FEDERAL EMPLOYEES **20 YEARS AFTER** 

PURGE AGAINST U.S.

a couple of damn radicals who didn't deserve to live whether they were guilty a Rotary Club luncheon in Quincy.

chair, August 23, 1927. During the week State Department made no pretence that of the twentieth anniversary of that the twenty persons so far ousted from its hideous miscarriage of justice, President staff were even supposed to be Com-Truman's witch hunt, backed by a Con- munists." They were dropped, it said, gressional appropriation of \$11,000,000 for "security reasons", without further for thought control police, opened against specification. 1,900,000 federal employees. The psy- It is a fact widely known in Washingchology of the Quincy Rotarian is bear- ton that of the first ten dismissed several ing a horrible harvest!

the August 23rd Nation:

gerous the notion, frequently advanced astonishing conversation with Assistant these days by persons who call them- Secretary of State Peurifoy, the official selves liberal, that the restrained pro- handling the department purge. A few cedures used in Washington somehow lines are worth reprinting: justify the loyalty check itself and the [He] did not think the ten were Compurposes behind it.

the United States has no excuse whatso- he was dubious about their associations. ever for carrying out a purge on the .... When I asked whether they would scale promised, with or without safe- be told the evidence against them, he threatened from any direction. If a whether they would be given a statepolitical drift is discernible in the country, ment of specific allegations against them, it is to the right. The Communists, how- he said no . . . of an organized system of thought disprove. control in the federal departments . . .

more persons had been ousted from the "Sacco and Vanzetti were nothing but State Department included an official estimate that 831 workers had been dismissed as political "suspects" from the of this particular crime or not." So said government service as a whole; this bea Massachusetts citizen to this editor at fore the new check had even begun. How many of them were suspected of Sacco and Vanzetti died in the electric communism was not mentioned, but the

had no idea what charges had been Of it Editor Freda Kirchwey writes in brought against them. Some of them are likely to take their cases into court. I. F. I repudiate as disingenuous and dan- Stone reported in PM on July 2 an

munists, nor did he think more than a On the contrary, the government of few might be called fellow-travellers, but The government is not said they would not. When I asked

ever irritating, are neither more numerous In other words, even under the methods nor more aggressive than in years past. applied in stable and comfortably con-Only hysteria or a calculated desire to servative America, government employees make political capital out of the general are losing their jobs on charges which are fear of Russia can explain the institution never specified and are thus impossible to

The Open Forum, 6/9/47.

номв

While the atom bomb has tended to after-effects of the bomb, from radio- report: become something of an abstraction in the active causes, and even by indirect means, minds of the public, a vague threat such as contact with infected corpses, bandied about by politicians, an excuse were in fact incomplete. for Russo-American mutual abuse at A few miles away from Hiroshima lies international conferences, we are still an island, Ninoshima. Since the days of faced with grim reminders of what the the atom bomb this island had not been atom bomb means in concrete reality. visited by the authorities, and it was only

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THE ATOM

Hiroshima was already collossal; now went there and were confronted by there comes information which shows that another revolting sight of destruction. the figures of those who died from the According to the Manchester Guardian buried behind them."

(Continued from page 2)

The toll of dead from the bomb at a few days ago that Japanese officials

merely a counter in political conversation "Lying all over the island were some It is something by means of which each 600 decaying bodies of Japanese who, and all of us may one day be served like injured in the explosion over Hirothe people who died uncared for and unshima, fled to Ninoshima Island two buried on Ninoshima Island. Instead of years ago. The victims, it appears accepting this as some future Nemesis, it is for everybody now to strive a or 600 a day, until survivors could no war and to attempt in every way possible longer provide any form of burial. In to take the power from those who will the end those who could still walk fied exploit the atom bomb to their own ends from the island, leaving bodies unand destroy further millions of human beings in their lust for world power.

WORK

#### PROBLEM OF

the piecework systems which accentuate the robot-like myself to take an interest in my work, and yet I am nature of industrial work. unable to." And still another :- "Faced with each new

"Rationalisation" Means Tyranny day of work, I feel a new horror growing within me. I A Turin worker gives the following example of the interest whatever in my work, and if by chance on an Bedaux system (The Workers' State, Paris, August,

"A worker has to make a certain metal part. He s given 30 seconds to complete this operation, divided into two, first the rough approximation, then the finishing. To do this he must shift the machine's roller four times. But while the lathe is doing one part of the job, he must go to the drill-press and fix a grummet to it. Then he returns to the lathe, takes out the turned piece and puts another in position, then goes to the drill with the piece from the lathe. He therefore has to work two lathes and a drill, and all his movements at the various machines and in passing from one to the other are timed with the utmost precision. He cannot delay for one second or he will damage one or another of the perforating or turning equipment and if this happens his wage will be insufficient to pay for the damage, apart from the threat of dismissa will be like at the end of his working day." In the same enquiry a 'worker of a large factory'

It is easy to understand what this worker's condition The 'worker of a large factory' concludes thus:-"The Bedaux system is in fact a method of workintensification pushed to the limit. The workers employed in factories where this system is used must be "The Bedaux system begins with an office of strong and healthy. All calculations of labour engineers, time-keepers and expert technicians. All power, resting-time and so on are based on a worker material used is rigorously examined and catalogued by 'in perfect condition'; consequently, the elderly are this department. Tables are made out showing the eliminated, and those whose health is not perfect are various qualities of the steel used; metric speeds of obliged to pass these workshops by, for even were working are decided on; the machines are studied with they to be tolerated, their salary would be negligible. a view to determining how many movements and All applied systems of organized production, and every operations can be carried out with them in a given new mechanical device, have brought, under the GROUP asked had either a definite loathing for their work, or time. The machine distribution is now done differ- capitalist regime, only a increase in exploitation, ently-previously the best machine was entrusted to the accompanied by an increase in unemployment. The most skilled worker; to-day the machine goes to the Bedaux system burdens still further the workers' con-Labriola comments on the result of these enquiries as strongest or most useful man according to qualities of ditions. The greatest efforts he can make are follows (Beyond Capitalism and Socialism, Paris 1931): the machine itself. All the necessary tools are no longer demanded of the worker-all he gives is stolen from "Work as such suggests nothing to the worker's mind. available to each individual worker that he may use him. The system creates a class of workers who are It is, to the operative, mere execution-execution of a them according to his capabilities; their type and practically robots. They work at terrific speed. They fragment or a part of a plan. The plan and its practical number are unalterably fixed according to the job-sheet are soon exhausted-physical wrecks-and waiting to working-out have nothing to do with the operative. They which accompanies the item to be manufactured. Every be thrown out, but in the meantime the existence of are the exclusive concern of the contractor and the factory physical movement of which an operative is capable is this stratum of workers brings with it a progressive calculated and transformed into 'bedaux', that is, work- increase in the exploitation of the whole working-class, ing time. Here is an example, taken from job-sheet: - because it acts as a stimulus to the refining of the Operations: lathe No. 1, 39 revs., advance 0.25, tool technique of exploitation. In the last analysis that C.15, Bedaux 0.33; lathe No. 2, revs., 40, advance which developes more and more is working-class 0.15, tool G.13, Bedaux 0.15. Total Bedaux, 0.48. poverty.

("Bedaux"

"Then the Bedaux office intervenes: the worker is turely aged; which throws him on the street or chains Labriola, as is usual with him and other pessimists, told to give a further demonstration in the presence him to servitude; which wounds when it does not cripple tends to generalise; but what he says is certainly true of the time-keepers, who refer to the appropriate index- or kill. for the majority of workers in large industries. I have card (which is kept in the office like the registration of Considering the conditions under which they toil, with me a collection of poems written by French, English criminals), his movements are watched and corrected there is reason to marvel that there are so few who escape and American workers, and they all evince the same where wrong; this done, the Bedaux office 'expert' from their industrial prisons by banditry, vagrancy or complaint: the sequence of interminable days, the weari- carries out the operation. First, everything is once some other way; and it is humiliating to note that there ness that annihilates thought, the desire to escape from more checked: machine number, components, tools, etc. are relatively few who, by means of strikes, sabotage and the daily round, the terror at the thought that the whole The operative is told to observe the 'demonstrator's' other methods of struggle, try to blow the altar of of life will be like yesterday and to-day. To the chain- gestures, especially where the left hand supplements the Mammon sky-high. work methods used by the production lines are now added right, the bending of the body, the leg movements, and (To be continued.)

off-day I sight the factory chimneys, I feel as if I had 1933):been reminded of something unpleasant." And this terrible judgment of another worker : - "I find no pleasure in my work. I go to my labours as I would go to my death." A weaver says: -- "Purely and simply, I hate my work.'

cannot imagine how I shall be able to stand ten hours

of this martyrdom." A metal-worker :-- "I take no

#### Small Minority Likes Work

Arturo Labriola sums up the results of this most interesting enquiry as follows:-"1803 replied to the author's questions. Of these, 307 (that is 17%) declared that they found pleasure in their work-but often for reasons indirectly connected with their job, or of a personal nature. 1207 workers (59.9%) found their work repugnant or even loathsome. 308 persons (17.1%) declared themselves indifferent either way (due to force of habit, because 'work was necessary' or because they had never given it any thought). And 161 (9%) gave no reply whatever. In other words, a mere 17% said they described the system as follows:were happy in their work; but no one can say whether they were sincere or not. People are influenced by tradition, school training and so on, and tend to give a conventional answer or quote a traditional saying, such as 'idleness is the fountain of all evils', etc. Had the conventional mentality been absent the final results of the enquiry might have been still more revealing; it is nevertheless, a distressing fact that more than 80% of those a conception of work as something mechanical before which they remained passive and silent."

management, who alone take decisions.

"In the 'taylorised' or 'fordised' high-efficiency factory, the operative does not even understand what purpose his work serves, and he would certainly be quite incapable of recognising in the finished product the part to which his own work had contributed. Work of this nature, therefore, can only mean either annoyance and boredom to the worker or it means nothing at all-indeed, better for him if his function should become entirely automatic, producing in him such a degree of insensibility as will help him forget the burden of his labour."



The Worker: Why always pick on me?

reality. We tend too easily to forget what

war really means, in concrete terms of

human lives. The atom bomb is not

Here, again, is the atom bomb in

# AGAIN

so on. The task of the 'demonstrator' is, at bottom to convince the operative that he must become automatic, himself a well-timed mechanism. It sometimes happens that even after the demonstration the worker does very little better-instead of 1 minute 10 seconds per piece, he has taken, say, 1 min. 5 secs.-he is still a long way from 0.48! In this case his substitution is inevitable, and he is either put to work on a simpler machine or else he is dismissed from the factory. Another worker may take 1.10 'bedaux' the TUES., NOV. 4th first time, the second 0.59, the third he may reach 0.48; indeed, his work becomes an exercise, familiarity provides training, and from 0.48 he drops to 0.40. In this case he does not benefit by the 0.08 'bedaux' gained; his share is only three-quarters, the other quarter going to the technical department! A prize is given to those operatives who call attention to a superflous movement and the secrecy of their suggestion is guaranteed by the management. The Bedaux system is applied, in some factories, in more or less elastic form, but the fact remains that if the technical office is made of expert engineers, the workers will be turned into automatons during their working hours."

"This means that the piece must be completed in To the mechanisation of the worker must be added 48 seconds. The very sight of these figures puts fear the increasing number of accidents, spreading a sense of into the operative. He begins the construction of the dejection in the workshops, yards and mines. piece. This finished, he realizes that instead of 48 Industrial work of to-day is inhuman. It is a Moloch seconds, it has taken him 1 min. 10 seconds which crushes with weariness and boredom, which squeezes the worker and then expectorates him, prema-



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Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

at 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.I OCT. 18th Gerald Vaughan Some Social Implications of Reich's Sexology.

OCT. 25th Sylvia Pankhurst The Future of Italian Colonies

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(Nr. Green Man, E.II) Tom Brown Anarchism & Syndicalism

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> Anarchism and Healing Sun., Oct. 26th

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## Up-to-Date Brought

Comments on the Conservative Conference

THE subject-matter of the Tory Conference at Brighton was the Anarchist point of view depends of Russian foreign policy in all parts the development of a programme with sufficient appeal to the on how one regards the relation- of the world, was buried with great electorate to secure the ousting of the Labour Party at the next ship of the individual to society, ceremony, as a magnanimous gesture General Election. As such it can have very little interest to those and how one estimates the on the part of Stalin to his new who seek the abolition of the State and the wages system, and it will potentialities of individuals. But friends, Churchill and Roosevelt. therefore not be necessary to go into any details of the business. it is a suggestive pointer con-What does interest us very much, however, is the evolution firming the anarchist position to Of course, the decision did not new Communist International, at of new methods in the technique of mass deception which is the find that the policies of "Left" mean a great deal. The Comintern present only consisting of the parties first pre-requisite of any organization which aspires to wield power and "Right" also converge so policy had served its turn, and now in countries where Communist inover the workers. Not that one envisages the Tory leaders as strikingly under the pressure of the Russian government, assured of fluence is strong. Denunciations have conscious and diabolical deceptionists deliberately thinking out a developing State Capitalism, to the temporary co-operation of its been made of the Western democode for hoodwinkers; they are, doubtless, every bit as sincere as the point of virtual identity. capitalist allies, could well afford to cracies and of the right-wing their Labour counterparts. And, like them, the evolution of their Labour "betrays" socialism be- throw overboard this temporarily Socialists. The talk of popular fronts Party policy is chiefly a matter of adapting it to practical issues of the "needs of the time"; useless piece of machinery, particu- is dropped, and we are back where the day, of making it more in line with the needs of the time.

What, however, does this mysterious phrase "the needs of the time" mean? In a leading article in the last issue Freedom certain aspects of this process of bringing Con-Labour policy, notably, the servatism up-to-date was the direction of labour, were shown wholehearted acceptance of the to be framed less by the prin- "Industrial Charter". The conciples of Socialism than by the ference thereby committed the seemingly inevitable development Tory Party to maintain certain of a State Capitalist mode of measures brought in by Labour, economy. The Tory Conference notably the nationalisation of the at Brighton showed that the Bank of England and of the same trend bears on Conserva- mines, despite the fact that they tive policy with a similarly resistless power.

## ECLIPSE OF THE

DIEHARDS

have noted the "progressive" sary in the world economy of to- century. character of the conference, day. Their acceptance by the meaning by this that the old Tories shows that they are not type of Tory is giving place to a product of socialist theory as actionary ideas is less openly when they were first brought in; wholehearted. Thus the Execu- instead they are simply necessary tive was considerably embarras- measures for the smooth introsed by certain speakers who ad- duction of the State Capitalist vocated an almost explicit anti- economy which is the social Semitism under the guise of framework of contemporary anti-foreign and anti-Communist history. opinion, and received not inconsiderable applause from some BIRDS OF A FEATHER quarters. But more tactful speakers from the higher reaches of the Party contrived to put matters in a rather less unattractive light.

Again, Sir Waldron Smithers has been made the Aunt Sally He for a good many gibes. tional ideas of Conservatism untinged by any "progressive" fancy dress-and was overwhelmed by the younger leaders Of course acceptance of this of the type of R. A. Butler. To us there seems no question that the reaction speaks openly through men like Sir Waldron Smithers, while it clothes itself in deceptive phrases in the mouths of the "modern" Tories. Straightforward reaction is far preferable-and far less insidiously dangerous-than the great majority of French people to-day. This move undoubtedly is an attempt on more practical reactionary who hard blam after covernment to are islands of mediaeval autocracy, where the British in the pearly days of their knows how to suit his policy to the "needs of the time". These frozen and even decreased. The daily the clearly increased influence of the latter know when to sacrifice the bread ration is down to 200 gr. (just over Tories in those marginal constituencies indefensible outposts of Conservatism in order to preserve the citadel of reaction; to sacrifice the part to preserve the lot of maize and is not easy to eat. Milk whole. Labour leaders like Cripps show a similar elastic adroitness. The master opportunist in this line of business was unrationed but costs about 8/- a pound, Hitler was good at it, Lenin. 100.

## **CONCESSIONS TO** SOCIALISM

The clearest manifestation of were bitterly criticized by conservatives when first proposed and carried through.

Anarchism teaches that government itself it evil because it deprives the individuals who compose society of all respon- As is pointed out elsewhere in Freedom, sibility for the management of Cripps is the man who, more than any their common affairs. If this view is accepted it immediately obliterates the differences be- position of almost absolute power in merely put forward the tradi- tween the politicians of the industrial affairs means a consol Right and of the Left-for it is managerial power, the advent of technonot how they rule that matters, but the fact that they rule at all.

## FRENCH BREAD RATION NEVER SO LOW

cannot help being struck by the acute turning out young men who will be able possible. feeling of insecurity looming over the to wield authority over the "lower orders". a hard blow after government promises, try and regain the support of the middle a small ruling class of the richest men in a few months ago, that prices would be class in the next election, and to counter 7 oz.) and French people remark bitterly where a middle class vote assured the that the Nehru government, for instance, that even under German occupation it was | Labour parliamentary majority. never lower than 250 gr. The bread is moreover yellow in colour, containing a is practically unobtainable even for people with doctors' certificates or mothers with small babies. Ration tickets are often not honoured, particularly for fats; meat is ham 10/- a pound, liver 18/- a pound. Coffee costs twenty shillings a pound in the black market.

servatism under the same impetus. It is not surprising that the needs of the time often produce coalition governments of 'all the talents" when the dividing line between them is so served Soviet interests by supporting tenuous. The times are indeed the various capitalist interests and enpropitious for the setting up of a trenching themselves as strongly a single party as under the totali- possible in resistance movements. tarian regimes. General de trade unions, and all kinds of labour Gaulle is openly demanding a movements, so that when the time single party government to sup- of need arose they would hold as press the struggle between many keys as possible. parties in France.

usual prove more subtle and pre- The common interests of Angloserve a two party system, both American capitalism and Soviet however having the same pro- authoritarianism have dwindled away, Practical men among the Tory gramme! Such an outfit would and their imperialist interests clash leaders, like Anthony Eden and provide a traditionally perfidious a dozen points in the world, from R. A. Butler, recognize such cover for the advancing totali- Germany round to Korea. Soviet All the political commentators measures as inevitable and neces- tarianism of the twentieth policy has changed, and the policy



After months of rumour, the Cabinet two tendencies, firstly, the emergence of while we are under no illusion that any secondly, a preparation for the next alteration in the composition or political election by trying to placate as many flavour of the Government will lead to sections of the Party's supporters are certain imporant tendencies revealed in the changes.

The first is the emergence of "strong men" in the key positions, and particularly of Cripps as "Economic Dictator" other of the Labour leaders, has conended that the workers are incapable of managing industry. His advent to a crats and "experts" to increased authority, the Daily Herald. and strengthening of the old capitalist industrial ruling class as part of the "Labour" autocracy, as has already happened in the case of the mines.

The second is the increasing upper middle-class composition of the Cabinet. Now, no less than six out of the eighteen members of the Cabinet are old public school boys, which means that they come The character of the new regimes and would set out a programme of free-

of the Government, who have shown an desired. neptitude unusual among even ministers, still remain in their positions. The "Left" of the Labour Party is thrown a sop by the retention of Bevan and the elevation of G. R. Strauss to Cabinet rank. In other words, the new changes show ' would call on them to resist their ruler path of Clive and Wellesley.

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"The State rests on the slavery of labour. If labour becomes free, the State is lost."

MAX STIRNER

4305

Twopence

# DTHER

# IN 1943, the stinking corpse of the with it. For some time it has been Comintern, with its long record clear that a return to a pseudoof betrayal of the workers and service revolutionary policy was imminent, in

and the Tories "betray" con- larly as the various national parties to carry out Soviet orders with any international organisation.

The Communist parties thereafter

British Democracy may as The situation has since changed of the Communist parties changes

an attempt to use the workers of Western Europe, Asia and America as cats' paws in the imperialist

That phase has now been officially declared open, by the formation of a we were in the early 1930's, back to were already well disciplined enough the old phase of "Social Fascism" which preceded the campaigns for "United Fronts" with the Socialists and the later participation in coalition governments.

> It is clear, from the present international situation and the past record of the Communists, that this new adventure is nothing more nor less than an attempt to utilise workingclass feeling for furthering the ends of Russsian imperialism.

Once again, the workers will have to be on their guard not to play into the hands of the Communists not to allow their genuine rebellions against the capitalist governments be used by the Communists for their own ends. The Communist spokesmen will once again talk revolution while it suits them; they will cynically make use of every working-class movement they can dominate for their own ends, but they will certainly contribute nothing to any genuinely revolutionary

The workers should remember how changes have at last taken place, and, ruthless authorarians to key positions, and they were betrayed by the Communists in factories and workshops during the war, how for their own advantage for the workers or will halt the possible at the same time. The net result ends the Stalinists were ready to ally speeding progress towards dictatorship of it all is that the power rests more themselves first with the Nazis and and increased want for the masses, there securely than ever in a small inner group then with the capitalist democracies. The new Comintern is merely another lesser members of the Government be- of these manoeuvres. It will certainly come more than ever puppets to be moved destroy any genuine revolutionary about for the entertainment and mislead- movement that comes under its sway; lecisiions are made by the tiny group of the workers can protect themselves key ministers and the civil service and in- only by making their own organisdustrial bureaucracy who control the ations which are free alike from ministries behind the backs of the Trade Union bosses and Communist politicians whose photographs appear in the newspapers, in nicely domestic atti- stool pigeons, and by refusing contudes calculated to please the readers of sistently to be used as the tools for Russsian or American foreign policy.

# men whose espousal of re- the Labour leaders contended THE CABINET CHANGES

fo four or five men, such as Attlee, Cripps, Bevin and Morrison, while the ing of the election public. The rea

## NATIVE IMPERIALISM INDIA IN

from the more select stratum of the old which have arisen in India and Pakistan dom from autocracy. Instead, their objec-The conditions of French workers are capitalist ruling class, trained in institu- is shown very clearly in the rush to take tion is not to the autocracy of the ruling deteriorating at an amazing speed and one tions which have the avowed object of over as many of the Native States as prince, but to the fact that he wishes to

> the world live in luxury at the expense of the poverty-stricken masses of their people. But there is no real evidence wishes to change that. There is no suggestion that the rulers will be deprived of But Attlee and Morrison are not their riches or the major part of their neglecting their old centres of support en- privileges. It is their inclusion within

> > This is shown clearly in the attitude These incidents of power-grabbing and

adhere to the rival state of Pakistan, and they try to solve the matter by a show The Indian Native States, it is true, of military force which reminds on of rule in India, and which is certainly a strange culmination to the passive resistance that was once the cherished programme of Congress.

Furthermore, while the Congress leaders object to the ruler of Junagadh adhering to Pakistan, they show their insincerity by not attempting to dissuade the Hindu ruler of Kashmir from attempting to The three Co-operative members the new empire, as collaborators, that is carry out his plans to put a Moslem majority under Hindu rule.

of the Nehru government towards scuffling to get the largest slices of terri-Junagadh. If the Congress leaders were tory reveal the imperialist potentionalities really concerned with the happiness of the . of the new set-up in India. Nehru and people of this little principality, they his associates are following in the true

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

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

# A Demonstration of some Libertarian Principles

THE Jewish agricultural collective settlements in Palestine have for many practical way of building a sound society so far as to abolish the personal use of economy prevents them from having any years now been carrying on with success a kind of communal organisation from the bases of productive work as they led to considerable difficulties, and it has custom for none of these executive which is of great interest to all those who are concerned with the practical are in the majority of countries. application of libertarian principles, and we can therefore welcome a new As to the internal structure of the book by Maurice Pearlman, Adventure in the Sun (Gollancz, 7/6), which communes, they are run on a completely gives a more detailed and comprehensive account of the collective settlements than has hitherto been available.

First of all, it must be pointed out that the Palestine collectives do not much supporting evidence, that: claim to be anarchist communes; their political interests are linked up with one or other of the various labour and socialist parties of the country, and there are certain internal features of many of the communes which would not consistently fit into a really anarchistic pattern. Nevertheless, their great value lies in the fact that they have demonstrated conclusively the practicability the satisfaction of their primary wants, of certain principles they share with the anarchists. They have shown that a society can be run without money, on the basis of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"; they have eliminated a privileged class; they have abolished family tyranny and inequality of the sexes within their own boundaries; they have proved that men will work even harder with a motive of social usefulness than with the motive of individual profit. We certainly cannot afford to ignore a movement which in so many ways has vindicated the contentions the anarchists have for long been putting forward.

The Palestine collective movement is much larger than most people imagine. There are two types of settlement-the collective proper, and the co-operative settlement, where the workers have their individual plots, which they work without Palestine.

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#### Aims of Collectives

The collectives proper, with which we are concerned in this article, are about 160 in number, with a total of 45,000 members, but the number of settlements

"In them the basic principle 'from each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs', is worked out practically in an all-comprehensiv communal life. Members give their labour to the common stock, receiving food, clothes and shelter, and certain other wants, from the settlement. They share in all but their purely persona activities with the community. "There is no private property Tenancy of the land and ownership of the settlement's property are collective Members thus own nothing. But, be ing partners in the community, they have a right to everything. There is no money in circulation within the settlement; there is no need, since a granted his principal needs. Money is

hired labour, and sell their goods through steady rate. It will thus be seen that from which members can obtain anything Administration is vested in a secretary, reader will find plenty to satisfy him in co-operative agencies. Together, these their experiment is no cranky venture by they want-no rationing system is usually treasury and executive committee, but Pearlman's book. But some final retwo types of organisation cover about a a few fanatics; most of their members are trusted to none of these members are usually ex- marks should be made on the actual work quarter of the agricultural production of ordinary Jewish workers and intellectuals demand only what they really need. At empted completely from their share of and achievements of these settlements. whose main concern is to find the best one time some of the settlements went hard work, the nature of community

We are reprinting below the first of a series of three articles which will comprise an abridged translation of Camillo Berneri's pamphlet, Il Lavoro Attraente. For reasons of space we have had to cut out certain references, but the essential argument has remained untouched.

ON the eve of social upheavals, with state socialism, authoritarian communism and economic oversimplification on every hand, it should be the anarchists' specific task to define the problem of work in clear and concrete terms; this, like every other social problem, must be brought up-to-date, in line with technical development and new economic physiological and psychological knowledge, as well as with the problems always arising out of the various tendencies within the ranks of the industrial proletariat.

While keeping to its broad aims and final objective, Anarchism must define the means and methods of its future as a new order. What activity is more universal than work? What problem is vaster and more interas practically all society and nearly the whole of man's human couple. life are involved in this activity, which to-day is still The distaste of pastoral and warrior societies for work kind of introduction to the theme of "Attractive Work", suffering. The negro slave who once said to a traveller: done more and better; but as the experts are usually attitude of the worker to servile labour. disinclined to part with their acquired knowledge, it falls

We shall have made a stride forward if, at our meetings heaven of idleness to the hell of work. and in the press, we are able to analyse the question of free and attractive work, the more so as this problem involves many others and is, by its very nature, likely to recall interesting experiences and to suggest constructive

#### Workers As Slaves

as dirty as a crocodile.

"The various workers who handle the chisel-do they their houses.

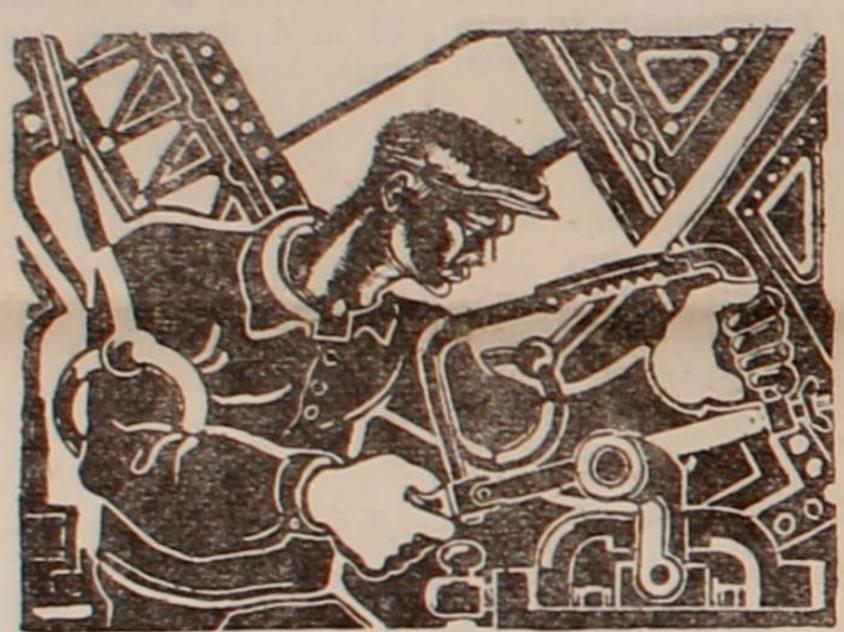
"The stone-cutter breaks the hardest stones. When

"Why such toil hardly to fill one's belly?

He hates cloth, every kind of cloth. "The cobbler is very unhappy, and is always com-

plaining he has nothing to chew but his leather. the gatherer alone eats it."

This poem, which dates from the 14th century before described in sombre colours by those who have examined Christ and describes workers' conditions in the reign of it from the point of view of Man, not the Money-box.



By Camillo Berneri

Not only Marx and Engels but also Lassalle, Lafargue and other Socialist writers rise up against this industrial of man. Engels, in his book on the Cosition Working Classes in England and Paul Lafargue in his B brutishness to which extreme specialisation of work leads. Bakunin and other anarchist writers took up and further developed this criticism. Peter Kropotkin pro- the opportunities in these directions which claimed: -- "The division of work means man classified, knots in some material, or driving a truck at the mine- failed to share their advantages with their head, without any general idea of the significance of neighbours; many Arab villages have machine, industry or mine and thereby losing all taste benefitted from the irrigation, the tractors, for work and the capacity for inventiveness which had, the technical, veterinary and medical admingled with other problems than that of work? religious dogma which holds that work is a consequence at the inception of modern industrialism, created the vice of community members. It has been Economic, physiological and psychological laws, as well of, and a penance for, an error committed by the first mechanical devices on which we are so fond of priding the case that in areas where Jewish col-

The time when the working day was thirteen hours and health have shown a steady improvea painful drudgery, but which tomorrow will become the led to making woman "a domestic animal" and a slave long, and even sixteen or seventeen hours, has passed; ment supreme human dignity. The essay which follows is a the typical worker. To the slave, work is nothing but but the monstrous workshops which run on the so-called The Jewish collectives are well worth 'rationalisation of work' method are still with us, as attention, as organisations which have to which I should like to see the attention drawn of all "The monkey is a very intelligent animal, and could talk shown, for example, by Egon Erwin Kisch, who des- solved modern economic problems much those who could contribute ideas, personal experience and if it wanted to; if it does not, that is because it does not particular technical knowledge. An expert would have want to be forced to work"—was merely expressing the done more and better; but as the experts are usually attitude of the worker to servile labour.

to others to raise these questions and place them before reprobate paying for his sins of rebellion: Adam, progenitor of the human race, is the angel fallen from the

#### Christian Conception of Work

on Man as a penance consequent on the Original Sin. the pathological effects of boredom, asserts that it causes Ancient and Mediaeval Catholicism glorified work mostly "irregularities of circulation and nutrition, sensibility to as an expiation of sin. The Reformation, too, considered cold, diminishing of muscular tone, loss of appetite and work as "remedium peccati" although Luther and Calvin weight."

"I have seen the blacksmith at work before the open went further than St. Thomas by forecasting the modern Dr. P. Janet in his book on neurosis quotes the case flame of his forge. His hands were soiled and he was conception of the dignity of work, an idea sketched by of a girl doing a monotonous job, who, to avoid borethe more notable thinkers of the Renaissance. dom, was in the habit of giving rapid glances out of the Bourgeois moralism transferred the principle of work window into the road on her left. She slowly developed enjoy more respose than the peasant? Their field is as a duty to the field of civil morals, and invented a a nervous twitch which made her jerk her head incessantly the wood they carve, and they work well after the mystique whereby the exploited serf was placed on a to the left. The same doctor tells of another girl who was day is ended and even at night if there is light in monument as "knight of labour", "faithful servant", obliged to work far into the night, and, fighting against boredom and sleep, she soon developed a rhythmical "model worker", and so on. The petty-bourgeois mentality and the stupefying would turn her right wrist and move her right foot 'chorea' (involuntary nervous movement) in which she he has finished carrying out the orders received and adaptability characteristic of the artisan, of the craftshis hands are tired, can he take a rest? He must man's son turned factory operative and of the townified regularly up and down. These movements, performed in return to the yard at sunrise though his knees and peasant, were responsible for their lack of deep awareness "I must work" spoken out loud, were those of her of the capitalist yoke and the decadence of their own "The barber works far into the night. For a mouthful personality. Emile Zola in Travail paints a true and a lathe, pedalling with the right foot and working a flyof bread he must run from house to house in search convincing picture of the type of dull-witted worker wheel with the right hand. I myself, watching typists at who thinks of his master as an indispensible provider work, have noticed that several of them were victims of of work and serves him with doglike fidelity, who shuns a nervous twitch obviously connected with weariness and "And the dyer of cloths? His hands stink: they the struggles for emancipation, who regards new dis- boredom.

smell of putrid fish. His eyes droop with sleep, but his coveries with hostility, and accepts the slavery of work hands never rest from preparing finely-coloured robes, with a fatalistic passivity which soon degenerates into

The attitude of people to work has been the object of special research. The widespread aversion of the a form of masochism. operatives for their occupation, if a monotonous one, is plain from workers' autobiographies collected by Adolf **Revolt Against Serfdom** Levenstein (Berlin, 1909). A weaver and a metal worker "They work, they all work-but it is as with honey, finally brought the proletariat to a realization of its own both express a real loathing for their work. In another nvestigation carried out by the same author (Munich serfdom. The development of industrialism has 1912) the repugnance of the workers for their jobs i even more evident. A mechanic writes :- "The moment Rameses II of Egypt, expresses a lament which continues Heine, in What is Germany? speaks of England as "an out of the factory." A lathe-machinist: -- "Work is ended throughout the centuries. In the slave societies, work is abominable country, where machines work like men, and for the day. I feel an inward uplift and relaxation and and suffering. The repugnance which the shepherd, turned of the workers in their time as a "living hell" and the would like to shout for joy." Another says-"I force peasant and artisan, has for work, is reflected in the latter depicted the industrial capitalist as a feudalist, and (Continued on page 8)



collective basis, with no money and no private property in anything but a few ments, books, pictures, etc. personal articles. Pearlman tells us, with

personal life-such as musical instru- Assembly.

## No Privileges

There is no kind of economic privilege in the settlements, since nobody is paid and everybody has the same rights to satisfy his needs. Nor is there any other kind of privilege. Generally speaking, all workers do their turns in the elds, except when some specialist may be of much greater use to the collective by working full-time at his particular branch lavatory cleaner or dish-washer. All the direction. used only in economic relations with major affairs of the collectives are There are many further interesting bodies or persons outside the settle- decided by General Assemblies at which details of organisation among the colevery member attends and takes his part lectives, but there is little space to deall and members alike are increasing at a Communal storehouses are established in the discussion, if he so desires. them at present, and the interested



the factory as a gaol:-"The slavery which the bourgeoisie have imposed on the proletariat is clearly visible in the factory system. Here all liberty is forfeited, de jure and *de facto*. The operative must be at his workshop at dawn; if he is two minutes late he runs the risk of losing his day's pay. He must eat, read and sleep to order.

#### **Physiological and Psychological** Troubles

The modern factory worker wears out his brain and nervous system. Boredom, on the other hand, is According to Christian ethics, work is imposed by God the inevitable result of automatic work. Tarde, discussing

since been generally agreed that the in- officers or members to hold their positions dividual members should keep the clothes for more than two years at a time. They and any other objects which they use in can also be recalled by the General

> Separate committees are also elected to deal with various branches of settlement

"Most settlements thus have committees governing labour, financial affairs, defence, personal needs of members, cultural activities and adult education, children's education, entertainment and health. Where there is deadlock over some issue within a committee the matter is referred back to the General Assembly."

but this rarely happens. As far as One point on which Mr. Pearlman is possible, men and women do equal work, not wholly clear is in regard to the actual and the women are relieved from family power vested in these committees; for responsibilities and allowed to take an instance, he seems to suggest that the equal part in the communal work by committee dealing with the allocation of the fact that the collective nursery under- labour exercises potentially dictatorial takes the complete care of the children. powers; on the other hand, in practice it The old problem of "unpleasant work" is likely, since there is no serious dissenhas also been solved by the introduction sions within collectives on such matters, of rota systems by which every member that in fact its work is usually done in member, by virtue of membership, is of the collectives takes his turn as a spirit of arrangement rather than

#### Achievements

They first began thirty-seven years ago, under the Turkish Empire. The early settlers had to face considerable local hostility, and ever since they have been subjected to attacks from Arabs who were the dupes of nationalist politicians. But, in spite of all this, they have continued to survive and expand steadily; many of the former desert lands of Palestine have been rendered fertile by their introduction of irrigation, and they have contributed very much to agricultural and horticultural research in Palestine.

Starting from poor beginnings, they have managed to give their members a standard of living which is in most cases very much higher than that of farm workers anywhere else in the world; their care of the children has been always extremely efficient, and they have given great attention to cultural developmen and the provision of adequate leisure activities, so that their farm workers have are usually available only to dwellers in large cities. Lastly, they have never lectives exist Arab standards of farming

generally libertarian principles and cutting out centralisation and the wholly discredited "profit motive".

#### ANARCHISM -Interpretations

We maintain that the State organization, having been the force to which the minorities resorted for establishing and organizing their power over the masses, cannot be the force which will serve to destroy their privileges. The lessons of history tell us that a new form of economic life always calls forth a new form of political organization and a Socialist society (whether Communist or Collectivist) cannot be an exception to this rule . . . Consequently, the chief aim of Anarchism is to awaken those constructive powers of the labouring masses of the people which at all great moments of history came forward to accomplish the necessary changes, and which, aided by the now accumulated knowledge, will accomplish that change that is called forth by all the best men of our time. KROPOTKIN.

FREEDOM

the Government Cabinet, and a new that they are not getting these things; tain vast military commitments involved motives such as the strike in Nancy planes from England. office has been created for Sir Stafford on the contrary, they get more and in the state system of society; the huge where six thousand workers walked out The reasons for the high cost of pro-Cripps. The office is that of Minister more austerity, and are told to work bureaucracies inherent in political con- in protest against the use by the police duction and the poor quality of the airfor Economic Affairs. Once again we harder and yet harder. These very trol of tear gas at demonstrations against the craft turned out is to be found in the have the emphasis on economics. people who in times of Tory rule plete inability of a centralised authority transport of sugar to Germany. lack of autonomy and the bureaucratiz-Surely the plight of the politicians con- asserted that there was no need to to run industry efficiently, are factors The strike in the tobacco and match ation of the aircraft industry. The factory tinually compelled to stress the domin- suffer poverty anywhere, because the which prevent the economic progress factories as well as the unrest amongst management are obliged to follow the ant role of economic affairs should be productive capacity of agriculture and necessary. having a certain effect on the long- industry was far more than sufficient The workers are receiving their economic reasons. The cost of living has go against their technical experience. suffering workers in industry. For the to satisfy the needs of everyone, now social and political education the hard gone up, according to official statistics, They are forced to use materials ordered last two years we have been continually wish the people to forget. way. They are learning to detect the by 8.3 per cent. during the month of by the Ministry in Paris, which are not reminded that we are facing difficulties It is obvious that there is a glaring real "spivs and drones", those who toil September alone, rents are also going to suitable for the type of planes they were caused by economic affairs. Of course, contradiction in the exhortations to a not neither do they spin in an economic be sensibly increased, yet the 11 per cent. ordered to produce. To quote an exwe can take into account the fact that "work or want" policy. The contra- sense, but they take a very good share rise in wages agreed by employers and the ample amongst many, which, though it political mistakes and blunders are re- diction lies in the fact that the Govern- from the pool by reason of their C.G.T. on August 1st, has not yet come may seem trivial, has caused considerable quired to be explained away somehow, ment dictators desire to cheapen political power or connections with that into effect. but this explaining away of mistakes is and increase production, not to satisfy power. The electricity cuts two days a week exasperation in the factory mentioned not the only reason for the many refer- the needs of the people but to The worker will eventually realise add to the hardships and also mean that above; the factory received a supply of ences to economic questions. The strengthen its struggle for power, which that the greater part of the wealth he many factories have to close down two undercarriages which are needed to be crisis conditions of to-day are primarily it is waging against the governments of produces is taken from him by others. days a week. caused by economic dislocation accentu- other countries. As has been already Dividends and profits are calculated to ated by the disastrous war. The poli- pointed out in the columns of Freedom, take a third, another third is wasted in Results of Nationalisation ticians profess themselves beyond blame all countries are similarly doing their authoritarian control and the worker is for the crisis conditions of to-day. But best to gain positions of power or to heavily taxed on the remainder. If the Unemployment is still practically non- easily be avoided had the factory the what are the people to think of these ally themselves with the more powerful. worker is to get the maximum of the existent but the position of workers in power to place its own orders. innocent pious politicians who wish now Capitalist economic competition has wealth he produces, he must organise nationalised factories, many of whom are to disclaim responsibility, when we re- always been held to be the direct cause workers' control of industry, where the sacking a great number of workers, is to justify this state of affairs. Right wing member only too well that they all of war by those who professed to be men who do the work will plan for it particularly serious. When they lose shared full responsibility for the war socialists or communists. But now they and control it and instead of austerity their jobs workers are directed to other plans, and all were shouting vigorously are all together in the policy of state- under an "economic dictator", we could factories; sometimes they have hours of for a "full war" and "no surrender", capitalist-cum-private-capitalist Britain have plenty, through economic co- travelling away from their homes, and handicapped by the lack of freedom and a little more than two years ago. Had intensifying her economic competition operation and co-ordination with the housing shortage is such that there is initiative. The Communists talk of they the slightest appreciation of the for world markets. Economic com- peoples everywhere. terrible consequences that would result petition, political wrangling, then from the systematic destruction of the military action, this is the policy that warring countries' economy? Did they the workers are asked to accept all over explain to the people in July, 1945, again. that the only kind of government they Already there is enough wealth and offered would be one that would make energy being wasted on military organlife more difficult and less tolerable, and that would emulate many of the things by which fascism had become infamous?

#### The Great Leader

The newspapers now refer to Sir Stafford Cripps as the "economic dictator". Apparently, too, he has no doubts about his own ability to manage industry, although he has stated that the workers are not capable of controlling industry. It is interesting to note how attention is directed to the individual and to the wide powers of the new Ministry. Six years of war did not destroy the conception of great leaders. Those who combatted the idea of any great man leading a people as irrational, illogical and reactionary, now try to pretend that they have the material to make the great man theory work in pratice.

This new dictator of industry "socialist" Britain, ensconced in hi palace, will be able to survey, investigate, plan, direct and generally control the thousands of different industries, observing the bottle-necks, the gaps, the hold-ups, and all the other peculiarities of industry. Ordinary people find it quite enough to understand the intricacies of one industry, but not so the politician ; he is ready to take on thousands at a time, and issue directions and orders affecting every one of them and every worker in them. I once knew a manager of an establishment where several hundred workers were employed; this manager one day suggested to a worker that he would welcom some news from the workshops as h realised that many things that went on there were unknown to him. then, we must admit that the T.U.C. General Council have signified their readiness to co-operate. As is usual nowadays with all this belief in totali tarian trade-unionism, the General Council speak in the name of th workers and commit them to all manner of things without the workers knowing anything about the racket. Already, there is airy talk about concentration of industry, involving the closing down of many firms. The workers who become redundant will then have to face the directives of the dictator of labour

## More Austerity

The trade-union bureaucracies can be depended on to use their powers to bludgeon the still largely apathetic workers into suffering further inconveniences to meet the desires of the "economic dictator". Efforts will be made to develop production committees for the purpose of speeding-up jobs. securing economies (at the expense of the worker) and generally cheapening production by increasing the amount of Marxian surplus-value, all in the name of "Socialism". But it is a form of socialism that is being increasingly exposed. It is not the socialism that the workers understand and desire. Socialism was understood (if vaguely) by the workers to mean economic security, better wages, a higher standard of living, more leisure and the means to

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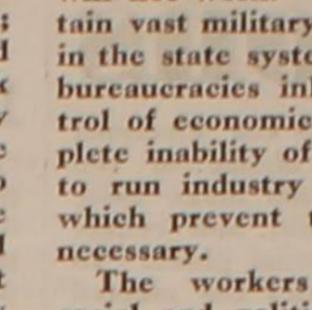
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isations under the control of Britain to materially improve the life of the British people. There is tremendous economic waste occurring because the struggle for power as a policy is preventing the economic reorganisation of countries like Germany and Italy. Not only is there the most deplorable human suffering (and let us hope here that at some future time we are not all held responsible for our rulers, as our rulers hold the German people responsible for Hitler) but there is a most tragic destruction of economic productiveness that we could utilise, as well as the German people.

#### Drags on Progress

At least there is this to be said for come an economic planner. But it just industrial tyranny.

Land notes



C. W. ROOKE.

## **Refusing Overtime** an Offence!

The Sunderland reinstatement com mittee has recently reached a decision which will undoubtedly assist the Labou Government in their new drive to the most out of the workers, and wi also prove a new threat against what little eedom remains in industry to-day

A labourer in a Sunderland factory was sacked for refusing to work overtime. He brought his case before the reinstatement committee, but, having been told that overtime was an accepted practice at the foundry where he worked, they decided that to refuse overtime constituted "industrial misconduct", for which a man could legitimately be sacked.

the economic crisis; it is concentrating This, of course, makes nonsense of the next spring.

TURING the past month The Land as one comments on, and tries to restraining influence exercised by the old not, from the employers' point of view, me of the news value that it had during pporting in food. It is also grudgingly t possible, a fact which was previously public opinion. Along with, and folnent of its plan for increased production re seems to have occurred a certain aild curiosity amongst some urban people out what really goes on in that queer, and often, picturesque world that one can while travelling from one town to another. What is it like, this life on the land, system. people inquire with a rather shame-face and guilty air. "I am afraid I really know nothing about the land but I feel that I 'ought' to." Then is apt to follow a string of questions displaying a naivety and ignorance that makes one almost squirm with embarrassment. Unable t think of what to say, or rather how to say it, one mutters incoherently, smiles self-consciously and tries with all the mental ingenuity one can muster to steer off the subject as quickly as possible Often it almost feels as if one were being asked questions about life in Polynesia.

#### The Root of all Evil

It is also difficult to write regularly about farming from an anarchist viewpoint without endless repetition, thereby being a bore to oneself as well as to such people as may read the stuff one writes. This repetition, this awareness that "I have said it all before, said it all," brought about largely by the fact that all the evils, all the absurdities that one points out, all one's analyses of existing conditions. readers to FREEDOM? Have as well as well-intentioned peoples' proposals for removing them, all come back almost every time to the same root cause -the production of food, as of every other commodity, for profit and not, primarily, for use. In the final analysis i comes to just that. If one accepts the profit motive, modify it how you will, all the rest follows. This is not an oversimplification; it is just a fact. And s

elucidate, the current happenings in the tradition of always doing the land well, be said to be adequately compensated for farming world, one feels that it is all and never exploiting it, is fast lapsing. by the new prices for agricultural prorather irrelevant and unimportant because In brief, planned capitalism, what is ducts, has caused farmers to further all these things are the inevitable and, usually called socialism, with its emphasis reduce their permanent staff wherever for the most part, quite logical outcome on "efficiency" (which in actual fact in possible, and this has been made possible of our system of monetary values. minded" persons, who take a "humane" pects a greater evil than the old laissez- Indeed the present trend on British capitalism as in the natural order of faire capitalism, prevented as it was, from farms, and especially in the arable disthings (as if any form of capitalism could reaching its logical conclusion by long- tricts, is for an ever-smaller permanent be "humane" if the word is to have any established custom. meaning at all), it is just stupid for such Tampering with capitalism, supposedly bigger tractors supplemented by seasonal people to write indignant letters to the alleviating its more obvious anomalies, gang labour. Press about crops being ploughed in and which is the avowed purpose of socialism, The real point to note, however, is whatnot or even about restrictive policies only tends in the long run to make them that under the Control of Engagements in agriculture. Such action on the part worse. I must repeat, however tedious it Order which, despite previous promises to of producers, if it is not more profitable may seem; either you accept the profit the contrary, still operates, and will for or cuts losses, is obviously the right system or you don't. There are no satis- some time continue to operate, in agriculcourse to take-if one accepts (and how factory compromises and all attempts to ture, these unemployed farm workers are many in actual fact do not) the profit achieve them are doomed to frustration bidden to seek employment outside the

The Futility of "Planning" modify the more glaring injustices and these Land Notes, with, of course, variabsurdities of the profit system by "plan- ations on the same theme according to the ning" only results, for the most part, in occasion. If you find such a prospect even greater chaos largely because the dull-well, frankly, so do I sometimes. persons responsible for the "planning" But there it is. pardon the inverted commas) are almost always quite divorced from what they socialism) only aggravate the evil.

cerned anyhow, the increase amongst the according to the returns made to the and even for the privilege of being younger generation of farmers of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, allowed to work at all, is always a acceptance of the capitalist ideology of it is at present estimated that there are potential threat to the British worker. As profit as the sole criterion of good farming between 5,000 and 6,000 farm workers long as there is any actual employment of can be, and often is, disastrous to the unemployed. The conclusion is almost land from which the profit is made. A unavoidable that the experts have gone them to do all they can to prevent the farm is not simply a food factory and astray somewhere. Moreover, as the bulk shipment and employment of foreign never can be. Among the old men, the of the unemployment appears to be in the workers who can be used as bargaining older farmers and their workers that is, arable counties of East Anglia and Lin- counters against them by their employers profit was not the sole criterion of suc- colnshire and as the bulk of the maincess. Hard task-masters though they crop potatoes and nearly all the sugar- D.P.'s on humanitarian grounds. Such often were, these farmers had a feeling beet in those counties is still to be lifted, an attitude on the workers' part, inof responsibility to the land they farmed it does seem rather odd. I suspect, evitable perhaps though it may be in the and there were certain things, like, say, the however, even though no details of the existing social conditions under which burning of straw, which they would never figures referred to are available, that the the workers live, is yet another example for a moment consider even though, on bulk of the unemployed come from the of the stupidity and cruelty of the present a short term view, it might be more ranks of the regular workers rather than social system, for if the land of this profitable to do so. But with the increas- the casuals who would be employed on country were farmed to anything like its ing acceptance of profit as the practical the potatoes and beet. manifestation of "efficient" farming, the The recent wage increase, which can- compelled to take such action. G.V.

19





no possibility for them to change their

production. All aircraft production is backed by facts. nationalised in four big trusts, SNCASO, CNCAN, SNCASE, SNCAC, dividing France in four geographical groups.

The conditions in a factory in the Seine-et-Oise belonging to the SNCAN, which is, like the three other trusts, in deficit, is typical. It employed during the German occupation 3,000 workers and is now left with only 1,600. During this last year 1,000 workers have been dismissed. This factory has been assembling tourist planes with a view partly to export, partly to national defense as the models produced could be transformed into fighter planes.

After two years of "planified" and nationalised regime this factory has been obliged to give up the production of airplanes and is now to devote itself to that

price than those of the same type being muddle.

By a French Correspondent. produced in England and America. And Strikes are taking place all over France. to complete this nonsensical position the There has been a slight re-shuffle of enjoy a fuller life. They are aware will not work. The necessity to main- Some are inspired by purely political French Air Ministry recently ordered

delays and has been the cause of great operated with fluid oil, but the Air Ministry had ordered viscous oil, with the result that planes always had trouble when they landed. Such mistakes could

Political parties try to find scapegoats newspapers put the blame on the management when in fact they worked fairly efficiently considering that they were sabotage on the part of non-nationalised factories, accusing them of not sending The situation is particularly bad in the the right supplies to the nationalised nationalised factories devoted to aircraft factories. But this explanation is not

> The workers in the factories do not need to look for sabotage to find the causes of the trouble. They know that bureaucratic control and inept planning are the causes of the trouble. If they were allowed to organise production themselves the chaos created by remote control would soon disappear.

Another cause for resentment against nationalisation is that nationalised factories pay lower wages than privatelyowned factories. While in aircraft factories a tool-maker earns 72 francs per hour, in a Ford factory he would earn 110 francs; an unskilled worker earns 37 francs per hour in the first and 55 francs in the second.

Nationalisation has been a failure and of electric cookers with the prospect of even the Communists do not dare to adhaving to close down altogether in the vocate it any longer. The dismal failure of the aircraft industry has lost them attention on the greater importance of industrial freedom for which the Labour This situation has been created by the many supporters who remember that economic affairs in society, in contrast movement long pretended to fight, and fact that the Government ordered a Communists represented nationalisation as to political affairs. The politician shows the way in which every means is quantity of planes for which it was not a universal panacea and who hold the elected to govern by reason of his now being taken to further chain the able to pay and those manufactured for Communist Tillon, who was Minister of political allegiances, now tries to be- worker down to the grindstone of export were turned out at a much higher Air, responsible for much of the present

# NEW LIFE TO THE LAND?

and are so much wasted energy.

That really has been, and I am afraid, sought after. dear reader, will probably continue to be, Ironically enough, the attempt to the constant, underlying theme-song of

#### Labour Shortage?

existing society becomes synonomous with to some extent by increased mechanisation. It is just stupid for "progressive- profit) is, in farming anyway, in some res- mainly of cultivation and harvesting. staff operating larger implements and

industry even should their services be

## Farm Workers and D.P.'s

In such circumstances the antagonism lisplayed by farm workers towards the substitution of Displaced Persons on the land for German P.o.W.'s is understandable enough. Looked at superficially, the action of British workers in refusing, in one case, to continue to work on the plan about. Left to itself the "law" of Speaking of anomalies just now, here is same farm if D.P.'s were employed seems, supply and demand does, or at any rate one which is perhaps worth noting. in view of the suffering most of these did, tend to produce some sort of equili- According to Parliamentary spokesmen persons have gone through, to be mean brium. Attempts at compromise (i.e., State and "the experts" (bless them) the new and uncharitable. But it must be rememfood production drive requires an addi- bered that such foreign labour, docile as Moreover, as far as farming is con- tional 100,000 workers on the land. Yet, it usually is, grateful for any sanctuary British farm workers, it is natural for who, you may be sure, do not employ potential capacity the men would not be



The difference in climate between capitalist interests, there was a new The second phase of the elections the pre-war period and the present day element of paralysis: the utilisation of can easily be observed in relation to the local problems for the vast manoeuvres municipal elections which will take of parties and imperialisms. place on the 19th October, and for which propaganda campaigns arc in

Letter from France

Up to 1939, local questions assumed a major importance, as well as personal or whether the repairing of roads will questions, and in spite of the pro- be accelerated. On the contrary, the town halls. gressive extension of the powers of the electors are invited to show their pre-State, the commune retained a certain ference for Russian wheat or American independence, maintained its particular wheat, to declare themselves for or life, and still appeared to many liberal against the entry of French-controlled and progressive spirits as the basic cell German territoy into the combination of the nation.

alitics under Socialist direction, sauce or Balkan sauce. the Socialist party having shown a Of course, the great formations still make alive and to develop, most often had had cholera since a few had it in very live interest in all problems of talk of a municipal programme, but it against and always outside the muni- 1916 but which has nevertheless been general concern: health, town planning, is only a kind of platonic homage to cipal authorities, co-operative and syndi- panic-stricken into emergency schemes children's welfare, sports and leisure traditions. The Communist Party puts calist organisations, bodies for sport almost amounting to total blockade of the activities. The social-democratic tradi- parliamentary leaders at the head of its and mutual aid, detached from the troops from the civil population. dition which had manifested itself in lists presented in the great towns; the pernicious influences of the omnipotent Germany and Belgium, had been carried Christian Democrats and the Socialists State and of imperialist quarrels, so as the touching faith in cure-alls the average for their humanitarian activities the images seem to emanate from the same society. support of the radicals and the Free-

#### Communal Initiatives

A certain "municipalist" spirit was developed, and initiative in communal policy received support in directions where partisan considerations were

In the elections which followed the liberation, lists of "Resistance", "Social Progress" or "Left Bloc" candidates were presented and gained incontestable success. Christian Independents, Radicals, Socialists and Communist were elected pell-mell on common lists. Two years of frustrations, two years of social conflicts, of continued hypertrophy of the State, of external threats and pressures have entirely transformed the character of the municipal councils. At the same time as the central authorities limited, controlled and suppressed the powers of the councillors submerging them in decrees and circu lars, the great parties acted through

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their centralised machinery and posed their discipline on the militants of the urban or rural centres.

#### Intrusion of Politics

It was no longer a question of discussing credits for a nursery or a holi- People of General de Gaulle, without day camp, in the interest of mothers any basic organisation, without control sisting the government, of introducing any solid machinery, but which in the slogans, of taking part in the battles of gather the votes of all the lower middleinfluence on a national scale.

vote-catching, the intervention of local munists.

Foreign Commentary

The result is that to-day those

villages and wards are rare where the people vote on the question of whether there will be more public wash houses of British and American zones, to triumph of bureaucratic centralism. There were also a high proportion of choose between democracy with Yankee

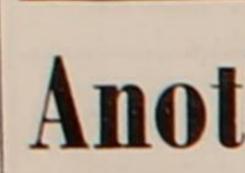
> studio and to be conceived by the same brain, speak of war, of happy old-age, of German coal. It would be enough to change the heading to make these generalities serve the propaganda of any

#### De Gaulle Intervenes

As for the League of French People, of General de Gaulle, it does not even appearance merely in order to count the faithful. But at the same time, followwere gathered in a meeting in the cenmost petty street corner orator, asked his hearers to vote for the RPF lists.

Two movements appear likely to colfirst is the Communist Party, losing in- esteem of the often-praised intelligen fluence in industrial areas, but progressadroitly all the grievances which the government policy causes-and demanding its re-entry into the Cabinet. The other is the League of French class, officials, rentiers and pensioners, To the inherent faults of a municipal who are anxious for a return of the system created and developed in a "good old times". They also demand capitalist environment - corruption, National Union, but without the Com-

definite the internal split, and reflect most of the municipalities the elected of all the parties of the right and left either vigilantly alert to prevent will make a barrage to hinder the choice of Communists at the head of the



TF EVER there were brilliant masters of speak of municipal aims. It makes its statesmanship and oratory, as the retouchers of history would have us believe, then the present school of politicians lacks ing the laws of electoral competition, not only brilliancy, but even the most the speeches of the General, Joan of essential fundamentals of a beginner's Are 1947, take a political turn. Thus, course. Compare the passion and mastery at Lyons, after the ceremony to the of Robespierre, Danton and Parnell with memory of a great military adventurer, our uninspiring public speakers reading General Diego Brosset, the sympathisers their carefully prepared and ambiguous statements in such a dreary-weary, tral square and De Gaulle, just like the amateur-schoolmaster manner. If we are to be fooled, let us be fooled at least by entertaining means! Having to swallow these unforgivably dilletantic and contra lect the votes of the discontented. The dictory pronouncements must hurt the common elector who doesn't like too plain ing in peasant districts, exploiting evidence of having chosen leaders of less ommon sense than himself.

#### Muddleheadedness

As an instance take the statements made on the future of Germany by Lord and children, but of upholding or re- of the levers of national life, without Pakenham, who is the minister responsible to the Foreign Secretary for the into discussions pro- or anti-Soviet event of an appeal to the people can British Zone of Germany in an interview with Colin Frame of The Star (1/10/47).

(1) "We are in Germany to make sure that she does not launch another war; to help her develop a peaceful, demo-



acquainted with Communist methods and admiration. could be quoted.

The first is the very frank condemnation Dimitrov's 72-year-old mother, Baba death", which is the only way one can tend to be helping Germany to develop a the late King Feisal, stated that "the of the execution of Petkov made by Mr. Parashkeva to visit him. Gratefully she describe a prison sentence which ends peaceful mind while we spend millions Emir Feisal, who had signed an agreement. It is a pity that Mr. Bevin is he will repay you a thousand time'." not so indignant about the almost daily And Time cynically concludes: "The executions that take place in Spain, in which hangman's noose was Georgi Dimitrov's the principles of justice are as absent as fulfilment of his mother's 14-year-old in the case of Petkov. British public promise." opinion, as a whole, is no more aware of what is going on in Spain, eight years after Franco took over Government of the whole country, than it was during the prison play Now Barrabas (Freedom, Mussolini and Hitler regimes. And the 5/4/47), now published in book form and fault lies with people like Mr. Bevin reviewed elsewhere in this issue refers to whose utterances have a world-wide Press a matter which will we hope particularly and, even if not accepted, do at least interest our French readers. It is by Sir reach the public's ear; whereas the small Alexander Paterson. He writes: "Three informed groups and newspapers can at times in my short life have I crossed the best only reach a small, already informed path of men, who, while engaged as com-

Time (6/10/47) and deals with an was Siegfried Sassoon, Douglas Home was

are in power, and the Petkov case is Nikola Petkov's legal murder. When up. just one of thousands of examples that Georgi Dimitrov awaited trial in a Nazi In France, unlike here, a life sentence search experiments of Britain's "atom studying rare birds. jail, Petkov was one of a group of Bul- means what is says, and whilst it is diffi- city" at Didcot are led by Dr. Frisch. But two comments could be made. garian political leaders who arranged for cult to be categorical about it, a "living Is it not contemptible hypocrisy to pre-

## FORGOTTEN MAN?

The introduction to Douglas Home's batants in bloody war, found in incum-The second comment comes from bent on them to refuse combat." One the Nazi bully who participated in his dered how he fared and faced his end." proud.

I the National Press to the Petkov trial assumed another role and it is now the and still in prison? And if so can nothing from launching another war, while we are called "pro-Arabs" who started with and his subsequent execution that Freedom courage of another Bulgarian [Petkov] be done for him? It is a pity that importing Nazi technicians, aeroplane can be excused for not having dealt with whose steadfast opposition to forces apparently in France there is no organis- constructors, radio experts, chemists and the case. After all, our readers are well of oppression has evoked world-wide ation that one knows of to which this scientists? We are at present employing case could be referred, unless of course Hitler's number one atom scientist, Dr. their contempt for opposition when they "There was a curiously ironic angle to our comrades of the Libertaire take it Heisenberg; Dr. Hahn, a famous uranium with a scholastic view of Islamic culture

> 1' at a this only in death is as harharous as any hangman's rope

## **BRITISH JUSTICE" IN** PALESTINE

sentenced to-day two brothers of 17 and 19 and a third man to seven years' imprisonment each for printing illegal leaflets issued by the Jewish terrorist organisation, Irgun Zvai Leumi.

The father of the two brothers was found not guilty and was discharged. The three men said that they forced by two unknown men, who entered the Tel-Aviv workshop where they were patents, skilled labour, scientists, and all employed, to assist in printing the leaflets. | the tools of reconstruction. Is it not the The sentence passed was undoubtedly | limit of hypocrisy to preach "morality intended more to intimidate other printers | and practise slave labour, to offer "hope" aspect of the Petkov trial which might be the second, the third was a young French than to punish these two youths. Other- and, in practice, to restrict a whole nation referred to as a "human angle" comment. journalist who in 1917 "having for a year wise there can be no justification by the to a "coolie" standard of living, and to According to Time, Petkov "fought the or more endured the daily blasting and authorities for this savage sentence on talk of intending "to carry out our policy Nazis and spent part of the war behind bloodshed of Verdun, dared to write in his two boys. But that is not justice, and firmly and with as much humanity as German barbed wire. After the Russians own paper that this human carnage had that champion of Bulgarian freedom- possible"? Germany, like the rest of put the small Bulgarian Communist Party outstripped any conceivable limits of Mr. Bevin-might well turn his attention | Europe, has seen what "humanity" means in power, Petkov opposed the Communists sense and decency, and the time had come to such examples as the one quoted above to governments, whatever their political led by the old Comintern agent. Georgi to call a halt. He was tried by Court of British justice which are on his door-Dimitrov, hero of the Reichstag-fire trial. Martial and sentenced as an enemy to step and for which he must in part be "Said the U.S. Government in a sting- his country to transportation to and con- held responsible. And while he is looking (but futile) note of protest: "The finement sine die in the Ile au Diable off ing into this case he might ask himself trial of Petkov recalls to mind another the coast of Cayenne." Twenty years whether the 800 Jews who are held in trial which occurred in Leipzig 14 years later in 1937 Sir Alexander Paterson met British concentration camps without trial, ago. In that earlier trial, a Bulgarian this man in the Ile au Diable and walked in some cases for as long as 8 years. defendant [Dimitrov] evoked world-wide and talked with him. "Often in the in- (Freedom, Oct 4th) are an example of admiration for his courageous defiance of tervening years-he writes-have I won- "British Justice" about which he can feel LIBERTARIAN.

Egypt

#### Death of Communal Liberties

In fact, we are observing the death agony of communal liberties and the And the role of the revolutionaries.

S. PARANE.



which is that of the choice of the epidemic in Egypt had swept aside all serums. Before they were distributed mayors, will without doubt make more political, commercial and nationalist preoccupations; on the contrary, the newsth split on the international plane. In papers are busily engaged in trying to prove that the Government has been disease or criminally negligent in not foreseeing it; business firms are advertising the most unlikely products from Egg Nog to brands of wine as "good for epidemics" and even street vendors of sticky dates are crying that they have been cleaned in boiling water; while the Arabic press has blamed the cholera on to British troops en route from India-which aroused an indignant reply from GHQ of the libertarians in particular, is to MELF that no British troops in Egypt To me the most significant thing was

on by the French Socialists, who found do the same. The posters, whose to give birth to a new structure of man still displays-religion, politics or medicine, people are still clinging for a "saviour"; in this case it was a bit more



standard of life for her citizens."

(2) "It would be morally wicked to try to do all these things without making sure that her standard of life is reasonable" . . . "The average get no more than two-thirds of the level on which we struggle along, while the poorest are desperately hungry."

(3) "Our own people are co-operating most effectively with the Germans." (4) "None of our people in Germany

(5) "No doubt many Germans have not worked as hard as they might have done."

people."

way of practical results."

#### **By What Right?**

is put on to Russia, who has not kept | same thing to two different groups'." to the Potsdam agreement, just as the obligations.

Will Lord Pakenham explain to us ing behind his back! and the German people what entitles us "to help Germany intellectually and atomic and bacteriological weapon

October 9th a Jerusalem military court | advocate a Christian mind when our own | record is nothing but a refutation of every Christian principle?

#### Hypocrisy

How easy it is to assume moral in that competitor has been Lord Packenham concludes his state-

"We Britons are there in the nature

of trustees, and our work in Germany is either a Christian Crusade or nothing Christian Crusade? Did the ghost of \*BEHIND THE SILKEN CURTAIN

Goebbels "against Bolshevism"?

paper phrases by saying that the religious Messiah, it was the vaccine there was a black market on them as the well-to-do rushed to be inoculated; "baksheesh" having passed hands, the free distribution began; and there was a stampede for inoculations by even those who live their entire lives in povertystricken surroundings in which dirt and disease are rampant and who are always drinking from and excreting in the same contaminated canal. But no effort was ever made to clear up the source of the trouble-the water supply; and it has taken an epidemic to persuade the Government to clean the streets of filth in heaps-at any rate in important places like Cairo-which, needless to say,

## THE MUCH PROMISED LAND

Mr. Bartley Crum, being 100% pro-Zionist, does not make his book (Behind the Silken Curtain\*) less interesting. After all, it is usually the people who feel deepest on the subject who let the cats out of the bag. Mr. Crum was august members of that body, who were cratic and Christian mind; to ensure wined and dined everywhere and most of some material compensation for the whom finished up with a grudge against immense damage inflicted in her name, everyone concerned because of the amount at the same time ensuring a reasonable of propaganda that was thrown in with the wines and food.

The significant part of the book is where Mr. Crum admits how the American Government has consistently cheated over the Palestine question. It has long been recognised that Britain promised the land in two different directions. The British members of the Commission were quite well aware of it, and to show the level of "our" rulers, were quite delighted when they discovered apparently would thank me for pretending that | for the first time that the American we have had the success we had hoped Government was equally guilty of bad

"I was given a document marked 'Contents of file of confidential communications in Palestine supplied by Division (6) "The real standard by which of Near Eastern Affairs for use of Anglohistory will judge us, is what effect we American Committee of Inquiry' . . . have on the mind of the German According to this file, since September 15, 1938, each time a promise was made to (7) "It would be an affectation to say | American Jewry regarding Palestine the that there is any firm conviction that | State Department promptly sent messages democracy has much to offer in the | to the Arab rulers discounting it and reassuring them, in effect, that regardless of what was promised publicly to the Jews, nothing would be done to change the situation in Palestine . . . Sir John-Of course all the blame for the faults | said drily, 'It appears that Great Britain and failures of the British Administration | is not the only Power who promises the Needless to say, Mr. Crum, who has a Russians in their turn accuse their Roosevelt fixation, tries to persuade us "allies" of having acted contrary to their that the President was sincere and the mysterious "State Department" was act-

Some light is thrown too on the British Lawrence and continue to-day, who are pro-Arab so long as the Arabs can be kept down and treated with patronising contempt and combine power politics expert and hundreds of others. The re- that rather reminds one of ornithologists

Auni Abdul Hadi, private secretary to ment with Weizmann of sympathy for Zionist aims, did not really know what Does the founding of sham German he was signing because the agreement was councils, with no rights except those of not in Arabic. Colonel T. E. Lawrencethe scapegoat, help to develop a "demo- Lawrence of Arabia-had acted as inter-The Associated Press reports that on cratic consciouness"? How can we preter at the time ... 'Lawrence was careful not to allow any Arab to be present at that meeting'." Mr. Crum thinks it incredible that Lawrence-'one' of the greatest friends the Arab peoples ever had' would have connived at such a plot and yet two of Mr. Crum's colleagues had an interview with King Ibn Saud where precisely the same thing happened. The famous H. St. John Philby, English convert to Mohamedanism who acts as Lawrence at Ibn Saud's court, translated the King's words and in the usual fashion the transcription read much better than it sounded at the time! By a complete repudiation of all the plomatic gentry behind the scenes as well as the luxury travellers inquiring into other people's affairs, any troubles in this corner of the world might quite easily be settled by those directly concerned in the matter. The fact that stands out most clearly from the evidence of all the representatives of this and that who appeared before the Committee is that none of them really represented anything but themselves.

(Batley Green).

#### 18th October, 1947

## **Germany**-

WHAT stands behind the muchquoted "Nihilism" of German of "democracy", "liberty", "justice", etc., youth to-day? Is it the "determination a desire to fight and to sabotage, and a of negation"? Or is there, behind the vague urge for freedom. It refuses to bitter and disillusioned rejection of all accept mere fictions, empty catch-words present values, the tremendous longing for and hollow slogans. It sees lots of plans new and real values?

new and powerful supernationalism born the Nazis, for their "realism" in economy out of despair and fostered by the catas- and administration. trophes of deportation and starvation. In Youth despises those who want to make 1946, he begged his British friends to it take part in the democracy-farce, those check the growth of this nationalism by . who speak to it of reconstruction. It sees applying a constructive economic policy. that 'behind the much-vaunted plans, The seducers of German youth to-day there are no material realities, not even talk of the third world war and seek to clear projects. It has no interest in lure them into supporting either the East "communal enterprises", for it sees that or the West. They whisper: "We should, public and private life are dominated by and must, prepare for this war. After selfishness, greed, neid und missgunst, by Hitler and their movements driven having lost two world wars, we will finally swindling and informing. Is this, asks underground, in company with Socialists, survive the last as victors." The Russian youth, the ideological basis for a new Communists and Christians, has provided side whispers of a Communist Germany order? which, side by side with Russia, would It laughs at the "Christian socialism" glory of rebellious martyrdom. They are dominate Europe; the West asks them to propagated by the Church, it is sick of now out to cash in on this. And, what is participate in a victorious crusade against the Moscow barbarians.



The youth organisations in the West the social experiments of the Soviet Zone proclaimed hostility towards fake demoare helped by the occupation authorities. which bear the stamp of totalitarianism. cracy, Marxism, bureaucracy and pro-Naturally, sports and religious organis- The boasted activity of the sponsored foreign servility. ations are the most favoured. Political youth organisations is artificial. The Even workers are inclined to forget

**Resurgence** of Nationalism The nationalist youth movements are being legally reorganised. The Bün- the slogans. It has had enough of all for Hitler the support of thousands ( dische Freischaren Völkische youth groups the 'isms. Neither neo-nazism nor are reappearing, issuing manifestoes and pseudo-democracy has captured circulating their literature freely.

The notorious "Jungo" (Jungdeutscher Orden) has made its reappearance. This organisation was the first nationalist advance guard to emerge after the 1918 re- Liberal paper of the Western zone as well volution, the first to organise provocative as every Stalinist paper of the Eastern demonstrations, to unfold the abolished black-white-red flag, to proclaim the attitude in general and Nihilists in parmyth of the unconquerable army that had ticular. The term is never clearly deto withdraw owing to the "stab in the fined. It is left to the imagination of the back" delivered by the Reds. From this reader to visualise something even more organisation were drafted the political dreadful than the old terrifying bogies. murderers of the secret FEME. The This obscure Nihilism is an object of conworkers will recall the violent anti-Semitism of the "Jungo", the cruel massacre of defenceless workers, the bloodbath of Mechterstedt, the thousands of victims who fell under the hands of similar organisations of the "Fatherland's Union", led by Jungo, in Munich and Brunswick and during the insurrection of Max Hölz. Hundreds of thousands of Jungomen were financed and armed by the big industrialists, instructed by officers of the Reichwehr and employed as reinforcements to the police and the army to crush strikers and militant workers.

From Hamburg, Frankfurt, Munich from all parts of the Western zones comes information confirming the rebuilding of reactionary forces.

In Weilheim (Upper Bavaria) the widow of General Ludendorff has organised the Bund für Gotterkenntnis, a mere new edition of the old Bund für Deutsche Gotterkenntnis. It was Mathilde Ludendorff who, with the protection and assistance of her husband, widely propagated the "new German religion", freed from all Jewish and Catholic attributes. It was from her and Arthur Dinter that there originated the German race theories from which Hitler and Streicher adapted their racial doctrines, which led to the cruel atrocities committed against the used demagogically by the Bolsheviks to ception, are bound to identify their own "inferior multitude". Now once again increase confusion and suspicion. Thus ambitions with our aims, Frau Ludendorff attempts to spread under we have in Germany contradictory Eastern the cover of religion an insane gospel in and Western conceptions of Nihilism. We order to prepare the mind of youth for a are presented with: National-Nihilists, new "spiritual resurgence".

centres, have again become hotbeds of Anarchism, Niekisch's and Strasser's reactionary and counter-revolutionary National-Communism. It is not sur-

Freie Deutsche Jugend, the one-party must confuse even a fairly well-informed organisation which is, of course, like its student of politics. predecessor the Hitler Youth, merely a For the present we must restrict ourpolitical instrument. In both East and selves to a short account, in order to West there are institutions but no real illustrate the new German underground youth movement. Many groups cultivate and the problems confronting our German ideas and traditions that were dead and comrades.

discredited even in the Weimar days. **The Real Movement** 

The real movement is underground and its characteristics are: hatred of the farce for reconstruction but no capability to Karl Schumacher sees the growth of a accomplish them, and it tends to admire

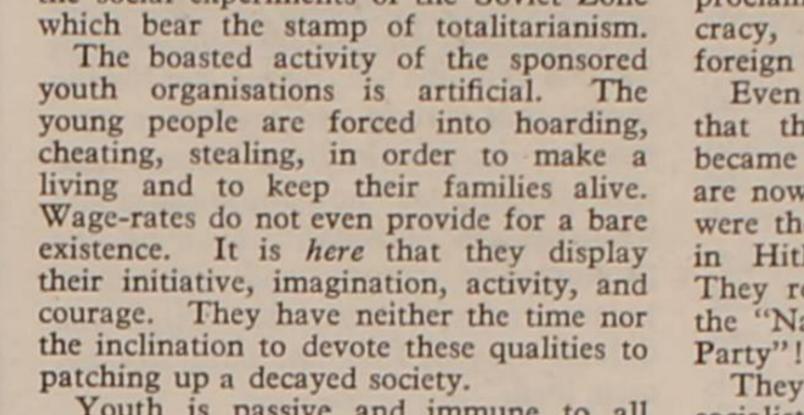
the Marxism of the S.P.D. which entirely worse, they are succeeding in gaining the lacks any revolutionary spirit, it distrusts sympathy of the youth, with their fiercely

After the first world war a sharp ris of left and right extremism occurred which increased with the crises of th post-war period.

In order to capture the radicalised sections of youth, the various parties adopted radical slogans. The Communist stole slogans from the Syndicalists and Anarchists, the Nationalists stole from Nietzsche, Stirner and the Communist manifesto. Both succeeded in capturing the dynamic forces of the youth. Both later dropped their radicalism when it stood in the way of turning towards reaction, and purged their ranks.

### The Danger of "National **Revolutionaries**"

The fact that the "revolutionaries" of the National Revolution were liquidate them with an anti-Fascist alibi and the



#### "Nihilism"

In nearly every Social-democratic and zone, we find attacks against the nihilist stant attack by all legal parties. But th patronising or excited warnings seem only to arouse greater interest. The dynamic sections of youth are impulsively drifting towards any extreme that seems to offer a radical alternative to all the resurrected doctrines of political parties.

Judging from the anti-Nihilist propaganda of the respectable parties, the word "nihilist" is applied as a general term to brand all those who remain indifferent refusing to participate in the so-called Nazi foundations and the construction elements are classified as destructive ob- form of order". Nietzsche's European Nihilism, Spengler's German universities, Christian youth- Prussian Socialism, Junger's Prussian VISIT OUR FREEDOM prising that all this, to which are added In the East all are absorbed in the a whole set of unidentified Nihilist bogies,

groups are assisted "insofar as they are young people are forced into hoarding, that these national-revolutionaries, who based on democratic principles". There cheating, stealing, in order to make a became victims of Himmler's terror and are "youth" papers and magazines-with living and to keep their families alive. are now opposing the "common enemies", circulations of up to 100,000 copies, Wage-rates do not even provide for a bare were the greatest asset of the Nazi party "youth" broadcasts, plays and films. existence. It is here that they display in Hitler's decisive battle for power. Everywhere the initiative comes from the their initiative, imagination, activity, and They represented the workers' section of grown-ups. Youth itself is passive! courage. They have neither the time nor the "National Socialist German Workers'

They helped, by pretending to be Youth is passive and immune to all socialists and revolutionaries, to capture militant and socially-minded workers who had turned away from the corrupted working-class parties.

Today, once more, the "national revolutionaries" are attempting to direct all popular resentment and discontent into the channels of a national revolution And just as, after the last war, they stol basic socialist and Communist slogans and

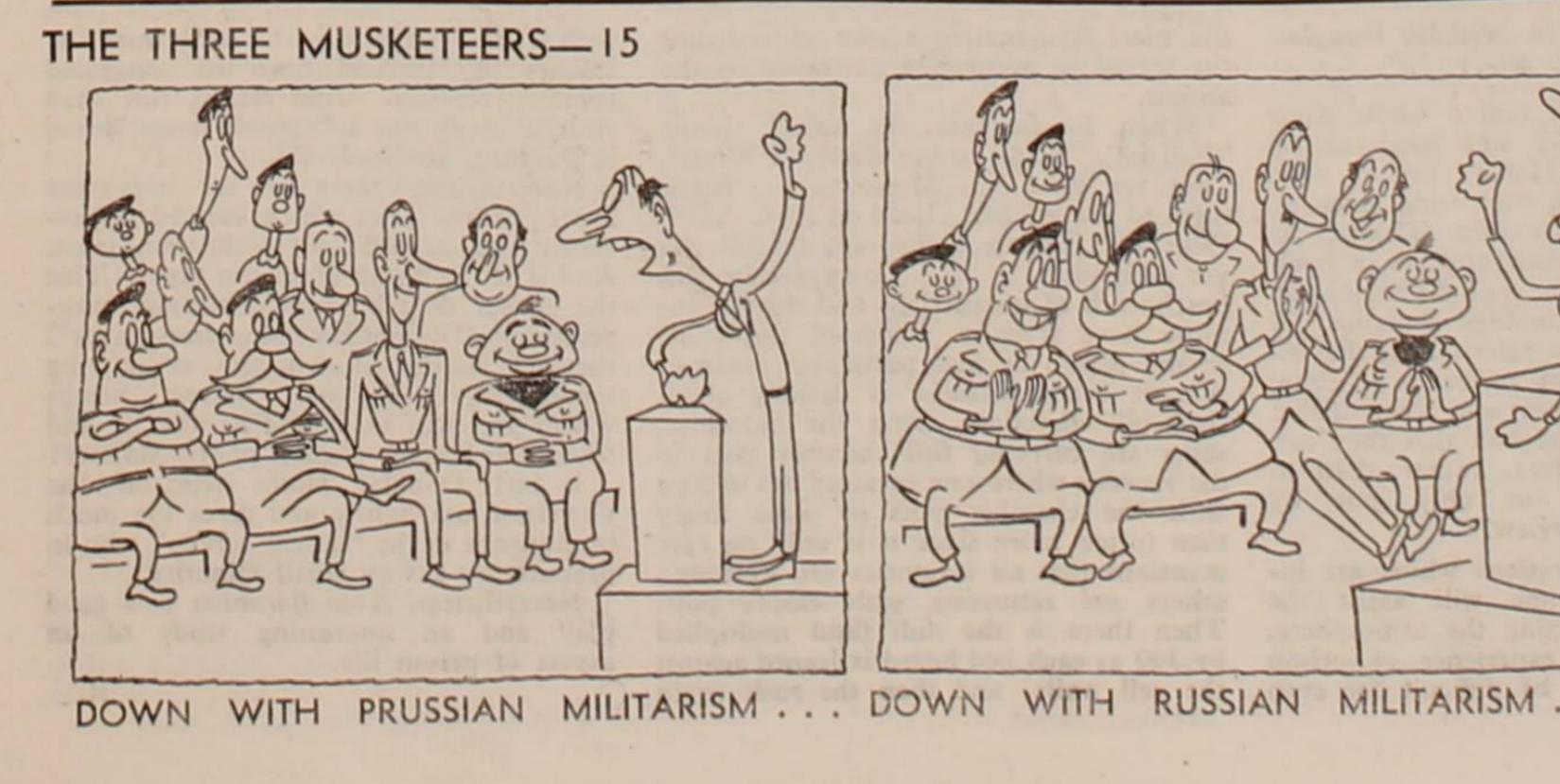
exploit genuine Nihilist sentiments. encourage the "national-revolutionary

True Nihilism

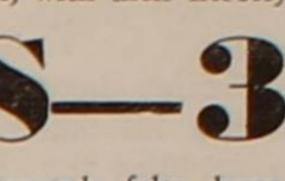
Since this underground is attracting to or distrustful of their slogans. Next, many potential revolutionaries, it will be it is used vehemently against all political necessary to expose the cunning tactics elements of the German resistance who of the German counter-revolution and its have not compromised and degraded foreign benefactors. It will be necessary themselves to the role of agents of to draw attention to the past counterforeign imperialisms, who reject all the revolutionary activities of the nationalist methods of compromise that are advo- self-styled "revolutionaries" and recall cated, and insist on a social revolutionary the disastrous results for the workingpolicy, to name only the Anarchists, class. Above all it will be vitally necesyndicalists and the Betriebsräte groups. sary to pronounce clearly the Anarchist By insisting on the resolute con- conception of Nihilism: the destruction of tinuance of revolutionary tradition and by a chaotic order built on Nazi or semi-"reconstructive" policy, these radical a society based on anarchy, "the highest

structionists and Nihilists. There is a Only by doing so will we draw to our tactical reason behind the collective use of movement those basically sincere and this name, which is also applied to the dynamic people, who, given a clear Nationalist extremists. This practice is definition of our social revolutionary con-JOHN OLDAY.

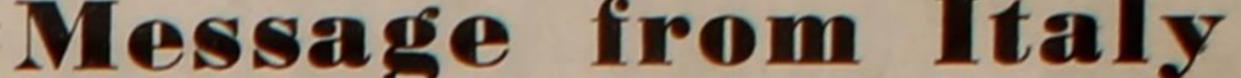
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with money can buy whatever they which they all want a slice. want, give the visitors a false impression of prosperity. But the Italian worker has to live essentially on his rations which are vastly insufficient and he cannot afford to supplement them with butter or ham at 15/- a pound.

to be kept up for very long.

Instead of trying to solve the tragic review published in Naples.

ing every day. The ordinary worker, the ordinary housewife, have reached such a degree of suffering and humiliation that their only concern is to try to adapt themselves to their terrible conditions instead passive mood of the people.

who uphold the social predomination of the rich and the powerful-the so-called called Independents.

On the other side are the political presented them in a framework of groups who play the left-wing card: When will the people who work for They receive encouragement from the disunited in their attempts to secure last decide to revolt-without preparing is no secret that thousands of them shelter wish, the Republicans and the other different leaders. in Christian democratic parties and minor groups also follow without the

Italy is facing another grim winter. slightest idea of where they go. But they The shops filled with goods, the have all a common pole: the image of restaurants and cafés where people ministerial seats, the smell of Power of

> In the middle are the working people, who move according to the orders of the leaders, without knowing why and without reaping any improvements in their terrible conditions

We are, as always, on the side of the people: every time they seem ready to Unemployment is increasing in the act we are with them even if we distrust South. A city of a million inhabitants the politicians who may pull the strings. like Naples counts 180,000 un- We do not exclude the possibility of a employed, 50% of the working popu- sudden awakening of the workers. They lation. In the North unemployment may realise that it is not enough to shake has been reduced by employing workers off the power of the Church, that they in factories where there is actually no must also liberate themselves from the work for them. This false employ- tutelage of political parties. That is why ment bears heavily on the Govern- we want to remain at our post, ready for ment's resources and will not be able the struggle but keeping our eyes open because we refuse to become the pawns of political leaders who are all enemies.

economic situation, political parties We must therefore say to our comrades are merely concerned with gaining of work: don't forget that these politivotes, filling government posts, con- cians, who now ask you to revolt, told trolling newspapers. But the spirit of you to keep quiet when they were in freedom is not dead as shown by this power. They want you to fight, not for letter from Cesare Zaccaria, one of the you but for themselves. If in Italy the editors of Volonta, a monthly anarchist wealth of the rich-so often built with blood and mud-has not been touched; if Italy is now in the grip of the An enormous wave of agitations is priests who have preserved intact the pripassing over Italy. The misery, the vileges acquired by putting themselves at hunger of the working people is increas- Mussolini's service; if in Italy there is no rebirth of the free syndicalist struggle but merely a continuation of the totalitarian mechanism of corporative organisations with a new name; if in Italy nobody sets the problem of free education; of fighting against them. Politicians, who if everything carries on as under Fascism; aim at taking power to use it for their if in Italy a stupid amnesty has freed own ends, take full advantage of this the fascist big shots who had escaped the people's justice while anti-fascists are On one side we have the Pope and the persecuted-if all this happens, it Catholic Church-focussing points, as is because a State machine, enemy of the always, of the forces of reaction. They people, has been rebuilt in Italy with the are backed by the other political machines complicity of the men who to-day pretend to be radicals.

We tell our working-class comrades: Liberals, the so-called Qualunquisti Do not forget, as soon they are in power (Party of the Common Man), the so- again, they will tell you to be docile, to pull in your belt. Because they do not fight for you, but for themselves.

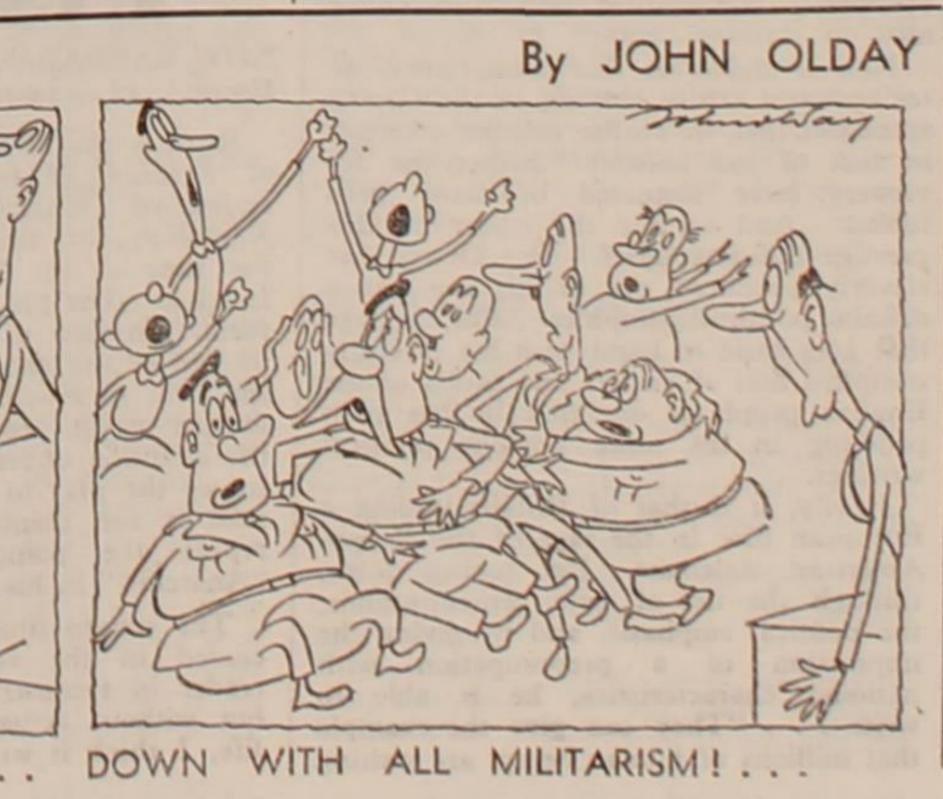
patriotism, so now they are trying to united in their negative desire to substi- everybody, the people who pay for everytute the Priests in the Government but thing, the people who suffer for all, at fact that Britain and America are drop- power for their own political groups. with their own hands their new chains? ping the Morgenthau and Vansittart The so-called Communists lead the band, Only then will the destruction of Fascism methods and are giving German capitalism Socialists of Nenni's type follow them really begin in Italy-Fascism is merely a new chance to build up a strong faithfully, Socialists like Lussu follow the hunger for power of a minority, and Western Germany. Numerous Nazis are them with some misgivings, Socialists like it has subsisted in its integral form even still operating in important positions. It Saragat hold the tail against their own under scores of different names and

C. ZACCARIA.

# Dictatorial Powers in Pakistan

A writer in the last issue of tribute to the truths of anarthe land and industry lay under arms and ammunition". their direct control.

The threats OÎ action", "ruthless repression" of opposition which the government of India has repeatedly made since its accession to power have underlined the anarchist lesson to 6.0 p.m. EVERY DAY, pretty heavily. The government of Pakistan also pays unwilling



21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

Freedom described some of the chism. A new "public safety" disadvantages and difficulties of ordinance (such is the invariable the "I-told-you-so" position in terminology of repressive meawhich anarchists so often find sures) gives the Government themselves. Even at the time we dictatorial powers. According made them, our criticisms of to the Times correspondent in Indian nationalism were ill re- Karachi, "the Government is ceived by the partisans of Home authorized to detain persons Rule. For we urged that govern- without trial for a period of six ment was government whoever months, a district magistrate is wielded the big stick, and de- empowered to detain persons for clared that the lot of the Indian 15 days without trial, and the peasant and worker would not Government may authorize the be materially improved until flogging of persons found with

In addition to all this, "the ordinance also empowers the Government to impose a precensorship of news and to control the Press, impose collective fines, and compulsorily prevent employees in essential services from leaving their employment. It also controls public meetings, processions, camp drills, and parades".

> Not much news in that: Government is the same the world over.

> BACON AND STRIKERS The Ministry of Food has announced that, beginning from October 19th, the bacon ration is to be reduced by half. This is the result, it says, of the strike in the Canadian bacon factories.

We wonder if this is the full reason; since the day this announcement was made newspapers reported that butter and bacon have been piling up in Denmark's warehouses since the Danish-British food negotiations broke down a week ago. Britain has been buying 1,600 tons weekly from Denmark which she has now left on her hands. Meanwhile, on the other side of the frontier, people starve.

23 11 24

eve, but there is one aspect of his There is, for instance, the scene where wife's attitude: work in Don Quixote which is worth he frees the galley slaves from bondage, considering and is unlikely to be given and, when he is reproached for freegreat prominence.

The story of Don Ouixote is "Is it for a knight-errant when he familiar. A country squire, whose meets with people laden with chains, head is filled with the half-baked and under oppression, to examine fantasies of mediaeval stories of knight-errantry, sets out to seek adventure and to right wrongs. He takes for his companion a peasant. Sancho Panza, who is distinguished by a love for food, and a remarkable mental simplicity combined with a certain shrewdness over practical matters which the knight completely lacks. The mishaps of these two adventurers in pursuing Don Quixote's Cervantes' book than this.

#### Faults of Idealism

knight are described in such a way as fortunate country. to show that idealistic fantasy detached from concrete reality can breed more harm than good; in some moods Don Quixote is a precursor c those modern myth-makers who have re-edified on a large and catastrophic scale the mock heroism he represented. Hitler, for instance, was nothing i not Quixotic in his dreams of a

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ing criminals, declares:

whether they are in those circumstances for their crimes, or only through misfortune? We are only to relieve the afflicted, to look on their distress and not on their crimes. I met a company of poor wretches, who went along I did what my conscience and my profession obliged me to do. And what has any man to say to this?"

Don Quixote's reasoning is unrealism. But in fact the acts of the done for every chain gang in his un-

Sancho Panza

Just at present a great deal is resurrected Holy Roman Empire on something of the real Spanish peasant being made of the four hundredth a world scale, and all the sensational attitude towards government and inanniversary of the birth of the imperialists of the past three centuries dividual dignity. Sancho begins by Spanish writer, Cervantes, author of were prefigured, in this strange knight wanting to be a governor, because he the most justly celebrated masterpiece with his mad dreams of dominion. is taken up with the glamour of the of Spanish literature, Don Quixote. Yet it would be rather sweeping to position; his very concept of it is Cervantes deserves all the praise he class Don Quixote as a wholly wrong- clearly that of a man whose life will probaly receive, although we can headed character. At times the evil has always been remote from the imagine that he himself would regard wrought by his love of fantasy is exactions of authority. But even while the adulation of professors and almost outweighed by his strictly Sancho has these ideas, we are reacademic gentlemen with a sceptical logical regard for ethical principles. galed with the shrewdness of his

> "Do thou live, and let all the governments in the world go to the Devil. Thou camest out of thy mother's belly without government, thou hast lived hitherto without government, and thou in furs and richest sables." mayest be carried to thy long home without government, when it shall please the Lord. How many people in do well enough, and are well looked upon.'

sorrowful, dejected, and linked together tinuing his ambition, and eventually follies, his clowning behaviour, his like the beads of a rosary; thereupon is installed by the Duke in the sententious proverbs, his gluttony and governorship of Barataria, an appoint- his discretion in the fact of danger, ment which is designed as a burlesque Sancho remains the better for having to take advantage of his supposed shown that a rude and credulous peaanswerable, and it seems clear that peasant stupidity for the amusement sant, if he be only an honest and Cervantes, who had himself known of the court. But Sancho turns the shrewd man, can show more sense and romantic fantasies are amusing in the what it was to be a slave, was using tables on his tormentors by a series wholeness of personality than all the extreme, but there is much more to this apparently ridiculous tale to of judgments based on a common- products of courts and governors' register his protest at the whole sense consideration of each case palaces, As he says later, "I do but system of punishment that sent men brought before him, which makes the defend myself, that am naturally my In a sense it is a portrayal of the into slavery for faults committed as codes of the legalists appear ridicu- own lord." faults of idealism. Superficial en- much through misfortune as through lous. Very soon, however, he realizes In this he represents that tradition thusiasts have tended to see Don ill intent. One feels that in this par- the evils of government, and one day of independence which has for centuries Quixote as the personification of ticular incident Don Quixote is doing goes out, saddles his ass, and departs, inspired the Spanish peasants to try virtuous idealism set against sordid what Cervantes would like to have having made to the dignitaries a to govern their own lives, to form speech which can well be taken as the their own collectives, and to resist common man's condemnation of the attempts of kings and generals to power and its burdens:

But it is in Sancho Panza's conversations and experiences that we get

**Book** Reviews

self-praise and encouragement.

as though it were a major document. The Now, where have we heard all that like the freedom of the will or the identity others in Greece, Palestine, Indonesia and action of the critics and reviewers, in before? giving it such prominence, makes it As the booklet tells us, one of the ments are on one side and instinctive nothing highly original in being gentle, worthwhile going into the subject a little traditional faults of the Englishman is knowledge is on the other.' more deeply.

mentioned, to indulge in a little much- catalogue the faults and virtues of the ments' and 'instinctive knowledge'. From needed back patting? Strangely enough, despite the party line of the various journals, they were all unanimous on this occasion. Nationalism had transcended

see seasoned critics basking in the Orwell Home. (Longmans, 6/-.) spotlight, that we realise another interest- Readers may recall that a whole page

through the use of trite generalisations,

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE by George for. The world is sick of chaos and it standard Englishman that makes up the States doesn't exist for me, except as is sick of dictatorship. Of all peoples the vast majority of forty-eight million. The idea, or history, or literature . . . No George Orwell has written a book called English are likeliest to find a way of John Bull on the Work or Want hoard- man I have met seems as princely, as The English People. The writer who avoiding both . . . They have known for ings. If this is so then one feels ashamed regal, as noble, as Lester Reardon . . . so skilfully produced the allegory of forty years, perhaps . . . (what) the for being so suspecting. There is your Jules Verne never led me to the places Animal Farm has now created the more Russians and the Americans have yet to Englishman with his virtues of kindness, that Stanley Borowski had up his sleeve concrete image of a national man, the learn: they know that it is not possible not killing one another (thank goodness when it came dark . . . All these boys of Englishman. A man, he claims, more for any one nation to rule the earth!" the common Englishman is not tainted the 14th Ward have a flavour about them fitted than any other to lead this shattered With this modest proclamation must be with the legalized killings at the behest still . . . The names ring out like gold world to the millenium. Now, most coupled Orwell's other approach, the one of his government though these beastly coins, Tom Fowler, Jim Buckley, Matt writers have their irrationalities and some, for his non-English admirers given pro- Russsians and Americans are naturally Owen . . . with the best intentions in the world, minence in the Partisan Review (July- branded with their governments), and the The trouble with books of the nature undertake certain works which have a far August) ". . . a socialist United States virtues of love of sport and sentimentality of The English People is that no names wider emphasis than they at first imagined. of Europe seems to me the only worth- towards animals. As long as we keep to ring out like gold coins because the And this wider emphasis has not been lost while political objective to-day." the history books they gave us at school standardization could never be applied. to the reviewers in our national journals. One doubts whether the coincidence is this will appear quite in order. . It is as though, facing the dark future, accidental. How are we, with this new Now, it is obvious that Orwell feels jingling as we walked through the 14th

they have used the occasion for a little awareness of being an Englishman, going a little tug at his conscience because it Ward we should have 'nothing but a to co-operate with these foreigners? How is generally accepted in enlightened stuffed bird in a glass case. Instead of One would have preferred to ignore can we, with such original (evidently) circles that no two men are alike though taking people as we found them we this latest work of George Orwell, coming virtues of not killing each other, being customs may be similar over a wide area. should take them as someone else found so soon after the profundity of Animal gentle and so on, open the city gates and That a foreigner, lost in the centre of them. Farm, as a natural weakening to tempta- the doors of our homes to allow the entry London with a copy of The English So I think, like Henry Miller, we'll get tion despite the promptings of higher of those who (equally evidently), do kill People, might not find the xenophobia to know their names and look upon them reason. And one could have let it remain each other, are not gentle, have no in- quite as strong as in Northumberland, as men instead of as symbols. And we'll in quiet obscurity alongside the other herent sense of humour? Or is the that he might find people abrupt on a remember that even a Nigerian bushman titles in the series such as British Soldiers United States of Europe going to be an rainy day and considerate on a sunny will lose his suspicion in the face of kindand British Merchant Adventurers. Since extension of the British Empire on a day. It prompts Orwell to ask the ness and become sullen and unfriendly someone had to write the book for the somewhat more mutual plane? To assist question, 'Can one talk about nations as when exploited. And we'll be thankful series, why shouldn't it be someone with us in his muddled approach, Orwell tells though they were individuals?' Do such that Englishmen don't kill each other the wisdom to keep to the lower notes of us that the immediate necessities of the things as 'national cultures' really exist? and hope it remains so. And it makes the trumpeter's scale. One did not, how- English people are to breed faster, work He then answers these doubts in this us all the more critical of governments ever, expect this little booklet to be lauded harder, and probably live more simply. manner-'This is one of the questions, that send such people overseas to kill

hypocrisy and line shooting. Why were whole columns devoted to It may be maintained, of course, that be allowed into the stuffy basement. It Nor shall we forget the example of it? Was it in deference to the author's the political message is incidental. That is from Henry Miller in which the writer progressive writers who, temporarily we reputation? Was it, as has already been the booklet is a sincere attempt to has managed to integrate 'all the argu- hope, fail to remember all this.

INSIDE AN ENGLISH PRISON

author. in fact of the booklet. Either the re-of Freedom (5/4/47) was used for a "Fall in", "Stand to yer doors, A Wing", is shouting his head off! When, for instance, the warder shouts rush is going on, a "screw" down below viewers have connived or have been review of Douglas Home's prison play "Put yer light out, Messmen." "Right Nevertheless, there is an important fooled. And so has the editor of this Now Barrabas, which was being given at turn, to the kitchen. Lead on A44, A51". aspect of the play which can be appreprestige building series. For Orwell has the time at the Vaudeville Theatre in "Put yer flaming lights out, or I'll put ciated without difficulty by the uninitiated. cleverly produced out of his top hat a London. The play now appears in book yer both inside . . .". To appreciate this And it is the study of prison types. This definite political pamphlet. The message form. In view of the full discussion on hotchpotch of instructions and threats one the author does brilliantly, without exagthat goes hand in hand with his carefully its merits and shortcomings contained in must have actually witnessed the scene geration. The phoney "squadron-leader", compiled lists of virtues and faults of the the issue of Freedom referred to, the in- in the prison at that particular moment. the old boaster Brown, the self-pitying English people is one that he has been tention of the present review is to draw Almost every prisoner is dashing about schoolmaster, are real human beings peddling in his more obvious political the attention of readers who were unable from all directions along the balconies, whom you will be bound to meet if and Briefly, it is that of Britain leading a read it for themselves, rather than to the recesses where one lavatory has to cope I feel Douglas Home lets off the European bloc in the face of the Russo-repeat the points so ably put by with the chamber pots of some thirty Governor too lightly and gives too much men (often more since it is only on rare prominence of the "decent screws" who in the political emphasis, and by giving the The sixteen illustrations which are in- occasions that all lavatories are working), practice are a very small minority. impression of a preoccupation with cluded in the volume will assist the others are returning with empty pots. Nevertheless, Now Barabbas is a good national characteristics, he is able to reader in reconstructing the atmosphere, Then there is the dull thud multiplied play and an interesting study of an write . . "They can give the example but without actual experience of prison by 300 as each bed board is leaned against aspect of prison life. that millions of human beings are waiting life, I think it will be difficult for even the cell walls; and then the rush again

FREEDOM

# Literary CERVANTES & THE SPANISH PEOPLE Freedom Bookshop

return to my former liberty. Let me go, that I may seek my old course of life, and rise again from that death age.

that buries me alive. I was not born to be a Governor, nor to defend islands nor cities from enemies that break in upon them. I know better what belongs to ploughing, delving, pruning of vineyards, than how to make laws, and defend countries and kingdoms . . . A spade does better in my hand than a Governor's truncheon; and I had rather fill my belly with a mess of plain porridge, than lie at the mercy of a coxcombly physic-monger that starves me to death. I had rather solace myself under the shade of an oak in summer, and wrap up my corpse in a double sheep-skin in the winter at my liberty, than lay me down with the slavery of a government in fine holland-sheets, and case my hide

### "My Own Lord"

They off the service In this speech Sancho rises above this world live without government yet those who sought to mock his simplicity, into the full dignity of an independent human being, and for Sancho, however, insists on con- the rest of the book, in spite of his

oppress them. In creating Sancho, "Make way, gentlemen, and let me Cervantes became a true interpreter of the Spanish common people of his GEORGE WOODCOCK



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Black Spring, one of the banned books where I was raised, the rest of the United

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LION STREET

Instead of a pocketful of gold coins

of the individual, in which all the argu- the like. And we'll remember that there's considerate and peace-loving. Anywhere

Now it is just at this point, when we NOW BARRABAS, by William Douglas the most imaginative reader to visualize with enamel water jugs to refill from the

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

the scenes so accurately portrayed by the solitary tap situated near the congested lavatory recesses. And whilst this mad



## MUHSAM DEATH OF THE

We recently printed an account by a German comrade of the life of Erich Mühsam, the German-Jewish anarchist. We reproduce below the detailed story of his death, movingly told by another of his fellow-prisoners.

WAS with Erich Mühsam in Oranienburg Concentration Camp from May 1934 until the day of his death in July 1934.

We were billeted in the same barracks. It was an old brewery. We slept on straw palliases in the overcrowded room. Mühsam was a quiet, modest and friendly fellow-prisoner. In any spare time we had we would hold political discussions or play chess, which he loved passionately.

At the time of the Röhm putsch, our camp was suddenly encircled by SS men who disarmed our SA guards who were suspected of being in sympathy with Röhm. The SS men, who came from Dachau, took over the camp.

After they had been there for a few days, they called Erich Mühsam before the Camp Commandant. When he returned, he told his most trustworthy friends that he had been Mühsam had hanged himself in the given three days, during which time he must hang himself, or else he would be hanged. The news spread like wild-fire through the camp, and, with the increasingly bad treatment, our tension became unbearable. But nothing happened. Mühsam kept cheerful, amiable and calm.

On the evening of the third day, Austria. the SS man on duty appeared at our Fisher reached England last Friday lorry." "cage". The room orderly reported from No. 3 Military Gaol and Detention Then Mrs. Fisher said: "My son has ticularly in secondary schools and beyond. stood in the big barb-wired yard charge of desertion and had three months ."Even the orderly who brought my son despising his home associations. cleaning an SS uniform. We all saw left to serve. racks. There was a new rope slung to-day his mother said: "He looks an old man. I am going to see our M.P. boot-marks on his body. authority in the State school is the one which you old man. I am going to see our M.P. "They kept him in Austria until he who grows up into the man who struggles relevant. between two posts on which hung Mr. Douglas Jay, to-night about the was nearly better, but his wrists were still for liberty. Tony Gibson suggests this Though progressive schools differ some SS uniforms which Mühsam matter. was brushing. He should have been "My son says they used tear gas and cuffs they kept on him." SS men ordered us to go to sleep in Austria were aggravated by the bad Austria to go into these allegations. conversation and we were all waiting for something to happen.

#### KNOWING WHAT TO EXPECT

after France's Socialist Premier had left objections from shareholders about it, for mixed with religion. for Paris.

cident, M. Ramadier shrugged and said: from subsidiary companies. "It is one of the inconveniences of being Prime Minister." Daily Mail, 7/10/47.

I understand that the delay in publish-

ing the Ministerial changes has been caused by the necessity of notifying the next-of-kin. Daily Telegraph, 7/10/47.

## INTEGRATION OF

## LABOUR

light industry. Farmers and owners of light industrial factories should become HYPOCRISY partners.

all over Britain built factories on their ship of plays in the States ,but their sation of certain members of the Control did it. farms and had bungalows and cottages methods are even more drastic! Entire Commission, erected for their employees, and possibly companies can be yanked off to gaol for They admitted, quite frankly, that they Bataille, official Moscow knows the spot by their employees. The result would be "corrupting public morals", and this has would hang on to their jobs until the that electric power would have to come to happened twice in the case of Mae West. last possible moment, not as you would every corner of the country.

lation, consuming local produce (agricul- vided certain rules are adhered to. First tural) at a fair profit to the farmer, whose of all, "if you move, it's rude." "Living problems of marketing would be simplified. There would be fewer middlemen and therefore more producers. Health static, and are bathed in coloured light. would benefit. Workshops and spare Nude dancers must, in addition to labour would benefit farms; there would "surprise pink" lighting, perform behind be no need for satelite towns.

Letter in News Chronicle, 9/9/47. veil, however transparent. One suspects that writer of this letter capitalism!

## SOULS-WANTED

Advt. in Catholic Herald, 12/9/47.



We were told to get up next morning, but no-one was permitted to leave the barrack-room. Mühsam had not returned and the excitement grew. After about half-an-hour, the man on duty appeared and informed us that lavatory. He addressed the Jews Remschied.

who were isolated in a corner of the room and said: "Which of you from Sodom and Gomorrah volunteers to COMRADES. cut Mühsam down?"

All the Jews went, and I went with them. We were shocked by what we not agree more with the claims for free schooling", as Anthony Weaver infers, schools, in a free society; my feeling is, but to war, in spite of the schooling). face was peaceful. His mouth and it no use saying that the children of general-which perhaps one of our comeyes were closed (a proof that he had middle-class liberals don't seriously care rades can suggest. do not know.

After a few days, we were to be transferred from Oranienburg to cried loudly and clearly for everyone to hear "One minute's silence in moved. Neither the SS nor the SA dared to do anything or to make any remarks.

**ANOTHER GLASS-HOUSE OUTRAGE?** 

We read in the Evening Standard (9/10/47) that: Reginald Fisher, 24-years-old soldier, cuffed and taken to Klagenfurt. Tear gas was taken to Banstead Mental Hospital last night after alleging that he was gassed and beaten in detention barracks in as they were being driven to the military

always seemed to be beaten up." Here young Fisher's young sister took defence of imprisoned soldiers, will take War' days, who were unable to take part but of war itself. up the story. Said she:

## JUSTIFYING HIS PENSION IN THE SAME BOAT

Foreign Minister Fadhil Jamali, of Major J. S. Cape, who at 76 is retiring Iraq, told the U.N. Palestine Committee A bomb exploded early today in the as Chairman and managing director of to-day: "Zionism is very much like he tells me that profits last year were "Practically it follows the same methods languages. When told by telephone of the in- £211,000, together with another £85,000 of propaganda and the same method of Manchester Guardian, 6/10/47. said last night: aggression and penetration."

up this matter.

"Since my pension is only to be paid

# Evening Standard, 11/9/47. Pan-Islamism.

# Agriculture should be teamed up with "MORALITY" AND

Nudity on the stage, although frowned There would be a large rural popu- on officially, is allowed in England, prostatues" are permitted in the "altogether" just so long as they remain completely a gauze curtain, or else be covered by a

> In most parts of America, complete Folies Bergère, were issued with three to obtain Soviet permission for her to murderer of his family." each, and purity was served.

While we have unquestionably ad- marriage-since when they have not seen and children. cropping up. Leader, 6/9/47.

ADVANTAGES OF OCCUPATION I remember sitting in a German beer

hope, because the task is important and one that they are proud to be doing. No, drink is cheap, food more plentiful, and life a lot easier. And the same line is taken by other "ambassadors" of Britain abroad.

SOVIET IDYLL The Department of External Affairs states that the Moscow ballerina Eleanora Kuznetsova, who married the Canadian Report stated:

an exit visa for her. News Chronicle, 27/9/47.

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OTTO WEBER.

"My brother told us that after rioting had broken out the mutineers were handbombs were thrown into the cells. "When some of them tried to escape

hospital they were tear-gassed in the gaol



**PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS** 

ask for information.

And as regards the "inevitable point" about fees-Tony Gibson asks "So what?" Either we buy or we take what the State dishes out. Well, this is what-the fact is that since the majority of working-class parents could not afford private schooling, which might run into fifteen to twenty guineas a term, the child would grow up among middle-class surroundings. And I am not as sure as our comrade that it is so amply repaid in the child's future character.

I have known so many working-class see that their child got "education": par-

in any Armistice Day celebrations, and

WE SHOULD KNOW ... ACT OF GOD (I) Those who wonder what the Special A chaplet of 22 yellow roses placed sent by radio into the appropriate shows no sign of decay.

of its other activities!



## ATOMGRAD

It had to come. Sooner or later someone was bound to name a city after Supposing a large number of farmers There is, of course, no official censor- house listening to the incredible conver- the discovery of the age. The Russians According to the French newspaper La PRISON IS BEST

as "X 71". But the thirty to forty thousand voluntary Russian gaolbirds who labour on atomic research in the Siberian city, call it Aatomgrad. It takes a special permit from the

Moscow Institute of Scientific Research and from the Ministry of War for a visitor to get in, and only visitors ever Sunday Pictorial, 5/10/47. come out. News Review, 25/9/47.

## STATESMANSHIP

The Anglo-American Committee's said by a previous employer to be a good has read Kropotkin and naively hopes nudity on the stage is allowed, but in the February, 1945, when he was stationed often described to us as the 'cemetery of had been deserted by her husband and that these ideas of the "integration puritan states, such as Massachusetts, in Moscow, is applying for a divorce. European Jewry', the Jews may see in was expecting a baby in November.

ferred to Ottawa five months after their to Germany, including some 2,500 women she had been unable to work since.

of statecraft? Letter in News Review, 18/9/47.

## vet very few of us had family associations I feel that Tony Gibson misses the with progressive movements. (Morepoint of my contentions somewhat. I could over, it wasn't a "reaction to one's

saw. At the back of the room over however, that these "progressive schools" Perhaps the argument is a parallel one the furthest seats a rope was fastened | to-day don't create free men; since they with objections to 'community living'. to a beam-the same rope that had are compelled by economic necessity to ('Cut off from the struggle' or 'in the hung between the two posts in the segregate themselves into narrow class struggle'.) We need a synthesis of sorts borders they tend to separate the son of —communities which can both show a yard the evening before. On this rope a militant revolutionary home from those way of living and yet associate actively Erich Mühsam was hanging. His who would normally be his mates. It with those taking part in industry in

what their parents believe: not many It is regrettably true that "not a few been killed and then hanged). His children do nowadays anyway. The main revolutionaries have been sadly disbody was taken off and placed in a point is that their prejudices are passed appointed to find that their offspring grow shed. What happened to it later, 1 on with their environment. You cannot up into conventional nonentities." On the expect anyone brought up in a private other hand, there are several reasons for school not to look on the multitude of this: one of the main ones I have diskids, and later men, as noisy and "com- covered in conversation with many older mon". Most middle-class people with the Anarchists, is the strain in their homesmoney to spare for education put their the sacrifices of the father, for instance, Lichtenburg. Hundreds of us were children into private schools because they not always being understood by the standing together ready to be trans- feel the child is "sensitive" or the like and mother whose sole concern is the bringported on lorries, and with us were has to be treated like a delicate orchid; ing up of the children and who does not the SA and SS. One of the prisoners I do not feel that they grow up without always appreciate the reason for the sacriclass prejudice, but with it more than any- fices occasioned by strikes, blacklisting, one. It has always seemed to me that prison, which in the last analysis fall "private schooling" except for the upon her, and the children grow up memory of our comrade Mühsam!" genuinely nervous child, doesn't turn out rather to think of "the movement" as There was a dead silence and no-one men of strong character. How far does they would "the other woman". Freedom the "progressive school" avoid this? I in schooling I think ought to permeate the lives of the children of revolutionaries much more thoroughly than "private schooling" would. Any suggestions? Many of our old comrades used to shrug their shoulders at the question and say-"Well-if Kropotkin failed with his daughter . . ." But I think that with the experience of a previous generation we could manage to see that we avoided the fate of that good revolutionary socialist blacksmith-Papa Mussolini. K.A.B. London.

#### DEAR FRIENDS.

Tony Gibson has admirably answered parents who have made big sacrifices to K.A.B.'s letter. To write further on the points originally raised is unnecessary. all present except Mühsam. Mühsam Barracks, Linz, Southern Austria. He been put in the 'depressed ward' at The result was to force the child into is surely required to state broadly the had been in gaol for two years on a Banstead. Nevertheless, before the matter is left, it which has not vet been mentioned. in his pyjamas from overseas said he had As far as the choice rests at present, should like, therefore, to add something, him through the windows of the bar- At his home in Badric-road, Battersea, seen the marks of lashes on his back and I think the juvenile rebel against particularly since Dr. Read's broadcast, authority in the State school is the one which you report in your last issue, is so

swollen and bruised by the tight hand- would be merely out of "blind loyalty among themselves in many ways, it should to Mum and Dad". This is not impos- be understood that one thing common to inside with all the rest of us. The water jets against sick patients. A The War Office has announced that a sible, of course, but when they start dis- to most of them is this very aim of mutiny started because the prisoners Court of Inquiry has been set up in believing in Father Christmas-or Christ enabling children to give vent to their -it may not just be blind faith in being animosities and aggresiveness, the represand locked the door. The night food, infrequent mail, and because men This is a matter which should not be told of his non-existence, but that, having sion and storing up of which is rightly passed restlessly for us all, and few needing hospital treatment were not re- allowed to rest and we hope that the been told, it's impossible to believe any understoood and emphasised by Dr. Read could sleep. There was whispered receiving it. He said that somebody Freedom Defence Committee, which has more. I remember when I was at school, as being one fundamental cause, not only already done much good work in the there were many of us, in the 'No More of delinquency and crime and the like ills, Yours sincerely, E.S.

Branch does, apart from the bizarre about the brow of a statue of the Virgin activities attributed to it by writers of in St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, garden next door to M. Paul Ramadier's Totalisators Ltd., is to have a pension of Nazism. Ideologically it is 19th-century thrillers, will be glad to know that it is Stockport, by the seven-year-old May private home in Decazeville, a few hours £2,500 a year. He does not expect any nationalism based on race mythology responsible for translating the messages Queen, Pauline Byrne, on May 4th, still Father James Turner, the parish priest,

> "The whole parish is talking about it. Daily Mail, 7/10/47. The Manchester Guardian's readers It is not for me to say it is a miracle, (out of profits, I don't think shareholders Very true. And the same applies to would be less glad to know of some but to my mind it is something above nature, as roses usually drop after a few

> > Daily Mail, 7/10/47

Six persons were killed and 20 injured when, in an earthquake, the church tower in Ario del Rosales, Michoacan State, crashed just as the congregation were leaving. Daily Telegraph, 7/10/47

A 29-year-old mother-to-be, Mrs. Edna Flora Hall, who had no previous convictions, was sent to prison for six months here to-day for theft. There were three women magistrates on

the bench. Mrs. Hall pleaded guilty to stealing collecting-boxes, obtaining 9s. credit by fraud, and shoplifting. The contents of the collecting-boxes amounted to £10 16s. 6d. and the value of the articles stolen from shops was £16 1s. Mrs. Hall, of no settled address, was

worker. Consular officer, Mr. George Power, in "In Germany and Poland, which were Mrs. Hall had told the police that she

of labour" can be applied under dancers in the French company of the After Mr. Power and his wife failed the face of any man he looks upon the Det.-Constable Walker said that in November, 1946, Mrs. Hall's little boy, pieces of flesh-coloured steiking plaster leave Russia when her husband was trans- Yet we are sending 4,500 Jews back aged four, was accidentally drowned and The mayor, Alderman Mrs. Mary British Priest Archdiocese of Agra vanced a long way since the banning of each other-the Canadian Government Jesus said, "Suffer little children to Whitmore, said: "We have no alternative (India) seeks employment. Long and such plays as Ghosts and Mrs. Warren's approached the Soviet Government seven come unto me." We are made of sterner. but to send you to prison. We are sure varied experience of Souls in all walks Profession, inconsistencies are always times in unsuccessful attempts to secure stuff. What are children in the calculus you will be well looked after and it is really the best thing for you." News Chronicle, 23/9/47.

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

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22