Brockway, Stephen, Carmichael, have one by one dropped away into the Labour Party. It is not wholly the appeal of the mass; it is the fact that logically the I.L.P., as a political party seeking to gain Labour Party offers.

John McNair, to be "an independent extracting their raw materials for atomic Party, pledged to international, libertarian warfare. A Reuter message from Ger-Socialism". So far so good, and we grant many gives some idea of the conditions that the majority of I.L.P. members of working, for it reports that some eighty quite sincerely believe in this. But, in workers in the closely-guarded uranium in some distant and ever-receding future, them. The whole affair is naturally being to be able to set up a "revolutionary hushed up by the Russian authorities, socialist" government. They are not con- partly, no doubt, because of their desire own objectives; they long for a govern- also partly owing to a wish to hide the ment, just the right kind of government, conditions under which such an obviously to do it for them.

And when the I.L.P. government comes into power, how will it gain its objectives By coercion, just like any other government. Thus, the whole I.L.P. position of trying to reconcile governmentalism and libertarianism is wholly illogical; government does not mean freedom-it means direction and conscription of one kind or another, and the acceptance of coercion as a principle of administration is a first

step on the slope towards state slavery. The politicians who have left the I.L.P. on the I.L.P. trapeze which is suspended Being politicians first, they naturally chose

meetings and

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. At 8. Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.I. Marjorie Mitchel "The Limitations of State Education" "What Is Anarchism ?"

N.E. LONDON ANARCHIST

At Flat 3, 43, New Wanstead (Nr. Green Man, Ell) Gerald Vaughan "The Sexology of Wilhelm Reich." 'Arab Unrest in North Africa.'

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP Sunday, 7.15 p.m. J. H. Moorhouse "Anarchism and Health."

Coopers Hall, Shaw Street, Liverpool. 7.30 p.m. GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

0

Public Meetings at CENTRAL HALLS, BATH ST. will be held every Sunday evening.

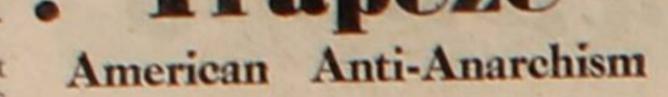
Preston Clements, John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Eddie Shaw. Doors open 6.30 p.m.

Comrades interested in the formation of a Discussion Group in the Addlestone area | Mundesley: J.G.P. 4/-; London: R.H. 2/6 should write to: Constance Stork,

55, Byron Road, Addlestone, Surrey.

formation of a FREEDOM DISCUSSION R.H. 2/6; London: E.L.D. 2/6; Durban: GROUP in North London will be held on Thursday, 27th November, at 7 p.m., at FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE, 594, High Road, Tottenham, N.17. All are welcome.

Enquiries to: Ron Lander, 613, Finchley Road, N.W.3.



Atomie Victims

In an article on the Russian zone of power, can in reality offer nothing Germany on page 5 of this issue of fundamentally different from what the Freedom a reference is made to the conscription of German workers for the The I.L.P. claims, in the words of uranium mines, where the Russians are avoidable accident must have taken place.

The Reuter report further adds that some 30,000 workers have been drafted into the uranium mines, and that many refugees crossing the zonal frontiers have stated that they are escaping from conscription in these mines.

Freedom to Cost 3d.

(Continued from page 1) of the paper, have urged us to inself-seeking; they have also been logical, crease the price, and we have come to the conclusion that few readers will have a conscientious objection to paying an extra penny for their copy | earn up to 1,500. These figures make it became apparent that there would be n of "Freedom"! (And, besides, those paper know from past experience specialists come in this category. There that in such cases we have supplied are four sorts of ration cards, classified it free of charge.) Our aim is to for Heaviest, Heavy and Ordinary Work, have as many readers as possible and not to make "Freedom" a profitable | cemetary'-it is issued to housewives, the oposition. But we are also faced with the hard facts of having to pay for the raw materials that go to make up the paper, and our decision to points about the Russian zone that, in charge 3d. a copy for "Freedom" has been reached only after having

explored all other alternatives. But we must make it clear to our comrades and sympathisers that the needs of the Press Fund in the coming year will be as great as ever, culation imperative, both for the development of the movement and for our economic stability.

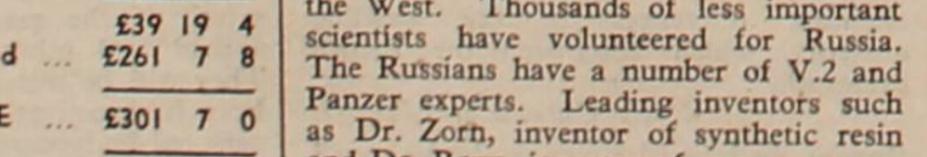
Press Fund

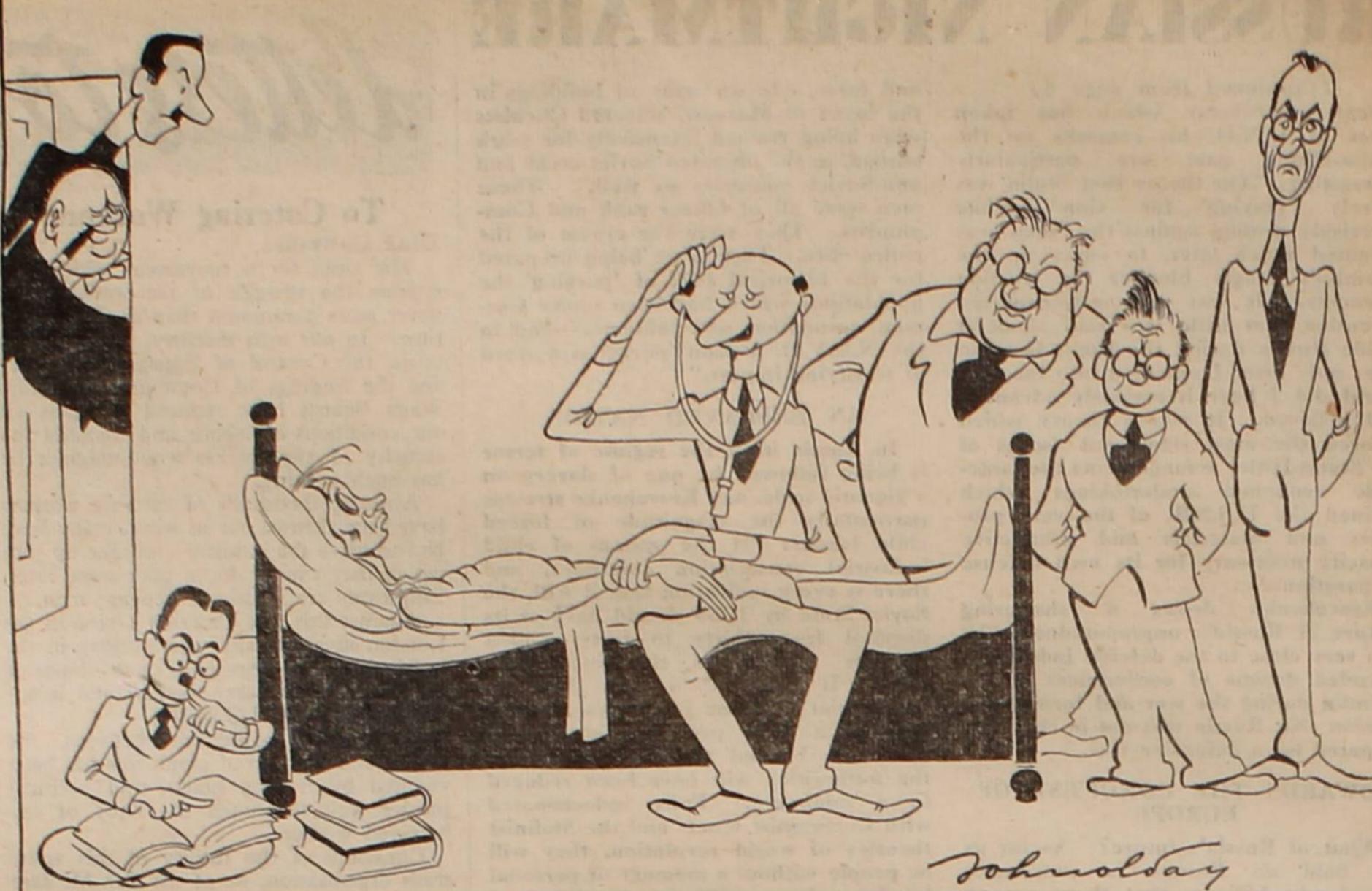
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> Previously acknowledged 1947 TOTAL TO DATE





DOCTOR'S DILEMMA

THE RUSSIAN ZONE OF GERMANY

(Continued from page 5) not refuse their labour and simply walk out: they must accept excessive work or

The Black Market

Private farmers have become as corrupt as the farmers of the Western Zone: their and Red Army men. We give below a whole sickening hypocrisy of the Russian which will show clearly that workers cannot afford to buy these goods.

100 lb potatoes ... 800 marks ... 500 1 lb butter ... 1,000 1 lb tea 1 litre oil 1 lb sugar

marks a month, specialists and teachers enjoy the benefits of the black market— the end of their sufferings, but were party functionaries, administrators, police, formed that they would remain confin

There are a large number of men on the run-deserters, Poles and political outlaws. It is one of the most significan spite of all the moral corruption, G.P.U State' still find protection by the people These people are regarded by lious tendencies. The police president Chemnitz made a regulation that a housemen, which it to be open for inspection by police officials at any time. Housetheir loyalty by informing: the type was known only too well as Hausblockwart in Hitler's Germany, the greatest asset of the Gestapo in trapping

members of the underground and deliver-

ing them to the hangman. Denazification in East We hear much about the 100% de Nazification in the Eastern zone; in reality large numbers of notorious Nazis are not only left unharmed but have been advanced to become members of the aristocracy of specialists and enjoy special privileges. We assume that our readers will remember the Soviet-admitte fact of von Paulus and other ex-Nazi officers now working in the Soviet Union The list of artists, lecturers and intellectuals includes a remarkable number of known Nazis and is headed by Berlin's most prominent actor and stage-manage Gustav Grüdegens, a close friend Goering and a Nazi State Councillorthe Russians gave him permission to Russians try so violently to incite public merciless denazification? The explanation is simple—denazified artists, scientists and technicians, after having lost their jobs in the West, are received with open arms in the East. It is only the most insignificant Nazis who are thrown to the revengeful 'anti-fascists'-the big fish receive greater courtesy than they do in the West. Thousands of less important scientists have volunteered for Russia. £261 7 8 The Russians have a number of V.2 and Panzer experts. Leading inventors such

The Stalinist Press reports that German ammunition, chiefly grenades, and loads of German army horses are being shipped from Bremerhaven (August, 1947) to

It has long been part of Communis strategy to point the finger of accusation black marketeering is silently protected by at the other party in order to draw un-German administrators, Russian officials welcome attention from themselves. The one knows of thousands of unhappy process all those elements will be select who have, in one way or another, prov less submissive than the majority.

Anti-Soviet Feeling

Facts show that the Communists failed to win majority support—on evelopment," without explanation,

from Germany in the Eastern Zone

"We are expected to produce 1 and even more of our pre-war outp owing to the present under-nourishment everything: our working power is all that remains. With this we are sup posed to accomplish a task surpassing any achievement of the past when our men, 17,600,000 survived the war-we have lost half our work-hands. Only four out of ten between 20 and 60 years old returned. 60% of all working about 5½ lbs of food! persons are over thirty and lack vitality. The number of industrial workers has sunk by 10%. Women and old men are filling the gaps where strong and urgent! skilled workers used to be-hungry women and worn-out old men! Beside ourselves, we must feed an army of disabled, sick and D.P.'s, in spite of the fact that the Russians have deported ruthlessly to the West as many of the old and weak as they could. The industrial plants have been transferred to Russia. Being robbed of our best skilled labour, of millions of P.o.W.'s, we are driven not only to reach but to surpass pre-war production. The country bears the cost of military occupation-42% of the country's total wealth. For every Red soldier we feed. four of our children die of starvation or T.B. Russian expects us to pay 2,500 millions in reparations. While we freeze, our coal goes to the Western zone, in return for which the Russians

all war industry; the Nazis were to beexterminated. Meanwhile, every ton of steel which pours into the Eastern Zone, every brain and hand, voluntary or forced, that works for the 'reconstruction', brings nearer a disaster of unimaginable proportions-war!" JOHN OLDAY.

FREEDOM

BUY, BEG, BORROW Food for our starving

and S.E.P. policy becomes apparent when IN seven weeks Christmas will be here. But, whatever the season, they will continue to be There is no escape. The S.M.A. has an- hungry, unless we can send help nounced its intention of forcing families immediately. We know that millions are starving and if it unfortunate victims of this new Bolshevik | were in our power we would 'atomic' fascism who were slaving in the like to help them all. At least, While the average income is 200-400 mining district of Oberschlema committed since we cannot perform this. suicide. Mining was stopped when it impossible task, let us bring some relief to our comrades in Germany, many of whom have served years in concentration camps and have been hungry, not only since the end of the war. but also for all the years of oppression and persecution under the Nazi terror. It is only when one has met these comrades that. one can appreciate their joy when some practical manifestation of solidarity, such as a food parcel, shows them that they do not stand alone but have. brothers in England who will

help them in their need. The comrades of Freedom Press are organising now a collection of food to be sent to our most needy German comrades, and we beg all who still have a feeling of responsibility, a soft heart or just a sentimental kink to assist us in this work. The packing and despatch of the parcels will be done by voluntary a Belsen standard (400 calories in many workers. All kinds of rationed districts). They have robbed us of foods, as well as soap, are needed; we also need monetary donations to carry on this work, as the postage charges are very strength was complete. Of 22 million high—3/9 for a seven-pound parcel, which, when adequate packing is used, contains only

> Please borrow, buy or beg for our comrades abroad. This is

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get steel and iron. We were to abolish and Dr. Repp, inventor of new gases, are Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1. and published by Freedom Press, London, W.C.1 In this Issue:

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Seamen's Strike - - p. 3 Anniversary of

Russian Revolution p. 4 Repression in Eastern Europe p. 4 & 5

Literary Notes by George Woodcock p. 6

"They that give up liberty to obtain temporary safety, obtain neither liberty nor

Benjamin FRANKLIN.

"The crimes of history may be summed up in the words-Abuse of Power." R. G. INGERSOLL.

But this is certainly not evident yet.

The people who went to the polls

still think in political terms.

They imagine that a mere change of

rulers will improve conditions. They

accept quite valid criticisms levelled

by the Tories against the Labour

government, without realising that in

power the Tories would merely carry

on the same kind of activity, except

that they would tend to favour private

capitalists while the Labour poli-

ticians favour state capitalism. But

any illusion that the Tories will bring

more freedom is doomed to be

It was a disquieting sign to see that

15th November, 1947

ONE of the most significant and depressing features of the modern age is the stration where the police attacked the way in which, at a time when the Governments of all countries, including crowd, they also beat up no less than even open dictatorships like that in Russia, are loud in their support for an eight Press photographers and smashed abstraction called "Democracy", there should be such a decline in those civil their cameras, so that the newspapers liberties which were traditionally regarded as one of the chief virtues of democracy. should not carry a record of their This tendency, as we pointed out in a recent issue of Freedom, is shown not only activities. in the actions of Governments, where it is to be expected, but also-which is a much more dangerous thing-in the apathy and indifference which the majority of the people, including the workers themselves, show towards these steady encroachments on their liberties of speech and action.

These encroachments, as we have said, are world-wide. They occur in their criminately against leftists of every most aggravated form in Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe which are under Communist domination, but as the various manifestations of extreme tyranny which are mounting in a wave of bloodshed and oppression in these areas are already covered in other pages of Freedom, we will confine our attention to those countries of the Western world which are supposed to maintain in their purest form all the virtues of a democratic society.

Growing Police Power

In England the most sinister form of these encroachments on civil liberties consists of the growing autonomous power of the police and of the inspectors of various government departments, and the way in which these various department and individuals frequently act illegally with apparent impunity in order to gain their ends.

To begin with, there is a whole army of government officials, numbering some thousands, who are empowered to enter premises for search purposes, without needing to obtain a warrant. These include officials of the Ministry of Food, Customs and Excise, etc., and they are empowered to act merely on "suspicion" they themselves being the sole judges of what are suspicious circumstances. These officials, of course, with their unlimited powers of entry, can be be used for police purposes, and there is no doubt that they frequently do collaborate with the police and pass on information which the police would otherwise be unable to obtain.

A further scandalous danger to freetendency of the police and govern- only have been obtained by 'phone ment inspectors to use deliberately tapping. A further weapon is given to provocative methods, by tempting indi- the police by the new regulation viduals into committing crimes and then authorising the opening of letters to prosecuting them. There have been search for pound notes. No doubt this several notorious cases of this recently. will be used as well to extract useful

Provocation

In the Court of Appeal, the case was brought forward of a Derby Justice, himself no particular champion of leniency, pointed out that the police man had equally committed an offence. and condemned such blatant prove cation. A further case, at Dorking, involved a number of policemen who had gone to a club and persuaded the proprietor to serve them drinks without being members: here again the presiding Judge, while convicting the club and sent them back on their owner, was moved to point out that the action of the police was illegal and that We have used most of this article t

flagrant nature. The cases that do not reach the press must be much more

Another important factor in police tyranny is the growing use of informers to carry on the dirty work. Recently. a shopkeeper was fined heavily for obtaining black market clothing coupons. The man he bought them from was admitted by the police to be a professional informer. Significantly, the nark was not prosecuted, although he had been in possession of the coupons.

Added to this are all the other kinds of police spying done under disguised forms. Recently, for instance, the question of telephone tapping was raised in the House of Commons; the Postmaster-General got round it by claimin that Post Office officials were forbidden to listen-in, but admitted that longdistance calls were monitored for technical reasons. He did not say whether information picked up by such monitoring was passed on, and he carefully avoided the question of listening by police officials, which we know goes on, since during the police investigations of the Anarchist case in 1945 they admitted having certain information which could information for political purposes.

Immigration Abuses

Yet another province in which the police wield completely autonomous powers is that of the entry of foreigners into England. The Special Branch immigration officers have power to refuse entry on their own initiative, and the Freedom Defence Committee has exposed cases where this power has been used solely for political discrimination. The police autonomy goes so far in this matter that, even where foreigners resident in England have gone out of the country provided with re-entry visas granted by the Home Office, the policemen at the ports have ignored this fact

"all the officials and policemen and illustrate conditions in England as being policewomen who gave evidence could of more immediate interest. But the have been brought before this court and same applies to other "democratic" charged with the offences they com- countries. In France, the traditional mitted". These, of course, are only the police practices of terrorism continue cases where police provocation gains unabated; the Evening Standard, for publicity because of its particularly instance, reports that at a recent demon-

Alliance between State

means no break with capitalist tradition their jobs, or that industrialists should find was shown by a recent speech of Herbert it easier to rest on the soft cushion of the Morrison, one of the leading Labour State." party theoreticians, in which he pleaded In other words, after decades of sake of interfering".

He went on to make the further revealing statement:

Government and industry as opposite

the Government should frustrate indus- work!

The fact that nationalisation really trialists by preventing them from doing

for "spirited competition" in state enter- pleading for a society based on coprises, and stated that he did not see any operation, the Labour politicians are repoint of "interfering in industry for the turning in practice to the old capitalist dogmas of the value of competition, and for individual rights. are actually disclaiming any intention of country have a duty to know as well as no interest for the workers, for whom embarrassing private capitalists in their possible the fascist situation in Portugal. the truth only is of value. pursuit of profits by the traditional Fascism is still very strong in the world, Every worker should know that it is "I suggest it is wrong to envisage methods. Perhaps it will not be long before we hear some Labour leader speaking up in favour of that other old "There is no incompatibility between capitalist favourite, the permanent pool capitalism leads national and inter- terrorist dictatorship. the two. What we want to avoid is that of unemployed as an incentive to hard national politics.

In America, the heresy hunt against radicals continues unabated. Theoretically aimed at the tiny minority of Communists, the campaign is used indiscolour, and the crudity of the proceed ings impelled even the Tory and antileftist Evening Standard to make the following exposure:

Russia? Do you believe in the closed shop? Are you a teacher who has incredible, vou are a Communist You will be hauled before the Committee, pilloried, assaulted with the audience. Your private papers may Anglo-American imperialism. be searched. Tittle-tattle and denunciation will be evidence, and lawyer, if you dare to bring one, will be ordered out. At best you will be held up to public ridicule. At worst, you will forfeit your job."

ticians have canalised the activities of

every act of tyranny, no matter against

cates to which every worker is forced

them for many years.

the workers into barren channels

Freedom is Indivisable these attacks on elementary civil rights are going on. Denunciation and spy- British ruling class. It has been a out. Voting for the Tories will do no ing, informing and provocation, the choice of whether you want to be good; the only way for the workers to methods so self-righteously condemned bullied by rulers with the old school gain real freedom is to boycott the when the Nazis used them, are being applied by government officials of every kind, and condoned by the politicians who pay lip service to liberty. But, power by their misuse of the working- trate on building their own organismost serious of all, they are accepted with apathy by the wide masses of the people in all countries. It rests ultimately with the workers whether they regain their civil liberties by active protests or decline blindly into a state of slavery. The attitude that these acts are committed against a few foreigners, a few Reds, a few bookmakers and the enemies of freedom will undoubtedly | the so-called "working-class" polibe used against everybody who tries to remain free, when the need arises. We

MANY attacks have been made on The Portuguese situation is not

live in very bad conditions, while solved by an internal change alone.

from a dictatorship that has exploited be accomplished. To change the men

in a similar condition to the Spanish implanted by unscrupulous politicians,

to contribute a large percentage of his hope that anti-fascist workers in every

Anti-fascist organisations in every circles, but these fascist activities have

people. The leaders of both countries who are only interested in financial

is too often ignored. No democratic trust in politicians.

activities. A fascist army, state syndi- those of the people.

the governmental terrorism in different from that of other countries

Spain, and, indeed, the Spanish people and its national problems will not be

he majority of the people, including large sections of the industrial workers (towns like Manchester, Birmingham and Dundee were among those where the Labour Party suffered its greatest set-backs) are beginning to realise that great extent for the crisis which they tyranny, just as the British workers burdens on the workers, and, secondly years ago protested regularly. Poliare consistently acting in a way which shows that the kind of state socialism they represent is as great a danger t acceptance and servility. It is time the old fervour for liberty re-appeared in | individual liberty as any open kind of | decision would be to repeat what we active opposition and denunciation of fascism. The great myth of Labour representing the workers is crumbling rapidly, and out of this disillusionment may spring some really revo-

in power, while keeping the same social

propaganda in all foreign reactionary

ELECTIONS

THE recent defeat of the Labour lutionary orientation among the

Party in municipal elections is a workers. litical phenomenon which should be regarded with interest, but caution. There has, firstly, been a tendency "Were you a supporter of the among many people to regard them as Spanish Republic? Have you spoken having an interest parallel to the publicly in favour of friendship with municipal elections in France. I should be remembered, however, that instructed your pupils in the facts of | the French elections reveal a deep human reproduction? Then, in each | cleavage between two opposing interand every case and others more national political interests-the Comnunists represent Russian infiltration into Western Europe, de Gaulle stands grossest insults before a jeering for the policy of rapprochement with

> In the British municipal elections there is no similar cleavage. Both Labour and Conservatives represent the opposition of British imperialism there was a much larger poll than to Russian expansion; the election has usual. This means that people are been fought on an entirely national still seeking political ways out of their basis of differing interests within the difficulties. There is no political way e or rulers whom you yourself have polls and all other governmental been foolish enough to advance to means of retaining power, and concen-

As a whole the election shows that and the state itself.

FREEDOM

TO COST 3d.

ations to gain their demands by direct

action against the whole ruling class

OMMENCING with the January 10th issue, FREEDOM will cost 3d. a copy. Subscription rates will be 8/6 for 12 months and 4/6 for

To explain the reasons for this

wrote earlier this year in an article "Hard Facts" ("Freedom", 15/2/47), where we showed readers with figures how much more it is costing us to produce this paper now than it did a year ago (and costs are likely to show a futher increase in the New Year). We also explained that the only alternative to increasing the price of "Freedom" was to increase our circulation by 2,000 copies. nobody can forget the fight of our Every capitalist institution must be Unfortunately, this has not been Spanish comrades to liberate themselves destroyed, and then the revolution may achieved. We accept part of the blame for this since we are convinced But the present situation in Portugal organisation, is an illusion. We cannot | that it was a goal easily within our reach, had we been able to devote or libertarian activities are permitted in This is the case of Portugal, as in the necessary time and organization Portugal, and the Portuguese people live every country where fascism has been to this work. But the responsibility for the failure must be shared also co-operate in their home and foreign considerations always in opposition to by those comrades who, in spite of their words of encouragement, have Therefore, Portuguese libertarians in fact done nothing to "push" the salary, a state ruled by the Catholic country will employ their goodwill and paper wherever there was a chance church, are the institutions which expose the situation in Portugal. The of interesting new readers. Howgovern without the least consideration Portuguese government has made strong ever, this is a matter which must be decided by comrades for themselves.

What WE are concerned with is that "Freedom" should continue its and, as the workers know, it is the not only the Spanish people who suffer, work during the coming year. The offspring of capitalism. Therefore, but also the Portuguese people, who majority of readers who have written fascism will not disappear while have lived for twenty years under a to us in connection with the future

(Continued on page 8)

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 16 18 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

A S was already said in the last issue of Freedom, the anarchists have integration by a kind of atomisation which always advocated decentralisation, in the form of the destruction of any large-scale or "national" forms of administration. This was first, among early anarchists like Godwin and Proudhon, regarded as the only means by which the evils of imperialism and the monolithic state could be avoided.

But the logical conclusion from political decentralisation is cultural and industrial decentralisation, so that men need not be dependent for the satisfaction of their elementary physical and intellectual needs on one country in the world, or on one city in any country. And, since no kind of society can be negative, since a mere decentralisation cannot exist without some kind of all. local reintegration of communal, industrial and cultural life, those social thinkers who were hostile to the state began to foresee a positive social development in the shape of an active regionalism that would provide local nuclei in every district, around which the various aspects of communal life could form themselves.

The Free Cities

or a common language forced him to be- went. metropolis which would gather all indus- kingdom had meant the final end of the relations. try and culture within its walls and drain free cities, and the vast industrial develop- Kropotkin's ideas on decentralisation Yet, as Kropotkin showed conclusively away the independent life of the country- ments and exporting imperialisms of such and regionalism are to be found ex- in Fields, Factories and Workshops, the free city of ancient Greece or twelfth- and America had produced a kind of quest of Bread, and, particularly, Fields, expediency is in fact the least of the

rowns were on a high scale; their literary, that the metropolitan development in in- to social stagnation. craftsmanship and industrial inventiveness, ation of many definitely beneficial features in the world of production. Cultivation

workers of that integrated balance of work which is necessary for mental and physical

Kropotkin's Contribution

the full implications of this situation. His study of mutual aid in human institutions greater vitality than anything that could of decentralisation as a means to a free be found elsewhere in their world. Nor, and complete life for every man instead Kropotkin pointed out that this kind This way of thinking was encouraged by while rivalry led them into a fruitful of for the few. His researches into of social reintegration, far from being the researches of students into the social emulation, was there anything parochial agricultural productivity and the possibility an impractical Utopian vision, embodied organisation of Greek antiquity and about their attitude or their cultures. In of decentralising industries into the rural a principle of absolute necessity to the mediaeval Europe. In these societies the ancient and mediaeval worlds, philo- districts gave his theories on this subject continued existence of a revolutionary the national state, as we know it, did not sophers and poets, craftsmen and a sound practical basis, and the ideas society which, even if it were not invaded exist. The ancient Greek or the mediaeval musicians, could wander from city to city which Kropotkin first taught as an militarily by hostile powers, could at least German did not think that a common race and be sure of a welcome wherever they isolated figure in the world of sociology, not hope to receive any economic have since, through the work of Patrick assistance and would therefore have to long to the same unwieldy political By the nineteenth century all this rich Geddes, Lewis Mumford and other socio- stand on its own feet. society as all Greeks or all Germans, or regional life was almost dead. The advent logists, gained an accepted position in the to give homage to some Greek or German of the German empire and the Italian scientific consideration of human social Basis of Libertarain Society

out machinery, without great irrigation works, without railways, without manure factories. And to adapt this machinery, these railways, these irrigation engines, etc., to local conditions, certain amount of technical skill must be developed, while they necessarily lie dormant so long as spades and ploughshares are the only implements

"If fields are to be properly cultivated, if they are to yield the abundant harvests that man has a right to expect, it is essential that workshops, foundries and factories develop within the reach of the fields. A variety of occupations, and a variety of skill arising therefrom, both working together for a common aim-these are the

side and the smaller cities. Instead, each industrial countries as England, Germany pounded at greatest length in The Con- argument from immediate revolutionary century Germany reared its own culture, international centralisation which bred Factories and Workshops. In the former reasons to be brought up in favour of a carried on its own industries, preserved uniformity in the world and destroyed all book he reached them by a consideration re-integration of town and country life. its real independence from overlords, and the varied richness of the old mediaeval of the kind of society in which agricul- Not merely the success of an immediate ture and industry can achieve their true overthrow of governmental power, but with the surrounding agricultural districts, It was not merely the sentimental balance, and he decided that, from an also that of the subsequent evolution of for which it provided a regional focus. mediaevalists who lamented this develop- economic as well as a social point of view, a healthy libertarian society is bound up Far from being in any way petty or ment. The rise of the new science of the old system of one country being in this question, and I can do no better provincial, the achievements of these free sociology rapidly led its students to realise primarily agricultural is harmful and leads than quote Kropotkin's own words on this

dramatic and artistic masterpieces, their dustry and culture had led to the elimin- "Nowadays everything holds together "When we revert from the scholastics of our text-books, and examine human their traditions of freedom, were of far of social life, and had replaced social of the soil is no longer possible with-

while all the benefits of a temporary division of labour must be maintained, it is high time to claim those of the integration of labour. Political economy has hitherto insisted chiefly upon division. We proclaim integration; and we maintain that the ideal of societythat is, the state towards which society is already marching-is a society of integrated, combined labour. A society where each individual is a producer of both manual and intellectual work; where each able-bodied human is a worker, and where each worker works workshop; where every aggregation of individuals, large enough to dispose of a certain variety of natural resourcesit may be a nation, or rather a regionproduces and itself consumes most of its agricultural and manufactured

"Of course, as long as society remains organised so as to permit the owners of land and capital to appropriate for themselves, under the protection of the State and historical rights, the yearly surplus of human production, no such change can be thoroughly accomplished. But the present industrial system, based upon a permanent specialisation of functions, already bears in itself the germs of its proper ruin. The industrial crises, which grow more acute and protracted, and are rendered still worse and still more acute by the armaments and wars implied by the present system, are rendering its maintenance more and more difficult . . .

Fallacy of Specialisation

"A reorganised society will have to abandon the fallacy of nations specialised for the production of either agricultural or manufactured produce. It will have to rely on itself for the production of food and many, if not most, of the raw materials; it must find the best means of combining agriculture with manufacture—the work in the field with a decentralised industry; and it will have to provide for 'integrated education', which education alone, by teaching both science and handicraft from earliest childhood, can give to society the men and women

and integrated education which amply confirmed by the findings of later sociologist. On a wider scale, his statements on the economic crises and wars which are caused by centralisation of industry, with its accompanying systems of export competition and economic imperialism, have been proved over and

As the first sociologist to point out the benefits of an integrated regionalisation of culture and industry, and to indicate the superiority of libertarian regionalism over political nationalism, Kropotkin fulfilled an important function which is now being amply recognised in the acknowledgments paid to his pioneer work in this science by such successors as Lewis

THE PROBLEM OF WORK

We are printing below the third of a series of the clear notion that the revolution will mean sacrifice and the series an abridged translation of a by Camillo Berneri not merry-making; that during its development not only articles which comprise an abridged translation of a pamphlet by Camillo Berneri Il Lavoro Attraente (Attractive Work). The first two articles stressed the against the exploiters—that is, against those who do not importance of discussing the problem of work from an work-is likely to have on men's feelings". But h anarchist viewpoint and showed that work has always also wrote, "At the base of the anarchic system, before been slavery since the beginning of civilization, that Christian ethics considered it a punishment imposed by God. Modern systems of rationalisation have transformed workers into robots with dangerous results for their physical and mental health.

The author further analysed the factors which which make it practicable." would render work pleasant and concluded that the duration of work must be proportional to the effort involved and that everyone must be free to follow that productive capacity to which they feel most

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The "Lazy" People and the Problem of Free

find an occupation suited to their psychic and physical governments or masters is that of voluntary personality. Kropotkin says on this subject in his in relation to Conquest of Bread

in the wrong place. The same definition applies (especially the manual labourer) a decisive mark to nine-tenths of those called lazy. They are people gone inferiority. The majority work because obliged to from perament nor to their capacities. In reading the biography promises or hopes of a bonus, or a betterment in their among them. They were lazy so long as they had not class and enter that of the 'privileged'. What will take found the right path; afterwards they became laborious the place of the urge of necessity and the desire for institutions which hinder libertarian accomplishment to excess. Darwin, Stephenson, and many others belonged profit in a society which ensures everybody with at least overthrown, but when, moreover a sufficient number of

Difficulties After The Revolution

if I so desired I could quote corroborating opinions by independently of work done? Up to now, the anarchist viduals who 'wish to live anarchically' presupposes that pyschologists, physicians and teachers, but they do not writers, with one or two exceptions, have attempted to they have the will to work'—otherwise no Anarchy would solve the problem for the immediate future. We can be eliminate these objections with over-optimistic axiomatic be possible. When, therefore, the objection of the plague convinced, as was Zola, that "if all that people were replies which certainly ended the argument; but a close of idleness is raised, we can only consider it—given an would certainly no longer be 'lazy people'"; we can be opinions, unsafe predictions, and hopes which pre- anarchist society, deprived of the means of coercion, debe necessary to ensure that all shall work; but the prob- problems which still remain. unattractive activities by the machine. Kropotkin, when social progress still too far ahead . . smelling raw materials, and the like.

the disappearance of lazy people. do a certain number of working hours. Many anarchists to society that particular kind of work which would be case, social use must be the prime consideration. oscillate between "the right to idleness" and "compulsory most needed. me that the reaction to the wishful thinking so prevalent these, in the absence of free work, would lead us back to Fabbri has perceived and clearly indicated that it is

munism—'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need'-is only valid for those who accept it by accepting also as a matter of course those conditions

Against Over-Optimism

While valuing the effects of moral coercion, Malate sanction which bars "chronic idlers" from co collectivist associations. Luigi Fabbri in an The problem of free work", wrote:

present-day society, based on struggle and competit the spectre of misery and hunger will no longer be a ally will be available to uphold a society of their own required to do was pleasing work, freely chosen, there examination showed them to be highly questionable existing Anarchist society—as follows: 'How will an convinced that a time will come when no coercion will supposed the solution of a number of other very grave fend itself from those individuals or minorities who

brief moments in which it seemed that the revolution writing bad verse . . . Work will become lighter and less dangerous, will was beating at the gates. Too many people among the "Work, then, even in Anarchy, will have to meet the cease to be injurious or very tiring, but on the whole it poor, too many workers really believed that the time had necessities of production, in order to satisfy all the will be slow to become so attractive as to bring about come to cease work or to make the leisured classes work individual and social needs of the common life; it will for them. There were many who did not perceive the have to be organised, that is, according to the demands Kropotkin (Conquest of Bread 1892) and Grave (The obvious truth-that the idle rich were too few in number on production on the part of all, and certainly not merely Dying Society and Anarchy 1894) have not solved the adequately to take the place of the enormous army of for the purpose of exercising the muscles and brains of problem by limiting themselves to a statement that all workers and peasants in the fields of work, and that in the producers. It may be that in many cases the useful men who are fit to work should compel themselves to any case they would be practically incapable of giving will coincide with the pleasant; where this is not the

Malatesta wrote in one of his articles, "It seems to of necessity, coercive organisms would rapidly form, and will be 'anarchic'." of the 'will to work', the moral coercion of public opinion revolutionaries and anarchists must, therefore, before the work". and the immediate effect which a revolution carried out revolution-from this very moment-be awakened to the

the armed enemy but also more difficult living conditions | Kropotkin supplements these contentions will have to be fought, be latter with harder, longer and | with a mass of evidence on agricultural have once more failed in attaining its aim.

Work Must Be Voluntary

"One of the first things, therefore, that the anarchists must do during the revolution will be to organise free over again by events during the present and voluntary work. In fact we must make an immediate start in realising this necessity, without worrying whether the revolution is near or far. At the same time necessity of work, and produce together, with the element to hand in present-day society, and without lulling our selves in the hope of miracles, those forms of libertaria organisation which will guarantee the production of more forethought will have been given as to what should | Mumford.

when the enemies of liberty have been defeated, and the neither carry out, nor deem it their duty to work?'

lem of the moment for us is this: after the fall of the "The opinions, predictions and hopes regarding the "This question has often been answered in the past bourgeois regime, is production to be entirely free, that solution of this difficult question were not-and are not- simply by avoiding it, without giving any direct reply. is, entrusted to the population's will to work? "Attractive mistaken; they all contain, in fact, an indisputable basis 'There will be no idlers' it was said 'because work is a work" if generalised, presupposes not only free choice of truth and common sense. But they are only partly physical need for both muscles and intellect and everyone and the right to change occupation, reconciled with the reasonable and true, or they are so only according to will be willing to work when it is no longer a burden or productive necessities, but also the absorption of many an abstract logic, and in relation to future moral and a compulsion imposed by hunger.' This is partly true. speaking of pleasant work, cites as objects of such work "One of the dangers of the revolution will actually be brain and muscles can be quite adequately exercised by the book, the luxury article, the work of art-and not the loathing for work which it will inherit from the work which serves no useful purpose; riding horse-back mechanical parts, articles of strict necessity, unpleasantly society of to-day. We were made aware of this in those or reading novels, indulging in the sport of fencing, or

"It follows that a 'discipline' of work is necessary." If work for all", unable to conceive of an intermediate "A revolution of people who had no desire to work, this discipline is agreed upon and freely accepted, without formula, which, it seems to me, could be "no compulsion or who even imagined they could rest awhile or do less the need for coercion, by a number of individuals over a to work, but no duty towards those who refuse to work". work, would be a defeated revolution. Under the pressure wide enough region to constitute a society, this society

in our camp is an excess of pessimism on the part of a regime of forced and, therefore, exploited, labour. a duty and not an anachronism for anarchists to others who fail to bear in mind, in this special case "The consciousness of the workers, and particularly examine for themselves this problem of the "discipline of

(To be continued.)

ANARCHISM -Interpretations

Never can a new idea move within the law. It matters not whether that idea pertains to political and social changes or to any other domain of human thought and expression—to science, literature, music, in fact, everything that makes for freedom and joy and beauty must refuse to move within the law. How can it be otherwise? The law is stationary, fixed, mechanical, "a chariot wheel" which grinds all alike without regard to time, place and condition, without ever taking into account cause and effect, without ever going into the complexity of the human soul.

Progress knows nothing of fixity. It cannot be pressed into a definite mould. It cannot bow to the dictum, "I have ruled," "I am the regulating finger of God". Progress is ever renewing, ever becoming, ever changing—never is it

EMMA GOLDMAN -at her trial, New York, July, 1917.

THE MERSEY SEAMEN'S STRIKE A Rank and File Victory

HE ten-day dispute among merchant seamen, centred on Mersey-side, L but having repercussions in other parts of the country, has ended in another demonstration of the value of direct action and the strength of solidarity. The strike was as much against the union as against the employers and the determination of the seamen has compelled their union (National the crew walked off! Union of Seamen) to take up their grievances.

as "establishment" was brought into directed to particular ships. Theoretically they had to take one out of three ships, i.e., they could refuse to sail the Seamen!", but in one night, a deteron the first and second ships they were offered, but had to take the Support the N.U.S.!" third under threat of certain penalities. As it worked out, however, they were usually only offered one ship, and if they refused that, would be penalized.

however, seamen were given guaranteed week-whether they sailed or not, they received a basic wage watching the strike, one delegate flying it has started, without leaders, without from the pool.

the end of establishment. Nonestablishment meant that men could off the pool. They soon found how- vented from sailing. This quickly made signed away their guaranteed week, thereby losing money unless they could find another ship immediately. This was the issue over which the men struck work.

It is an issue which has been blowing up for a long time. It was not a sudden conflagration, but matters coming to a head as the result of longstanding irriation and discontent. first, the seamen looked around for scapegoats, and blamed the trainees for their plight, but in the event, when the strike took place, trainees and seamen stood shoulder to shoulder against their common enemies, the companies and their lackeys, the union fakirs of the N.U.S.

SOLIDARITY

opposition to, the official union, and one very encouraging and impressive characteristic of the strike was the spirit of solidarity displayed.

Chinese and white seamen stood their ground without discrimination.*

THE C.P. PLAYS ITS PART

Nor were political influences allowed interfere with the clear-cut nature of fight. Both the Communists and th Trotskyists made attempts to get contr of the committee, but both were equally

The usual C.P. tactic of attempting to disrupt or discredit any popular movehowever, in evidence. At one point a inside had been told the strike was over. The strikers, having stopped the train, appealed to the men in it to join strike, and not to blackleg, but made no threats of violence at all, and vet someone from the back of their ranks threw a brick at the train which naturally incensed the train went on. It is thought very strongly that those who started throwing the bricks were C.P. elements.

*Outside of this issue, it is interesting to note the difference in conditions for inadequate.

22 23 24 25 26 27 28 28 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

In a similar way, attempts were made to however. At one at the Liverpool the strikers' slogans. The seamen had packed and hundreds turned away. made their appeals on the walls around the docks with such slogans as: "Support the Strike!", "Don't Split the Ranks of these slogans with others-"Seamen-

THE PARTY OF CALLETTE WELL ORGANISED

and peaceful manner, and full support file. came from the dockers and shipyard men. This committee should not be forgotten, American seamen, too, were closely or allowed to fade out. If it continues as back to U.S.A. to report progress, while political influence, truly representative of rumour had it at one time that San the rank and file, and under the control With the end of the war came Francisco seamen were threatening strike of the workers, a weapon will be forged action in sympathy.

seek their own ships, and many sea- however, when it spread to Southampton, Control. men preferred to do this, and signed and the Queen Mary (with, among others, In such a fashion are Industrial the Duke of Windsor on board) was prethe union, which had hitherto refused to

LIES IN THE PRESS

On the day when the papers reported half that number even if they had counted in our next issue.

Arabian Prince got to Manchester, where

The press did not report the huge and enthusiastic meetings the strikers held. Stadium, capacity 7,000, the place was

VALUE OF THE COMMITTEE

in the strict sense of the word. Their More likely, after one has perhaps assisted abilities threw them up on this particular | a calf into this man-made world by the None of these attempts, however, were issue, but the committee as a whole was aid of a hurricane lamp, one just washes able to seriously check the strike, which responsible for the fine organisation dis- one's hands in the bucket, lights a was well organised and well supported. played, and they would have been help- cigarette and mutters: "Another poor little To "compensate" for this direction, Picketing was carried out in an orderly less without the support of the rank and bugger for the Ministry of Food", and

> which the workers of Merseyside could The success of the strike was assured, use towards the final goal of Workers'

Syndicates begun. In the words of Bill Hart: "To think

they had to ask us if the Queen Mary

could sail! It just shows what we can achieve by standing together."

"83 Ships left Port", we are reliably in- A further article on seamen's conditions

Land notes

MEAT AND 2 VEG.

aware of the implications of the scene. Men have always been slightly awed, if only for a few moments, in the presence of birth and death. Instinctively, one tends to pause and reflect on this ultimate mystery. Naturally, it is not often that hopes that one will see a reasonable profit

Is Your Slaughter Really Necessary ?

British trade unions shews that the

olitical policies. In a majority of the

aims to be purely economic, and there-

product mainly of the entrenched

number of strikes for economic pur-

fore the pseudo-political propaganda

unions the constitutions declare

risk death and physical suffering from hunger, cold or natural enemies, and if it falls ill it receives medical aid if that is at all practicable. If it is not it is at least shot and put out of its pain, an act of mercy that the Law denies to human beings. It is true, of course, that varying degrees according to the strength of their maternal instincts, if their calves are taken away from them and that pigs, the most fastidious of all farm animals as far as their excretory functions are concerned, suffer if they are confined in small

Inconsistency of Vegetarianism

But these things are frequently magnified out of all sense of proportion by ignorant and sentimental, not to say inconsistent persons, especially by those who profess a vegetarianism on humanitarian grounds as opposed to dietectical grounds. This form of vegetarianism, frequently The question is then: is it all really a by-product of a certain type of necessary and inevitable? In the un- pacifism, is essentially the result of an likely event of man ceasing to live on the urban culture completely divorced from, exploitation of his fellow-man, would he and apparently oblivious to, the most still have to continue to exploit the animal elementary biological facts. Such persons will not eat meat because it involves the It is a question that does seem to slaughter of animals and the rearing of concern some people and the answer, I them for that purpose which they say is am afraid, whatever well-intentioned but cruel and unethical. But these same ill-informed persons may say to the con- persons will wear leather shoes and trary, is that it is necessary and inevitable greedily consume milk, butter and cheese though it by no means need be as which also involve the slaughter of cattle. Yes, it shows that. It also shows that callous as it sometimes is now. Animals After all, before a cow can give milk it the workers are the most necessary and | will always have to be bred for slaughter must have a calf and go on having calves the most important section of the com- and it is not the act of killing which is at roughly yearly intervals. (Strange, how munity—that the captain on the bridge is in any way immoral, assuming it to be so many people, including women who The national press distinguished itself helpless without the stokers and the deck done quickly and efficiently, but the life have had several children, seem unaware during the strike by its misleading reports hands down below! It shows the strength such animals may live, and the treatment of this fact.) If the calf is a bull it on the number of ships leaving Liverpool. of the workers—if they care to use it. | they may receive, while they are alive. must either be killed young as veal or Indeed, it could be argued with steered and fattened later. Neither are reasonable conviction that the domestic all heifer calves worth rearing for formed that they could not have made by Preston Clements will be published farm animal, given tolerable freedom of breeding purposes and those that are not movement, leads a happier existence than must be killed either as veal or raised as stores. So surely, if the offspring have got to be killed sometime or other, then it is better to eat them than to simply though that apparently is what these animal-lovers would like done with them. is perhaps one degree less irritating than those townspeople who express horror and disgust at the thought of helping to

Men and Animals

associated with trade-unionism is the A concern for the welfare of animals, bureaucratic officials. That the workers essentially an Anglo-Saxon attribute, is instances, is demonstrated by the large | understandable and to be desired provided are many people who are comparatively among the workers, although it is woe- who are profoundly moved by the sufferfully weak, thanks to the propaganda | ing of an animal and extremely indignant which seeks to replace the idea of if such suffering has been caused by a industrial solidarity with the dangerous | human being. Many persons, who smack onception of national solidarity based | their children if they catch them pinching principles of industrial solidarity ex- if one grabs the cat by the tail and throws emplified in the struggles of the past. It outside, if one comes upon it with its

On the other hand, it is equally correct organisation for industrial defence will brutal, sadistic variety exhibited by the become necessary, if we are to success- highly civilized and neurotic personality fully resist more intensive exploitation (e.g., in detention barracks) but is simply and make certain that the results of our | the result of a blunting of sensitivity, a labours are not to be used once again dulling of awareness due to a coarsened and brutalized existence. Such a person derives no cold, conscious pleasure from In these circumstances, we feel that forcing an old and lame horse to work by

Inc Fromuellon THE rate of production in this country is higher to-day than

L before the war. Yet the State authorities are far from satisfied. They want more and more goods to be produced, and they have fixed no ceiling for the upward drive. The main emphasis is on more work; more sweat and toil on the part of the worker; no immediate The strike was organised by the promises are made about any reward for this heavier toil; just the Mersevside Seamen's Rank and File usual vagueness about more production being necessary before better Committee, a council of about fifteen living is possible. Cabinet ministers make speeches in which they workers coming together to fight a declare that it is all so simple; purely a matter of exporting to live. specific issue, independent of, and in and producing for better standards of living.

> iniquities of present-day society are It is indeed unfortunate that there exists ignored. The waste and destruction no real international movement to proinherent in our maladjusted order of mote this unity of interests to a unity society are to be accepted as inevitable of purpose. and unavoidable. We are required to The workers never could afford ignore the obvious things which could ignore the interests and welfare of their be done to alleviate the conditions of fellow-workers in other countries. the mass of people. The improved dis- more necessary now than ever that they tribution of food is a practical question should give close attention of the day; widespread economies in question of low standards of living the elimination of unnecessary govern- other countries, which is bound mental services; higher standards of affect directly standards elsewhere. wages for industrial workers at the ex- is of great importance for instance for pense of profits; concentration on the British workers to know what agricultural production; more co- happening in Germany concerning the operation and co-ordination with the disamantling and otherwise of factories. peoples of other lands and less power From evidence available it seems clear politics with its policy of dismantling that the occupation authorities factories to prevent production-all determined to exploit Germany these and many more effective ways of economy to their own advantages. bringing about an improvement must be other countries. Italy, for example of the countries neglected. They must be neglected there is evidence that the interested because no government is capable of powers have been using their position dealing with them. Government exists to strengthen their economic powers at to govern and not organise for social the expense of the deplorably low

A government is an institution which ment which they couldn't control was, attempts to keep itself perpendicular by arranging equal pressures on all sides. trainload of seamen brought in to break | The many perplexing and contradictory actions of the party in power, which laying on the railway lines. The doors so disturb its supporters, are explained of the carriages were locked and the men only by the dominant desire to keep in power by adjusting political pressure But the generating force of pressure is beyond the control of government and consequently, the wobble from varying pressures must inevitably end in complete disequilibrium and a crash. The colossal waste of human effort and social striving in this form of society fused on the issue. Police arrived at the is to-day strongly emphasised in the misery and hunger of millions of people. and the "imperialist" and "cominform" blocks which divide the peoples of the

UNITY OF PURPOSE

But there is a certain unity of the peoples, which is not the result of any white and coloured seamen. The latter ! "official" policy or the creation of any (particularly Indians) received, on an organisation. It is the unity of purpose average, less than half the wages of shewn by the peoples struggling against whites, are segregated on the ship, and food shortages, for better wages, etc. have conditions which can only be des- These movements serve to remind us cribed as hellish, and food as deplorably once again, that the peoples of all lands are fundamentally alike in their desires

All the existing anomalies and for peace, security, and social progress.

living standards of the Italian people.

PROPAGANDA

The production propaganda in Britain is also basically a question of the struggle for power, as Bevin unashamedly admitted a short time ago, when he declared that a greater production coal would strengthen his hand in interduction in itself-they also cheaper production. They decree less food for the workers and ask fo work. The trade union leaders in this situation still attempt to do a balancing act which becomes more trite, and to add to the discomfiture of the union officials, the act itself becomes more complex and difficult as a result of the economic crisis.

Actually it is in times of economic crises that the unions should be most active, because the trade unions should be primarily economic organisations and not political. It is of course, true that they are at present pawns of the politicians, and that the economic interests of the members are subordinate to the whims of political

oses-all of them in defiance of the emagogy of the official drones. and expressed in the slogans of "An "United we stand divided we fall", are principles which still live though mostly suffer under economic exploitation are dormant. They will live, we are ready | crude, not to say cruel, towards the to assert, and live to become revitalised animals over whom they in their turn in a struggle against the new forces have domination. I refer mainly, of arising in state capitalism. It is certain | course, to the peasant and labourer of all that the requirements of the state lands. It should, however, be made clear capitalists will mean heavier burdens | that in most cases, though by no means for the worker, and a new type of all, such cruelty is not of the consciously

the time has arrived for all who believe hitting it with a stick every few minutes. in the better future for the people, to Often he is just compelled by poverty to take a courageous decision to help in do so and becomes of necessity quite inthe creation of a type of industrial different to what he is doing. In anything organisation which will develop and approaching a free society he would not, use the principles of genuine industrial of course, be compelled to act in such a solidarity. It is not enough to suggest manner that the fight for these principles can Yet, once again it all comes back to the go on in the existing unions, for in the old, old story—our system of monetary last analysis the political careerists and values. If animals were reared first and bureaucratic officials would dissect the foremost for human consumption much of unions to the very ground, rather than such suffering as they may at present relinquish their power. The times now undergo could be avoided, would be undemand an alternative; something which necessary and serve no purpose. As it is, will really unite the workers; an organ- farm animals are reared so that a profit isation that will stimulate the inherent | may be made on them. This sometimes faith of workers in workers; an necessitates them being treated in a industrial union based on maximum callous manner simply because to avoid democracy and complete control by the | doing so would cost too much, would conmembers. One union for each industry, siderably reduce the profit made on them closely federated in a national industrial by their owner. No, it is not the rearing co-ordinating committee without any and killing of animals to satisfy human centralised bureaucracy, and linked with needs which is to be condemned, but the similar unions in all other lands.

C. W. ROOKE.

treatment of animals, as of human beings, as so much profit or loss. G.V.

of opposition parties began in March, occupying Powers.

culminating in the arrest of Dr. Maniu,

M. Ion Mihalache, vice-president, M.

POLISH LEADER

ESCAPES

TV/E need not remind our readers

of the circumstances of Mr.

Mikolajczyk's flight from Poland. The

Catholic paper The Tablet remarks that

his departure has been reported "both

though he were a prisoner making a

instead of a former Vice-Premier and the

present legitimate leader of the Parlia-

mentary Opposition leaving the country

as he has a perfect right to do." There

is not, however, with Mikolajczyk that our

of the Poles who, while making tremen-

dous efforts at reconstruction, have to

put up with a legal black market on which

butter is 12s. 6d. a pound and a pair of

shoes £50. To these material hardships

informers, censorship and political kid-

nappings, a new master-class and a

The long struggle for political and

BERLIN

TT is not only political leaders who are

liquidated as occasion arises to suit

the requirements of the Soviet political

well-known Berlin journalist and corres-

pondent of Der Abend, received a

telephone call at his office in the British

visitor was not known. The Berlin

Two more German journalists have

recently disappeared in similar circum-

stances. How many other cases have

there been which have not been

police are taking no action.

A fortnight ago, Dieter Friede, a

nominee of Russia.

ruthless secret police.

inside and outside Poland exactly as

daring escape from a concentration camp,

Peasant Party on July 15th.

provocateurs.

THE control by Russia of countries generally described as being behind the "iron curtain" is even more ruthless than military occupation The dirty work of repression is being done by native Communists but the pattern according to which it is carried out has been imported from Moscow and it is applied over and over again with a monotonous

RECIPE FOR SEIZING POWER

THE tactics used by the Commun. Party have been described with particular acuteness by four American correspondents after they had completed an extensive tour of Eastern and Central Europe. The conquest of power is achieved in two move-

1st Movement: Before Communists seize power outright, the correspondents note that seven vital conditions were necessary: a Communist Minister of Interior to control the police, a Communist or pro-Communist Minister of Justice (courts), a staff (army), a Cabinet of Com- It has been found in Russia, since the about 150 Slovaks and accused them Democratic Party. munists and others "willing or forced" days of Denikin, Kolchak, and Wrangel, Communist controlled majority, non- charge him with working with foreign Communist parties "intimidated and badgered", a press censor under Com- State. munist orders.

and Movement: When the above conditions are obtained the Communists are ready to strike; they: "First-Accuse the opposition of IN spite of the inexorability of the military intervention, and economic sition press . . . Third-Now go ahead and make your arrests . . . Fourth-Ban the most powerful opposition party . . . Fifth-Now stop and digest your gains. Hang the opposition chief . . . and your work is complete.'

Though the chronological order might not always be rigorously observed the pattern is fundamentally the same for every country. We have seen it applied in its last stages in Rumania and Bulgaria and we are seeing the first phase unfolding itself at present in Czechoslovakia.

PATTERN FOR THE TRIALS

pattern as it has been pointed out by a correspondent of the Manchester Guardian (4/11/47):

taken place in Eastern Europe during the have been amongst the most steadfast | Charge: Acting on instructions of a secret past couple of years have all followed opponents of their country's long right-wing Socialist organization. closely a single pattern. It has been series of totalitarian regimes, have equally obvious where the original for this been rigorously suppressed (see the Peasant Party's organ.—15 years. Father striking similarity in the phraseology of the indictments and in the general con- Freedom, 31/5/47). duct of these trials there is one specific charge, the intrinsic unlikeliness of which has not prevented its being preferred against the accused with a monotonous insistence. This is the charge of acting for, or receiving aid from, a foreign Power against the interests of the State. The foreign Power, though rarely mentioned, is invariably Britain or the United States, or both.

This charge was one of the central instance, it featured largely in the trials of Bukharin and the leading Trotskyists. They were said to be in touch with reactionary forces abroad.

is given to that aspect which relates to activities of, or on behalf of, some foreign Power, the evidence adduced is invariably somewhat vague and indirect. Nor has the attention of the Government of the foreign Power mentioned ever been formally drawn to the alleged evidence connecting it, or its nationals, with the set in motion to transform this illegal activities of the accused. This minority into a majority (the general i step would seem to be normal if concern was really felt at the "evidence"

foreign threat is just part of the inevitable rely on them). They have therefore: | Smallholders' Party.

THIRTY years ago the Russian workers revolted Zhdanov may have reasons to be satisfied by the by Russia during the war. to establish a society based on freedom and justice, millions of people do not count since they have Workers all over the world watched their struggle helped Russia to become the greatest Power in the and hoped it would be the prelude to their own world next to the U.S.A. A few days after he liberation. The October revolution seemed to in- made this statement, Molotov pronounced a speech augurate an era of fraternity among the workers of on the anniversary of the revolution; his birthday

of the revolution. At the same time it became was the weapon of the working-class against evident that the new leaders of the Soviet Union capitalism and wars. To-day, the Russian people were not concerned with promoting world revolu- are asked to be prepared for an atomic war. tion but merely used revolutionary movements in In preparation for that war Russian has set

and the Baltic States.

imperialist policy has assumed a more definite form. establish her domination as far as she can in Europe. This conviction does not lead us to seek refuge In his report on the conference which gave birth by terrorist methods. to the Cominform, Zhdanov declares: "The inter- For those who still have illusions about Russian realise, on the contrary, that Russia's strength lies Powers (Germany, Japan, Britain, the U.S.A., country when the Communists acquire sufficient In 1917, the Russian workers relied only on their France and Italy), three exist no longer as a result power, only fools himself. The Czechs thought that own strength. They gave us a lesson in interof military rout . . . France is also weakened and in their country "things were different", yet they are nationalism which we must remember to-day. Our has lost its former importance as a Great Power. falling too, under Communist dictatorship. Thus, only two "great" world imperial Powers | Terrorism has been used in Russia to crush any deprived of their most elementary rights. To stand remain—the U.S.A. and Britain. But in one case, opposition and forestall any discontent. that of Britain, its position is undermined . . ."

technique, or pattern, for their conduct.

that nothing so much provoked popular

SHEEP TO THE

SLAUGHTER

first place, collaborated with the Com-

would save their skins by doing so.

these politicians have not only for-

and lives, but have allowed hundreds

of people to be arrested and judicially

murdered. For each case which hits

or killed. Our own comrades of the

machine of plots and trials has been

"Appeal for Justice" manifesto in Leon Pawlina, director of Catholic organ-

USE OF THE RECIPE IN abroad and receiving money from a cer-

against the capitalist system and war and fought results of the war; the death and sufferings of present to the Russian people was the atom bomb.

These hopes were short-lived, the Bolshevik Thirty years ago, Russian soldiers laid down their

The war has strengthened Russia's power and her for an open clash with the U.S.A., Russia will another war.

national significance and authority of the U.S.S.R. democracy we have reviewed in these pages the in the fact that her only opponents are as corrupted grew immeasurably as a result of the war. . . methods employed by Russia in establishing her and ruthless as she is herself. As long as Socialist Instead of becoming weaker, the U.S.S.R. was control over Eastern Europe. Anyone who believes and other parties will fight Communism hiding bestrengthened. Of six so-called great imperial that these methods will not be used in his own hind America's skirts, they are bound to be defeated.

Terorrism was used in the countries occupied by is a measure of self-preservation.

Terrorism is being used in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, the Eastern zone of Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Terrorism will be used to-morrow in any country where the Communist Party is strong enough to bid

Terrorism means the physical elimination of any political movement which refuses to submit to Moscow or which may provide a rallying point for discontent. It means the suppression of any individual who dares to criticise the Party line.

Terrorism means prison, concentration camps, forced labour for workers who refuse to starve and other countries to further their own interests. herself the task of dominating and enslaving Europe. accept inhuman methods of exploitation and for Russia's policy opened the gates to Hitler's rise We are not using the word enslaving lightly. writers, artists and scientists who attempt to give to power, it led her to conclude a pact with the We charge the Soviet Union with wanting to estab- free expression to their creative needs or discoveries. Nazis, to attack Finland and later to invade Poland lish her rule over Europe by methods as ruthless Russian domination is the end of every freedom; as those employed by Hitler. Until the time comes it brings poverty and famine; it is the prelude to

in the arms of British or American imperialism. We

solidarity must go to the workers who are being by them is not only a duty of human solidarity, it

1. Discovered a plot involving former secretary of the Slovak (the two other secretaries are already

2. Deprived two Slovak M.P.s of their Parliamentary immunity.

the assassination of President Benes.

ization Caritas-10 years; Sgt. Maciejec,

of the Polish Security Police-death.

Charge: Sending military information

court,-University professors, leaders of

"W.I.N.", and Peasant Party leaders-

SEPTEMBER 10, by a Cracow military

tain foreign Power.

of preparing an armed uprising and 4. Obtained the resignation of one

of Czechoslovakia's deputy Prime Ministers, the Slovak Democrat Dr. Jan Ursiny.

Josef Kysely, and Dr. Jan Kempny, Mr. Hodza, is expecting to be arrested regime of police terror.

in prison) and two Communist nominees are going to be appointed to the departments of Justice and the Interior in Slovakia.

Conclusion: Czechoslovakia will soon be ripe for a series of trials (with 3. Arrested the Lord Mayor of 5. As we go to press, the third possible executions), the banning Slovakia's capital, Bratislava, Dr. secretary of the Democratic Party, of newspapers and parties, and a

leads to a complete crushing of the opposition, this opposition has, in the

framing of repressive legislation.

been in Eastern Europe is forcibly ber of Parliament—death. General Louis Ljubljana. Members of the socialist, liberal, demonstrated by a list of the prin- Veres and General Andras—death, com- October 2, by the People's Tribunal of agrarian parties have, at the beginning, cipal political arrests and trials of the muted to 15 and 12 years' hard labour Pisano, in Istria.—Mgr. Jacob Ukmar, nourished illusions as to their coun- legal opposition which have taken respectively. Ten others Life imprison- Pontifical delegate, Don Stefan Cek, try's independence and have even place in countries dominated by ment to one year. Charge: Conspiracy parish priest, and eight peasants—senstrongly denied any interference from | Communist or Communist-controlled to overthrow the democratic State. Moscow. Whether willing or un- governments and which has been pub- court.—M. André Misteth, Smallholder, murdered at a confirmation service. (Two willing tools, whether sincere or lished by The Times (8/11/47). This and former Minister of Reconstruction— men charged with the murder got five hypocritical, they have helped the is an important document which three and a half years' hard labour. and three months' imprisonment res-Communists in the hope that they should dispose once for all, of the democratic regime. Forty-three other October 2, by the Supreme Court of myth of Russian democracy and we accused—sentences of nine years' to three Belgrade.—Dr. Jovanovitch, leader of the By a stupid policy of compromise, reproduce it therefore, in full:

feited their positions, their freedom | Poland JANUARY 14, 1947, by a Warsaw military community" court.-Count Ksawory Grocholski and Oct. 22, by the Budapest People's out according to a well-known the headlines there are hundreds of liaison officers between an underground from four years to one year. Charge: two others-death. Charge: Serving as Court.-24 accused-sentences ranging

obscure opponents who are im- movement and a foreign ambassador. Conspiracy. prisoned, sent to concentration camps (British ambassador mentioned in court.) Pending.—M. Bela Kovacs, former July.-M. Galaj, Social Democrat secretary-general of the Smallholders' leader, and six members of the illegal Party, arrested by the Russians Bulgarian Anarchist Federation who organization "W.I.N."—five to 10 years. February, fate unknown.

August 6. by a Warsaw military Yuqoslavia

JULY 15, 1946, by the Supreme Military by Mr. Byrnes. Tribunal of Yugoslavia. - General June 14, by the Sofia district court.-Mihailovitch and nine others-death. M. Peter Koyev, Agrarian Party deputy-Several heavy sentences of imprisonment 12½ years' imprisonment. Charge: Supon other members of the Government in porting a military Fascist conspiratorial exile. Charges: Following a Fascist organization. policy, collaborating with the invader, and acting under instructions of British and court.-M. Nicola Petkov, leader of the

eight death sentences and eight sentences Tribunal of Croatia.-Mgr. Stepinac, of imprisonment. Charges: Espionage Roman Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb which make their complete seizure of and secret plotting against the "people's and Primate of Yugoslavia-16 years' imprisonment with hard labour. Charge: OCTOBER 2, after trial in camera.— Crimes against the State.

before the war. It was fundamental to they control the Ministries of Interior, Literature at Cracow University—10 years. of Serbia.—M. Milos Trifunovitch, Information, Agriculture, Social Wel- | Charge: Spying for England, anti-Soviet formerly Prime Minister of the Yugoslav fare and the Prime Minister is a attitude, and "attempting to turn back the Government in London-eight years; M. Communist. At the head of the will of history". Father Grudzienski- Stefanovitch, a former journalist and em-Army they placed General Svoboda, six years. Charge: Spying for England. ployee of the United States Embassy in Though in all these cases much weight commander of the Czech corps in deputy and party secretary, and about 25 other sentences of seven to eight years' PENDING.-M. Puzak, former socialist Belgrade, and two others-death; three Russia during the war and reputed to other Socialist leaders, arrested in June imprisonment. Charge: Disclosing State for subversive activity and propaganda and military secrets to the United States and contact with secret organizations Embassy.

In Slovakia, however, the Com- abroad, including Polish Socialists in August 12, by the Supreme Court at arrested. Charge: Supplying information Ljubljana.-M. Nagoda-death; Professor to a certain foreign Power. Boris Furlan, former Minister of Edu- October 21.—General Stanchev, Comcation in the Yugoslav Government in mander of the Second Army, and liberator London, and M. Sirc-death (commuted of Sofia, after 16 months in prison-life JANUARY and FEBRUARY.—One hundred to 20 years' imprisonment); 12 other imprisonment. Thirty-eight other officers and fifty political arrests, including 13 accused, principally Slovenes—sentences —sentences ranging from 15 years to one The bringing into these trials of the but the C.P. prefers not to have to members of Parliament, principally of the of imprisonment. Charge: Giving in- year. Charges: Organization of "Military" formation on the political, military, and Union" to overthrow the State.

munists and failed to oppose the LIOW systematic the repression has APRIL 16, by the Budapest people's economic situation to diplomats of foreign

August 29, by a Budapest people's Provocation, when another priest was

months' imprisonment. Some acquittals. Serbian Peasant Party-nine years; M. August.—Ernest Peter and 21 other Franco Gazi, formerly Government official accused—10 to one years' imprisonment; —five years. Charges: Organizing a 39 lesser sentences. Charge: Attempting peasant bloc on the orders of the former to revive the anti-State "Hungarian British Press attaché in Belgrade and a

February, 1946. — M. Pastuhov, Socialist leader—five years' imprisonment. Charge: Criticizing in an article a speech by M. Dimitrov, the Communist leader. FEBRUARY, 1947. - Mlle. Lulchev. daughter of the Social Democrat leader, and others—three to six months. Charge: Circulation of a false copy of a speech

August 16, by the Sofiia district Opposition Agrarian Party-death. OCTOBER 11, by the Supreme Military Charge: Supporting a subversive military organization known as the Military League, through which he planned to seize power by force. M. Dimiter Tsvetkov, organizing secretary of the Agrarian Union, and three Army officers -sentences of five to 15 years' imprisonment. Charge: Playing a part in form-

August 28, by the regional court of Plovdiv.—Three members of the Agrarian Party - life imprisonment. Charge: Espionage. Three other defendantssentences of five to 15 years' imprisonment. Charge: Espionage involving contact with Greek monarchists.

SEPTEMBER 28 .- M. Tomcho Tanev. former Opposition deputy, and two others

tried on charges of high treason, politicians to go abroad! He is accused under the control of Moscow. Medium Socialisation has been avoided in order Unions. After eight months there were conspiracy and fomenting armed in of collaborating with the British. One industry was submitted to Russian super- not to jeopardise production. The factory 800,000 members in Greater Berlin and might ask how he could have avoided vision. Small industries were left in chimneys smoke; industry works at full in the Eastern Zone 12 millions. At

Nicolas Penasco, general secretary, and about 100 rank-and-file members of the The trial shows the usual signs of acts and of stealing Foreign Office industry. Industries of secondary import- Americans for their ruthless dismantling in the hands of the State. At present the nesses called by the defence have documents. Tatarescu and the other appeared in court and one of the accused found that all the eighteen witnesses he had called were imprisoned. Other political leaders refused to give evidence for the defence and the pletely composed of Communists and defending counsel prudently asked "that their puppets. Communist circles in justice be done" and not for the acquittal of his client. Among the defendants themselves are obvious forces us to face our enemies in an reduces German 'control' to a mere farce. was still proceeding in mines, electricity of 6,300,000. It is unnecessary to em-Dr. Maniu "confessed to being prime organiser of the unsuccessful attempt by open struggle."

Tatarescu's place as Foreign Minister has been taken by Mme. Anna Pauker, the Rumanian delegate to the

Manchester Guardian reported earlier

their hunger."

The position is now somewhat changed: of Russia; the workers' councils are million inhabitants and in the Eastern The breaking-up of the Peasant Party | all important heavy industries are entirely functionaries of the Moscow-tied S.E.P.; Zone 3,300,000 members out of 7,500,000. was followed by a motion in the under Russian control and working as the masses are reduced to slaves sweating From the outset the Communists were Chamber of Deputies accusing units of the Russian planned economy. in the service of the Soviet Union. Tatarescu, the leader of the National Though the workers and engineers are Liberal Party, Deputy Prime Minister | German, these industries may be conand Foreign Minister, of treasonable sidered as mere branches of Russian The S.E.P. attack the British and Front under Dr. Ley was—an instrument

IN Bucharest, Dr. Julius Maniu, the four party leaders to escape from veteran Peasant Party leader, and Rumania". What a conception of freeprivate hands—theoretically to produce speed; nobody is unemployed! But the present the Free German Trade Union has supplies for the German market! factories have become the State property 500,000 members in Berlin out of 12.

tendencies and belief in centralisation, the Trade Union is exactly what the Labour

three Liberal Ministers have resigned and we may conclude that their trial will follow when Dr. Maniu's is completed. The government is now com-

'control' of German workers, the workers' The loot goes directly to Russia! councils are restricted to S.E.P. members.

seven potash factories out of twenty-one most of the machinery from the Borsig Economic Research for Berlin, the cost of under direct control of the S.M.A.—they works in Berlin, the workers began re- living has increased since 1944 by 30 per So much for the politicians, but what do not publicise the fact that these seven organising on their own initiative and cent., the F.G.T.U. of Greater Berlin of the Rumanian people? The factories produce eighty per cent. and the succeeded in starting production on a states that basic wages have declined remaining fourteen factories only twenty small scale. The Russians came a second considerably. While we are told repeatedly per cent. We are also told that many time and took away the rest of the that there are no more employers in the of the small factories of Magdeburg and machinery; the frustration of the workers Russian Zone, we read in the instruction "the peasants are moving away in Halle are not under Russian control but can easily be imagined. In other parts pamphlet of the F.G.T.U. for shop gangs in search of food, meanwhile again with no mention of the Eastern Zone workers dug bombed stewards (Jan. 1947) that it is a practice eating grass and acorns and even these industries are of no value to the machines from the debris, repaired them of the stewards not to use their rights to chewing clay-bearing soil to assuage | German workers since they are working and put them into operation, with the influence production and price matters, entirely on 'reparations'. They include result that they were taken away. Only but instead merely to sign their employers'

Budapest are reported as saying: control—under this heading come great mention of the dismantling of factories to of 66,500,000 marks; its income in 1946 "Rumanian Communists are not pre- and small industries of varying natures; be seen everywhere in the Eastern Zone. was 52 million marks, its expenses pared to continue playing the Parlia- the administration is in Germany but According to our latest information, re- 18 million. The Berlin F.G.T.U. has an mentary game. The march of time under Russian supervision which naturally ceived in September, 1947, dismantling income of 17 million marks, and expenses In those industries remaining under the works, sugar refineries and timber mills. phasise that all rights of the Trade

ance are collectivised under German of Germany industry-but make no Free German Trade Union has a fund Union depend on the special laws of the

The Russians tell us that there are only After the Russians had carried away While, according to the Institute of suggestions. Pollitt assures us that there are no strikes in the Eastern Zone, which reports of the F.G.T.U., for, according to these, up to December, 1946, there were three strikes in Berlin and a report of the Eastern Zone Woodworking Branch states

is little to surprise us in this, since it is virtually true that he was in fact a prisoner escaping from the concentration camp that is Eastern Europe to-day. It is not however with Mikalaiczyk that our

sympathies lie. He is in safety, he had publishers are begging him to write." He gies, in their organisations, and in their follow the hour of a government of After 48 hours, agreement was reached of the Socialist Party with the Communist

of Britain as. Gomulka (the present As a result of the municipal elections, doubt, several representatives of the old and the unions. little Stalin", who is expected to become They have lost almost all their strong- with the new leaders of the R.P.F., with a whole series of purely political Trade Union. Of thirty members of the first Chairman of the Cominform), is the holds in the famous "Red Belt" of Paris, as its corollary, the banning of Communist manoeuvres bringing about a complete and their advance in the peasant areas has organisations. Our sympathy is with the suffering been checked, and, in many regions, re-

masses of Poland, who have probably been | placed by an overall loss. They are paying the price of their own "buffer-state" has always brought them | gogic and opportunist exploitation of the devastation and oppression. Now they workers' struggle and, on the other, their their cult of nationalist and patriotic In our last issue we reported the plight

Communists Pay for Neglect mediately after the liberation, when an overwhelming majority of the French supported and participated in, far-

The capitalist structure which the economic freedom for which the Poles | Communists sought to reconstruct; the have sacrificed so much has been in vain. State which they sought to strengthen; the parliamentary machine which they wished to utilise; all these factors to-day combine in an attempt to eliminate them from French political life.

The electoral victory has been that of General de Gaulle and his party, the Rassemblement du Peuple Français. And it has also been a victory for the forces of confusion, since the votes cast for the R.P.F. link together all sorts of conflicting and mutually hostile elements, united only by their hatred of Stalinism.

De Gaulle's Imperialism The General has not the vestige of a programme, whether economic, financial,

been seen since. Two days later, a man | the defence of the French Empire.

influence of America and the desire to the independent union and the militant Départmentale de Maine et Loire, old days the Junkers hired from Poland, be rid of Stalinism inside France and of elements from the C.G.T. union ranged animated by libertarian and syndicalist Czechoslovakia, etc. The only doubtful Russian external pressure. Or, from against the company, the Government and militants, has taken the initiative in this advantage is that they are now permato Soviet administration and methods". control of colonial possessions).

a comfortable home waiting for him in IN examining the political scene or in The first aim of de Gaulle and his ization of car and lorry services to break Socialist-Communist Fusion this country, and, as the New Statesman I trying to understand the nature of the organisations seems to be to wait until the strike. social tendencies of today, the one the Government, and the cabinet re- As the next move, the independent | The unification of the 129 unions of fortune from the proceeds of the characteristic we find common to them all shuffling which will follow, have given union, judging that the strike had taken pre-Hitler days into one big union' will memoirs and so forth that American is confusion. It appears in their ideolo- proof of their powerlessness. Then will on a political character, decided to end it. not bear close examination. The fusion

That which we have denounced ever since the liberation—the fact that French political forces are merely the allies of blocks-has to-day become quite evident Thorez illustrates it all at length in

by France in a future armed conflict patriotic" reasons to justify their choice gle against Nazism, of national traditions Both seek to keep or to capture th support of the working-class.

serve to illustrate the extraordinary con- but to refuse to take the fares.

the Stalinist control of their C.G.T. Marseilles tramway workers, would have affiliated union, the drivers and employees rallied the vast majority of the Parisians decided to create an independent auton- have obliged the Government, the comomous union. The company and the pany and the C.G.T. to adopt a very told that these things were no longer Government were not willing to admit its different attitude. delegate to the wage-increase negotiations which were to be held.

The independent union, unable to participate in the wage commission, feeling a platform, without ulterior political moti- equipment was distributed to the friend had been involved in a street constitutional or social. The only vague growing discontent among its members, vation, and which serve to educate a still 'collective' farms. The rest was left to accident and was at a house in the ideas which emerge from his speeches are and assuming that the Communists would higher number of workers and technicians, the villagers. Expropriated farmers and Soviet sector. He left to catch a train a belief in private enterprise, in a paternal not take part, in view of the coming to free the workers' organisations from the to take him to his friend and has not | corporative industrial organization, and in municipal elections, decided on a strike. On the first day it gained the support languor, the instruments of the rival to industry. His "general staff" presents a motley of important elements from the C.G.T. imperialisms of Moscow and Washington, been sent by Herr Friede from his aspect: André Malraux, ex-revolutionary union. But one train in three was still these are the urgent tasks before the as yet, not even passed the stage of theory, running. At the general meeting of the revolutionary movement. Enquiries showed that Herr Friede had Communist; Baumel, ex-Socialist; with C.G.T. union the opposition intervened is to these districts that thousands of generals, businessmen and Catholic to reproach the Stalinst bureaucracy for grown for the refusal of payment of taxes Umsiedlers were directed, and they sabotaging the workers' struggle. For (taxes of which the wage-earners bear by represent nothing other than the tradi-

another angle, the Gaullist dreams of the C.G.T. grandeur are limited only by the exigencies Then the C.G.T. decided to take the of all the workers and whose repercussions, officially recognised as citizens. The of American policy (notably where it con- movement in hand and gave the order for may lead to widespread strikes in the disadvantage is that, if they are dis-Friede, it is reported, was "opposed cerns the German question and the a general strike. The Government replied French provinces. with mobilization measures and the organ-

"National Unity", grouping together, no between the Government, the company Polish Vice-Premier, nicknamed "the Communists now appear isolated. parties-M.R.P., radicals, and socialists, Thus, out of a genuine grievance, came

dissipation of the workers' strength. Multiply this example by a thousand others, in all regions, and all occupations and you get a picture of the absurd and

contradictory background of the French social struggle of to-day. It is evident that the strike would have kept its working-class character only political factors, interior and exterior, had not been the predominating influence in the decisions of the various participar

nothing to explain to the Parisian public

The correct tactic for this situation i that of the greve gestionnaire, the adminis- Eastern Zone, landowners who owned trative strike—that is to say, to continue | more than 250 acres of land were exprohistory of the Paris transport strike will to run the underground and bus services, priated without compensation. In some

fusion which reigns in working-class This sort of action which the libertarians have always recommended, and Reacting against the bureaucracy and which was used a few months ago by the and file but by Communist Party

> workers on a genuinely working-class reparations to Russia. Second-rate Stalinist poison and from reformist join the collectives or would be directed

The one common denominator is the three days the confusion continued with far the greatest burden). The Union tional imported cheap labour which in the movement which is gaining the support | nently housed or billeted in camps and

Party was the result of Communist pressure and most of the Social Democratic functionaries joined in the S.E.P. and the Trade Union executive only three were Socialists and three Christian Democratic Union. The Free German Trade Union, ruled by Communists, is launching an attack against the 'enemies of the working class' (Social-democrats). Meetings were organised by the F.G.T.U. providing a platform for the S.E.P. only. The Trade Union paper, Die Freie Gewerkschaft, attacked the Socialdemocrats. The latter, now within the Union, are trying to break the domination of the Communists, and to gain the support of the workers by propagating strike, etc. There are indications that the workers are forming their own views on totalitarian and democratic Trade Unions and we hope that they will boycott these futile institutions and, as soon as the opportunity arises, form their own unions

When the Russians occupied the cases big estates were divided and shared out to small farmers and farm labourers: in most cases the estates became State managers. On entering a village the Russians would explain this new situation. The villagers had to collect all their agricultural tools and machinery, and were private but State property. The best To choose tactics which unite the tools and machinery were sent as

on revolutionary and syndicalist lines.

The loudly acclaimed land reform has, with the exception of East Prussia, where the Junkers owned all the land. It contented with their conditions, they can-(Continued on page 8)

5 16 17 16 17 18 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

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Literary Notes

Wollstonecraft

THE celebration of centenaries is a would merely be exploited by new read in Edward Bernstein's Cromwell But Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication somewhat equivocal process; it masters. This system was later estab- and Communism, but further light is of the Rights of Women was the first use when applied in the latter way. group of the period.

The Putney Debates

The first is that of the Leveller movement. Some readers will have heard the broadcast reconstruction of the Putney debates, which took place in October, 1647, between Cromwell and the Generals of the New Model Army on the one hand, and, on the other, the "agitators" who represented the rank and file of the army and who strove to preserve for the English people some of the egalitarian liberties for which the Parliamentarians pretended to have fought the war. The Parliamentary and Army leaders, having gained their middle-class object of defeating the absolute monarchy and destroying the main vestiges of the feudal system, cought to certallice their gains in a

how, in a political revolution, the interesting book. authoritarian elements, having used radical forces to gain their ascent to power, invariably turn against them and destroy them ferociously in the establishment of a "revolutionary"

John Wildman

The history of these events can be



conspiratorial activities of the Fifth time and does succeed in giving a interesting as her writing: Monarchy Men, and the isolated good picture of the political intrigues libertarian experiment of Winstanley of the period. Unfortunately, he peculiar strength and decision; and the and his comrades. All of these makes no mention of Winstanley, activities were crushed in Cromwell's which represents the one major rise to power, and their fate shows omission in an otherwise useful and

Mary Wollstonecraft

A hundred years from the Levellers, the men and women who played a great part in the radical movements of pervaded her sentiments. In the strict the French Revolutionary period were sense of the term, she reasoned combeginning to appear. In 1747 itself was born Mary Wollstonecraft, the companion of William Godwin and and retrating error, when it was pointed mother of Mary Shelley. Mary out to her, perhaps never existed. This-Wollstonecraft was the most influential of the active early defenders cause with much violent eloquence.

can be used to perpetuate the inflated lished by the Cromwellian dictator- thrown by a recent book, John book to put all the important argureputation of completely worthless ship, but not without great opposition Wildman, by Maurice Ashley. ments for women's equality in LIVING 1/- figures or positively harmful events, from the common soldiers and the Wildman was a leading figure at the reasoned and forceful language. and, on the other hand, is a means working people of London. Out of Putney Debates, and took part in Her opinions and the personal THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE 1/- by which neglected men and women this opposition arose the Levellers, an almost every conspiracy against freedom of her life led to her vast can be re-presented with at least a egalitarian movement which- played established authority for nearly half a unpopularity among the respectable shadow of topical interest. Of no real into Cromwell's hands by relying too century, plotting impartially against English of the day, but most of the intrinsic validity, this kind of much on political means, and the Charles I, Cromwell, Charles II, really important writers held her in celebration has at least some practical Diggers, the one really anarchistic James II and William of Orange. He great esteem, and Godwin's relationwas an odd figure, a sort of seven- ship with her, although it lasted little

This is all by way of excuse for the The first major brush between the teenth century Frank Harris who oc- more than a year (she died giving THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM 1/- | fact that I am bestowing centenary authoritarians and the radicals took casionally got himself involved in birth to the girl who became Mary THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN 1/- | wreaths in two consecutive instalments place at the Putney debates, at which shady financial dealings, but he had Shelley), was the only really happy of these literary notes. It is a practice Cromwell and his officers pretended to a genuine passion for personal liberty period of his unfortunate life. He 3d. which I am unlikely to make into a accept the demands of the agitators, and a kind of instinctive resentment wrote a very restrained and moving 1d. habit, but the years 1947-48 happen at least in part, only to revoke their against any person in authority which account of their relationship, called to be fairly closely packed with com- undertakings as soon they had suffi- compensated for his personal un- Memoirs of Mary Wollstonecraft memorative dates which have some cient power to establish a dictatorship. pleasantness. Not a great deal is (which can still be found occasionally interest for anarchists. Last time I From these events followed the known of Wildman himself, but this in second-hand bookshops; there was mentioned Cervantes; there are two tumultuous career of Lilburne and makes Maurice Ashley's book all the a reprint as late as 1928). Here is his others of fairly immediate interest the Levellers, the mutiny of the more interesting, as he ranges widely account of her character, which shows radical sections of the Army, the over the radical movements of the that her personality was at least as

> "Her feelings had a character of discovery of them, whether in matters of taste or of moral virtue, she found herself unable to control. She had viewed the objects of nature with a lively sense and an ardent admiration, and had developed their beauties. Her education had been fortunately free from the prejudices of system and bigotry, and her sensitive and generous spirit, was left to the spontaneous exercise of its own decisions. The warmth. of her heart defended her from artificial rules of judgment; and it is therefore surprising what a degree of soundnessparatively little; and she was therefore little subject to diffidence and scepticism. Yet a mind more candid in perceiving arose naturally out of the directness of

of womens' rights to equality with It is perhaps fruitless to speculate, but one cannot help thinking that, if as is commonly supposed, since Aphra Mary Wollstonecraft had survived, Behn, a hundred years before, had Godwin might have produced further already taken up the cudgels for this works of the calibre of Political attended his marriage to Mary Jane

THE SENAN NEW THAT THE Clairmont, "that infernance of the Clairmont, "that infernance

KRAVCHENKO* Robert Hale, 15/-).

we have been regaled with more than Communists and fellow travellers and with the even more irritating half-truth Chose Freedom, which was published offers many clues to questions now being discussed on the international

There is no need to apologise for recommending yet another book about Russia. The Soviet experiment has proved to be the most fascinating of our times: it dwarfs Mussolini's and Hitler's European workers to know how the Russian workers live to-day is to know how they will live to-morrow.

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THE AUTHOR. should have been born in the year of in tsarist prisons. Kravchenko was and inequality. The Bolshevik revo- the cruelty of forced collectivisation, the screened but the rest was merely pathos lution appeared to him as the realisation methods, the iniquity and extent of the character it represents. *Obtainable from Freedom Bookshop purges, the many propaganda lies which 27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

stinctively become his own. At eighteen covered up Stalin's policy towards energy and enthusiastic activity and intimately as Kravchenko; few have responsible posts, eventually becomes a both as a miner and as a top bureaucrat, head of the Department of War policy both from a technical and human Engineering Armament in the Sovnarkom (Government of the R.S.F.S.R.) When he broke away from his party and country in 1944, he was

Purchasing Commission. ustification of his desertion which was his time, Kravchenko has, at the age of forty, experienced revolutions, wars, mind and body by the G.P.U., he has seen his friends disappear one after the other and even his book was written in the shadow of the axe of Trotsky's

THE CHOICE The title of the book is misleading: it seems to imply that he has chosen It will affect our lives deeply in the "American freedom" but that impression is dispelled in the book itself: radically altered the lives of people in "The newspaper reports of my break demands that we should take more than having tasted American democracy. I general aims in order to gain just a little policy of forced collectivisations, the became disillusioned with Stalin's Com- more personal power, to advance just one concessions of autonomous rights, as to munism . . That made a more more rung higher up the political ladder. the Ukraine, the introduction of Stakpliment to the U.S.A. But it wasn't ends in a welter of evening dress, banquets many, the entry into the war have true. The truth is that I had made and generally anything but a 'scorning of all been accompanied by widespread up my mind long before to throw off delights and a living of laborious days'. It is a coincidence that Kravchenko the totalitarian straight-jacket at the first chance wherever and whenever it as in "Captain Boycott", any suggestion labour. might present itself. Had I been that the factors involved are universal is life of his father and his own reflect assigned to China or Patagonia rather avoided, and we are once again too tied drive one to utter despair if it did than the United States, I would have up in the personality involved to pay not offer a proof that only by ruthless revolution. Son of a railway engineer made the self-same attempt to achieve much attention to the underlying principle force can dictatorship maintain itself. freedom for the task I had set myself." of the corrupting influence of power. The choice lay between a privileged

Russia, to come to know Russian life to judge the results of Stalin's economic

SEEDS OF HATRED No less interesting is the account of is acquired chiefly second-hand through Party policy, no-one believes the

FILM REVIEW "FAME IS THE SPUR."

in this series should again concern a film which, in its theme, would seem to anarchist philosophy. Hamer Radshaw is | Party are executed with as much ease a Labour politician who betrays all as soldiers' exercises on the parade principles because of ambition. His ground. In fact, each volte face is career is typical of many of his colleagues of real life—a gradual 'sacrificing' of tude has never been fully grasped. The His life begins in a Midland slum and hanovist methods, the pact with Ger-

In its philosophy the film is sound, but, opposition and providing cheap slave in exile with the possibility of exposing and-hour or so was well directed and magnitude of the employment of slave petering out in much the same anæmic labour, the farce of Stakhanovist and uninteresting way as does the

RON LANDER. (Continued on page 7)

The first-hand account of these ordeals turns out to be sensibly different. When confessions are extracted it is through physical violence or blackmail and not arguments. The idea that a confession of guilt, which would bring about his own destruction, could serve the Party never enters Kravchenko's head. It is clear to him, and to his friends who undergo similar experiences, that the purges will not serve the Party but only the lust for power of a few individuals and their henchmen. The reactions are of fear and hatred; elementary fear for one's life or for the greater sufferings questioning and torture by the G.P.U. purges the expression of an esoteric

novels of the Darkness at Noon type.

POETRY SINCE 1939 charges; they are considered as part of the naked struggle for power, not in the sense of acquiring power, but of con-SELECTED ESSAYS solidating it in such a manner that the flimsiest possibility of insubordination is Havelock Ellis A WORLD TO WIN Upton Sinclair OUR GOAL WAS PALESTINE 6d. Claire Neikind

The popular conception is that the twists and turns of the Communist accompanied by purges whose magnipurges which aimed at silencing eventual

The survey of Stalin's terror would However powerful Communist propa-In its treatment I find "Fame is the ganda may be, it is not with speeches but insecure situation in Russia and life | Spur" to be but mediocre. The first half- | or articles in Pravda that Stalin rules

but with his vast police apparatus. "RUSSIA'S PREPAREDNESS" Regarding Russia's foreign policy, Kravchenko attempts there again to explode a few myths. In view of the

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RUSSIAN NIGHTMARE

interesting: "The theory that Stalin was non-Soviet countries as well. These feverishly arming against the Nazis was munists. They were the cream of the Kremlin's tragic blunder in trusting for the historical task of 'purging' the Germany. It was such a transparent populations which had been under Gerinside Russia during the Russo-German the N.K.V.D. lexicon 'purge' is a word war: only after I emerged into the free of terrifying import." world did I hear it seriously advanced and believed. It was a theory which ignored the most significant aspect of the Stalin-Hitler arrangement: the large- is being followed by one of slavery on scale economic undertakings which a gigantic scale, and Kravchenko stresses

was very close to the defense industries, workers trained on this regimented hotels and has organised them alongside attended dozens of conferences at the basis. It will be a new kind of roadsweepers, sanitary workers and lamp-Kremlin during the war and formed the 'proletariat'. Home influences reminis- lighters, etc. (N.U.G.M.W.). opinion that Russia was not in the least prepared for a defensive war.

TOWARDS THE CONQUEST OF EUROPE

Communist International was an- foreign countries. International was being feverishly re- holds first place in the curriculum." Germany, France, Poland, Hungary, by Kravchenko of the Soviet brave new Italy and all other countries. The world which will be made up of people hoped-for conquest of Europe would be born as slaves. achieved by a potent mixture of faith

WE DIDN'T SAY IT!

Mr. Bernard Rees, chairman of the

National Union of Mineworkers' lodge at

Arrail Griffin Colliery, Abertillery, where

"Surface workers are still being paid

N.C.B. officials are standing over

Evening Standard, 24/10/47

wages at starvation level and the National

Coal Board's policy of subjection has been

colliery into something which resembles

JAPANESE DEMOCRACY

Crown Prince Akihito of Japan

and princesses. It was a farewell because

of the new, democratic spirit: hereaft

host and guests would not be on equ

footing, since the guests were all becomin

concentration camp.'

(Continued from page 6) and force. In an array of buildings in controversy which has taken the heart of Moscow, selected Chekists at U.N.O. his remarks on the were being trained intensively for work are particularly abroad, in the liberated Soviet areas and for time' while men were all of officer rank and Commuch later, to cover up the police élite. They were being prepared

AN ENSLAVED NATION

In Russia itself the regime of terror particularly the magnitude of forced have been thrown out of work, many have cent of a freer past and intellectual the authorities will have been reduced to a minimum. Fully indoctrinated with Communist tenets and the Stalinist What of Russia's future? As far as theories of world revolution, they will her hold on Europe is concerned, be people without a memory of personal Kravehenko believes that there are no freedom, slaves, willing or unwilling, of to hope that the common-sense methods limits to her expansionist policy and one the State. These morally and politically of industrial autonomy, basic federation must grant him that he has been right maimed Russians will represent a and direct action will prevail, in the in his predictions: "At the very time formidable force in the hands of the when the supposed dissolution of the regime, whether for use at home or in | Syndicate"

ing foreign language propaganda. There army of career soldiers and officers. the countries which the Red Army was Soviet set-up, over and above the about to enter. In theory the Inter- ordinary conscript forces and military national was dead; in fact, the Central reserves. Nor should it be forgotten Committee of the Party was hastily that tens of millions of other children preparing for the ideological conquest of meanwhile will have been indoctrinated Europe along with the military con- in the ordinary Soviet schools, where ATION! quest. The personnel of the 'abolished' devotion to the regime and its methods organised for the immense jobs ahead in This is the nightmarish picture drawn

M.L.B.

To Catering Workers

The need for a movement which will never more paramount than at the present crisis, the Control of Engagement Order Wage Boards have reduced to chaos all our conditions of labour and threaten the security of any worker who imagines he

Already, thousands of catering workers picture of Russia's unpreparedness; he disposal from thirty to forty million | London area has split the workers in the

> The initial agreement between influences beyond those prescribed by Union and a group of employers has been violated by leading hotels, and political parties wait to snatch the body betraved workers.

> > Conscious of the futility of this split trade organisation, we of the C.A.M. dare spirit of the old "French Cook's

We have a huge struggle ahead. We nounced, bringing joy to the hearts of "This carefully conditioned body of have a Manifesto to put out, posters to more naive capitalist allies, I happened citizens will be supplemented by per- put up, indoor and outdoor meetings to to visit the cellar storehouse of 'Inter- haps twenty million N.K.V.D. forced- organise. Every worker in hotel, cafe, national Book', an organisation publish- labour prisoners and by a huge standing restaurant or bar, must organise. Every catering worker joining the syndicate will I saw great stacks of freshly printed trained from childhood on the basis of he another blow against charlatanism Party-line literature for distribution in Stalinism solely for defense of the serfdom, disunity and the fraudulence of

Whether in the N.U.G.M.W., E.T.U.,

Yours fraternally, RAYMOND UPTON.

Free Schools

association between progressive schools politicians, but also a number of persons in the nursery-school field. The Viennese interests in large combines and in ground hildren between the ages of 3 and 6, were run in close conjunction with Parents' ways progressive. In the Palestine Jewish ommunity. Children spent seven hours the victims suffer. It is paramount to a day in the communal nurseries and the rest of the time with their parents. The future wars are no less dangerous for the parents gave assistance to the staff on a victims than the control of ports and the rota system. The principles of education sea lanes and airways (for keeping open here were not a long way removed from those approved by anarchists. (Maurice Pearlman gives a few details in Collective Adventure.) Possibly association of this kind could be extended to progressive education for older children. I have an forget the ground landlords of London mperfect recollection of at least one such and New York and such centres. school run in the East End during the war by C.O.'s. It was attached to a land community and was supported by voluntary subscription.

My own observations do not tally with K.A.B.'s suggestion that children are sent to progressive schools because they are ensitive' and that later they have more lass-prejudice than other adults. This urgent need for a factual survey of th situation by someone with practical experience and with an anarchist outlookneoretical one by Herbert Read.

Ex-Italian Colonies

in the Labour government doing the the African population.

States' men, who may justly be labelled as a Trade Union of taxing authorities, are their masters. Who are these? There are not only groups of militarists, the bigwigs of the various War Departments, our own included, whose influence is more

put the matter very briefly as follows:

How can the future of colonial "posses-

The States' men, however much they remember that the bases in case of peace-time) which suits the merchants in combines and the ground landlords. Amongst the latter, even when thinking

ANOTHER RITUAL MURDER CASE

Seventeen negroes in Basutoland have just been condemned to death for alleged ritual murder of two other men. Cases of this kind reveal the death penalty in its worst light. In the first case, as was evident in the Gold Coast case when a number of men were judicially murdered for an alleged ritual murder, it is very difficult to be sure of evidence where tribal rivalries are concerned. And, secondly, it is difficult to see how the British authorities, who themselves indulge in the ritual murder of hanging, and who I wonder whether there are any of in warfare kill off millions of innocent your readers who still believe some form | people without even ritual reasons for etc., are available on request to R. Upton, of socialism can settle the fate of the doing so, are in any moral position to Secretary, 159, Ledbury Road, London, ex-Italian Colonies, or who have any faith dispense what they call justice among

FREEDOM TO STARVE

London's costermongers and "down and

The romance of the past was dis-

outs" found a new champion last night

in Mr. Herbert Morrison, Lord President

appearing, said Mr. Morrison, and if we

didn't look out we should soon have no

"But they don't want to go and they

Through

WHAT ABOUT THEM,

ing number of trading results reflecting

Labour Research, Oct. 1947.

UNWANTED CHILDREN mentally defective children at the occu pational centre at Old Hill, Staffs, Ala A. G. James alleged to-night at a meeting of Rowley Regis Council that the school was "a gaol". His "inescapable impression was that the children were unwanted and an embarrassing nuisance to be

He said that 15 pupils were taught in a dingy room in which the temperature was down sometimes to 30 deg. There was only one slow-combusition stove for

"The windows are cleaned only once every twelve months," he continued. "The children are shut from the sunshine in summer and are perishing cold in "There is no playground.

children work, eat and play at the same rough deal tables and wooden benches for the six hours they are there." Daily Telegraph, 28/10/47.

OFFICIAL POETRY To pray, that She, our future

Queen, may hear Through many happy years, the bells rejoice, Telling of People glad, a Sovereign

A Land restored, a Purpose again With wind-delighting clamour of glad voice. From the Poet Laureate's Offering to

Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth. Daily Telegraph, 30/10/47. object. More people would go to see Yes, Mr. Masefield, "wind-delighting" them." is the right word!

a Slut's Progress. The picture is mounted with a radiant

"wet". But by last week it had practically There was plenty of beer. It was just that Greymouth's 8,000 inhabitants ob-

pence a pint in the price of beer. They were joined by miners from neighbouring Blackball, Runanga, and Wallsend. Rising costs forced the increase, claimed the trade, but the Miners' Union pointed out that the local Westland Breweries had increased its dividend from three to ten

jected to a rise from sixpence to seven-

Backed by Greymouth Trades Council, representing all unions. officially boycotted the pubs, and called on other unionists for support. George English, grizzled miners' chief from Runanga said: "The pubs tried this

business once before. We boycotted them, and they caved in. We mean business. News Review, 6/11/47.

CANDID ADMISSION

per cent. in a year.

Morality Council frown on? I put the curred. question to-day to fresh-faced, balding The article, which was headed brations on Nov. 20th. George Tomlinson, their secretary, who "Cinderella gets married", contained reported on them at the council's annual slighting meeting vesterday. But Mr. Tomlinson would not tell me. delegation".

Evening Standard, 31/10/47. against peasant leaders.

Forever Amber (20th Century-Fox) novel. But it may not be as sensationally popular as Kathleen Winsor's account of Amber enthusiasts may not realize that

they are not getting what they paid for By way of insuring a reputed \$6 million investment in the picture, Darryl Zanuck & Co. have performed near-miracles

muddle-headed and hasty planning which has become associated with the adminstration of his Majesty's Government" and lack of regard for the effect of the speed up of demobilisation.

"The Royal Navy has never been humiliated in the eyes of the world since De Ruyter sailed up the Thames bombarded our laid-up ships. It has said if the Russian Fleet came to Dogger Bank again there would be little more than a fishing fleet to meet them." Manchester Guardian, 29/10/47.

A "large fine" and a "serious repri-

mand" have been imposed upon the survival. Russian-licensed newspaper Berlin Zeitung by order of Marshal Sokolovsky, Soviet Commander-in-Chief, for its publication two days ago of a slanderous reference to Complaints were raised from the British side at both a Berlin Kommandatura formed police and about 700 C.I.D. men.

meeting and at the Allied Control Council, including 200 members of the austerity, which "disgusted the British abroad and other distinguished visitors.

"If I did so, he said, it would defeat our News Chronicle, 1/11/47. Branch detectives, who will act as their Sneers and insults can only be used

THIS COMRADE

costermongers left, no sellers of matches and those odds and ends on the kerbside. "I like those individuals who believe movement, wore red ties and called eac in freedom and practise it," he said. other "Comrade"; or, if we were Fabians, "Even the people who have a habit of by full carefully pronounced first namessleeping on the Thames Embankment no conventional titles such as "Mr." night after night. You cannot stop your

sq.". We were proud, even priggis admirable night welfare office in Charing about our differences from other men. Cross Bridge chasing them around, getting But times and fortunes have change them to go to institutions. Our Party is no longer a small band early Christian zealots defying the world don't like it. I have a lot of sympathy with the people whom the modern social reformer is gradually eliminating." our old conventions. Even our best friends

Letter in Labour Organiser, Oct. 1947.

The Argentine Government said last

night that Argentina has been forced to

burn more than £125,000,000 of crops be-

cause an "economic blockade unjustly im-

machinery and transport material. Ports

and railway terminals were jammed with

Last week the U.N.O. Appeal for

Children Committee reported half the

people of the world are living close to the

starvation line. Of these, 426,000,000

children (40 per cent.) had little hope of

for Princess Elizabeth's wedding cele-

Cmdr. Burt will be responsible for the

safety of the many Royal guests from

personal bodyguards and will accompany

Daily Telegraph, 27/10/47.

them on all public and private visits.

News Chronicle, 30/10/47

posed on us" prevented the import

WASTE AND WANT

News Chronicle, 1//11/47. poke fun at This Comrade Business Chums-er Gentlemen? Should we chuck

Mr. Frank Hodges, of Rotherwood, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Soc. M.P. for Lichfield, 1923-24, and formerly general secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, left £132,959. Evening Standard, 31/10/47.

Of course we had a lot of silly talk

or Comrade Attlee or Comrade A POLITICIAN-BY HIMSELF

in the press about speeches I have made. Why don't people show some sense when they talk in that way? I had to address hundreds of meetings. At whose request? Sometimes the Government's request. sometimes the miners' leaders', miners' lodges', Labour parties', or local authorities'. I never spared myself. And when you go to a meeting you have to adapt yourself to the conditions. If went to a meeting of mine managers i was not always advisable to praise the miners, if you understand what I mean. (Laughter.) On the other hand, if went to a meeting of miners it was not advisable to praise the mine managers if you understand what I mean. (Laughter.) If I addressed a meeting of electricity committees and there was some difficulty about plant for which I certainly was not responsible, they could not pin that on me whatever else they did. It What London plays do the Public The Russian Commanders wholly con- Branch at Scotland Yard, will be on duty that had to be done I had to adapt myself to the kind of people at the meeting. Sometimes it was a dinner, and you know dinner speech. You have to be nice to the people particularly when they provide They will be met at the ports by Special you with a dinner, and so I had to adapt myself right throughout the two years. Shinwell in a speech at Blackhall,

> Durham, on October 12th, quoted in Manchester Guardian, 20/10/47.

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60