Anarchist Summer Schoo

which was held in Hampstead can someone else. same, it always aimed at dividing the same. working class, putting out propaganda He ended his talk with a short picture of responsibility in the workers so that Revolution,

meetings and innouncements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS :

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Sunday Evening Lectures Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. at 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.I Eric Maple SEPT. 21st

"Anarchist Propaganda"

### N.E. LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

NEXT MEETING. at Flat 3, 43, New Wanstead (Nr. Green Man, E.II) TUESDAY, SEPT. 23rd, at 7.30 Alan Smith on The Haiti Rebellion of 1789-1802 TUESDAY, OCT. 7th at 7.30 S. Watson Taylor. Lecture to be announced.

Any enquiries to:-27 Red Lion Street, W.C.I.

## **GLASGOW ANARCHIST** GROUP

Public Meetings at CENTRAL HALLS, BATH ST., will be held every Sunday evening. First meeting: September 28th. Speakers: Preston Clements, John

Gaffney, Frank Leech, Eddie Shaw.

Doors open 6.30 p.m. Make a point of telling your friends and workmates of these indoor meetings to be Glasgow during the coming

### BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP Regular fortnightly public discussion

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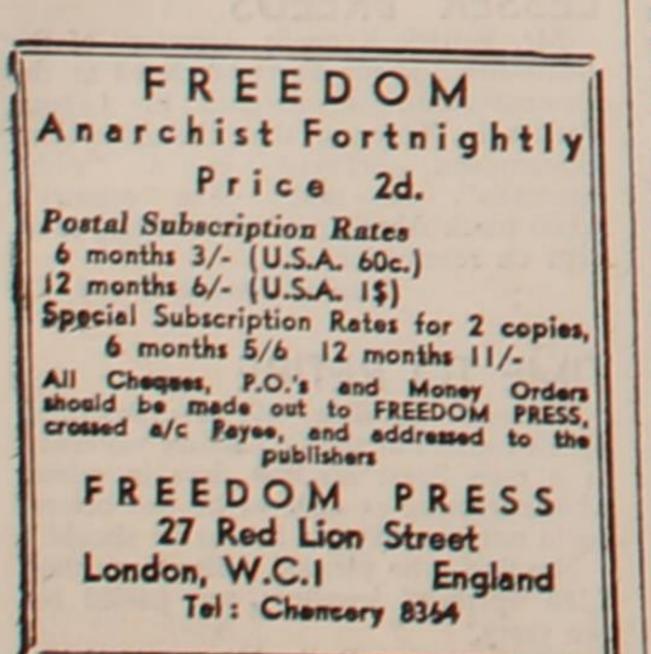
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meetings are held on Sundays at 7 p.m. at Dick Sheppard House, 36 Holloway Head.

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS obtainable from

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THIS year's Anarchist Summer School they invariably put all responsibility on to It was, said be said to have been as great a success Mat Kavanagh, only due to the aftermath socially, if not financially, as last year's. of war, when there was a general feeling The first lecture, opening the school of disgust for all those connected with was given by one of the most widely- the running of the war, that the people esteemed speakers of the movement, Mat voted in the Labour Government; it was Kavanagh. He spoke on "Nationalisation largely a kind of protest against governand the Worker", and was rewarded with ment and authority, symbolised in the a good practical discussion and little Conservatives, and there had to be a criticism. He pointed out how the pro- change; but alas, so long as there is a gramme of the ruling class, whether Government there will be no change: Conservative or Labour, was always the Labour or Conservative, they are all the

which amounted to dope, killing any sense of the practical side of the Spanish

"The Means of Revolution" By Saturday afternoon many more omrades had arrived, and the country as a whole, was, fairly well represented. any came from Lancashire, others from orset, Herts, Walsall, Gloucestershir Surrey, Berkshire, Essex, Glasgow, Bristol, Gosport, Great Yarmouth and Birmingham, and there were, of course, many from all parts of London. The discussion after Philip Sansom's lecture "Means of Revolution", was both positive and stimulating; most people there took part and every possible angle was touched on

The question of education and the formation of Anarchist schools took up a large part of the discussion.

After supper the forty odd comrades gathered in the Lecture Room heard a well-known comrade from Glasgow, Eddie Shaw! Comrade Shaw gave us a survey of industry in Glasgow now, and pointed out that "Anarchism" was an everyday word in Glasgow, and that wherever one went one could hear interesting discussions on Anarchism from every aspect, in factories, in the shipyards, in pubs, at the Dogs. Anarchist public meetings were well attended, but he maintained that the workers in Glasgow were still no better off, even though they knew the answer. They still did not understand their power as individuals. He stressed the fact that YOU are the most important person, and will always be someone better off than

### Aspects of Anarchism

On Sunday, there were still more new faces at John Hewetson's talk on "Contemporary Aspects of Anarchism". He first gave a brief historical outline of the strength during the war and now, p out that although in actual numbers movement was probably smaller now, movment as a whole was, nevertheless, strong, if not stronger.

Many times in the heartening discussion that followed Comrade Hewetson was and influence of the Anarchist Movem comrades abroad. The value of this work. especially with our German comrades for Social Evening and comrades again had a opportunity for discussion and for getting to know one another personally. And when finally the evening came to a close School had been a great success, for portunity it had offered to exchange notes on activity in the different localiti problems facing our movement in troubled times ahead.



one country's exports are imports to all the buying countries. Dominant powers must have a favourable balance, and failure in this struggle means being enslaved by debt to the successful This is what Goering meant when he declared that "Germany must expand or bust". It is the same idea in less bombastic phraseology that Labour ministers put lauded by the industrialists. They forward when they insist that have now got their targets and Britain's continued existence as they can get on with the job. a world power, etc., etc., depends on the fate of the export drive. have now a programme which

But the fact is that such export drives are only the manifestation of the capitalist competition which leads ineluctably to war. Historians recognized the pattern before the 1914 war, and it was pointed out often enough before 1939. No doubt

## Housewives League Admit Political Backing

Press. This time it was not as a Royal Albert Hall."

by Mrs. Hart are interesting in view for the League's Royal Albert Hall sion of discontent on the part of of the League's denial earlier this year meeting. of being connected with any political There can no longer by any doubt patriotic grounds-"Your counparty (Freedom, 28th June). She as to the background and aims of this try's future is at stake! Is this first of all charged her rival with organisation which has hitherto posed the time to press sectional keeping a political No. 2 account for as being composed simply of indignant demand? . . . and so on. It is the League which nobody but Miss housewives with a grievance, but with- our Government's version of the Crisp had ever seen.

Haulage Association."

Lovelock, and Mrs. Hart respectively. mitted that it was correct that the profits. The charges levelled at Miss Crisp Road Haulage Association had paid The upshot is that any expres- economy.

out any political bias. The are un- "needs of the Fatherland", the She also accused her of spending doubtedly many genuine housewives "imperious demands of the £100 of the League's money "to in the League, but perhaps by now struggle for Socialism" and all entertain her rich friends at the May they have realised that they were the other watchwords whereby Fair" and shouted: "Miss Crisp has simply being used as pawns in the workers abroad sold us to politics and to the Road old, old political game of party bludgeoned into acc politics.

### FREEDOM

James Owens, of Astley Green Colliery, machines nad craftsmen. near Manchester, and the 45 guides are

arts of propaganda may wonder whether to-day completing a make-believe pithead the West End is really the best place at mining shaft. Nearby six ponies quietly You lucky ponies !

pader, a Joy power- with a series of colliery bands they lend local colour to the Marble Arch Main Colliery. At night they are lodged in the royal mews at Buckingham Palace, side by side with the King's greys and bays. Manchester Guardian, 11/9/47.

"For you it's always work and want. For us it's simply spivving and living."

## CRIPPS?

(Continued from page 1)

the slaughter begins.

**TOWARDS ENSLAVEMENT** 

But the resemblances to Russia and Germany do not end there. The Cripps plan and the revised export list has been What they mean is that they and the government has engaged achieving these target-profits.

of the control of engagement by insisting on profit. order, the conception of "essen- And in rejecting it, let us

workers is condemned on course which leads

Printed by Express Printers,

### ABSOLUTE REJECTION REQUIRED

Such is the general vista. It it will be equally obvious to the is silly optimism to try and kid survivors of the coming war. oneself that any other future lies Anarchists have always worked ahead for capitalist economy. for its general recognition before Hence it is quite futile to see the present situation as any special outcome of Labour policy. Conservatives or Liberals or Communists alike would have to employ exactly the same measures.

Nor can one object simply to one aspect of the process such as the increased powers of direction of labour without considering the others. Every part interlocks with every other part indicates to them their profits, in the deadly warpath of capitalist economy. The trend itself to provide the means for is clear enough; it will not be reversed by partial measures. In effect this means that the War is the goal, and if one re-Government, taking into account jects it one must reject the the interests of the owners of whole process which leads to that industry, has planned production. goal. Reject the scramble for By itself this would be only of exports, reject the whole ecoacademic interest perhaps; but nomic structure which reproit means also that the Govern- duces that scramble in all its ment also plans the lives of transactions by making the workers. Hence the continuance recipient pay more than the cost,

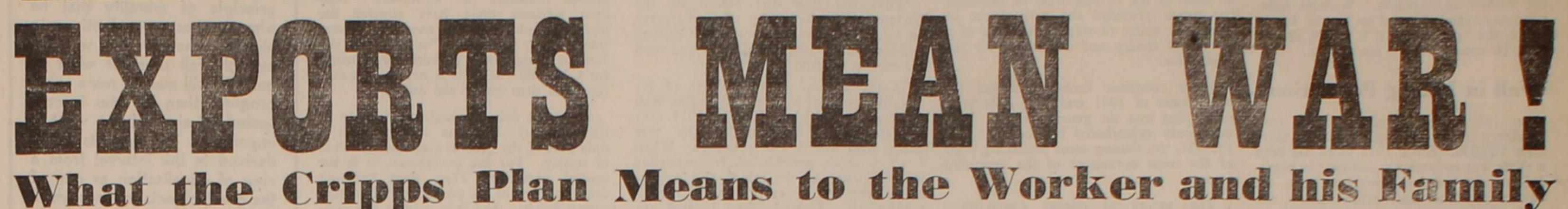
tial" and inessential work, which remember that this war-making provides a guide whereby economy which keeps the masses MISS DORTHY CRISP and her Waving a paper, she said: "I have workers can be switched out of the world poor has almost notorious Housewives' League here in my hand a letter from the one job and into another, or no counterbalancing advantages have once more forced themselves on- RHA to Miss Crisp proving that they compelled to remain in a partic- to put forward as reasons why to the front pages of the National paid £1,750 for your meeting at the ular job regardless of his own we should not reject it outright. feelings about it. He must stick It is the system which pays more result of a free fight with Communist Miss Crisp in her reply, admitted to it in the interests of closing attention to exporting toys and hecklers but among themselves! The the existence of a No. 2 account, but the gap between imports and motor cars than to providing food two factions within the League are led stated that it was used to pay for the exports-the polite description for people either at home or by Miss Crisp, supported by Mrs. League's Newsletter. She also ad- of the employers' need to make abroad. Not only is it a war economy, it is also a starvation

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Germany p. 5	
Book Reviews by Herbert Read p. 6	ANARCHIST FOR
Vol. 8 No. 19	20th September, 1947



TTTHAT does the Cripps Plan mean to the ordinary worker and frustrations affect chiefly those In effect, the people of this forego "luxuries" (that is to W his family? It is a question which can be answered from who lack wider horizons and country are being asked to forego say, necessities) for the sake of several points of view-all of them bleak. Perhaps the least im- concern themselves with the "luxuries" and concentrate on export drives, or for the proportant is the cuts in the amenities of life, the extension of wartime more parochial kinds of outlook; "essentials". The very termin- duction of higher priorities such austerity. Least important, but not therefore unimportant, though but that does not make the fact ology is a speaking comment on as arms, have been made only estimates of such matters depend on the standpoint adopted. The of anxiety and drabness any less the perverted values of the time. too frequently in our lifetimes. press has sought to imply that Britain is suffering a food shortage not pressing. seen in some countries on the continent such as France and Belgium. This is mere propaganda, for the prices of food in France are far above the purses of the workers as the recent bread riots show. But the fact that British workers are still better fed than their continental fellows does not mean that they are adequately fed. Under feeding is still a potent cause of ill-health in this country, and cuts in the rations enhance its effects.

A GREY MORALE

amenities of life which had been axed during the war years were expected to return with the peace greater austerities have been pressed upon us. And now it THE last few weeks have witnessed been perpetrated on their relatives For the Sikhs were deliberately seems, the return of what is standards of life are to be almost

## ATOM BOMBS NOW, BUT . . . Atomised Industry in

100 years say scientists.

TT appears that to harness atomic power sity Science Laboratories last Saturday, said that for atomic energy to be signifiof a century.

atomic energy would play a part in inas yet unanswered.

usual lines we should require something stated to be refugees seeking safety Terrible as the scenes in the Punjab like 70,000 tons of uranium a year replace the other forms of energy," he in a mass exodus. said. "This means that the world could Religious hatred reaches such a towards humanity not to look for the run its industries for a short time on the pitch that, not content with butcher- responsible causes of this present atomic energy and then they would be brought to a stop for lack of sufficient ing minority populations, trains are calamity. Such a situation no doubt basic material."

Atomic Research Station, on the other enmity does not even stop short at neath all such lie two principal causes, hand, speaking at the World Power armed attacks on the long and hope- Religion and the tactics of Imperial-Conference at The Hague, though not commiting himself as to when atomic less columns of terrified refugees ism, which have created religious energy could be used in industry seemed making their miserable trek from their differences and fanned them to hatred. more optimistic when he described a homes with pitiful cartloads of indi- Religions talk of mankind, but they process by which the entire heat-energy vidual possessions. More and more teach group loyalty and hatred born of requirements of the world could be pro-vided by 170 tons of atomic fuel a year. countries all over the world have wit- religious intolerance. Looking on at He was describing the atomic "breeder" nessed these pathetic treks of political the Indian scene from afar, it is impile for the first time officially.

pile-technique, the uranium-into-plutoniun process could produce, according to Cockroft, all the electrical energy which which, at a cost of £2,000 a ton, was the world's total pre-war production.

However, so far as the workers are conchances of being atom-bombed before their inmates still go in terror of at the religious teachings which have scientists succeed (big business permitting in converting atomic energy to man'

indefinitely postponed. For im-Psychologically, too, the Cripps mense numbers of housewives Plan hits the working population life has become an anxious strughard. After years of wartime gle to provide some kind of stinting, the end of the war was colour to life. It is true that keenly looked forward to as a res- such preoccupation with im- the trends in other countries pite from austerity. The small mediate anxieties and trivial during the recent decades.

FALLING IN WITH HISTORICAL TRENDS

Nevertheless to return to our opening comments, these aspects of the revised exports plan are perhaps the least important. Far more significant, and infinitely grimmer, are the implications of the government's proposals when seen against the chief historical currents of our time. It is impossible not to be reminded of

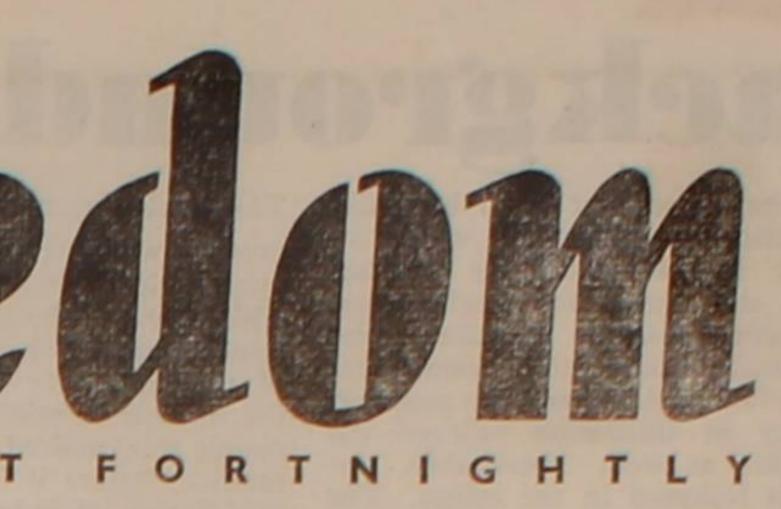
many technical and laboratory problems as to the numbers killed, but the any communal outbursts in Calcutta. figure runs into hundreds of thou-"If we continue our work along the sands, while two million more are

soldiers. And the horrors that have them at each others' throats.

massacres in the Punjab whose makes them, even in their desperate organized as a militant Hindu called "normal", that is pre-war, horrors can rarely have been equalled. destitution, retaliate with attacks on minority to combat Moslem oppres-The tragedy of the Indian famines the co-religionists of their persecutors. sion. Needless to say they have failed may have cost more lives, but they did Nor do the officials charged with to root out oppression; but they have not have the peculiarly hopeless maintaining order in every case refrain succeeded in exacerbating religious i qualities of these paroxysms of mutual from adopting a partisan attitude. tolerance. On neither side have extermination between Moslems and According to the American Time, a religious leaders worked for tolerance Sikhs which are based on the arbitrary Moslem deputy commissioner of one in the cause of humanity; they have accidents of religious upbringing. of the Western Punjab districts incited all been partisans of their own creeds, The starting point for these mas- young Moslems: "You have full animated not by solidarity with the sacres was something entirely tem- liberty to go the limit. Take revenge whole human race, but only with their poral: the political partition of the as you like, but if there is one Hindu religious grouping. The Punjab mas- that such a favourable balance of Punjab so that part of its area was or Sikh left alive in my district after sacres are one more gruesome monu-I appears that to harness atomic power included in the Moslem Pakistan, and you are through, I swear to kill them ment in the bloodstained history of possible to all countries, because more difficult task than its use for man- part in India. How often in the myself." Policemen sent to stop comkind's destruction. Professor M. H. L. future is mankind to witness mass munal fighting, stand by and watch bloodshed after such a merely political their co-religionists massacre their annual exhibition of the Association of act as the drawing or re-drawing of a "opponents", and if ordered to fire, Scientific Workers, in the Oxford Univer- frontier? On one side of the Pakistan aim in the air. Even Ministers of the boundary a minority of Moslems are central government have made parbeing butchered and terrorized by a tisan declarations. It is immensely we must be willing to wait a good part majority of Sikhs and Hindus; on the to Gandhi's credit that his attitude other side, a minority of Sikhs and completely transcends these religious It was still difficult to foresee whether Hindus go in daily dread of the differences, and his influence appears majority of Moslems. Estimates vary to have been tremendous in preventing

### Responsibility

are, it would be an evasion of duty stopped and individual refugees exploits many grievances between Sikh Professor Cockroft, director of Britain's slaughtered by armed bands, and the and Moslem communities. But berefugees during the last ten years. possible to see the victims as Sikhs By the improvement of the existing The hatred that cannot spare even or Hindus or Moslems; they are men, such destitutes must be bitter indeed. women, and children, suffering and outraged, and driven by poisonous Britain needs from 1,000 tons of uranium, Problem of Refugee Camps hatreds which destroy them in the Even when the administrative persons of every one of their victims. machinery has been able to provide One sympathizes with the victims on cerned it would appear that there are more camps for these religious refugees, either side, but one's indignation rises attack and have to be guarded by divided these people and now sets



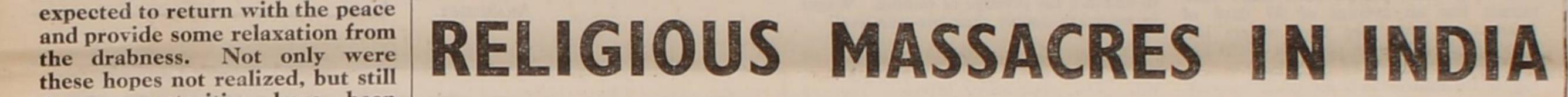
"Each discovery, each increase in the sum of human riches, owes its being to the physical and mental travail of the past and the present. By what right then can anyone appropriate the least morsel of this immense whole and say-This is mine, not yours?"

**KROPOTKIN.** 

Twopence

whether it can be sold abroad or industry means war industry.

Now, appeals to workers to



(Continued on page 4)

-An Example-

For the "luxuries" we have fore- The Russian workers have been gone for so long include such putting up with this kind of matters as food clothing and shel- patriotic austerity for close on ter which used to be regarded thirty years; Italian workers as necessities; while the "neces- went short in order to produce sities" of the export plan turn for colonial wars to provide a out to be motor cars and toys sterile imperialism; most openly for the wealthy abroad, and any- of all, Goering put the "Guns thing else which can be exported. before Butter" slogan clearly in For the value of a commodity is front of the German people, and not now judged by its social use- heavy industry was given first fulness or its ability to fill an priority. As we know from obvious need but simply by reparations commissions, heavy

### EXPORTS MEAN WAR

What has all this to do with the present proposals of the government? The sinister note is to be sought in the struggle for exports. What the labour government (or any other capitalist government for that matter) seeks to do is to "close the gap between exports and imports", for the economic health of a capitalist structure—the terms are self-contradictory, of course -demands that the value of exports shall exceed that of imports. To put it the other way round, money coming in must exceed that paid out.

But it is immediately obvious trade, as it is called, is im-(Continued on page 8)

INTERNATIONAL **WORKERS'** SOLIDARITY COUR Spanish underground Spanish anti-fascists were on board

fighters, two anarchist and two and were being handed over to communists who had either re- Franco soon spread among the ceived death sentences or 20 years workers. The methods used by the imprisonment from a Franco workers of Leghorn to rescue Military Court had succeeded in these men is not known, but the escaping from prison and stowing fact is that, with the connivance away in a British ship "England" of the whole working population. which was sailing from Seville to they were taken off the ship. Marseilles. On the way, however, The Rome Anarchist weekly the port of call was changed to "Umanita Nova" (10/8/47) com-Genoa where, on their arrival, menting on this incident wrote: the stowaways were discovered "We refer to and cite as an and handed over to the Italian example of active international

Rome, they were taken on board men are: ship to be returned to Franco's Jose Munoz Gonzales, 33 years tender mercies. Of course, they were told, with typical hypocrisy, that they would be taken to a Displaced Persons camp in the suburbs of Naples.

The ship's next port of call was Leghorn, where the news that four

solidarity this act of liberation The four men were pleased to performed by the working popuhave landed in the first anti-fascist lation of Leghorn which set aside republic to emerge from the war all party prejudice in giving this of "liberation", and thought that humane example. It was also everything would go well for them. an affirmation of faith and of But, following instructions from will to action." The names of the

old, life sentence.

Juan Torres Carbonero, 32 years old, 20 years imprisonment. Carlos Ruiz Merchian, 32 years old, 20 years imprisonment.

Francisco Garcia, 30 years old, death sentence.

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Few problems seem more pressing day than that of full production. discussion of coal mining is commo conducted in the press without any regard for the fundamental factors involved in reduce the problem to a false simplicity reminiscent of the propagaganda of the dictatorships. The country needs coal: the miners won't work hard enough to produce it: therefore the miners are traitors. Needless to say, such an approach solves nothing and it is no wonder that newspaper reporters are treated with open hostility in mining areas. It does serve, however, to provide excuses for trend was still further exaggerated by oppressive measures by the government

This article seeks to place some, at least of the fundamental factors before the readers of Freedom. Without independent judgment based on factual knowledge, the "problem", if it exists, cannot even be defined, much less solved.

### Fall in Mining Population

were 700,000. Since 1941 there has been a slight but insignificant increase in population. It follows, therefore, that the areas. charge of "slacking" made against the coal miners of to-day is ridiculous for a doubling of output per man would be required to make good the loss of almost half the manpower of the mines.

From every coalfield during the interwar years, miners were leaving the mines -escaping from them would be nearer the truth. In South Wales the exodus was as high as 21 per cent. But not only were men leaving the industry; miners were Before 1914, the strongest of a miner's During the ensuing disputes, the Meanwhile, before men can be expected doing everything in their power to prevent sons went almost automatically into the government always sided with the coal- -much less required-either by the their children entering the mines. As a pit: but in the face of the developments owners against the miners, culminating in government or by the community at large result, the average age of coal miners has after 1918, miners and their wives became the General Strike of 1926. It is true to enter the coal mines, certain things gone up, the numbers of older men re- determined that their children should not that the governments instituted various are needed. Mechanization must be used maining much the same, while the num- enter the decaying, contracting and welfare schemes for the mines, but they to lighten the work, instead of reducing bers of men below 35 years of age has dangerous industry. fallen very sharply. The number of juveniles is less than a third of what it was, while the number of young adults has fallen to half. In line with this is the estimate that only 1 per cent. of Bevin boys intended to remain in the industry.

Why Do They Leave?

Obviously, there must be good reasons for such a mass exodus from the mines. some of these reasons.

wage of miners was slightly higher than workers. And whereas men other than was very considerably below it.



and the national minimum wage for which they had struggled for decades. Meanwhile the market for English coal was contracting, because of reduced demand abroad. Competition from other sources of fuel and power and measures of economy in utilization reduced the home market as well. Inevitably, unmployment followed in the mines. The increasing mechanization in the pits, while unprofitable pits were closed-often Government and the Miners throwing whole communities out of work. In some of the mining areas of Durham. population.

struggle between social classes.

### Mining Hazards

For mining is the most dangerous of all trades. Up till 1939, between 900 and If they ignored the miners between the the pits. Since then the fatal accident during the war itself. Coal became rates have fallen to 713 in 1943, 623 in essential and the government adopted all 1944, and 550 in 1945.

Among underground workers in 1928, The following paragraphs briefly sketch one man in five was receiving compensation for accident or disease, the figure Before the war of 1914, the average being 61 per cent. for surface mine the average wages of industrial workers as miners lost an average of 87 days of increased to double their pre-war level. a whole. After 1918, however, it fell to sickness per man per year, miners lost less than this overall average and by 1935 an average of 18 days per man (1930-33). Despite all this the recruitment of

coal mining. Instead the procedure is to war, and the miners lost the 7-hour day This unfavourable health record, moreover, showed itself more markedly among young miners than among the older men. This may well be the reason which made mining parents keep their children out of the mines, for one may be sure that the increase in mining hazards among the young was noticed in the mining communities before it found its way into the cold figures of industrial statistics.

What has been the record of the the mines provided the sole source of government towards the mine workers? work and hence of wages. Closure of a In brief, they have supported the owners pit meant misery and uselessness for the and introduced compulsion to try and stem the mining exodus. These economic factors produced the In the lifetime of the miners of to-

coal strikes of 1921 and 1926-the later day, the government's record begins with In 1920, there were 1,250,000 men developing into the general strike. They a breach of faith. In the 1914 war But what does "enough coal" mean in employed in coal mining. In 1941, there were only exacerbated by the slump of miners, being essential to the war this context? For the coal problem is 1929-33, the mining areas producing some effort, were wooed with promises. When only part of the general economic problem of the most devastated of the depressed Lord Sankey's commission recommended of to-day. For the government it is the nationalization of the mines, the govern- central problem. They want "enough ment promised to carry out its recom- coal" to allow of the production of enough The nature of mining communities mendations. Instead, they handed the export goods. And it is only in this conmade the class struggle particularly naked mines back to the owners. It matters text that the coal problem becomes a coal and bitter in the coal industry. Wage cuts little that nationalization represents only crisis. It is said that exports are needed hit the entire community, for all are a change of masters. The miners of in order to buy enough food from abroad. dependant on the pits. Hence, the strug- 1914-18 had less cause for cynicism about But agriculture in this country doesn't gle between the coal owner and the miners nationalization than the miners of to-day: need much coal, so it would be a full was thrown into the open in a manner not they wanted it and they were promised economy to produce the food here instead found in mixed communities; it is a naked it. Then the government broke its of buying it with industrial exports which promise.

> did nothing fundamental to improve the wages: mining must be freed from lot of the miner, and their attitude to- hazards due either to economy on the wards the occupational diseases of coal- part of the owners, whether private or mining has been equivocal and shilly- State. It must be freed from the haste

1,000 miners were killed every year in wars, however, it was quite otherwise sorts of measures to try and reverse the It may well be argued that some other exodus from the pits. Miners who had source of fuel and power should be sought been called up were taken back from the which would dispense with coal mining army and returned to the pits. Mining altogether. But to do that in our society was placed on the same level of National would simply be to return the miner to Service as the Armed Forces in an attempt dereliction and unemployment. to enhance the prestige of mining. Wages

And the amount of chronic illness is also young men for the mines was still almost Drastic wage cuts followed the 1914 higher for miners than for other workers. nil. The government therefore resorted

Living Writings from the Past Where I Stand Michael Bakunin I AM a passionate seeker after truth the individual through the freedom of

(and no less embittered enemy of all; freedom through solidarity, freeevil doing fictions) which the party of dom in equality; the freedom which order, this official, privleged and in- triumphs over brute force and over the terested representative of all the past principle of authoritarianism, the ideal and present religions, metaphysical, expression of that force which, after political, juridical and "social" atro- the destruction of all terrestrial and ciousness claim to employ even to-day heavenly idols, will find and organiz only to make the world stupid and cn- a new world of undivided mankind upon slave it. I am a fanatical lover of truth the ruins of all churches and States. and freedom which I consider the only surroundings in which intelligence, consciousnesses and happiness develop and nomic and social equality, for I know increase.

I do not mean the completely formal freedom which the State imposes, judges prosperity of nations and individua and regulates, this eternal lie which in will always remain a lie only. But reality consists always of the privileges an unconditional partisan of freedom, of a few based upon the slavery of this first condition of humanity, I beall-not even the individualist, ego- lieve the equality must be established tistical, narrow and fictitious freedom through the spontaneous organization which the school of J. J. Rousseau and of work and of collective ownership of all other system of property moralists, freely organized, and into communes middle class bourgeoisism and liberalism federated, productive associations and State "represents" has the limit in the by supreme and supervising action right of all, whereby the rights of every the State. individual are necessarily always reduced to nil. No, I consider only that as freedom worthy and real as its name should imply, which consists in the complete development of all material, intellectual and spiritual powers which are in a potential state in everyone, the freedom which knows no other limits than those prescribed by the laws of our own nature, so that there be really no limits-for these laws are not enforced upon us by external legislators who are around and over us, these laws are innate in us, clinging to us and form the real basis of our material, intellectual and moral being; instead of therefore seeing in them a limitation, we must look upon them as the real condition and the actual cause of our freedom.

### Unconditional Freedom

own free will, the unlimited freedom of programme-unconditionally.

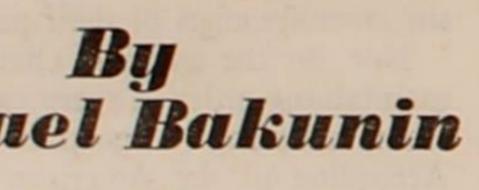
I am a convinced partisan of eco that outside this equality, freedom, justice, human dignity and moral and spiritual well-being of mankind and the recommend-according to which the so- through the equally spontaneous federcalled rights of individuals which the ation of communes-not through and

the revolutionary socialists or collec- ignorant masses. tivists from the authoritarian "com- The revolutionary social libertarians class or any other class. The progressive munists", these adherents of the abso- think that there is much more practical schools tend to provide a de-classed lute initiative and necessity of and by reason and common sense in the aspira- environment, and the children have the the State. The communists imagine that tions and the real needs of the people chance of orienting themselves to society condition of freedom and socialism (i.e., than in the "deep" intelligence of all with somewhat less of a burden of class the administration of the society's the learned men and tutors of mankind prejudice. affairs by the self-government of the who want to add to the many disastrous society itself without the medium and attempts "to make humanity happy" pressure of the State) can be achieved a still newer attempt. We are on the by the development and organization contrary of the conviction that humanof the political power of the working kind has allowed itself too long enough class, chiefly of the proletariat of the to be governed and legislated for and towns with the help of bourgeois radi- that the origin of its misery is not to calism, while the revolutionary social be looked for in this or that form of ists, enemies of every double-edged government and man-established State, of mere blind loyalty to Mum and Dad allies and alliance, believe on the very but in the very nature and existence of who disapprove of patriotic wrongs of contrary that the aim can be realized every ruling leadership, of whatever and materialized only through the de- kind and in whatever name this may be. velopment and organization not of the The best friends of the ignorant people political but of the social and economic, are those who free them from the from the anarchist home is doomed to the and therefore anti-political forces of thraldom of leadership and let people misery of being a self-conscious crank I mean that freedom of the individual the working masses of the town and alone to work among themselves with because of his parents' convictions. which, instead of stopping far from the country, including all well disposed one another. freedom of others as before a frontier, people of the upper classes who are sees on the contrary the cementing and ready to break away from their past Freely translated from The Commune of subjected to the doping of State schooling, the expansion into the infinity of its and join them openly and accept their Paris and the Notion of the State, by the best they can do is to see that the

From the difference named, there arise two different methods. The "Communists" pretend to organize the working powers in order to "capture the political power of the State". The revolutionary socialists organize people environment which he would get in an with the object of the annihilation, or average school", and put him among the grow up into libertines as a reaction from if a polite word has to be used, the children from predominantly liberal liquidation of the States altogether middle-class homes to be influenced by whatever be their form. The first are their social outlook. The point I would the partisans of authoritiveness in question here is the value of the "normal theory and practice, the revolutionary environment" of the average school in with other children, and the outlook they socialists have confidence only in free- producing children capable of unbiassed accept, he will accept. Any subsequent dom to develop the initiative of peoples thought. The environment into which the readjustment of ideas in adolescence must in order to liberate thmeselves. The children of the working-class are thrust, be done against the handicap of these communist authoritarians wish to force is one which the master class has devised deep-rooted patterns of thought, and it is "science" upon others, the social liber- to render docile workers. All that the only then that the libertarian ideas of his tarians propagate science among them | child learns there from undergoing it in parents can be of assistance. But it is my so that human groups and aggrega- company with fifty-odd class-mates of his contention that those who for one reason tions infused with conviction in and own social level, is that the working-class or another have escaped any strong freely and voluntarily, from bottom up- and proper. As for the liberal middle- their youth unselfconsciously and unwards, organize themselves by their own class ideology, its main virtue is that the harried by the philosophy of adults, have motion and in the measure of their children can calmly ignore it. The the best chance of being free-minded and strength-not according to a plan children of middle-class liberals generally sketched out in advance and dictated do not seriously care a damn what their to them, a plan which is attempted to parents believe. be imposed by a few "highly intelligent, This point separates above all others honest and all that" upon the so-called should grow up with neither the prejudices

M. ACHARA.

FREEDOM



### Two Methods

to compulsion and introduced the Bevin boy scheme. It was a huge failure. Meanwhile, the Essential Works Order prevented those already engaged in mining from leaving the industry. Such is the government's record in regard to coalmining. It is scarcely surprising that miners distrust the

### The Coal Problem Reviewed

government.

The government, of course, know the history of the mines very well, for several ministers are ex-miners. And their advisers must have stressed the physical problems often enough. Nevertheless, they still issue "appeals" to the 700,000 aging miners to work hard enough for 1,250,000. If there is not enough coal they can then blame the miners . . .

require coal for their production.

and scramble which are also fruitful of accidents. And conditions in the mines must be made such that miners do not suffer from preventable occupational

## PROGRESSIVE OR STATE SCHOOLS? Tony Gibson Answers a Critic

### DEAR COMRADES,

The writer K.A.B. who comments on my letter in Freedom about progressive schools, raises a number of points which I would like to deal with at length.

First: the indictment that such schools

The libertarian aim is that children of the working-class, the liberal middle-

child from a rebel home going to a State this forward as evidence.) school and refusing to comply with saluting the flag and other such nonsense, schools by pointing out all they are not, and presumably achieving martyrdom at but the point is that they do not aim a tender age by having his bottom tanned to be a parallel alternative to State schoolfor conscience sake. But would it be for ing. Their function is far more important conscience sake? Rather it would be out that that. Regard them as you will, as flagwagging, and so while the other kids are looking forward to a spot of sense-

If parents have to let their children be kids are as little embarrassed as possible

by the clash of the home and school environment. Force a conflict on the child and he will quietly embrace the cloak of conventionality in self-defence. Not a few revolutionaries have been sadly disappointed to find that their offspring have grown up into conventional nonentities. take the child away from the "normal This is hardly surprising, just as the children of clergymen not uncommonly their fathers' preaching. State School propaganda will undoubtedly be the major influence over the child while he is young, for he is imbibing it in community understanding of it, spontaneously, accept this conditioning process as right indoctrination in childhood, and have lived courageous adults.

> Third: K. A. B.'s strictures on the expupils of A. S. Neill are decidely unfair. Unless one were to undertake a properly conducted scientific investigation into the products of progressive schools (with proper controls) any such factual generalisation is worthless. One cannot judge this type of education, or even one school, on the evidence of knowing a few individuals. (My own impressions of a number of A. S. Neill's ex-pupils have Second: K.A.B. draws a picture of the been favourable, but I am not bringing

> > It is easy to criticise the progressive laboratories of education, or as an agitation against the mis-education carried out elsewhere, or as a mere manifestation of the libertarian trend amongst schoolteachers, the progressive schools do not need to seek to justify themselves.

Fourth: the inevitable point has been raised that the privately run schools demand fees, hence the workers must send their children to the free State schools. (Continued on page 3)

7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

ANARCHISM -Interpretations

Whatever be the object towards which mind spontaneously advances, it is of no mean importance to us to have a distinct view of that object. Our advances will thus become accelerated. It is a well-known principle of morality that he who proposes perfection to himself, though he will inevitably fall short of what he pursues, will make a more rapid progress than he who is contented to aim only at what is imperfect. The benefits to be derived in the interval from a view of equalisation as one of the great objects towards which we are tending are exceedingly conspicuous. Such a view will strongly conduce to make us disinterested now . . . It will impress us with a just apprehension of what it is of which man is capable and in which his perfection consists, and will fix our ambition and activity upon the worthiest objects. Mind cannot arrive at any great and illustrious attainment, however much the nature of mind may carry us towards it, without feeling some presages of its approach; and it is reasonable to believe that the earlier there presages are introduced and the more distinct they are made, the more auspicious will be the event. William GODWIN. (from Political Justice quoted

in William Godwin by George Woodcock.)



A DECISIVE victory has been won by the miners of Grimethorpe, backed up as they were by thousands of their fellow workers in the Yorkshire coalfields-and it's a victory for direct action!

We reported in our last issue how the the workers' struggle. But two weeks ago dispute began. How the high-handed in Yorkshire militant miners wore tearing increasing of the length of coal face to up their union cards. be worked by the men brought to a head the mounting discontent among the miners. How they had struck work and how their obvious determination to fight against very real grievances had brought out 16,000 fellow miners in sympathy, when their militancy had earned them the sack.

At the time of writing in our last issue, however, the position was obscure. High pressure windbags from the Union, the Coal Board and from the Governme had hurried to Grimethorpe and th surrounding parts, appealing, bullying cajoling and pleading for the men to go back to work. And in many cases they had succeeded, and the men began to go back.

But not at Grimethorpe. There the men were up against real oppression They had been betrayed and insulted by their union officials and dictated to by the National Coal Board. And as the miners said: "The Board would rather lose coal than lose face." So they dug in. Thi was the fourth week of the strike, of no wages; they were beginning to run to say about the strike? Will Lawther short of cash and many were already "It is criminal at this time; in fact, it signing on for public relief, but it seemed more than criminal, it is bordering on th perfectly clear to everyone except the Coal stage of insanity." Arthur Horner: "14 Board that these men were grimly deter- men are holding the nation to ransom mined not to be bullied into a false Neither of these men (President an position.

So with a cry of "We're not having extra 2 feet off the stint before the mer the Grimethorpe men dictated to!" sur- returned, but each sided with the bosse rounding pits began to stop work again against the men. and in a short time 60,000 men from forty-one pits were taking their stand against dictation.

### **UNION CARDS TORN** UP

Then began the most significant action of all. Miners have always been the most militant of trade unionists. The rights of the miners' unions have been fought

Land notes

THE exigencies of the make-believe years ago, and George Woodcock's Grass is a thing we can most easily juggling have focussed attention upon case in present-day terms. a subject which has until recently not been considered as worthy of notice by the political pundits. Until recently the "impractical" anarchists and the more far-sighted of agricultural theorists have been almost alone in studying the vital question "Can Britain Feed Herself?" (The wartime plough-up must be regarded as a panic rather than a policy—an unscientific attempt to wrest as much that there is insufficient land in these about seven times that in factories. food as possible from the land under islands pointed out that: "The blockade conditions without any limiting factors in agricultural prothought for the future consequences). duction are labour machinery, fer- per cent. of workers had accidents in-

### Our View

convincingly to-day as it did fifty them."

## PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS **OR STATE SCHOOLS**

(Continued from page 2)

So what? Either we have to buy what we want for ourselves or our kids in this bloody system, or we can get certain things free from the State. It is up to the individual to decide what he will buy with cash and what he will buy with the coin of subjection to the State and all it implies. Unfortunately, when parents to the elementary school it is the kids

The importance of this gesture, if it means a permanent break with the N.U.M., is difficult to over-estimate. In the mining industry the whole cycle of unionism has been turned. The many small original unions federated into one big union for the industry-the Nationa Union of Mineworkers, which but f minorities like the Colliery Clerks represents all the workers in the industry. The industry has been nationalised-one of the aims of trade unionism. N.U.M. has equal say with the Nationa Coal Board in all matters affecting workers-and now those workers are beginning to tear up their union cards) It could hardly be made more clear that the miners are no longer looking upon the union as their own fighting organi ation. They are realising that t function of the union in a national industry is not to protect the workers but to discipline the workers and endeavour to ensure that servile acceptant of all the agreements negotiated by the so-called representatives.

And what did their representatives h Secretary of the N.U.M. respec demanded that the Coal Board take th

It was left to the miners themselves to show that when they said they were not going to work the longer stint they really meant it, and finally the Coal Board was forced to agree to let them restart at the old stint.

> THE LESSONS OF GRIMETHORPE

## Britain Must Feed Herself Bribery The Only Incentive? the long years of our slavery are taken into our own hands, then we will bend our backs as never before. Then we

world of dollars and financial New Life to the Land re-states the grow. We may well be driven to

### **Topical Question**

Kropotkin's contentions were recently discussed in a superficial way in the B.B.C.'s "Country Questions" series and the whole question was one of the most important subjects at last A RECENT survey of seven week's conference of the British Association. Henry Walston, in its kind, indicates that the number of answering those whose parrot-cry is accidents among farm workers is tilisers and feeding stuffs-but not land", and even the Tory Walter Elliot, although denying that we can There is no need for me to reiterate feed ourselves, sounded a warning Notes, and in the recent "Agriculture American bumper harvests continues. and Social Revolution" series. Kro- It will be miraculous if we find ourpotkin's Fields, Factories and Work- selves with sufficient spare goods of a The farm, unlike the factory, has no shops, presents the argument as kind wanted in America to purchase legal obligation to report accidents.

### Prophesy

It must have occurred to many of HOP PICKERS' STRIKE our readers that there is a close Government and the old I.W.W. song which ended with the chorus:

"Work and Pray,

Live on hay, You'll get pie in the sky

bye and bye."

TONY GIBSON, quietly: "I am perfectly serious. the growers and the brewers?



TOTHING could be more indicative of the artificial nature of ment, which was expected to inspire the our social structure than the lack of incentive to work, which workers to new heights of productivity, is to-day the cause of so much worry "at a high level"-a phase which means way above the workers, up among the experts.

work. They never seem to realise that standard to pass out of their workshops. bitter experience the hard truth. the workers have their own ideas on Furthermore, living as they did in the value of the opinions and advice small communities, they would in most emanating from the lofty heights, and cases know or know of the customer, that a good start towards solving the perhaps deal direct with him and thus problem of incentives might be to regard have a personal interest in the future of workers as responsible human beings their products and the people who were instead of industrial robots.

Man is a creative animal, and nature abhors a vacuum. Because of the gradually broken down. Even in the former, the relationship of a man to his cases of the relatively few craftsmen work is one of the most important factors making for his happiness or ducer and the consumer there have unhappiness; because of the latter, bore- come middlemen, agents, managers, dom is one of the most potent causes of discontent.

From Craftsman to

Industrial Slave

In the days of the mediaeval guilds, the very idea that men needed inexisted. When workers were craftsmen Several interesting points arise out of their work consisted of being able to for bitterly and bloodily through years of this dispute and its result. The first is do much more than perform mechanical

using it-and liking it-in a year or

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## FARMS TO ONE IN FACTORY

Warwickshire farms, the first of

Records were kept by farmers over a working period of 1,500 hours. Ten volving absence from work of from five days to four months.

The survey was initiated by Mr. the anarchist viewpoint on this subject voice to those who still accept the A. P. Young, industrial management which has been dealt with so frequent- usual capitalist export policy: "It will expert, and carried out by Captain H. ly and thoroughly in Freedom's Land be very remarkable if the run of Harvey, secretary of the Worcestershire branch of the National Farmers Union.

News Chronicle, 6/9/47.

And in case of the local division of the loc

Another example of how the existence parallel between the policy of H.M. of the middlemen means less for the enthusaism in the worker, and the went on strike, recently for higher rates. cause discontent among the others, and They were being paid 8d. per bushel secondly, inadequate. when they heard that other pickers were receiving 10d. or 11d., but it transpired that these higher prices were being paid by the big brewers' companies owning hop fields in the district who could pay and disillusion, the prevailing hopeless-They will not be surprised that, at more than unattached growers because the ness and the sense of the inevitability of the British Association Conference, latter could only get their hops to the save their pockets by sending their kids Prof. J. D. Bernal prophesied that we brewers through the agency of middlemen who naturally had to get their rake-off. who have to pay for the schooling—and will become a nation of grass-eaters. We wonder whether a direct trading to-day. pay in something more valuable than cash. When the laughter was over he added association could not be formed between

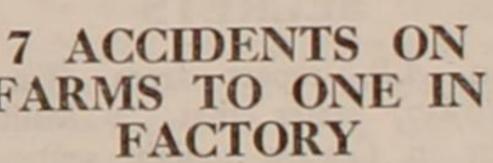
that more clearly and more convincingly than we could have done it has nationalisation been shown to be no solution for the workers' problem-to represent no end to the workers' struggles.

through which the workers can hope to pits. hieve justice.

The second is that the huge centralised they agreed to let the workers return on free Workers' Control. union with its paid full-time officials- the old conditions pending investigation divorced from the job and hob-nobbing by a fact-finding committee including two The battle of Grimethorpe may yet with the bosses-is no organisation men from the coal face of neighbouring prove a decisive one in the class war.

Fourthly, we can see that the time is Thirdly, the strike has proved the not far off when the miners will see the value of direct action and the strength need to create new organizations in their of solidarity. A stubborn government fight against exploitation. Disillusion Board was forced to climb down twice in with the union, disillusion with nationalisthe face of determined opposition from ation, can have only one positive reaction the workers-once when they withdrew -a move towards anarcho-syndicalism as the dismissal notices, and secondly, when a means of struggle and a demand for





going to use them.

To-day, these relationships have been still practising, between the primary proforemen and touts of all descriptions, because all work has become commercialised and there are pickings for the parasite. In industry in general, the position is worse still. Not merely have the human relationships been was so in the case of the workers on the assist in our own exploitation. atomic bomb, and represented the absolute height of irresponsibility.

We see, therefore, that with the rise of industrialism, and particularly mass production, a great wedge has been driven between the producer and his product, destroying craftsmanship and delight in creation. From the standpoint of value and reward on the material plane, the wedge is just as big, since the profit system demands that the producer be robbed of a large proportion of the value of his labour in order to pay for the numbers of unproductive workers engaged in marketing the goods-to say nothing of the profits for the bosses.

And from the point of view of the worker's pride in the usefulness of his products-how can that exist when so much production is harnessed to destructive ends? Or when so much production is "For Export" in spit of acute shortages at home? Or of goods he cannot afford to buy himself?

In fact, then, none of the factors which would naturally encourage men to give of their best can be said to operate in capitalist society to-day. the two which are the recognised influences under capitalism-bribery, enemy at our gates, and no large-scale unemployment, that won't work just now. So bribery is the only means left to the bosses, and Britain's contracting economy puts the employers in a poor position to do much in that line even if they wanted to-which, of course, they never do.

High taxation, food and other shortages, increasing austerity and the attempt to peg wages all militate against

### No Incentive

Couple this with the general despair another destructive war, and it cannot be denied that there are really no incentives at all for men to work hard

The advent of the Labour Govern-

has proved, as an inspiration, a dismal failure. The few reforms the Government has been able to grant have proved worthless in face of general It never seems to strike these actions regularly. They were artists worsening conditions and rising cost of "experts", perched at their high levels in their work, loving their labour be- living. Nationalisation is proving to be, above the common man, that their very cause it called for the best they had as anarchists have always asserted, a existence on a different plane con- to give, because they could not for one mere change of masters and the stitutes in itself a reason why workers moment relax their skill, nor allow workers in our one nationalised industry are becoming less and less willing to work falling short of their own high -the miners-are learning through

### The Creative Revolution

Compare the slackening of effort with what followed the Spanish Revolution of 1936. There, the social revolution which certain socialists tell us is taking place silently here, actually was achieved-in the only way a social revolution can be achieved. There, through their direct action the workers seized the means of production, anxious to work them for the benefit of the community of which they were a partand willing to take the responsibility which Workers' Control entails. And the terrific increase in productivity and output in general tells its own story.

Briefly then, our attitude to work is broken down, but the work itself has this. We will not work hard for the been broken down too. The instance bosses' profit or the government's that springs to mind is of the worker benefit. While, under wage slavery we whose job was "the sixteenth part of a have to work or starve, we will work pin", but it can be worse than that. sufficiently to prevent ourselves and our centives to work-in the sense the Not only do workers labour to-day at dependants starving, and at the same words are used to-day-could not have fractions of a finished product, but in time try and win back from the boss some cases do not know what the class as much as we can in as many finished product is going to be! This ways as we can. But we will not willingly

> But when we have control of our own industries, when the means of production which we have created during our backs as never before. Then we shall be working in our own interests and in the interests of our fellows, who are identified with us in the creative revolution.

For the creative urge which is in all of us will find its true expression in a condition of freedom and equality, and the tawdry bribes and coercions of a money-governed society will no longer be necessary. Wage slavery and its degradations will go, and in its place we shall create and prove the dignity of

## POST-WAR AGRICULTURE SLIPPING

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**FVERY** June 4 the nation takes stock of its farms, counting its

acres of crops and its livestock. The provisional figures for this year There remains only one method, out of have now been published and they show how our agriculture has begun Fear is the other force, and with no to slip back since the last year of the war Here are some of the figures

war. Her	e are so	me or m	e ngures.
Acreages a	are in th	ousands.	
	194	5 1946	1947
Grain	6,99	7 6,641	6,439
All crops	s 11,05	2 10,662	10,383
Grass	9,81	0 9,947	10,252
Cattle	7,23	7 7.244	7,169
Sheep	12,59	7 12,764	10,177
Pigs	1,73	2 . 1,474	1,147
Poultry	37,35	2 39,567	41,008
The 19	47 whea	at acreage	e is just

primary workers was shown when 300 hop small bribes and preferences offered to over 2,000,000, compared with pickers at Southfleet, near Gravesend, some are, in the first place, likely to 3,275,000 at one period of the war.

A MINER SEES THE TRUTH	
A miner in Armthorpe sum med up the long-smouldering disappointment of his fellows "Nationalisation don't make no	,
difference. There's still the bloody boss." Time, 8/9/47	

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20 21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

SPAIN IN THAT Franco has not succeeded after number of student and youth organiz-

Spanish people to servile obedience is investigate a case of nine young of what is happening in Spain to-day. without trial for alleged anti-Franco

L'Adunata dei Refrattari quotes from a letter dated August Sth, received from comrades inside Spain, in which they refer to the period of "tremendous course of my inquiries I attended three repression" through which they are political trials, which, nine years after passing. "We have been unable to do the Spanish war, are still conducted by much during this period. More than court martial." and proceeds to describe 4.000 members of the F.A.I. (Anarchist the seene at one of them, where an-Federation of Iberia) and C.N.T. parently the defence is conducted by (National Confederation of Labour) military lawyers who are as anxious as have been arrested during this period the prosecution to bring in a verdict of in the provinces of Madrid, Valencia, guilty, Barcelona and Bilbao alone.

murdered twenty comrades whose mutilated bodies have been found lying in the roadways. Amongst them was also comrade Alfonso Bericat Luna who had been carried off from his house in the middle of the night by the police. We did not know whence he had been taken until we found his body three days ago in Rabasada Street, in Barcelona . . .

pression is fierce and we are having to high prices and low wages which to- will the International proletariat stand witness these and even more terrible gether make the scandalous contrast of by and watch "these crimes against things. The gangsters in Franco's pay life in Spain. Little damage was done humanity without reacting?

Foreign Commentary

are not leaving us a minute's respite." And in the Manchester Guardian of September 11th is an article on Political Trials in Spain by a delegate from a I S years of Faseism in reducing the taions who went to Spain last month to activities.

### **Political Trials**

The writer points out that "in the

The nine young people were charged During the past three days they have with having taken part in a protest campaign, directed against the regime. up 200 posters displaying the Republican flag; then they had copied articles pushed them under doors in the night. groups, had received from Isabel it is intended to deport to the Canaries. Toralba, three small bombs, which they

Jewish refugees of the Exodus, the prisoners or as refugees, for years. Manchester Guardian remarks: "Sus- They have been completely out of picion, resentment and distrust have touch with the world and have grown confirmed by many eye-witness accounts Spaniards held in gaol for 15 months gone very deep and the evils of their to assume that every man's hand is psychological condition will not be against them . . ." It is difficult to cured in a short time. Most of them see that this "assumption" has been

and no one was killed or even badly injured. Two of the students were these Jews of the Exodus in particular. caught and taken to security headquarters, where under beating with whips and belts they gave away the names of others. All were detained at security headquarters (and beaten) for twenty days.

by the Court martial were twenty years speak English or German or French, for two, fifteen years for two others, First, in March, 1946, they had pasted twelve year for four, and six for the younger of the two girls.

from the Left-wing clandestine press and Ventas prison and the youths to Burgos and as the writer points out "Burgos is Lastly, the students, working in three the prison where are collected people How much longer can the Spanish had placed outside two shops and a people continue to make these sacrifices "This new outbreak of Franco re- restaurant by way of protest against the for freedom? And how much longer

## Stalin Prize Winner Purged!

THE Russsian cultural purge con- summoned a hundred or so top-rank through the windows of the prefecture reported the attack made on the a ninety-day conference. Assembled, they "decadent art" of Picasso and Matisse for years has been head of the Com- prize. To this startled group Zhdanov ganda Section. He is the man who a "toothless vegetarianism" toward the Caen. in the magazine Bolshevik and his fort- philosophical enemies of Marx-Leninnightly paper Culture and Life has Stalin; (2) perhaps unsuspectingly, he had It is difficult at the moment to In Tripoli been denouncing writers, playwrights, artists, cinema directors, etc., for the jest was that such had been the subso many faithful servants of the Party many another Soviet intellectual. it is his turn to be purged! The hunts are so tragically interesting that we give readers a long quote from a sopher, pays tribute to his merits, burning recent issue of Time (8/9/47): To Moscow, the Central Committee

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## **RELIGIOUS MASSACRES** IN INDIA

(Continued from page 1)

### The British

Reactionary circles are rubbing their hands and saying "We told you so! philosophy of its militant advancing As soon as the British get out the spirit." Indians will be at each others throats!" But they do not relate how the Divide-and-Rule policy of was merely the familiar polemical device Imperialism fanned every kind of of building 'em up before knocking 'em religious difference in order to set the Bacon, Descartes, Spinoza, Kant, Fichte, it sums up in a few lines the state of people they sought to dominate at Hegel. But he had also been found the world two years after the end of rulers. All over India, the British administration used Hindu policemen to control Moslems, and Mohammedans to beat down Hindus. They have stimulated communal dissension in order to represent themselves as the necessary keepers of the peace. As Time remarks, "The British had used the warlike Sikhs extensively, giving them land and offices, especially in the fertile, predominantly Moslem West Punjab. In consequence, the Moslems FOOD RIOTS IN FRANCE hate Sikhs far more than they do Hindus."

The mangled bodies of the slaughtered and the miserable files of fear-haunted refugees are the victims of these two forces, Religion and incidents occurred in Le Mans where Imperialism; forces which have left a group of infuriated workers broke cent and uncomprehending victims throughout history. The only redress use of tear gas and hose pipes. we can offer to the stricken populations is to struggle on behalf of two mudering forces from the social who were forced back into the streets, one of our many deaf magistrates! life of man.

learned that the subject of discussion was laid down the Central Committee's charges historians of philosophy." The cream of

Charged Zhdanov: "His objectivist dental that Comrade Aleksandrov, before starting to criticize any bourgeois philoinsense before him."

But that was not the worst of it. Coninued Zhdanov: "It so happened that recognition from the majority of our top philosophical workers, and received numerous favourable reviews. This means that all these others also share Aleksandrov's mistakes. That bespeaks an unsafe condition on our theoretical front . conceptions if developed here would unavoidably lead to objectivism-to slavishness to bourgeois philosophers and overstating of their merits, thus depriving our

What was the objectionable "objectivism?" In Aleksandrov's case, it Ambassadors in Warsaw." eprehensible sin in Russia, and he had depicted Marxism as an evolution from earlier philosophy. Thundered Zhdanov "The origin of Marxism was a real discovery, a revolution in philosophy." the wake of Zhdanov's thunder, 46 of Alexandrov's colleagues and co-workers, among them doubtless some who had written rave reviews, slavishly climbed the Zhdanov bandwagon with similar denunciations, and 36 more were awaiting their turns to speak when the meeting closed.

Meanwhile in France the reduction in the bread ration (from 8 ounces to upheaval. 7 ounces a day) has ostensibly been the reason for widespread hunger demonstrations. One of the most serious

Railings were torn down in the enthrew stones and flaming torches

tinues. In the last issue we philosophers, professors, theoreticians, for The fires were extinguished before any serious damage had been done, but to be Aleksandrov's History of Western by the end of the fighting 27 policeby Pravda. Now it is the turn of European Philosophy. Only a year before men and about an equal number of philosopher Georgy Aleksandrov who it had been awarded a 100,000 rouble Stalin demonstrators had been hurt. Less violent demonstrations occurred in munist Party's Agitation and Propa- against Aleksandrov: (1) he had preached Toulon, Cherbourg, Limoges, and

estimate how many of these demonstrations were spontaneous risings of pernicious ideological errors. And like stance of Aleksandrov's charges against the people, and how many were organised by the Communists as part of their political campaign against the inquisition was ordered by Stalin and conceptions he consistently carried out Coalition Government. But in many carried out by Zhdanov. These witch through the entire book. It is not acci- cases, such as the one referred to above at Le Mans the Manchester Guardian's correspondent found "difficult to trace political motives among the groups of demonstrators."

## Comrade Aleksandrov's book received POLAND HAS MILITARY SECRETS

An A.P. report from Warsaw (11/9/47) states that "a Military Court in Cracow tonight sentenced but the Arabs are reluctant to pay the price. Last year the Arabs, who, left to PRIORITY PASSENGER nine men to die and seven others to long imprisonment for transmitting State and military secrets to Polish expatriated General Anders and to Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane and Mr. Victor Cavendish Bentinck, U.S. and British

We have included this item because this country entering the war in 1939. prostrate after years of suffering, occupation and bombing by both sides. 1947—Poland has already reached the A<sup>N</sup> appeal to the United Nations, including stage of having "military secrets", and Pearl S. Buck, Bishop Charles K. of wanting to withhold them from an "ally". It's tragic, and no efforts must be spared to acquaint the people of this country of the hypocrisy of socalled "wars for democracy" of objection to military service. "defending the independence of gallant little Ruritania", before a new excuse is found for a third world-wide

Time reports: "In Brooklyn, Jonas a similar trail of helpless and inno- into the prefecture and, after a scuffle 'loud and boisterous' language when with the police, were dispersed by the the discerning judge perceived that Lowenhaar was a mute."

Lucky Lowehaar would not have humanity as a whole to uproot these suing scuffle, and the demonstrators, been so lucky if he had been facing LIBERTARIAN.

## MORE REPRESSION The Effect of the "Exodus"

### TAILPIECE

Writing of the present mood of the have lived in camps, whether as pressed themselves unwilling to go. very effectively belied by the behaviour of the British Government towards Palestine in general, and

### "Helping" Them

It is said that the International Relief Organization is prepared to The sentences passed for these crimes help them. But the Jews refuse to or Hebrew. For the "help" which the The girls have been removed to IRO offers them is removal to Displaced Persons camps, some France, some in Germany, "Before decisions can be taken about their future they have to be got to say where they come from, or at least who they are. At present they will not do this." Their reasons have been given by one of them, a sixteen year old youth: "What good would it do go to a displaced persons camp in Germany? We are not interested in anything in Germany; we are not interested in France. We just want to go to Palestine where we belong."

> As Anarchists we have expressed of sympathy with th political aims of Zionism sufficiently often and we need not therefore go into the matter now. But we do the right of everyone to go to any part of the world where he wishes to go, and we condemn the forcible moving of people about to places where they have clearly ex-

## "CIVILISATION" STARVING THEM !

\_ \_ \_ \_

A Reuter report from Tripoli states that thousands of Arabs in Tripolitania, who When Renewing your Sublost their crops and live stocks in this year's drought, are trekking from the interior to the coastal towns in search of food and work. Others have crossed the frontiers into Cyrenaica and Tunisia.

relief centres at Tripoli. The British administration has established free-meal centres throughout the country and made free issues of grain. The administration has also imported 30,000 tons of grain, themselves, always hoard grain against a drought, had to export their surplus grain at £17 a ton. This year they are being asked to buy imported grain at £30 a ton.

### The Do-Gooders

FREEDOM

The Manchester Guardian well expresses the attitude of the do-gooders in the extracts quoted above. The Exodus Jews must be helped, of course . . . But that means that they must go where other people tell them to go, for helping them does not mean helping them to go where they themselves choose. "Decisions" have to be made about their future; not by themselves, however, but by well-meaning International Relief people anxious to soften the blows of the British Government but not to prevent them or any other language than Yiddish ever being struck. The M.G. writes as though the assumption that "every man's hand is against them" were a kind of delusion. Those who are unwilling to condemn the British Government seem able to overlook the forcible deportation of these men, women and children from Palestine; the total disregard of their views about disembarkation first in France and then in Hamburg; overlook the inevitable brutality employed in dragging them off the ships at Hamburg.

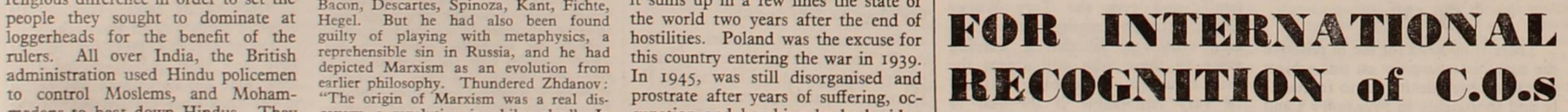
### **Typical of Government**

For us, such actions are simply typical acts of Government, for ruling over men just does involve forcing them to the will of the government instead of what they themselves want to do-and forcing them means just that. The Exodus episode is one of those which shows government action without any veil, nakedly and brutally inhuman, blind alike to the expressed wishes of these refugee Jews, and utterly indifferent to the especial cruelty of visiting such treatment on men and women with the background of horror which they possess.

### S Have you received a Renewal Reminder?

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Tutti Frutti, pet Pom of Princess Achraf Pahlavi, sister of the Shah of Persia, left London last night by air for New York-still waiting for the chicken So much for the benefits of Western and champagne diet prescribed for him by



Gilbert, Arthur Garfield Hays, Professor Sidney Hook and Aldous Huxley, renational Bill of Rights include an article recognizing the right of conscientious

The petition, addressed to the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations, reads as follows:

"The undersigned note with approval the effort that has been initiated by the War Resisters' International to bring before the public and the United Nations' Commisssion on Human Rights the need for recognizing the right of refusal of military service in obedience to conscience. The statement of the War Resisters' International supporting this proposal reads in part:

In the seventeenth century freedom of religious belief and worship was established; in the eighteenth century freedom of the press and of speech were recognized; and in the nineteenth century the right of association

4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

" in the organized labour movement was secured.

The present century sees a very intense struggle for the right of man to become international in his thought and action and in so doing to obey his individual conscience rather than the particular State in the matter of submitting to military service.

If we take as an index the growth of resistance to military service which has taken place in the more democratic countries between the two world wars, it may be fairly judged that the impulse to resist military service has become a very important factor in the social and political evolution of the world, and that this resistance is a factor which cannot be ignored.

"We, the undersigned, therefore respectfully urge that an article be included in the proposed International Bill of Rights to read as follows:

THE RIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO REFUSE MILITARY SERVICE IN OBEDIENCE TO CONSCIENCE SHALL BE RECOGNIZED."

THE early administration in Africa, Britain and America, remained in the hands of the captured German commanders who retained their authority after capture. Prisoners of War came under Nazi officers and SS men bullied and ill-treated prisoners who renounced Nazism or who tried to communicate with their captors. Prisoners who had deserted the Nazis and given information to the Allies were victimised and, in some cases, murdered.

ments. The Nazis ran their own courtsmartial and documentation centres. The secret H.O. kept track of every Germany -PoW. and his unit from the time of his capture to his repatriation. Lists were made with the intention of using these records if the reconstruction of

-strict "spit-and-polish" discipline. Nazis who proudly carried their swatikas were appointed to clerical jobs. British guards were unable to protect PoW's who sympa- memorial submitted to him by the Save thised with the Allies, from being beaten- Europe Now organization, in which 2,000 on the German people as a whole. How up cruelly by their compatriots.

delegates of the Swedish Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. in the notorious British PoW. In his answer, Mr. Attlee wrote that camps 2218 and 2228 in Belgium, through he sympathised with the human which 40,000 PoW's passed, revealed a siderations which were put forward in the lack of clothes and blankets and water, memorial but "I cannot share the view difficulties in the distribution of food, that the retention of German prisoners memorial to you ... cases of robbery and brutality. The dis- of war in foreign countries for labour tribution of food was in the hands of purposes is inequitable, when it is re-Nazis. The result: PoW's who later called that this is one of the only practical arrived in this country were under- means by which Germany can make any nourished and often too weak to work. reparation for the loss and destruction Thousands of prisoners in the French which German aggression has brought on camps of Mühlhausen and Belfort, ac- so many countries of Europe. cording to reports in the conservative paper Figaro, were suffering terribly from the effects of bad treatment and under- of the work being carried out by German nourishment. It should be remembered prisoners of war in the United Kingdom, that the Communist paper Humanité condemned all sympathy and mercy, and even demanded harsher treatment for the defenceless "victims of 'the victims".

When the Nazi PoW's realised the de- repatriation. feat of Germany, the most notorious were the first to be converted to democracy. The lectures at PoW Training Centres ditions in which the prisoners of war were invaded by all those who desired work in this country and in the Middle to get back to Germany as quickly as | East are entirely adequate and that all possible with the object of getting jobs and privileges under Allied control.

### **Outside Influences**

We can dispose of all those democratic lecturers in PoW. camps who have tried to convert the remaining bulk of PoW's in discussions and talks. They have never had a sympathetic hearing, and though they first seemed to meet a certain interes it has now become quite apparent that their lectures are being boycotted.

Though, in this country, the left radicals have tried to penetrate certain camps with their particular brand of propaganda, the result can by no means British fascists, who, at present, are the most active, clever, and dangerous agents, secretly asserting a steadily increasing influence which can only be enhanced by the criminally stupid policy of the British government.

### **Direct Action**

methods were being consciously adopted allotted to repatriating prisoners cannot by the German PoW's and as if anarchist | carry more than 15,000 men a month; but influences were successfully at work. The that is just a question of how many ships prisoners formed an illegal union and are allotted to this task". spread direct action tactics from camp to Drivers, being in constant contact with other camps became the couriers. | Europe Now organization, took up Mr. The go-slow method was spreading nearly Attlee's point about the reparations aspect so effectively that the of PoW labour. National Farmers' Union denounced the prisoners in public. Working parties chalked "We want to go home" and "Down with Slave-Labour" on their being penalised owing to the mere accident

War criminals were kept hidden. lorries and hand-printed bills were thrown

the slogan appeared "We're going to flog groups of PoW's as a confirmation of their the Empire from under the Tommies' This alarming unrest was successfully

GERMANY-SEEDS OF CHAOS

checked by the politicians, who, suddenly overwhelmed by humanitarian sentiments urged the government to make concessions.

From Nazism to Nihilism Good Nazis were not sent on working- from the vehicles. When camp com- But the successful direct action of the parties and could forgo the extra rations mandants threatened PoW drivers, backed prisoners, though it met with our conscious elements, the general tendency it. allocated to working-parties. English- up by the other prisoners, they declared sympathy, cannot be claimed as a sign has been a development from National speaking Germans were employed as inter- their intention to strike. Sabotage by the of the hoped-for development towards Socialism to what we may describe as preters, and informed the German prisoner PoW drivers in Italy took the form of anarchism. The attacks of the anarchist National Nihilism. commanders of the conduct of prisoners, selling petrol, lorry parts and whole critics, on the government and social and the contents of secret British docu- vehicles to the Italian black-market and system, were applauded by the discussion

# Nazis Stayed On Top In certain camps, Nazi officers kept Slave Labour

Mr. Attlee has now answered the of capture. Surely any reparations which leading citizens urged the earlier repatri-An investigation by a Commission of ation of prisoners of war from this country and the Middle East.

"I need not emphasise the importance particularly in agriculture. And, other reasons apart, difficulties of transport would in any event have made it in possible to achieve a much higher rate

"We are satisfied that the material conreasonable freedom and amenities a available . . .

"I cannot make any promises at this stage, and it would be wrong to give the prisoners the impression that they greatly increased and while transport difficulties remain as acute as ever. However the completion of this year's harvest will naturally give us the opportunity to review the requirements of prisoner-of-war labour in the ensuing months."

This Government document confirms our fears, often expressed through these olumns, that the German PoW's are of cheap labour, particularly during the present labour shortage.

The only valid argument against a

In his reply, Mr. Gollancz for the Save

What is so gravely objectionable (h wrote) is that particular Germans

may be considered desirable should fall can it be right that a man (and his family) should have to endure this special suffering year after year just because happened to capture him? consideration, I am certain, which weights with the extraordinarily distinguished list of 2,000 leading citizens who signed the

I would add that the retention of these prisoners contravenes the Geneva Convention-not perhaps in the letter, for a special and formalistic defence doubt be put up on the ground that no peace treaty has been signed, but certainly

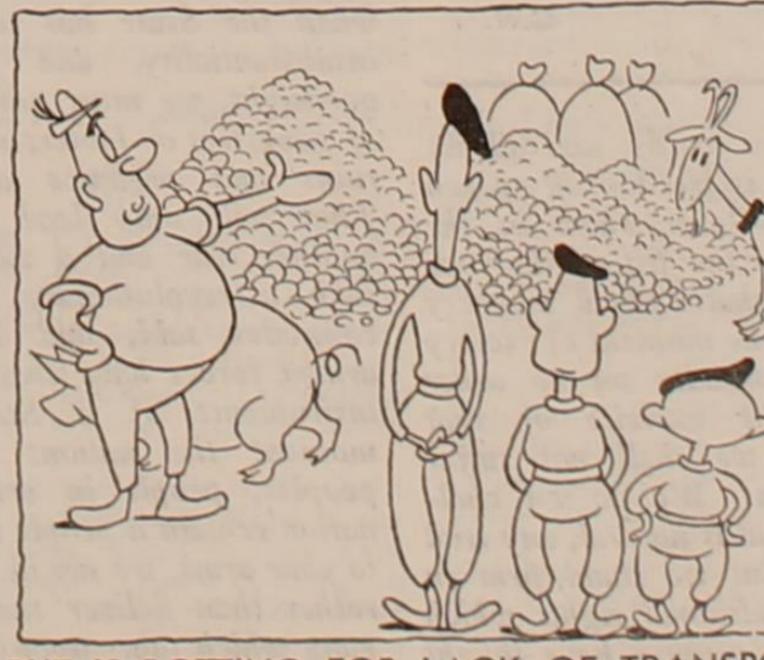


## Conditions in British Zone have not Improved

has contributed a number of articles months. It is also worth recalling that to the Manchster Guardian. He a diet of 1,000 calories is described visited Germany for a fortnight in by Sir Jack Drummond, formerly August, in company with two M.P.'s. scientific adviser to the Ministry of could hope for a change in our present As was to be expected, if one recalls Food, as "starvation". programme, particularly now that our his book In Darkest Germany, Regarding health, Gollancz found need for agricultural man-power has so Gollancz's articles are factual and at the infant mortality rate "surprisingly can be no denying that if the policy the same time have that human good in the circumstances" but with of preventing Germany from developtouch about them which give greater meaning to impersonal statistics.

In the first article, Mr. Gollancz points out that his first impression was of a quite considerable improvement but "experienced observers told me, being retained in this country as a source for the most part, that I was mistaken and that the weather was deceiving me . . . very soon you find that, after nearly a year, there has been little speedier repatriation of the PoW's would | change in the physical circumstances be the lack of the necessary transport, of the people. The food situation had but as the Mancheser Guardian points out reached what is called rock-bottomin a recent editorial "As for difficulties of though there appears to be no rocktransport, it may be true that the shipping bottom for human endurance-during world. however, rations were again climbing should be remembered, we thought





... BUT IS ROTTING FOR LACK OF TRANSPORT.

18 19

own resentment and opposition to both democracy and dictatorship, but the anarchist alternative was accepted only by a relatively small number of prisoners, which could not exercise a great influence on the majority.

Though the anarchists have gained considerable respect for their general attitude and certain aspects of anarchist philosophy have been assimilated by politically

> JOHN OLDAY. (To be continued.I



### in the spirit.

And the Manchester Guardian concludes that "the ugly truth is that the prisoners are kept here because the Government is slow to carry out the necessary redistribution of 'man-power within the country and is much too ready to fall back on the line of least resistance, which is to use men who have no choice. If Germans are to stay here and work, let more be done to encourage them to stay voluntarily as civilians, as 90,000 German prisoners in France have done; and let us stop pretending that we are doing something virtuous and proper when we are in fact suiting our own leisurely convenience."

We hope the Government's challenge will not remain unanswered by men and women in this country who refuse to be made a party to the use and justification of slave labour as one means of helping to solve capitalism's crisis.

## Germans Resist Industrial Dismantling

A FACTORY at Kiel has been occupied by British troops and German police, after its workers had refused to dismantle

The Governor of Schleswig-Holstein had previously issued an ultimatum which expired on Sept. 10th. IN CLASSIFIC PRICE

Meanwhile, the British government is moaning about the high cost of keeping

Another aspect of our policy of squeezing Germany with one hand and then being forced to try to remedy the harm done, with the other, is seen in the export policy. A German writing to The Listener (11/9/47) says:

> ". . . the last two years' experience shows that more than 90 per cent. of export value consisted of coal and timber, yielding very small proceeds. Going on with this sort of export would mean Germany's dependence on support from abroad for all the years this practice is being accomplished.

> "Indeed coal supply for German use is by far insufficient and therefore no real production can start. Even now, in summertime, electric power is being switched off nearly every day for some hours so that factories have to stop working. Meanwhile, a considerable amount of electricity is "exported" to Belgium. Are you astonished at certain indifferent feelings among or men no matter whatever their job? . . . German industry is not in a position to produce most needed simple things, because the only raw materials Germany possesses are taken away."

tuberculosis there has been an alarmburg showed 66 per cent. more cases at the end of 1945 with a further 25 per cent. (estimated) to be added at the end of 1947. He adds:

"I am convinced by my own observation that the account recently given by one of your special correspondents is accurate, that the disease is increasing hideously, and that unless decisive few years' time as will shock the con-

of hunger wedema admitted to hospital in each of the months May, June, and July corresponding one for 1946 it was really much higher, since there was now a

quite shameful two years ago, when stricter criterion as to what could and we talked of reaching 1,800, as a stage what could not be properly described as certainly need our solidarity! By JOHN OLDAY

MEANWHILE . . .\*

Under this title, Victor Gollancz on the road to 2,000, in a matter of hunger cedema. This figure must, of course, be multiplied very many times to give the total of all cases, hospitalised, privately treated, and unknown."

> The question many humanitarians must be asking is "What will happen this winter in Germany?" and there ing her industries and of the Germans ing increase. The statistics for Ham- from taking a hand in reorganising the economic life of their country is conon the register at the end of 1946 than tinued, then mass starvation and widespread epidemics seem inevitable.

We think this the right place to remind comrades and readers that the London Anarchist Group has many addresses of comrades in Germany to whom food parcels are sent from time to time, and that support in this measures are taken there will be such a work of solidarity is urgently needed. plague of deaths from this cause in a Send rationed food, or points or -science of what is called the civilised cash to the Secretary, L.A.G., c/o 27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.I, the spring and early summer, when I made one or two special inquiries or if you would like to send food rations for the normal consumer of about health in the city of Hamburg. The or clothing yourself, the Secretary about a thousand calories or even British Public Health Official at the can send you the name and considerably less were common. Now, moment in charge, reported that new cases address of a German comrade in urgent need. We don't look on food towards, and in some places reaching, averaged more than 400, and that while parcels as a solution to the German the 1,550 calories level-which, it the figure was on paper lower than the problem, but we do consider solidarity as something fundamental to our ideas; and our German comrades

> \*"... An endless procession of cars, military vehicles of all four occupation Powers, German civicars, people's cars with Union Jacks, diplomats' cars; now and then a gigantic black car with a general's pennant . . . all going to the super "tap to Billets" of British troops and Air force at the Olympia Stadium with the masses of military bands, Scottish pipers, motor racing, athletics and fireworks.

> > (From a German Press Report.)



the pre-occupation of the whole mysticism which to an increasing extent object in life. world, and a great deal of our time mistic rationalist. The "Inner Light" diagnosis of the materialistic trends of our able ends as decentralization and regional heritage, the curse with which we are and money is spent, either on efforts does, it is true, make its fitful appearance civilization, nor deny their connection with co-operation. to establish and preserve peace, or on in this new tract for the times. He says man's insane proneness to war. But what preparations for still another war, that if only "ministers of the various we must question is the assumption which preparations for still another war. But do we really understand the netality and superstitution, and devote only to re-direct these scientific trends on the trends only to re-direct these scientific trends on the nature of the problem of war and themselves to teaching their flocks that in order to secure peace. "Let us sup- us turn to Dr. Glover, one of the leading begin to disappear." In the individual peace? How it it conceivable that the Final End of man is not in the pose," he says, "that those who make psycho-analysts in this country. He has this can be done by a short-term policy we, who are gifted with rational unknowable Utopian future, but in the it their business to apply the results of just published a new edition of a book of psycho-analysis and mental therapy faculties, and are citizens of a common every human being is capable, if he so elect to do so, not primarily for the volume is more than twice the size of treat all the millions of individuals that world, will presently proceed to des- desires, of realizing here and now, then benefit of big business, big cities and big the old one, and its argument has been constitute the warring nations. So a longtroy each other with the terrible the myth of progress would lose its harm- government, but with the conscious aim greatly strengthened by the material term policy of social analysis and social weapons which modern science has fulness as a justifier of present tyranny of providing individuals with the means evidence provided by another world war. therapy is needed. That policy, to be put in our hands, and for reasons and wrongdoing. But, anas, signs ivit. of doing production most important contribution ever made to formative stages of the disease: it is a Huxley, the average human being will significant work, of helping men and most important contribution of the problem of war and menopher of war and menopher of war and which are merely economic, or never attain this timeless eternity of Inner women to achieve independence from the solution of the problem of war and preventive therapy, or prophylactic, and it political, or ideological. We all know Light because he is fascinated by a will bosses, so that they may become their peace, I shall be accused of exaggeration must take place in the nursery, in the that the atomic warfare of the future will exceed even the last war in round him a social and economic hell of for subsistence and a local market." But what, in the whole range of science civilized nations will ever be prevented horror, terror, and the destruction of which war, in all its scientific efficiency, Suppose, repeats Mr. Huxley, "that this and politics, could be more important until we learn how to bring up children life and civilization. Why, then do is merely one aspect. we not merely contemplate the possibility of such a war, but even despairingly admit its inevitability? Why frontal attack on the a-moral scientific of population, of ownership of the means vented, then not even the invention of tional citizen and parent. For-it is no existence is threatened by causes which should be within the control of beauty, has created social tendencies which by improving insect controls and multiplyreason, of science, of pity?

cannot mankind be sane when its very mind of to-day. It is the scientist who, of production, of political and economic

considering have differ	rent answers to these
*SCIENCE, LIBERT	
Aldous Huxley.	Chatto & Windus,

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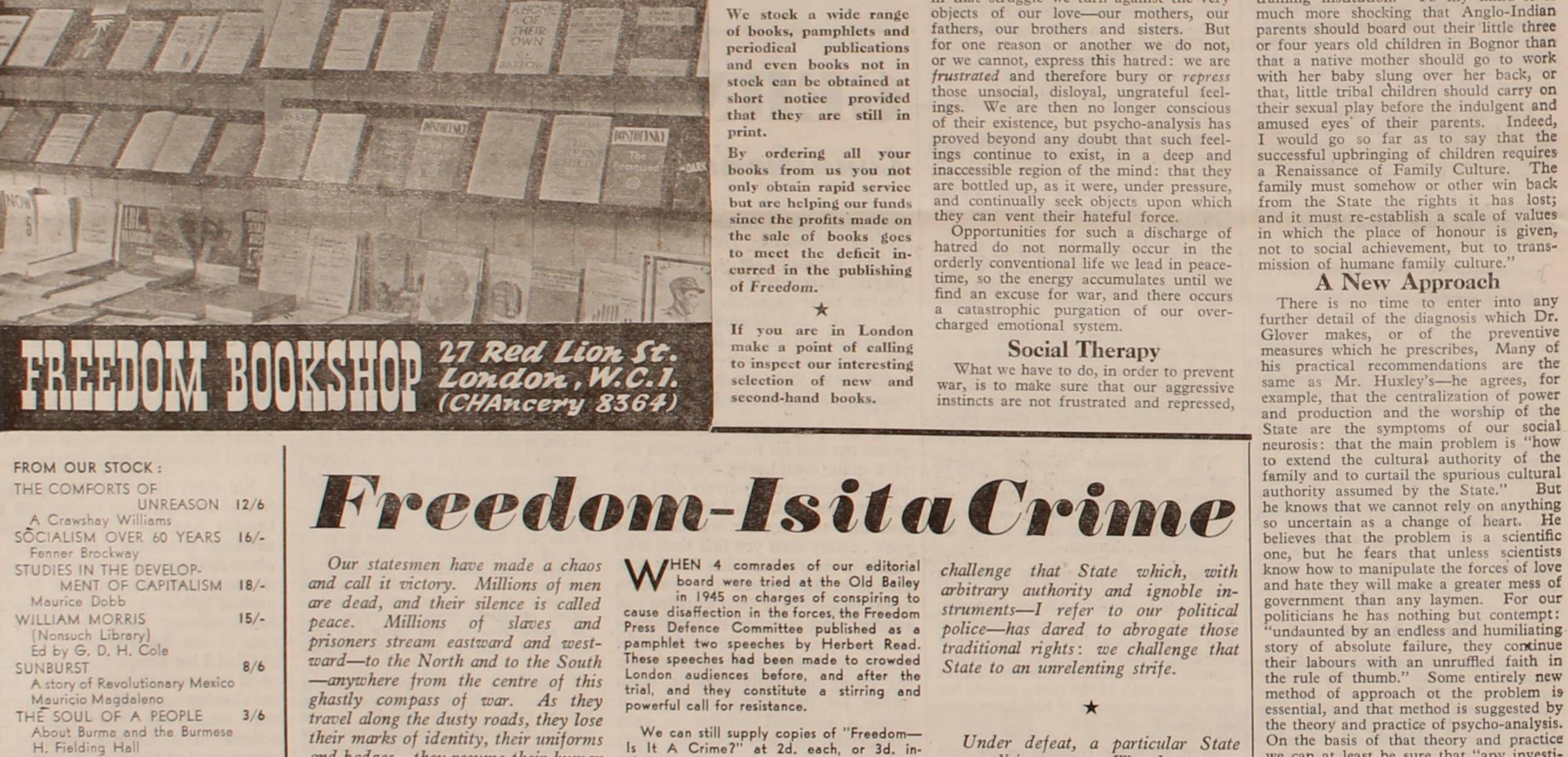
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Edward Glover. (Allen & Unwin, 8/6.)

Herbert Read's PROBLEM OF Broadcast on the PROBLEM OF

### Brave New World

without any sense of moral values, and power, would become possible. We could inevitably lead to the concentration of ing regrigerator units; we could develop The two authors, whose books\* we are power in irresponsible hands, to a cen- entirely new foods such as edible yeasts; tralization of industry in amorphous in- we could synthetize chlorophyll, as as for human cities, to a world-wide condition fuel (which at present causes so much of economic insecurity which can only be international tension) we could revive resolved by war. The ideals of science windmills and construct paraboloid mirrors are always in the direction of more and of large size which would be capable of more power, more and more production, superheating steam and even of melting WAR, SADISM & PACIFISM by greater speed and completer mechanization, iron by direct action of the sun's rays. and along with these materialistic ideals O brave new world! But Mr. Huxley goes a mental attitude which accepts such does not tell us how the chemist and quantitative achievements as progress, and the biologist, the physicist and the



H. Fielding Hall THE LIBERTY OF MAN R. G. Ingersoll EASY OUTLINE OF ASTRONOMY 2/6 WE ALSO DISTRIBUTE "The Indian Sociologist" 6d.; "Le

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Comrades, the time for doubts and hesitations is past. Those who waited "Freedom" should continue to appear, you for the war to bring about a revolution must help us make it possible. must now repent their mistake. The situation is unequivocal. There will be no revolution—just yet. But from this moment we move into active Our weapons are words, and all we of gangsters or looters step out of the resistance. The front line of the need for success is freedom of speech ruins and organize another State. Resistance Movement is now here, and expression-"everywhere in the That will only lead inevitably to in England, and we, alone if necessary, world." That is the fist of the four another war and a worse war. In

and badges-they resume their human

of the unemployed.

the government tried its hardest to suppress our paper, but it never ceased to appear even though five of our most valued com- This, we say, provides a golden rades were in jail. To enable us to continue opportunity to make the necessary sacrifice than theirs. If you feel that

will continue the fight against fascism. freedoms, but what cynical mockery such a revolutionary situation, our is this which in the moment of victory comrades said, and I repeat, the falls on our comrades on no other armed forces have ceased to exist as charge than the exercise of that instruments of a State: for the That fight will not be conducted in freedom. But we shall not suffer moment the nations have become the hills or on the beaches or in any their persecution. We do not chal- peoples, people in arms. Let the such romantic places—it will be car- lenge any law that is natural, any trial nation remain a people in arms—stick ried into the streets and docks, into that is just. But we stand firm in to your arms, we say to such a people, slums and factories. Nor shall we asserting the traditional rights which rather than deliver them up to any peace ever after. fight with blockbusters and tanks, not free men in this country have fought gang which takes upon itself to speak even with tommy-guns and bombs. for throughout the centuries, and we in the name of a new State. If we

## WARAND



THE fear of war continues to be questions. Mr. Huxley, in spite of the believes that such progress is the only engineer are to be persuaded to see especially during the period of infancy. the Inner Light, and redirect their We cannot get rid of the primary instincts dominates his writings, is really an opti- No one, I think, can question this energies towards such eminently reason- of hatred-they are part of our human

### A Vital Book

using a scientific language which cannot reduction in emotional friction that could wholly, or accurately, be translated into be secured if more rational codes were the language of everyday life. But I applied to sexual problems from infancy shall try to restate his thesis in simple onwards." But the essence of any such words. He begins with the fact that we reform is that it should be carried out in are all creatures compounded of love and an atmosphere of love and intimacy. hate. We are born into a world of harsh "The really shocking thing about Western reality, and from the very first days of Civilization," Dr. Glover thinks, "is that our lives we have to struggle against it permits and approves, on both cultural forces which threaten our inborn selfish and economic grounds, the delegation of instincts. We have to fight for food, upbringing from the family to every confor air, for freedom of movement, and ceivable form of substitute parent or in that struggle we turn against the very training institution. To my mind it is

system. It is, in fact, a revolutionary situation, and in such a situation, overnight, we must not let any body

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

mental strains which cause outbreaks of irrational violence, delinquency, crime and timeless eternity of the Inner Light, which pure science to economic ends should he wrote fourteen years ago, but the new or healing. But you cannot, in this way, and wrongdoing." But, alas, sighs Mr. of doing profitable and intrinsically If I say that I regard this book as the effective, must be carried out in the future o' wisp which he calls science, and which, own employers, or members of a self- and defeat my aim, which is to persuade home, in the school. "I do not believe," far from leading him to Utopia, is creating governing, co-operative group working you to read War, Sadism and Pacifism. says Dr. Glover, "that war between were henceforward to become the acknow- than a solution of this problem. If a in a more reasonable and understanding ledged purpose guiding the labours of in- scientist has put his finger on the real way than we do at present." But a more ventors and engineers." Why, then, cries cause of war, and has indicated methods reasonable and understanding way implies Mr. Huxley's pamphlet is really a Mr. Huxley, a progressive decentralization by means of which war might be pre- measures which will shock the convenanaesthetics of antiseptics, the cure of use disguising the fact-our impulses of cancer or tuberculosis, could claim to be hatred are closely related to our sexual overriding conception of goodness or increase the local sources of food supply more important. Diseases ravage our impulses, and one of the first things we lives, but war destroys civilization itself, must do is to try and reduce what Dr. and all that makes life worth living. So Glover calls "the tangled mass of superplease listen to what Dr. Glover has to stitions and conventions that obstruct all rational adaptation to sexual life." "It is Dr. Glover is a scientist and he is difficult," he says, "to over-estimate the continually seek objects upon which from the State the rights it has lost; and it must re-establish a scale of values Opportunities for such a discharge of in which the place of honour is given, not to social achievement, but to trans-

FREEDOM

### A New Approach

There is no time to enter into any further detail of the diagnosis which Dr. Glover makes, or of the preventive measures which he prescribes, Many of his practical recommendations are the same as Mr. Huxley's-he agrees, for example, that the centralization of power and production and the worship of the State are the symptoms of our social neurosis: that the main problem is "how to extend the cultural authority of the family and to curtail the spurious cultural authority assumed by the State." But he knows that we cannot rely on anything uncertain as a change of heart. He believes that the problem is a scientific one, but he fears that unless scientists know how to manipulate the forces of love and hate they will make a greater mess of government than any laymen. For our politicians he has nothing but contempt: "undaunted by an endless and humiliating story of absolute failure, they continue their labours with an unruffled faith in the rule of thumb." Some entirely new method of approach ot the problem is essential, and that method is suggested by the theory and practice of psycho-analysis. cluding postage. When you write for a may disintegrate. We have seen gation of the subject which neglects to shape and appearance: the grey mass copy, we suggest you enclose a donation, several States disintegrate during the correlate war phenomena with primitive however small, for the Press Fund. In 1945, past few years-France, Belgium, infantile phases of unconscious mental Italy, Greece, and now Germany. development can only end in futility and frustration"-a difficult sentence which means that th war to end war must be fought long before our children reach the to-day, we ask you for a much smaller structural alterations in our social playing-fields fo Eton or of any other school.

> We need a new science of upbringing and for a few of the millions now spent C.W. when the State has revealed all its on UNO, UNESCO and the armaments insubstantiality, and has vanished of a fear-ridden world, we could have it.

> > are a people, all equal and all equally armed or disarmed, then we can get together and agree on a new form of society, a non-governmental society, in which nation will no longer be opposed to nation, State to State, but a society in which people will work together for the common good. When that reform has been accomplished, everywhere in the world, we can all throw away our arms and live in

> > > -HERBERT READ, "Freedom-is it a Crime?"

20th September, 1947

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## A FITTING END

southern State of Mississippi.

shame because of his racial views. Bill to send America's 13,000,000 Negroes operating with the State." back to Africa.

In his 69 years Bilbo-who called himself The Man-had talked more than any other American. He made his name by talking without stopping to prevent his fellow Senators voting in favour of antilynching Bills or any other legislation to improve the Negroes' lot.

He talked interminably against the loan to Britain to spite the Government for trying to help the Negroes. Yet in his last hours Bilbo could not say a word because of paralysis and serious operations to his mouth. Daily Express, 22/8/47

### FAREWELL FREEDOM

liberties in the United States is taken by the American Civil Liberties Union, in a stayed away. report just made public. The union, an Gary is a steel-making centre, and the to-day." unofficial body which devotes itself to parents of many of the pupils who stayed efforts to preserve civil liberties, reports away are members of a trade union, the that the skies are rapidly growing darker. United Steel Workers, which is part of almost an Ascot effect. It sees the United States retreating to the Congress of Industrial Organisations. "nationalism, militarism, and defence of C.I.O. officials are doing everything they status quo."

SENSIBLE SUGGESTIONS A community centre having a specially furnished room with alcoves-for courting couples-was one of the proposals made at a "Mock Council" staged by the youth racial hostility. of Holborn, London, last night.

Forty members of youth organizations became "councillors" for a night at the Conway Hall, W.C., in part of the borough's Civic Week celebrations. Argument for the special room was lack of open spaces in Holborn.

It was also suggested that a special shed be built at the community centre to house the barrows of barrow boys while their owners took part in social activities. A more serious point debated was that employers should be compelled to give some form of training to young persons Daily Mirror, 11/9/47. 'Several "primitive" cultures provided alien Communist. If he is deported the such premises for their youth as a door will be open to similar action matter of course. To a "civilized" against many alien Communists, and man staged a demonstration in front of culture such a suggetion appears odd movement. apparently,

## PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS

DEAR COMRADES,

6th September, raises the most important objection to a Progressive School-name. its dependence on fees. For on account of this necessity it is bound (1) to accept a certain number of children of "middleclass liberals"-though do not let us forget that Tolstoy, Bakunin and Kropotkin were wealthy-or (2), by accepting pupils at low fees, to limit the staff to those who can manage on a tiny salary and the provision of teaching material and equipment to less than the minimum.

Burgess Hill School, and since then in a the South of the U.S.A. Boys' Grammar and in a Secondary Modern in England and in a Lycée in France, I am more than ever convinced that the above-mentioned necessity is the condition that must be recognised if there is to be freedom in education. The State schools not merely throw away their Birmingham. tremendous material advantages, but bring up their pupils to become clerks and soldiers and to believe that they should do not what they think right, but what they are told.

But to be a rebel, as K.A.B. suggests, Headmaster. London.

ANTHONY WEAVER.

### THE THEATRE AS A SOCIAL MEDIUM

DEAR COMRADES,

Several weeks ago one of your correpondents suggested that a film review be By day 47-year-old M. Pierre Houdard included in Freedom. May I add the was the popular police chief of St. Cloud, cried the hoteliers of Lourdes. How could further suggestion that such a review | a Paris suburb. should be extended to include the Stage By night he was alleged to be "M. was always seen at Lourdes.

Whilst in London on a recent visit, I happened to see two plays which dealt with a very important social problem that of the colour-bar. The first of these, "Deep are the Roots", raised the question in a very provoking manner. Ye when it came to state (a) the causes of

## OUR OLDEST ALLIES

Professor Peres de Carvalho, of the Lisbon Institute of Engineering, has been dismissed from his post by a Cabinet decision. The action was taken under a Bilbo aroused his fellow-countrymen's law which grants the Government powers to dismiss any military or civil officials To him the Anglo-Saxon was all that "who reveal a spirit of opposition to the keep watch. fundamental principles of the Constitution

Associated Press, 8/9/47.



such transparent racial discrimination and (b) a possible solution, the authors were apparently at a complete loss. The second, "The Respectable Prostitute", being a satire, could hardly be expected to, GERMANY PAMPHLET in one act, provide a solution (which is obviously a social transformation) altough it was useful inasmuch as it brought home DEAR COMRADES, even more sharply than "Deep are the I have just received from the Rhineland Yet, having taught for nine years at Roots", the blatant colour-bar existing in a letter of protest against Rudolf Rocker's

the bourgeois press. S. E. PARKER.

## **ANTI-SEMITIC** DEMONSTRATIONS

DEAR FRIENDS, as a reaction to one's schooling, is to be Your editorial (9/8/47) on the antiunstable; and to refuse to salute the Semitic disturbances in Liverpool and flag on Empire Day is only negative. We elsewhere was of great commonsense and abroad throughout the Nazi period has need genuine objective revolutionaries. No I would like to underline one remark. Headmaster, but responsibility for a You say the National Press could have school jointly shared by pupils, staff and presented the case of the two sergeants parents is part of the pattern of a per- hanged by terrorists in a different way. suasive discipline. Such a background is How true this is when one knows they only found in the progressive schools to- were Intelligence Corps sergeants on field day, and where it is not is simply an security (i.e., what would be espionage if starve, to freeze, to be spiritually crippled. indication that the school in question is the terrorists were what they consider not really free-even A. S. Neill's themselves to be, a national military body). But the neo-Nazi movement will not scholars live under the authority of a But I believe it referred to them only as succeed in spite of all their outside sup-"British sergeants". The full truth would port. We have seen the reich of the not have lessened the brutality of the hangman collapse. We shall also survive hanging reprisals but it would have made the present reign of insanity. Only when the news less sensational.

POLICE CORRUPTION

Espis persisted last week in asserting that Tapestries are being dusted, oil His reported "double life" ended to-day the Virgin Mary appears in their town paintings restored. Even some of the when he and eight of his alleged accomon the 13th of every month. Talk of comassive carved doors are being replaced. operation between Lourdes and Espis, and plices were arrested. The Commons debating chamber is the M. Houdard, grey haired and with an a regular bus service for pilgrims was busiest place of all. air of distinction, had a growing repu- silenced, however, when the Bishop of Apart from the general brush-up it is tation until six months ago when he Tarble made a dignified reference to getting, acoustic experts are experimenting directed a raid on a black market possible knavery in Espis. with various loudspeaker devices. With-Nevertheless, the number of pilgrims restaurant, and fell in love with beautiful out microphones few people listening to Berthe, the owner's wife. increased. the debates from the galleries would be The husband went to gaol. Berthe Meanwhile, the religious fervour generable to hear what MPs are saying. So became-it is said-the police chief's ated by the rivalry of the two French years ago an unobstrusive loudspeaker mistress. She introduced him ot a car towns was used to fight Communism in system was installed. thief and "M Pierre's" gang was formed. the surrounding countryside. Monarchists

Car thefts in St. Cloud were so thought the Virgin of Espis might make numerous-35 in two months-that M. some pronouncement in favour of the re-Houdard, the popular police chief, sug- turn of the Comte de Paris. Four million

gested the formation of a mobile squad to francs was collected to erect a vast church The squad's vigilance led to inquiries cafe made a fortune from the sale of And he introduced a or who do not show a guarantee of co- at Berthe's bar-and to her principal lemonade to pilgrims.

customer "M. Pierre". News Chronicle, 12/7/47.

AMERICAN INTOLERANCE (I)

Prejudice against Negroes has provok a bitter controversy in the city of Gary, Indiana. When a small number of Negro children were admitted to one municipal school three-quarters of the white children

can to get their members to send their Manchester Guardian, 3/9/47. children back school. Some apparently were kept at home not because of racial prejudice but because their parents feared they might be hurt in disorders that might break out. Indiana recently adopted a a Socialist administration backed by a State law forbidding any public display of great aristocratic following.

Manchester Guardian, 10/9/47.

A significant new development in the ceedings against a trade union official on the ground that he is a revolutionary affiliated to an organisation advocating the overthrow of the United States Government.

The individual in question is Mr. John Santo, who is an important official of the Transport Workers' Union in New York City. Mr. Santo is accused of being an especially those in the trade union

Manchester Guardian, 8/9/47.

DAY OUT FOR LORDS In the Royal Gallery waiting for the occasion. I commented to one peer on the to-day. large number who had left their country "Ah, this is the only event in London

It seemed to be quite a social occasion. Peeresses in their summer dresses gave REVOLUTION I counted about 170 peers in the

Chamber-much above the normal attendance. Such was the scramble for places boundaries ceased to exist. Old die-hard Tories sat unself-consciously on Government side, giving the impression of

Disorderly scenes led to five arrests at

Some 4,000 Celtic followers arrived from most thickly.

Celtic player had been taken to the the stand and was finally frogmarched to a cup of tea. the pavilion by four policemen. Manchester Guardian, 8/9/47

## TWO VIEWS ON ROCKER'S

pamphlet. I myself have not received the be the cause of anger and confusion.

I consider that no-one who has been the right to judge. To-day, the outside world knows less of the real conditions inside Germany than during the Nazi regime

Our freedom is only the freedom to suffer, our rights are only the rights to

the oppressed stand as united together as SOLDIER IN MIDDLE EAST. their oppressors will the capitalist edifice Wuppertal.

fall. All electoral activity means only a prolongation of misery.

We ourselves must conquer our own CARL L.

[The above letter is a translation of the original German.-EDS.]

### DEAR FRIENDS,

First of all I thank you very much for the newspapers you were so good to send to me. We make practical use of every one of them, nothing goes to waste, they are too precious for that.

Now I come to the refutation of R. Such plays are worthy of review in an pamphlet, I suppose, due to the fact that Rocker's pamphlet by John Olday, in anarchist journal and, indeed, it would be our attitude towards elections and the Freedom, August 9th. My friends and refreshing to read a review not written party standpoint, is known to be too myself see in the pamphlet, that Rocker in the necessarily prejudiced manner of critical. I have always considered parti- intends to help us, and we thank him cipation in elections to be merely very much for his good will, but we have bourgeois window-dressing. If we aim to reject his pamphlet from the start to only at making people forget their misery, the finish. If we would follow his advice why not lead them out to the market- and opinions expressed in the pamphlet, place and give them tight-rope walkers it would be our liquidation, at least for and magicians. It would at least be the present. It is enigmatical that a man harmless amusement for the people. The with so much experience as Rocker has, magicians of the political arena can only can give us such advice and express such opinions. If we would follow them, a part of his own life-work would be annihilated. He must be misinformed. What he said of the communes is all bosh, there has not been a change in this respect, why should there be a change? Rocker ought to know his opponents better.

> In short: John Olday has told the plain facts, and to add anything to it would only be a waste of time.

Rocker's pamphlet will never do us any good, but has done us already harm, because it has caused heated discussions. The world of to-day has not time for confusions, and in this country less than anywhere else.

WILLY F.

## MIRACLES LTD.

"It must be the work of the Devil!" the Blessed Virgin appear at Espis! She

Pierre," leader of a gang of motor-car Ignoring these protests, the hoteliers of swing.

in Espis. And the owner of a nearby



### SUSPICIOUS

Eight policemen were needed to hold House of Lords to assemble this afternoon, down Bertram George Hudson, 27, no it looked as if the backwoodsmen had fixed address, when he tried to escape been mustered for a great constitutional while being taken into court at Highgate

After it had been said that Hudson had pursuits to come to town, and he replied: eaten his coat while in the cell he was remanded for a medical report, on a middle-class; officers the aristocracy. charge of being a suspected person. The Star, 1/9/47.

joined the fashion revolution begun by even off duty. in the small Debating Chamber that party couturiers and fashion magazines (TIME, Initiative is discouraged, thinking is the Aug. 18). A year ago, Manhattan's Lord sole prerogative of the higher ranks. & Taylor had lyrically praised suits with Submission is the text of the sermon. "new bulky tops" and short-skirted hiphugging dresses that had matured in "a faultless anatomy of design". Last week Evening Standard, 9/9/47. L. & T.'s ads. cried: "Remember, those IN THE NAME OF SPORT! shoulders out to-\_\_\_\_here, those days of the short, tight skirts?" shoulders out to-here, those hazardous

### Time, 25/7/47. the Scottish League Cup-tie between DIPLOMACY SIMPLIFIED Dundee and Celtic at Dens Park, Dundee, Woman mainly responsible for the

campaign against Russia and against Com- yesterday. More than 100 bottles were cultural exhibition in London to mark munism is found in the deportation pro- thrown on to the pitch during the game, Moscow's 800th anniversary is earnest which was watched by a crowd of 35,000. curly-haired Jean Alty, of Chelsea. Miss Alty has been a confirmed

Clyeside, and the disturbances took place Russophile since she spent six weeks in at points where the visitors were gathered the Soviet Union eleven years ago. She TIME TO RETIRE is now secretary of British-Soviet Friend-The first bottles were thrown when a ship Houses Ltd. Her fond hope (and she wants about

pavilion to have an eye injury treated. £1,000 to realise it) is to establish The most serious incident occurred at club in London where Britons and half-time, when police officers were in- Russians can mull over mutual relations. volved in a struggle with a spectator. This She believes, she tells me, that misunderstandings could be disposed of over

Evening Standard, 9/9/47.

### A TECHNICAL PROBLEM

Spring cleaning at the Houses of Parliament is always delayed until the summer when MPs are away on their long holiday. The process is now in full

Now the authorities are trying to find a more effective system. I am told that several methods are being tried out. One involves placing microphones on

the table between the Government and Opposition front benches. If adopted, this idea would no doubt

make all the big speeches clearlyaudible, Leader, 13/9/47. but there are disadvantages. Prominent politicians do not like to

hear the confidential whispers of their colleagues broadcast by sensitive microphones. The Star, 1/11/47.

### HE FOUND OUT

As a conscript I imagined that I would be accorded a measure of respect by my superiors in the Air Force, and would be invited to join in the spirit of service to the community.

Alas for my hopes!

To the Service authorities I am the nearest equivalent to a convict sent to a penal establishment for correction. I am the proletarian; N.C.O.'s are the If I smile on parade at the time-worn

jokes of my N.C.O., I am transgressing the Bible of military discipline. In the time it takes to adjust a girdle, Here the teachings of Christ are evil the nation's advertising writers last week anarchic theories. No men are equal-

Letter in Leader, 13/9/47.

### LESSER BREEDS

Mr. Patrick Kennelly, secretary of the Australian Labour Party, declared at the Commonwealth Conference of Labour Parties in Toronto, that the Australian Government believed in a "white Australia", he said. The country's 6,000 black Aborigines were a dying race, kept on reservations. Evening Standard, 9/9/47.

Frederick Harding, 69, was described by his counsel at the Old Bailey yesterday as a man "past his best days in crime, who, not being as agile as he was before, could not run away as fast as he should." Harding, who pleaded guilty to stealing £250 worth of jewellery, was gaoled for

Daily Mirror, 11/9/47.

8 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 28 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 11 24 20 21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22