The British are not going to complete the Jewish demonstrations from taking place. ample is Dovedale which is to be turned enough to prevent any real popular uprising before the Jewish and Arab administrations are set up.

Anglo-Saxon oil interests in the Middle

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.I.

Please Note: In view of the holidays there will be no lecture on the 21st and 28th December. "Religion and Anarchism"

N.E. LONDON ANARCHIST

At Flat 3, 43, New Wanstead (Nr. Green Man, E.II)

"The Problem of Trieste." MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP The lecture by J. H. H. Moorhouse an nounced for Nov. 30th was cancelled owin to fog. New date as follows:

"Anarchism and Health." Coopers Hall, Shaw Street, Liverpool 7.30 p.m.

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CENTRAL HALLS, BATH ST. will be held every Sunday evening. Preston Clements, John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Eddie Shaw.

a Discussion Group in the Addlestone area should write to:

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Constance Stork, 55, Byron Road, Addlestone, Surrey.

___ LEEDS AREA

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Those interested in the formation of a Discussion Group should contact: Anthony Earnshaw,

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The Antwerp Conference

NTOTHING could have shown more Clearly than the Antwerp Conference of European Socialist Parties the complete of war, both in 1914 and 1939. t during times of peace. Now even that showed the impossibility of creating every party represented was concerned primarily with nationalist aims.

The Socialist parties of the Slav countries pattern of intrigues and low rivalry over case applies equally to cases of homoissues which no-one with any knowledge sexuality being tried every day in British would imagine to be the concern of view, and inverts get incredibly high socialists. The Antwerp conference was prison sentences. These are often accomnot an attempt at international working- panied by the comment that in priclass co-operation; it was merely one more the invert will receive proper medical care,

Waste of the Land

for the Preservation of Rural England and the Town and Country Planning Association brought forward evidence which revealed once again the vast areas of this country which are appropriated to the completely unproductive uses of the services departments. Altogether, at the less than 850,000 acres (about 1,300

During the past fortnight we have GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP | sent out postcards to more than 300 readers whose subscriptions either fall due this month or expired some months ago. We urge those of our renewal to do so without delay-and at the same time, if they have anything to spare, not to forget the Comrades interested in the formation of Press Fund. Are we being too optimistic in hoping that the £350 mark will be reached by the end of the year? Meanwhile, our thanks to those comrades and friends whose initials appear below!

Press Fund

November 21st—December 3rd Merriott: M.W. 3/-; Yarmouth: L.F.B. 8/-; | conscription laws provide—for the first | "voluntary" organisation. Bordon: E.W. 5/-; Glasgow: S.M. 3/-; Anon time-for the calling-up of Bedouins, It will be remembered how the civil Have you received a Renewal | Angeles: "Man" Group (per J.S.) £5/0/0; thousanth Mohammed Sayed Mohammed feeling of security regarding air-raids. It Newmarket: T.E. 1/6; Fulham: W.E.D. 6/-; who failed to answer his call-up papers. is therefore evident that the revival of

waste the land and keep the people from

Homosexuality and the Law

When Lieut. Lord Colwyn pleaded guilty at a Chelsea court-martial last week to five charges under Section 41 of the Army Act, the first alleging that he had immitted a gross indecency and that he specialist in psychiatry, said that he had examined Lord Colwyn since his return

Asked what would be the likely effect on Lord Colwyn if he were sent to prison,

present law chooses to regard as criminal. In addition to this, many psychologists psychological condition, and some even consider it as not being pathological.

The Criminal Justice Bill ignores this

Conscription in Egypt

forcing the new military conscription laws. "The Egyptian Ministry of the Interior has issued strict instructions

to Governorates and Provinces to enforce the new conscription law. it stresses that so far 79,841 young men | machinations under a tinsel veil. have failed to appear at the recruiting

Egyptian Mail, 12/11/47. city was the fact that the government are 27, Red Lion Street, W.C.1.

The note criticises "vigilance by the organisation, and that arrangements are

This may be yet one more unenforce--; Glasgow: A.McD. 3/-; London: R.M. able law, which can be defeated by non-6: Bristol: J.S.R. 2/6: Esher: R.T. 1/6: co-operation. Particularly if Egypt's youth in the cities devoted its time to ations of 1938 later became compulsory demonstrations against militarism and and played a very important part in the £10 9 9 nationalism, as well as foreign im- war-time regimentations of the people. £310 10 0 perialism, instead of useless and futile It is significant that "voluntary" civil displays of childishness against foreigners, defence should re-emerge just in time to £320 19 9 university rectors and temporarily unpopular Ministers of State.



We don't need kind carried their chauvinism so far as to oppose the presence of the German socialists. And so on—a whole tawdry The statement by the psychiatrist in this The statement by the psychiatrist in this

thing, while we die of starvation. practically starves to death. The Nazi criminals in their "Don't be angry about this

and free socialist, was im- forgotten. We don't need kind searched time and again. From are falling apart." 1934 to 1936 I was in prison Germany. and concentration camp. In 1939 I was imprisoned again The above letter is typical of because of illegal activities and many we receive from comrades refusal of military service, fol- in Germany. It says more than lowed by transfer to Dachau, we could do in the most eloquent where I was liberated only in appeal. Help us by sending food

THINGS TO COME?

THE great red-herring of the Royal wedding was of much value to the These instructions were given follow- government, in that it helped to distract ing receipt by the Ministry of a note people's minds from essentials and to most needy cases among our from the Defence Ministry in which cover, for the time being, its own German comrades. One of the important pieces of news old clothes, to Freedom Press, which was in this way given little publi-

authorities concerned" but since the new | being made to set up a part-time /-; Hornschurch: P.W. 10/-; Denver: R.B. hitherto exempt, it can be imagined what defence organisations were utilised before Postal Subscription Rates Ashington: C.W.D. 10/-; Liverpool: a job the authorities concerned have in the last war to make people used to the G.I. 10/-; Leicester: A.M.S. -/6; Los searching the deserts for the ten idea of war, and also to give them a false such activity is intended as the

> preparation for another war. More than this, it will also be remembered that the "voluntary" ARP organistake its part in another drive to regiment the people and limit its freedom

"Who to-day cares about us, room without any fuel, without who have been in prisons and food, and starve even more than concentration camps for many during the concentration camp

years? We are being ignored, years. My nerves are finished. we are being sabotaged, and "Comrade S- who was silence envelopes us and every- in a concentration camp for 12 thing libertarian. Beautiful, years has cancer of the stomach, cheap speeches are made, which and can eat hardly anything that do not oblige anybody to do any- gets allocated in his ration and

camps receive far better food begging letter, but you wanted facts. I cannot lie. We see how "Since 1918 I have stood in Nazis receive parcels as if on a the front line as an anti-militarist moving belt, while we have been prisoned several times between words, but food to keep alive. 1922 and 1933, had my house We have no socks and our shoes S.F., Frieburg.

and money for posting parcels, to "To-day, I sit in a freezing Freedom Press, where comrades will make up parcels for German anarchists. We send all we can, but there are so many like the writer of the above letter that we need every scrap of rationed food you can send even to supply the

Please send your food, cash,

deciding to set up a new civil defence FREEDOM Anarchist Fortnightly Price 2d. 6 months 4/6 (U.S.A. \$1) 12 months 8/6 (U.S.A.) \$2) Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies, 6 months 7/6 (\$1.50) 12 months 15/- (\$3) All Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers

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"Neither your country, nor humanity, neither you nor your class—the workers gain anything by war. It is only the big financiers and capitalists who profit by it." ALEXANDER

BERKMAN.

December 13th, 1947

Anarchists reject Molotov Strikes Government but advocate Workers' Control

TURING the past two weeks the appear as senseless manifestations which the factories, the direct exchange of Foreign Ministers in London have merely served to strengthen the hand of devoted a few hours a day to discussing reaction. the share of their respective countries in the spoils of the second world war.

The impression created was that the factories and streets of France. It was having to fight Stalin's battles. If they level of production, which disorganise Moscow's way of showing that, if it was struck to defend their own interests the transport of food and make transinfluence of the other great Powers.

The sensationalist Press described the agitation as a revolutionary struggle (a much abused expression these days) and as an attempt by the Communists to seize power. After several weeks of struggle against the Government, the Communists have not seized power and, at the moment of writing, they seem to have lost considerable ground.

There is no evidence, however, that the Communist Party intended to carry out a full-fledged insurrection. It is more likely that the agitation was considered a suitable back-cloth for the negotiations carried out in London.

True, the Communists staged a stayin strike in the French Assembly, but they behaved more like naughty schoolchildren determined to give their master a bad time, than dangerous revolutionaries. It is reekoned that, during one session, the Marseillaise was sung eight times, the Internationale twelve times and an old song calling to soldiers not to fire on strikers twenty-two times. The President of the Assembly used demonstrators were being bludgeoned but it is evident that the direction of by the police, fired upon by the troops and put in jail.

Outside Parliament the agitation was organised with that disregard for human sufferings and lives which characterises marked the beginning of the wave of strikes which we see to-day, took

Acts of sabotage (some may have place at Marseilles, on the morrow been the work of agents provocateurs of the municipal elections which indias the C.P. asserts), and the use of arms and explosives, might have had their justification if they had been the prelude to revolution. As it was, they de Gaulle.

are not opposed to violence when it is tarnished prestige, they condemn it as bringing unnecessary suffering to the

propriation of the capitalist class. That putting power into the hands of is why they advocate the occupation of working-class.

ing on behalf of Soviet imperialism.

In a movement that is at once com-

plex and changing, we must be

the movement of strikes lies in the

In fact, the first incidents which

cated the rapid advance of the Union

of French People, the party of General

hands of the Stalinist machine.

cautious of any schematic explanation,

goods between the countryside and the community, i.e., without collecting fares. This would be a truly revolutionary agitation which would give workers persons found guilty of offences, inconfidence in their power to run production, distribution and transport through their own independent organisations. It would receive the support of | was given a second reading in the the whole population (except for the House of Commons recently. Two French and Italian workers have small privileged minority), who resent

as far as their leaders allow them to strikes", the French Anarchist movemanagement of industry. These are the Anarchists believe that strikes must strikes which will deal the heaviest blow prepare the workers for the ultimate ex- to capitalism and political parties by

By Our French Correspondent

Party. (The increase in tramway fares

had been accepted by the outgoing

Communist mayor, Christofol. But the

same Christofol took the lead in th

demonstration against the new Gaullist

mayor, to protest against the increase.)

COMMUNIST ADVENTURE

political one animated by the Communist the whole of the enterprise or office.

port difficult and even dangerous.

Hanging

cluding adolescent offenders and in 1946, cases of rape from 99 to 251. oubtedly received most attention particularly in the Press. Actually Government takes the view that the

those years were 97 and 138 and the "crimes of felonious wounding and malicious wounding" 1990 and 3,009 respectively. Cases of robbery with violence rose from 287 in 1938 to 921

In the debate that followed Mr. Sydney ilverman clearly summed-up the Home crease in violent crime. "Corporal punishcrime. The only thing that has happened Secretary were based on the statistics corporal punishment and not capital relevant issues of Hansard, it would appear that when a vote is taken at the Bill's third reading in the Spring, there put it-than in 1938. Meanwhile, every effort must be made to influence public opinion, because if public pressure does not succeed next year it will be many years before the disgusting practice is ev-

discussed again. AFTER a week of strikes which Following the increase in tramway the other hand they knew the extreme We have only briefly discussed the have tended to become general, fares, the CGT called a protest strike. difficulty of working-class life, the conhave tended to become general, lares, the CGT called a protest strike.

it is not always possible to determine During the demonstration the police tinued increase in the cost of living and intention, between now and next Spring, the ridiculous scale of wages. to deal at considerable length with the They therefore abandoned all their whole question of Crime and Punishment. Communist organisations are follow- police court, the detained militants political phraseology in the meetings and This will include the anarchist position so were liberated by the working class conferences of workers and spoke entirely far as the problem of "crime" is concrowd. In the afternoon, a second of claims. In most of the unions, no dis- cerned as well as a detailed discussion of demonstration took place, this time after a speech by the secretary or the of the proposed Bill. cussion took place. Votes were taken the existing methods and the significance

directed against the new mayor and representative of the Federation, always | Meanwhile, as food for thought these municipal council, with a Gaullist a Communist. In doubtful cases, the vote are some of the figures quoted by the

was taken by a show of hands, to exert Home Secretary. In 1938, 78,000 people pressure on the timid, but it was taken | were found guilty of indictable offences. We thus see, right from the beginning, by secret ballot where they were sure of In 1945, the corresponding figure was the dual character of the movement, on a majority; the strikes were started in 115,000. In 1938, the prison and Borstal one side that of claims backed up by the services or workshops with Communist population was 11,086. In 1947, that majority of the workers, on the other a majorities, if the vote was unfavourable in number has risen to 18,426. One final point without comment. In

1938, when abolition of Capital punishment was proposed, Mr. Ede, the present Home Secretary, was one of the M.P.'s who voted in favour and Sir Samuel workers with some understanding of Hoare, Home Secretary at the time, was opposed. To-day, their votes are reversed. Sir Samuel Hoare, now Viscount Temple-According to their pro-governmental wood, writing in the Observer (9/11/47) leanings, their trade union or political regretted the Government's hesitation in aims, these minorities showed them- not giving a lead "upon so grave an selves in various ways. The best-known | issue". "In 1938, I doubted the wisdom and most publicised, is the "Workers' of including the abolition of Capital Strength" tendency, led by Jouhaux, the Punishment in the Bill. Since then, the secretary-general of the C.G.T., by savage executions that have disgraced Botherau, Capocci and Neumeyer, all old | Europe have convinced me that the time leaders of the C.G.T. before 1936, at has come for us to give a conspicuous the time when trade union unity was not example of our detestation of brutal punishments and to abolish a sentence "Workers' Strength" represents in that cannot reform and does not seem

BUSINESS AS USUAL

While Molotov accuses the United

the government Socialists provokes in the States of preparing a war against the The conflicts opened out with diffi- working-class a feeling of distrust towards U.S.S.R., and Mr. Harold Stassen, who culty because of the initial political this minority which too often supports a is seeking nomination as the Republican candidate for the Presidency next year, that it was all a gesture of ill-temper by But the feeling of hatred against the wants the United States to stop America e Communists after their setback in the Communists sometimes carries them away, I from exporting materials which could aid ections, or they were suspicious that it and some rank-and-file militants do not Russia's military preparations, trade bewas an instruction which had resulted hesitate to take up a position against a | tween the two countries is improving. from the creation of the Cominform, or strike which they regard and denounce as Imports to the United States from Russia have rapitily increased in the past few struggle after having for two years On the other hand, lack of programme | months and roughly balance the exports

NATIONALISATION OF THE RAILWAYS

and will be merged under a Railway merely rubber-stamped the recommend port Commission. The same pattern is to be followed as for the nationalisation of The Transport Commission announce keep their positions; the workers will find the railwaymen directly, will still be

N the 1st January, the four main line by the executive managers and the high railways will cease to be capitalist financiers who formed the board concerns in the nominal sense of the word, directors, while the directors themselves Executive responsible to the new Trans- ations of the general manager and his

the mines. The shareholders will be com- that no changes in personnel are likely to categories. pensated by guaranteed bonds, with a take place for a long time, and, morefixed rate of interest which will safe- over, it retains only the power of making guard them from the vicissitudes of vary- major policy decisions, so that all the ing dividends; the old managers will matters of working detail, which affect themselves saddled with the same bosses, decided by the old bureaucrats. And any and the trade unions will sit pretty and long experience of railway working betray their members in the same way as teaches one that the average railway boss knows less about the practical problems of railway working than the ordinary pas-To anyone who, like the writer of this senger guard or goods checker. In almost a few years of too-close experience, it is between the managers and the actual evident that this change will mean very practical work. The new order evidently

When the successive strikes, at first factories, then extending to the whole of

exactly what are the ends which the proceeded to make arrests. At the

the union, leaping from one industry to another, had begun to move, under political slogans—against the Ramadier government, against the "American' party, against Yankee imperialism-they became transformed gradually, as they reached a new strata of workers, and became strictly economic, claiming 25% increase in wages, a quarterly revision of wage rates, better food, etc. In the course of the struggle, new demands were added s as to form an endless list, sufficient to posed on the one hand of trade officials, satisfy all tendencies, all hopes, all and on the other hand of a working-class

Initial Distrust

character. The workers at first believed reactionary ministry. note, knows the railway bureaucracy from no other industry is there so wide a gulf they were astonished at these slogans of political.

little difference. Already, in the early means to keep this situation, which But the Stalinists showed that they Strength" tendency makes its partisans | The imports from Russia include large 1930's, the administration of the railways' merely results in continued inefficiency possessed an extremely strong position in less effective than the old Stalinist foxes. | amounts of essential strategic metals had developed into a typical managerial and waste, and perpetuates low wages, the heart of the United States needs for its own organisation. The annual shareholders, bad working conditions, and atrocious councils, of the depart- into all the tricks of moving crowds. | military programme. Trade knows no

basis, mostly in the provinces, and much more to the "left". The close contact

general the reformist tendency. It is com- on the available evidence to deter."

between the leaders of this movement and

Reformist Minority

the situation, the various unions made

efforts which were often difficult.

To resist this new line, and to furnish

listened to appeals for peace and work. and combativeness of the "Workers' to that country.

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

IT is a strange paradox that apparently obscure issues often generate same time B. S. Chetverikov, the pioneer mathematical laws." He denounces the biological science; there is no reactionary more repercussions than ones which seem much more important. A cause Efroimson were sent to Siberia and modern genetics, because Mendel was a is the role of Zhebrak!" is often successfully defended by the most trivial irrelevancies—as when nothing was heard of them for fifteen monk (he becomes a "clerical reaction-General Franco's courtesies towards the Gibraltar fox hunters did more to years. In 1935 the first two geneticists ary"), while that of the great American awkward role of countering his fellow win him support among British upper social circles than all the propaganda I. J. Agol and L. P. Ferry were put to geneticist Morgan is "fascistic", and tarred geneticist Darlington's exposure and the of his official apologists; but it can also be very severely damaged by evidence death. which at first sight might appear of very slender weight. The implications Moscow, S. G. Levit, was put to death appeal to authority—Marx, Darwin, on Nature and Nurture on the B.B.C. of the new "Soviet Genetics" bids fair to be an example of the latter kind. and at the same time probably Avdoulov. Michurin (a Russian plant breeder of no Third Programme on 30th November.

attacked in Pravda (Sept. 2nd); a series ing to Darlington, in a second article in peared in the Stalinist Modern Quarterly July 31st, 1941, he was taken out of one (9th October); and Professor J. B. S. of the solitary condemned cells in the Haldane, himself an eminent geneticist Butyrki prison and put in a larger cell and a member of the Communist Party, with nineteen other political prisoners, has introduced a veiled but cautious whether on account of lack of space, or defence of the official Soviet geneticist with a view to exile in Siberia is unknown. T. D. Lysenko in a talk on the Third When the Moscow prisons were evacuated Programme. It looks, therefore, as if in December, 1941, he was removed in seriously enough in Soviet quarters.

Destruction of Vavilov's

Russian genetic circles is chiefly owing to 1942 was elected a Foreign Member of the posthumous paper to appear two articles by Cyril Darlington, F.R.S., Royal Society. This international acclaim Journal of Genetics. In 1942, not only prominent animal physiologist to Ashby: as Director of the John Innes Horticul- shared with most of the distinguished the fighting' so it was said). At about tural Institute. The same facts are treated geneticists of the West were the object this time J. J. Kerkis, the Drosophila by Eric Ashby, a scientist who spent a of attack and covert slander of a political geneticist, disappeared following a party considerable time in Russia and enjoyed nature directed by T. D. Lysenko (who cell intrigue and Levitzky was finally sent a Penguin entitled Scientist in Russia. Academy of Agricultural Sciences) and his At about this time also N. K. Koltzov, sophical implications of the facts they are What immediately underlines the import- pupil, Prezent. In 1940, Vavilov was the cytologist and doyen of Russian ance of Darlington's articles is the res- arrested in Rumania whither he had been biology, died and his widow committed ponse they have evoked in Soviet circles. sent by the Russian government, and was suicide. After the publication of the first, "A dismissed from his executive posts. He "In a word, after thirteen years of per-Revolution in Soviet Science", in was condemned to death on the charge secution, the great fellowship of Russian as "scurrilous fables", "mischievous Discovery in February last, he has been of espionage for Great Britain. Accordof articles on Soviet Genetics have ap- the Nineteenth Century for October, "on

> camp near Saratov. There he died." Darlington summarizes the campaign against other Russian geneticists as

distressing conditions to a concentration

Stalinist invective. The freedom of the lution, had been crushed and broken." scientist in Russia was triumphantly in-Official Support of Lysenko ferred from the opposition to Lysenko's Vavilov's crime was that he worked views expressed by an eminent Russian along the familiar lines of science, biologist, Zhebrak. Unfortunately, Lysenko owes his eminent position in the Zhebrak's opposition is about as con-Russian hierarchy (he is a Hero of vincing evidence of scientific freedom in Socialist Labour and a Vice-President of Russia as Matteotti's outspoken criticisms the Supreme Soviet) to the fact that he of Fascism were of political freedom in has made himself a propagandist for dia- the Italy of 1924. For he is already lectical materialism as the exclusive under fire, and an article in Pravda philosophy of Soviet Science. His views (quoted in the Manchester Guardian of were officially supported by the State September 26th) states: "Zhebrak as a Dept. of Agriculture. When other Soviet scientist should have unmasked the scientists have been unable to repeat his class meaning of the struggle which is experiments he accuses them of malicious taking place around questions of genetics. "The first victims were in 1932 when faking, of subservience to "bourgeois But, blinded by bourgeois prejudices, by Revolution, research in genetics was G. A. Levitzky the cytologist and his science". His results will not withstand detestable fawning on bourgeois science, directed by Nicolai Ivanovitch Vavilov, a pupil N. P. Avdoulov, were sent to statistical analysis, so his retort is that he has adopted the attitude of the enemy's scientist who achieved world-wide dis- labour camps. Vavilov asked Stalin for "we biologists do not want to submit to camp . . . It turns out there is a sotinction. At the International Genetics their release, a request which was tem- blind chance . . . we maintain that called pure science for Zhebrak Congress at Edinburgh in 1939, he was porarily and grudgingly granted. At the biological irregularities do not resemble appears that there is no progressive Soviet

institute for medical genetic research in Lysenko silences all critics by a slavish he proceeded indirectly to do in a talk

Significance Of This Controversy

Darlington obviously thought very highly of Vavilov—as did geneticists nerally when they elected him President of the Edinburgh Congress, and the Royal Society when it honoured him in 1942. Darlington is clearly motivated by the entirely admirable feeling of solidarity with a persecuted colleague. Whether Lysenko's theories are valid is not important here. That these men should have been killed for heresy is far the most significant fact of the whole proceedings. And despite the English Stalinist chorus, Pravda does not attempt to deny that these men have been killed. Darlington's opponents rely simply on abuse, and reference to an account by Hudson and Richens of the theoretical questions in the "new genetics" which, of course, does not deal with the political aspects, and therefore doesn't mention them.

But the significance goes deeper than mpathy and indignation. Soviet scientists are being isolated from the West and increasing nationalist stress is being placed on Soviet scientific work, just as it was in Nazi Germany. There is a definite retreat from the internationalism of science. Pravda in the above quoted extract refers to "progressive Soviet biological science", and the business is carried to absurd lengthsas when Ermoliva is referred to as the discoverer of "Soviet" Penicillin, though it is admitted that Fleming discovered it too (but not the fact that his discovery was made some dozen or more years earlier). The same line was taken by Professor Palladin and the Russian delegation to the recent Physiological Congress held in Oxford. They refused to speak in any other language than Russian, because to have done so "would have been an insult to the Soviet Union". "This episode showed," said Professor Palladin in an article published in Russia, "how great is the responsibility of Soviet scientists towards their people . . . and how important it is never for a moment to yield on points affecting our national honour and dignity; nor must we ever

In this rejection of the scientific results achieved in the West and retreat into nationalism, one is reminded of Stalin's remark as he embraced the Japanese Foreign Secretary, Matsouka, in 1940, "After all, we are both Orientals!"

tolerate any kind of toadying to the

Unfortunately, the destruction of Soviet genetics will be eagerly used by the propagandists of future war with Russia, and it is as well to remember that the subjection of science to the State has gone on apace in the West also. For that is what the secrecy surrounding penicillin during the war amounts to; what the secrecy surrounding the atomic bomb signifies in the post-war epoch. Darlington's exposure provides a rallying point for an international affirmation of the internationalism of knowledge; but with the West suffering from incipient scientific nationalism, there is not much hope of a cure for the advanced disease manifested by the Soviet Union coming from that

MICHARI BARUNIN

TINLIKE Proudhon or Marx, the two other great radical figures of his time, Michael Bakunin, characterised by none other than Peter Kropotkin as the founder of modern anarchism, never bequeathed to his followers a more or less systematic body of ideas; indeed, it was Kropotkin himself who, drawing on his extensive reading and scientific training, established the principles of the anarchist movement of to-day. However, what Bakunin did was of no trifling nature: fragments of theory, inspired orations and letters of gargantuan length helped spread anarchism throughout Europe. Even more important perhaps was the example of his life, a life which, in the words of Otto Ruhle, the biographer of Marx, marked him as "one of the most brilliant, heroic and fascinating of revolutionists the world has ever known."

As a child Bakunin received a liberal education from his father and tutors, who were guided by the precepts of Rousseau's Emile, but in 1852, after the death of Alexander I, the Decembrist uprising took place in Petersburg, and the elderly landowner, frightened at the reaction which followed, sought to dispel dangerous ideas from his son's mind by enrolling him in the Tsar's letters home trying to counteract parental authority over purpose in whose name they take place." disciplined power, unquiet, excitable, deep-seated spiritual of correction". This association was short-lived, however, unrest, incessant striving for some distant goal, dis- for Weitling was arrested for stepping on the religious not but find it impossible to breath freely in the stagnating was found among the prisoner's papers, the Russian his son settling down to a respectable oblivion, Bakunin to obey a call to return home, he was condemned in departed for Berlin to court the Hegelian system at its absence to a loss of his inheritance and exile to Siberia,

First Essay

0

Under the spell still of orthodox Hegelianism, flying rational is real, and that which is real is rational" there he brought his worldly possessions of a single trunk, activities, but Caussidiere, the revolutionary Prefect of Bakunin had not yet changed intellectually from being a folding bed and a zinc wash-basin, relying for funds on Police, is said to have exclaimed: "What a man! In conscious, though, he had broken with his traditions, and revolutionists of his time and some of ours, on liberal on the second, he ought to be shot." And Flocon said: the breach was furthered consciously by the materialist loans from grumbling friends. In Paris Bakunin's "If there were three hundred Bakunins, it would be imfirst important essay, Reaction in Germany, with its un- leader of the Fourierists, and attended meetings of French the country when, seeing that the Europe established by By the phrase Bakunin meant that the old corrupt society Bakunin had said: "Marx is carrying on the same sort dramas, must first be done away with before we can achieve the of futile activities as of old, corrupting the workers by new. The so-called Apostle of Destruction added on more making them argumentative." However, this dislike for

Artillery School. Young Michael finally gained a com- stupidity; vet they are always an evil, a montrous evil forces of socialism, did not blind Bakunin to his merits mission though he had shown little interest for military and a great disaster, not only with regard to the victims, "At that time I understood nothing of political economy studies and had spent most of the time writing long but also for the purity and perfection of the and my socialism was purely instinctive. He, though l was younger than I, was an atheist, an instructe his brothers and sisters. At this time, soon after he had In 1843 his intellectual flight into radicalism became materialist, and a conscious socialist." His meetings with found a way to abandon his military career, he became physically pressing, and he left Germany for Switzerland Proudhon were more congenial and resulted in a mutual initiated into the young intellectual circles of Moscow where he made the acquaintance of Wilhelm Weitling, an influence with Bakunin introducing the French master t and fell under the spell of Fichte and Hegel, the reigning authoritarian communist, who had somewhat inconsistently Hegel and others. "Yet despite these substantial obli German gods of Russian romanticism. Bakunin, in this written in his book Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom, gations," writes E. H. Carr in his generally barren stage of his development, has been described by a friend, this harbinger of Bakunin's future view: "The perfect biography of Bakunin, "Bakunin in later years always Vissarion Belinsky, later the conservative critic, in society has no government, but only an administration, spoke of his debt to Proudhon, never of Proudhon's debt

Direct Action

the life of Europe. In February a revolution had broken out in France against Louis-Philippe, and soon new authorities. This was the first actual contact the veteran of revolution had made with an uprising, and as he wrote, never had he found anywhere "such noble self-sacrifice, such a touching sense of honour, so much natural delicacy of behaviour, so much friendly gaiety combined with so much heroism, as among these simple the banner of philosophical reaction: "That which is Paris was Bakunin's next restless resting-place, and uneducated people." He left no account of his own anything but a loyal subject of the Tsar. In his sub- teaching, translations from the German and like many the first day of a revolution he is a perfect treasure; thought of the Left Hegelians. It was under the in- anarchist ideas began fermenting as he came in contact possible to govern France." It is not surprising that fluence of Strauss and Feuerbach that Bakunin wrote his with George Sand, Pierre Leroux, Considerand, the the French authorities gave Bakunin permission to leave compromising view of reality: "The Left say 'Two and working-men. But it was two others he met whose the Congress of Vienna was tottering, he sought to spread two are four'; the Right say 'Two and two are six'; and influence was to be more decisive-Pierre-Joseph the message of revolution elsewhere. The next year found the juste milieu says 'Two and two are five'." This Proudhon and Karl Marx, the resolute centralist, him aiding the Polish insurrection, fighting on the barriessay also contained the famous phrase, "The urge for and Bakunin, already a believer in direct action, clashed cades with Czech students and participating in the Dresden destruction is also a creative urge", which was later immediately. "He called me a sentimental idealist," said uprising where he met Richard Wagner, then a revoseized on by his enemies and misinterpreted to slander Bakunin later, "and he was right; I called him gloomy, lutionist, who later, according to Bernard Shaw, used him as a creature with a sadistic urge for mere destruction. unreliable and vain, and I was right too." And elsewhere Bakunin as the model for the Siegfried of his music

MICHAEL GRIEG.

ANARCHISM

the face; as soon as the good it, wills it and loves it."

13th December, 1947

The Principles of Anarcho-Syndicalism

which differs from Trade Unionism several vitally important ways. The first and most important difference is that the final aim of Syndicalism is the consciously revolutionary one of placing the control of industry-all industryinto the hands of the workers in each industry. The Trade Unions have never pretended to be more than defensive organisations, maintained by the support (compulsory support in some cases) of the workers, for the defence of standards of living and working conditions within

capitalist society. Syndicalism, on the other hand, is not content with fighting for better conditions within capitalist society, although it does offer the most effective means of so doing. But syndicalists realise that as long as capitalist society exists, so long with the worker be exploited for the sake of profit. As long as the worker is content to be a wageearner, so long will he be robbed the greater part of the value of his products. As long as industry is controlled from above, either by private owners or by the State, so long will the worker be a pawn in a game played by

Anarcho-syndicalism, therefore, aims at the abolition of capitalist society, all that supports it and all that it entails. It aims at the creation instead of society of a decentralised character activity-economic and industrial. Combining with local communes-organisamenities and affairs-syndicalism lays down the structure for the organisation of production and distribution, not for the profit of employer or State, but to satisfy freely all the needs of the OFFICIALS

INDUSTRIAL UNITY

As opposed to the craft basis of the Trade Union, syndicalism demands dustrial unionism. The many anomalies of craft organisation, whereby workers in the same factory do not necessarily belong to the same union, and do "mixed bag" aspect of the huge general unions like the Transport and General, or the Municipal and General, Workers'

syndicates would be "organisation at the union official is more of a civil servant point of production" which concentrates than a representative of the workers. the workers' strength where it is most For the waging of the class struggle effective. After all, if the aim of the through syndicates, no bureaucracy is workers is to be the seizure of the needed. When the efficient organisation means of production, it is absolutely of action calls for full-time activity, a fruitless to organise according to where temporary delegate can be chosen, one may live! The effective organisation either to present the workers' case, will be that created on the job, finding make contact with other workers or any its expression through shop committees other necessary function, but his re-

the Coal Board is issuing than the miner something!

himself. The adverts are of a recruiting

These advertisements always give the

name of the miner and his colliery, so

presumably they are genuine expressions

of his point of view, but one notices that

they are frequently men from pits with

a "good" reputation. The Kentish miners,

produced their stooges.

for instance, and the Fifeshire pits have

these: "face workers average £6 to £8 a

week, often much more." Some adverts

have spoken of £11 to £12 a week. Now

it may be true that certain individual

miners have earned high wages-some

may do it regularly, but the advertise-

ment do not point out that it may take

a very long time for the recruit to mining

to work himself up to the higher-paid

list. And that before he reaches the jobs

where he can earn big money by piece

work he may have long years as an "on-

An Example

The half-truths referred to are such as

HE reformists who pin their faith to a gradual transformation of society, step by dragging step, through the careful use of the constitution, are still listened to by the workers with more attention than their exploded arguments deserve. For it must be admitted that the reformist idea that things get better as time goes on, that progress is inevitable, really is looking a little moth-eaten now-a-days. And nowhere does reformism look more threadbare than in the Trade Unions, which, with the advent of the Labour Party to power, found themselves completing the logical

development of a trend that really began with the split in the First

It is because the nature of Trade Unionism is being more clearly shown to-day than at any time since the general strike of 1926, that disillusionment with the unions is spreading at a rate which would alarm the T.U.C. if it had sufficient contact with the rank and file to see it. The opportunity, therefore, to introduce workers to ideas for new and different organisations to take the place of the effete unions is a good one, and one anarchists should not neglect. Without pretending that the ideas themselves are new, unfortunately we know them to be new to too many workers, and so we make no apology for presenting a brief statement on the basic principles of Anarcho-Syndicalism, although they may be familiar to the majority of our readers.

The time may be ripe for the beginning of the creation of militant workers' organisations. To save further disappointments—perhaps, indeed, to save humanity-let them be syndicates with the conscious revolutionary aim of Workers' Control!

and revolutionary cells which, able to muneration for such activity should not rely upon the support of all the workers exceed his pay on the bench. in the factory, workshops or mine, irrespective of their trades, is able to swing into action at any time with every chance of success. Through these committees, work-places can be linked up to form industrial, federated syndicates.

There is no need for the full-time paid official in a syndicate. One of the evils of Trade Unionism is its creation of a class of bureaucrats ostensibly working for the benefit of the rank and file but in actual fact, because of inflated salaries, out of touch and out of the class of the rank and file. Such people have a stake in present-day society. The unions to whom they are pend on the security of that stock-how can they be expected to desire a change in a society in which they have such sinecures? And since the unions to-day The principle adhered to by the are recognised as part of the State, the

day's pay for a fair day's work."

the final decision on a demand for more

pay for miners does not seem to have

been made. The union is asking for £1

a week more, and the NCB has offered

10s., but knowing the NUM it seems

likely to settle at the Board's figure and

note with interest these wage bargainings

and approve the miner getting as big a

slice of the profits as possible, the whole

idea of permanent gain is a false one

The advantage from wage increases is a

purely transient one which does nothing

more than bring wages for a short time

a little nearer the cost of living before

The wages system is the means

May we just add here that although we

think itself very smart.

perpetually doing.

MINERS' PAY-

ADVERTISEMENT & FACT

sick of the series of advertisements and finishing up owing the Coal Board

Happy-looking workers wearing miners' ficent sum of £4 6s. He has served 41

jobs, for which there is always a waiting that again moves out of reach, as it is

courage job-seekers or climbers. Election by the workers would almost inevitably ensure the most capable man for any job being chosen, the rate for the job would eliminate the bait of material advantage and the job would be done for its own sake.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM is a theory of workers' organisation on behalf of their fellows. They are delegates, not representatives, and must report back any offers or moves so that workers involved.

ANTI-MILITARISM

Syndicates recognise the reactionary nature of nationalism. They do not national boundaries. Syndicalism is international in design and aspirations It is a form of organisation which, not being directed by any political thought, is free to embrace workers of any country, colour or creed and by uniting them common enemy-the international

It follows logically that Anti-Militarism is a principle of Anarcho-Syndicalist theory and practice, since it is in the military caste that nationalism and patriotism find their greatest expression Not only that, but the armed forces of not exist only for international attack counter-revolutionary weapons in the hands of the State. If anti-militarist propaganda can have full effect before the revolution, the task of the revolutionaries is greatly simplified.

clash of ruling classes, never fought in struggle to-day, but the foundation of

of capitalism under one form or another.

What are the methods of Anarcho-Syndicalism? They can be summed up briefly under the words "Direct Action".

Since syndicates do not seek control of the State or any part of the political machine, it would be illogical to take part in political activity. Since the society at which they aim is a society without government it would be futile to struggle for power in government. Political activity can only divert the energies and strength of the producers away from the direct path to freedom, and in the labyrinth of political opportunism and intrigue the final aim is inevitably lost and forgotten.

Direct action means making the full use of such weapons as the strike, with all its variations (lightning, work-to-rule, stay-in, etc.), boycott and sabotage, finding their full expression in the Social General Strike wherein the workers lock out the bosses and commence to work the means of production for the benefit of all. The most important action now, however, is the task of education and enlightenment, to make the worker realise his own strength and responsibility and to inspire him to prepare now for the final struggle.

These then, however brief, are the main principles of Anarcho-Syndicalism. At a later date we shall deal with each aspect more fully, to show how the Syndicalists oppose war as being the Syndicates are not merely weapons for the interests of the working class, who the free society we can make for ouronly fight and die for the preservation selves if we not only accept these principles but begin to put them into action NOW. The Trade Unions, seemingly so strong, are rotten at the roots. Let us be ready with the revolutionary

PHILIP SANSOM.

WOMEN

for example, are only equalled by the attached have their funds invested in OR a couple of decades or more now, much has been written from time is, apart from her family, almost solitary government stock. Their salaries de- to time on the rural exodus to the cities and numerous reasons, in differing orders of priority, have been advanced to explain it and often plans have been proposed to try and check it. Among the explanations offered have been poor wages, bad housing, absence of opportunities for advancement, the glamour appeal for young people of the so-called gay city; all of which have played their part and their combined influence has been considerable.

> On aspect, however, which has not been given much prominence, but which has undoubtedly played a big part in deciding countrymen to migrate to the towns, has been the quiet but persistent influence of their womenfolk who for the most part have longed to escape from the loneliness of the countryside and who, as girls, have often made it a condition of their marrying that their men should not remain in the country but should move to town, often any town, at the first possible opportunity.

The reasons for this attitude on the part of young countrywomen have been numerous. Firstly, as far as any generalization can be valid, it is true to say that the distractions of titivations of town life, the opportunity to wear nice clothes and try and attract attention to oneself, to go to cinemas and dances, to stare at shopwindow displays, exert a far stronger attraction for women than for men. Not that men are entirely uninterested in such things by any means. But the fact remains that while many townsmen express DROBABLY nobody is more heartily imagine a miner working a short week a vague sympathy for, and interest in, rural life, even though usually displaying at the same time a complete ignorance of it, and while some, almost This miner then, from the Scottish | invariably single men, do break away from the cities and find jobs on the nature and carry the usual set of half- Lady Helen Pit, who has a wife and two land, it is rare ever to hear a townswoman express a desire and preference truths which go with such endeavours. children, finished his week with the magnimuddy is usually enough to cause a shuddering aversion to such a primitive

us that they can "honestly recommend any looking with rather a jaundiced eye at the existence. young man to come into the mines-he'll advertisement which says "The work's be doing a man-size job for his country varied and interesting, and you get a fair The Trivial Round

such a life under existing social conditions, engine if accidentally turned up too high. man. Few jobs offer such variety as does a moment she must light a candle or carry farm work. The work to be done changes - the lamp around with her. The only week by week according to the seasons and way to obtain hot water is to see that is even conditioned from day to day by the kettle, or kettles, on the range are the state of the weather, so that unlike kept full and the only place to wash is his urban counterpart, no man knows for in a basin on the kitchen table, for the certain when he arrives for work in the scullery is probably too cold and in any morning exactly how he will spend his case it is further to carry the heavy extent. working hours. In fact, speculation as to kettle. what job he will be doing next, together The Common Task with comments on the job he is doing at the moment and suggestions as to how, man, which quite likely she doesn't, such apart from the boss's obtuseness, it could inconveniences and hardships may be put be done differently and better, occupies a up with, but as soon as she has one or more large part of his casual conversation with children her position becomes much worse. the cinema, has largely destroyed the old

which the producer is robbed of the cost" worker earning only the minimum. larger part of his produce with the appearance of getting a fair return. It is as wife is comparatively unaffected by the she is completely tied to her home because the standards of megapolitan culture. much part and parcel of capitalism as time of the year or the state of the children. She cannot go out unless Having imbibed these values she naturally We have before us as we write a war or the dole queue and should not be weather. Even if it is raining cats and she takes them with her and hardly ever judges her own life by them and, when miner's pay sheet which tells us a different regarded by the worker as any more dogs and blowing a gale, the week's wash- of an evening when the kids are in bed. civilization is measured by the distance of story from this £6 to £8 a week dream. desirable. The only just economy is one ing will still be done on Monday—for In towns it is quite customary for neigh-Out of the basic wage of £5, in this in- of free exchange, with each worker freely such is the routine. Her life is one unstance no less than 14 shillings have been producing for the common pool and ending round of domestic drudgery made the mother can go out sometimes. When in an ultra-centralized society such as stopped for the various insurances and taking from it just as freely that which physically more tiring, and this is the imincome tax. On the form are spaces for is provided by other workers in other portant point, by the lack of those "mod vicinity this is not so easy to arrange. merely a poor and tinsel imitation of life other "offtakes" to be recorded, such as industries. When that comes, all the cons." which help to lighten the work of As it is quite possible that her husband at the centre which draws all things to for Tool Sharpening, Lamps, Explosives, indignity of wage bargaining and the the urban working-class woman. Water goes out again to the pub, or elsewhere, itself. Materials, and so forth, so that one can slimy trick of wage slavery will disappear. may have to be carried from some dis-

carried to the door and flung outside when But there are other, and more substan- finished with. When daylight ends she tial, reasons for the average woman's must continue her work by the dim light dislike of being a country housewife. To of an oil lamp which is liable to send begin with, she is apt to feel that, in forth almost as much smoke as a tractionnearly all the advantages are with the If she has to go into another room for

The heavy domestic work increases, but By contrast the work of such a man's most of all, if she lives out of the village,

course and relaxation more than her man, who has the former, and sometimes unofficially even the latter, during his working hours, she is less able to obtain

When the children come of school-age, the daily work is in one way made easier by the fact that the children are out of of the way till tea-time. But often they have far to go to school, on bicycle or on foot to the nearest bus stop, and sometimes in wild and wet weather it is not possible for them to go at all. Furthermore, if the parents are at all concerned about the quality of their children's education, that also will be a big incentive for them to move to the towns because the standard of education in rural schools is, as a rule, inferior to that provided by the State in urban areas, mainly because no young and interested teacher wants to get landed at some out-of-the-way village school but naturally prefers a job in a larger and better equipped town school that offers him or her more scope and also more likelihood of promotion.

The Lure of the Town

So it often comes about that even if stay where he is, the woman, unless she has given up all hope and ceased to care, is not, and persistently urges her husband for her sake and for the sake of the children, as she would say, to escape from this isolation and drudgery and move to town. And if he does do so, it is more likely because of his wife's pleadings than because of his own inclinations.

Not every country housewife's lot is, of course, as bad as perhaps I have implied. It is true that with a garden and poultry and a bit of bacon from so-and-so and plenty of milk from the farm and the old man bringing home a rabbit or two on Saturday afternoons, it is easier for her to feed her family than for most townswomen, even though she cannot supplement the rations with meals out. Still, if she is much further from the shops she does not depend on them to the same

But to some such women these things are mere mitigations of an otherwise hard and often lonely existence. Above all, the prevailing ideology of an urban industrialism, which comes to her over the wireless, through the daily paper and by traditional, communal life of the country-

G.V.



adjectives which were always to fit: "Strength, un- no laws, but only obligations, no punishments, but means to him." satisfaction with the present . . ." Such a person could beliefs of the Swiss burghers, and when Bakunin's name atmosphere of Russian feudalism, so, in 1840, with the scarcely had time to elude the police. But they had conconsent of his father who had finally given up all hope of tacted the authorities in Russia, and when Bakunin refused a sentence which Tsar Nicholas would carry out, with a

Meets Marx and Proudhon

vengeance, some ten years later.

than one occasion, as George Woodcock has pointed out, the tactics and character of Marx, whose domineering Bloody revolutions are often necessary, thanks to human attitude was in time to be instrumental in wrecking the

The Whitewashers

article in the British Medical Journal of

October 18th. This brought forth a

storm of indignant letters denouncing

1848 was a year of decision for Bakunin just as it was

Reprinted from Retort (U.S.A.) (To be continued.)

-Interpretations

"The State is force; nay, it is the silly parading of force. It does not propose to win love or make converts: if it puts its finger into anything, it does so only on an unfriendly way: for its essence consists not in persuasion, but in command and compulsion. However much pains it may take, it cannot conceal the fact that it is the legal maimer of our will. the constant negation of our liberty. Even when it commands the good, it makes it valueless by commanding it for every command slaps liberty in commanded, it is transformed into the evil in the eyes of the true (that is, human, by no means divine) morality, of the dignity of man, of liberty; for man's liberty, morality and dignity consists precisely in doing the good not because it is commanded but because he recognises

MICHAEL BAKUNIN.

1 2 3 4 5 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 16 17 18 19 20 21 STATILES HARDENE 22 23 10 24 0

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

and politically. The Marshall Plan will

give the United States government a large

Plan. A provision for taking advantage

U.S., which wants freedom in the world

market. It hurts the U.S.S.R., which

preferably in barter bargain deals, the

technique of which was perfected by

U.S. Economic Crisis

Is the Marshall Plan an "attempt to

The words are those of Eugene Varga,

who has been translating Communist wish-

thinking into terms of Marxist economics

for the last twenty-five years. In 1923

Varga, as an economic expert, collaborated

with Leon Trotsky, a political expert, to

prove in print that World War II was

going to be fought between Great Britain

and the United States. The learned

Varga also provided material to prove

capitalist society, and there was no

remedy at all. On Varga's horoscope, the

economic crisis is approaching in America.

forecasters in this wild land suggest that

a "recession" by 1948 is not out of

question. At present, U.S. business is

mere promise, of the Marshall Plan makes

for more inflation and more of boom

The Plan means the livening-up of lag-

ging exports and inventory building by

domestic business in response to the fear

of shortages caused by the Marshall Plan

domestic manufacturer and consumer, kept

of sphinx. It is hard to read it. It

has not yet been proved that U.S. pros-

probably works the other way. At any

lished! In that revolution I

will take part! Undermine

the idea of the State, make

willingness and spiritual

kinship the only essentials

in the case of a union—

and you have the beginning

of a liberty that is of some

value. The changing of

form of government is mere

toying with degrees—a

little more or a little less—

folly the whole of it."

rate, Varga is expressing a wish.

analysis of the Marshall plan, extracts

motives behind America's plan, as it is

goods but a credit arrangement enabling and other grains. (2) Materials—coal, favoured European nations to get from the steel and iron, scrap iron and steel, United States and Canada (and probably industrial chemicals, fertilizers; machinery ther countries) goods they do not now and electrical equipment. These "crisis" have on hand. Through its "European imports are meant to give the European Reconstruction Corporation", the United worker the power to labour productively: States Government will offer loans and food for him to buy with his wages. grants of dollars to public and private. They are meant to figure for public and goods, as clothing and shoes, washing economic enterprises in the "right" private European enterprises as material machines, radios, refrigerators, cars, and nations. These loans and grants will be means of production which can be emmade without the usual banking require- ployed by the worker at his labour to ment that borrowers prove that their use produce articles of utility. The Plan does of such credit is financially sound—that not propose to finance the movement to is, profitable. Since the loans and grants Europe of consumption goods other than will be made without the usual banking food. guarantees, they will probably never be repaid. The entire scheme can therefore

our Spanish comrades at Toulouse. It is resident in U.S.A.).

from the United States to Europe? Mainly two kinds: food and material means of production. The Plan will thus provide European industries with capital in its two categories: labour power and capital in the shape of raw and secondary

be described as non-commercial.

probably go to Europe under the sheer robbery and expropriation of wealth in Western Europe, the United States

9th, 10th and 11th of November.

111 12

10

clear that the French comrades have suc-

the resolutions of the Spanish Liber- taken.

tarians at Toulouse, and this is of especial

importance in movements that aim at ob-

taining mass support in the immediate

future. The history of the Communist

Party in aiming at mass support has

been one of compromise, and the watering

down of all revolutionary slogans.

The French Anarchists instead "propose

different forms of exploitation which sur-

Churches, Jurisdictions, Militarisms, Im-

perialisms, Colonisations, etc. They

International Relations

struggle for the society without castes".

influence of such a loan on the industries turn them into colonial markets of

A market is fundamentally an exchange of goods and not just a sale of goods for

Differs from Colonialism

An early mark of colonialism was the

Anarchist International

subsidy for the building up of movements Congress should be composed not of

But the French anarchists propose that examined. However much one may feel

should be held to which should be invited dismiss the Kropotkins and Malatestas

French Anarchist Federation would pro- fered because there has been no

Federation: "In the event of this pro- national scale for many years.

in order to receive instructions from a national Federation itself.

THE Spanish Libertarian Movement's for the exchange of ideas and literature serious discussion of anarchist theory and

L Congress at Toulouse, reported in but in some cases its exists in the shape practice, which attempted a clarification of

these columns (Freedom, 29/11/47) was of solidarity (mainly from the American our ideas would, in the writer's opinion,

in building up a homogeneous movement; an International Anarchist Congress irritated by those young enthusiasts who

Continent; their public meetings are well movements and groups claiming to be examine Anarchism in the new surround

advise against over-optimism-we feel F.A.F. would support the founding of a occasion was at the Anarchist Congress

that the movement must continue to ex- bureau for International Relations. But of Amsterdam in 1907. The Editors in

ations. And the resolutions which come contact with organisations accepting the Read's lecture "Anarchism-Past and

the Authoritarian Society, (2) Immediate ation to constitute the embryo for such an ideas of our movement to perpetual self-

An Individual View

is of great importance to all Anarchists much concerned with the means as with to study the International anarchist Press

International organization exists at present and will be the concern of each federation composition of this Bureau and its tasks

and groups operate in a vacuum. Since a whole. An International Congress of since it will be necessary in the first place

the ending of the war contacts have been such an A.I.F. at which delegates will be to make a general survey of the existing

made in the case of Freedom Press and present will be simply a reaffirmation of international Anarchist Press, and the

groups and movements dispersed through- be considered very useful, and certainly effectiveness and the diversity of tasks

out the world. So, in actual fact, a loose an expensive economic proposition. An that it can undertake.

form of organisation already exists, largely Anarchist Congress which attempted a

it does not mean that anarchist movements and not of an International Federation as must be the subject of a separate article,

gerate the strength and significance of the pose the Constitution of an International clean" of Anarchist theory on an

pand because it is based on solid found- in this case, the F.A.F. would establish summing-up the discussion on I

and the French comrades are the first to posal being considered impossible, the we think it true to say

colony countries in exchange with the

Exchanging for these products, the

canals, and other means of communication.

The Marshall Plan will move from the United States to Europe not manufactured consumption goods, but the wherewithal Let us now consider the charge that the of industrial production: (1) bread for the workers, (2) raw material and plant of France and other European nations will equipment. It will also move to the favoured European countries American credit, or even gold, to make secure their instruments of domestic payments. The reconstituting industrial production.

> The Marshall Plan is a scheme to put on its feet the Western European market, which before the war was America's biggest foreign customer. To have a market

become stereotyped and hardened."

Will the European nations so aided be-

was absolutely the final "general crisis" the Communist International and Stalin built possible in the Soviet satellite countries. which was featured by the smashing In France, Italy, and the rest of Western Social Democratic faces in the streets Europe, governments lean on the United Berlin and terms of opprobrium like States for economic support. They are "Social Fascist". It was in that period the United States as a neo-fascist menace. Similar arraignment of the Soviet State disproves Varga's contention that an in a country like Bulgaria or Yugoslavia

followed by the 3rd Cogress of the French continent to Europe) and actual economic be of greater value. Obviously, such a Inasmuch as the desire to keep France, in a boom. The execution, and right now shattered by years of suppresssion (such delegates but of individuals materially Italy, and the rest of Western Europe as in Italy where the movement would supported by the movements in their from being taken in charge by Communist feet as quickly as it has without the to express faithfully the viewpoint of their of the Marshall Plan, it may be described economic solidarity of Italian comrades sponsors, but for their potential value in as a plan to dominate Western Europe

It can be said that the present "sub- export programme. The same influence servience" of Western Europe to the (large exports, financed largely by loans United States is such as would be granted by the U.S. Government), plus assumed by countries to a banking power the famous "pent-up" demand by the economic recovery. The governments of effective demand at a high level in the hose countries look up to the United United States from the end of the wa States because American munificence and until to-day. Varga argues that the addipromise of further aid save such Govern- tional annual export of American-made ments from being overthrown by hungry, goods to the value of five or six billion jobless mobs directed by the wiliest of dollars, as promised by the Marshall Plan. offluence in its sphere consists of military production fell 40 per cent, in 1929 and directly by Russian army and police units production in the United States amount or by armed pro-Soviet political minor- to-day of \$200 billion, the \$6 billion exities who form governments under Russian port programme of the Marshall Plan

to the theoretical soundness of the move- gestion which must be discussed by the conditions and advances in thought. Western Europe with the same com-Unless a movement undertakes this stock- modities that industrialized nations usually taking in the field of theory, its ideas will get from colonial regions: food and raw materials—besides industrial equipment The proposals of the French anarchists and finances. This means that the Plan to "establish contact with organisations does not aim to "colonize" its European To the writer-and he is now ex- accepting the formation of a real Inter- wards. On the contrary, the Plan aims pressing a personal view which it is national Federation in order to constitute to rebuild France, Italy, Britain, as indushoped will stimulate comrades to send the embryo of such an organisation", is trial powers. When European industries their comments and viewpoints to the obviously a matter for them to decide, but revive, they will compete with American Editors—the French comrades are over- since it would be undertaken with a view | production in the world market. Is, stressing the importance of an Inter- to strengthening the international move- therefore, the Marshall Plan a sort of national Anarchist Federation in its effect ment, they should first consider whether | idealistic contradiction? No. While vive or are created: Capitalism, States, both on the Anarchist movement and the such action might not in actual fact | certain American enterprises will feel the world at large. An A.I.F. can never, weaken our movement by splitting it into competition of rebuilt European industries, if it is to really be anarchist, assume the two bodies: the one inside the Inter- the renovation of Western European role of a Comintern. The different national organisation, the other outside; a | economy will do United States' production countries in the Comintern belonged to it split which might even take place within a great deal of good. As was said above, the important thing is to have a European Moscow. An A.I.F. can be at the most The proposal of a Bureau for Inter- market. And even more important is not One of the important questions dis- a Federation of national federations which national Relations is, on the other hand, to have the continent fall under the domcussed on the last day of the Congress was subscribe to common principles. And, of vital and immediate importance for the ination of one power, which is not only

in every part of the world. Though no the ends, our tactics will be strictly limited to fully appreciate this. The suggested monopoly. Regarding the Motives of the Marshall Plan

We have already referred to the Com the Union of Anarchist Groups with com- the principles to which the various composition of the movements. Only munist charge that the Marshall Plan rades in all parts of the world. And the national federations subscribe, yet from then can one estimate the economic back- is a plan for the military and economic same applies, of course, with all the other the movement's point of view it cannot ing for such a bureau and from that its domination of Western Europe by the United States. The evident fact is that the United States Government suspects that if West Europe is not helped now,

Fear of Communism

United State's government) that if entire Europe falls under the domination of one business corporation (the Soviet State), the very same reason, the United States having the whole of Europe become management of the Nazis. United States economy has reached the point where it must have the entire world as a "free"

This is not written in apology for the Marshall Plan. It is our explanation of the aims and "intentions" of the Plan. The "intentions" which our correspondent West European countries will not be much use to U.S. industry.

is punished with shooting or hanging.

Political Domination

under the headings of (1) New forms of foundation of a real International Feder- Future", wrote that we must "subject the

Prospects, (3) Tasks, leave no doubt as organisation." Obviously this is a sug- criticism, always in the light of changing The Marshall Plan promises to provide International Relations, a question which since, unlike the Communists, we are as Movement as a whole, and one has only a political entity of a highly centralized

Letter from Jamaica

African and African-white mixtures in about God at my elbow. "Me can't walk, the 15th November, 1947. are, of course, found largely in mixtures a pure strain.

13th December, 1947

or partial paralysis lasting for several days. Some victims, especially women. do even become mental cases from time to time-usually those who are more in telligent and educated and whose mind cannot stand the strain.

Apart from the violent and particular dangerous cults, such as Pocomania, with all the obvious physical and mental harm they can cause to their adherent there is the less openly destructive drug of concentrated belief in the power of the "Almighty" and the great goodness of his plans for mankind, etc., the willingmeet elsewhere in the world, but a com- doctors or social workers. munity like Jamaica shows up this virulent process particularly clearly. Here is an

Coming from the Public Hospital in Kingston one day, I saw a woman squather back against the wall. This is not an unusual sight in Kingston, but this woman's shoulders drooped and her face wicked sins, God won't help you in your wickedness." The young woman (27 or

think she had really—but before she could munity is astounding, ranging from the "Doctor him no good for the wicked, you I hope I made a convert and the old

> Unfortunately, so many of the cases malnutrition. But the British administration makes little effort to provide the social and medical services necessary bread are luxuries out of reach of a great

Even so, some advance could be mad ness to accept miserable physical con- vising the consumption of basic foodstuff ditions and a degrading social structure having an adequate nutritional value b one's "sins" are responsible for one's Instead, the collective idiocies of rival condition and there is no remedy but religious cults are allowed to thrive and prayer. This is a form of illusion we priests are more numerous than teachers,

> Social conditions in Jamaica are crying out for radical improvement, which in turn depends upon a thorough process education among the people and the determination to take the solving of their

which goes on drearily telling the people | it easy for the war-mongers of the world. that their lives are shaped by God's will, supremely retarding influence before they can be free to shape their lives anew.

SONIA WATSON TAYLOR.

AMERICAN C.O.'s STILL IMPRISONED

WHILE the American purges that no-one is any worse off for the against "Communists" and left- lack of them. But this is not the Bath. ists generally are mounting into a question; every man who wants to large-scale heresy hunt, the victims of vote should have the right to do it, the last outburst of minority perse- and to take it away from him is a cution are still being subjected to a montrous infringement of liberty of governmental oppression.

These are the wartime conscientious objectors, of whom some seven hundred are still held in prison. These men have been the subject of a vast nation-wide campaign for an amnesty; the appeals have been supported by hundreds of important writers, scientists, churchmen and politicians, both the large trade union organisations, C.I.O. and A.F. of L., as well as almost every Christian organisation. Still the Government chooses to bow to the reactionaries of the American Legion and the political groups, and, although a "President's amnesty board" has been studying the question for many months now, no real decision

has been reached. A report has, however, been circulated in one group of newspapers that the "amnesty board" is likely to recommend that C.O.'s and draft dodgers who have been in prison shall not only serve any sentences remaining to them, but shall also be deprived of civil rights on their release.

If civil rights consist of such things as the ability to vote, it may be said,

institutions to people who happen to hold an unpopular attitude on

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ing letter criticising the articles which appeared in Freedom on

sometimes relating closely to African and leave the poor girl alone; then I said a new war. This is very unfair since woman but go back to the hospital right | Eastern Europe is due to the fact that away and get more treatment, do what the a major world war has been fought over years consisted of very reactionary governments, who kept these countries in a "Elsewhere you say: 'Russia does not

greatest power in the world, second to the U.S.A.' Have you forgotten that many course, that Russian Imperialism treats the countries of Eastern Europe fashion that Great Britain treats overseas territories. What about the colour bar in South Africa? The pestilential conditions in the West Indies? What about the brutal capitalism and the terrible racial discrimination that poisons American life and also the threatened enslavement of America to militarist and nationalist principles? There are very few articles in your paper, I notice, about those things, especially about conditions

"Capitalist principles are doing enough to drag America, ourselves and the whole world towards war, without your paper But there is that awful dulling creed | printing capitalist propaganda and making

so on ad nauseam. There is a feeling of home. We can do nothing about revolt growing, but it has to fight against | Eastern Europe's trials, only the people heavy odds in the people themselves and i of Eastern Europe and Russia can do conditions in the British Empire and in

> "I do not agree with any Imperialism whatever and I certainly don't think that San Francisco, Sydney, Moscow, Edin- gradually established contact between all men, who in 1946 carried on a difficult burgh or any other great city of the world the minorities who support the class strike against the government (which ingo the same way as Hiroshima did, and so struggle and all the free unions which will not make any effort to take sides in a have left the C.G.T. in order to resist Postal Workers' Federation of the C.G.T.

> good thing. The next one may produce | Paris metal-workers, they influence the pation in the strike and caused it to mis-

action in a society which pretends to but which denies participation in those | Britain and America. By taking a quotait brings poverty and famine, it is the prelude to another war", immediately goes on to say: "This conviction does not lead or American Imperialism. We realize, on the contrary, that Russia's strength lies in the fact that her only opponents herself. As long as Socialist and other parties will fight Communism hiding behind America's skirts, they are bound to

> In other words, we denounce the very attitude which our correspondent accuses us of taking.

said, in fact: "Zhdanov may have reasons partly misfired. war . . ." By Zhdanov we meant the the Cominform. We are the last to forget that is why we charge the Russian Government with having sacrificed millions of Russian lives to their imperialist

to a reader that she has misread our ment, not because they do not wish to

regime because they saw in it a furthering of war. This fear of war led them t

We now have the appeasers of Russia

We wholly disagree with this attitude We do not think that war can be avoided by a policy which entails the suppression of facts. We hold this view for ethical gives to that word. We are not interest when everybody was praising Stalin, from Mr. Churchill downwards. If we were ncerned in furthering "capitalist propaganda" we would not have chosen say unpopular truths for years.

We cannot alter our views about Russia because, for imperialist reasons, American and British spokesmen now denounce Russian totalitarianism. We know that

The practical reasons are equally important. We do not believe that a policy of appeasement towards Stalin will preappeasement towards Hitler stopped the

cratic blunders, and (b) that, though war ation in Eastern Europe, Russia's policy

We also refuse to accept the statement that the trials which are now taking place in Europe should not concern us. It may be true that our protests will not change the course of events, but we must voice them nevertheless. Workers all over the world who rallied to the defence of Sacco and Vanzetti were not able to save them from the electric chair, yet who can say

We shall denounce political trials, whether they are held in Washington or n Warsaw. When a government puts a do not ask the nationality of that govern-

extremely serious split right from the

and which after the Stalinist sabotage

Thus we find among the adversaries of

The Communist Adventure

bankers' man, provoked a stiffening of the them, but because they realise that there political clique. Thus, there has been an

Syndicalist Movements

maintaining its influence in numerous selves against the present strike, because I, however, have no wish to see Syndicalist Studies", whose federation has game. For example, the syndicalist post-Vansittart—Ehrenburg policy which led reformist inaction.

"Nationalist wars never produce any They have solid positions among the Postal Workers, openly rejected partici-Syndicalist Federation of Postal Workers, carry. Their slogan was "Against the advise the free unions of Parisian trans- political strike, for the defence of our port workers and the Committees of Syndicalist Action among the railway

> Decided to struggle on two fronts an reconstrust a really working-class force

tinues to develop and which, in the course trade union machines, to take its place on the personnel of factories and services.

Between these last two movements certain contacts are possible, and a committee of alliance has been constituted, notably between the C.N.T. Federation of Railway Workers and the railwaymen's Committee of Syndicalist Action of the C.G.T.

Comparison with 1936

spontaneous and popular movement of scene since the combat has been placed 1936, and that of November, 1947. In on the level of class struggle, come to makes us say: "Russia does not care about i the first case it was a general explosion, power they will have behind them all the the millions of dead in the war"; we in the second a scanty volley which cowards of to-day, and, a more serious

> In 1936 the proletariat gained a complete victory, not only because they won

In 1947, on the contrary, the white-We would not waste space to point out | collar workers are hostile to the movecivil liberties with all the strength in our

change of goods between East and West.

that their protests were useless?

We hate war and have consistently

(Continued from page 1)

constituted the Syndicalist Federation of this general strike (i.e., the general strike

> as it is meant to-day by the Communists) not only the reactionary section, timorous and undecided on the working-class struggle, but also the sections who have always defended the "class struggle"

munists has resulted in this feat!

Balance Sheet

There is no real enthusiasm, and it is certain that the present conflict will result, except for a few scanty working-class successes in the sphere of wages, in a probable disintegration of the C.G.T.

The French middle-class is frightened, and this bourgeois fear can easily turn into a repressive frenzy, as soon as the means are at hand.

If the Gaullists, whose electoral success has not, however, prevented them from No comparison is possible between the practically disappearing from the social thing, the support or complicity of an important faction of the working-class, isappointed by the weakness of the

> Thus, the way to Fascism is open. Once again, the Communist party will have cleared the road for it, justifying its name of organiser of defeats, as in Germany, in China, and in Spain.

with the struggle of parties.

organised working-class movement, tired

S. PARANE.

26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

HENRIK IBSEN.

JUSTICE ON LAW THE KRONDSTADT REVOLT M. L. Berneri: WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA C. Berneri: KROPOTKIN-HIS FEDERALIST Alexander Berkman: A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM

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see his like with a shovel again. He was its master: it was part of him. He could use it with equal and tireless facility on knees driving hard against the back of hi with a graceful sway and twist of the trunk, so that the whole body handled the

succeed in joining The Ragged Trousered 592 pp.

THE BLEAK AGE by J. L. &

THIS is a revised and shortened version of a previous book of the Hammonds The Age of Chartism. The authors, who are among the really indispensible social historians of England and whose classic books on the Town Labourer and the Village Labourer are among the best records of the life of the poor during the industrial revolution, have drawn a gloomy but extremely interesting picture of the Hungry Forties of last centurythere seem to be Hungry Forties in every century! Besides being a well-constructed and pleasantly written book, this is a source work which those who are movement should certainly include among FREEDOM PRESS one a thrill to watch these men using a shovel. Of one of his workmates, Mr.

Literary Notes FICTION & PROPAGANDA

VERY little fiction in which the propaganda element preponderates seems to have much value or even general interest after the limited period with which it is concerned. This is partly because the propagandist is usually Significantly, Comfort is very much in the Zola tradition. His most considerdriven by the demands of his creed into some form of naturalism in writing-"realism" as it has somewhat inaccurately been termed by its advocates while the development of a social argument demands simplifications and generalisations that interfere with the so-called realism and make the story sound too stiff and unnatural to belong to the real life of ordinary people. of 1941. So he falls between two stools, and usually fails to produce anything of artistic, or, for that matter, even propagandist value. Who was ever con- The Power House, much as I appreciated the remorseless consistency with verted to Communism by the dreary novels about the Five-Year Plan which Comfort unfolded his basic theme of the continual war of the individual came tumbling out of Russia in the 'thirties'? Of course, there have been against the State. In Letters from an Outpost the same theme is elaborated exceptions. One propaganda novel of the realist school that still makes a in a number of vivid stories, some grim and others satirical. To my mind, powerful appeal is Zola's Germinal; another, on a different level, is The these are the best things Comfort has done in prose; their effect is much more Ragged Trousered Philanthropists.

But these represent a minority, and the most successful propaganda fiction has usually been on the plane of allegory and fantasy. Gulliver's Travels, Candide, Erewhon-these have a permanent value because they rise above immediate objectives and state their social arguments in an idiom that is as near timeless as one can expect in a temporal world.

Europe, he remarks: "In view of all the evidence, there-Henrik F. Infield's Co-operative Comco-operative would fare best by emulatmunities at Work (Kegan Paul, 15/-). Infield's book is by no means the comprehensive record of community experi-Kvutza (Palestine collective). ments which would be of such value as a hand-book of an important aspect of Kvutza did not spring into being from social experiment. He restricts his a blueprint; it is rather the result studies to the consideration of a number organic growth. It started, as we have 1/6 of types of community, including those noted, like other modern co-operative based on religious beliefs, on political with profit-sharing and wage advance 2/6 dogmas, on governmental decrees, and These features were abandoned those, like the Palestine collectives, which because they were found to create more set out to achieve an immediate practical conflict than satisfaction. Similarly aim allied to an ultimate social ideal. His every other individualistic practice was method of approach is somewhat academic step by step eliminated, in the interes and is perhaps concerned too much with simplification and of economic advantages. The Kvutza of to-day is the result of a long and steady revo lution—the outcome of decisions that both the old-fashioned Utopian comin the face of daily problems by minds not above the average, but who, workinitiated and sponsored by governmental ing together, have reached solutions parison with the wholly autonomous and which no planning genius could

co-operation with remnants of individual

enterprise and property rights. Here again

ing examples in the contemporary world. parts of his book, Infield says much His studies lead him to the conclusion that the anarchist will find interesting as published last year by an American that a system of co-operation on all levels a practical vindication of libertarian is much superior to one that combines theories of organisation.

Among those rare writers in our own day, who have managed to find a satisfactory realist idiom to express social rebellion, is Alex Comfort. able novel, The Power House, is the direct literary descendent of Germinal, and at least one story in his new collection, Letters from an Outpost (Routledge, 7/6), strikes one as being very much the kind of thing the Zola of La Débâcle would have written had he been dealing with the French rout

I must confess that I was a little overpowered by the massed detail of direct than that of The Power House, and stories like The Martyrdom of the House and Two Enemies of Society are little masterpieces of realistic fiction which really succeed in transmitting a social meaning, while A Citizen with Thirty-Nine Vertebrae and The Lemmings are feats of satirical virtuosity, the one hilarious, the other sardonic, which are among the best jests at collective stupidity that I have yet read.

THE "American Way of Life" is Palestine, and in one of the concentration he makes no bones about his dislike for aspect of the Palestine quarrel. American civilisation and what it has of his other books, such as The Colossus of writers, and there is a good deal of badly digested theosophy. But where Miller starts out on his really torrential invective in the essay, "Good News, God is Love", it really exhilerates to read him.

journalist, describing her experiences on board a refugee ship, smuggling Jews into

he indicates the advantage of the Palestine to die for one of these days. What it by Claire Niekind-Gollancz, 6d.). This resettlement of the homeless refugees of be published in England, The Air- have treated Jews who tried to get to Conditioned Nightmare (Secker and Palestine failed. It is worth sixpence Warburg, 15/-). Henry Miller is one of of anybody's money who wants to get a the most outspoken American rebels, and first-hand view of this particularly sordid

study of the function of art by Holley introduction of a number of new anarchist writers who have something to say. GEORGE WOODCOCK.

In a description of the state of FROM OUR STOCK

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ment (Freedom, 28/6/47).]

young children." The F.H.C. Review is obtainable from The Editor, at 16, Regent Street, Coventry, at 3/6 for 6 issues (twelve

13th December, 1947

VEGETARIANISM DEFENDED

DEAR COMRADES,

While finding myself to a large degree refutation of the validity of vegetarianism. human beings unless conditioned, the slaughter of animals and human beings Dietetically flesh from animals bred for as inconsistent and illogical as G.V. would slaughter is a very inferior food. Any have us believe. My wife and I and our animal that has been fattened and whose three children avoid in our diet not only overfeeding and little exercise is diseased cheese, eggs and honey as well and find of man to-day medically are largely due arduous round of activities even these to emphasis on quantity and not on quality and balance. Colchester.

I have just read your "Land Notes" in the current issue of Freedom. In the article you declare that it is vegetarianism is not illogical but a step in the right direction.

Being born into a world of nature we cannot help being dependent to a large extent on Nature's "set-up". But I contend that the speed of Man's emergence into Ethical Man is in direct proportion to the speed with which he conquers and "G.V." writes:-

OUR JUSTICE

it is valuable in creating a social pressure life.

given tolerable freedom, leads a happier proportion to the speed with which he you should double it. existence than its untamed counterpart, is conquers and acquires independence of | Llanelly. identical with the argument used by the Nature.' On the contrary, the progress Negro slave owner in the U.S. for justifying slavery before the Civil War, an else, is in direct proportion to the speed untrue and immoral argument . . .

[For space reasons the above letters have of the dangerous illusions on which the arguments advanced.—EDS.]

acquires independence of Nature. I have "It is difficult to reply to three letters no doubt that satisfactory vegetarian sub- at once but to deal with each letter in stitutes will eventually be found for its turn would take too long.

Through the Press

if partial vegetarianism is only a ritual people who do not live a physically active

action for which I have every respect. However, fond as I have always been of a better world.—Eds.] animals from childhood, I cannot accept the argument that places animals on the The New Price same level as human beings. To compare keeping of Negroes as slaves is absurd | rubbish which crowds the bookstalls and and an example of that lack of a sense of sells at all sorts of prices, it is amazing. oportion to which I originally referred. As to making Fascism a necessary corollary of having bacon for breakfast (if only once a fortnight), well, that seems to be going a bit haywire to me!

"Finally, I just don't agree that 'the speed of Man's emergence into Ethical The argument that the farm animal, Man (whoever he may be) is in direct extent that he tries to 'conquer Nature' This hangover from 19th century capitalist present civilisation is foundering.

> "As to whether it is right or wrong, justifiable or not, to rear animals I have already expressed mine."

REEDOM

these letters with a printed card, but we future

remains good value. Glasgow, S.1.

Nevertheless, I think that it is important, kept going. As regards the price I think

The Press Fund what I would wish to do, for I believe

I enclose a P.O. for 2/6 as my first ontribution to the Press Fund. I will do each week.

The Circular Letter to Subscribers

think the same. I enclose a P.O. for 8/6 into a similar degenerative rut. even though I paid my sub. a few weeks ago. Will you please date this as from January, 1948, which will help a little

approach the local public libraries about really free. getting a copy of Nationalism & Culture. Spokane.

Cheque for a guinea herewith—every little helps as the old lady said. And you folks do deserve help in the fine fight you're putting up for sanity as a guiding principle to public opinion. Maybe some folks with sound ideas for the better outlook and conduct of society in general. In

From an old Comrade

Our Freedom is splendid to-day; better than it has been for some years and certainly deserves a much bigger circulation which I hope and sincerely wish will come in time. Surely present-day conditions ought to awake people and convince them that Ballot Box socialism is only a dope and not a cure, and if they wish an ideal life to the coming generations and them-

boycotting the above and joining those

who are working for and advocating a real

individual Freedom without political

From an American Student As a student of sociology in a California college I have found Freedom invaluable. Too many of our vicious social and economic practices are glossed over and made to appear innocuous by American educators. Freedom Press gives personal. I am sure most recipients will me assurance that my reason will not slide Waterman, Calif.

From American Workers We have been receiving your paper for quite some time and enjoy it very much. Please excuse us for not having I should like to express my appreciation made a small donation sooner. Hoping of the circular letter received. I will that this little bit will help you to carry ordering all books from you, and will we remain yours for a World of Workers

> CARL MADSEN, for Joint Branch, I.W.W.

When Hoare (now Lord Templewood)

barrassing. Some readers of the Daily Now their positions are reversed. Ede who had taken it furnished, has been

Letting such a large house is not easy. course that he resisted when Ede urged it. A psychologist might find a moral in

THE NEW MAQUIS

WHOSE CHOICE?

Reynold's News, 30/11/47.

We've chosen to entrust our economi welfare to a system of mechanised factories and big centralised organisations has become a "graveyard" for 2,000 mittees and other remote huddles redundant aircraft have offered to grow can't reach with a brick. crops between runways and Spitfires to So it's going to be a long time before

we cease to be pushed around by some-Six years ago these farmers sacrificed body. But while we've got votes we can "Yaffle" in Reynold's News, 30/11/47.

Lewis Douglas (U.S. Ambassador to his adult life he has managed: (1) the U.S. budget, (2) a large industrial con- the news that 500 tons of house-slates cern (American Cynamid), (3) a university from Italy are to arrive within the next WANTED: 2,000 New Readers! (Montreal's McGill University), (4) a few days," reports Reynolds News huge insurance company (Mutual Life of (2/11/47). New York), and (5) an important arm of What a triumph for internationalism! a wartime government (Deputy War Ship- Wales, producer of the finest roofing ping Administrator). He is a practical slates in the world, roofs her houses with history, but is no intellectual. He likes Surely an economic achievement which notable as the import of American coal can delegate power. He is no real expert Hull Corporation will have to foot a bill Policeman: "I don't care what kind on any one thing, but he knows something home when you can import it and export

your own population?

Mr. Lewis Clarke, of the U.S. Embassy

Rent is more than £100 a month. And pictures, carpets and costly furniture will

"Householders in Glamorgan welcome

million, the miner said: "It's absenteeism. This warm weather decided me to take another holiday and

get a bit of sun while I can." "What about the coal you could be

hold Dutch conscientious objectors to the ... Any bloke who complains can dig it himself," he answered. "Those Government bastards talk a lot-but I notice they don't have been termed "deserters", and have come near the bloody pit face. Scared been court-martialed and sentenced to two or three years. But it is estimated that 2,250 "deserters" are still in hiding and

(6 copies 1/-, 12 copies 2/- post

with copies of the current issue After all, why produce anything at The Welsh Nationalist, Nov. 1947.

Edwards. (Porcupine Press, 224 pp., 7/6)

0 4

years) in the life of the author when of industry which has hitherto been he earned his living as a labourer. They ignored. But I doubt whether it will remained vividly impressed on his mind. Philanthropists as a classic in "proletarian" to take up the pen as a clerk in the account of a man's struggle to master the Ministry of Health, these were the different jobs he undertakes, whereas thoughts that flashed through his mind: The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists is philosophy, both on account a hunger and short-time; this surely marked the end of the long catalogue of troubles self and his comrades "on the job". which had been my lot for the past seven years. A regular job, a regular wage and a prospect of promotion. What more could I want?" Yet, from the did during those seven years-working in in a concrete mixing gang, a brickyard, a dry dock, a fertiliser factory and finally, in a steel works which turned out steel rails for railways-one cannot but feel that he derived much satisfaction at mastering the jobs he undertook, for it is not sufficiently appreciated that wielding a shovel is a skilled job when done properly. To-day, with the growing use of mechanical excavators of all descriptions, small mobile cranes, etc., much of the skilled work formerly done by labourers is a thing of the past. Indeed, most of the operations carried out by the author over 20 years ago are to-day being done by machines. It is not surprising therefore that "skilled" labourers are to be found mostly among the older generation. And I agree with the author that it gives

No Gold on my Shovel is worth reading both for its own merits as a book as well mainly the account of a man's struggle for the social emancipation both of him-

Barbara Hammond. (Pelican,

values in culture. In one word I find

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HERBERT READ: sede all others. There is a grain of truth—even a vein of truth—in find Rocker more tolerant, more

THE THIRD WAY by Wilfred a new attitude towards work and material comforts which will enable men to find phlet is an examination of the world other pointless pleasures. So far so good;

real satisfaction in their work and so have no need for the opiate of betting and olitical situation, and a plea for a num- all these things would be excellent, but being a great power, the initiation of a the right government might calmly take charge in this solemn breaking-up of the We are more than sceptical, and consider that, while the things Mr. Wellock wants to see are worth while, they can only be

> CANDIDE by Voltaire, translated by John Butt. (Penguin,

extremely amusing social satire which revolutionary France as Gulliver's Travels for England. Voltaire was not so thorough in his satirical malice as Swift, but a good deal more light-hearted, and such delightful tales as that of the waitingwoman with only one buttock, are drawn from a really Rabelaisian sense of humour. The new translation is in tune with the humour of the original, and is in general very successful.

TROM Coventry comes the first issue of the review of the Family Health Club, whose members plan to continue and extend the work of the Pioneer Health Centre at Peckham. [See: Peckham's Health Experiment (Freedom, 4/1/47) and Kenneth Barlow: The Coventry Experi-

The review contains a note on the aims and present activities of the Club by Dr. Barlow, a letter and news from Peckham, and a report on the Brandon Woods Farms whose 330 acres have been acquired "to supply to members of the Society first-quality general farm produce, in particular T.T. milk and other protective foods for pregnant mothers and

KING STREET AND KINGS GALLANTRY

day for stealing an apple valued at 4d. the Daily Worker, is one of the leaders who took part in boarding illegal Jewish | Crewe. She is Mrs. Fanny Amelia Smith, of of the Communists in this country, and immigrant ships were announced in the Barton Street, Bath, and had been re- he is, therefore, most careful to keep London Gazette last night. They include manded in custody for a week to decide strictly to the party line. magistrates or at Quarter Sessions.

The Russian authorities have fined the and sojourn in luxury . . ." women's weekly, Fuer Dich, for printing made one interesting, though not un-

Elizabeth's wedding. punished for a similar offence.

LOGIC House of Commons that it is not in favour of pardoning deserters, because it would not be fair to those who have been

Does this mean that when the abolition of the death penalty is proposed the Government will vote against it because it would not be fair to those who have been hanged already? Letter in the Daily Worker, 15/11/47.

EXECUTIONERS MUST

went on strike to-day and refused to guillotine eight men. He demanded a salary increase and a bonus for every execution.

to three years' penal servitude for the Ministry of Supply is taking over the burglary, 20-year-old Roy Christopher area next January.

formerly stationed at Warwick, burst open the back door of a Black Maria as it drew up outside the prison gates and slipped away in the dark; police were still searching late last night. Daily Herald, 29/11/47. from New York?

estimated to equal a 4d. rate to meet the of a Communist you are: get the hell about a lot of things, especially what cost of the Special Assize. News Chronicle, 4/12/47.

Walter Holmes, feature columnist of The first awards to officers and ratings to keep our Freedom.

a bar to the D.S.C., two D.S.C.'s six On Wednesday, 19th November, he D.S.M.'s and 22 mentions in despatches.

News Chronicle, 27/11/47. against the assemblage of royal personages in London. Listing them, he concluded his screed with the words "these parasites So far, so good! But Walter Holmes

offensively sarcastic articles about Princess expected, omission. He failed to mention was Home Secretary, he said, he had felt King Michael of Rumania! This unable to take the risk of abolishing A month ago the Russian-controlled efficiency on the part of Walter Holmes hanging. Then it was Chuter Ede who daily newspaper, Berlin am Mittag, was may, of course, prove to be intensely em- advocated abolition. Evening Standard, 29/11/47. Worker might want to know just how far has the responsibility, Templewood the the Communist-controlled Government of freedom. Ede it is who finds the risk Rumania are using King Michael in too great-while Templewod enlisting support for Russian foreign changed his mind, and now urges the

> We have not forgotten that on July 19th, 1945, Marshal Tolbukhin per- this. sonally invested King Michael with the Order of Victory, the highest Soviet decoration, at a ceremony in Bucharest. Socialist Leader, 29/11/47.

Seven Shropshire farmers whose land

M. Desfourneaux, France's executioner, help fight the battle for food. more than a square mile of some of still exercise some choice of pusher. Britain's best arable land to make room for High Ercall aerodrome-important Daily Express, 28/11/47. war-time night-fighter base. But now, led by Farmer Bradley PORTRAIT OF A

Stevens, of Wellington, they are pro-Before being sentenced at Birmingham testing because they have been told that Hunt heard a police officer say he had Some of them have asked the Air Ministry for permission to farm sections An hour later Hunt, a London soldier, of the land which appear to be unused. Sunday Dispatch, 23/11/47.

vidual shuffling across the path.

out of this." News Chronicle, 25/11/47.

In Central Park, a keen-eyed police- economist rather than a theoretician; he Italian imports while her quarries stagnate man saw a shabby, seedy-looking indi- has more than an amateur's interest in and her quarrymen emigrate to England. ordinary in several respects. The case has "Get out," he said gruffly, swinging his our socialists may be proud of-almost as your friends? We can supply you baton; "we want no Communists here." thoughts clear. He is not afraid to make Seedy one timidly: "But I'm an anti- a decision, or to state his convictions. He in Glamorgan.

makes capitalism work.

Time (U.S.A.), 1/12/47.

WHAT ONE MINER THINKS A coal miner got more terrifyingly close

to the heart of Britain's problem, which is that her people won't get more of the things they want until they produce more, and won't produce more until they get more of the things they want. He was one of the absentees whom the Government eloquently exhorts to stay on the job. Asked why Britain's pre-war coal production of Evening Standard, 4/12/47. 230 million tons had fallen below 200

Concentration camps in Holland from digging?" which Nazis have been repatriated now

"We need more food and more paythe military police are unable to find and more to buy with the pay-before them. Some have crossed the border into we'll dig more coal. Even with what you can earn, there's little to buy in the shops, Resistance (U.S.A.), Oct.-Nov., 1947. that's worth buying, that is. Everything good goes for export. Well, they'd better send some of it to mine towns, if they want us to send coal to them. That's the export drive I want to see."

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