A BASIS FOR ORGANISATION

barren of organisational capability, and it been suicidal and as the result of steady is a sad fact that many Anarchists have work a lively group was brought into reality principle in social affairs might awaken a greater response from the community generally.

the ideological character of the community and pacifist movements, who, aware of the not principles, but practice, and it is the orthodox movements, and perceived in suggested that the experiences of the its principles a key to the whole problem movement in East London indicate a form of mankind. of activity which might well be emulated

the N.E. London Group when compelled together with other Anarchist literature, because of accommodation difficulties to and, in addition to this, once a meeting gravitate Eastwards, found themselves not place had been established within reach, only virtually isolated from the main cur- individual readers came forward from all rent of Anarchist activities, but complete quarters. strangers in a district where hitherto no

meetings and

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THE British Anarchist movement, which movement had ever existed.* Under such is so fertile intellectually, is strangely circumstances, complacency would have

The question thus arises of the appli- contacts in other movements, but above

Furthermore, it was soon evident that the paper Freedom had gone ahead of The handful of individuals comprising us. It was circulating in the local PPU

> not difficult to build up a group, yet at the same time it became obvious that an organisation whose membership contained so many degrees or stages of appreciation medium best suited to our purpose. Within is keen, often ruthless, but always goodsociety is exposed, there is a growing re- fifty years, during which the major part in Anarchist theory fifty years ago, had

The advantages of the small group are enormous. Firstly, the size permits of meeting in the private houses of sympathisers, and thus all overheads, rent, etc., free of acrimony. Within such a group are gathered individuals who are concerned with the social question not merely as an abstraction, but in its relation to their own personal existence. Such comrades are deeply sincere and serious in their views because they are acutely aware how their fates are woven in the tragedy of society.

The local group regards the discussion group as the advance party of the Anar-It is hoped to have a speaker from the chist movement. Its object is to break acquiescence possible, and to prepare the soil for the reception of Anarchist ideas. Its end is the creation of the active socially conscious Anarchist, possessed of the will and ability to carry his mission into further fields, and thereby to multiply

> the efforts of the initial group. It is suggested that the groundwork of a numerically large Anarchist movement can be laid by similar means. movement of small, compact and loosely related groups can expand without sacrifice of depth, and provided that it proceeds rather than resentment. The establish ment of such discussion groups could play as effective a part in our sphere as did the Left Book Clubs in the past, in theirs, and to infinitely greater ends. As an oute ring of the movement, they would be the means of introducing the movement into areas where it is at present unknown, and

to get down to really valuable work. ment of a liaison between these comrades and suggests that a bureau operated through the columns of Freedom would be invaluable in linking-up individuals who, though resident close to one another. are often unaware of each other's existence. Freedom Discussion Groups would donation to the Press Fund. be of equal service in extending the circugenerally. In no sense could they fail to add to the influence and extent of Anarchist ideas.

Organically, British Anarchism is in its infancy. It is within the power of the readers of Freedom to bring it to maturity.

Our comrade is evidently unaware of the active group centred round Rocker's The Worker's Friend. As a paper The Worker's Friend no longer exists, but the group carries on.

[Readers who are interested in the suggestions put forward in this article should communicate with Eric Maple, c/o Freedom Press, 27, Red Lion Street, W.C.1.



"BUT WE'RE YOUR FRIENDS!"

Letter from a Comrade

THE LAST 50 YEARS

DEAR COMRADES, I feel I must take exception to the that immediately comes to mind in re- Commentary and Freedom to find a statements made recently in Freedom that futing C.W.'s statement that this move- wealth of original expression and reno fundamental advance has been made ment has been neglected by Anarchist statement of Anarchist ideas; which would in Anarchist thought in the last fifty years historians and theoreticians; although ad- make a very impressive sum total if it -since "Mutual Aid". While self- mittedly it is not yet in English. Again, were in book form. depreciation and modesty are all very fine, to say that "no advance" has been made it would be a pity if these admirable in the "fundamentals" of Anarchist virtues prevented anyone from reading any thought in fifty years would be to assume Anarchist literature published in the last that syndicalism, which had little place

Read's original statement might be taken incorporated in Anarchist theory. as an expression of opinion that there was Anarchist literature except Kropotkin; an Zapata, Makhnow, the Spanish Revolution, etc.) because they had not found a literary expression, and the editors surprisingly answer that the movement canthe lessons of these revolutionary experi-

ments in anarchist general theory. Now this is a mis-statement of people from what has been written by

Admittedly, a lot has not been translated into English, and there is a wide

From One Reader To All Others

Dear Comrades.

23rd of August issue. The article that was of most interest to me, and I do hope others too, was "The Different Crisis".

I wrote a few weeks ago suggesting to your Editorial Board to raise the WE are to blame. Surely our readers could do more by sending a small subscription once in a while? I suggest to readers to make an effort at the week-end by making a

Yours in the struggle,

August 16th-31st, 1947 Cambridge: C.L.D. London: B. 9/3: Birkenhead: G.H.W. 19/ Forces Sympathiser 1/-; Wadebridge: F.E.F. New Earswick: H.A.A. 10/-: Fulham: W.H.T. 4/-; Mundesley: S.V.P. Kirby-le-Soken: C.C. 10/-; Leeds: G.L. 60

Previously acknowledged

"Makhnowist" movement is an example the files of Spain and the World, War cognition of the validity of Anarchist literature has appeared and no place in it to-day; whereas in point an essay on the origins of law into a penny practically all its foremost theoreticians of fact not only has syndicalism been

> To mention all the Anarchist writers But so far as original thought and rewhose works are available in English statement of general Anarchist principles would take too long-Malatesta and in the terms of recent events, are con-Berkman spring to the mind at once. But cerned, it would be misleading to state let us not go back fifty years, but only that we have nothing to offer. Not only ten. Are you justified in claiming there does a wealth of untranslated material lie has been no 'literary expression' of waiting (of which perhaps somebody else Anarchist activity in the last ten years? could supply a far more comprehensive To go no farther than the English lan- list than I could myself) but it is unwise

expressed in activity, it has also been

I am quite willing to concede your point

if by 'literature' you mean of a certain literary quality; but as Kropokin pointed out, it is impossible for the revolutionary theoretician, who has to sit down to cram pamphlet, or to fill so many lines in the next issue of a paper, to achieve the same style as the genuine 'literary man'. guage, one has only to glance through to neglect one's own dorstep.

The Campaign Against Street Traders

worst instance of official interference has working class buyers. come from Brighton, where the barrow The only people against them are; boys have been forbidden to trade in 103 clearly enough, the shopkeepers and the traffic obstruction, and have been restricted fere with their own high profits, the latter to 10 streets at the back of the town where because the barrow boys are an independ-

ess overt manner, by greatly increased work—as anyone who has tried to push price. Others objected, but when police interference. Last Saturday, for in- a loaded fruit barrow will know—are stance, I went to Camden Town, a well- disinclined to be regimented into the kind There were about ten policemen patrolling them. At present they may be making a the barrows on, and making it extremely street trading is, particularly in the winter, customers. No doubt the same thing was Perhaps they make hay while the sun going on at the same time in many other shines. But which of their critics fail to do

a line of barrows on each side of the road guineas?

greatly exaggerated. Barrow boys rarely the necessities of living. sell above the controlled prices, and for

LOR some weeks now, the press has been uncontrolled goods their prices are usually indulging in a widespread campaign well below those of ordinary shops. For against barrow boys and other street instance, the other day I noticed that traders. There has been a quite deliberate peaches were being sold from barrows at attempt to give the impression that every 3d. and 4d. each, while in a greengrocer's street trader is also a black marketeer and shop just round the corner similar fruit receiver of stolen goods. There have also were being sold at 10d. Which was the real. been vastly exaggerated statements of the profiteer? To my mind, while money profits which are made by barrow boys. trading exists, these men perform a real Under cover of this barrage of prejudiced service by attacking the monopoly of the propaganda, the authorities have now be- shopkeepers, and by providing fruit at a gun to move in against the traders. The price which comes near the pockets of

streets of the town, because of alleged authorities, the former because they intern a very small area, continually moving good turnover-but there are times when so? The shopkeepers who charge double What is the reason for this campaign? prices for their goods? The Labour Clearly the talk about obstruction is ridic- M.P.s who voted themselves a £400 a year ulous, as Camden High Street, for rise in wages? The hack journalists who instance, is a very wide street, and will misrepresent any issue for a few

would make no appreciable difference to The freedom of the streets is an imthe fairway for traffic. The same, of portant one for us all to maintain. course, applies to Brighton, a town of Minority literature sellers have long been particularly wide streets. Nor are the the victims of official interference. Now the contrary, most shoppers find it of great ent living without submitting to labour barrow boys under the noses of the police, capitalists remain and flourish under a while in Brighton no less than ten Labour government; their very small-time thousand residents signed a petition rivals are being squeezed out to render the people in general more dependent than The stories of large profits are also ever on the state-capitalist monopoly of

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George Woodcock's Literary Notes p. 6

"We desire the moral and material elevation of all men; we wish to achieve a revolution which will give to all liberty and well-being, and we are convinced that this cannot be done from above by force of law and decrees, but must be done by the conscious will and direct action of those who desire it." MALATESTA.

Vol. 8 No. 18

6th September, 1947

Twopence

THE TRUE NATURE of the State as employer of labour in nationalised industry could not have been more clearly shown than in the actions, provocative and ruthless, of the National Coal Board before and during the recent strikes in the South Yorkshire coalfields. Nor could a better example of the true rôle of the unions in a Socialist State have been put before the workers.

ward. Politicians were satisfied that stint another day. characterised private ownership was to seam, the colliers were voluntarily stay-"spokesmen" of the miners pledged before the re-assessment committee for being nationalised first by working mean by slacking? harder and producing more coal than "There will be ten men displaced in

were not so very different after all.

WHO ARE THE MINERS? Before we go any further, perhaps is going. we should make up our minds once and

for all as to just what we mean by

the word "miners". Often we have been greeted by newspaper headlines telling us that "The "Once in the market, you may be there Miners Agree" to this, that, or the for months, for as long as the manageother; that "The Miners Meet" some- ment think fit to keep you there. body or other, and "The Miners Decide" something or other, only to discover, on reading further, that some saboteurs?" union official or other, who has not seen the inside of a coalmine for years THE COAL BOARD ACT -if ever-has had a talk with a government representative and agreed on what thousands of men actually in the pits

shall or shall not do.

title of "miner". For us a miner is a man who works been taken, however, In every coalfield at or in the pit, a man who hews coal in Britain resentment is growing against or hauls it to the shaft, who is a filler the methods and personnel of the N.C.B. or a winder, or does one of the many and its various regional boards, and jobs necessary for getting the coal to South Yorkshire is no exception. Withthe surface. These are the men who in two days of the dismissals do the work, day in and day out, until Grimethorpe, over 16,000 miners from they are either worn out or carried out, fourteen collieries were on sympathy paying with their limbs or their lives for the right to call themselves "miners". And these are the men who are learning what it means to be employees of the State—and learning the hard way.

HOW IT STARTED small way five weeks ago, when Ernest National Union of Mineworkers agreed with local N.C.B. officials to increase the "stint" (length of coal face worked) by two feet for the 150 colliers in the Melton Field seam at Grimethorpe

Colliery near Barnsley, Yorkshire. This, the union claimed, was in accordance with the 5-day week agreement which came into force on May 1st, and which has been, because of its many miners ever since. Unfortunately The tenants were duly given notice, and for Mr. Jones, he chose in true union in most cases the War Office has since fashion, to agree to the extra stint with- obtained eviction orders. When one case out consulting the men who would have | was taken to the High Court, it was ruled to do the extra work, who, strangely that the Rent Restriction Act did not bind enough, resented this fact. They im- the Crown, so that tenants on Government mediate struck against the new order, property are completely at the mercy of offering to return only on the old con- their landlord, the State. ditions, but "under the agreed conciliation machinery" this was not

In spite of representations in Parliament, the War Office still obstinately possible, so they stayed on strike. There is much more to the matter however, than merely a refusal to do more work. The Daily Mirror of August 30th printed a letter from a would give no guarantee. Grimethorpe miner (signing himself Meanwhile, these people have nowhere "Grimy") which puts the full point of

it. He writes:-"The conditions under which a collier probable that they, will resist eviction as works are never the same two days run- long as it is possible to do so.

The nationalisation of the mines was ning. Where he may be able to get off hailed by nearly all shades of "Left" a yard more than his stint one day, he opinion in Britain as a great step for- may not be able to get off half his

at last the mal-administration which "On two faces in the Melton Field be a thing of the past; so-called ing overtime to get their stints off-just those workers to show their gratitude added the other 2 ft. Is that what you

the Melton Field seam if the men take And all the time it was beginning to the extra yardage. They will be thrown dawn on the miners that perhaps things into the "market"-going down the pit each shift and standing in the bottom until the officials decide where to send

> "They have to take any odd job that "You use the word 'pernicious' in your leading article, and this market

system is a pernicious system if ever

there was one.

"Don't you think you are putting it a little bit too strong when you say we are

been uttering dire threats against the We do not recognise these men as this case their chance to act. As the of strikers—1,600 of them—obviously thinking that they would be intimidated into crawling back on any conditions. A more stupid action (from the Board's point of view) could hardly have

Now the army authorities have decided

Betray True Colours The Tragedy of the Exodus TO doubt the British Government feels it can justify the attempt to deport of the Struma, a Jewish refugee ship

attempted immigrants to Palestine to the British Zone in Germany, Administrative reasons will not be lacking, and will be quite sufficient for the administrative type of mind for whom these refugees are no more than ciphers who can be pushed around like cattle. But it is obvious that the treatment of these desperate Jews is utterly cruel, and public feeling about their case has been strong enough to make the Government waver, even despite the anti-Jewish feeling worked up about the execution of the two Sergeants of the British Intelligence by Irgun.

After the passengers on the Exodus had refused to be put off in France, they were to have been forcibly disembarked at Hamburg. But one of the ships developed a diplomatic engine trouble at Gibraltar, and the whole convoy has remained there—presumably while the Government thinks it over.

Scraps of White Paper

This is perhaps an opportune moment British Mandate in Palestine. After the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the British Mandate under the League of Nations was constituted with the aim, among other things, of "facilitating Jewish immigration" and setting up a National Home. Whatever one may think of the desirability or otherwise of all this, that was the Mandate. For this reason, when the Chamberlain Government in its White Paper of 1939 stopped further immigration of Jews, the

strike, with a consequent loss of production of over 100,000 tons of coal. Drawn on the walls at Grimethorpe appeared a gallows, with the words "Burn Will Lawther" beside it, giving a pretty good idea of the opinion held President of the National Union of Mineworkers, who had immediately ment, with his usual parrot-cry for prosecution of these "saboteurs". "criminals", and so on.

Minister of Fuel Shinwell, Arthur Horner, and other patriotic gentlemen hurried to the scene, drawing heartrending pictures of the state of the nation ("Hanging by a thread", said Shinwell), but not at all concerned with the state of the miners. Unfortunately, many miners fell for the old, old story (Continued on page 5)

nounced the White Paper as contrary to Party have executed as complete a somer-Britain's Mandate. Since the legal right of Britain to be in Palestine at all rests on the Mandate, the White Paper was clearly a violation of International Law.

Now, readers of Freedom know well enough that Britain's presence in Palestine actually rests not on legal rights but on military force, and its object has nothing do not speak in such realist terms. They speak of their duties in Palestine to uphold the law. Hence the illegality of their anti-immigration White Paper and the of hypocrisy and breach of faith

Apart from the legal pother, there tands the moral issue. For the Chamberlain government in 1939 virtually dammed the door in the face of the suropean Jews who at that time were eeking to escape from the spread of Nazi power throughout Central Europe. accordance with this policy, three refugee ships, the S.S. Assandu, Astir and Assimi, filled with Jews who had escaped from Germany, were refused permission to land in Palestine. A Labour Party member

Suicide Ships

Freedom's predecessor) reported the case

EVICT TENANTS

Meanwhile, coupled with this disgusting workers. At a time when an agricultural several London areas, including Islington, War Office intend to do their best to keep idle and useless at the command of ambeth. Highbury and Hammersmith. hold of it. This means that some 19,000 irresponsible gang of brass-hats. A great The people in question—there are twelve acres of potential farming land will be campaign is being waged in the area to families in Islington alone—are living in governed by military whims and fancies, force the War Office to redeem its proflats which are the property of the while, in a time of rural housing shortage mise, made in 1942, to restore the district

which were offered to the inhabitants in no less than 165 houses, all completely impression has ben made on the military 1941, with no terms of vacation attached habitable, will be withheld from the farm stubbornness. And Building Worker Squatter Faces Eviction by Council

Territorial Army Force Association, and even more urgent than that in the towns, to peace-time uses, but so far no

but have not yet repaired.

and his wife come from Glasgow. His wife came out of hospital on child of 2½, and an infant a few days in another borough. of their finding accommodation. It seems

John Marley, a building worker, took over minster City Council. The Council say as a squatter, one room of a house at they cannot do so because their rest 144, Warwick Way, Westminster, which centre is full, etc., etc. They now say the Borough Council requisitioned in 1944, that he must get out of the room in which the family are squatting—"By going there As a building worker, Marley's jobs without authority Mr. Marley is only have compelled him to move around the holding up our work." Unable to carry country. As a result he has not lived out the obvious duty of providing shelter, long enough in any place to be eligible they must needs put the blame on the for a place in the housing queue. He victim in the usual way of people who are morally in the wrong . . .

The elder child (2½ years old) has now ment. The family of father, mother, a fallen ill and been admitted to hospital

night walking the streets. On applying to one of thousands essentially similar.

which escaped from Rumania with 769 refugees on board. The Palestine Government refused to give permission for them to land in Palestine, and ordered them to return to their Fascist port of embarkation. The refugees blew up the ship, and there was one survivor. The Struma was not the only ship which became a suicide's grave for massed refugees because of the British government's policy. This was during the days of the Coalition government of Conservatives, Liberals and

Labour's Volte Face

On the Palestine issue the Labour sault as ever even the Communists have achieved. In a letter to the New Statesman and Nation, Arthur Koestler recently pointed out that "on no fewer than eleven occasions, from 1917 to 1945, the annual Party Conference had reaffirmed the obligation (to support Jewish mmigration). In 1939, Philip Noel Baker prophesied that, if the White Paper was adopted, the only way to stop refugees would be 'to tell those kindly British who are most indignant about the two But the claims of the British Government British sergeants might well ponder these words, which the Labour Party have not shrunk from underlining in blood.

Koestler went on to remind the Labour Party readers of the New Statesman that the Labour Party Conference in 1944 had re-affirmed its support for Jewish immigration and the establishment of a National Home. Hugh Dalton, in 1945, just before the Labour Party took power, insisted that "it is morally wrong and politically indefensible to impose obstacles to the entry into Palestine of any Jews

who desire to go there." Anarchists do not share Labour's former views about a Jewish State in Palestine, and our views on the question of Jewish Nationalism have frequently been set forth in these columns. But leaving aside political issues, common humanity can only be revolted at the Conservatives' White Paper which aided and abetted the trapping of European Jews in Hitler's territories, and must be held partially responsible for the exterminations during the war. Common humanity is revolted by the Tory-Labour Coalition's murder of

In view of their former declarations, the Labour Government's actions in Palestine cannot be described in measured terms. Indeed their baseness and cruelty speak

Habeas Corpus

only too loudly for themselves.

Nor do the Communists fare much better. D. N. Pritt, of course, is not a Communist Party member; he is just a fellow traveller. But the Exodus case was too good a one to miss. In 1927, the American Communists did not scruple to try and capture the final agitation to save Sacco and Vanzetti in order to turn it to C.P. propaganda use. Nor did Torgler and Dimitrov scruple to pile the guilt on to Van de Lubbe in the Reichstag trial for the greater glory of the Kremlin. One wonders whether Pritt's attempt to secure a writ of Habeas Corpus on behalf of the Exodus refugees last week comes into the same category.

According to the reports in the Press, Pritt seems to have made his plea mainly on political grounds, instead of basing it on humanity and justice. Had he done so, the law would have been driven into granting the plea or denying justice compolitics into the case gave the Crown and for turning down the plea.

High Commissioner's Doubts

More hopeful is the fact that Sir Alan Cunningham, High Commissioner for Palestine is said to have advised the Government that it would be a grave error to land the Exodus passengers in Germany. No political or administrative voice old had nowhere to go, and spent the Extreme as this case is, it must be only has so far denounced the business on grounds of justice and humanity, however.

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

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important they are.

When we come to the election of officials.

union officials it is a great advantage

to have been the recipient of much

publicity. For, at the union branch

meeting the members come to pay their

contributions (very few stay to hear the

proceedings) and are presented with a

ballot-sheet for the election of some

official or other. The ordinary member

knows little or nothing about the indi-

viduals whose names appear on the

sheet, but if a name has been made

familiar by publicity, then that name

will receive the vote, and the individual

who bears the name is made. It would

be possible to tell a few amusing stories

about the "democratic elections" in the

trade unions. I had a personal ex-

perience of seeing several hundred

ballot-papers which had all been filled

in by a secretary, complete with other

members' names as signatures. The

excuse was that the members would not

trouble to vote and, therefore he had

done it for them. But, as he himself

was a candidate, and the votes had been

accorded to his name, it is probable that

he was motivated by more than the

Servility a Necessity

inevitable when a person is permitted

THE FARMER'S

SHARE

rate up to the princely total of £4/10/

a week, gives a certain relevance to a

survey which has recently been published

by the Economics Department of Bristol

received by landlord, farmer and workers

100 farms used for the survey are fairly

large ones, and that they represent the

more prosperous farmers who rely or

employed labour, and not the very

gain a comparatively small return.

in prices had gone almost exclusively t

the capitalist farmers, whose personal

than £4 a week, their employers were

It should be borne in mind that the

University, showing the proportion

increase to farm workers, bringing their class.

usual desire for branch efficiency.

HE typical trade-union official is apt at times to indulge in a

troyed, not stopped by the bodies, burnt,

of two more victims of our foes. So have

heart, be cheerful, victory is ahead, and do

your share with a glad heart." Similar extracts could be cited many times over; they all show that Sacco and Vanzetti struggled for the ideal of human freedom, freedom for the whole human race—not just a section of it, whether of class or nation. This is the conception behind Vanzetti's remark, "The only vengeance that could placate me is the realization of freedom, the great deliverance which would beneficiate all my friends as well as all my enemies . . . The two men were internationalists in the true sense that they ignored the whole conception of nationalism as a shallow crust which seeks to conceal the actual brotherhood of the whole human race.

Jingo Judge

But it was quite otherwise with the authorities who tried them. Sacco testified to his anarchist and internationalist principles at his trial, and Judge Thayer sought to utilise nationalist sentiment when he retorted to Sacco's lawyer: "Are you going to claim that your client, in collecting this literature, was acting in the interest of the United States?" his sworn affidavit regarding Thayer's open prejudice, Frank P. Sibley, who reported the trial for the Boston Globe. declares that "This sentiment coming from the bench seemed so remarkable in views of Sacco's testimony that I used it in my next morning's story of the day's trial." He adds that Thaver denied saving this, but that "On consulting the actual record of the case I found that Judge Thayer had asked this question not once, but many times, in the presence of

But Thayer's jingo patriotism comes out even more clearly in the affidavit of another journalist, John Nicholas Beffel. a correspondent of the Federated Press: "Many times, during the selection of the jurors in the Sacco-Vanzetti trial, I heard regard to 'the courage of American same spirit of patriotism, courage and devotion to duty as was exhibited by our

ANARCHISM -A Parable

inside a fenced enclosure. Outside the fence are green pastures and plenty for the cattle to eat. While inside the fence there is not quite grass enough for the cattle. Consequently, the cattle are tramping underfoot what little grass there i and goring each other to death in in their struggle for existence.

I saw the owner of the herd come to with compassion for them and thought of all he could do improve their condition

to he called his friends together and asked them to assist him in cutting grass from outside the fence and

Then, because the calves were dying off and not growing up into serviceable cattle, he arranged that they should each have a pint of milk every morning for breakfast. Because they were dying off in the cold nights, he put up beautiful well-drained and well-ventilated cowsheds for the cattle.

Because they were goring each other in the struggle for existence he put corks on the horns of the cattle, so that the wounds they gave each other might not be so serious. Then he reserved a part of the enclosure for the old bulls and the old cows over 70 years of

In fact, he did everything he could think of to improve the condition of the cattle, and when I asked him why he did not do the one obvious thing, break down the fence, and let the cattle out, he answered, "If I let the cattle out, I should no longer be able to milk them."

LEO TOLSTOY.

Why They Resisted

Draft dodgers . . . This is the term used not only by their enemies, but also by their friends of the Defence Committee. of human emancipation will not be des- during the war of 1914, the two anarchists safe and lucrative war jobs. They

> house on April 9th, 1927, when the sen- the intoleratble crime of war that made tence of death was confirmed, Sacco said: these two men such merciless fighters classes, the oppressed class and the rich speech, "I know the millions of youth class, and there will be always collision that they slandered, the virgins that they the people with the books, with the litera- wives that they have widowed . . . the ture. You persecute the people, tyrannize old fathers and mothers whom they killed of people always. You try to put a path and crazy-houses filled with their

Vision of War

occasion said, "in all my life I have never stolen and I have never killed and I have Understanding of Capitalism never spilled blood . . ." we may be sure These two men surveyed the capitalist that he had the holocaust of killing which world. They understood and faced up to is modern war in his mind's eye. And its ghastly cost. They spoke and worked the same vision lies behind his stigmatizing to bring the capitalist system of society the present organization of society as a to an end. Yet with all their sympathy "deem rememoring of a cursed past in with the sufferings of the victims their

Palmer anti-Red arrests and wholesale freedom reigned. the future.

did not arise simply in the course of the trial. It was a main preoccupation with them, and at the very time of his arrest

inevitable product of their international- advertizing a meeting at which Vanzetti

ism, of their feeling for the human race was to speak. Its theme was antias a whole, for the brotherhood of man. militarism: This side of their thought was not "You have fought all the wars. You understood by many of their well-meaning have worked for all the capitalists. You friends who fought to save them. Even have wandered over all the countries. now one oftens hears them referred to Have you harvested the fruits of your But it is one of those expressions which even in the anarchist movement as if they labours, the price of your victories? Does were simple minded-"a good shoemaker the past comfort you? Does the present that it is misleading enough to be classed and a poor fish-pedlar". But anti- smile on you? Does the future promise militarism was something that these two you anything? Have you found a piece cause of freedom and justice, of class and because they were "draft dodgers". For dodge like so many patriots who accepted men felt as a powerful force in their of land where you can live like a human being, and it appears again and again being and die like a human being? On in their thought. Not to grasp this is these questions, Bartolomeo Vanzetti will to fail entirely to understand Sacco and speak."

Such a manifesto would be as much in In his last speech in the Dedham Court- place to-day. It was the recognition of "I know the sentence will be between two against the oppressing class. Vanzetti's between one and the other. We fraternize have torn in the breast; the millions of them and kill them. We try the education by breaking their hearts . . . the hospitals between us and some other nationality victims . . ."-rings with the indignation that hates each other. That is why I of a man who had seen the crime of war am here to-day on this bench, for having and felt for every one of its victims. been of the oppressed class. Well, you are Vanzetti's speech is a bitter and passionate indictment of the class which benefits from wars, and initiates them without regard for the human misery they strew in their

which man was wolf to the man . . . " vision did not end with the class war; Thus, during the trial, there was on the they clearly envisaged a form of society one side, the American middle-class, scared without nations, without classes, without by the revolutionary movements arising wars. A society in which men were not out of the war, scared into the Mitchell wolves to men, but in which harmony and

persecution of all radical opinion; men It is time to abandon the legend of the whose wits were turned by fear of the "good shoemaker and the poor fish social upheavals engendered by the war. pedlar." Sacco and Vanzetti had insight And on the other, two anarchists, men of given to few even among the outstanding vision who refused to participate in the anarchists. They knew what the world slaughter of their working-class brothers was like, and they fought against it. But of other nations, and whose dream was of they also knew the capacities of the human a world in which mankind lived in liberty spirit. Far from being simple-minded and therefore in peace. The forces of idealists, they were far-seeing realists. It coward reaction against the visionaries of is time to recognize them as amongst the most penetrating of the revolutionary

soldier boys in France.' He exhorted them to 'render this service here. . . with the Objections to Anturchism:

... But Its Not Practical!

IL PERFETTO SOLDATO

(The Perfect Soldier)—from Volunta, Italy.

and talks about altering the insane disillusioned in isolation and turn have the people. system of things, you may be sure to compromise with the exponents of We would prefer to be 'impractical', that soon after him there will come "practical" policies"—which inevitably and accept the old gibe against rebut all his arguments with the parrot further-seeing who realise that the luded by a belief that Anarchism is practical to let things continue as they side with them.

cattle. And that they called | tical" to support imperialist wars and lose your life in the process, to be kicked to death in concentration camps or worn out in the process of living under total capitalism or the total state, and it can well be shown that there is more reasonable chance of fulfilling a programme which entails surrendering our manhood to the ruling-class and licking the boots the opportunist politicians, it is not very practical to imagine that the people on the bandwagon are going to be very popular with the people submission always hope that they will no desire to be there whatever national anthem they are playing we find ourselves undesirous of shaping a "practical" programme that entails compromise with political parties,

support for any government or sub-*e.g., the former Anarchist Rudolf Rocker mission to military rule or war. who is symptomatic of many formerly rebellious spirits who have become op-Although it is inevitable in a revo-

lutionary movement that those who

some stolid supporter of things as they finish up with support for existing Anarchism of being 'a clan'. But we are, or a disillusioned ex-militant, to evils-this should never deter the would point out that we are not de- Palace of Westminster, the party bosses cry that a different society or a change instinct of the downtrodden is bound possible overnight. We are just as in things is not practical. It is, of in the end to react against both the well aware as anyone telling us to course, very easy to show that it is exploiters and also against those who 'obey, work, fight' that the Free plausible argument—within the parliament-Society of Anarchism is a long way are: acquiescence is the simplest thing We may take many examples. The off and that we have a long struggle in the world, and the "realist" who many who compromise with fascism to get it. In the meantime, however, a real democracy would demand that the lies down under every form of tyranny in the hope of 'humanising' its effect we don't just 'dream' of it. By seeing no matter what is done to him will (a favourite excuse in France, for clearly what sort of a society we want, so-called representatives. But when parundoubtedly be able to say at the instance, where the stock excuse for we are able to get it more easy. We finish that at any rate his programme office under Vichy was to look after are able to give a definite frame to political party, it is the beginning of that French PW's and deportees) were in- our immediate struggles when we slippery totalitarian slope where the However, while it may be "prac- cluded in the common hatred against know what is the eventual society we ruling party becomes identified with and fascist influence. The Italian socialists are aiming at, however 'impracticable' supported the Allies, giving as an ex- it is at the moment. Because we want punish celalcitrant party members, we are cuse the fact that 'the war against a society without government—that is, not a long way off the conditions where, Mussolini would lead to a revolu- as much freedom as possible—we as in Italy, Germany and Russia, the tionary situation'; it did, but it was know that every day we must resist party becomes identified with the state, precisely the Allies who broke the every encroachment on our personal revolutionary situation, a fact which liberties, by opposing conscription, has led to disaster to the socialist new laws, repression, and every at- the attempt to force editors to give informmovement in Italy. Look at the many tempt to bring us nearer to total State. ation regarding contributors to their British socialists who joined the Army By aiming at the control of the places believing that in supporting the war of work by the people who work in never reveal anything about any of the they were helping to bring about a them; we realise that strikes ought to writers who contribute to his paper withchange in feeling; certainly there has be carried out by those on the job— out their express consent, and there are been a violent change in feeling; and and not by bureaucrats or political how surprised the officers of 'Socialist' careerists elsewhere; such strikes will convictions have been to find them- not only be more efficient, they point be on the bandwagon; but as we have selves just as much disliked as those the way to workers' control—as did the great stay-in strikes of Italy and

have been asking people to work The greater is our struggle against harder and do this and do that: they the private ownership of the means of may have the Government on their production and the government of tutions are becoming increasingly prone. man by man; the more we shall im- It clearly fits in very closely with all the press society with the hallmark of other means by which a totalitarian form

into the state's own concentration camps. And those 'practical' reformers who France.

posed to all revolutionary libertarian completely accepted. ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST. | particularly fascistic character.

The Parliamentary Privilege Cases

lating to parliament as such, but for Whenever any rebel comes along may once have been active become side now but it is very doubtful if they providing newspapers with information regarding party meetings which the Labour bosses desired to keep secret. Had the meetings taken place elsewhere, they would have been immune, but as they took place within the confines of the

> were able to invoke the whole power of Parliament behind their decrees. The possible consequences of this fact are really serious. There might be some ary theory—for trouncing an M.P. who though even here one would have thought people should know all the actions of their When the organs of the state are used to and recalcitrant minorities find their way

The report also includes a chart of 1938 as 100, it shows that, with the for home-grown food. hope of a better deal which was promised them by the government, the average outtimes when a dereliction of this custom put of farm workers rose to 129 in 1942-43; then however they began to revealing to see that by 1944-5 their outation or suffering the results of their steadfastness. In any case, the whole workers in terms of a fair share of the affair constitutes a further attempt to inproducts of their labour would result in terfere with the freedom of disseminating a vast increase in production. But when information to which governmental instithe gentleman farmer gets four or five times as much as his labourers for less work, they certainly cannot be expected to respond to the appeals for hard work of society is steadily being erected about which are being showered on them. The us, often by incidents, such as these, which collective operation of the land by comat first sight may seem to have no munes of land workers would undoubtedly combine justice with a vast increase in

enthusiasm and production.

N.U.R. Democracy

I little self-praise. To people occupying well-paid positions in the trade-unions it is very essential that there should be plenty of opportunities for publicly popularising their own personalities. To this end they usually monopolise the union journals, and in articles very often written for them by members of the office staff, try to demonstrate to the naive membership of the union, how very might be critical of bad policies, or to profound decisions. "How dare they!" that the machinery had to be by-passed action. Of course, a limited amount of matters?" "These workers who are not up to consider the claims. The court of space is allowed to a minimum of mem- fit to control industry!" And what is inquiry sat on the 14th, 16th, 17th and A"stabilised balance". What a beautiful bers with views critical of a wrong more, unless these members are told 18th of June, 1947, and issued a report ful economic term. How impressive! work from a worse-fed worker. official policy; this obviously gives the where to get off, no official's job can seevral days later, which came before But what it really means is another impression of discussion by democracy. be considered safe. There must be un- the annual meeting of the N.U.R. on matter. Apparently a few shillings a "minister without portfolio". If we

more obliging them to over-emphasise The resolution of the annual meeting Attlee's office requires £100,000 per economic life".

On the railways, we have had just only from the 30th June, 1947. During tention on the part of politicians to recently a good example of the "leaders" these six months, it is claimed by others make any material sacrifices. In this modernised conception of democracy. that more than 40 articles of consumers' period when everything is done to em-After the propaganda of the war years, goods went up in price. The authors of phasise the importance of productive preparation of post-war programmes for the resolution showed that they had a labour, surely the worker will realise higher wages, etc., the unions made a pronounced political complex by in- that the waste of money on State power belated application for shorter hours and cluding the following phrase in the politics, on bureaucratic officials and higher wages. Though the union resolution:—"We are taking cognizance politicians, the toll of dividends from officials in their self-praising efforts had (how pompous, just the sort of jargon industry, is a colossal robbery of their But the same V.I.P.'s take particular to hold power; one cannot be powerful always claimed that the negotiating for the Labour front bench) of the need productive toil. And the worker must care that the union journals are not used and important if the ordinary members machinery on the railways was "the of the country to maintain a stabilised appreciate the fact that whilst those by members to advance views which are allowed to cast reflections on one's best in the world", it was noticeable balance in its economic life." advocate a more progressive line of "What do they know about these and a government court of inquiry set "Stabilisation" and Profits

> conditional obedience to dictation by July 27th, 1947. No more than a small fraction of the render unstable the "balance in the amount of productive or socially useful 4.000 branches of the union could have country's economic life". Of course, work they perform, then there will be The foregoing is widely appreciated had an opportunity to consider the re- £132,000,000 spent mainly on arma- many politicians and people of their by members of trade unions and there is commendations of the court of inquiry, ments for the Greek ruling clique, or the kind who must be judged. no simple answer to the question why but the annual meeting passed a reso- millions spent on atomic research and In the meantime, we workers will it is tolerated. But, circumstances of lution of a rather pathetic character plants, or on inflated armed forces do insist that the highest wages and to-day would appear to be developing accepting the recommendations and the not affect the "stabilised balance in shortest hours of toil are the best to a point when the answers will have membership is told what has been ac- its economic life". The high salaries guarantee of a happy and contented to be found. The political commitments cepted and it occurs to nobody that the of nearly 2,000,000 bureaucratic State society and necessary to ensure "a of trade union officials are more and members should have any other views. officials, the expensive politicians (Mr. stabilised balance in the country's

their dictatorial designs. Expulsion of of the N.U.R. points out the original annum)-presumably these help to

claim was submitted on the 30th Jan., order of society. There is no thought 1947, and there is to be back-payment of restricting industrial profits, no in-

RAILWAYMAN HEFTECTS weight the scales to maintain stabilisation".

Always it is the lower-paid worker who suffers the economic burdens arising from the capitalist and State in power exhort him to work harder and even harder, it is proposed to keep down his wages and confine him to more austerity and less food. And surely it

> It was recently said that a "spiv" is added to the worker's wages might are to judge members of society by the

doesn't make sense to expect more

C. H. ROOKE.

sions and threats of expulsion affect the worst aspects of modern workers in many industries. It now be-CHECK-OFF?

100% trade unionism. Not only is the | Conference of the National Union of worker required to be a member of the Mine-workers held in July. The agreeunion, but he must also be a tame mem- ment between the National Coal Board having had no success in selling the who were members of the Clerical and ber. Any unnecessary complaints from and N.U.M. provides for the deduction of necessity of such unionism to large num- Administrative Workers' Union; a direct the union officials' point of view about union-dues from the miners' wage packet. bers of new entrants to the industry, they result of the closed shop policy of the wages and working conditions, and the In many districts deductions of union-dues then turned their earnest attention towards larger Mine-workers' Union. member can be expelled from the at the colliery offices became the practice, the task of wooing the N.C.B. to the "closed-shop policy" with the even before its official endorsement, in idea of having as a faithful stooge a trust- "check-off" provides ample evidence of the where the bureaucrats are using those some instances. Such deductions were, and worthy, well-disciplined union. In this absorption of the trade union set-up into bulldozing tactics. Following threats are, clearly illegal, for all deductions from they have been successful, for the N.C.B. the State machine. The prevailing to expel a Paddington branch, they pro- wages (P.A.Y.E., N.H. and Unemploy- has agreed that in return for full co- economic crisis entails the necessity of a ment Insurance apart) must have the operation they would pick the miner's servile union to assist the State to place tempt for the mental capacity of the a large branch in Birmingham. It signed permission of each individual em- wage packet for the union. ployee. In the vast majority of cases this

The "check-off", as it is more commonly known, marks a further stage in the position could ever be reached in a This notorious form of "legalised inevitable fusion between the State-commovement which originally claimed to be robbery" of the miner was introduced Employer and the trade union within the the champion of democracy, liberty and ostensibly to facilitate the easy collection Nationalised industry, resulting in the imbrotherhood. But the signs are that we of dues from members and as a convenient position of a "closed shop", viz, memberhave seen nothing yet, for conditions of (?) method of roping in defaulters and ship in the union a condition life are palpably worsening, and we have non-members. The facts of the matter employment. This is indicated by the protion against increases in wages. So we the union, observing the steady drain away Union that the latter shall be the sole can expect more examples of centralised from the union of dues-payers who had negotiators for all grades of workmen. coercion to maintain a docile working- become disgusted with the role played by A promise which precipitated the recent the T.U. bureaucrats, and the "bosses" strike of colliery clerks in South Wales,

greater burdens on the backs of the mineworkers, to re-impose the 6-day week, etc., to gull the workers into the continued acceptance of military and industrial conscription, to fasten the shackles of wageslavery and economic servitude.

To break these shackles, the miners must repudiate the actions of the Stateworshipping union bosses and demand the immediate ending of the "check-off". In short, the miners will have to take determined steps to build up a militant rankand-file union movement with the revolutionary aim of both waging daily warfare against the employing class in whose interests the mining industry is still being run, and, prepare themselves for the task of taking over complete control of the mines, of instituting Workers' Control, of operating the mines for the benefit of the world's workers. The Mines for the

BRISTOL BUSMEN OUT

The passenger transport industry has been seething with discontent all this year and at least two fairly widespread strikes have already occurred. This week 3,000 drivers and conductors employed by the Britsol Tramways and Carriage Co. struck for roughly the same reason as the

The strikes earlier in the year were against the slowness of the Transport and General Workers' Union in establishing for the workers in private companies the same conditions as those existing in

Well, at last the union made a settleto the "award" accepted by the union on advantageous position compared with workers on the city-owned busses, and the union leaders are having a difficult time explaining to the men why they accepted conditions unacceptable to the men.

The union officials have been booed at meetings, and only one man broke the strike, to calls of "blackleg" and "traitor" by his fellows who announced their decision not to work with him in future. The strikers ran a special service without pay for hospital visitors on Saturday and Sunday, and made a voluntary levy among themselves of 2s. 6d. a head to cover expenses and to help needy cases

HEARD THIS ONE. CLEM?

"The work's too hard. I won't take

"Hard work never killed anybody." "That's just the point. I want something with a spice of danger in it." Evening News, 25/8/47.

Land notes

whole branches from the unions is now

a feature of the efforts of the trade

union bureaucracy to obtain tame ac-

ceptance of their orders. These expul-

union, which also means he must lose

ceded to employ the same methods with

dues-paying membership. This is really would appear almost fantastic to many

comes plainer why the union officials namely the "check-off", received its

want agreements with the employers for official endorsement by the Annual

trade union members that such a permission was never given!

BACK TO THE LAND!

numerous small farmers who play an active part in working their land and often jugation of agriculture to other industries who set out to get what they could while always the last industry to be considered, so again. British capitalism since the Since the war, however, things have Why is the lie continually maintained that The survey showed that while, between industrial revolution has depended so been gradually slipping back again. For Britain can only live by export, cannot 1938 and 1944, the proportion of the total income received by the landlord had fallen from 32% to 16%, that of the farm workers, in spite of higher actual wages tural countries who buy our industrial parts for ploughs in June, for broken share, excluding interest on capital, had

In more precise terms, the average managerial surplus of these farms in 1944, when allowance had been made for the value of the farmers own work, was no less than £782! In other words, while agricultural labourers were receiving less

At the beginning of the late war, many officials of the County War Agricultural changed the Cinderella industry into a

This has worked alright as long as to produce their own machinery, as long as the markets for British goods were

feature of competitive capitalism that it in- announced its plans for agriculture, and enjoying an average total income for their evitably leads to war. There are plenty is all of a sudden terribly concerned at the work of £950 a year, or about £18 a of other unfortunate features for those who are not capitalists, of course, but slipping a bit. when, in wartime, world trade becomes, to say the least, dislocated, it is apparent the rise in net output per worker. Taking to all that there is something to be said

alise that all their wages increase had been farm-workers spoke to me in bitter tones swallowed by rising prices, and it is re- of the way in which the authorities suddenly began to woo the men who put had dropped to 111. This merely produce the food. Waving their magic wands, fairy godmothers disguised as Committees descended upon the farms and paradise of subsidies and machinery. Well,

two million arable acres gone back to like that, shouldn't we? grass or thistles for want of markets for What I would like to know, however, is

off. Farmers were getting their spare binders in February. Things were getting

But it's an ill wind that blows nobody expanding, and as long as there was no any good. The failure of the good old serious competition from other highly capitalist methods to continue delivering industrialised countries. To-day none of the goods is forcing Britain back upon her own resources in food production. With For the capitalists, it is an unfortunate a great blare of publicity the government

fact that since the war things have been

Why Not Before?

as anybody) but by the dollar shortage!

prices for their produce ensuring good besieged by housewives only too pleased profits; farm workers, of course, have just to buy really fresh vegetables at their own had their wage increases ratified. There prices. are one or two little snags, of course, The growers bring the produce straight But the bland manner in which the like the fact that the tied cottage will have into the towns themselves and deliver i authorities expected landworkers to forget to remain for a few more years, but we straight into the hands of the consumers. the years of neglect between the wars, the should conveniently forget awkward issues. In a free society distribution could hardly

W/E have pointed out in these columns their produce, the dwindling labour force this: If it is possible now to expect this W so often how Britain's part in world as men sought living wages in the towns, great increase in productivity, why was it capitalist economy has demanded the sub- was not lost on the farming fraternity, not possible before? Why is agriculture

DIRECT DISTRIBUTION I HAVE hardly left myself any room now to deal with a matter of some

interest which only occurred just as we among farmers and market gardeners to combat the conditions in the wholesale markets where buyers could not be found | ment with the employers at Bristol-and for their produce because abundance was | the present strike is the men's objection forcing down the prices. A month ago I mentioned that some farmers were being their behalf. The award still keeps "forced" to plough in good vegetables for private company employees in a disthis reason and I'm glad to see that some

effort is being made to prevent that. Admittedly, the farmers are only doing It is just slightly amusing that our it for their own good. "To each according attacks the mentality through which greengrocer would rather sell one pound of apples at sixpence than two pounds at

And the public appreciate the move is an increase of home food production by too. There is no question of the food among themselves. £100,000,000 a year within five years, not being wanted. Wherever the growers Farmers are to be encouraged by fixed have set up their stalls they have been

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

6th September, 1947

toleration of open and silent pogroms

throughout Russian-dominated terri-

tory, leading to civil war in Palestine,

anti-British speeches in New York.

concentration camps in Cyprus, and

Arab Industrial Revolution

Apart from its significance in re-

lation to every political crisis of the

calculated the respective chances of the population in order to denounce the main tendencies there present, that of trickery of reformism, to speak clearly the "leftist" Guy Mollet and that of the and utter precise warnings, shows to "reformist" Jacquier.

It was finally the resolution presented democracy (of words without acts) have future. by Guy Mollet which carried the day infected even the best. with a clear majority. But no one will It was hardly more than a tiny take the chance of predicting the end fraction of the Federation of the Rhone of socialist collaboration in the govern- that retained right to the end its ment, or a new orientation of the revolutionary position. Socialist party.

Ramadier Continues

congress when they said simply: "The Ramadier government continues."

The majority of the delegates, however, made a lively criticism of the policy all the phrases and resolutions, unite of the Socialist ministers. They em- the majority of the Socialist militants. phasised that successive electoral defeats mark the decline of Socialist influence, and a consequence, there is the influence that the Ministry for Overseas, Marius Moutet, defended the position of the imperialists, that the policy of blocking wages without blocking prices was a fraud, that Ramadier was acting as the solidarity of the party.

champion of a dying regime. to negotiate a compromise motion which would have brought unanimity. So that to the eyes of the voters who will be called to the booths to elect the new municipal councillors in October, the congress will have made the appearance of a democratic assembly of

advanced militants. A minimum programe was even voted: it gave a mandate to the Socialist ministers to follow a definite policy in anything concerning production and food, and put forward a plan for the status of Algeria which the President of the Council had abandoned under pressure from the Christian Democratic and Radical parties, who are

associated in the ministry. But motions, discussions and resolutions will hardly obstruct M. Ramadier, Party, and who feels himself upheld by the whole of the parliamentary

Powerlessness of the Left supposing that they had the will to Party.

parties, all the external pressures, all action. the threats of financial catastrophe will The U.F.R.Y. is under communist incombine to efface the words spoken on fluence, and presents a reformist, the floor of the Congress.

Already, on the Algerian problem, the limiting its activities to organising plotting is in progress, and it is obvious that the final text will give nothing new

On one hand it shows to what degree of parliamentary cretinism the socialist militants have come, when they still THE New Statesman recently reIn Greece, puppet governments rise and dictatorship, all are charged gull themselves regarding the effect of called, how, last February, it and fall and open warfare continues indiscriminately with the same an assembly of deputies on the progress introduced the term "a phoney peace" with a brutality which no longer sur- offences. of a capitalist nation.

On the other hand, it shows that this cretinism exists equally in the party's with the fuel crisis, a phase, which, masters vainly seek to instal a govern- inevitable outcome of the trials in own internal parliament, that is to say, it points out, "has been used widely ment which on the one hand is ruth- these "People's Courts", are identical in the Congress. That the spokesmen since". But old readers of Freedom less enough to successfully keep the with those we were so familiar with

porary politicians are coming to regard words: "The period between Septem- enough to maintain a mask of de- but what of the thousands and thou-Germany as a potential battlefield, is ber, 1939, and May, 1940, was mocracy and liberality. That the last sands of others? indicated faithfully enough in the popularly known as the phoney war. item is required purely for window- As the fringe of the famous curtain recent decisions by the British and The period between May, 1945, and dressing purposes is confirmed by the American authorities on the question some unspecified future date may report of the Manchester Guardian of raising the level of German well be called the phoney peace." correspondent who described America's

Significantly, the emphasis is on not consider that the phoney peace ment which: steel production. At present Germany ended with the fuel crisis. It does not "on paper at least, must appear to is in need of a vast mass of con- seem likely to end until the resumption goods. Food, clothing, fuel, sumption of world-wide hostilities, building materials, are the essentials and there will be nothing phoney for reconstructing Germany. Yet about that. priority is given to steel, the great raw material of war, and everything else is subordinated to that. No doubt the increase of food supplies to Germany | war by proxy for years in China, in will be tied up with the increased war Korea a war of nerves is beginning, potential of its factories.

Once again, the Germans, like the General MacArthur is building up a rest of us, are being subjected to the "bastion against Bolshevism". need of the two rival camps in Europe The whole of Europe is a battle-roads." to keep themselves prepared for the field to-day. Some sectors are quiet, war which is the outcome of the pre- some areas are secure behind the lines vailing world systems to-day. Their of one or other of the protagonists, need for the most elementary some flare up with sudden skirmishes Bucharest, in Budapest, Belgrade, occupation costs. necessities is being exploited to and swift engagements, while in Warsaw and Sophia. The puppets of From Italy, Time reports: the protagonists in the next great unrelenting combat over desolate tionaries, the peasant leaders, and the

For some ten days the French press of the revolutionary left like Marceau parties, dances and popular fetes to has presented the debates of the Pivert should let themselves go so far Socialist Congress at Lyons as if they as to combine their voices with that might have a decisive importance on the of Guy Mollet, without seeing clearly that they were losing a rare occasion of The organs of right and left alike addressing themselves to the working what extent the ravages of pseudo-

Party Unity

common attitudes which, in spite of society in complete degeneration.

In the first place, at once a cause of the Freemasons, to whom belong the majority of the Socialist leaders. Here is one explanation, of reduced but still not negligible importance, for the

In the second place, the hatred o And the intransigeant leftists refused Stalinist Communism and an avowed or unconscious preference for the Western bloe reunites equally well men who seem theoretically to belong to very

Finally, there is the general disorder and ideological confusion, reflected in the loss of confidence in an independent revolutionary movement, which is the consequence of the incapacity to surmount the death of the myth of the historic mission of the proletariat.

Ramadier presents a programme-the Marshall plan, and a means of struggle against Stalinist dictatorship-entry into the American camp in anticipation of

The leftists and the revolutionarie present nothing, except doctrinaire exhortations and inconclusive analyses. Logically, the last should rally to their leader, however repugnant this may be

Young Socialists

This mental confusion was repeated at the Congress of Socialist Youth, re-Guy Mollet and his followers, even cently excluded from the Socialist

redress effectively the party's line of Strongly infiltrated by Trotskvists, policy, will be powerless to impose their the leadership of the Socialist Youth has views on the ministers and deputies, immediately committed suicide by agreewho are only responsible towards the ing to resume contact with the Union Chamber-and the foreign ambassies. of French Republican Youth, with the All the traffickings with associated view of achieving a front of common

patriotic and vaguely radical programme,

No End of War

America and Russia have been at

and in Japan, the grandiloquent

induce better slumber among youth

destined for the next butchery. Under the pretext of infiltration, manocuvring and Bolshevik machiavellianism, the Socialist Youth, which could working-class youth, will lose its influence and use its militants in obscure intrigues and an agitation without a law and order.

These so deceiving congresses have The despatches of the American press and patriotism would be enough to below, through the experience of pracagencies summarised the direction of the bring together under one flag reformists, tical struggle against employers and the to denounce their hypocrisy. imperialists and revolutionaries? Look- government, and throwing overboard the

We German prisoners feel very bitter because, when we send part of our wages to Germany, the rate of exchange is 15 marks to the £ instead of the usual 40 marks to the £. It seems to be not enough that we cannot go to our families. We must be robbed, too. Our families at home are suffering because the breadwinner and father is working here in your country

as an underpaid slave. Desperation, resentment and hatred have taken possession of thousands of us. It is better not to mention the words "humanity" and "democracy among PoW's in connection with the name of your country.

I have become acquainted with many Englishmen of the most different circles during the last 15 months. I feel deeply touched by the kindness and even heartiness I have found in many cases. I am the more sorry that the inhumane and very often silly policy of your authorities must create considerable bitterness in us and in our suffering families. Goebbels did not succeed in making the German people hate your country; your authorities understand this task much better.

Some weeks ago Mr. Bevin said that the German PoW's live much better here than they would in Germany. We got into a rage when we heard it. We know that behind these beautiful and cheap words of care there is the will to hold the good and cheap German slave workers as long as possible. he would really take care of us he would secure to us a decent payment for our work and help everybody of us who wants to do so to go home.

be what American public opinion

considers liberal and democratic,

though in fact, circumstances may

prevent its policy from being dif-

ferent from that of its predecessor."

Meanwhile the Greek Army Com-

Communist guerillas plant in many

The Farce of Justice

non-political opponents of brutality

-German PoW (name and address Letter in Evening Standard, 26/8/47.

Unlike the New Statesman, we do requirement in Greece as a govern-

The Legacy of Imperialism

legacy of disunity and bitterness among nurtured as a means of balancing the inthe Indian peasants and workers. Instead fluence of Congress, until such time as of being ready to seize the opportunity Corgress had itself become sufficiently to make their freedom real, large num- impregnated with political corruption to ers of Indian workers and peasants are serve the old ruling class ends. In the pending their energies in killing each same way, the leaders of the Moslem constitute a focus for the disoriented while their new masters are being given the their best to encourage the differences of ferociously in the name of re-establishing ends.

the whole of the organised working- are lost, but also because it shows so class movement which follows the old many Indians being led away from their formulae is entirely by-passed by events | real interests into futile conflicts. But and that the work of gathering to- when the British ruling class raise their gether the healthy revolutionary forces hands in horror, when the Indian party can only be done by starting from leaders express a pious indignation at the the acts of their followers, it is necessary

For there is no-doubt at all that the illusory differences bred of religious dogma ing more closely at the matter, there are out-of-date organisations, relies of a policy of division which was for so long —the ruler's old devices for blinding the followed by the British ruling class helped eyes of his subjects.

Now they pretend to be horrified at the results of their own political handi-Undoubtedly, the Punjab massacre is an work. But there is no doubt at all that at least the advantage of showing that appalling event, not only for the lives that they will take full advantage of the rioting to establish their own power all the more strongly, on the excuse of "pacifying" the

> Once again the Indian workers and peasants are subjected to unscrupulous masters, and they should reserve their energies to fight against these instead of struggling between themselves over the

Fraternisation Corrupts Russian Soldiers

n which fraternisation with conquered those which have gone out to all populations is gradually breaking down Russian occupation troops. The inthe morale of Russian occupation structions emanate originally from troops and giving them a distaste for Moscow, where the authorities are their Soviet fatherland is contained seriously concerned about the possible in the following highly significant effects of fraternisation in weakening order which has just been issued the loyalty of Russian army officers by Colonel General Kourasov, the and men towards their leaders. It Russian Commander-in-Chief in seems as if the Kremlin has come to

of bourgeois ideology. Following private Stalinism" - against the civilising either adopted a hostile attitude to the factors of human relationships. Soviet, or have simply become traitors to officers have lost sight of their oath of fidelity, and are trying to satisfy their Have you received a Renewal Moreover, they take up living quarters ight-clubs, and abandon themselves

'Thus these officers begin to slide down e fatal slope leading to eternal shame forget too easily that they are armed with

women, have also placed themselves in a difficult situation and through fear o punishment, have found themselves on the path of treason."

A sensational admission of the way Apparently this order is typical of a desperate pass when it has to pit "For some time certain Soviet Army the dry dogmas of "the world's highest officers have fallen under the influence intellectual culture - Marx-Lenin-

Reminder?

Be sure of receiving FREE-DOM regularly by sending your renewal without delay! When Renewing your Subscription why not order 2 copies and pass one on to a Stalin's doctrine, which is better than all friend? (Special rates for 2 "Certain officers, through intrigues with copies: 5/6 for 6 months. 11 | - for 12 months).

to the populations of North Africa. The comedy of Lyons lays bare the vast deterioration of the Socialist Party. On one hand it shows to what deterior

to describe the period which ended prises us. The country's American The phrases, the procedure, the and War Commentary will remember people docile and strong enough to in pre-war Germany, Italy and that in May, 1945, in the week when defeat the Communist guerillas who Russia. Occasionally, as in the case STEEL BEFORE BREAD the war in Europe ended, we used still pour in from the Bulgarian, of Nikola Petkov, leader of the the phrase as our main headline, and Yugoslav and Albanian frontiers, and Bulgarian Agrarian Union, world-The atmosphere in which contem- opened our leading article with the yet, on the other hand, is astute wide publicity and protests result,

"The French recently rejoiced to learn that the American maize crop this year is the worst for eleven years.

Now, perhaps, they will get some wheat in their bread." "Franc-Tireur", Paris, 19/8/47

envelopes Hungary, the struggle be- fifth from last Monday, in view of the tween Russia and America intensifies "deplorable state of the harvest and mander at Komontine announces that in Austria, and the familiar frontier the unprecedented deficit expected behe will henceforth safeguard his troops incidents are reported from the tween France's needs and available and supplies "by sending a truckload Austro-Yugoslav border. The Russian potential supplies." of Communist prisoners ahead of each occupation authorities have committed Throughout the continent, where convoy, to explode the mines which a tactical error in confiscating a the sum total of human misery and further 217,000 acres of agricultural suffering must be greater than it was land while Britain and America have in the so-called Dark Ages, the helpstriven to increase their influence in less populations are not only to be Treason trials are proceeding in Vienna by remitting the payment of sacrificed as pawns in the undeclared

war of the Great Powers, they are at the mercy of General Hunger, the make them the means of re-equipping others the big guns thunder in Britain and America, the real revolu- "In the struggle between Com- most universal and relentless enemy munism and the West for the of all. political allegiance of the Italian

an important tactical move: it crossed Italy's war debt (about one billion dollars) off the books. Italy's frozen accounts in the U.S. will be thawed, her merchant ships returned . . . but with the scepticism of a long-suffering nation, many

wondered what the U.S. would ask

General Hunger

In Germany, the running sore across Europe, despite facilely optimistic reports of increased output, and the tinsel of the Hanover fair, millions are dreading the approach of winter. Sir John Boyd Orr, too honest to be optimistic stated at Geneva that:

"Many millions in Europe will be worse fed, three years after the termination of hostilities, than they were during the war."

Canada and America report bad harvest prospects, and in France the bread ration has been reduced by one-

> And that could be achieved by dictatorship and exploitation for all!

THE ARAB WORLD THE importance of the Arab world to industrial slavery almost overnight. in modern affairs can be realised The potentialities of oil are not as

over the escape of Abdel Krim: the not be so involved in industrialiation endeavour of Jinnah in India to bid at first: but there is a vast cheap for the support of neighbouring labour power which tempts the money Moslem States, and to ask for a barons, aided in their schemes by Moslem bloc to include Pakistan, thus politicians who see industrialism as a menacing Hindustan: the desire of fetish, who think in "Fabian" terms Russia to extend its boundaries east- of progress through technical developwards, leading to the troubles in Iran ment and whose ideal is the modern and Iraq: the quarrel between Britain State. and Egypt over the future of the Sudan — whether British-influenced independent or Egyptian-owned: the press itself in political forms: and anxiety of the Emperor of Abyssinia nationalist politics in particular. as to whether a vast Nile Valley present, Arab political leaders talk kingdom of Egypt and Sudan would exclusively of Palestine because it is endeavours to get American commer- in the style of the old Russian rebels, genuine desire for national independence; not be a direct menace to Abyssinia, the one subject that keeps rival Arab cial and political intervention in Arab "went to the people" with a message and soon after the struggle against the from whence the Nile flows, and States and rulers together, but the big countries. whether an aggressive Egypt-Sudan transformation that is coming will by kingdom-or an unaggressive one and large take in the entire Arab Excuses For The Next War wanting to ensure its water supply and world. It is possible too that One sees in the political conflicts life-blood—might not overwhelm his American imperialism may show its in the Middle East at least the excuse sovereignty (maybe even using the hand more openly than it has done. for World War III: there are many

their gracious patronising friendship through "Western" eyes-as the when one thinks of Franco's headache great everywhere, and some areas may to Arab rulers and the Moslem British Sahib looked at Indian coolies, religion: the British ruling class or the Russian commisar looks at section of generals and diplomats and peasants. What a difference it would even strav literary men and Oriental be if this great transformation were cholars in the style familiarised by made in a free world - where Lawrence of Arabia. They have the economically backward people were task of consolidating British Imperial- given the choice of transformation, complacency and the same success!" ism in independent countries. On and allowed to make it as they similar lines Russian agents work— wished, without compulsion or the on trade missions or in Communist desire for economic aggrandisement.

Darties. American business men work

Where students, instead of having

Syria was not included in our list of on American business lines—and in their eyes on a legal career and rising spoils from the last world war, and it went Washington. Abdul Rhaman Azzam to the top by politics, renounced their to France instead. The effect was to make Pasha has shamelessly declared his petty ambitions and nationalism, and Britain acutely conscious of the Syrians'

Abyssinian Moslems as "Sudeten" Britain has at all strategic points "Belgiums" and "Polands" abounding Arabs): the move of Stalin to dis- its old agents—the so-called "pro- —one sees the race for economic locate Britain's plans for Palestine by Arabs" who are only pro-Arab while domination providing the cause for

lessly carried out by a callous ruling and educated class which has become the Arabs can be beaten and who lend accustomed to looking at the masses dependent on a libertarian world over. revolution, and the effect it could have is at present inconceivable.

World War III. One sees the im-

trial revolution on capitalist lines ruth-

Letter from NAZIS STILL IN Germany

placency and lethargy of centuries— be completely senseless, and I doubt this

in American and British statesmen. Among the ruins of Germany the Nazis -is being shaken by the big changes have, for the most part, managed to cling that are transforming even the most to their former position. In industry, to from 2 to 15 years imprisonment, to gather in the C.D.U. (Christian backward parts. America in partic- commerce, law, politics and as civil ser-Government, everywhere they are to be development—economic imperialism.

In the Saudi Arabian feudal tribal

Government, everywhere the promises made by found. Of course, they no longer make any kind of crime, but they were sent to found. Of course, they no longer make any kind of crime, but they were sent to found. Of course, they no longer make any kind of crime, but they were sent to found. The Fascists are according to the promises made by found. Of course, they no longer make any kind of crime, but they were sent to found. The Fascists are the first World War. The Fascists be contained to the promises made by found. Of course, they no longer make any kind of crime, but they were sent to found. Of course, they no longer make any kind of crime, but they were sent to found. Of course, they no longer make any kind of crime, but they were sent to found. Of course, they no longer make any kind of crime, but they were sent to found. Of course, they no longer make after the first World War. The Fascists In the Saudi Arabian feudal tribal decisions entirely on their own account, atmosphere, the oil boom will soon but they are always in the majority and There was no question of examining the of all countries have up to now always bring a capitalist revolution on the thus manage to make the most important decisions. The Military Government has Russia, which leapt from feudalism After Military Government took over, many got the sack, but have been reinstated in the meantime.

Farce of De-Nazification

been forced to withdraw the dismissal town, which decides whether Nazis shall notices, and promise to reconsider the be removed from public life. These Comquestion of increased stints. mittees have no power of punishment-THE VALUE OF THE

ACTION . that the Military Government often can-As we said at the beginning, better illustrations of the true nature of State stance, in my town the entire police force and Union could hardly have been given. was dismissed when the Allies marched The Grimethorpe miners, fighting in, and anti-Nazis were employed instead. against very real grievances, found who their true friends were-not the union, not the Coal Board but their own of the former police officers are doing duty. The Committee is composed by orders

Strangely enough, the Yorkshire of the Government, and the majority is miners seem able to differentiate be- usually so reactionary that there is little tween the Government and the Coal hope of a negative decision. Each of Board. The latter, they say, consist of these committees has between 12 and 16 book learning", ex-bosses from private | Each public corporation of any importance the former, the Labour Government, they still support.

THE MINERS RESIST

(Continued from page 1)

and resumed work although Grimethorpe

bitterly hung on, after the N.C.B. had

How can this distinction be logically made? The N.C.B. officials have been chosen by the Government to do their work. Given positions of power and help of the servile N.U.M., with whom they are plotting to destroy a smaller union among colliery clerks, the N.C.B. are out to screw as much work out of the miners for as little return as the miners will stand for.

The position of the workers (need we repeat it?) in a nationalised indutry is every bit as bad as, if not worse than, their position under private ownership. There is only one condition within which the workers can attain their full dignity and satisfaction, and that is a condition of complete and free Workers' Control.

spreading the militancy of such men as the Grimethorpe miners, canalising it and organising it into revolutionary syndicalist organisations created and controlled by the workers on the job. existing, not for the purpose of defending the bad against the worse, but with the aim of winning the means of production for the workers, and freedom from

The way politics are being conducted To give an example, the Rhine and collect. This party is usually the largest to-day by the Allied Powers in Germany Ruhr areas belong to the administrative and most influential, since the Nazis with district of the Provincial Supreme Court their great fortunes exercise a wide insilently undergoing an immense in- war between the Western Powers and at Hamm. There all political prisoners fluence in all directions. The political dustrial revolution. The placid com- Russia is anticipated. Otherwise it would were condemned during Hitler's regime. leaders of these parties have naturally thousand, which does not include the in- they have had economic interests mates of concentration camps, who had no common with them. trials. These prisoners were condemned In the Western zones the Nazis prefer

Nazi Political Activity

The official Nazi party has been to live almost as well now as they did a party in which the Nazis prefer to

sometimes even to death, after having ex- Democratic Union). After the allied ocperienced the hell of the Gestapo cellars. cupation, the Nazis also became to a None of these prisoners had committed appearances very Christian and democrati facts of the case, to find out what the used democratic institutions to obtain their accused had done; his sentence was fixed ends; in Germany they will even hang the the moment he entered the courtroom. Christian cross round their necks for that the Nazis when they need assistance, and office because of illness and receives a the petty functionaries of the former Nazi Party propagandise for the churches The Nazis help each other and act to the detriment of the anti-Nazis as far as possible. Most of them, indeed, manage

they can merely remove officials from their positions. But it is important to know German Health Conference

On the 12th August, a conference aid in this humanitarian work. of German specialists in public It is significant that these concluhygiene and micro-biology met at sions were reached unanimously-even Göttingen University in the British the delegates from the Russian zone zone of Germany. It was attended by participating, which effectively gives some 225 delegates from all zones, the lie to the Stalinist contention that including the Russian zone.

After an intensive discussion of the zone than elsewhere. condition of the German people, this conference came to the conclusion that a Tory caucus of "lads with a bit of members, and the majority vote counts. the present standard of feeding was GREAT DAYS producing an alarming increase of illcompanies and reactionary types. While | delegates one member, and so does each | ness of every kind, and particularly a wonderful day" as the catastrophic rise in the incidence of composition for a class of little girls. tuberculosis, and that these tendencies cording to the Speyer diocesan journal Zionists for that matter, be affecting us ontinued retention of the ex-Nazi, but | would continue to get worse unless Christliche Pilger: these have always eight or twelve against some radical steps were taken to in- "My most wonderful day was the day crease the food supplies of the when my brother died and I got his coat So far as 'Greater Syria' is concerned.

the Military Government, the Nazis be- medical scientists called on the doctors in my own bed." come more sure of themselves, and those of the whole world to assist in "My most wonderful day was when an not really in the least affected, have a arousing consciousness of the situation of chocolate." every means, even turning the law to their and in obtaining medical and material

Germans are better off in the Russian

Universe, 1/8/47.

CONSTITUTIONS FOR SYRIA

"Downing Street: happy spot, where they draw up constitutions for Syria and treaties for China with the same self-

-Benjamin Disraeli ("Tancred")

of bread and freedom that would Vichy French administration in those farshake feudalism as it did in Russia, the Palestinian Jewish underground, the off days of five years ago when we armed but not replace it by the inhuman British agents in Syria were able to stir nonsters—the State or Capitalist in- up sufficient feeling to oust the French dustrialism. Such a possibility is altogether when the war for liberation was

The future in Syria is-like everything

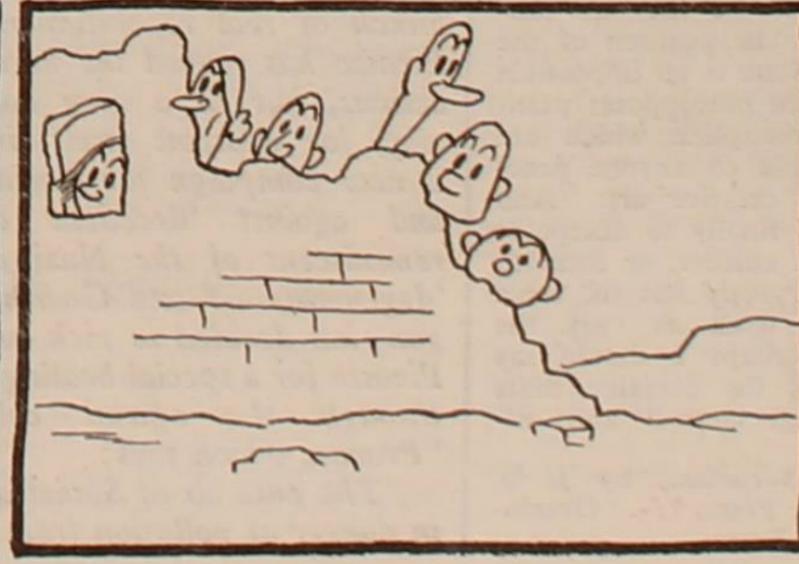
political in that part of the world-unsettled, but the latest stories of the 'informed circles' in Cairo are the mooted lans for a 'Greater Syria' behind which is undoubtedly British influence. The plan is that Syria should be enlarged supporting and more prosperous; and include Palestine (according to some, all Palestine, according to others, a semindependent Jewish Palestine and/or a semi-independent Arab Palestine) and Transjordan. The King of Transjordan, Abdullah, is very strongly inclined to the idea. He does not in the least mind seeing his State merge into the 'Greater Syria' not as semi-independent but as a omponent part. It is known that Abdullah was very dissatisfied at the piece of desert he got for his portion in the share-out among the Arab tribal chiefs according to the promises made by 'king of the rubble'. Naturally, in supporting 'Greater Syria' he wants to see himself King of Syria, replacing the kingdom of Transjordan he recently assumed in great pomp, and the republic of Syria recently declared with the great jubilation. He states he wishes to see the end of Zionism but it is expected he would compromise with Zionism if by doing so he got his own way in expanding his influence into a Greater Syria.

His opponent is Fawzi Kawukji who is bitterly anti-Zionist and aims at personal power for himself also. But Kawukji's allegiance if Abdullah could offer them an Arab Palestine, part of Syria. How far the proposed Greater Syria would be antinot known; but it is generally believed to be included in Downing Street's plan for Palestine and its neighbouring

Say what you like about the planafter all, nobody will ask your consentagree or disagree-your opinions are not invited. The point is that to enforce settlement means warfare of some sort. You are expected to back it, by industrial exertion or (for some) by laying down your life. Therefore, you cannot be uninterested and say it has nothing to do with you. But what reason have we for for treaties for China'? How is it our affair? This is what some of them wrote, ac- Arab rulers, or the Messianic beliefs of the so personally and directly?

the poor and oppressed in the countries "My most wonderful day was my directly concerned know nothing of politics In issuing this warning, these birthday, when I was permitted to sleep and in the majority of cases cannot even read what is going on. But we, who are Amy (American soldier) gave me a piece direct personal responsibility. Such is

By JOHN OLDAY



FOR THIS RELIEF . . .



THE THREE MUSKETEERS—12

who are kept in office help the others by

political party, each church, etc.

In the most favourable circumstances

them. Once more the Nazis are re-

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

6th September, 1947

PUBLIC OPINION

CEORGE WOODCOCK'S article thinks; the happy-go-lucky childish

of the controversy with George Orwell fully and seductively associated into

point of fact it cannot be denied that expect the real character to act to

quizzes one could guess the newspaper that has not lost its force in the army,

somebody read! The slogans and for instance.

"Public Opinion"—independently Negro servant; all have been so care-

Street, and its author is Elliot Paul, of Cancer. an American writer, who says of the Sacco and Vanzetti execution:

"The only occasion on which I felt utterly ashamed and lonely in

and Vanzetti were being murdered intended to pay. troved them for the good of their privileged kind.

and partisan afterwards' had re- the scale of wages. the preliminary rumblings of a higher pay. hostile inimical classes apart and ended in the death of a nation."

effect of the execution on people he knew, and the way in which the workers demonstrated angrily in the streets of Paris, while the rich and their right-wing jackals kept behind their shuttered windows, quaking at the anger that everywhere had been aroused against the ruling class over this incident.

The Narrow Street, which has been published by Penguins, will interest years in a working-class street, and been fired off, one of the workers at the "Under" would be the operative word. own private demon to satisfy, his own viduals who are to be expected to put his descriptions of the people among show got up and said his piece. evocative. Some of his commentary

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Literary Notes

idea of the depth of that impression. to the shelf beside Down and Out in The book is called A Narrow Paris and London and Miller's Tropic

Sweated Hacks

fectly clear to the inhabitants of my days ago, when they rang me up and asked its children seek other ties." if I would read a book of critical essays little street, and to the workers of for them. I was about to agree when Paris generally, namely, that Sacco it occurred to me to ask what fee they

and foreigners and that Judge was informed that this was the standard the idea of human brotherhood meant siders that to read a book at all seriously the freedom of an individual to refuse political and social activity. and write a recommendation takes at least service something worth struggling for. Politics (2/6) is, of course, an old WE DIE a day—unless by chance it is so bad a Admittedly, Trollope himself did not have standby, and one is always certain of P. J. Proudhon: book as to be thrust aside immediately— to struggle a great deal—he was born finding something of real interest in its GENERAL IDEA OF THE REVOLUTION "Previously it had seemed to me it will be seen how low the standard of too fortunately for that—but at least he columns. The last issue (July—August), that the slogan of 'Frenchman first pay of a literary agent's reader stands in had a consciousness of the human values is, however, of special interest, because | F. A. Ridley:

tained its force, but in little side- Naturally, I refused to work for such (Perhaps because of that he was able to writing, and includes work by all the streets like mine and on the broad a pitiable sum, but the fact that literary draw some quite cynical pictures of nine- leading French writers who display a "Equity" boulevard Sebastopol the hand that agents are able to fix such standard rates teenth century political life.) But how social consciousness and some independ- THE STRUGGLE IN THE FACTORY 3d. shows that there are many writers who many distinguished novelists saw fit to ence of thought. The articles by Camus | learus: are poor enough to accept such work and protest when conscription was introduced and Sartre are particularly lively, but all THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT 6d. chusetts prison that night started not militant enough to unite to demand during the last war? A pitifully small the material shows a high standard McCartney:

series of quakes that jarred France's There is a general tendency in the literary trade to "sweat", and this seems to apply more to the old "respectable" undertakings, the standard publishers,

Trollope Against Conscription

Dipping into Clara Cole's interesting booklet on C.O.'s in the 1914-18 war, They Did Not Fight-Will You? found a quotation from the Victorial novelist, Anthony Trollope, which seemed well worth preservation. Trollope was

"This conscription is very bad. Was it subjects, it contains literary contributions ago, when I was hard up, I approached has no right to demand everything. There William Everson, E. E. Cummings and were put to death, after seven years the largest literary agents in London, a is much that is higher and better and William Carlos Williams, as well as many of mental torture, for a crime they firm with an international reputation, for greater than one's country. One is very lively younger writers. It is a really casual work reading manuscripts of patriotic only because one is too small and solid manifestation of the intellectual too weak to be cosmopolitan. If a country calibre of the new movement now rising "What had been confused and they said there was no work available, cannot get along without a military con- up in America. distorted on Beacon Hill was per- and I heard nothing further until a few scription, it had better give up-and let

> struck once again by the deterioration in the ethical consciousness of writers

Freedom Press

ganda machines (begun by Wells and his kind in 1914) have very nearly suppressed in our own generation of writers. New Periodicals Two new periodicals which should be of interest to readers of Freedom are The

Ark and Politics and Letters. The Ark (2/6) is the magazine printe and published by a group of young distant Massachusetts that what degree sweated work actually exists absolutely necessary? My feeling is that by an impressive team of American writers, A. Ciliqa: evening, my native State, a 'good among the less prosperous strata of a man should die rather than be made including Kenneth Patchen, Kenneth THE KRONDSTADT REVOLT mason (sic) and a poor fish pedler journalists and writers. Some months has no right to demand everything. There william Energy William Energy William Energy William Energy Remicular Fatcher, Remicular F Politics and Letters (2/6) is a new

English quarterly devoted to the relation-Reading this, I could not help being ship between literature and politics. It is uneven in quality and at times exasperatingly donnish in tone, but there are quite during the past fifty years. Trollope was interesting studies of such subjects as the because they had been 'anarchist' I was told 7/6, and, on my protesting, in many ways a typical Victorian, but social ideas of D. H. Lawrence and W. B. Yeats, and a thoughtful article by James fee paid to their readers. When one con- something real to him, and he considered Hemming on the psychological aspects of

which should underly social intercourse. it is devoted wholly to French political THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH handful. And among those writers who of argument and thinking, although I claimed to be radicals, the acquiescence in do not find agreement with many conscription was almost as universal as of the ideas expressed. However, as an writers are thinking to-day it fills a gap Lately, I have been rather bored by and provides something which has so far not been available in England.

ANARCHY OR CHAOS 2/6, Cloth 4/6 NEW LIFE TO THE LAND RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY HOMES OR HOVELS? ANARCHISM AND MORALITY WHAT IS ANARCHISM? Peter Kropotkin. THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 3d. SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS (Chosen by Herbert Read) Errico Malatesta: VOTE WHAT FOR? Herbert Read: THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM 1/-THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN 1/-William Godwin: SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA 1/-KROPOTKIN-HIS FEDERALIST A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI ILL-HEALTH, POVERTY AND THE COLLECTIVES IN SPAIN

THE MARCH TO DEATH THE LIFE WE LIVE, THE DEATH

Holborn.WC1

THE FRENCH COOKS SYNDICATE 3d.

anyone who has a feeling for pre-war AT a rally of the Fabian Society in the Albert Hall earlier this year, after Paris. The author lived for many the big guns like Attlee and Laski had

in all London there is not a single hall of that wherever it exists. country residences ready for the Royal bride and groom, plans for providing Londoners with suitable accommodation to hear good music are conspicuously lacking.

It is of interest therefore to find this matter taken considerably further in a lecture actually delivered to the Fabian Society by J. B. Priestley and recently published in pamphlet form.

Priestley, who is a socialist and supporter led away by human credulity (to give art, who acknowledge the spiritual world? For, as Priestley says, "Never did position of the artist in a Socialist State, the most charitable explanation) into paternity of the French formalists, men need the artist more than they do finds himself raising a lot of questions joining the French Communist Party, Picasso and Matisse, and the which he cannot satisfactorily answer— under the illusion that they were a 'Knave of Diamonds' cubists of premainly, I submit, because they are un-answerable. In fact, the position of the bunch of real revolutionaries. Now revolutionary Russia, cannot be tolerartist in a Socialist State is an impossible Picasso has reaped the harvest of his ated side by side with the art of

The Arts under Socialism, by J. B. Priestley. Turnstile Press, 1/-. Obtainable from Freedom Press.

The Artist and the Socialist State

ances by a full-size orchestra, and that stands the nature of the State, he does leave the artist alone with his work after in a Mayfair parlour. though plans abound for speeding up the not misunderstand the nature of the creating reasonable conditions for him." As a postscript to his lecture Priestley

artist who has done more to introduce art of the West . . . The existence in revolutionary techniques into painting our country of a school representing with problems too big for them and unable But it is mainly interesting because than any other painter of our age, was the admirers of bourgeois decadent to sense the real needs of a war-weary one, because Socialism presupposes plan- actions, but in a very back-handed Socialist Realism."

"Pravda, which says:

Some time ago, Pablo Picasso, the of the putrescent bourgeois formalistic ment are not doing anything for the

ning, control and discipline which are way, for Moscow itself, in opening Well, it looks as though Comrade Are you helping to introduce new absolutely unacceptable to anyone practising sincerely any creative art. And a new campaign for 'social realism' Picasso had better hold his nose at his readers to FREEDOM? Have since I am prepared finally to accept as and against 'decadent art' (how own smell and quietly drop himself you asked your newsagent to satisfactory only that culture, or form of reminiscent of the Nazi attacks on into a Moscow pig-bin. Unless he society in which everybody has the same 'degenerate art' and Goering with his comes to his senses and decides with | Can you sell a few copies among artist has to-day, perhaps I should say gun) has decided to pick out comrade us that the real smell comes from your friends? We can supply you that the existence of the Socialist State | Picasso for a special beating, delivered Moscow, where the festering relics | with copies of the current issue presupposes planning, control and dis- through the official columns of of Victorian art are now accepted as | (6 copies 1/-, 12 copies 2/- post the right thing, and real revolutionary "The pure air of Soviet art remains art is condemned in just the same way in danger of pollution from epidemics as it was by the Nazis.

ipline which will then be wholly un- for the conception of a planned society, welcome this admission from a socialist and goes on to say, "He is ready to reject writer, and it is a pity that J. B. Priestley's I must admit that when I picked up this the devil of commercial exploitation but view of a new society is such a mundane pamphlet it was with the misgiving that cannot look forward to the deep sea of one that he merely sees the artist passing should find that in the wording of Arts Councils and Committees. Do not from dependance on the rich patron to a the title (The Arts Under Socialism), make haste to blame him, for he has his similar patronage by sympathetic indi-But I must give Priestley the credit for terribly difficult tasks to perform, and pressure upon the committees of the

It was Sir Thomas Beecham, who had having sympathies with the artist first and must of necessity, to get the job done, Socialist State to "help" their favourites. been conducting the orchestra, and as the the State second, although he makes the be something of an individualist and I forget who it was who said "Art only audience were getting up to leave at the usual Socialist confusion about the nature an anarchist." And later, in the same flourishes in a plentitude of freedom", but end, he is reported to have stood up and of the State. For instance, he starts off strain—"That tidy housewife, Socialism, whoever it was put his finger on the spot. cried angrily something that sounded like: by making clear that he means by the will not take as a husband that dis- Give the artist freedom from economic "You have been talking a lot about pro- State "the political organisation of a reputable fellow, who is probably an restriction and freedom to work in a viding for the ordinary people: don't national socity and not the community anarchist at heart, who keeps no regular society of equals similarly free, and society forget the extraordinary people—like me!" itself, the total of all its individuals", but hours, whose values are strange and dis- will not get the worst of the bargain. Now don't run away with the idea that only sees it as a benevolent organisation turbing, the creative artist; who, in his Artists have always been prepared to give Sir Thomas was angling for a bigger existing, it seems, to nurse the welfare of turn, will refuse to settle down, fill in more than they receive. Their burning old-age pension, or some other privilege; the community. Whereas we have, in all his forms and pay his dues, will will to create is the only real incentive he was drawing attention to the fact that fact, seen the State as the very opposite find no inspiration in this vast hygienic and the only compulsion tolerable. Give beehive, and will take to drink and des- these anarchists Anarchy, and culture suitable for the presentation of perform- However, even if Priestley misunder- pair. I have said that the State must will mean something more than a word

traffic, relaying the roads, cleaning the artist, and my heart warms to him when As one who has for long maintained suggests several petty reforms calculated House of Commons and getting town and he points to the misgivings the artist has that the artist must be an anarchist, I to relieve the present cramped conditions under which artists of all kinds labour books, better premises and so forth are obvious necessities. His suggestions for their provision now are simply obvious. But he wonders why the present govern-

PHILIP SANSOM.

Through

Customer (becoming impatient after a long wait): "Aren't you going to attend Assistant: "You haven't pressed the If the Labour Government stays in Customer, noticing a bell on the counter, 3 in. taller than the previous generation through better feeding, Dr. Summerskill

Evening Standard, 18/8/47.

SOLIDARITY Sucked In. In Lodi, Calif., saddened by the plight of fellows inside the local jail, outsider Jacob Hohnstein tried to As a protest against a new regulation down, ruining hundreds of bricks.

WORKING TO RULE

the other side of the counter.

Scene: A provincial Ministry of Labour

employment exchange. A customer waits

for attention; and assistant is writing on

The security guards failed to keep one

at the Victoria Palace. A black and white rabbit hopped on to About Sex says that thousands of men the stage and almost to Lord Montgomery's of the British Army of the Rhine "are feet, then began a tactical withdrawal. It had nearly reached the wings before Monty noticed it. "Did I see a rabbit?"

Crazy Gang show at the theatre.

MANŒUVRE-NOT MAGNANIMITY Soviet Zone denazification laws-excepting all but war criminals from prosecution or forfeiture of office-Russia has

this week-end buried the hatchet with the "little fuehrers" of Germany. The move is interpreted here as a significant step in winning over not only the Germans of its own zone, but also of the British, U.S. and French areas to Communism, which for a long time has been losing ground in Germany.

The Soviet decision is also, no doubt, the first manoeuvre for the London Conference of the Big Four in November.

GETTING THE HAMMER (AND SICKLE) A "reshuffle", with all the characteristics of a minor but significant purge, is now

under way in the higher Soviet administrative posts of the Russian zone. Assistants of the Soviet C.-in-C., Gen. Sokolovsky-his political adviser, Semjonov, his principal deputy, Gen. Kurotschin, and his Chief of Staff, Col.-Gen. Dratwin-have been relieved of their offices and recalled to Moscow.

power another ten years children will be Assistant, laying down his pen: "Can Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Food,

Daily Mirror, 1/8/47. SCHOOL FOR

interloper from the top-secret lecture given yesterday by Field Marshal Montgomery TRUTH ABOUT SEX . . . A new Army publication called Truth

traitors to themselves, to their families,

selfishness and immorality. helped in the destruction, but the greatest permits. There are other builders to be modern threat is the vast increase of considered. sexual immorality . . . the numbers of "We have houses here which have been

The pamphlet debunks the theory that permit to finish them." a man must have "experience" before

realise that penicillin is not so effective tenants—takes some believing. as was at first thought. It fails to cure a very considerable proportion of cases. German girls have the reputation of WHOOPEE! being 'easy'. Far too many soldiers are taking advantage of them. German girls A train on New York's undergroun

to believe, and to-day three out of every Reason: Motorman drunk. four you meet are infected with disease. It is only a cad or a man who is acting thoughtlessly who can take advantage of Suggetions made in the pamphlet are: "Don't look at pictures of scantily-clad

IDIOT'S DELIGHT

Four new, partly-built houses at woman tenant's door because, he said, Four new, partly-built houses at woman tenant's door because, he said,
Dunstable, Beds, are to be destroyed under he must have constant access to the room THE REGULAR THING the noses of the working families who paid "in case of fire" was told yesterday by the builder vesterday, because he wants Lambeth Rent Tribunal: "In ordinary sell the food.

spread a little cheer by siphoning in slugs compelling them to attend all lectures, "We'll do it because the Dunstable of booze, got caught at it, became an many Frankfurt university students sign Borough Council rejected our application Time, 26/8/47. the classroom registers with the signatures for a licence. The case had been exof Hitler, Borman, and other missing plained by Mr. Evelyn Walkden, M.P., to

Mr. Aneurin Bevan. It was Mr. Bevan Evening Standard, 8/8/47. who referred the responsibility back to the

> "These four houses were being built in advance of the issue of a permit—as twelve others have been. "This method was my idea. I call

showing foresight. "Through acting ahead of licence we It adds, says BUP: "Civilisation is have been able to house eighteen families The rabbit is a minor performer in the the millions of loose family bricks in the Mr. Seath, deputy borough surveyor Evening Standard. and home life is being eaten away by wants to pull houses down, that's his

"Needless to say, the recent war has "He has had a large share of building

and the owners still unable to obtain a Daily Mirror, 26/8/47. Penicillin, it says, is not the cure-all irresponsibility of this affair-from all

deserve all our sympathy and under- went crazy to-day. It passed stations where it should have stopped. It stopped "That they are 'easy' is not difficult in tunnels. It went 60 miles an hour.

"I knew I could not sell them," he said, in the city and is to be presented to the "and I do not want to let them rot."

'PROGRESSIVE' SCHOOLING

In the issue of 9th August, Tony Gibson writes to interest readers of Freedom in a progressive school. As an experiment in education on free lines this would be of interest, but perhaps our comrade could give us more information on the ultimate able to give a clear picture. Up to now result of such schools. From what I have not much has changed concerning the re- seen of the finished product of what is vival of industry and economy, commerce called 'progressive schooling' (and I admit and transport, and hunger is an everyday in advance that probably a lot goes by matter. The former political parties have, that name without being so) so far from since the collapse of fascism, returned to the Anarchist parent seeing his child he political platform, and to their own grow up in free surroundings unhampered pheres of activity, revived again their by the State influences at work on him olitical and trade-union organisations, ex- elsewhere, what he does see is the child posed to the perpetually believing electors cut off from his normal environment which their community, district and county re- he would get in the average school (that is construction schemes. The elections took to say, the society of children on the same place and then, according to the number level as himself) and growing up among of votes obtained, they took the leading the sons and daughters of the middleoffices. But so far these parties, and the class liberals and adopting their social trade unions under their influence, have outlook with their dash of political done nothing at all for a new settlement liberalism to it. The trouble is that a of social life. In spite of all their present private school has to depend on the cash assertions, the trade union leaders can- customers and plenty of them come for

The S.P.D. (social democratic) and Whereas at the average school with its KPD (communist) parties fight for pre- admitted defects of State control, the child ominance within the new German Trade with a background at home of social con-Unions, whose members, as in the past, sciouness, learns to struggle against the are still only considered as voting animals State even if only in (what may seem) for the parliamentary struggle of the minor things like refusing to march past and salute the flag on Empire Day, join Because of the great communication and the various military training outfits, or traffic difficulties, I have not yet had the

opportunity to find here in Germany any For that reason I think it far better for a youngster to stand on his own feet ment. The loss of comrades like Pierre and—if he is going to be a rebel—learn Ramus and Rudolf Rocker, and those like to be one himself; rather than to retire Eric Mühsam who could really write and from the fray in a private school which does not cater for the children of the movement in Germany a void which will necessity).

Let us hope, however, that the German I would not say however that I disagree working people, which is deeply prejudiced with the idea of a Free School, but only by its faith in the State, will liberate itself if it contains the same social elements from this faith and, together with all the as the retrogressive council or State-aided the State capitalist economy, in order to

of all moral and material obstacles, that admit the disappointing results of, for it may build the real social order of instance, A. S. Neill's scholars as far as their subsequent careers were concerned.

DON'T CALL ME EARLY,

Young people are slack about church and communion partly because there's no one to wake them in time on Sundays, says Canon Hassard-Short, of St. Luke's Bromley, Kent.

Daily Mirror, 1/8/47.

her bedroom door and this lock must be it is better to have a glut than a shortage.

"Ploughing back into the land occurs There are plenty of herrings as well.

Christopher Feekery: "That room is her Sixty-four boats landed a record catch for home and in this country we regard a the season of 5,500,000 last week. Sunday Pictorial, 10/8/47.

paid 25s. a week rent for a room in Nice of the Min. of Ag. to think Milkwood Road, Herne Hill, S.E., which abundance better than shortage, isn't

BOOKS FOR SALE

Copies of a book by François Rabelais, 16th century French satirist, monk and doctor of medicine, intended for a Port Elizabeth bookseller, have been stopped by the Customs authorities.

the Union, and the bookseller has appealed against the ruling.

for anyone to buy.

sold "under the counter" in many bookshops in the American zone, at 1,000 marks a copy, American soldiers paying \$15, reports the Jewish World News Agency. Efforts to track down the Nazi group supplying the bookshops have

Ministers in nearly every country tell their people they must tighten their belts Suffolk. They say: "We are Londoners and work hard to make imports pay for exports-and then this sort of thing

A man in Jutland, Denmark, wanted a special kind of machine for his factory, but could not find any available in Denmark. So he made inquiries abroad, and found they had just what he wanted in Czechoslovakia. After taking a good deal of trouble and filling a lot of forms,

When he unpacked it he found it had been manufactured at Odense on Funen,

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

Perhaps Tony Gibson would care to

The farmers blame the holiday season deposits on them. It is being done, said Miss Dorothy Scott-Stokes, chairman of for low consumption and say they cannot

The Minister of the Interior has banned the import of the works by Rabelais into

Despite this Customs action copies of Rabelais's works are on the shelves of at least one shop in the centre of the city

Evening Standard, 8/8/47. Copies of Mein Kampf are again being

proved fruitless. Jewish Chronicle, 8/8/47.

only about 30 miles from his factory. Leader. 30/8/47.

Lettess to the Editors

FROM A GERMAN COMRADE

-raises some interesting points. In our minds that we almost begin to I am German and am learning to write Public Opinion to-day is an article form (for instance, somebody once English only since several months, My that is bought and sold in a capitalist said to me, "But you don't look like father has always been an anarchist and society or nationalised in a State an Anarchist!") just as English music I am also a fighter for the same ideal. And now something about Germany. I society, and to a very large degree it hall audiences begin laughing as soon

cannot be considered as anything in- as they see somebody in a parson's dependent at all; it is simply con- dog-collar. Look at the British radio ditioned by the society under which with its terrific class propaganda; the we live. The merest glance at a announcer with the lah-de-dah accent that has befallen the German people during the tyranny of fascism and its in-Fascist State shows how people can be that passes off as standard English, conditioned from childhood up to while the average man's accent what- here in atrocities during Hitler's time believe glaring untruths simply by ever it may be is ridiculed to such an | could only find the like in Dante's Hell constant repetition and totalitarian extent that we begin to take it for and Purgatory, and only such a poet may propaganda can impress itself not granted that a man with a Scots or

merely on the "master race" but even Lancashire accent is automatically flects the product of a hyperbolic megaloon its other victims. We can see going to tell funny stories. It is mania and a state direction of Marxist that too in the imperialist State where deliberately intended to give us an stamp has of course contributed the great the colour prejudice of "white" "opinion"; to make us think that part in what happened, for it raised the superiority is not only indoctrinated "Oxford English is English and the Faith has stoned the prophets, burned the into the "white" but also in the other rest of us are foreigners!"—in other heretics, murdered the Jews, denounced words, to make us embarrassed and parents and friends. Faith is the obstacle

It would not be impossible to in- ill-at-ease in the presence of someone to critical thinking. About the economic and political situvent a game whereby after a few from the governing classes. A trick ation and its future shaping I am not yet

catchwords—and even more, the im- How can one truly speak of public that result from "swimming against putations—put over by the Press help opinion as an independent force in a the stream"—the ostracism, lack of to mould public opinion. As regards capitalist society? And one cannot employment, loss of lodging, etc., that were murdered in the concentration camps "imputations" one has only to look overlook that from a different angle once beset the path of every village | during the reign of Hitler, has left our at. the Radio and Cinema—to a public opinion may well be "moulded" "agitator" and still exist in one form lesser degree because less influential, even in a free society—for instance, or another everywhere—so there the pulpit, stage and literature— by writers—but at least there will be would be every possibility for the inwhere certain assumptions are ground no venal influence at work to direct it. dividual to assert his own. into the public. Note, for example, It will be the case in a free society does not lack courage to express him-American film types. The kindly that a man may still have to over- self against dissent but as every other peoples, destroy the Chinese wall of school. R.C. priest; the genial cop; the well- come the prejudices that may cling to "agitator" knows, the material disintentioned employer of labour; the his fellows like ghosts from the past. comforts that are used in unfree lank, fanatical agitator; the foreign There is no way a free society could societies against him (and those accomplish this, the German people must probably knows more about progressive

the Press

not be so easily and rapidly filled.

"to draw attention to a ridiculous decency a woman should be able to close Ministry of Agriculture attitude is that Mr. William Grav, secretary of Greens restored." (The Builders), Brixton, London, then Ald. H. Wilmot, another member of every year," a spokesman said. explained: "Our workmen will pull them the tribunal, told the landlord, Mr.

The tenant, Mrs. Katie McGee, who

she shared with her two daughters, aged it? 18 and 15, and her six-year-old son, had her rent cut to 12s. 6d. She got three

months' security of tenure. News Chronicle, 21/8/47. One room for four of them-and we hear cant about it being sacred!

> With 23 days left before the ejectment order obtained by Norwich Corporation of Woodcock Road, Norwich, was to-day considering two offers of help

received from fellow Londoners In spite of Judge Carey Evan's description of the corporation's attitude a "almost callous" the housing committee nfirmed their decision. Mr. Alfred Butcher, writing from James

Cottages, Station Road, Hounslow, has offered to take two of the boys. "I am a widower, aged 62," he says. if he likes it and I will try to help with

Mrs. Harty told me she is grateful for the offer, but is reluctant to split up the

who have been bombed out, too. Take

chance and come and join us here. There is a hut to spare." This suggestion appeals to Mrs. Harty, but she is anxious about living in a huot because the baby, Jillian, a year old,

had pneumonia last winter. Meanwhile, the petition of tenants in the Hartys' neighbourhood has reached

Housing Committee on Tuesday. News Chronicle, 25/8/47.

News Chronicle, 13/8/47. So sex is as simple as that?

pin-up girls; find a good hobby; and be

villain; the handsome young hero "legislate" against that. But what we dependent on him) are often to overfrom college with plenty of money can say is that since food and clothing whelming to resist for all but the and no brains; the bespectacled figure and housing would be at the disposal strongest willed. of fun—the person who actually of all, there would be none of the evils

marriage and that clean living leads to Ridiculous it not the word! The sheer for disease. Medical authorities now sides, even that of the prospective

divorces and illegitimate children tell their standing unfinished since before the war,

Evening Standard, 22/8/47.