

## Anarchist Commentary

## FOR THE GOOD OF THE PARTY?

OWING to his indiscretion over the Budget secrets to an over-zealous reporter, Dr. Dalton had to resign his office as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Apart from making yet one more milestone on the road of Sir Stafford Cripps to personal dictatorship, this might be worth mentioning save to illustrate yet once more for the benefit of the self-deluded why politicians are in business.

The papers referred to the "personal tragedy" of Dalton's resignation and to the fact that a trivial matter like this—that is to say, a matter in which his disclosures had no personal gain, as had the Budget leakages of a previous Cabinet Minister, or the Press disclosures of the Labour M.P. recently expelled from Parliament—should eclipse so brilliant a career, and that the result would be so disastrous for Dalton personally. This is, of course, a frank confession that politicians are pursuing a career in their personal interests, and nobody with any sense would try to deny it, any more than they would claim that lawyers were pursuing their careers not from personal motives of ambition and advancement, but because they were interested in seeing justice triumph.

Having admitted this, we have to ask ourselves why people devote their energies, powers and brains to politics when they are not self-interested politicians, and have no prospects of a seat in the Cabinet, or even in the local council. The politicians get into office only on the sacrifices made by the humble rank and file of

their party, and the triumph of the Labour in 1945 in particular is solely a tribute to countless sacrifices and hard work made by working men and women, the majority of whom would have encouraged an ambitious working lad in a professional career (for which he would seldom thank his benefactors) but would in normal circumstances seldom think of going out of their way to help the well-to-do son of middle-class and upper-class families to make a career.

The miners' lodges who so often help a promising lad to a career in medicine, for instance, would not be mugs enough to do the same for the rich man's son—in anything except politics! Why in politics? In politics the man who advocates a party's cause is identified with the policies of the party, and people think that by helping his career they are helping the party. But in every case it is frankly admitted that the man himself is thinking of his career. "The tragedy of Dalton's resignation," the "tragedy" over countless other politicians whose careers have been halted by one personal affair or another obtruding into their public life.

We quite see the "tragedy" of the man who is carrying out a comfortable career on the backs of the deluded masses being suddenly cut short in his chosen profession by a Parliamentary enquiry as in the case of the Conservative Robert Boothby or the Labour Garry Allighan. But to Anarchists the real tragedy is the fact that, when the people who do the spade work at putting them in the position they hold read how upset they are at one thing or another being an obstacle to their chosen career, they never think that it is they who are the necessary background to that career, as the patients are to the doctor, or the accused are to the lawyer.

## Special Branch Abuses

In our last issue we pointed out the extent to which the police, in many ways, to-day, extending and abusing their power. We also showed elsewhere how the Royal Wadding was being used by the most reactionary elements of the police, the Special Branch of Scotland Yard, to interfere with the liberty of foreign radicals and revolutionaries at present living in this country.

The extent to which these so-called "precautions" went is shown by a recent news item in the *Evening Standard*, which states:

"During the week-end, special branch officers began a house-to-house check of all 'undesirable' foreign men and women in London.

"Most of them were warned to stay in their homes on Thursday. They were told, will be liable to immediate arrest as a 'suspected person'."

This, of course, is the most blatant use of arbitrary police power. A titled nobility is married, a few titled nobilities—or worse—come over from the continent to take part in the mumbo-jumbo, and for this reason thousands of people who have this reason for coming to this country suffer for the democracy which our Government is supposed to support are subjected to insults and restrictions from the police, and are even threatened with arrest under a perfectly arbitrary charge if they so much as go into the streets where the wedding procession passes as an allegedly public spectacle.

Every day, in new ways, the police are spreading their power over our lives. The Special Branch already represents the basis on which an openly reactionary government could easily build up a British Gestapo or OGPU. It is an institution whose activities should be continually exposed and combated by every means at the disposal of the people, not only by anarchists, who have the most elementary concern for their own liberty and that of others.

## Challenge to Tradition

Nothing could have done more to expose the snobbery and commercialism that besets the conventional world of art than the recent trial of Hans van Meegeren, the greatest art forger of all time, who successfully "foxed" all the experts and succeeded in passing off as genuine "old masters" the paintings which he had made in his own studio.

Clearly, if the art critics could not tell the difference between a genuine Vermeer and an imitation of Vermeer by van Meegeren, the latter is no less a master of the craft of painting than Vermeer himself. As the *Manchester Guardian* points out:

"... if a 'Vermeer' by van Meegeren is now accounted less valuable than a 'Vermeer' still supposed to have been painted by Vermeer, the difference measures the proportion of the genuine



WHEN WILL HE WAKE UP?

A CARTOON similar to the above appeared in "Freedom" of January 4th, 1947, and many comrades wrote to us asking for copies or for the original. Here the cartoon has been redrawn and reproduced larger and more clearly, and copies on good paper with a 2 inch border are available on application at a price of 9d. each. Orders as promptly as possible, please.

Old Master's price that is attributable to scarcity rather than to art."

It is a strange reflection on the values of our present world that a man, who, if not a great original artist, is at least a consummate craftsman, should be forced to deliberate imitation in order to gain recognition. It is, indeed, all of a piece with the situation in which a Van Gogh almost starves while he is alive, yet his pictures fetch fantastic prices after his death.

As elsewhere, the values of a commercial society have completely corrupted standards in the arts, and particularly in those visual arts which are manifested in portable objects whose uniqueness is one of their main characteristics. It remains yet for some social historian to make a study of the whole cult of "Old Masters" and to trace why many palpably inferior artists still have an enormously inflated reputation because their works have, by means of scarcity, gained a vast market value.

## YOU APPROVE!

We will publish in the next issue a selection of letters from readers following the announcement that the price of "Freedom" is to be increased to 3d. a copy as from January 10th. It is clear from the letters so far received that readers understand the reasons which forced us to make this decision, and with literally two exceptions, support it.

The response to our circular letter to subscribers in this country has been fairly encouraging, replies being received from about 10% in the first week. Many supported the idea of a circular letter at regular intervals, and we can assume readers that this is an intention. We are now waiting to hear from the other 90%! Make a special effort and get in touch with us before the next issue appears.

## Press Fund

November 8th—20th:

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## Freedom of the Press

A FEW days ago the editor of a local weekly newspaper, *The Morcombe and Heysham Visitor*, was acquitted on a charge of seditious libel in connection with an article which he wrote attacking the Jews.

We have nothing but abhorrence for the racist arguments put forward by this writer in the article which was the subject of the charge. On the other hand, we recognise that freedom of speech and writing are indivisible; that our most extreme opponent has a right to state his opinions, and that any infringement on his right can have its eventual effect on our own liberty. The attempt to suppress reactionary propaganda is in itself reactionary and introduces precedents which can be used in due course against revolutionary movements.

Therefore, although we may have different reasons from the members of the jury who tried the case, we have no quarrel with the fact that James Caunt was not punished for his unpleasant expression of unpleasant opinions. But the attitude of the Judge did arouse in us certain cynical reflections. The case was tried by Justice Birkett, who also conducted the trial of the four anarchists at the Old Bailey nearly three years ago. At the end of the present case, the judge remarked:

## MANCHESTER MEETINGS

PRESTON CLEMENTS, our comrade from Glasgow, had excellent meetings on the 8th and 9th November in Liverpool and at Platts Fields, Manchester. The reception our comrade got was indeed inspiring.

During the meeting in Manchester the authorities approached the comrades to try to get the speaker to "tone down" his speech.

After the meeting the police came into the open and attempted to interfere with our speaker about what he had said and how he had said it. Preston Clements challenged the police by saying that it was for the people to decide.

The solidarity of the people then showed itself by individuals offering care of our speaker in his right to free speech. In the face of such solidarity the bullying methods of the police failed. No-one present at this moment raised their voice in support of the police.

Solidarity is the thing which will smash the State, of which the police are a part that ever menaces human freedom. We wish to thank these friends at the meeting for their solidarity with our speaker. We hope they will get in touch with our comrades of the Manchester Group, address as follows:

S. L. Flackett, 28, Braemar Avenue, Streftford, Manchester. A.B.

"It is in the highest degree essential—and I cannot over-emphasise the importance of it to you—that nothing should be done in this court to destroy or to weaken the liberty of the Press."

We cannot remember that the same judge showed any such strong concern for the freedom of the press when it was a case of trying anarchists. It is the old story, that while, when the anarchists talk of freedom of the press, they mean it literally, even for their most bitter and violent opponents, the ruling class, when they use the same phrase, they mean it to relation only to those who are not likely to endanger materially their own interests. It would have been mighty inconvenient during the war if anarchist propaganda had begun to affect the actions of soldiers in a practical way, so that in this case the freedom of the press was in fact tacitly ignored.

It all boils down to the fact that all the old liberal phrases are untenable in a capitalist state society. Liberty of freedom, writing and action are necessarily limited where state and property interests arise; at some point or other these principles clash with the purposes of the ruling class and are calmly thrust aside. They can only have real and complete existence in a free society where property interests and privileges no longer exist.

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## THE COLD WAR DEMOB NOW!

## A ruthless war between Imperialist Powers goes on while Foreign Ministers meet

ON the eve of the Foreign Ministers' Conference which is opening in London this week, we fail to see any optimism anywhere as to the results of this meeting.

The truth is that there is a "cold war" being waged between the two imperialist groups and that no amount of discussions round green tables can conceal that fact.

Since the 25th October the deputies of the Big Four Foreign Ministers have been trying to pave the way for the entrance of their leaders, but have disagreed on almost every point—even on the form and substance of the report they would present to the Ministers to explain that they disagreed!

It is futile to hope that this conference, which Bevin has described as "perhaps the most vital conference in world history", may result in an agreement between the four powers and avoid another world conflict. It can only reach a number of compromises on minor issues, but the bases of the conflict will remain—the only way to abolish them would be for the big powers to renounce their imperialist aims, and to do this would be against their very nature.

To put the blame for this stalemate on Molotov's obstinacy is pure nonsense. The blunt attitude adopted by Russia makes compromise more difficult to reach, but it is not the cause of disagreement. That disagreement will exist as long as Governments discuss peace with the next war in mind.

## THE GERMAN SCAPEGOAT

The main issue before the conference is whether Germany is to achieve economic and political unity under Four-Power control (i.e., American, Russian, English and French), or whether the division between Eastern and Western zones is to continue. This problem would easily be solved if Russia did not see in the British and American attempt to unify Germany the desire to provide a "bulwark against Communism".

The fear of a revival of German nationalism and aggressiveness is merely an excuse. Neither Russia or Britain is afraid of the might of a reborn Germany, but either of them would be prepared to use the German people against the other. In fact, they attribute to Germany the wishes and intentions which they themselves foster. Not content with starving and oppressing the German people, the big Powers must also make them their main scapegoat.

There is something nauseating about the hypocritically patronising attitude adopted towards Germany. It is no less nauseating to think that while Foreign Ministers and their acolytes meet to argue in an air of forced amiability, people are being imprisoned, shot, hanged and tortured for belonging to one or other camp.

This war is not merely a struggle between politicians, between Groza and Molotov, between Mikolajczyk and Gomulka; it is a conflict in which thousands of workers are falling and which brings to millions of them starvation and suffering.

## THE PLIGHT OF GREECE

British intervention, followed by the application of the "Truman doctrine" in Greece, has been accompanied by mass arrests, executions and atrocities. It has caused starvation and inflation. It has obliged an already financially unstable government to the 40% of the revenue for military expenditure. The much advertised American Aid is small in proportion to the destruction brought about by civil war. If one compares the programme of the American Mission to Aid Greece with a report of the Greek Third Army Corps on guerrilla destruction during October in North-Western Greece, one sees that des-

truction is far greater than reconstruction. "The AMAG report showed that five airfields were being 'winterized', work had started on repairs to three stretches of highway, repairs had begun on port installations in Piraeus and Salonika, and work would soon begin on clearing the Corinth Canal (blocked by German demolitions since 1944).

"The III Corps reported that in its area 83 guerrilla attacks were carried out on towns and villages, 218 houses, shops, schools and public utilities buildings were burned to the ground, 26 railway bridges destroyed, 193 villages looted, 6,000 animals stolen and several hundred tons of food stores plundered."

To this destruction one must add the plight of 300,000 refugees from guerrilla areas, living in crowded mud huts, starving and unable to work. The fields remain untilled and next year the food situation will be even worse.

Communist agitation avowedly directed against the Marshall plan will in effect hasten American help, i.e., economic infiltration of countries like France and Italy. It has further the disastrous effect of exhausting and demoralising workers, who will lose faith in the strike weapon when they realise that it has been used as a political lever and not for the defence of their own interests. The apathy and disgust which generally follows such agitation will make them an easy prey for the strong man politicians we have already seen this trend manifesting itself in the recent French municipal elections.

Though the methods used by Russia and America differ, their aims are the same, that of extending and consolidating their spheres of influence with a view to the next world conflict. We must stop being used as pawns in the preparation of war. Internationalism is the answer to Foreign Ministers' conferences and Marshall Plans.

ally democratic American style of trying to muzzle everybody who thinks otherwise. How much more so are their rivals for public appearances and bowing and smiling at the somewhat familiar spectacle of cheering crowds—the British Royal Family.

The typically pro-Royalist opinion in this country is given by John Masfield whose wedding gift to the Royal couple was a poem of sorts eulogising the monarchy, and part of which reads as follows:

"What is a Crown but something set above the jangle and the jargon and the hate Of strivers after power in the State A symbol like a banner for men's love."

Now, it is interesting to note that the average apologist for royalty always explains that it is "above" Royal politics and "striving for power in the State", while at the same time he never considers abstaining from striving for power in the State, and while Mr. Churchill and Mr. Attlee would doubtless combine in their

"Liberty, Morality, real human dignity consist in this, that man should do what is good, not because he is told to do it, but simply because he thinks that it really is the best that he can ever wish or desire."

BAKUNIN.

Twopence

SO much has been written about the Government's plan for speeding up demobilization that I am beginning to think it considerably lucky for the forces that they did not announce they were going to slow it down. The crawling pace at which release is proceeding being considered a "speed up".

There was only one fair method of demobilization that would have satisfied everybody but the militarists, and that was "all out altogether". The war was finished and there was no need for considerable forces to be wasted everywhere on enforcing the "peace" and on sordid military adventures in countries like Greece and Palestine, which in the latter case has led to nothing but ignominy and unadmitted defeat. British troops were left or sent out all over the world when the war finished, in pursuance of the decisions of the Foreign Office, and yet at the same time our politicians were claiming we were in the throes of a crisis caused by lack of manpower. A stock excuse for lags in demob was "lack of shipping" and yet shipping has never been lacking to take out fresh reinforcements!—reinforcements which have never

ceased to pour into countries, such as Egypt, which we were claiming to evacuate.

Instead of this we have had the slow trickle of demob allowed for by the Age and Service plan, which ostensibly fair, was used as a means of prolonging men in service far beyond the time necessary. Thus, men who had signed on for the duration of the war, or in the later years, the duration of emergency, were kept in the army long after the war and emergency had finished.

Whitehall has now to all intents and purposes abandoned the Age and Service plan for a differential release programme which places certain sections of the Army on a favoured basis and slows the release of the "corps" generally. This needless to say is resented by the corps as against the regiments, and it is symptomatic that this is recognised by the War Office, which apologises to the corps and makes its excuses for the favouritism, a fact which in itself proves that we live under dictatorship, and that all government is in effect dictatorship whatever democratic veneer it may have, since it admits that the people forced to be in the army do not want to be in the army, and it is Whitehall and Whitehall only which decides they should be in the army.

## GERMAN BOYS FOR MINES

Not content with keeping thousands of German prisoners of war in England as cheap labour for landwork, the Government have now a new scheme by which they are exploiting the misery of other war victims, by bringing over some 10,000 homeless and orphan boys from camps in Germany to work in the British mines.

No indication is given as to whether this is forced labour in the real sense, or merely the result of relentless economic pressure in Germany which forces the boys to accept a bad alternative. The fact remains that the government is taking advantage of conditions in Germany to exploit these children, who, in any case, would be better employed in the reconstruction work in Germany which one would have thought more urgent than anything here.

What chances there are of a relief from militarism from below depends largely on how docile we are under oppression.

A.M.

society which aims at freedom. Its role as the link between the Dominions would be unnecessary when a free society threw aside all nationalist frontiers and announced itself as an integral part of as many 'nations' as cared to sweep away the rubbish of its past and build a free society.

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# Sixty Years Ago—Bloody Sunday and THE FREEDOM OF THE SQUARE

HOW many people to-day realise that the right to hold meetings in Trafalgar Square was won only 60 years ago at the cost of human life? And, more important in these days when ever-tightening restrictions are being made, without effective protest, on our individual freedom; how many people care?

The depression of the eighteen-seventies and eighties and the consequent fall in wages and widespread unemployment gave birth to the "New Unionism" and to the militant socialist organisations. In January, 1886, the reformist protagonists of Trade Protection arranged to hold a meeting in Trafalgar Square on the 8th of the following month and the then revolutionary Social Democratic Federation decided to organise a counter-demonstration of the unemployed. When the procession reached the Square the police ordered its leaders, John Burns (now then the Rt. Honourable), Jack Williams, H. M. Hyndman, the pioneer Marxist and Henry Champion, to move on to Hyde Park, which they agreed to do. When they reached the Reform and Carlton Clubs in Pall Mall, the club-men gathered at the windows and doors and jeered and derided the demonstrators, scandalized that the representatives of the "great unwashed" should venture into the sacrosanct West End. A contemporary account describes the scene which followed—

"Suddenly the situation was changed by a dramatic and entirely unexpected incident. A poorly-dressed hungry-looking man, tore from his ragged breast an Egyptian war medal which he had been wearing. He forced himself in a frenzy of anger into a prominent position, and, addressing the members of the Carlton

who were looking at him with surprised expectancy, he shouted: 'We were not the sum of the country when we were fighting for bondholders in Egypt, you dogs!'

"With the last word, he flung the medal with all his might at the window, shattering the glass. It was the first

missile thrown in the West End riots, and it gave the cue to all that afterwards took place.

"Loud cheers greeted his speech and action, and immediately all the available stones and gravel in the street were picked up and hurled in the windows."

"A Revolution In The Streets"

When the demonstrators reached the Park, Burns addressed them from the Achilles statue, giving a warning to the government to take heed of the condition of the people if they wanted to avoid "a revolution in the streets of London." Champion told the demonstrators that they could not stand against the police and the soldiers. "But this you can do. Many have friends in the army—probably in the guards—who will be the first brought down to this park. Go and inform them how things are, so that when the day comes for taking sides in this great class struggle they will be on the side of the people."

Hyndman, Williams, Champion and Burns were arrested and tried at the Old Bailey. Burns delivered a fighting speech in court and Hyndman, a diplomatic one and all four were acquitted of the charges of "seditious conspiracy".

The wealthy were so shaken by the revolutionary portents of the demonstration that in a few days the fund which the Lord Mayor of London opened for the unemployed totalled £75,000, and duchesses opened soup-kitchens or, with a shudder, went "slumming".

In the following year the police became more and more hostile and violent towards demonstrators in Trafalgar Square and on October 18th, 1887, they broke one up and made twenty arrests. George Lansbury describes the police brutality:

"The vast crowd started to move down Whitehall towards the House of Commons which was then sitting. All at once, from all points of the compass, mounted and foot police appeared, and refused to meet their request and they announced their intention to hold the meeting despite the ban. The Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, Sir Charles Warren, filled the square with police and soldiers. The contingents marching from the south of London were met with troops on Westminster Bridge and several were wounded in their attempt to get through. The North London demonstrators, led by William Morris, Cunninghamham, Annie Besant and John Burns tried to force their way into the square. Many were injured in the fighting with the police. Cavalry and infantry. John Burns and Cunninghamham (who was injured) were arrested and imprisoned for six weeks. As Kropotkin points out, the authorities dared not give them longer sentences for fear of the revolutionary consequences."

On the 28th of February in the following year another demonstration was held in the Square and the demonstrators were met with troops and numbers of police and the Guards fully armed. Alfred Linnell, a workman, was killed by the police. A great funeral was arranged at which William Morris spoke and it was perhaps nothing more than a manifestation of the erotic instinct. The laziness of certain peoples is not so much stupid indolence as a refusal to adapt themselves to new labours requiring continued attention and generating boredom. Hunting, fishing and stockbreeding are activities somewhere between work and play, and it was mainly economic need, and coercion on the part of conquering warriors, which forced people who lived by hunting and fishing to change into agricultural and then industrial communities. Where the natural conditions required very great effort, while at the same time offering possibilities of land or sea commerce, the people were pre-eminently traders and travellers (Phoenicians, Hebrews, etc.).

Man is "homo faber" inasmuch as he is a political animal, and Ribot rightly says that the love of work "is a secondary sentiment which progresses in step with civilisation".

Love for work, an important conditioning factor of economic and psychic well-being is determined by progress within the sphere of production is being perfected, and is produced, but rather by the idea that work ceases to be drudgery and comes nearer to being a sport.

Already under capitalism industrial work is being made more attractive. In a report approved by the Manufactory Association, Congress of Illinois in July, 1931, the stimulating effect of music was praised. Many factories have "rational" lighting, and more attention is being paid to the psycho-physiological influence of colours, sounds, smells, etc. But all these modernistic notions are vitiated by the intention to exploit the workers more effectively, and studied whereby the worker shall be "uselessly" exhausted, in order to make more thorough use of him, and certain enthusiasms for workshop and factory "music while you work" recall, not so much Fourier's sensual, affective and volitional stimuli, as the empirical and utilitarian physiologists of certain wagon-drivers who in order to stimulate their exhausted horses up a steep slope will walk a young mare in front of them.

However, the technique for the emancipation of work within the sphere of production is being perfected, and is paving the way for the time when even in industrial work, man's occupation will be pleasurable. And the day will come when with the machine as the friend of man, everyone will be occupied according to his or her particular preferences, and doing pleasant work. Then their pleasure will spring from their work "like the coloured petals of a life-giving flower". This image of Ruskin's is a bright reflection of the whole of his philosophy as a socialist-humanist writer; but those who search in the writings of ancient and modern writers and artists of the XIXth century would find not a few equally eloquent endorsements of Fourier's idea of "attractive work."

D'Annunzio took as his own motto of the times of the Communists: "Effort without fatigue" an admirably concise and clear saying, for effort is a law of work, however attractive it may be. The Italian poet has only superficially felt its intrinsic beauty.

"Effort without fatigue" means, for work, work in which the personality is uplifted and perfected. How it may move from wishful thought to historical fact is the problem to be discussed—and we are the most suitable for such an examination, for the producer we see, first and foremost, a human being; for the cold formulas of the production statisticians are not enough for us—they fail to see what immense treasures are hidden in the daily drudgery and the dispirited energies of those who carry out the daily drudgery with intellectual light or pleasant feeling, atrophy the wings of their personality and changing them, in the course of a few years, into ever less human machines.

William Godwin, in his "Enquiry Concerning Political Justice," 1793, wrote: "The man who is not content with his own lot, but who desires to see his country better governed, and his fellow-creatures more happy, will find that the only way to achieve these ends is by the improvement of the human mind. This improvement is to be effected by the diffusion of knowledge, and the cultivation of the sciences and arts. The man who is content with his own lot, and who does not care for the improvement of his country, will find that the only way to achieve these ends is by the improvement of his own mind. This improvement is to be effected by the cultivation of the sciences and arts. The man who is content with his own lot, and who does not care for the improvement of his country, will find that the only way to achieve these ends is by the improvement of his own mind. This improvement is to be effected by the cultivation of the sciences and arts."

The importance of Rest

The problem does not lie in avoiding automatism which is more and more required by the development of mechanical industrialism, but rather in alternating work with rest. The master-class, too, has understood this. The paper *Opinion* of September 12th, 1924, published the following: "Careful observation carried out in a number of English factories has shown that, even in jobs where the required muscular energy is of the smallest, the workers obtain an increase in production by allowing rest-periods to their employees. For example, in the case of a group of women engaged in labelling packages, the introduction of ten-minute rests at regular intervals led to a thirteen per cent. increase in output in spite of

crowd found themselves wedged in Old Scotland Yard with horses and policemen kicking and punching all and sundry. They had us in a confined space and could be as savage as they chose."

Fight for Free Speech

After the change of government the Conservative Home Secretary placed a ban on all meetings in Trafalgar Square. A committee was formed to fight for the "freedom of the square" with William Morris at its head. It was decided to hold a demonstration on the Irish Question on Sunday, Nov. 13th, 1887 and as a preliminary a deputation was sent to the Home Secretary, led by R. B. Cunninghamham, "Don Roberto", who having returned to this country from South America had become a member of Parliament and for six years fought a lonely and futile battle in the chamber against capitalism and imperialism. The Home Secretary refused to meet their request and they announced their intention to hold the meeting despite the ban. The Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, Sir Charles Warren, filled the square with police and soldiers. The contingents marching from the south of London were met with troops on Westminster Bridge and several were wounded in their attempt to get through. The North London demonstrators, led by William Morris, Cunninghamham, Annie Besant and John Burns tried to force their way into the square. Many were injured in the fighting with the police. Cavalry and infantry. John Burns and Cunninghamham (who was injured) were arrested and imprisoned for six weeks. As Kropotkin points out, the authorities dared not give them longer sentences for fear of the revolutionary consequences."

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Love for work, an important conditioning factor of economic and psychic well-being is determined by progress within the sphere of production is being perfected, and is produced, but rather by the idea that work ceases to be drudgery and comes nearer to being a sport.

Already under capitalism industrial work is being made more attractive. In a report approved by the Manufactory Association, Congress of Illinois in July, 1931, the stimulating effect of music was praised. Many factories have "rational" lighting, and more attention is being paid to the psycho-physiological influence of colours, sounds, smells, etc. But all these modernistic notions are vitiated by the intention to exploit the workers more effectively, and studied whereby the worker shall be "uselessly" exhausted, in order to make more thorough use of him, and certain enthusiasms for workshop and factory "music while you work" recall, not so much Fourier's sensual, affective and volitional stimuli, as the empirical and utilitarian physiologists of certain wagon-drivers who in order to stimulate their exhausted horses up a steep slope will walk a young mare in front of them.

However, the technique for the emancipation of work within the sphere of production is being perfected, and is paving the way for the time when even in industrial work, man's occupation will be pleasurable. And the day will come when with the machine as the friend of man, everyone will be occupied according to his or her particular preferences, and doing pleasant work. Then their pleasure will spring from their work "like the coloured petals of a life-giving flower". This image of Ruskin's is a bright reflection of the whole of his philosophy as a socialist-humanist writer; but those who search in the writings of ancient and modern writers and artists of the XIXth century would find not a few equally eloquent endorsements of Fourier's idea of "attractive work."

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The importance of Rest

The problem does not lie in avoiding automatism which is more and more required by the development of mechanical industrialism, but rather in alternating work with rest. The master-class, too, has understood this. The paper *Opinion* of September 12th, 1924, published the following: "Careful observation carried out in a number of English factories has shown that, even in jobs where the required muscular energy is of the smallest, the workers obtain an increase in production by allowing rest-periods to their employees. For example, in the case of a group of women engaged in labelling packages, the introduction of ten-minute rests at regular intervals led to a thirteen per cent. increase in output in spite of

# THE SEAMEN'S STRIKE Causes Behind the Discontent

FEW strikes have caused as much panic in official circles as the recent seamen's strike which affected practically every port in the British Isles.

On the Clyde-side squads of police and cars rushed blacklegs in closed vans through the seamen's picket lines. Instances of seamen being prevented from leaving ship; pay being withheld and dictatorship from ships' captains as a means of thwarting the legitimate demands of the men were met with silence by the authorities and fabrication by the press.

Cut Price Service

In a message which called for solidarity in their struggle the seamen's rank and file committee sloganised their fight in these terms:

"Seamen, rise up and disperse the black clouds of suppression! oust the tyrants and officials; pay off the debt; clear the mortgage on our labour and sweat!"

On the surface this call sounds like a political cliché but when visiting the docks in London, Glasgow and Liverpool, I have come away full of disgust at the greed of the shipowner, loathing for the betraying union officials, anger at the dictatorship of the captains and amazement at the toleration of the men who do an extremely unattractive job in unnecessarily bad conditions.

THE CONCLUSION THAT THE MERCHANT SERVICE OF THIS COUNTRY IS RUN ON A CUT PRICE LABOUR SYSTEM IS INESCAPABLE. ALREADY IT IS ADMITTED THROUGHOUT THE SHIPPING WORLD THAT BRITAIN IS THE ONLY COUNTRY THAT PUT SUCH SHIPS AS THE QUEEN MARY AND ELIZABETH INTO SERVICE BECAUSE OF THE VERY LOW LABOUR COSTS. INDEED, PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO THAT EFFECT.

The British merchant service is today competing in a market for invalid exports and attempting to operate a coolie system for the seamen and offer freightage rates 50% below those of America, Scandinavia and the Dutch.

This is done solely at the expense of the men. The shipowners, far from sacrificing a penny profit, are drawing handsome dividends as ever before and are using the slimy residue of war-time regulations to intimidate, victimise and tyrannise the seamen.

Glorified Detention Barracks

Evidence of the foul conditions under which the seamen work and live is abundant. I have seen for myself within the past few days such things as paneling torn from the men's living quarters, normal hygiene necessities of toilet ruthlessly stripped away to give extra carrying space, and even the Liberty Ships (Kaiser Coffins) stripped of showerbaths and amenities so that they offend the eye and offer the appearance of glorified detention quarters.

Although food varies from ship to ship, the company to company, it is a very poor and badly cooked meal. The galleys' delight seems to be a horrid mixture of sticky mess which is neither stew nor mush and thoroughly nauseating, followed by "duff" which is removed rather for its weight and digestibility than for its palatability; the men have an unprintable name for it which includes the captain and the shipowners.

The extent of the cheeseparing at the seamen's expense is evidenced in the fact that even the salt and pepper pots have been removed from "these heroes of yesterday who in the face of the most terrible perils and at the cost of 40,000 lives have kept the lifelines of this country open."

Furthermore, Dr. Edith Summerskill, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food, admitted in a written reply that from January 1st to November 14th, 50,000 tons of potatoes were exported from this country and that from Oct. 1st to November 14th—that is, considerably before the war when it became obvious that rationing would be inevitable—set still continued to export to the amount of 5,765 tons in those six weeks. When you carry home your weekly ration of 3 lbs. just bear that fact in mind.

Finally, before leaving this subject, it is perhaps worth noting that when Mr. Strachey (having just returned from the Lord Mayor's banquet, by the way) arrived at the House for the debate on the rationing of potatoes, only 30 M.P.s were present. Apparently, potato rationing is not of much personal, as opposed to political, interest to Honourable Members—and indeed, with a minimum of £1,000 a year, why should it be?

Is Farming Priority No. 1?

Many weeks ago the Government announced its big, new plan for agriculture.

The government has destroyed any advantages that may have been in the pool system by the trainee system. The pools are short-circuited and the trainees are flooded on to the ships, and although there is an abundant labour force of skilled seamen available, ships are leaving port with as many as 50% learners on board.

The advantages for the shipowners and government lie in the fact that trainees' wages are nearly a third lower than the lowest paid seaman.

The seamen are forced to compete now with an apprentice level which is not far removed from the standard operated by some millionaire British shipowners who employed Chinese coolies and Lascars.

Almighty Skippers

The seamen have no means of redress on board ship where the ship's captain is Lord God Almighty—or apparently thinks so. Seamen are fined, pay is stopped and punishment laddled out in the most degrading manner on the most trivial excuse. Complaints are treated as mutinous behaviour and appeals against punishment as insubordination.

The employers, through the ship's officers, have the power to imprison a seaman or to rubber stamp his book on leaving ship or to victimise at will. Seamen's books are rubber stamped "Testimonial Not Required" (dishonourable discharge) without reasons being given or opportunity of appeal.

Seamen's Five Points

The only recourse open to the seamen was an "unofficial" strike which they conducted with courage and vigour.

PRESTON CLEMENTS.

Land Notes

Potatoes and Priorities

THE rationing of potatoes will make little or no difference to the great majority of country people, many of whom grow their own and those that don't can always reckon on being able to buy a bag or two on the quiet from friends or relations. This new rationing is, therefore, of little practical interest to them. To townspeople, on the other hand, and in particular to the lower income groups to which, of course, most people belong, it will make a great difference. It is, therefore, all the more irresponsible for the Government to have allowed the situation to come about, to have, as usual, let the matter slide until it must have been known to be inevitable finally became unavoidable and, because of the refusal to recognize the position and prepare for it, worse than it need have been.

Mr. Marquand added, however, that "the existing priority system is at present under review." Members were not impressed by this assurance and he was again reminded of the Government's plans and in particular of Mr. Morrison's statement just referred to, to which Mr. Marquand made the astonishing reply that "he had no record of a statement."

When pressed for an explanation of his ignorance he displayed a truly remarkable capacity for ignoring the real issue while yet managing to reply to persistent questions. Such ingenuity at evasion did he show that, if he can keep it up, his political future seems assured.

Asked about the over-allocation of steel he delivered this masterly reply: "Over-allocation of steel," he explained, "arose partly because in the period of reconstruction departments had to operate on a basis of insufficient knowledge of the real needs of the consumers, and partly because in certain periods supplies of steel fell below expectation."

This impressive statement, as was no doubt intended, seemed to intimidate the opposition (as the matter appears to be) but it was in fact a piece of pure evasion. It has been put aside for the time being at that point.

Mr. Brown, on the other hand, had sounded a more cheerful note. "Agricultural machinery requirements," said Mr. Brown, "are receiving very favourable consideration (well, well). As regards steel, for example, the allocation of agricultural machinery for the fourth quarter of 1947 is nearly twice as much as for the third quarter."

Since, however, no one seems to know how the steel was in fact allocated for the third quarter, we are not very much further forth.

It would appear that when I wrote some two months back that the Government was embarking on its big food production drive "reluctantly, belatedly

The stated aims of the Rank and File Committee were:

1. A pool system for all seamen.
2. System of rotary hiring.
3. Maximum basic rate for all seamen according to rating.
4. Suspension of present training system.
5. 80% wages while waiting for a ship.

At present, although the seamen are tied up completely by the employers' contract, the wages paid while waiting for ships is only 24/- a week, out of which the seamen has to pay 30/- per week for board at the Mission.

Solidarity

The committee believe that could they get the opportunity of putting their case before the public, the public would be wiser than the seamen's present fight. The seamen invite those interested to gain their information first-hand from them at the docks and committee rooms rather than from the yellow press and coercing politicians.

Support has been forthcoming where ever they had the chance of putting the facts forward, and they have been heartened by the solidarity from America and Canada, where the merchant seamen are vitally concerned at raising the standard of their British comrades to a common level. The comrades see this attack here as affecting seamen everywhere, and an attack on one section of the workers as an attack on all workers.

We join with others in wishing them success in the formation of their own free trade union, built from the bottom, for seamen, by seamen, in the common interest.

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# Confusion at the Savoy

Direction Solves the Blackleg Problem

FOR the third time in just over a year the catering workers of the Savoy group of hotels (which includes the Berkeley, Claridges and Simpson's Restaurant in the Strand) are on strike. Unlike the previous two, however, this time it is an official strike, and bears all the localising and stultifying characteristics one associates with a union-led strike.

It seems too, that the union (Catering Section of the General and Municipal Workers' Union) has almost been forced into action now by the truculent attitude of the Savoy management, who have never fully implemented the agreement made, following the October '46 strike, by the Hotel Employers' Association to recognize the N.U.G.M.W. and the right of their workers to join the union of their choice.

This strike is distinguished by the obscurity which shrouds its causes. Even some of the pickets from other unions seem hazy as to the reason and are supporting it automatically because they are union men, but it seems that its main causes are the management's aggressive dismissal of the shop steward, waiter Frank Piazza, and mere lip service paid to the workers' right to organise.

Piazza's case goes back over a year and has been mentioned in *Freedom* several times before. Briefly, after the October '46 strike, the management promised "no victimisation" but proceeded to dismiss a waiter, Piazza took up his case, and the management refused to accept his dismissal. The hotel workers struck (March 12th) and went back after promises that the case should be referred to a National Arbitration Committee. Piazza, meanwhile, being suspended for only 14 days. The management, however, refused to have him back after that time and continued to pay his wages while keeping him suspended until in July the National Arbitration Tribunal considered the case.

The initiative still seems to lie with the employers, who are making claims to the effect that 80 per cent. of their staff are working, and are reported to be sending dismissal notices to other unions are picketing and supporting the Savoy strikers not, they seem to be in a very weak position.

The Blacklegs Directed to Savoy

One very clear example of the way the State's laws will help the employers is given in the report that numerous employment exchanges, some as far away as Scotland, have been sending staff to the Savoy group under the new direction order. Pickets also assert that Polish labour has been imported to replace some strikers.

One of the pickets is reputed as saying: "We cannot understand how this fits in with the new Control of Engagements Order." What innocence these union men betray! Because an order has been made by a Labour Government with the backing of the T.U.C., they believe it can only be of interest to the workers. The very opposite is true. Placing power in the hands of the State gives it the ability to back up the employers more efficiently than before—all in the name of democracy, of course.

To the Savoy strikers, we would advise them to pack this useless, long drawn-out strike and embark on a series of unofficial lightning strikes, making sure at the same time that no one else can use, say, the ovens in the absence of the strikers. Let them realise that they are fighting a class war, not a gentlemen's mock-combat.

Let them, also, read *The French Cook's* Syndicate, by W. McCartney (Freedom Press, 3d.).

P.S.

The Bureaucratic Mind Dept.

Two cuttings from *The Farmer's Weekly* (14/11/47):

(i) In view of the desperate housing shortage in rural areas which would appear to be, taking the country as a whole, even more severe than that existing in the towns, the following may be of interest.

"The local housing committee came to see a certain farmer to ask him where he would like to have the two new cottages he had been allocated. 'I don't want any houses, he told them, 'I've got all the men I need and they'll take care of'."

The officials were dumbfounded, and they took a good deal of convincing. Eventually this farmer persuaded them that he knew what he was saying, and meant it. "Oh, well," they said, "you'll have to have the cottages anyway. They've been allocated to you, and that can't be altered now."

Planning for the Future

(ii) Extract from a report of a Glamorgan F.U. Meeting:

Another member argued that Cardiff City Council were particularly bad at hand-overs. They had recently applied for and, he understood, been granted permission to acquire sixty acres of good arable land for the purposes of cemetery extension, while at the same time in fact allocating that sufficient land for this purpose to last them thirty-five years."

Perhaps the Council considers that the present acreage may, after all, be insufficient to accommodate the local victims of the next, atomic, war.

G.V.

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France

# General Mobilisation

DURING a recent press conference, General de Gaulle made fun of the parties forming a parliamentary majority. Very much at his ease, and filled with an overweening confidence in his future, he recalled the words of Kipling on the people of the "bandar-log", the monkey-people who go about repeating "We are the kings of the jungle because we say so." And he made abundant fun of the new Socialist-Christian-Democrat parliamentary combination which pretends to represent the Republic.

Perhaps the general should have remembered that Kipling was alluding to the French when he spoke of the bandar-log, and that the chief of the Union of the French People is really nothing more than the kind of the bandar-log!

At the same time, impressed by the assurance of de Gaulle, plenty of political men, and among them a certain number of Socialist and Christian-Democrat parliamentarians, are trying to help the general, and revive the famous "Marshall, you are there" of Vichy memory in hastening to cry "General, you are here!"

And the democratic governments which Ramadier and Vincent Auriol are trying to maintain, transform and patch up, no longer appear much more than transitional ministries, at the end of which de Gaulle will be called in.

## THE OLD GUARD REAPPEARS

All the former democratic and parliamentary machinery, all the old groups, try to respond to the problems of economy and foreign policy by turning towards the western bloc, that is to say in giving every guarantee to the American brokers.

In practice this means a mobilisation against the Communist Party, a continued effort for the appeasement of social conflicts, a desperate attempt to solve the balancing of the budget, and the offer of guarantees to the governing classes.

In the campaign directed against the Russian and their internal supporters, an appeal is made to everybody, in the hope of rendering de Gaulle unnecessary in the eyes of the incensed crowds who have allowed his sudden rise. Thus we see not only the feverish activity of the governmental party machines, but also the reawakening of the reformist minorities in the trade unions, who, having been held prisoner by the old nationalist programme of the Stalinists, are freeing themselves and noisily making themselves heard under cover of an anti-Communism which has become fashionable, and an expedient love of working-class democracy.

The old war-horses like Jouhaux present themselves and are presented by the reactionary press, as the authentic expression of the French working class towards the foreign party, while the would-be Ministers of Labour of the Petainist era, like Cappa, play at being extremists, and assume the role of "leftists" in the trade union opposition.

But this mass of apparently disunited forces corresponds effectively to the great American offensive which is linked with the return of the French ruling classes, and a certain number of common desires can be distinguished—order, the disciplining of the working-class movement, the elimination of the Communists and alliance with the United States.

THE COMMUNISTS REACT  
Against this developing national unanimity, the communists are reacting

vigorously and are also mobilising all the forces at their disposal. Perhaps in a disordered manner, thus precipitating the concentration of their adversaries, but applying with discipline the new orders of the Cominform. Strike after strike breaks out, for the most diverse motives, but always with a basis of economic demand sufficient to rally a great number of malleable men among the workers.

There are also strikes in small and medium-class business, which are largely favoured by the Stalinists, and which thwart the awkward attempts of the government to regulate commercial transactions and to limit the black market. There are appeals to industrial interests menaced by American assistance, and support for all movements, no matter whence they come, provided they are against the government.

The infiltration of administrations and of repressive forces, carried out during the preceding years, is proving effective. At Marseilles, since the incidents which followed the election of the Gaullist mayor in place of the old Communist mayor, the sections of the security police let the demonstrators take action. Two companies were dissolved and a third replaced. It was not a question of conscript troops fraternising with the strikers, but of Communist cells applying each in its own sphere the common policy.

## THE INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLE

In the real industrial field, the factions are opening their struggle. "Workers' Strength", a confused collection of non-Stalinist elements in the CGT, is entering the field resolutely in the name of independent unionism, but leaves the door open for collabor-

# PERON FIGHTS THE PRESS

By a Worldover Press Correspondent

BUENOS AIRES—(Uncensored).

THE Peron regime has been stepping up its nationwide campaign against a free press. Government-inspired papers and the National Broadcasting System have made frontal attacks on several outstanding dailies, especially the world-famous *La Prensa*, *Argentina Libre* and *La Vanguardia*, but the attack on the rear is even deadlier: the fining and padlocking of printing presses on which the opposition must rely. This has been the fate, for example, of *Argentina Libre* and *La Vanguardia*.

Here's the way it works. Lest anyone should think the government was persecuting free newspapers, it rather shushes

ation with a "comprehensive" government.

Among the rank-and-file, the narrow interpretation of political motives within the government strictly with the demands and class struggle of the workers, makes the activity of the revolutionary militants very difficult.

The working-class is not at the end of its misfortunes. If, as all seems to indicate, the isolation of the Communists becomes more complete, the incapacity of the democratic parties to control the chaos, and authoritarian tendencies show themselves, we are going straight towards a "strong" regime, with or without de Gaulle, but with the rallying of a certain number of reformist leaders to the conception of State unionism and corporatist formulae, and that of Socialist leaders to a "national labour" programme.

Once again the Communist party will have been the great organiser of defeat.

It remains to be known if the other force, which is becoming aware of its possibilities, will overcome the present and, staying closely linked to the working-class struggles while retaining its clear-sightedness, will increase its influence and become a determining element in the situation.

The same problem exists in France, in Italy, in Germany, and will present itself in Spain to-morrow, as it already exists among the refugees.

S. PARANE

## FREEDOM

November 29th, 1947

# A Letter from Germany

TO the Germans it is incomprehensible that, according to the Marshall Plan, Germany is to be rehabilitated and that in the reconstruction of factories and workshops hundreds of millions of dollars are to be spent and several hundred thousand tons of steel brought to Germany from the U.S.A., particularly since, according to an agreement between the Allies, 682 factories in Germany are to be dismantled and the machinery sent to the Allied countries.

What is the meaning of this nonsense of dismantling and then reconstruction? Is this another employment programme, such as we witnessed under Hitler, where the most idiotic jobs were invented for the sole purpose of finding work? Or is the dismantling simply a "safety" measure to prevent valuable plants from falling into the hands of a "possible enemy" in case he should invade the country, and the Marshall plan merely a proposal in case the "possible enemy" should not occupy the whole of Germany?

We can only find out through the American newspapers, which say that in case (unfortunately we Germans know enough about these "in cases") it should come to conflict between the East and the American army command would not make the same mistakes as Napoleon and Hitler, i.e., to march into Russia and beat the Russians there, but that at the beginning of the war Russia would occupy a large part of Western Europe, from which its armies would be routed by aerial bombardment. A fine outlook for those people living in countries which would be occupied by the Russians! Or perhaps the American command has already made up its mind to use the Marshall plan to secure atom bombs which will only kill Russian soldiers and not the civilian population? Every day the people believe more strongly that another war will break out in the near future, and that the strengthened in this belief by happenings which are very similar to those in Hitler's Germany just before the outbreak of the last war.

Papers controlled by members of Congress have shared the same fate. *Argentina Libre*, once suppressed, appeared again in an abridged form under the directorship of three deputies opposed to Peron. Only a small press in La Plata, capital of the Province of Buenos Aires, would print it. After the first number, which was closed up. Its editors, the deputies, protested to the national authorities and the second number appeared in early October. Then the printing press was ordered to shut itself "under rule and regulation" within 60 days—rules and regulations which do not apply to papers upholding the Peron regime.

Worldover Press, 24/10/47.

## Pollitt and Germany

Now I come to Pollitt's statement in *Looking Ahead*, that "There have been no strikes, no mass protests and demonstrations in the Soviet zone. Isn't that fact something to think about?" Here is a little news item—a fact for Pollitt to use in his next book, *Looking Backward*. In the last three months approximately 50,000 workers crossed illegally from the Russian zone into the British and American zones because conditions there are so frightful that they could not endure them any longer. The British and American military governments have forbidden these workers to stay in their respective zones, and give them neither food nor housing allocation. Despite this, the workers prefer to stay. Isn't that fact something to think about, Harry?

At the moment the greatest problem here is that of food during the coming winter and next year; there will probably be a famine, as the harvest was worse than average. With the whip of hunger the military governments will be able to suppress any protests on the part of the workers, and threaten them with a food cut if they refuse to do as they are told. This is exactly what happened just recently when the Trade Unions refused to carry out the dismantling programme in the factories. The workers fear that when these jobs of dismantling are finished they will once more be unemployed and will have to starve. And even our Trade Unions, which are anything but revolutionary, are being betrayed in their modest demands and used as a means to an end by our politicians.

## A German Politician

And what kind of politicians are they in the so-called Labour Party, the SPD? There is, for instance, still Karl Severing, the former Minister of the Interior, who is one of the leading lights in the SPD.

days gone by was introduced by the anarchist magazine *Die Erde*, Willi Bredel, Anna Seghers, Ernst Wickert, Friedrich Wolf and others who have faithfully served Moscow. Mühsam, Katz, Toller, are relegated to the ranks of the forgotten by being ignored.

On the question of art we find amazing journalistic assaults such as "Fascism destroyed, by drastic means, the illusion of artistic freedom and clearly demonstrated the most slavish dependence of the artist on the ruling class", and "The progressive artist must either suffer passively the crisis of society or in an active way attempt to form society". Progressive artists in the Eastern Zone not willing to prostitute their art to the demands of their Russian masters or who attempt in an active way to form society, end in a forced labour gang or in prison. We presume that this is what must be meant by artists suffering passively!

Newspapers published under British and American licence are suppressed in the Eastern Zone. In order to capture the reluctant middle-class there are a great number of magazines and papers, made up in typical bourgeois style, all bearing slogans of democracy, and written by Christian and democratic statesmen. Many of our readers will remember from pre-Hitler times the courageous *Die Weltbühne*, a magazine of politics, art and science, edited by Karl von Ossietzky, the internationally known pacifist, democrat and Nobel prizewinner who later became a victim of Hitler. *Die Weltbühne* appears now in exactly its former shape, edited by the widow of Ossietzky. Here, as a taste of its value, is just one sentence from it:

"We remind you of the contributions by men such as Tucholsky, Toller and Mühsam, of whom the latter two can be considered as outspoken Communists."

Tucholsky and Toller committed suicide. Mühsam was killed by the Nazis —they cannot protest against this outrage!

J.O.

# REGIMENTATION OF ARTS IN GERMANY

In order to capture the masses this policy of "bread and circuses" is dishonouring for those indifferent to sports are offered music, theatre, cinema, literature. The House of Soviet Culture in Berlin provides something of everything in "cultural" line—exhibitions, concerts, cultural and political lectures. Towns like Dresden, according to the German League of Culture, have become new centres of German art. The League guides art away from the dangerous spheres of bourgeois decadence into the fields of the new culture. The function of these institutions is to bring the Russian and German peoples closer together, to demonstrate the greatness of proletarian creative powers and so on. The Germans have once already experienced the introduction of a superior German Art—then their answer was unmistakable, for the reported number of visitors to the "decadent", "bourgeois and Jewish-Bolshevik art" was far greater than that to Hitler's German art.

Recently Schadanov has made speeches on literature and art which sound like a new edition of Goebbels's speeches on similar subjects—Soviet culture is the greatest in the world; Russian literature need not copy the West. It is the task of the German Communist Party intellectuals to spread the blessings of Russian culture to the Germans. Nevertheless, the Western theatres are dominated chiefly by German artists of artistic brilliance and German classics. The works of Toller, Werfel, Feuchtwanger, who represent German emigre literature, are little known. The situation of theatre managers and producers is exactly the same as it was under Hitler. There is a big cry for topical drama but no sane producer would dare take the risk of bringing it before the public. German emigre production contains too many rebellious tendencies.

Literature is dominated by translations from the Russian—the book of the moment is *Stalingrad*. The intellectual elite is led by Joh. R. Becher, who in

# Zionist Nationalism A Controversy

## A READER'S VIEWPOINT

DEAR COMRADES,

I very much appreciate your article on the "Palestine Collectives" in your last issue, and I wholeheartedly agree with it. In your "Through the Press", however, you condemn Zionism as very near to Nazism, implying that the people in the Palestine collectives, who all, and without exception, are Zionists, must also therefore be crypto-Nazis. I very much would like to challenge the statement that Zionism is similar to Nazism, and I would even venture to say that many Zionist principles are compatible with anarchist principles.

You argue that Jewish Nationalism, as all nationalisms, is valueless, and Jews should assimilate. History of the last 20 centuries has shown that this is impossible, and if you argue that this is the fault of the social system, I quite agree with you. Nevertheless, you do not and cannot believe it possible to change society within a decade, and do you believe that the Jews in the meantime should be exterminated by anti-Semites, as 6,000,000 of them were in the last decade?

The Jews therefore want to go to Palestine to build up a new life there, a new society where there will be no oppressed minorities. They will do no wish

any harm to the Arabs, as statistics show. Since 1900, 600,000 Jews have immigrated to Palestine. They have improved the living standard to such an extent that the Arab population has increased from 300,000 to 1,200,000. This shows that more Arabs have immigrated to Palestine, than Jews.

Further, the Jews have helped the Arabs in many ways. Free hospital treatment, many public services. They have also shown them by example a much higher standard of living. This is why the Jews are so hated by the Effendi class of Palestine, who become rich by Jewish land purchases, and now also want the Jewish profits.

What other alternative have you for the Jewish D.P.'s in Germany?

It might be interesting for you to note that the present form of commune was largely influenced by the German Anarchist philosopher, Landauer.

Besides the Libertarian principles employed in agriculture, the Jewish community has many industries run on syndicalist lines. The Eged bus company is an example. The theatres are run on these lines. The biggest building firm in Palestine, "Solel Abneh", is run on a co-operative basis.

Besides, all the Jewish institutes in Palestine are run by voluntary subscription, and voluntary taxation, which is far from being encouraged by the Mandatory Power. Perhaps the Jewish community in Palestine gives the best example of development and progress without a Government. It is a good example of happy life without a State, and the average Jew does not care about a State as long as there is free emigration, settlement and self-defence.

To my mind the Jewish experiment is the one which is nearest to anarchy which has ever worked for a considerable time, and I think it somewhat shameful to label Zionists as Fascists as you have done on so many occasions. I would very much like to hear your opinion on this matter.

Yours fraternally, H.K.

There seems to us no real inconsistency between the article in *Freedom* on collectives in Palestine and the remark on the

# HERESY HUNT

THE great hunt for Communists, in which vague term are included radicals and revolutionaries of every shape and kind, has now spread to the American Trade Unions.

The initiative was given by the Government, with the new Taft-Hartley labour law, which issues an ultimatum on internal organisation to the unions by decreeing that only unions which have no Communist officials can enjoy the protection of the National Labour Relations Act, which governs the question of arbitration between Unions and employers.

The leaders of the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. have not been slow to take full advantage of the opening which this legislation offers them. Reuther of the United Automobile Workers has just successfully ousted the Communists from key positions in his union, and the majority of the other union, no matter to what camp they belong, are following suit by turning out their Communists and radicals so as to keep on the right side of the Government.

We have no sympathy for the Communists who have made their own attempt to control the American Unions; there is not a pin to choose between them and the present right-wing leaders, for both wish to produce a state of affairs where the rank and file are kept down.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the attack will not end with the Communists. As in other walks of life in America these days, anybody who attempts genuine rank-and-file activity will be treated as a Communist and hunted accordingly. The whole Communist heresy hunt may have started

## AUSTRIA

AS the "iron curtain" enfolds Hungary, Russian imperialism looks towards Austria. Frontier incidents are reported from the Yugoslav border. At the time of the Hungarian elections, the Soviet force requisitioned a further 217,000 acres of agricultural land in their zone of Austria. New Russian forces are joining the occupation detachments in the Eastern zone of the country, and with the political war of nerves begins.

The Russian zone contains the bulk of Austria's industry and, as *Combat* reports, "they have in their hands the destiny of the country. They can at any moment exercise economic pressure which will paralyse Vienna and plunge the whole of the West of the country into misery". The coming winter will see that pressure exercised.

## Have you received a Renewal Reminder?

Be sure of receiving **FREE-DOM** regularly by sending your renewal without delay! When Renewing your Subscription why not order 2 copies and pass one on to a friend?

Goals. Men 2,923 to 2,955. Women 2,541 to 2,605.

Borstal Institutions. Boys 3,261 to 3,389. Girls 3,095 to 3,223.

Now, to anyone who has experienced prison food, the idea that one is on a better standard of diet than a large bulk of the population, is ludicrous. Take an average daily menu in a British prison: the following figures:

Breakfast: Thin porridge, 6 oz. bread, a tiny pat of margarine and a pint of unsweetened tea.

Dinner: Usually soup, except when they serve out uneatable fish, potatoes (many bad), sometimes a small portion of "duff".

Tea-cum-Supper: 8 oz. bread, pat of margarine, one pint of unsweetened tea. These are the only meals which one gets, tea being served at 4.30 with nothing till breakfast time at 8 a.m. next morning, and there is no variation in the breakfast and tea diet. And yet this is supposed to be better than most ordinary honest civilians get! Either the caloric figures are just false, or they have been arrived at by using the best available food so as to get the highest possible average. A practical experience of the diet will soon disillusion anyone who is credulous enough to believe that you get a better deal inside the "nick" rather than outside! RUSTICUS.

## Foreign Commentary

# Spanish Anarchist Congress

MORE than eight years have passed since the last Spanish republican fighters made their way into exile as Franco and his German and Italian allies completed the military conquest of Spain. During these eight years many of the Spanish refugees in France have spent years in French, and later in German, concentration camps, undernourished and deprived of the companionship of their families left behind in Spain. Of the hundreds of thousands in France, a large proportion were members of the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labour) the revolutionary syndicalist organisation which played such an important role during the three long years of struggle against International Fascism in Spain.

At the end of last month, the second Congress of the M.L.E.—C.N.T.\* in France was held at Toulouse, and delegates from groups in every corner of the country packed the auditorium of a local cinema, and for two weeks—yes, two weeks!—the Spanish comrades discussed, at day and night sessions, the problems of their movement. *Solidaridad Obrera* (the weekly paper of the M.L.E. in France) in its issues of November 1st and 8th gives full accounts of what happened. There were twenty-two items on the agenda, of which, according to a *Le Libertaire* eyewitness account five provoked the greatest interest: The Structure of the Movement, Declaration of Principles, Relations with other Movements; The Struggle inside Spain; the Press and Cultural matters. The declaration of principles which has now been published is an interesting and significant document in view of the tragic dissensions within the Spanish movement during the past eleven years on the question of collaboration with political parties and, during the revolution, of participation in "Popular" Governments. Important, too, is the declaration that "The C.N.T. is convinced that only the revolutionary violence of the Spanish people them-

selves can eliminate Franco and Fascism", in view of the equivocal position adopted by many during World War II: that the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini would automatically result in the downfall of Franco.

It is to be hoped that the Declaration of Principles will be published in full in *Freedom* at an early date. Meanwhile, here are three fundamental points from this document:

"All authoritarian principle is antagonistic to expression of *Freedom*." "Revolutionary direct action is the only effective tactic for the overthrow of Capitalism and the State."

"Our Movement aims at the establishment of Libertarian Communism—without transitional periods—and with tactics that conform to our principles."

## PRICE OF A SLOGAN

The *Adunata dei Refrattari*, the Italian Anarchist weekly published in New Jersey, in its issue of November 15th refers to General Marshall's article in the latest edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in which he gives figures for military losses during World War II. These are U.S.A. 295,904, British Empire 452,570, Soviet Union 5,500,000, Germany 2,850,000, Italy 300,000, China 2,200,000, Japan 1,506,000. Total 15,305,474 dead or missing. But as the *Adunata* points out, the figure is doubled if we add the military and civilian losses in certain other countries, not to mention those massacred in prisons and concentration camps, those killed in the underground movements, etc. 30 million dead or missing. What a price to pay for a few hollow slogans. And what a great tragedy it is when one realizes that it will need only the same slogans with a few alterations to throw the people of the world at one another's throats once more!

## AMERICA'S UNTOUCHABLES

That racial discrimination exists in America is not "news" to our readers, but it is important to note when a government body admits its existence. The report of the Truman-appointed Committee of Civil Rights has, according to *News Review*, 20/11/47, "shaken America on its treatment of the Negro about as forcibly" as the Myra Curtis Committee Report on the Care of Children shook Britain.

These are some of the facts which the report lists:

\*Negroes barred from membership in

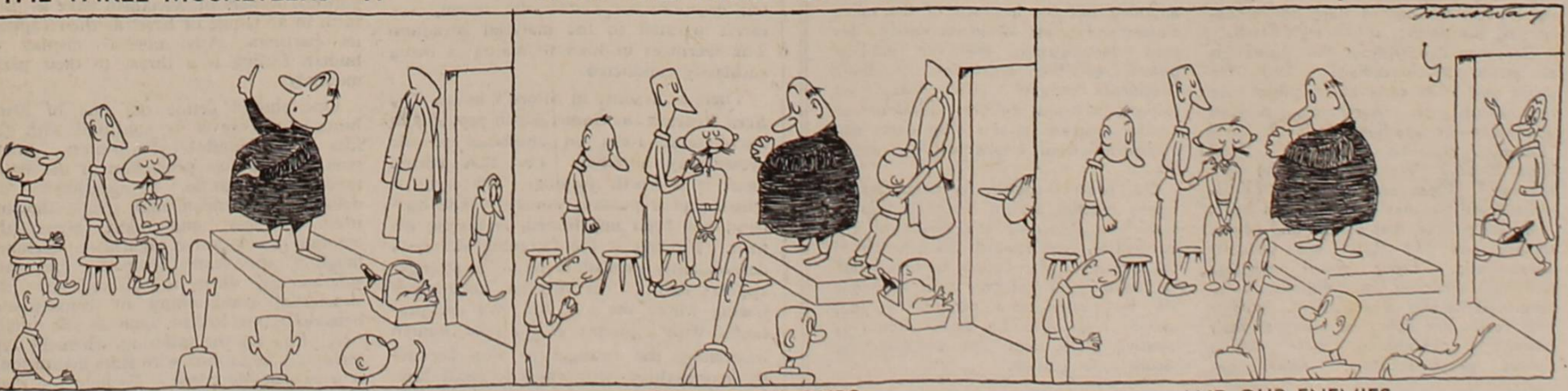
## FRENCH SITUATION

Events are moving fast in France and we recommend the Anarchist weekly *Le Libertaire* (obtainable from Freedom Bookshop, price 3d.) to readers interested in the French political situation and who read French. Contributors to *Le Libertaire* include our French correspondent, S. Parane, whose articles in *Freedom* have often been reprinted in other journals and have been the subject of favourable comments by many readers.

LIBERTARIAN.

## THE THREE MUSKETEERS—17 WITH THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION

By JOHN OLDAY



LORD, HELP US TO LOVE...

OUR NEIGHBOURS...

AND OUR ENEMIES.

## Book Reviews

### Freedom Press

George Woodcock:  
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NEW LIFE TO THE LAND  
RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY 3d.  
HOMES OR HOVELS? 3d.  
ANARCHISM AND MORALITY 2d.  
WHAT IS ANARCHISM? 1d.  
THE BASIS OF COMMUNAL LIVING 1/2.

Peter Kropotkin:  
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A FACTUAL  
PAMPHLET

BEHIND "THE IRON CURTAIN".  
A Survey of Eastern Europe, pub-  
lished by the New York Herald  
Tribune, obtainable from Freedom  
Bookshop (7d. post free).

THIS pamphlet written by a team of  
four American journalists after an  
extensive tour in Eastern Europe contains  
valuable information on the methods used  
by Russia to gain control over countries  
which have fallen into her zone of  
influence.

Though events have moved so fast in  
those countries that some of the infor-  
mation, gathered in June-July of this year,  
is already out of date, this report helps  
to understand the series of arrests and  
trials which have taken place during the  
last few months.

Nobody is fooled by the sudden interest  
taken by the American Press in the civil  
liberties of some European nations but  
this is a factual, intelligent reporting worth  
reading even if one disagrees with the  
motives which have prompted it.

Would this team be allowed to show  
the same gifts for getting facts if it were  
sent to Greece?

POETRY AND  
ANARCHISM

We apologise to readers who have  
ordered this book for the delay in dis-  
patching their copies, but there has  
unfortunately been a hold-up with the  
binding which we could not foresee at  
the time when we announced the book.  
We are hoping however that copies will  
be ready for dispatch early in December.

## FUNCTIONAL LIVES

HEALTH THE UNKNOWN. The  
Story of the Peckham Experiment.  
By John Comerford. Hamish  
Hamilton, 7/6.

THIS is a book about the Peckham  
Experiment which is a study of the  
technicalities of the Peckham scientists'  
own accounts, and to present the ideas  
behind the experiment to the "ordinary  
reader"—whatever that convenient ab-  
straction may be. As such it labours  
under the usual disadvantages of  
"popular" accounts, but nevertheless  
derives its significance from the importance  
of its subject matter.

Readers of *Freedom* will already know  
something of the work going on at Peck-  
ham; it is not necessary here therefore to  
try to describe the general scope of this  
new book. Instead, I will point to certain  
features of the experiment which it rightly  
stresses.

The Pioneer Health Centre seeks to  
provide conditions in which human beings  
can function fully, in which individual  
capacities are fully extended instead of  
being inhibited and dormant. Full  
function can be regarded as their con-  
stitutional health, and it is a very inter-  
esting thing from mere absence of gross disease.  
But full function can obviously only be  
realized if no restrictions are present; or,  
to put it more positively if also more  
vaguely, in conditions of freedom.

With this conception in mind it is only  
too apparent that the Peckham experi-  
ment is a study of the lives of vast num-  
bers of families, with the father frustrated  
by dull work, the mother exasperated by  
the triviality of domestic cares, and the  
children bored and the family as a whole  
absorbing an atmosphere of tension and  
suppressed despair, instead of the calm-  
ness and emotional security which they  
need. Such a family—and it is the  
usual type of family in urban life to-  
day—has no common ground to meet on,  
no outlets for whatever creative capacity  
its members possess. Its individual mem-  
bers have no chance to function at all.

At the Family Club at Peckham the  
means for all kinds of activities are there  
for any member of the family to use when  
and where he (or she) likes. "But," says  
Comerford, "the Peckham scientists have  
meant to give their members than fine  
premises and full equipment. They have  
built a house for the family to live in, and  
they have given it a philosophy of latent  
human function. Their hypothesis is  
that many men, women and children are  
living in a kind of functional imprison-  
ment; and that release from this is a  
possibility which would produce surprising  
results. They have been shown to be  
right."

Amongst the surprising results is the  
absence of leaders in the present-day sense  
of the term. "Accustomed as is this age  
to artificial leadership—witness the white-  
gloved leader of the community singing,  
the cheer-leader at a football match, the  
leader of rambling parties—it is difficult  
for it to realize the truth that leaders  
require no training or appointing, but  
emerge spontaneously when conditions re-  
quire them. Studying their members in  
the free-for-all of the Peckham Centre,  
the observing scientists saw over and over  
again how one member instinctively be-

came, and was instinctively but not  
officially recognized as, leader to meet the  
need of some particular moment. Such  
leaders appeared and disappeared as the  
flux of the Centre required. Because they  
were not consciously appointed, neither  
(when they had fulfilled their purpose)  
were they consciously overthrown. Nor  
was any particular gratitude shown by  
members to a leader, either at the time  
of his services or after for services  
rendered. They followed his guidance  
just as long as his guidance was helpful  
and what they wanted. They melted  
away from him without regrets when some  
widening of experience beckoned them on  
to some fresh adventure, which would in  
turn throw up its spontaneous leaders; or  
when their self-confidence was such that  
any form of continued leadership would

have been a restraint to them." This  
description of conscious egoism might  
have come out of the pages of Stirner  
himself!

And John Comerford goes on to say:  
"A society, therefore, if left to itself in  
suitable circumstances to express itself  
spontaneously works out its own salvation  
and achieves a harmony of action which  
superimposed leadership cannot emulate."  
A footnote dryly adds that "such super-  
imposed leadership, of course, is necessary  
when it is desired to make people do what  
they themselves do not spontaneously  
want to do."

Such passages as these serve to indicate  
the importance to anarchist ideas and the  
philosophy of freedom of the work being  
done at Peckham.

J.H.

## FILM REVIEWS

MONSIEUR VERDOUX (New Gallery  
and Tivoli).

IT has long been a cliché to say that  
adverse criticism is a hall-mark of genius.  
In the case of MONSIEUR VERDOUX,  
the first Chaplin film to be shown in  
England for seven years, this seems cer-  
tainly applicable.  
The opinion is one of the greatest to be made  
by America, if not condemned outright by  
most critics, is damned with but faint  
praise.

The story is of a bank clerk turned  
"Bluebeard" in order to support his invalid  
wife and his son. Each woman he marries  
he kills and then invests her savings, spend-  
ing what time he can in between his  
"business trips" with his family. His is a  
kind of voluntary Jekyll and Hyde existence:  
he adopts the trade of ladykiller in a ruth-  
less business. The history of many a big  
business is war. "I do not see how anyone  
can be an example in these times." Amuse-  
ment and sympathy are created by such  
remarks as that to his son not to pull the  
cat's tail—"You have a cruel strap in you,  
I don't know where you get it." With the  
loss of his family he retires from killing and  
"pursues his destiny" by giving himself up  
to the police and is eventually led to  
execution.

For the most part critics have been  
vociferous in their objections to the absence  
of the old Charlie. And yet is this ob-  
jection justified? It is true that he has a  
new suit, or rather several new suits, of  
clothes and that he speaks, but this has all  
happened before. It is not the least true  
that the basic Chaplin theme of the  
insularity and loneliness of the individual  
is continued in this film: it is merely given  
a new form of expression and, what is  
important, an effective and successful  
form.

As for what has been termed "the crud-  
ness of his political dogma" we leave our  
readers to judge the bias of the National

Press on this question for themselves.  
The priest who asks "he does not  
repent his sin, he repents: 'He knows what  
sin is, born as it was from heaven... and  
besides where would you be without it?'"  
And in answer to "May God have mercy on  
your soul"—"Why not? It belongs to him!"  
Extracts at least from his speech from the  
dock are worth recording...  
"For thirty-five years I worked honestly:  
after that I was not wanted... I am  
accused of being a mass murderer. Does  
not the world encourage it?... Evil is the  
shadows cast by the sun... One murder  
makes a villain, millions a hero. Numbers  
sanctify, that is the trouble."

TOBACCO ROAD (Academy).

The play of this name, although banned  
in this country, was shown in London re-  
cently at a club theatre. The film version,  
since it had passed the Censorship Board,  
was obviously not to be expected to adhere  
very closely to the original story. For all that,  
however, it is well worth seeing for the  
convincing force with which John Ford has  
filmed his half-forgotten story. The argu-  
ment of planters whose lives and land are  
wrecked and wasted by lack of finance.  
Charley Grapewin's portrait of the sly old

father is quite as good as anything of its  
type shown on the screen for a long time.  
RON LANDER.

### Controversial

## The Novelty of Being Human

THE most challenging aspect of the  
social and economic crises which fol-  
low each other with the frequency of a  
roundabout is the effect it is having  
upon the deepest responses of the human  
being. The passing of Hitler and Musso-  
lini has brought as little change in man's  
fundamental attitude to his fellow men  
as the Spanish Inquisition, the massacre  
of the Armenians and the tyrannies of  
imperial expansion. The same subordina-  
tion of man's human feelings to economic  
and social factors, disguised in the fan-  
ciful terms of democracy, necessity or post-  
war planning, is still all-prevailing. On  
issues wider than internal affairs the na-  
tional state has progressed no further than  
the discrimination of one nation against  
another. Man is man no longer. There  
are the guilty and the innocent. The  
curse of government and nationalism has  
gouged the most elementary questions  
of human oneness. Man's problems are  
no longer human problems. He is stig-  
matized in the name of United Nations'  
justice. He is enslaved to the universal  
political barometer. Hate is preached but  
never lived. Suspicion is cast but never  
unquestioning acceptance.

In an environment of this nature it is  
not unusual for man, as an individual,  
to be steered in his thoughts and actions  
along paths of a similar narrowness and  
separateness. The tendency of assuming a  
cold indifference in our everyday human  
relationships, a frustrated response when  
our emotions are called into action, is a  
direct parallel to the material situation.  
The sacrifices of man to matter is being  
ruthlessly conducted.

There is a scene in Silone's novel, *The  
Seed Beneath the Snow*, which provides in  
microcosm a form an antithesis to the  
present-day situation. For that reason  
alone it is worth quoting. The scene is  
set in a poor peasant woman, whose hus-  
band has been imprisoned, is hoeing his  
field. Finding it too fatiguing the rests  
despondently beneath a tree. A stranger  
appears and, to her surprise, commences  
hoeing where she left off. We are pre-  
sented with a picture of the poor woman  
beseeching the stranger to stop because  
she has nothing with which to repay him.  
He continues hoeing methodically and in

silence, and then departs. After his de-  
parture the people of the district hold it  
to be Christ himself.

Only Christ, in their eyes, could show  
such kindness in a society which has dealt  
with them so cruelly. It is more likely,  
however, that in these days such actions  
would be considered the whims of a  
crank, unworlly and odd because no  
profit is demanded. Sympathy and  
brotherhood are suspected virtues. Like  
any other repression the frustration of  
essential human responses, sympathy,  
brotherhood and mutual aid, brings to the  
surface the opposites of these emotions.  
All that man displays outwardly is lack  
of sympathy, lack of brotherhood, lack of  
mutual aid. To those desiring to assert  
that this is not his fundamental self one  
has to deny what is visible and apparent.  
And one has, inevitably, to blame the  
structure of society.

Many socialist writers have, of course,  
said the same thing, though not because  
of but despite their Marxism and Darwin-  
ism. Nevertheless the human factor has  
always been so incidental to the economic  
that it has never become a major issue.  
To proclaim the bare fact in its vaguest  
form is usually considered sufficient. We  
have the example of a socialist democracy  
like England in which, except for Priest-  
ley's unofficial radio talks, which are more  
appealing than uplifting, not one word is  
uttered by the government to encourage a  
change of heart and spirit. Only the  
hands are coaxed to greater efforts. The  
political leaders of Socialism have as little  
faith in a change of heart as their capi-  
talist partners. Any normal display of  
human feeling is a threat to their para-  
mountcy.

One should define the fact of being  
human in a case it is confused with the  
idea of an uninhibited aliveness. Aliveness  
is a positive projection of the spontane-  
ous desire to do. Being human is the  
delicate yet fundamental sister, showing  
itself in heart and mind, giving the  
emotion an intuitive rightness. Grief,  
laughter and tears, sympathy and con-  
siderateness, when not derived from the  
superficial conditioning of conventional  
behaviour, are looked upon as abnormali-  
ties. Pity for the suffering, when the suf-  
fering are in conflict with state institutions,  
is a punishable crime. To help the fugi-

(Continued on page 7)

## The Novelty of Being Human

(Continued from page 6)

tive, succour the criminal, weep for the  
enemy, are major offences. Everything in  
society appears to have taken sides instead  
of unanimously being human.

All the same what a happy day when  
all the arenas of the world are sabota-  
ged. Yet who would shelter the  
saboteurs?

Walt Whitman could no more embrace  
a stranger in England with the intimate  
dignity of being a fellow human than he  
could in his nineteenth century capitalist  
democracy. Such informality and inti-  
macy would most likely lead to a pro-  
secution under an indecency act. Yet,  
among the most primitive West African  
tribes, men walk hand in hand with the  
unassuming naïveté of children.

His songs would have had a more sym-  
pathetic hearing among such people than  
among our own society.

In illustrating the suppression of human  
feeling one is faced with a contradiction.  
To quote from the major social catastro-  
phes is to present a picture too vast for  
individual comprehension. Mass fears,  
mass efforts to self preservation, mass re-  
sistance to propaganda are, most often,  
the motive forces. The individual is  
without a name. It is only in the tiny  
yet all important personal sphere, that  
one can illustrate human responses. The  
single example, the parable of Christ's  
Samaritan who helped the injured man  
after the priest and the Levite had passed  
by without stopping is most impressive.  
The relief of Maitland or the dropping  
of the atom bomb. The mind is  
able to relieve it and therefore profit by it.  
One of the few events of the First World  
War that cut across governmental anta-  
gonisms was the instance of a football  
match between Germans and Allies played  
in No Man's Land. As a human victory  
it takes precedence to Verdun and Ypres.  
To those who believe in an anthropo-  
morphic god, the Charlie Chaplin of  
the film should be closer to him than the  
Pope.

The universal advance against the indi-  
vidual continues while the human word  
and the human act are outlawed. One  
of the potential war centres is Palestine  
where groups of individuals calling them-  
selves Jews are trying to settle. Argu-  
ments are produced for and against the  
migration. Yet the fundamental argu-  
ment, which is the right of people to  
settle wherever they desire, is overruled.  
Problems reduced to human terms are  
problems no longer. Problems elevated

to a political or social status defy solution.  
Man is quite forgotten. It is not surpris-  
ing that he has forgotten himself, too.

Here one can consider the unbridgeable  
gulf between the fortunate and unfortu-  
nate, rich and poor, those defeated by  
force of arms and those successful, those  
Allied by their ideals and opinions,  
those who are sneered at because they  
shed tears instead of being icily indiffer-  
ent. Unending are the examples. On a  
country road the shining limousine speeds  
smoothly past the tired tramp. Only the  
woodchopper in his antiquated Ford will  
think of offering him a lift. And the  
tramp, seldom knowing kindness, will feel  
embarrassed and indebted. We are so far  
from being human that charity is often  
resented.

At good citizens of England we are  
ordered show no sympathy to German  
prisoners. The single beauty of some of  
their sad and sordid lives, that of being  
in love with a woman of the militarily  
successful, is a punishable offence. The  
wives and mothers of English army  
deserters face a prison sentence for not  
informing on them to the police. Voices  
raised in objection are called traitors,  
sentimentalists, fifth columnists and bad  
Englishmen. But never had man, as a  
being, Christ the man, if you like, one  
would not be allowed two consecutive  
nights under one's own roof. And cer-  
tainly one would be refused admission into  
a church.

Society is being urged forward without  
the guidance of a single human principle.  
All that is offered is material sufficiency,  
security from war, and a full day's work  
—all of which are quite impossible when  
the only factor that can achieve their  
smooth integration is denied, the applica-  
tion of the human force.

Whether society survives is of secondary  
importance to the question of whether  
man can survive. The scene to-day  
promises that we shall evolve into a  
new type of man, a new type of states-  
men, churchmen and scientists. One way  
in which the individual can combat this  
cumulative encroachment upon his in-  
tegrity is by the force of personal example.  
An uncompromising refusal to ignore the  
appeals to one's higher sensibility. It de-  
mands, too, a recognition of the fact that  
most of the responses which to-day are  
considered dangerous, odd and nancyfied  
are really associated to the highest of  
moral values.

CHARLES HUMANA.

### THERE IS A FUTURE IN TRADE-UNIONISM

Salaries on a capitalist scale are being  
paid to trade union leaders who have  
been given jobs with the Transport  
Commission.

Receiving £5000 each are Mr. John  
Benstead, general secretary of the National  
Union of Railwaymen, and Mr. W. P.  
Allen, general secretary of the Associated  
Society of Locomotive Engineers and  
Firemen. For each of them it is more  
than a £3000 rise above his trade union  
salary level.

Whole-time members of the Com-  
mission's London Transport executive  
include Mr. John Cliffe, former assistant  
secretary of the Transport Workers'  
Union. His new salary is £3500.

Nor are these salaries all. Expenses are  
to be added. The amount? "Not yet  
fixed" is the official Ministry statement  
to Parliament.

Evening Standard, 11/11/47.

### GOOD-BYE TO ORANGE JUICE

Lubricated with orange-juice and dry  
martinis, lighted with brilliant fluores-  
cence, well fed and well warmed, the  
United Nations rapidly acquired a  
taste for life in New York. Now that the  
suggestion has again been raised that the  
next Assembly might be held in Europe—  
in Paris or Geneva—the lights of Man-  
hattan gleam a little more brightly in  
delegates' eyes, the lure of warm hotel  
rooms and of well-filled shops pulls a  
little more strongly.

Where else could every one of these  
comforts be found? Where else—for one  
thing—could the Delegates' Bar get not  
only unlimited quantities of liquor but  
also its daily ration of eighteen gallons  
of orange juice, its five gallons of tomato  
juice?

Observer, 9/11/47.

### WHERE IS THAT HOUSING SHORTAGE?

For a sum in the region of £40,000,  
Sir John Leigh has bought Juniper Hill,  
the home of the late Lord Bennett, at  
Mickleham, in Surrey.  
Sir John Leigh, a cotton millionaire,  
lives only 18 miles away, at Witley Park,  
Godalming. He also has a house in  
Berkeley-square, and a place in Inverness-  
shire. Two years ago he bought an entire  
block near Oxford-circus for about  
£250,000 as an investment.

Evening Standard, 18/11/47.

### CAPITALIST PUSSIES

In Camden, N.J., two tomatos, Pitty  
Sing and Budgie, were formally adjudged  
the beneficiaries of the \$36,000 estate of  
Sarah Y. Furber, a retired schoolmarm.  
Time (U.S.A.), 17/11/47.

### VOTE—WHAT FOR?

In Schuylkill Haven, Pa., voters were  
disconcerted to learn that they had  
elected to their borough council a John  
McHarty, Republican, who did not exist.  
Time (U.S.A.), 17/11/47.

### THAT LABOUR SHORTAGE (I)

In Windsor Great Park is the Royal  
School which the Prince Consort started  
102 years ago to ensure that the Royal  
Household never ran short of properly  
educated servants.

### THAT LABOUR SHORTAGE (II)

Twenty-five embroideresses worked on  
Princess Elizabeth's and of her bridesmaids'  
dresses in two months. The actual  
working hours were 1,020 hours on the  
wedding train, 950 on the dress, and 440  
on each bridesmaid's dress.

News Chronicle, 20/11/47.

### APPEAL TO GALLAGHER

I will be frank with you when I say  
that my desire to see the British Com-  
munist Party assert itself a bit is not  
because I have suddenly seen the light  
according to Karl Marx, but because I  
believe it to be a fact that Great Britain  
does require some more help from the  
U.S.A. as soon as possible.

Leaving aside the Marshall Plan, which  
is still suspended in the uncertainties of  
1948, there is no doubt that the amount  
of immediate assistance which any dem-  
ocratic country receives from the U.S.A. is  
directly dependent upon the apparent  
activities in the country of the Communist  
Party.

It is impossible to over-estimate the  
value which the Communist Party in  
France and Italy have been to M.  
Ramadier and M. de Gasperi in their  
successful attempts to obtain immediate  
help from the U.S.A. But what about  
us? We are not even in the queue!  
And whose fault is that?

Yours, Mr. Gallagher. You have let  
down your country; you have failed to  
alarm either the British, which is under-  
standable, or the Americans, which is  
deplorable and inexcusable.

King-Hall in the Leader, 8/11/47.

News Chronicle, 13/11/47.

## Letters to the Editors

### Eleven and a half years in a U.S. goal

Washington,  
Benighted States of America.

COMRADES,

Greetings and solidarity. Liberation  
has at last descended on this your slave  
after 11½ years in Washington State  
Penitentiary for the "crime" of second  
degree burglary—that is, taking food from  
the rich to feed the poor. Specifically,  
and children food from a rich farmer's  
cellar to feed some starving WPA women  
and children who were on relief during  
the starvation thirties—that is, in the last  
depression, not this one coming on now!

I recall the days of Comrade Frank  
Leech's stay in Berlin Prison, and how  
little did he know then that a comrade  
over here in the "Arsenal of Democracy"  
(sic!) was serving eighteen years for  
harbouring the same beliefs and, though  
thousands of miles away, a feeling of  
solidarity went out from me to him. Oh,  
yes, I failed to mention that it was not  
for being a modern Robin Hood, i.e.,  
taking a bit of food from the rich to feed  
the poor, that I was sentenced to serve  
such a monstrous sentence—but for being  
a sympathizer (a fellow-traveller, the  
judge quipped) of that grandest of all  
organizations, the Industrial Workers of  
the World. Mind you, now, not even a  
member!

So I was sentenced in reality for my  
beliefs and not for what I did, and thus  
it was that I acquired the title "Rebel  
Joe" even in prison, and when you read  
one of those solidarity letters through the  
war, I was firmly told that under no  
conditions would I be allowed to send in  
the required contribution to those  
"damned anarchists".

At last the bridge bit is taken out of  
my mouth. I can now say, "My, the  
time is so much to tell that I cannot possibly  
tell all at this writing for my one "good"  
eye already begins to fail me.

One item should be told before con-  
cluding. Through the war for four or  
forty freedoms we prisoners were given"  
an opportunity to earn money. My, the  
time is so much to tell that I cannot possibly  
tell all at this writing for my one "good"  
eye already begins to fail me.

REBEL JOE HUNSINGER.

Solidarity until the workers of the  
world break their chains. Congratulations  
for a courageous paper and let us all  
finish Capitalism ere it finishes us!

REBEL JOE HUNSINGER.

THE PRICE OF HONESTY

So high were the principles of Judge  
Yoshitada Yamaguchi that he could not  
patronise the Black Market.

He resolved to support his family on  
his legal salary and his legal ration. He  
died of tuberculosis and malnutrition.

The story of the struggle between  
principle and an empty stomach emerged  
when his diary was published in the Tokio  
newspapers.

The diary subsisted on thin soup,  
giving the legal ration to his family. He  
even refused food sent from a farming  
area by his father-in-law, turning it over  
to his hungry famat class—our guests.

To his wife's pleas that they sell some  
personal belongings and buy food on the  
Black Market, he replied: "How can  
one who judges others do any black-  
marketing?"

Last March extreme malnutrition set in.  
In August, Yamaguchi collapsed. A  
doctor told him he had tuberculosis. He  
was taken to the home of his father-in-  
law. But even there he refused to eat  
anything from the Black Markets.

In mid-October, still clinging to his  
principles, Judge Yamaguchi died.  
His widow, telling reporters about it,  
lamented: "It is horrible these days to be  
married to an honest man."

Sunday Dispatch, 9/11/47.

SPIV OR GENIUS?

A little point that seems to have been  
overlooked in the Minister of Labour's  
"spivs and drones" direction Order is  
that a very important class—our geniuses,  
who are seldom "gainfully employed"—  
will almost certainly do very badly when  
presenting their objections as required to  
an umpire.

I have been checking over some prece-  
dents to illustrate the types who might be  
expected to be floored.

Tennyson waited ten years after leaving  
university before publishing "In Memor-  
iam" to the Duke of Argyll, and un-  
doubtedly he was not even in the queue  
for a man's shelter. The Brontës and Jane  
Austen lived on their parents. Goldsmith  
sponged in a state of happy genius on his  
relatives.

Bernard Shaw has explained that while  
writing his novels "I