militarised science; imperialism has made use of modern science and technology not to benefit but to harm mankind. Soviet scientists. unlike those employed in capitalist trusts and monopolies. are imbued with the idea of Socialist humanism. It is understood that discoveries made by Soviet scientists will not and cannot be made use of to the detriment of the masses. All honest people in the world know it. If that is so, every Soviet patriot must realise the importance of keeping secret our scientific discoveries, and must stigmatise every violation of this rule as anti-patriotic sycophancy to bourgeois civili-

One would think the Stalinists had fought the war with peashooters the way they talk now that the war is over!

# Defending Civil Liberties

'Congress resounds with the calls of the big corporations to curb labour in that; to keep "reds" out positions in the labour movement; root them out of government jobs. Senators demand that Henry Wallace, that sincere demagogue, be tried for treason for saving what he thinks Truman's foreign policy, and they summon up that legislative ghost, the Logan Act, one of the many laws on the statute books which could bring about our own form of constitutional fascism. Even Hollywood is getting

"Already Congress has decreed a making known certain military information—the first time there has political beliefs, has been sentenced mained aloof from the accelerated repressive trend of the day. A recent decision permits the police to seize any incriminating evidence while stensibly investigating a particular sort of searches that went on under fascism in Italy and Germany and still go on in Stalin's Russia."

Resistance explains that as Anarchists we have absolutely no sympathy papers we read of anti-fascists who the rallying forces for a general standard of living, never very high, is for the immediate target of this are still in the prisons to which they recognition and restatement of human still comparatively low, they have pre- repression, the partisans of the were sent by the former rulers of values which may yet save humanity served an equanimity of outlook which Russian State, whose record of per- Italy. Or such cases, as reported in from atomic obliteration? mon, among the city dwellers. As secution against the Anarchists in Freedom, of an anti-clerical cartoonist

HE July issue of Resistance Russia is already too well-known being sentenced to two years' im-(formerly Why?) the anarchist (and, if it isn't, we recommend prisonment for a drawing showing a onthly magazine published by our Maximov's carefully documented priest strangling a chicken (represent-New York comrades, carries an article book The Guillotine at Work), and ing the unhappy Italian people). ances and writings. Neither have we African Standard of the 22-year-old anything in common with the par- editor of the Nigerian Daily Comet tisans of Truman's State. But "as being sentenced to three years' im-

Anarchists we are opposed to all re- prisonment with hard labour for pression on principle. We are par- "attempting to seduce the Police from tisans of full and equal freedom for their duty and allegiance to the king." all. We oppose the repression or Indeed, wherever we turn we find penalizing of upholders of unpopular examples of individual freedom being views. We are against monopoly in trampled on by the representatives of every form, the monopoly of an "law and order". More than ever is

ideology or the monopoly of pro- it necessary for those men and women And Resistance concludes: who genuinely believe in freedom "All this, as we have stressed be- (and this implies, as Resistance puts fore, points to the urgent need for an it, opposition to all repression on American counterpart of the Freedom principle) to come together, ready to Defence Committee in England, a raise their voices for all to hear group to supersede the pettifogging whenever any attempt is made to legalism of the American Civil trample on the people's rights. Such Liberties Union and the ineffectual men and women are to be found in Workers' Defence League. We need all countries, and it should be one of a group, composed of sincere liber- the tasks of the Anarchists to lay the tarians of all tendencies, with a social foundations for Defence Committees goal opposed to the present coercive whose very structure and composition system, who will help rally the people will make it impossible for political to demonstrate by direct action their parties to infiltrate them for their own resistance against repression of what ends and eventually sap them of their vitality as for instance has been the If we now refer to Le Libertaire case in this country with the Stalinist-(24/7/47) we find the leading article controlled National Council of Civil

on page one under the heading "Total Liberties. Amnesty" calls for the liberation of Once these Committees are formed, all who are in prison whether they the next stage should be co-ordination are military offenders, conscientious on an International scale. We think objectors, deserters or political the Freedom Defence Committee offenders. "For by what right do our though still weak, has shown the way. rulers permit themselves to judge The functions of such Committees is their fellow beings and to inflict at present limited. But on an Interpunishment on them?" ask our French national scale who knows what may be their influence. At the very least, And if we turn to the Italian can we not hope that they may be

# 9th August, 1947 Political Background in Palestine

(From our Middle East Correspondent)

HE reason so many people fail to understand the Palestine situation because they think exclusively in nationalist terms. Hence they look with optimism or pessimism at this or that latest Conference or Commission that is going to settle the problem once and for all, and never think that the very political existence of nationalist politicians means that some problem or another has to be kept alive. Partition is an old-established way of doing that. Whereas, from an Anarchist point of view, what is a preliminary to a rational approach to the problem is the complete abandonment of nationalism. This may be "utopian" but it is not as hopeless as trying to reconcile "Arabs" and "Jews", particularly when one realises that not only are the "official" viewpoints classified under those headings quite irreconciliable, but Arabs no more wholly accept the "Arab case" and Jews the "Jewish case" than everyone in Britain accept the wishy-washy liberalism expounded over the B.B.C.

### The Jewish Attitude

For instance, most Jews in Palestine and oppose the terrorists, while the leftwing and right-wing divide on the ques tion of a bi-national or a Jewish national State. Many do not favour independen statehood at all, and advocate British Imperialism, federation with neighbouring Arab states or other solutions. majority of Jews outside Palestine are not Zionists at all; while the majority of Zionists outside Palestine are opposed or lukewarm to the Haganah and favour the Irgun and occasionally the Sternists.

### The Arab Attitude

As regards the Arabs there are two di-Azzan Pasha, Secretary of the Arab League who is not only, not hostile to the Iews, but is also prepared to meet with the Zionists to the point of agreeing to a Jewish minority in an Arab Palestine (i.e. a Zionist "National Home" as a minority) and the extremists such as Fawzi Kawukii whose sole aim is to drive Tews right out of Palestine.

Not only that, but it may also be pointed out that the alleged solid front of Arabs supporting the "Palestine Arab" case" are not quite able to meet fect harmony. For if King Ibn Saud, Lord of Hejaz and King of Saudi Arabia, and foremost champion of Moslem Palestine, met Fawzi Kawukji, leader of the illegal Arab Army devoted to the Mufti of Jerusalem, he would probably cut hi head off! Kawukii is not only wanted by the Palestine Police; he was also under from the French a few hours ahead of the firing squad. He joined King Feisal in

### Mexico

### POLITICAL AGENTS AT WORK

Victor Serge, writing in the American New Leader (July 12th) states that the Mexican secret police has been devoting itself of late to an inquiry of a curious affair. "A Spanish engineer, a Republi-This engineer, Rafael Martinez Cofino, technical information from Rogelio Melendez: that the engineer Rafael Martinez Cofino, after being kept under isolated observation for some time in Mexico City was escorted to the port of Coatzalcoalcos, in the State of Veracruz, and taken aboard a Soviet ship-doubtless the same Soviet boat which came to pick up the principal Communists of the Free Germany group, and which was then given considerable attention by the press.

Around May 15 another Soviet ship collect another group of German Communists who had not been able to obtain transit visas. Among those who emleaders of the Comintern in Mexico, Dr. gium 40,000, Poland 30,000, Holland Leo Zuckercan (or Leo Lambert), who was chief in charge of administering an international Committee to Aid Anti-Fascist Refugees, a collaborator of the Free Germany group, and who distinguished himself by his violent intervention in a Jewish gathering dedicated to the memory of Erlich and Alter, old Polish Tewish Socialists who were shot in the USSR. The departure of these Stalinist under orders of the Party, they were being forced to leave, were obviously obey-

Iraq and was banished for conspiring against the throne, and became Ibn Saud's the Arab rebellion in 1936, holding altogether. But this presupposes a great Northern Palestine and defying even the R.A.F. His guerilla tactics were remarkable and terrifying, and need to be called to-day when the initiative in terror ism has passed to the Jews, since Kawukji is now on the hilly frontier of Palestine awaiting the hour to move back. What a terrible civil war there is going to be in Palestine when rival terrorists meet!

### Choosing the Lesser Evil

front on either side is hard to prophesy. Ibn Saud would like to see an Arab State for being firm. in Palestine but my humble guess is that

a Pan-Arabia under his own leadership. stration organised by the those three eventful years. The Jews in spite of his support for this workers' heroic struggle against same army of the Mufti. Hence the Franco. Among the many speakers Rahman Pasha plan for an Arab Palestine with a strong Jewish minority—just was the Communist "General" strong enough to curb any potential Arab Lister, whose counter-revolutionary we feel that the matters dealt with ruler—may well suit the Arab Kings and role in the struggle is well-known are of interest to a wider public ambitions that are bound to clash.

This does not alter the fact that a very Pan-Arab revolt of Ibn Rafadi of the the illegal Arab and Jewish armies, of Billis tribe from Saudi Arabia to Transjordan. Ibn Saud swore to cut his head
off personally, and Kawukji went to
off personally, and Kawukji went to
off a non-nationalist body of sentiment on deal more social revolutionary feeling than

oubtedly will be—it will be for the f herance of what Whitehall considers ar Palestine other than those admittedl believing in British Imperialism who wants to see British troops there. lives that are lost as a result of Ar ntervention will not be for the protecti of anything but Mr. Bevin's reputation

# Germany

# 2 Million Slaves are still held by the Allies

Prisoners of War even at the risk of to raise industry even to the now outrepeating ourselves. Our chief ob- dated level prescribed by the Potsdam jection to the retention of P.o.W's in agreement. And this does not take this country more than two years after into account Germany's millions the ending of hostilities has been on homes destroyed and hundreds moral grounds and whatever other cities shattered. Rebuilding, save for their repatriation they cannot in any hazard. Farmers, by bartering food-

ments for the speeding up of repatri-The Berlin correspondent of the writes that next to food the subject of the early release of German prisoners in Allied hands is the subject of most importance to the German man in the street. "Lack of food is his cousin, Rogelio Melendez, who also to him a perpetual nagging want., unexplained and inexplicable. failure to return prisoners of war is to him a more obvious injustice, a source of resentment more easily and more directly focussed on the victo

be to make the necessary arrange-

Two Million Prisoners The exact number of prisoners in Allied hands cannot be ascertained mainly because of the unreliability of Russian figures (Freedom 31/5/47). But even accepting official figures, the arrived at a port in the State of Veracruz, total two years after the ending of at Veracruz itself or at Coatvalcoalcos, to hostilities is 2,012,000 distributed as follows: - Russia 890,000, France 600,000, Britain 280,000, Middle East 80,000, Yugoslavia 70,000, Bel- WAR TALK

> embourg 4,000. The Manchester Guardian's correspondent however puts forward argu- targets ments to show that a more likely figure is 3 millions. And he too maintains that on "material and moral" grounds "it is high time that the prisoner-of-war question was solved." He points out that in spite of all the material difficulties of housing and or there." food, Germany needs these men for the country is very short of manfor the war to 21 million to-day.

10,000, Czechoslovakia 8,000, Lux-

for the repatriation of German that 5,000,000 more men are needed see to it that every possible pressure new outhouses for their cattle; enginis made to bear on the powers that eers work on railway bridges, and factories with hopelessly insufficient labour forces, and jobs which should take a matter of weeks take years.

Germany needs every possible man Manchester Guardian (26/7/47) to help in a post-war recovery which has not yet begun."

But, as the Guardian's correspondent points out "possibly even more important is the moral reason for the return of her prisoners.

The programme of repatriation far as this country is concern 15,000 a month) means that there will still be German prisoners in the a half years after the end of the war Let those who profess to be lovers justice do all in their powers by the written and spoken word to force the Spanish workers! Government to return these men to work or for clearing bombed sites. We cannot tolerate the holding of slave labour in our names.

In 24 hours we could wipe ou men," said Dr. Robert H. Montgomery Texas University professor who helpe the U.S. Army to pick atom bom

"They know it," he added.

"I'm not worried about the Russians I am worried about us. do it now-not wait three years. "Rather than that's let's learn what to do about this power for the good of man. The next war won't leave anything here

bombs" and had solved the secret of goods."

The People, 20/7/47.

side Spain who followed the de- Square.

And it is doubtful whether Abdullah of Stalinist-controlled International Spanish Libertarian Movement in Zionist claims to Transjordan as well as Brigade Association was staged at this country distributed a duplicated handbill giving facts about the socalled "General Lister", and the London Union of Anarchist Groups distributed a large number of printed handbills at this meeting which we are reproducing below as inside Spain as well as by those out- than was reached at Trafalgar

1 YEARS have passed since the unarmed people of Spain rose to prevent One thing is certain. If British troops the mutinous generals, in league with the Church hierarchy, from seizing power and establishing a clerico-military dictatorship. It was the beginning of a struggle which, thanks to the armed assistance received by Franco from Hitler and Mussolini, was to last nearly three years. For without that aid Franco would have been defeated in a matter of days.

> The fact that the Spanish workers and peasants were able to hold out for these three long years is an epic in International working class history, which workers do well to commemorate. Unfortunately, political parties have used the Spanish workers' struggle for their own narrow, sectarian ends, with the result that the Communists would have us believe that it was they who led the workers on July 19th, 1936, whereas on their own admission at the time their membership in Spain was very weak and in such important regions as Catalonia, non-existent. But the Communists today rely on the blind, unquestioning support of their politically ignorant, drifting membership to get away with this falsification of working class history.

These are some of the facts which can be verified, and which we are prepared to substantiate regarding the struggle in Spain since 1936.

(1) The Communists were an insignificant force in the opening phases of the struggle, and won influence and members only as a result of controlling the distribution of arms sold by Russia to the Spanish Government for hard cash, and through the co-FREEDOM" will continue to press "German statisticians have estimated operation of Russian secret police agents introduced into Spain to destroy the revolutionary character of the struggle.

> (2) The artificial strength of the C.P. was demonstrated when it came to a show-down during the last days in Madrid. Then, the Communist attempted coup was crushed by the workers' organisations in a matter of days.

(3) The principal forces in Spain on July 19th, 1936, were arguments may be used in justifying the Ruhr miners, is slow and hap- the Socialist inspired U.G.T. (General Workers' Union) and the Anarchist inspired C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labour) way minimise our moral obligation to stuffs, can get the materials to build which each had a membership of nearly 2 million workers.

> (4) The Communists, through their representatives, took great pains to explain that the struggle in Spain was not for the social revolution but for bourgeois democracy. They clearly demonstrated this during the May Days in Barcelona, 1937, where with the aid of those elements who feared the extension of the revolution and the Russian police agents they were responsible for the death of hundreds of revolutionary militants, many internationally known as active anti-fascists.

> (5) When the Spanish workers took over the large landed estates, the factories and workshops and worked them for the benefit of the community they were demonstrating that the armed struggle against Franco must be accompanied by the social revolution. Their achievements—the successes as well as the failures -are recorded for all time. Also recorded is the fact that the Communist brigades were the spear-head of the attacks on these workers' collectives, in Catalonia, Levant and Aragon. And among the leaders of these counter-revolutionary forces were "General" Modesto, and "General" Lister, who are the star turns at today's Communist rally to commemorate the glorious struggle of the

July 19th is a day in working class history which must never be forgotten. their families irrespective of the fact It is a glorious day in the long and hard struggle that has been incessantly that they may be needed for farm waged in Spain between the oppressed and the oppressors and as such it belongs to no party. But if any party could lay claim on it, the party least justified in so doing, would be the COMMUNIST Party.

The role of the Communist Party in the working class struggle only becomes clear when one understands that its whole policy is dictated by its masters in the Kremlin. It is then that one understands why during the past eight years the C.P. has both supported and opposed the war; why it has both supported and opposed strikes and increased production in the mines and factories. It also explains why it took part in the armed struggle against Franco and his masters, and in the struggle against the revolutionary achievements of the Spanish workers on the land and in the factories. Workers of Britain! The Communists are not concerned with your interests. Their first concern is to carry out the foreign policy of Soviet Russia and this can, and does, sometimes conflict with your interests, and in these circumstances you can be sure that the Communists will put Russia's interests

In conclusion, should you be told that we, the Anarchists, are "fascists" or "trotskyists," don't just accept that as an answer to our arguments against the C.P. The Anarchists have resisted dictatorship wherever it has attempted to raise its head. But for us there is no distinction between dictatorships, But in Munich yesterday, Dr. Hans | whether they are imposed in the name of the bosses or in the name of the Bomka, one of the world's leading atomic | proletariat. They are in both cases opposed to the fundamental concepts of power (the number of men of working scientists, said Russia had "tons of atom Freedom and as someone once put it "freedom is the greatest of political

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VOTE WHAT FOR?

the new conditions."

De Tocqueville, the Critic of Democracy.

existed No-Man's-Lands, in which move to fit into any accepted school of political nature of government.

Lord Acton, a historian of great learning and honesty, who was a leader of the revolt within the church against Papal authority, and who, after a lifetime study ing history, uttered the famous warning of the corruption of power and the essential badness of all great men.

Another, and hardly less incongruous figure among the No-Man's Landers was Alexis de Tocqueville. De Tocqueville the victory of Louis Napoleon in 1851, he

. . . if we want to perform something to-

day, we must give a hand in clearing

"Certainly we can and must work to

problems in the solution of which we are

fate of all of us is connected with it . .

quite clear if they are to achieve any

on this point all our comrades must l

3d. own ideas honestly estimated and appre

than they have so-far done.

"We must work together with others to

find it and wherever we are offered the

opportunity to express our views and aims

with such movements from which may

come something really creative and signi-

ficant for the development of a libertarian

In the present situation the recon-

struction of Germany rests absolutely

the whole social administration lies to-day

This is an entirely new situation

almost exclusively in the hands of the

which, if understood correctly is of

most profound importance for the

development of Germany and the whol

administrative work of the councils and

try to translate the theories of libertarian

and federalist socialism into practical

work, as far as is possible under local

obstacle has disappeared.

with the local councils (Gemeinden).

socialism on federalist foundations.

all equally interested."

thing at all."

ceptions and dead thoughts, are the the ruins which the Nazis have left us.

George Woodcock's Literary Notes

(1) RUDOLF ROCKER not bring us one step forward at present | Rudolf Rocker, the veteran Ger- | the few can propagate their ideas with

fact that he was the first man, after God- win's Political Justice. win, to present a reasoned analysis of the democratic form of government, which re- Walt Whitman's Leaves vealed within it the same dangers of suppression of individual freedom as exist in of Grass

In 1831 he was sent on a mission to ing the nineteenth century, somewhere to the United States, and, on his return, he the extreme left of liberalism. It consis- wrote an exhaustive study entitled Demoted of a number of writers and thinkers cracy in America, in which he subjected anarchist movements of the time, who rigid scrutiny, and showed a live conalmost certainly would never have thought sciousness of the danger of majority rule of calling themselves anarchists, but who crushing out the individual qualities of nevertheless realised fully the dangers men and their essential freedom. He ex-2/6 implicit in authority and uttered their posed clearly and cogently that classic colitary warnings against the corrupting democratic fiction which sees in the will of the majority a right to dictate to the lings. It should certainly be regarded as while it contains some conclusions with



man anarchist has written a

pamphlet, "A Contribution to the

Study of the German Situation",

ly been published in Sweden by

a translation of certain extracts

from his pamphlet, (which unfor-

tunately is far too long for us to

translation), and a refutation of

Rocker's arguments by John

Olday, whose name is well-known

to our readers and whose record

vity in Germany qualify him to

of underground anti-Nazi acti-

speak in the name of our German

Also the comrades should pay more man Government, but its place is taken Right and Left, West and East. Every

attention to the co-operative movement by the Allied Government which is more recent experience has confirmed the anar-

Our comrades should therefore, instead any resemblance to independent com- orientations, new groupings, which, when

up of old organisations, seek an Anschluss "stooges" of the Allied authorities. Are powerfully. The present period, beneath

but this can hardly be regarded as a pro-

gressive step; is not Mr. Churchill an

In one breath Rocker recalls our move-

ment's hundreds of dead comrades who

remained loyal to their convictions, and

unrealistic fools. After tedious moralis-

as a whole for the atrocities, he goes on

to say that the German workers failed

pre-Hitler F.A.U.D. with its 150,000

members was not strong enough to in-

As long as the local councils were fully spire the other millions of organised

under the control of the central state, the workers to action, yet shortly afterwards,

in the next he calls those who still do so,

the Sveriges Arbetares Central- unjust and unjustifiable prolongation

organization, in which he advo- the exploitation of the slave labour

cates a revision of the traditional prisoners-of-war, or against the censors

in Germany to-day. His attitude to sell themselves to the occupation.

controversy, and we print below | wards proved Nazis, or against the new

give anything like a complete wearing, and Prussian military discipline

powerful than any dictator. The local chist conceptions and the anarchist philo-

councils, (Gemeinden), far from having sophy, and all the symptoms indicate new

munes, are merely the scapegoats and the time is ripe will manifest themselves

our German comrades to compromise with its ostensible confusion is a phase of in-

the racket of voting and elections, merely tense preparation. The new front, silent-

for the privilege of becoming the tools of ly forming, has no time for negative and

irresponsible military dictatorship? Rocker confused counsels. To-day, more than

advocates a league with the Federalists, ever before, the real representatives of to-

number does not count" and trusts that the German working-class?

abandoned in disgust what a more mer- which anarchists are unlikely to agree, the cenary man would have regarded as a criticism of democratic authoritarianism promising career, and washed his hands of is certainly more capably conducted and more thoroughly considered than any-De Tocqueville's importance lies in the where in anarchist literature outside God-

From the critic of democracy to the poet of democracy seems a far cry, and Tocqueville may on the face of it appear to have very little in common with Whitman, who seemed to find in democracy his poetic goal. Yet what Whitman meant by democracy, at least as an ultimate end, was something quite different from the existing state of affairs which de Tocqueville analysed. Whitman hoped · for an eventual society where all men would be equal and free because they would be responsible, in other words, omething not very far removed from

takes, worshipped Lincoln and so forth, of the poor Negroes. while he tended to become involved in One of these writers is Eudora Welty, oratorical mumbo-jumbo, his main virtue whose A Curtain of Green has just been remains in his continual insistence on that issued in the Penguin library. This is a factor which has so long dropped out of collection of excellently written stories, current social ideas as a living thought, about life in the rural areas of Mississippi. the brotherhood of man. A new and en- Some concern Negroes, some white larged edition of Whitman has appeared people, but all are characterised by a in the Everyman's Library, and, if you deep feeling for human suffering, accomdo not become annoyed by his rants, panied by a very original wit. There is there is much of permanent interest to be one terrible story about the exploited found there, stirring poetry and a revolutionato farmers, called The Whistle, and tionary urge that is not so vague as it a fine story of a Negro band, called sometimes appears.

sufficient clothing, factories in Hamburg

revolution, which they know can only be

brought about by revolutionary means.

They reject, (all the more vehemently be-

cause of tragic experience), all participa-

tion and compromise with the reformists,

Rocker asserts that: "The belief in the

dream of deeds, but never accomplish

pessimists and confused opportunists.

Stories from the South

One of the things which Whitman felt most strongly was the need for the abolition of colour prejudice and slavery; he refused to fight his fellow men and, instead, worked in a hospital during the civil war, but he was certainly ready to include the Negroes in his idea of brotherhood, and felt passionately the need for righting the wrongs done to them. If he could return to America to-day, if he could witness the lynchings and murders of Negroes which still take place in the deep South, the exploitation of coloured workers and farmers, the deliberate exclusion of Negroes from civil rights and the application of Jim Crow laws, we can be sure that he would think differently than he did of the apparent triumph of Negro freedom in the civil war.

But the wrongs of the Negroes do not go wholly unprotested. Coloured writers like Richard Wright are forcing themselves on the attention of the American literary world, with their messages of suffering, and there is a whole group of And, while it is true that Whitman white writers, some of them resident in made all kinds of ideologically naive mis- the South, who try to portray the misery

Powerhouse. However, I have no space to discuss the book any further at present; I can only recommend readers to introduce themselves to the work of this really competent American short story writer. Rocker on the German Problem

Report on certain aspects of Prison conditions in Portlaoighise Convict Prison (Published by The Labour Party, Dublin, price 3d.).

against the organised looting of German (Zur Betrachtung der Lage in industry, which is the real obstacle to the Deutschland), which has recent- reconstruction with which he is so much ortlaoighise prison and interviewing prianarchist attitude in view of the of libertarian views, and fosters the renepeculiar and desperate situation gades and opportunists who are willing emoralising and outmoded". is bound to cause considerable anarchists, the scandalous favouritism to-

bereft of interest of intelligence."

The figures concerning the prison popuprisoners was 103. In Britain the prisons tween War and Crime. Other interesting victed for homo-sexual practices and the

transferred to Military Custody. The report, which was adopted by the Labour Party of Ireland, makes a number term recommendation that "the place of detention for penal servitude prisoners should correspond to that of a colony ing, and after scolding the German people total destruction of all existing social rather than to a jail, that it should afford institutions, and the erection of a new ample opportunity for effective segregaworld, rising phoenix-like from its ruins, tion and the means of providing work after 1918. But has Rocker forgotten the is only a Messianic belief, and those who and training of a beneficial character; that workers' revolts in 1919, 1921 and 1923? let themselves be carried away by it, will long-term prisoners, under the care and machine of the Trade Unions' bureaucra- them." But in answer we say: the his- should be equipped by moral and physical

militancy, and on another he advocates a dreamer was Bakunin. Such a dreamer life in society." Though this report does not even claim day, would not Muesham, who was tor- the long term recommendation does inditured and murdered in Orienburg, de- cate that the minds of its authors are nounce Rocker's pamphlet, which only not completely closed to such questions, situation was different. To-day this says, concerning a new movement, "The adds to the confusion and bewilderment of it is worth reading by those people inter-

PRISONS AND PRISONERS IN IRELAND.

THIS 16-page pamphlet consists of a report which was originally prepared for circulation only to the Administrative Council of the Labour Party by three Deputies and a Senator. They only spent seven and a half hours inspecting

References are made to "the solitud and silence" in prisons "to say nothing of foolish or purposeless, as the sight of a number of adult men walking in single file from one point to another seemingly

The report refers also to seven political receiving visits from friends or the facilities to write letters because they refuse to wear convict clothes. They are also subject to frequent searches and, being under 'special observation", have their cell lights turned on each quarter of an hour throughout the night. For these men the Report recommends that they should be

tic centralism and its deadening effect on tory of anarchism proves otherwise. Such training to restart on release, a normal

was Erich Muesham, who Rocker claims as a comrade. But if he were alive to-

# 9th August, 1947

or however inexpedient they are consider-

ed-to see publications permitted, how-

ever wrong or wicked they may appear

to be. This is not the Communist or

demand for themselves when they are a

minority and deny to others when they

are in power; nor even the Liberal and

Democratic idea that permits anyone to

say as they wish, with due limits, at cer-

tain times, having regard to this or that,

and bearing in mind the various enact-

ments and laws on the subject. Freedom

thing regardless of whether it is pern

cious, harmful, seditious, subversive

wicked, blasphemous, treacherous or de-

moralising-since all doctrines can be

found to be one or the other of these by

one or another viewpoint. You do not

need any more laws for this, you only

need to abolish a few. But the intelli-

gentsia never see that. They always want

a few more laws, as if there were not

enough of them doing sufficient harm

JUST ANOTHER REPORT

The Royal Commission on the Press—

POOR EDITORS

mission is from the National Union of

NO DIFFERENCE

One of the suggestions to the Com-

things however unpopular they may be their antiquated ideas on Capitalism.

# Behind the Slogans "FREEDOM OF THE PRESS"

its own profession, and this is some- money, and when the social revolution has vague threat of a blow against all papers can have an Anarchist newspaper frankly Freedom where they don't even get paid!) times known as "Freedom of the Press". abolished their wealth we should be in- honestly propagandist, and not intended giving a libertarian and working-class for what is needed is not people who will It is in fact, nothing of the sort, and the terested to see if the Press Lords, now so for the glorification of an editor, but for slant on news, in place of the present sell themselves to the highest bidder and people who are loudest in the cry, really interested in publishing, will get down to the dissemination of views. know the least about this Freedom. It it when they find they have to work their is an essential right that the people have printing presses themselves, or in com-

authoritarian and "snob-appeal" angle want legislation to protect their conscien-REAL PRESS FREEDOM (which is going to be hysterically obvious ces afterwards, but those prepared to If sufficient people want to get an when the Royal marriage comes off). The work in common with others for the prolong struggled for: the right to say mon with those few who will still share honestly outspoken daily newspaper, this "rights of editors" on such a paper need gress of their ideas,

THE Press is very vigilant in defending them. We begrudge the millionaires their that will come from them and can see the can be achieved in due course, and they not be respected (they certainly aren't on

# Reform has Failed

ournalists, who aim at editorial freedom. They want laws (of course) to see that the isher or the advertiser, that he get fixed self, a Court of Appeal to go to when of following reform or revolution-Social- Election.

that provide jobs for aspiring middle- ist? No "professional code" has yet kept | trade union negotiation, long-drawn out It may be interesting to note the re- as small a fraction of the demand as they

For ourselves we do not begrudge the up to a point, influence his readers minds, with full powers. It is fair to consider We are still urged to save. But unless and that petty reform, but a plain demand millionaires their press, and we do not stimulate their prejudices, blind them to | England as a test case of Social Demo- this decline in purchasing power can be for the transference of the means of prothink highly of any proposal to replace things that happen and persuade them of cracy and whether Labour reformism is arrested and reversed, every counsel of duction from the hands of capitalism or their control by that of the State. What the truth of things that are not happen- of value to the working classes, incentive would the State have to make ing. At a certain point of course, people tests by Labour spokesmen that we have their money will still buy something, they will if they cannot suppress the a profit? None! Then it would be even cease to believe their newspaper at all. to consider the effect of the late war are rather than wait till it will buy practically movement, shower concessions in the way worse than the control by the millionaire We oppose the enquiry into the Press | pretty valueless when one realises what nothing.

a degree that the arbiter of publishing had at least a brief spell of revolutionary collapsed in the post-war world? The And finally, this inflation offsets much becomes neither the millionaire proprietor struggle before being led astray by re- gradual struggle to push up wages has re- of the hard work of decades of trade union nor the Whitehall bureaucrat, but the formism, submerged by Bolshevism or sulted in the worker of to-day being paid effort. The plumber of to-day probably liquidated by Fascism, the British work- a wage which before 1914 would have put draws three times the £2 a week which What improvement is there in this? ing class movement was from the first him right up in the upper middle class, my father earned in the early 1900's. But Personally I prefer an open enemy to a wholly inclined towards reformism. The but since the value of goods and food has when my father died, he owned three hidden one and would far rather see Lord | trade union element was the basis of the leaped up terrifically during the war and small houses, besides the one he had lived Beaverbrook against us than one of the socialist movement; it was eminently res- no effective reduction has been made, his in; and he had bought them out of his Socialists he sometimes pays to sit in the pectable when the Socialists of the early apparent increase is seen to be an effective savings." editorial chair of a Conservative news- I.L.P. tried to push it leftwards and decrease; he is in fact worse off than he Syndicalists do not advocate reform, paper, helping to "glamourise" the Capi- gradually with the rise of the Labour was before, and where certain improve- but revolution. We do not deny the talist propaganda with a "democratic" Party the Socialist element has become the ments in the standards of living are to necessity and value of immediate reforms, the respectable, and mainly non-working be seen these can invariably be traced to but we do not enter into a struggle for class, element. Certainly one can say technical improvements such as have them. For a simple reason known to that a good half-century of Socialist marked the most backward countries, every bargainer: that if one makes a small vet another commission to add to the mul- Why should we assume that the agitation in this country has passed, in- rather than any actual benefit gained by demand, one receives not what one asked titude of committees and white papers Editor cannot be as venal as the Capital- cluding early Liberal-Labour legislation, the long sacrifices made to reformism. for, but what the opposite party think is

class lawyers and an outlet for ambitious out trickery and quackery, and apart from Labour struggles, Parliamentary represent- marks of a trade union official and a can get away with. We have seen the upper-class heirs—is enquiring into the that, why assume that there will be less ation in the Liberal T.U. days, in the reformist for many years, even if not Government of to-day pressed for all sorts control of the British newspapers and propaganda from an editor than from a | I.L.P. and Labour Party of improvements in the way of livingnews agencies, and suggestions pour proprietor? In the presentation of news in Liberal Govern- W. J. Brown, M.P. Writing in the reforms urged on a Party that before it forth. Perhaps some innocent souls will as well as in the editorial space—and ments, Evening Standard (19/6/47) he states: was in office made the pressing of rebe surprised when they find that the daily even more so (as in the case of the hundreds of county and local governments, "This decline in the value of money forms its business—and the result has press is owned by millionaires, perhaps Spanish Revolution) in the news that is joint production committees, Labour and damnifies all those who in the past have been some minor concessions in the way someone will suggest how it could be NOT printed—the editor whether acting | Socialist share in legal and judicial sought, by thrift and saving, to make pro- of income tax. When the ruling classes as a paid agent or as the final arbiter, can powers, and now a Labour Government vision for their old age.

space to so much advertising matter, that IN the earliest days of the British selves expected) the over-publicised name are also defeated. It may seem a far he has a professional code to protect him- social movement, it had the chance of Churchill had triumphed at the 1945 cry from Lloyd George's 10s. a week for the old couple, to Jim Griffith's 40s, a the proprietor infringes his code; regula- Democracy or Anarchism. Unlike many Is it not true to say that the entire week. If purchasing power is taken as the tions safeguarding his authority to such | Continental and other movements, which trade union work of two generations has test, the difference will not be very great.

are faced not with a demand for this of reforms upon the working class in who cannot flout his readers too openly and all these suggested new laws, because | they would have been saying about the By this inflation, the intentions of order to appear them.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST.

### BAD GIRL MAKES GOOD Through the Press A Belgian Army chaplain told the international Missionary Council at Whitby,

of his brother.

paper Nacht Express said to-day.

DIEPPE-1942 Far more important historically, though guarded.

Militarily speaking, it is generally con- said to be working at full pressure to ceded that the Dieppe raid was a grim advance their atomic research.

the city both failed.

on the main beaches in front of the town. asks for a coupon concession. It is a ward to suggest any complaint against Failure to clear the headlands left the matter of national prestige that the heir Mrs. Roberts." area the focus of a withering cross-fire to the throne should be married in suit- Judgment for Mrs. Roberts. emanating from positions which the troops able style. And honeymoon pictures sent could not attack. Even the tanks fared badly. Only four for British fashions. tanks got beyond the esplanade wall. The

Sunday Express, 13/7/47. STRAIGHT SCREWS rest were stopped on the beach.

time as a glorious adventure.

temporary posts as prison officers. blacked the eye of an American woman serious increase of trafficking by officers in passenger who refused to move from the a number of gaols throughout the country. passenger who refused to make the later of trafficking have decided to refuse door of his tram, a military Court in Recent disclosures of trafficking have bours tells. March to the Recent disclosures of trafficking have bours tells. March to the Recent disclosures of trafficking have bours tells. Frankfurt was told yesterday.

She is a civilian worker with the U.S. occupation forces and were a civilian Known to be what? blouse and khaki skirt at the time, she

Sperling said he didn't know she was Auckland, Sunday. - Handshaking in an American. She provoked him by kicking him on the shin and calling him much for Field-Marshal Lord Montgom- CHRISTIAN POVERTY

Daily Mirror, 30/7/47

# FREE UNION

RECOGNISED The Russians are putting hundreds duction, the Soviet-licensed Berlin news-

and has to buy an occasional brain for we do not believe in any beneficial change Government of to-day if (as they them- Government in the field of social insurance

The women's ages are given as from Unofficial reports recently have said Sunday Dispatch, 13/7/47. that many of the men employed there live

in barracks surrounded by wire fences, and that portions of the area are closely far less successful, was the raid staged Young men were also said to be fleeing to escape compulsory labour in the

uranium mines which the Russians are News Chronicle, 14/7/47.

A WOMAN AND HER

complete their mission and were with- "where it is a matter of national prestige." a tenant is living with a quasi-husband. drawn after suffering heavy casualties.

But women of Britain will not grudge But moral conduct has fallen below preduce But moral conduct has fallen below preduced by the privilege if she was standard and no neighbour came for-But the real catastrophe took place Princess Elizabeth the privilege if she war standard and no neighbour came foroverseas are likely to be good publicity

known to be incorruptible.

his New Zealand tour.

Evening Standard, 12/7/47. WOMAN OF HER

After living together for seventeen Prison governors have been instructed years, a woman of ninety-four and a man This "grim farce" was hailed at the to make a special check-up on references of seventy-three said yesterday they were of all men and women applying for getting married to "stop the gossipers". FEUDALISM WITH A Behind these instructions lie the Prison U.S.A., met Mrs. Ellen Davis, a widow, Commissioners' growing alarm at the at a dance eighteen years ago. "It was shaken both the Prison Commissioners and bours talk. Maybe our wedding will keep Britain, marries Don Luis Martinez de German prisoners admission to their

comes from Brooklyn, New York, showed badly, as they feel it is an unjustified comes from Brooklyn, New York, showed the black eye in court, and said Sperling to be incorruptible.

THE NEW GOLDEN AGE judging by the lavish show he put up for tion from the welfare officer at the Peck-In New York, a manufacturer proudly his daughter's coming-out party four years ham Rye Camp had been sent by the Reynold's News, 6/7/47. advertised the ultimate in labour-saving ago. devices for U.S. women: "Flexible rubber It cost him £10,000, and nearly 2,000 The letter said: "With loathing and deseparators to keep your toes apart so guests danced from dusk till dawn among testation we point-blank refuse to coun-

News Chronicle, 21/7/47. Pius XII.

# STALIN THE MODEST

Moral conduct has fallen below pre- that he did not approve of the excessive

broken the agreement by taking in Patrick the Soviet leaders gives a good example dence and hope.

Cosgrove as a lodger. Evidence showed that Mrs. Roberts and fashion. Mr. Molotov opened the pro- Queen Victoria, who in referring to the Cosgrove were living together and in ceedings with a flowery speech in which Bible said: "This made England's greatfact had a baby aged three months. he proposed the health "of him who em- ness." "It is my prayer and hope," said

Judge Earengey said: "If a married bodies all the best qualities of our country, the Oueen, "that these words may become woman takes a tenancy and admits her our people, our youth—our great and true again in our generation. These are husband, he is a licensee and not a tenant beloved Comrade Stalin." After Molotov challenging days in the history of the

port from the tanks, they were unable to a bride except—say the Board of Trade— block of flats to know that in one of them

### News Chronicle, 16/7/47. Oct. 17, 1945. MAKING AN HONEST

William van Asperen, of Detroit, VENGEANCE love at first sight," said van Asperen. Spain in October when the Duchess of "We began living together a year later. Montoro, only daughter of the Duke of RE-EDUCATION

ery. His right hand is paining him, and A Cadillac with fancy fittings, including Now, I am told, all Spain is talking at every match, which would certainly He was sentenced to six months' he has asked to be excused for the rest of desk, radio and bookshelves, retailing for about the even bigger things the Duke is happen if we allowed these men on the £3,500, has been shipped to Pope planning for the wedding. ground."

meeting held last night in the Central Hall, Westminster, celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Bible Reading Fellow-

CHRISTIANITY:

Not so long ago Stalin made it known years of war, throughout the present days war standard, in the view of Judge Earen- flattery and adulation which his name sibilities to shoulder. If we relied upon ey, K.C. He was giving a reserved usually provokes in the Soviet Union. If our own strength either as an Empire, or dement in a case in which Victoria this was seriously meant as a reproof it as individuals, we should indeed find the Dwellings Association, Ltd., sought poss- has had remarkably little effect. The burden too great. But if through prayer report of a reception given to Russian and Bible reading we learned to live each The company contended that the sportsmen in the Kremlin and attended day in the strength and power of God tenant, Mrs. Margaret Roberts, had by Stalin himself as well as by most of we might well go forwards with confi-

of this-to Western ideas-degrading Her Majesty quoted some words of the Soviet champions rose one by one to world. A new era is struggling to be

I've just read Stephen King-Hall

"Save Europe Now!" First, it should

read "Save All Humanity-Now!" Last

night we heard over the radio that Sir

"Christians"! These "Christians" who

who only "sees his misery." It is the lot

the Christianity of the Montgomerys, the

Tedders, the "Bomber" Harrises he must

embrace—then I wish that he had never

I have a little grandson, and if it is

Daily Telegraph.

Manchester Guardian, 24/7/47.

"I hope the housing stringency will Stafford Cripps had appealed to our have been solved in four years."-Mr. "Christianity"-now King-Hall does the Aneurin Bevan, Minister of Health on same. Well, for my part I'm sick of the

"I do not think ten or fifteen years will support war and all its devilry and then see the end of the housing problem." call it "our finest hour", "glorious", etc., Mr. C. W. Key, Minister of Works, in etc. Surely it is not only the German South Wales last night. Evening Standard, 17/7/47. of the common peoples everywhere.

The woman, Sally Derman, 32, who the Prison Officers' Association rather them quiet." Daily Mirror, 30/7/47. Irujo, son of the Duke of Sotomayor. The Duke, now in London, will almost Mr. Jack Cock, the manager, said last

There will be an elaborate wedding in

polish dries thoroughly without smearing." the flower-bedecked marble columns of his tenance the suggestion. This ground has Time, 28/7/47. fifteenth-century palace. Chinese lanterns been severely hit by the enemy's atten-

lit up a 30-yard-long bar. Drinks alone tion. cost the Duke £2,000.

10 10 20 21 22 28 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

"It is not our desire to see free fights

Letter in The Leader.

News Chronicle, 16/7/47.