anarchist Commentary

VICTIM OF

THE effect of so-called "scientific" of a woman who committed suicide as a result of anxiety caused by continual time checking in her work as RANK GOES LOWBROW a dress alteration hand.

At the inquest a representative of being kept on work". The continua healthy mental state, precipitated her

This is an extreme example of the evil caused by this mechanisation of the working process; the harm that does not become evident in such a dramatic way is widespread and results in much ill-health and menta anxiety among the continually growing section of workers who are subjected to this continual discipline, which, in order to get an increased profit for the capitalists, involved a permanent deterioration of the health of the community.

#### WHEN IS A DETERRENT NOT A DETERRENT ?

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An example of the strange and wonderfully illogical way in which the minds of Cabinet Ministers work was shown when flogging except in prison, stated that experience showed it did not really act as a deterrent. If it does not act as a deterrent in ordinary life, why should it act as a deterrent in prison?

Perhaps this little problem of reasoning is too much for a mere minister, though



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 n lecture on the 21st and 28th December. Tony Weaver JAN, 4th

"Impressions from France" John Turner JAN 11th. "The Work of PATRICK GEDDES"

N.E. LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

> At Flat 3, 43, New Wanstead (Nr. Green Man, E.II) Lectures to be Announced

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP Public Meetings at

CENTRAL HALLS, BATH ST. will be held every Sunday evening. John Gaffney, Frank

Leech, Eddie Shaw. Doors open 6.30 p.m.

\_\_\_\_\_

Comrades interested in the formation of a Discussion Group in the Addlestone area should write to : Constance Stork,

55, Byron Road, Addlestone, Surrey. \_\_\_\_\_

LEEDS AREA Those interested in the formation of Discussion Group should contact:

Anthony Earnshaw, 18, Ellers Road, Hare Hills, Leeds, 1

#### ILLNESS.

It is with deep regret that we lear that our comrade Preston Clements h a severe breakdown and will not be able to participate in active propaganda for at the New Year. It means a lot of extra work least twelve months, but more important for our already overworked administration, in the meantime is getting somewhere in and extra postages which we can ill-afford. the country to get complete rest and the necessary nourishment.

The nature of the collapse, which physical and mental, demands quietness and complete relaxation. Unless this is renewal post card to deal with it imforthcoming immediately our good com- mediately and so save us extra work. And rade may be lost to the Movement for all if their families, nieces and nephews have time.

Any comrades who find themselves in a position to help in this respect, or can seasonal depredations, will they add a small offer suggestions should contact Eddie contribution to the Press Fund, so that the Shaw at 173, Dalmarnock Road, Glasgow, £350 mark is passed before we face the E.1, or Preston Clements, 43, Cunningham problems of another year of publishing Street, Glasgow, C.1.

EDDIE SHAW.

these pictures in favour of cheaply produced farces and thrillers, with more "box office appeal".

In fact, we vet wait to see more than one or two even moderately good pictures lacking. Elaborate production, affected acting, phoney psychology, there certainly has been, but-high intellectual quality?

It is also a characteristically kitschy fallacy that a good picture costs a great deal to produce. French and Italian studios have produced first-rate pictures, of real intellectual quality, and with acting and photography of much higher standard than anything the big British studios have cost of producing any of the much boosted British films.

As for box-office appeal, that is usually the product of conditioning by the film magnates themselves, who have successfully managed to degrade popular taste. If they produced really good films, and gave the people a chance to see something intelligent, they might well find that box office appeal would be a completely different thing from what it is now. Clearly, the two main reasons for the film boss's new policy are, firstly, to save money by giving the public the cheapest they will accept, and, secondly, to either from an artistic or a political point of view, gets through.

of conscientiously good quality. And with the present monopoly hold that difficult. The ideal thing would be for a group of disgruntled and idealistic actors and technicians to set up a co-operati studio-and there are more impossible things than that.

#### MINISTRY ABOVE ITS OWN LAWS

▲ WEEK after the Zip French Cleaners Ltd. were prosecuted by the Ministry of Fuel for exhibiting a revolving sign using two and a half ounces of coal a what are actually small minorities year the Board of Trade illuminated "export quiz" display worked by mains electricity in the Stoke Town

When questioned about this conumption of electricity, a spokesman for the Ministry of Fuel and Power cooly announced that the Ministries were not covered by the Control of Fuel Order,



J ago, that the price of FREEDOM would be increased to 3d. a copy, we have

received nearly £50 for the Press Fund ! This is most encouraging, more so since the contributors have been in the main readers who were renewing their subscriptions at the new rate. But the cloud in this otherwise blue sky is the fairly large number of subscribers, to whom renewal notices were sent at the beginning of the month, who have not yet replied. We are proposing to send a further reminder to these friends early in

This issue of FREEDOM should reach our subscribers just before the end of the year. May we ask those readers who received a left them with a little loose cash after the FREEDOM 7

December 3rd-16th : London: C.A. 1/6: St. Austell: L.A. Stockport: R.E. 5/-: Cardiff: H.L.D. I London: B.C. 5/-; London: H.W.F. Bradford: N.H.N. 1/6: York: H.A.A. Battersea: G.G. 2/6; Kirby le Soken: F.C.D. -/6d.; Enfield: : Fulham: 5/6; Portsmouth: J.C.L. -/6d.; Glasgow: Northwood: E.H. 5/-: Malden: H.W. 2/9; Dartford: E.G.L. Cambridge: P.R. 11/6; Hounslow: W.M. : Bristol: S.G.C. 1/6: Chichester: G.B.A Royston: R.W.M. 10/-: Parkstone: Coventry: A.H.B. 7/8: Anon 2/6: PD. 15/6: Motherwell: M.M. 1/-: Ipswich: -: Chiddingstone: N.E. 1/6: Norwich: B.F. E.J.D. 5/6; Ullapool: J.B.P. 1/6; S.R.K. 11/6: Clapham: P.F. 5/-: London:

Previously 1947 TOT



(Continued from page 1) Jim Gardner (Foundry Workers); John Horner (Fire Brigades' Union); the leadership of the W.F.T.U.," and Sam Henderson (Passenger Service group, T.G.W.U.) and Wall Hanking

How have the C.P. managed wheedle their way into these position The apathy of most workers towards T.U. affairs is undoubtedly the factor which gives them most chance. In union with an interested member-The only way in which we can hope to ship they do not get the influence good films in Britain is to resort to The Civil Service Clerical Association for example, at its Spring conference this year, threw out several Com munist-inspired resolutions, and there are signs of a revolt among the rank against party members and fellow travellers on the executive.

The great majority of union mem

bers, however, do not trouble to vo (and who can blame them?), so that a small be disciplined body of Communists ordered to vote in a cert direction can elect their picked officers to executive positions with

What has worried Arthur Deakin

Deakin Sees the Red Light however, is not a discovery of democratic practice in the unions, but a statement by Kuznetsov, chief (under Stalin) of the Soviet trade

## **DEAKIN'S**

#### The Tactic

## Press Fund

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## DISCOVERY

unions, made just before the recent Communists occupying key posi- Paris conference of the World Federmoval of reformist tendencies from possibility of losing a job!

#### "Success"—But who pays?

(Continued from page 1) equilibrium of workers whose vitalit has been sapped by eight years of poor likely to result in a general lowering of the already poor standard of health and a shortening of the effective working life of each person.

Secondly, this increased speed of work is likely to have a bad effect on since it is an established fact that machines which are worked too hard they normally would.

Thirdly, the heightened rate of production is, under present circumstances, a danger to the workers' standard of life. since where production per hour inthe workers, there is a temptation for bottom the managers to alter piecework rates to the disadvantage of the workers, and so make an increased tempo, which was at first voluntary, become a necessity in order that the worker should maintain his earnings at a reasonable level. In addition to this, the "Success" campaign offers excuses for relaxing the safeguards which the workers have won over years of struggle. Already, as we note elsewhere, the factory regulations are being altered to the disadvantage

#### The Risk Of Compulsion

of the workers.

Finally, we would remind the workers how often, during the last war, what began as a voluntary effort was later changed to compulsion. The Government has reintroduced industrial conis calculated, at least partially, to induce people to accept with equanamity such infringements on their freedom. culture reaches its full potentiality of f. feeding Britain and British industry is used primarily to supply the producers themselves, when threats of war have passed away, then it will be time t talk success. But while the toil of the workers is used to profit the capitalists by boosting the luxury trade, while the factories are still producing materials for the next war, while health and nutrition go from bad to worse, while working conditions and the liberty of the workers steadily deteriorate, then so far as the common people are concerned we can only talk of failure. These factors are inevitable under the present system of competitive imperialism, and real success will continue to be (per V.R.) £5/0/0; Whiteway: L.G.W. a continually receding mirage in the distance until the people themselves decide to put an end to a social system based on exploitation and replace it by one where the well-being of men as individuals, and not of any such abstract entity as the nation, is regarded as the only end of production.

went to to assert the desirability of a link-up between the Cominform and the World Federation.

Now, Arthur Deakin is the presiin important unions include ation of Trade Unions: "The time dent of the World Federation, and Arthur Horner (secretary N.U.M.); has arrived," he said, "for the re- nothing worries a union boss like the=

#### What Should We Do?

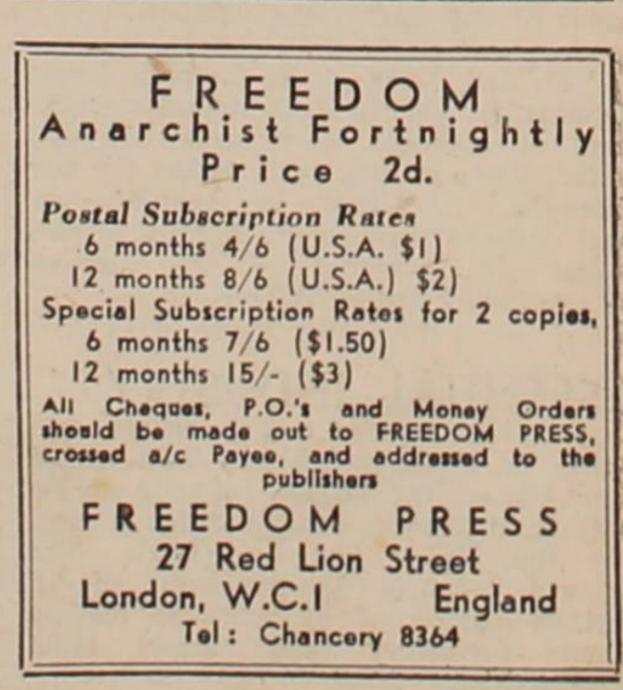
In these political wrangles anarchists can take no sides. The tradeunions have long since outlived any real usefulness for the workers, and whether they are controlled by Labour feeding and at least six years of war- politicians or Communists, the differtime overwork. Therefore, the drive is ence in unpleasantness is one of degree

The task facing the working-class to-day is one of creating new, militant organisations based on a structure the product, since the worker who is which prevents their being controlled being continually pressed to produce by any political faction. Industrial quantity is likely to skimp quality, and syndicates without leaders, under thedirect control of the rank-and-file tend to depreciate more quickly than through being organised on the job and from the bottom up, in eliminating the sinecure for the paid official would at the same time prevent the worker from being used in tawdry creases, whether it is from improved struggles for power wherein his machinery or from the harder effort of position is always the same-at the =

NOTE .- In order to have this issue of Freedom" ready on publication day, all opy' had to be ready by December 20th note is by way of explanation in the event of any topical issues having been omitted which readers would have expected to see included in this number

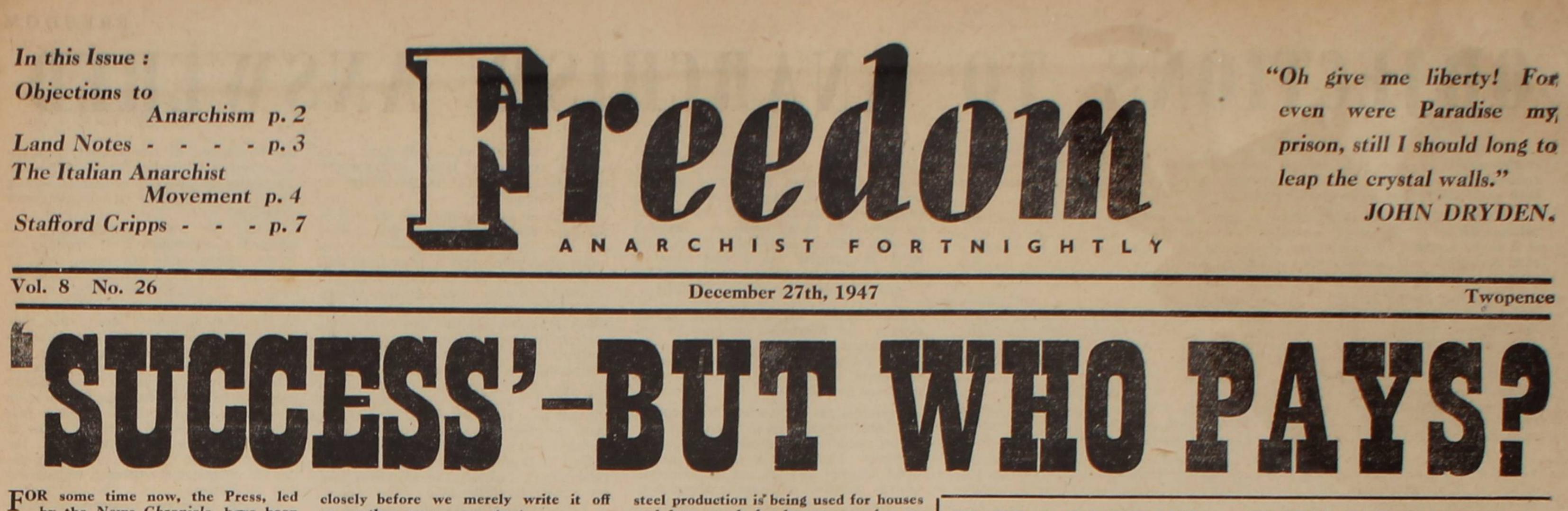
Have you received a Renewal **Reminder**?

Be sure of receiving FREEscription; the "Talk Success" campaign DOM regularly by sending your renewal without delay! When Renewing your Sub-Let us be realistic. When the health scription why not order 2 improve radically, when British agri- copies and pass one on to a



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by the News Chronicle, have been as another newspaper stunt. indulging in an elaborate campaign of forced optimism, under the title of "Talk Success". Cabinet Ministers. industrial magnates and government we are being told? If the daily columns officials have willingly lent themselves in the News Chronicle which are to the support of this campaign, and the devoted to this subject are examined newsmen have gone out of the way to it will be seen that they consist mostly compile information which will give the of reports from individual factories and impression that, as Dr. Pangloss said of isolated groups of statistics, all in Candide, we are living in the best clearly chosen to give the impression of all possible worlds. The idea seems required by editorial policy. to be that if we tell ourselves everything We are told of one factory where exis going well, and carefully avoid admit- port figures show an increase of 233% ting that anything can possibly be wrong over pre-war figures. But we are not in the world around us, then, slowly told what this factory is producing, if but surely, we shall overcome all our any, for home consumption. We are difficulties without having to make any told of increased coal production in radical change in our economic system various pits, of isolated instances of or our social outlook. It is a typical quick loading of wagons, and so forth. nineteenth-century delusion, a hangover On the same page Herbert Morrison be recognised is that which is counted in of the palmy days of capitalist expan- is quoted as giving yet more statistics sion, and it is significant that it should in a broadcast speech, in which he said: fed? Are they contented? Are they anyone else. emanate from the newspaper which represents that typically nineteenthcentury party, the Liberals.

#### Underlying Motives

But it is not merely a question of stupidity sticking its head in the sand and refusing to face up to realities. Such a campaign at the present moment has come as a godsend to the Labour Government, because, firstly, it gives them a means of covering up their own failures by drumming in these supp successes, and, secondly, if it results in creating an emotional atmosphere similar to that which existed during the war, it will make it easier for compulsion to be applied to the workers. The capitalists also have their interest in supporting the campaign, since i helps them to drive the workers on by a competitive system which gives excuses for lowering conditions of work human needs of people in Britain? and attacking the workers' gains. Perhaps one-fifth more exports are being Clearly, stupid as the campaign may sent abroad, but how much in the way seem on the surface, it has a very of consumption goods is left for the sinister underlying motive, and it is be- people who themselves work in the ing so worked up by means of continued factories? Where did the extra one-

What Is Success ?

Firstly, what is the success of which

highest peak of steel production on What else should they be? record in war or peace.

"The miners are raising enough coal, not only to keep going our own industries, but to begin to help other countries which in turn can send us goods. There are two million more radio sets in use than pre-war. "Despite the drought, we are pro-

ducing much more milk and a greater volume of agricultural produce generally than we were."

**Meaning Of The Statistics** These figures sound impressive. But what do they mean in terms of the suggestion that many people are un- fifth of goods carried on the railways doubtedly being taken in by it. It is go? Certainly not into the homes of

mains that production is still well below pre-war figures, because the pits are getting exhausted and less workable, and the miners, however much they may be taxing their strength to-day, are older men than pre-war, and just cannot make the output. As for the extra milk, that is certainly not very evident- to the workers in towns, while the failure of the potato crop to reach expectations and the fact that rations are lower than they were during the war show that British agriculture is certainly not being used to its full productivity.

human terms. Are people properly "We are exporting by volume healthy? The answer to these questions Our battered and run-down railways is, as has been shown by recent medical are carrying a fifth more goods than statistics, considerably lower than that

The Dangers far from showing any real immediate emphasis from the worker on to the work, from health on to production. tary working of extra hours, for longer | window"! shifts, for higher speeds. A British type of Stakhanovism, with all its implications, is being organised.

These are the principal dangers of stepped up by propaganda and by timechecking methods, will be to further undermine the health and nervous (Continued on page 8)



Russia. Nothing short of the first fight between the Big Two. solution would have satisfied Mr. The fate of the German people, Marshall and only the second would which might have been expected to have appeased Mr. Molotov.

the breaking down of the Conference It was left to the Manchester will lead to a division of Europe and Guardian to express some misgivings Germany, for the good reason that the with that old-fashioned attempt at division has already existed for con- soul-searching which sometimes creeps siderable a time. Only the wildest in its columns: "The average German disunity.

It has, by its "failure" justified the know themselves." carried out by the Great Powers.

a four-Power agreement on the the foreign powers which rule their question of Austria and Germany is lives, they are mistaken. Governments impossible (at least for the time be- are above such trifling considerations. ing) Russia feels perfectly justified in They neither want to save nor destroy, holding a firm grip on her zones and they merely want to use the German to the Soviet State and People." the other Powers in uniting to people in their imperialist struggle. strengthen the control of their own Whether it is saved or destroyed in zones.

# Not a Failure

retain the attention of such a confer-It is equally unrealistic to think that ence, seemed however quite irrelevant.

starvation, have probably less difficulty drastic currency reform. Since it has now been made per- in settling this matter. But whatever the process is beside the point.

TF we can believe the Daily Worker, who has deserved so well of his country, giving up hers. It conclusively shows Russian people, the devaluation of the by Reg. Bishop, who had managed to methods to those of capitalist countries. rouble and the abolition of rationing, put aside one million roubles. will be received with jubilation. "At If the millionaire-farmer had by ill-THOSE who think that the Foreign Concentration of power in the a single blow," says this newspaper luck stuffed his money in his mattress he will have to go to a bank and he will Ministers' Conference was a hands of the United States has taken admiringly, "the Soviet Government receive one rouble for ten of show singular political place in the latter camp. Britain's has ended all rationing and restored ones. If, on the other hand, he had put The Conference did not strained economic situation has peace-time trading, raised the pur- his money in a savings bank or State achieve what it was never meant to allowed America to gain economic chasing power of the rouble, lowered bank, his first 3,000 roubles will be changed at par. But if he had been wise achieve, i.e, the unity of Germany and control (and eventually political con- the cost of living, maintained wages enough to put it in a co-operative under-Austria under American domination trol) of the Western Zone. Thus, the and deprived speculators of nine- taking or a collective farm, he will receive or the same unity under the aegis of ground has been cleared for a straight tenths of their ill-gotten war-time four roubles for five. gains."

> It will have been a shock for many bear a substantial loss. to learn that there are such creatures as "spivs" in Russia. We had been month and he has managed to put aside market was peculiar to our corrupted has no bank account, so he keeps them economic system, and that thanks to in his wallet; he will get a hundred roubles than the former rationed prices. wise economic measures, Russia had ficant compared with that of the farmer. not suffered from this curse.

Utopians could have hoped to see however anxiously he reads the signs Any black-marketeering which and insignificant." unity rise out of the ashes of on the wall, still does not know existed (if one can give it that name) The News Chronicle, unlike the Daily whether the occupying Powers are was regulated by the Government and Worker and the Daily Express, did not for these increases is hard work, longer It is unfair to say, however, that there to destroy him or to save him. in fact most of it took place in State- comment enthusiastically on the new the conference has achieved nothing. It is not easy to tell whether they shops. It now appears, however, that them as "an act of the purest laisserthere was another black market which faire economy" and remarked in a typical Indeed, the Daily Worker might have policy of "what we have, we hold" Germans, facing another winter of forced the government to carry out a petit-bourgeois manner: "Henceforth,

fectly clear to the whole world that criminal intentions they attribute to devoted a whole pamphlet to tell us, that That is the classic capitalist system, new decree. If Stalin was out to catch Soviet millionaires were not the un- though it is now in full operation in black-marketeers he should have seen that scrupulous individuals like their capitalist comparatively few capitalist countries. In the secret was well-kept. Instead, accurate counterparts, for: ". . . in the Soviet this respect the Communist wheel has forecasts appeared three weeks before the Union the millionaire has acquired his come the full circle." roubles by his own toil and by services | By one of those curious hazards of foreign Press and we learn that in Russia this, that he should be deprived of part of food rationing practically at the same be the fate of the Trotskyist-fascist who of his fortune. Let us see how this man, time as Russia announced that she was softened the single blow?

prison, still I should long to



A LMOST with the surprise of somebody discovering fairies at the bottom of the garden, Arthur Deakin, boss of the Transport and General Workers' Union, has realised that Communists are infiltrating the Trade Unions-and not for economic ends either!

as those of Herbert Morrison mean T.U.C., but it must be remembered told to so choose. nothing. The only success that should that in politics that which is in order The tactic of infiltration into office

"This autumn we touched the are either apathetic or disgruntled. ning to catch up. There is a new unions. party line; instead of collaboration In Deakin's own union for example, with the boss, instead of subjugation there are eight C.P.s in the executive But the "Talk Success" campaign, of the workers' interests to the cause committee of 33-a proportion of one of of greater production, we are now go- in four. Yet among the rank and file making matters worse for the workers. ing to have a basin-full of class membership of 1,250,000 the propor-Already it is being used to shift the conflict. One could almost hear them tion of Communists can hardly be saying: "Dust off that old formula, more than one in 200. contant propaganda goes on for volun- Harry, and put it back in the

#### Nothing New

this new drive. Firstly, the effect of nothing new in Deakin's discovery. on in the unions, and so does Deakin. What is upsetting him is that instead of being all pals together, so that the

One would think, from the virtuous regimentation of the workers can go manner in which Deakin has spoken on smoothly and painlessly (except of political activity within the unions, for the workers-but they don't that there was no connection whatever matter), things can be made awkward Clearly such glibly spoken statistics between the Labour Party and the if the Communists so choose. Or are

for oneself is not necessarily right for in the unions has been going on for vears. And such is the dynamic of a But there is more to it than that. disciplined party like the C.P. that nearly one-fifth more than pre-war. is that the diet of the British workers The Cominform has not taken long now they have captured executive to make itself felt on the Continent, positions in some of the unions with pre-war with 15 per cent. fewer required for a healthy life. Their and here in Britain Harry Pollitt and influence out of all proportion to the physical condition is poor, and they the King Street caucus are just begin- actual C.P. membership in those

At the T.U.C. Conference at Southport this autumn, out of 833 delegates about 65 were Communists -a proportion of roughly one in 13. To the workers, of course, there is Yet the entire membership of the C.P. compared with the entire membership an increased tempo of work, artificially They know perfectly well what goes of the T.U.C. affiliated bodies (40,000 compared with 7,500,000) is about one in 175!

(Continued on page 8)



had invested the money, he will have to about it.

Let's consider the happier fate of a in exchange but his loss will be insigni As the decree points out the losses to the working people will be "short-termed

apparently, her (Russia's) citizens will be

Stalin's Christmas present to the would fare under the new decree. Let how mistaken the city editor of the News

With the abolition of rationing, the 'commercial shops" where unrationed food was sold at a higher price, also disappear. We expressed some doubts, in the past, on the validity of this two-price system, from a Socialist viewpoint. Even Reg Bishop's able defence of this method did not convert us. Perhaps he will be more uccessful in explaining to us why these expensive shops which, according to him, existed for the benefit of the workers should have been abolished and why these In whatever way the wealthy farmer same workers are expected to be pleased

We would also like to know how the factory worker. He earns 900 roubles a Russian worker can feel very elated because bread and macaroni have gone down led to understand that the black a 1,000 roubles to buy some clothes. He in price when the price of milk, eggs, tea, fruit, clothes and footwear will be higher

The abolition of clothes rationing is surprising in view of the shortage of consumer goods of which the Government has never made any secret. Their price was already much higher, in relation to wages, than in Britain. But the remedy hours resulting in a bigger wages packet. new measures. Its City Editor described A solution which cannot have escaped the vigilant attention of the Government. mentioned that the single blow was administered with a double-edged hammer.

able to buy food and clothing insofar as We feel compelled to mention one dis-We had also been told, Reg Bishop they have the money to pay for them. turbing aspect of the introduction of this news was officially announced in the history it was announced that the United shops were emptied of their goods. If It seems rather unfair, in the light of States were considering the introduction Dalton was forced to resign, what should

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

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22



I agree with most of your articles on regionalism, and decentralisation, your condemnation of our penal system and our laws regarding sexual morality, censorship, marriage, etc., but in my attempts to popularise the paper I have met with some severe and embarrassing criticism.

FIRSTLY-far too little space is given to construction and practicable information as to the sort of society we envisage, how it will function and how it is to be attained. It just is not good enough to evade the issue by assuming that the people will somehow find instinctive answers to their problems the day after "the revolution".

SECONDLY-I cannot reconcile your regionalism with your syndicalism, and I have seen no attempt on your part to reconcile them. I may say that I am definitely suspicious of syndicalism. I can readily foresee the exploitation of secondary industries and particularly agriculture by the primary industries. I don't believe in unacles! Also, of course, regionalism will invoke a high degree of self-sufficiency, which will require many workers in industry to become redundant and be re-allocated to agriculture. I don't see industrial syndicates agreeing to anything of the sort. And personally I would prefer to see elected representatives of the people as a whole invested with some public authority rather than suffer the illegitimate and arbitrary power of unregulated industrial unions.

THIRDLY-the abolition of money is rubbish. Do you prefer commodity rationing to rationing by income? Just consult our housewives first! Or do you advocate "Labour notes?" And do they not then become money, as a medium of exchange?

FOURTHLY-where is the sense in abolishing "retail shops" and establishing "communal stores"? What is this but a change of name, with the shop-keeper renamed "communal distributor" or some such abomination?

FIFTHLY—assuming that the populace have a right to protection from brutality, lunacy, etc., and assuming the abolition of all public authority and prisons, do we leave these malefactors, great and small, to the tender mercies of an enraged and ill-informed mob?

LASTLY-are you Anarchists or not? Do you believe in abolishing all public authority or not? If not, why not correct a very misleading title? Stockport.

As these objections are of the of authority, and the devolution of adkind which often recur, and which it is not possible to answer by continual repetitions of our attitude. we are taking the anarchist believes in the maximum possible opportunity to answer these points in a series of three articles, each of which will deal with two of the above questions.-EDS.

### 1. THE FUTURE SOCIETY

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A NARCHISTS have always opposed the idea of making carefully planne blueprints of a future society, for number of reasons, of which the princip are as follows. Firstly, the circumstances of a free society will certainly not resemble our own in their general nature, and it is carried out under the direction of a great blunder'. group of conspirators with a carefully worked out plan of action, then the revolution has already assumed an as their conservative predecessors.

## ANARCHISM \_Interpretations

So long as organisations are held together only by a common purpose they will automatically do their work smoothly. But when, in spite of conflicting interests, you have people held together in a common organisation, internal conflict results, and some outside force becomes necessary to preserve order; you have, in fact, governmental society. It is the Anarchist's purpose to so organise society that the conflict of interests will cease, and men will co-operate and work together simply because they have interests in common. In such a society the organisations or institutions which they will form will be exactly in accordance with their needs; in fact, it will be a representative

GEORGE BARRETT.

society.

ministration into the hands of the people themselves. Any kind of centralisation takes away this direct administration, and constitutes authority. Therefore, the



#### **Prison and Exile**

When Bakunin appeared in London more than twelve maltreat me as such whenever and wherever they can. fragment (so to speak) translated. And it is true that years later, such friends as Alexander Herzen, the famous They are greatly mistaken. I am in no respect their Bakunin never had the socratic skill of Proudhon; Godwin Russian liberal, might have mistaken him for a ghost enemy and it gives me on the contrary lively satisfaction was far his superior when it came to formal reason as except that spirits were not supposed to be so massive when I am able to do them justice. I have often an Kropotkin was in the matter of scientific method, and he in their build and so eloquent on the subject of opportunity of doing so, for I regard them as genuinely certainly did not possess the keen common sense of a materialism. He had spent eight years in the dungeons important and estimable persons, in respect both of intel- Malatesta. therefore we cannot on the basis of of four countries, handed about like some curious monster ligence and knowledge, and also in respect of their present economy, build any accurate vision on exhibit, and then four years of Siberian exile; years passionate devotion to the cause of the proletariat and of what opportunities will arise in a of equal torture to his robust body and vigorous mind, of a loyalty to that cause which has withstood every revolutionary situation. Secondly, we have days of depression and nights of sleeplessness, all so de- possible test-a devotion and a loyalty which has been But it is wrong to assume that Bakunin was merely no right to lay down any "party line" of moralizing that when he was handed over to the Russian proved by the achievements of twenty years. Marx is (the noun belongs to Marx) an unusual "bullock" in the action for the people to follow in the authorities and buried alive in the infamous Peter-and- the supreme economic and socialist genius of our day. revolutionary arena. event of a revolution; if the revolution | Paul fortress (which later was to 'lodge' Kropotkin), he In the course of my life, I have come in contact with Some might say to-day, as E. H. Carr does, that arises from the spontaneous action of the penned-at the suggestion of the Tsar-his Confession, a a great many learned men, but I know no one else who Bakunin's personality was distinctly neurotic. That does people, then it can remain libertarian document of dostoievskian self-abasement, which was to is so profoundly learned as he. Engels, who is now not lessen the part he played in founding the revolutionary only so long as they carry out their own be made public by the Bolsheviks in 1921 and which secretary for Italy and Spain, Marx's friend and pupil, anarchist movement in Europe, especially in Spain where, initiatives freely-if, on the other hand, Bakunin himself, in his correspondence, considered 'a is also a man of outstanding intelligence. As long ago during the Revolution of 1936, many of the anarchist as 1846 and 1848, working together, they founded the ideas proved their practical value. A True Seeker

party of the German communists, and their activities in Nor does the term "neurotic" or his inferiority in the this direction have continued ever since. Marx edited the company of those more dialectically skilled dull his in-The years after imprisonment and exile found Bakunin profound and admirable Preamble to the Provisional Rules sights into the problem of achieving a just and free world. authoritarian shape and is likely to becoming more and more a conscious anarchist though of the International, and gave a body to the instinctively It is as though we were listening to a man still alive, crystallise into a "revolutionary" govern- never in any sense of dull dogmatism, for as he put it: unanimous aspirations of the proletariat of nearly all commenting on an international conference, when we ment, and such institutions, as we know No theory, no ready-made system, no book that has ever countries of Europe, in that, during the years 1863-1864 read: "It would be a fearful contradiction and absurd from history, usually become in a very | been written will save the world. I cleave to no system, he conceived the International and affected its establish- naiveté on our part to express, as has been done at the short space of time just as reactionary I am a true seeker." That does not mean, though, that ment. These are great and splendid services, and it would present Congress [Bakunin was speaking before the Bakunin had no radical moorings: he had come to be very ungrateful of us if we were reluctant to acknow- League for Peace and Freedom], the desire to establish realize after his relations with Continental uprisings that ledge their importance." Then why the clash? Bakunin international justice, freedom, and peace, and at the same The anarchist can only suggest the nationalist movements could not bring about the social goes on: Marx is an authoritarian and centralizing com- time wish to retain the State. States cannot be made general lines of activity for a revolution- revolution; that, going beyond Marx in his materialist munist. He wants what we want: the complete triumph to change their nature, since it is in virtue of that they ary change of society, and, wherever he interpretation of capitalist society, the State could become of economic and social equality, but he wants it in the are States, and if they renounce it, they cease to exist. is able, initiate or draw attention to ex- a ruling class above the existing capitalistic rulers, and State and through the State power, the dictatorship of a There cannot therefore be a good, just, and moral State. periments in social organisation which will that in the place of both must come the expropriation of very strong and, so to say, despotic provisional govern- All States are bad in the sense that they constitute by provide a basis of practical knowledge | land and the means of production to be worked collectively ment, that is, by the negation of liberty. His economic their nature, i.e., by the conditions of the purpose for from which the workers can build up by workers' associations. With these views taking shape, ideal is the State as sole owner of the land and of all which they exist, the absolute negation of human justice, their own institutions after the revolution. Bakunin began to realize, too, that what was needed for kinds of capital, cultivating the land through well-paid freedom and morality. And in this respect, whatever you The general principle on which anar- its accomplishment was an international revolutionary agricultural associations under the management of State may say, there is no great difference between the uncouth chist theory is based calls for a des- movement. For a time he worked within the radical engineers, and controlling all industrial and commercial Russian Empire and the most civilized States of Europe. truction of the State and of all means democratic organization, the League for Peace and Free- enterprises with State capital. The Tsarist Empire [read Stalinist] does cynically what dom, building a reputation as an orator and gaining "We want the same triumph of economic and social other States do under the mask of hypocrisy; it represents, numbers of adherents to his ideas, notably the brothers equality through the abolition of the State, and of all in its open, despotic, contemptuous attitude to humanity, Elisée and Elie Reclus. But it was not long before that passes by the name of law (which, in our view, is the secret ideal which is the aim and delight of all Bakunin became disgusted with the essentially bourgeois the permanent negation of human rights). We want a European statesmen and officials. All European States nature of the League and founded his International reconstruction of society, and the unification of mankind, [and we might add those of other continents] do what Alliance of Social Democracy which soon gained, with the to be achieved, not from above downwards, by any sort they are doing insofar as they are not prevented by public help of spirited bakounian letters (the phrase is Vanzetti's), of authority, or by socialist officials, engineers, and other opinion and, in particular, by the new but already thousands of followers in Switzerland, Italy and Spain. accredited men of learning-but from below upwards, by powerful solidarity of the working classes, which carries In 1868 Bakunin had joined the International Working the free federation of all kinds of workers' associations in itself the seed of the destruction of the State. Only Men's Association and he soon saw that it was foolish liberated from the yoke of the State. a weak State can be a virtuous State, and even it is to divide the forces of labour by maintaining his own "You see that two theories could hardly be more sharply wicked in its thoughts and its desires." organization and, therefore, after petitioning the General Or listen to Bakunin in these words, a possible inopposed to one another than ours are. But there is Council, led by Marx, he was allowed to enter the Alliance spiration for Kropotkin's Mutual Aid: "Man becomes into the International though only as separate branches. another difference between us, a purely personal one. man, and his humanity becomes conscious and real, only Marx already considered Bakunin as a menace to his own "Marx has two odious faults: he is vain and jealous. in society and by the joint activity of society. He frees He detested Proudhon, simply because Proudhon's great himself from the yoke of external nature only by joint-

> voting and purges, which have all but ruined the socialist of all . . ." movements which followed. Even Franz Mehring and Otto Ruhle, the admiring biographers of Marx, have been master's shoulders.

## Struggle in the International

economic and social functions. Every yet no sufficiently large revolutionary ation and of preparing for the revolution. unit of production and of social life movement, such plans would clearly be That is in the field of organisation among should be of such a size that every person merely Utopian. engaged in its functioning is able to take Therefore, we contend that the job of syndicalist basis. an active part in all decisions. Between the anarchist is not to tell the workers Since the word "syndicalism" has all such localised units there should only just what they must do when the revo- attained a somewhat loose meaning in be a co-operative and federal unity of lution takes place; it is to show them that recent years, and has been used by agreement and co-ordination, but nothing in practical life they can take their own reformists and authoritarians to describe in the way of an overriding authority.

Experiments in autonomous group activity and libertarian methods of administration can be and are being carried out at the present time, and in Freedom we draw attention to these activities wherever possible.

Examples are the various free schools, adhered to. Unlike political parties, we phrased as to give the impression that and other experiments in libertarian edu- make no programmes or promises; if the syndicalists necessarily think in terms of cation, social service experiments like the workers want a free society, they can only huge, monolithic organisations of the Peckham Health Centre, and groups built it by their own free initiative and by workers. Hence J.R.H.'s difficulty in seewhich attempt to carry out the principles combining to achieve the objectives that ing the compatability between regionalism of free socialism on a really comprehen- are attainable at the time. The creation and syndicalism. sive scale, affecting all the activities of of hypothetical Utopias will hinder rather group life, such as the Palestine col- than help, for it focuses attention on a lectives, the Spanish peasant communes in myth instead of the practical realities of the civil war, and the modern Doukhobor the situation. But practical experiments settlements in Canada. All these experi- here and now, and the demonstration ments are of really great practical value actual achievements of libertarian cobecause they are much more than mere operation in every-day life, even under blue prints; they are actual living our capitalist system, are invaluable examples of people co-operating success- preparing the workers to be able to take fully without authority or centralisation, their fate into their own hands. and, in many cases, actually practicing the abolition of property and money which anarchists always advocate. In countries 4.

FREEDOM



where the workers already have widespread militant organisations and are expecting revolutionary opportunities it is possible for them to make quite elaborate plans for the practical organisation of society, as was done in Spain, but in a

practical example of successful libertarian as it should really be called. co-operation is of far greater value than A great deal of careless propaganda for

**REGIONALISM AND** SYNDICALISM

here and now, both as a means of laving

decentralisation and localisation of all country like England, where there is as the foundation of revolutionary organisthe workers in industry on a revolutionary

> decisions and administer their own affairs, methods of organisation which are cerand to indicate the general principles on tainly not libertarian, it is necessary here which practical initiative can work with- to say what anarchists mean when they out resorting to authority. That is why a talk of syndicalism, or anarcho-syndicalism

> all the theoretical blue-prints which "One Big Union" and for industrial political parties have made, but never unionism in general has certainly been so

In fact, these two concepts, as advocated by anarchists, are really complementary. The basis of anarcho-syndicalism is not the large organisation, but the rankand-file unity of the workers at the place of work. Every decision is made, not by the union or federation of syndicates, but by the workers in the individual factories and workshops. These shop groups are organised into federated syndicates, which differ completely from ordinary trade unions, in that their function is not a directive but a co-ordinating one. They are there only so that, in the event of widespread action being necessary by the The second point raised by J.R.H. workers in an industry, or in the event brings us to one practical field in which of a general strike, this can be carried out libertarian organisation can take place, in a co-ordinated manner, to achieve the

(Continued on page 3)

## (Continued from last issue)

name and well-deserved reputation were prejudicial to him. that is, societary-labour; it alone is capable of making The proceedings of the International after Bakunin's There is no term of abuse that Marx failed to apply to the surface of the earth fit for the evolution of mankind; entry are fraught with prophetic significance for the Proudhon. Marx is egotistical to the pitch of insanity. but without such external liberation neither intellectual radical movement of to-day; it left us a heritage of radical He talks of 'my ideas', and cannot understand that ideas nor moral liberation is possible . . . Outside of society "watchwords, realized by the workers themselves, which belong to no one in particular, but that, if we look man would have remained forever a wild beast, or, what are still vital now, but, unfortunately, it also left a very carefully, we shall always find that the best and comes to about the same thing, a saint. Finally, in his greatest ideas are the product of the instinctive labour isolation man cannot have the consciousness of liberty.

forced to put the blame for what developed on their from the International, his strength began to decline liberty is not a matter of isolation, therefore, but of rapidly. He started but failed to complete several mutuality-not of separateness, but of combination; for theoretical works, notably The State Idea and Anarchy every man it is only the mirroring of his humanity (that and The Knouto-Germanic Empire, a document full of is, of his human rights) in the consciousness of his insights into what later developed into Nazism. He brothers." However, it is wrong to believe that it was principally further saw the shape of the future in one of his last Bakunin's place in all this? Let him speak for himself: petty politics and character differences which caused the letters, when, despairing over the defeat of the Paris "You tell me [he wrote a correspondent] that I can monumental clash between Marx and Bakunin. In his Commune and the reaction that followed, he wrote to become the Garibaldi of socialism? I care very little last years, for his death was near, Bakunin examined the Elisée Reclus: "There remains another hope, the world to become a Garibaldi and play a grotesque role. I shall real issues at stake in a letter to the Internationalists of war. Sooner or later these enormous military states will die and the worms will eat me, but I want our idea Romagna which is worth quoting at length. He was able have to destroy and devour each other. But what an to triumph. I want the masses of humanity to be really to say despite all the calumny: "Fortunately for the outlook!" On July 1st, 1876, he died in Berne, and emancipated from all authorities and from all heroes International there existed in London a group of men overcautious Swiss followers, when asked by the police present, and to come." who were, in the true sense of the words, the real what the deceased's occupation or means of livelihood had founders and initiators of that body. I speak of the been, replied that he had been the owner of a villa in

years since his death, more on the spirit of his personality than on the substance of his mind. This is especially so small group of Germans whose leader is Karl Marx. in the English-speaking world where his God and the These estimable persons regard me as an enemy, and State, now out of print, has been the only complete

#### **Bakunin's Influence**

What liberty means for man is that he is recognized as Bakunin saw the struggle clearly, but after his expulsion free, and treated as free, by those who surround him;

MICHAEL GRIEG. Reprinted from Retort (U.S.A.).

W/E have never suggested that the instance is that of the recent order the obvious step of increasing wages or radical importance, or that legis- women and young persons can work, lation can in any way solve the prob- allowing young people to be put to from the capitalist class in the last breaks. hundred years by a combination of working-class opposition and liberal humanitarian sentiment, and in a sense form a minimum safeguard

Attack

Industrial Notes

against extreme forms of exploitation. tend too often to think that the government is looking after their until they are lulled into an inattentive condition in order to take safeguards. away with one hand what it has given with the other.

An example of this is shown by the fact that the emergency regulations give the civil service power to vary the Factory Regulations where necessary, and that this has been done on several occasions during the war such a way as to whittle away the workers' safeguards. The most recent

#### **Objections to Anarchism** Answered

(Continued from page 2) best general and particular effect. But they have no power over the individual groups, no paid executives, no power class

of trade union bosses. society the syndicates will tend to mains as low as £3 11s. od. As we sometimes represent, in capitalist society, the employers lament without taking individual capitalist. the interests of one section of workers against the rest. In a free society, however, where the wage system has been abolished, there would be no need for such rivalries. Where goods are distributed according to need, why should one section of the workers try to gain common footpath-and that doesn't happen often among sensible people. The desire among certain sections of the working class at present to grab more than their fellows arises from the pepetual Notes to one of those many little place in the economy of an industrial servatives, the Communists or any other sense of insecurity, both personal and policy pamphlets which it is my mis- State." communal, in a capitalist society. Where such motives exist no longer, where every people do in our present insecure world. trade or profession, and, where the need them out of hand. to struggle against authority had vanished, impulses, the desire for power and that their ideas materialize and being subject to in Britain was to produce food, it is to mitted that "in practice the most effective for profit, had vanished, what earthly the test of actual existing conditions. be hoped that you are now better method of securing farmers' co-operation reason could a man who lays bricks have ' The odd thing is that this criticism of informed. to refuse to build houses for the man who anarchism applies quite as, if not more, British agriculture, owing to "our of prices." (That this is not always so, drives a tractor plough? Indeed, in a strongly to most reformism, for all these diminished currency resources", is now in and does not always produce the results decentralised society, where all the old planners can, with even greater certainty, a much stronger position than it was, in intended, I will illustrate later. restrictions have vanished, there is likely rely on their plans never having the is true that, in a moment of lyrical ento a continual interchange of personnel remotest chance of being put into practice. times and, one gathers, might become a between the field, the factory and the For the sake of the planners' peace of dangerous junior partner. Therefore, workshop, and in many cases the same mind, and for the good of all and sundry, "however alien to our traditions or harmman will combine, say, fruit-growing, this is perhaps just as well. Indeed, it ful to our political faith", a certain tractor-building and designing pottery or is something to be thankful for. Building amount of planning, in other words, conwriting plays. A free society is a fluid bureaucratic castles in the air is, after all, trol and restraint, becomes necessary. and versatile society; where men are free a comparatively harmless pastime though is true thta, in a moment of lyrical ento pass from one occupation to another, it does seem a disgraceful waste of thusiasm, the writers state that they "are and where the requirements of the various "public money" that people should be encouraged and inspired by the call of workshop syndicates and communal living paid to do so. Or perhaps I am just mankind throughout the world to seek groups are settled by a network of envious. mutual agreements, there is unlikely to be any struggle of vested interests, partly Agriculture Under Industrial given a long list of the vast quantities because people will not desire such interests, partly because there will be no centralised organisation powerful enough to enforce them.

one instance where the syndicates actually the Liberal National Council. Here are no; don't get us wrong. took over the administration of their own some points of interest that I noticed. industries, in Spain during the civil war, First of all, "the major fact to be The Dilemma of Liberalism where railways, municipal transport, appreciated about post-war reconstruction factories, farms, were all run by syndi- is that to retain her position as a First- Having then, in the words of the Agri- of food in Britain, restricted and sub- All of which goes to show that relying any question of one industry trying to No body of opinion has recognised this interest it is desirable (my italics again) to achieved. Fortunately, the bureaucratic anticipated. gain an advantage over the rest.

Factory Acts are of revolutionary increasing the number of hours which to attract more workers.

On

wages in various industries in effort. England reveals the existence of perpetual sweated conditions in certain A last point about the wages miserable enough rate at the present standard of living), in the textile industries the average is still only £4 os. 10d., and in the clothing industry, always celebrated for its J.R.H. suggests that in a revolutionary exploitation of cheap labour, it re-

Another interesting point about the lems of the workers. Nevertheless, work before 7 a.m., and for them to wages rates is the sexual discriminthey do represent concessions wrung work six-hour shifts without meal ation which it shows. The average rate for men in industry is £6 3s. 5d. a week—that for women is £3 7s. 4d. So far, we have seen no protests The old argument is that most men But any concessions legislated by the ruling class are dangerous because the rule class are dangerous the rule c they make the workers neglectful of workers' real safeguards lie, not in by the disparity in wages. Under the "leadership" of the Savoy strike seemed they make the workers neglection of the moment of whing some of the these sides of their problem; they legislation, trade union bosses or present system it is in fact impossible to be directed much more at drawing ex-strikers are beginning to get restive at 'labour' parliamentarians, but only in for any system based on needs to be attention to himself than winning a their own militant vigilance against evolved, and, until we reach a society interests, when in fact it is waiting any form of ruling-class exploitation where everyone will receive freely or infringements on their hard-won according to his personal circumstances and requirements, we should ensure as far as possible that there SWEATED INDUSTRIES is no discrimination within industry on a sex or any other basis—that, in fact, A N examination of the statistics for there should be equal pay for equal

industries which always lag behind statistics, of particular importance to the rest in the rates of wages paid to those who still hope that their probtheir workers. The worst of these lems will be solved by nationalisation are still the textile and clothing in- of industry, is that the wage increases dustries. While the average wages since 1938 have been lowest of all in for all industrial workers in the public utility services and government tribunal from military service because he country are £5 3s. 6d. a week (a industrial establishments. While wage was a C.O., John McLenachan was at rates in general have risen 94%, in six months. McLenachan, a Jehovah public utility services they have only | Witness, said that he spent his whole time risen 68% and in Government in- in the ministry of the gospel, and this was dustrial establishments only 58%, more beneficial than working in a mine. although we have had a Labour "exploit" other industries, and to hamper have said before, it is significant that goes to show that the State, far from beneficial" than coal mining may the status of the workers on the job. workers going into agriculture. He is these are the industries in which favouring the workers, is an even be open to discussion but we note that evidently basing his opinions on the there are the worst shortages of labour more difficult opponent in the struggle ministers of the Church England and



# Capitalism

I devote most of this lot of Land farmers and workers, have never claimed Well, as far as I can see, in exactly the ment of capitalism, remains an unattain-for their calling more than its proper same way as the Labour Party, the Con- able ideal.

fortune to have to read. Is it just The main problem with which this plicated and involved system of Boards, such motives exist no longer, where every man is sure of the means of an ample a waste of space to write about them lets, is concerned is therefore posed right you. life, he is unlikely to react in the same here? Not entirely so, I think If, as at the beginning: namely, the exact way as many-but by no means all- an anarchist, one rejects these political nature of the ways and means by which Further, it should be remembered, a panaceas, it does become one to try British agriculture can be made to serve society based on free co-operation would and make clear every so often why ism. That agriculture has, in a quite the imperative needs of industrial capitalnot place so much emphasis on a man's one does so and not to appear to reject subordinate capacity of course, an important contribution to make here obvious enough. As the Liberal National the militancy of the workers would be One factor that all these Plans for Council says: "It may be added that turned into more constructive channels. British Agriculture have in common is an increased agricultural production by debelong to the commune, of group of local is no immediate likelihood, or even pos- of sterling, and so prevent not only Orders but, this being a very hypothetical this. residents, for whom the houses were built; sibility, of such a form of society coming increases in the cost of living, but also Liberal Government which is averse to he might belong to several voluntary about and therefore an analysis from an those fluctuations in the cost of labour such things, "the Minister will have to associations for carrying on various pur- anarchist veiwpoint is, even when ad- and materials which are the greatest exercise (oh charming euphemism!) per-

expansion (of food production) by the best and quickest means". But, having then and varieties of food that were imported in 1938, they add hurriedly that of course One ethereal castle, through and around "it is not suggested that the whole of these which I have just wended by weary way, imports could or should (my italics) be Finally, it should be noted that in the is Our Food and Our Farms, published by replaced by home production." Oh dear,

16 17 18 19 20 21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

truth more readily than the farming com- produce in the United Kingdom", how do State, resolving efficiently the contra-





EVEN though we criticised the hand- Piazza-many of the strikers are finding ling of the strike of the Savoy Hotel ment would find another job for Frank hardly imagined that the result would be of what "no victimisation" means. quite as barren as it has turned out to be. With the sole exception of the fact that a At a meeting of the Executive Comoutcome of what at time looked like becoming a militant strike can only be described as abject defeat.

working-class victory.

#### Victimisation

Going back to work on the feebles f compromises-that union and manage-

## C.O. PERSECUTION CONTINUES

"For failing to work in a coal mine as directed by the Ministry of Labour, following exemption by an Edinburgh Brentford, vesterday, sent to prison for

registration

# DEFEAT AT THE SAVOY

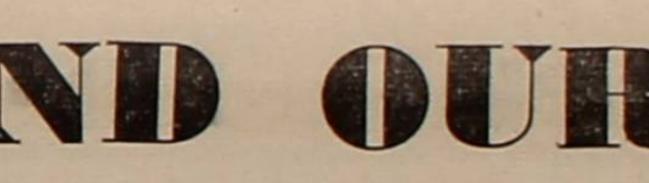
Group catering workers a month ago, we that the management have strange ideas

separate union for catering workers may mittee of the N.U.G.M.W. on Dec. 2nd, be formed, instead of their being a section it was announced that 50 per cent. of the of the heterogeneous N.U.G.M.W., the workers would go back the first week, 25 per cent. the second week, and the rest "as and when opportunity affords". (An unlucky outlook for the last 25 per cent.!) The occasion was used, of course, by Those with the longest service were to So far, we have seen no protests The old argument is that most ment of Mr. Arthur Lewis, the General and go back first. This arrangement had been determined by trade unions or Labour have to support families and most Municipal's Catering Section organiser, made by the union to help the manage-M.P.s at these alterations which will women do not. This is not by any for a little bit of publicity for the union ment more easily to get rid of the blackundoubtedly tell on the health of means always true, and, in any case, and for himself. One wonders if the legs in the hotels, some of whom it will

> the breaking of this agreement by the management. It is faintly amusing to notice how these workers still expect this particularly reactionary management to "play the game" in spite of the experiences they have been through with blacklegs, police and the rest. The managers of the Savoy Group have shown themselves in the fairly recent past quite prepared to flout both the union and a national arbitration tribunal, and indeed, while the workers are oganised on such a milk-and-water basis, who can blame

It is high time that there was a resurgence among the catering workers of that militancy they have shown in the past. The need for a new organisation has been made clear; to create a similar reformist union to that already existing is obviouly going to solve nothing in the long run. There is in existence a recently formed syndicalist organisation called the "Catering Action Movement", which we have already mentioned more than once Daily Telegraph, 4/12/47. in these columns. It may be the beginning of a militant movement among Government for two years. This all Whether preaching the gospel is "more catering workers which could really affect

The opportunity is there for catering workers to use once they realise the union leaders and politicians can do actions of reformist trade unions, who -shortages which the government and for improved conditions than the other religious orders who do not nothing for them but lead them up the oppose war are exempt from garden path, and that upon their own efforts rests their future.



political party, by an increasingly com-

for additional commodities to be divorced from what they plan about". established."

would probably be through the medium

#### The Bureaucratic Ideal

known as trade.

The truth is that regulated production it has ever been.

T is with a twinge of doubt that munity, whose leaders, representing both the Liberals propose to go about it? dictions inherent in the present develop-

#### Planning Prices-and Results

Some three months ago, I wrote in "In the realm of Marketing, the these Notes that "ironically enough the Minister will have to work with the attempt to modify the more glaring various agencies now in existence, such injustices and absurdities of the profit as the Milk Marketing Board, the Potato system by planning, only results, for the Marketing Board, the Livestock Com- most part, in even greater chaos largely mission and similar bodies . . . and (God because the persons responsible for the help us) he may well require new Boards 'planning' are almost always quite

An example of this unfortunate state of A man would not only be a member of, air of unreality. Anarchism is sometimes creasing pressure on our exchange In the sphere of actual production, to the killing of both immature stock and say, a bricklayers' syndicate; he would also said to be Utopian in the sense that there resources would serve to sustain the value farmers will not be issued with Direction breeding stock. Briefly, the position is

During the war emphasis, through prices as well as through compulsion, was suits, and certainly he would be unlikely mitted to be largely correct, irrelevant to handicap to trade in general, and suasive authority" through modernised laid on milk and cereal crops to the great to allow one occupation to interfere with immediate political and social issues. especially to export trade." War Ags. who will offer the fortunate detriment of beef and mutton, the actual the other. Moreover, in an environment Hence, it is said, it is easy for anarchists If, in your simplicity, you thought that farmers "wise advice, ready assistance and supply of which, in the form of stores, where insecurity, and its two related to talk because they can rely on not seeing the main object of agricultural production tactful persuasion (!)" Though it is ad- and the potential supply, in the form of breeding stock, decreased considerably. Especially was this so in the case of sheep. In an attempt to check and, if possible, reverse this trend and encourage the breeding of sheep and beef cattle, prices to the producer for mutton and beef were raised. The result so far has been temporarily to increase supplies, but at the same time at the cost of greatly endanger-The writers of this pamphlet state that ing all future supplies. After the financial they "have had the advantage of con- losses occasioned by last winter's weather. sultation with a number of leading mem- many producers have succumbed to the bers of the grain, meat and fruit trades temptation to reap the benefit of the in Great Britain". People who, in fact, increase in prices for fatstock by sending have a vested interest in keeping the present for grading breeding stock they would fantastic system of distribution in being. Otherwise have kept longer and young No wonder they recommend more jobs for stock which, on a long-term view which themselves and their friends on an ever- they cannot afford to take, would, increasing number of Boards and Com- assuming what in fact no farmer ever can missions. It never seems to occur to any- assume, that prices would remain stable. one that the actual producers of food would have shown a greater profit if they might have a useful contribution to make had been retained and sold later. In the case on the subject of its production and dis- of sheep, therefore, large numbers of ewes tribution. But then maybe their sug- that are still sound in the mouth, as well gestions would not be to the liking of as small animals under 100 lbs. live weight, those engaged in that very profitable game are being sent for slaughter. This at a of postman's knock, or merry-go-round, time when the need to increase the greatly diminished flocks is greater perhaps than

cates, they worked for the benefit of the Class Power, Great Britain must remain culture Bill of last year, decided "what ordinated to the needs of a system built on the incentive of prices can sometimes community in general and there was never predominantly an industrial country. part of the national up on imports and exports, cannot be produce results quite other than those



France

**FRENCH** unrest has come to an end to The only hope lies in the truly syndiand the battle has been won." The strike weapon to defend the workers' Michigan University and its curator, victors being, of course, the forces of rights, it wants the workers to recapture Miss Agnes Inglis. reaction.

WORKERS?

The workers have on their credit side a slight wage increase of little significane crats, they occupied the factories and in in view of the ever-increasing cost of living. This concession is more than offset by the losses in the field of industrial freedom. The Government has taken advantage of the emergency situation to introduce extremely severe anti-strike legislation

liberty of work and the defence of the of the workers to organise, respect Republic "provides for:

(1) The mobilisation of 80,000 troops (from the reserve) for the Ministry Interior.

(2) The punishment by heavy fines and imprisonment (six months to five years) of all those who by violence, distribution of false news, threats and other "fraudulent means", seek to incite a strike.

(3) The punishment of accomplices, i.e., those who orally or in writing encourage or approve the above actions.

Another result of the strike has been the weakening of the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.). A split between the Communist and reformist factions seems now inevitable.

It would be difficult to shed tears over the breaking up of the Stalinist-controlled C.G.T. but it would be equally untimely to rejoice if the split merely produces two organisations, one controlled by the Communists, the other by the old reformist nine Negroes were sentenced to terms of bureaucrats. The first will continue to incite the workers to strike whenever it There seems to be less response, howprevent workers from using strikes, how- Negroes than to preserve the country from Negroes comprise about 50 per cent. government.

OF

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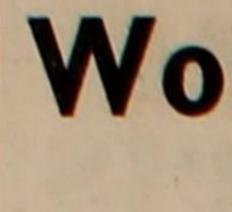
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ON

DEFEAT

French workers. Being free from political the spirit of 1936 when, with little interference from political leaders and bureauelected factory committees.

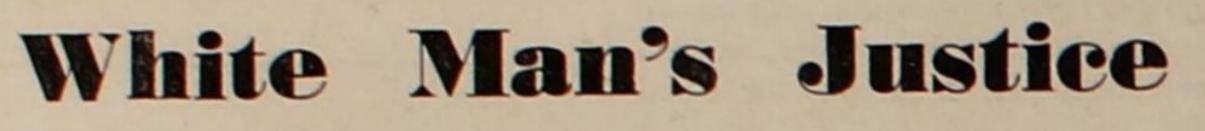
by uniting in a single movement labourers and technicians, skilled workers and employees, strengthened the solidarity of the working class. Their aims were clear: The law for the "protection of the increase in wages, holidays with pay, right which every worker could subscribe to 1933), far better known as plain and for which they would struggle to-day | Labadie, Michigan's "gentle anarchist parties.



founder (condensed from R. C. Stewart's article in the Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review for May, 1947) will enable it t more widely known, used

appreciated

workers' dignity. These were aims to Charles Joseph Antoine Labadie, (1850if the issues were not obscured by political | Labadie had a French and Indian background, and his family's wandering life



beginning to feel that the way Southern States may be somewhat "un-American"?

For the second time in the past week it has intervened in cases where Negroes had been tried by all-white juries. first ordered a new trial to a negro who had ben found guilty in Mississiph and it consented to review the case in which

Court has ruled that Negroes must be during the past ten years.

decisions and in most places throughout | Labour of which he was twice elected the South Negroes are still prevented from President.

They are also still kept from serving on juries though sometimes a trusty Negro is allowed to sit with eleven white men.

The case which the Supreme Court has consented to review comes from Winstonsuits Moscow's interests, the second will ever, to defend the rights of American Salem, North Carolina, where though ever legitimate their grievances may be, Communist infiltration. During recent the total population only twelve Negroes for fear of weakening a reactionary years, in several decisions, the Supreme have sat on juries with 4,000 whites



Malatesta (which, incidentally, has Union, their influence in the country was large numbers of comrades, and of disbeen published in Italian and Spanish more widely felt than it is to-day. It cussing internal matters affecting the translations but not in the language in must also be admitted that the Italian movement. In a word, he fills the role which it was originally written- movement would greatly benefit by a few of co-ordinator in a much more effective English!) and came across a passage Yet one gets the impression that a process could possibly hope to do. which particularly impressed the of integration is taking place, a process When a speaker visits a town there writer of this column. It referred to which found its first expression at the may be a group in existence to make the Malatesta's arrest in 1898 when he congress of Bologna (Freedom, 17/5/47) necessary arrangements for meetings. Or and other comrades were charged under Article 248 with "criminal taken: decentralisation by the abolition conspiracy". This was one of the of the National Committee and comany laws under an earlier dictator- ordination by the creation of the Corresship in Italy-that of Crispi-which classified revolutionaries under the religious question and anti-militarism are heading of "criminals". When the co-ordinated by the Lombard and trial took place, 3,000 anarchists in Florentine Federations respectivly. every part of Italy signed a statement in which they declared that they were guilty of the same "crime" as THE ANARCHIST PRESS Malatesta. This was indeed a courageous and defiant gesture, and papers sprang up in all parts of Italy reading of this incident in 1947, it and, but for the fact that they served a gives one some idea of the anarchist purpose when commnications were so tradition of militancy in Italy. It would seem that neither the dictatorship of Crispi nor that of Mussolini have succeeded in stifling the anarchist's voice, though some Italian comrades, who were active in the movement after the last war, warn one against over-optimism in assessing the strength and influence of the movement which has arisen out physical and moral ruins of Italy after 20 years of fascism and three years of destructive warfare.

Yet in spite of these warnings those who follow the activities of our Italian comrades cannot but feel enthusiastic about the possibilities for the future of our movement. Comparisons are sometimes depressing and often misleading. One argument put forward by the movement, and in Italy our comrades are "pessimists" is that, compared with such able to call on a large number of public movements as the Communists, the speakers to hold meetings in every part Anarchists have lost ground. By this they of the country. Besides the local speakers, mean that during the few years after the a number of comrades are prepared to 1914-18 war the Italian anarchist move- carry out speaking tours of whole regions

Max Nettlau's biography of day. Certainly with their daily paper work and at the same time permitting the Umanità Nova and the Italian Syndicalist speaker to make personal contact with more thinkers of the calibre of Malatesta. way than any impersonal central body earlier this year. At this Congress important organisational decisions were pondence Commission of 3 comrades. And such national problems as the

After the "liberation", anarchist newsdisorganised, it would be difficult to justify the existence of some of them. At the Bologna Congress it was stated that there were still 11 anarchist newspapers and reviews in Italy. But at a meeting held in Rome at the end of last month at which were present the three Commissions mentioned above, the editors of our press and the principal speakers, it was announced that Aurora published at Forli and Era Nouva of Turin would cease publication in order to strengthen the position of the principal publications of the movement: Umanità Nova of Rome and Il Libertario of Milan (both weeklies). Terra e Libertà (Land and Liberty) published in Sicily and the monthly 64-page theoretical review Volontà of Naples.

#### **ORAL PROPAGANDA**

The spoken word is as important as the written word to the development of our ment, compared with the other Left wing and this arrangement has the double ad-

W/E had occasion recently to consult organisations, was stronger than it is to- vantage of assisting local propaganda

it may be only individual comrades. the fact is that in almost every town and village anarchists are to be found. addressed meetings in twelve different towns in twelve days!

Neither must it be thought that the groups are cut off from the workingclasses. In the contrary, one speaker writing of his tour in "red" Emilia points out that in Modena, for instance, thanks to the efforts of the local comrades. He also draws attention to another aspect of the activities of the comrades Modena, which consists in contacting individual comrades in the neighbourin localities with a view to assisting them in the work of building up local groups This has had excellent results judging by the fact that in the province of Modena there are now 25 groups in existence.

## GENERAL PICTURE

From a reading of the speakers' reports published in the movement's Internal Bulletin, the impression gained is of increasing activity, of growing suppor increasing number of sympathisers. also encouraging to note that groups as interested in their own ideologics education as they are in the education others. One comrade, for instance, reporting on anarchist activity in Calabria and Puglie (Southern Italy) writes that in some localities comrades meet almost every evening to read and comment of our theoreticians and on matters immediate interest. All these are healthy signs and ensure that the movement as it grows will have sound foundations.

And, far from being depressed by results to date, we feel that our Italian comrades' achievements are a source of inspiration to greater achievements in the future.

# Work of an American Anarchist The Labadie Labour Collection

#### The Founder

LIBERTARIAN.

Jesuit missionaries in Michigan and N. remains. Indiana) prevented him from gaining much formal education. However, like many other radicals, he found work in the printing trade and so was never divorced by his employment from the world of

By 1877, when he settled in Detroit sessions in Michigan of the "Noble Order of the Knights of Labour" (they met as the "Washington Literary Society") and verv keen.

### He Becomes an Anarchist

During the 1880's he was attracted anarchist ideas and propagated them for TS the United States Supreme Court allowed to vote in elections and that the remainder of his life. His subsequent whites should not be allowed to call a importance in the Michigan labour move-"justice" is being administered in the political party a "club" for the purpose ment is unquestioned. He was one of the of refusing membership to Negroes. But | founders of the Detroit Council of Trades, terrorism has been stronger than court's as well as of the Michigan Federation of

> A small incident will give some idea employing a man who was "uttering and in particular. publishing anarchist ideas denunciatory of all government". Labadie was given notice, but scarcely had the sun set on the deed than protests began to pour in. All the unions were up in arms, the Press, of every political persuasion, was rights. solid for Labadie, and in two days time Labadie was reinstated.

friend, Carl Schmit, gave him forty acres to the thoughtfulness and generosity of of farm land to enable him to retire. hundreds of donors and its curator, Miss Relieved of the necessity of wage labour Agnes Inglis, whose abilities have earned he continued to write, print and distribute the collection a well deserved prominence his tracts and poems. "If you don't have among researchers everywhere. If in the the price," he advertised, "the books will future it receives as much from its friends go to anyone who asks." He died in 1933, as it has in the past the University will twenty-two years after the bulk of his possess a library second to none in the

Le great satisfaction of all political calist organisation, the C.N.T., which is COONER or later anyone interested in (his father was an interpreter for the of Michigan Library, where it still

#### Survey of the Collection

The backbone of the Collection is Labadie's personal material; the secret minute book of the Knights of Labour, his tracts and pamphlets, handbills, credentials. The sort of thing that few libraries trouble to preserve. In addition, there are the more usual library pieces, manuscripts, newspaper files of collections of editions

To catalogue even most of the sections later he became an organiser of the Order. would be a prohibitive task, for all the In the same year, he stood for Detroit's great anarchists of the U.S., and most of avoralty in the interest of the "Green- those of the Western World are strongly back" currency reform party, and later represented. Josiah Warren's notebooks moved towards Marxism, though what he are available as are practically all of later called his "Marxmanship" was never Tucker's publications and an almost complete file of Liberty. Mrs. Tucker donated files of Proudhon's three newspapers complete except for the suppressed

> Perhaps the most interesting pieces of the collection are the MSS of John Francis Bray, author of "Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy" (Leeds 1839) whose subsequent career was unknown until the discovery of his manuscripts by Miss Inglis.

German anarchism is represented by letters of J. H. Mackay, papers of Robert Reitzel and material relating to Most.

There is much Spanish literature repreof his status in the local community. In sentative of all factions in the Civil War. 1893 he was advised, for health reasons, The rise of the AFL and CIO is well to take outdoor work and he got employ- represented with, of course, detailed ment with the Detroit. Water Board, documentation of local activity. All the After some fifteen years the "Water numerous socialist, labour and communist Commissioner" discovered that he was groupings are well covered and the IWW,

> The scope of the collection is in no way narrowly conceived. There is matter relating to co-operatives, communities, freethought, civil liberties and women's

The Labadie Collection was formally presented to the University in 1911. Through the years it has been enlarged When Labadie was sixty-two his old both in scope and depth, owing mainly collection had been given to the University province of radical labour history.

# Middle East Notes IS IT ILLOGICAL?

THOSE who support fully the Arab or the Jewish "official case" Palestine often argue that it is "illogical" to support the principle of unrestricted immigration while at the same time posing a "Jewish State" since it is undoubtedly the policy of Jewish nationalists to use immigration as a lever to statehood. Since Anarchists are opposed to any State and to nationalism itself-which at the same time must mean that they would addressed meetings inside three factories, at any time be unprepared to put barriers against movement from one part of any purpose-it struck me as interesting Anarchist case

> The fact is that there is a very large proportion of Jews in Palestine who are not particularly interested in the formation of yet another State, and who do not in fact see the dangers of such a State at a time when nationalist and semi-totalitarian feeling is uppermost accepting the principle of a Jewish State for the very simple reason that they are afraid that in its absence they will see Arab State, which will they believe Jews in Palestine at present. Moreover, appear to object to living parallel to the Arab community.

The Arab attitude is almost precisely namely, that they do wish to become subject to a Tewish State. which could facilitate immigration to the minority; and in which they believe the Arabs would by reason of their economic to begin with, find position. It is not immigration as such | American capitalists doing the exploitation that is generally objected to; in other instead of German and Japanese.

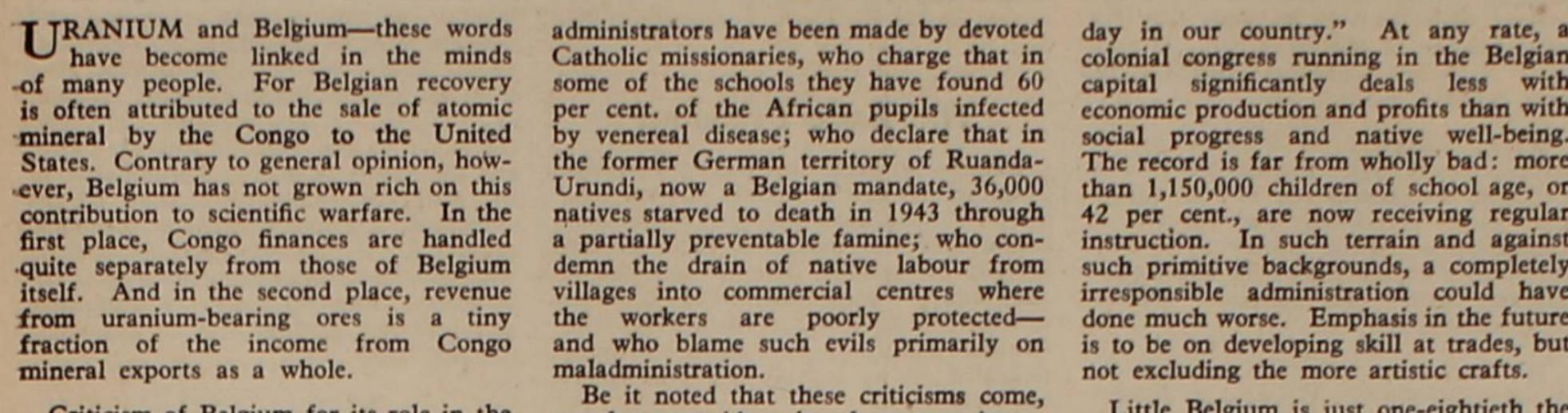
countries they can see immigration without the same pangs. The real bugbear is the fear that large-scale Jewish immigration will mean a Jewish State.

Looking at the Palestine issue in terms of reference quite outside that which the United Nations can bring to bear on it, the fears of both sides are of the creation of a State. It is from that point significant that the Foreign Office made it quite clear that Britain was not going to leave Paelstine "to anarchy" as had been suggested; that they would see one State or another in power before leaving. Doubtless "anarchy" would arrange things too well for the convenience of the Whitehall gentry whose business it is to provide wars and rumours of wars.

#### GERMAN **INDUSTRIAL SECRETS**

THE German industrial secrets have now been made public in a series of reports published by the Stationery Office, and the Allied Governments no doubt keep out any further immigration of Jews think they have disarmed criticism by and may even break up the settlement of making the information available for anyone who cares to pay a few pence for they would not be prepared to be a a report. In fact, how far will these ninority under Arab rule, for various processes become available for the general reasons including nationalism, but in the good of the community? To a very slight extent, for most of them are such that only big scale capitalists can afford to put them into operation.

What it means is that the British people have paid in taxes for the obtaining of these secrets, and then they are turned point where the Arabs would become a over to any capitalist who chooses to exprofit out of the same workers who paid the taxes for him to obtain them. It is themselves in a perpetually inferior the same old story, with British and



Criticism of Belgium for its role in the Congo might more realistically extend to its treatment of colonialism in general. Last August, at Lake Success, Belgian spokesmen opposed the United Nations inquiry into Indonesia on the ground that Liberal-Conservative daily newspaper La this was "an internal question". Even the best friends of Belgium find it hard to believe that this concern for the Dutch was inspired purely by friendship for its Journal de Genève, "is the order of the northern neighbour. Is it wise for Belgium to have th world convinced that it wants no widespread investigations, by international authorities, into colonial areas? In any case, the Belgian people are sensitive to democratic injustice, anywhere, and into Congo administration many searching inquiries are being made inside the home country.

In the Congo, say numerous Belgian critics, there exists the typical colour bar of colonial communities. According to them, the law officially in force from October 1st, 1946, granting free choice of religious education (hitherto wholly Catholic) is being sabotaged by a combination of Catholic teachers and prejudiced officials. At the same time, man of the most serious accusations against

## ANOTHER DISAPPEARANCE IN THE RUSSIAN ZONE

**ELSEWHERE** in this issue we print Letters telling news of the disappear- dismissed are the ten men who refused ance of two of our comrades in the to answer questions to the House of Russian Zone. In the Manchester Guardian of the 9th December, a similar case was reported, that of Gerda Roesch, and, as each of these cases throws some light on the others, we reproduce a short summary of the details.

Gerda Roesch, a girl of 21 resident in the British sector of Berlin, went to a theatre in the Russian sector of Berlin on the 8th March. When she came out she was stopped by German police and Russian detectives and, although command-post and was told to apply to the German police, who claimed to know nothing of the matter. On the 27th March, however, the Soviet News Agency published a statement, 19 days after the girl's disappearance, admitting that she and other students were under arrest.

The girl has since that time been in the hands of the Russian authorities, and independent Italy. If in the course held without trial and without her events it becomes apparent that the free relatives being allowed to see her or even | dom and independence of Italy up to know where she is. Continued efforts, which the peace settlement is based are independently and through the British | being threatened, directly or indirectly authorities have failed to locate her or the United States as a signatory of the even to ascertain on what charge she has peace treaty and as a member of been held for nine months. A Com- United Nations will be obliged to munist-inspired paper, the Berliner sider what measures would be appropriat the usual accusation that she had been security." involved in a Fascist plot; since, however, With the warning came a reminde the facts have not been made public and that the United States now has 12 war no trial has taken place, it is evident that there is no evidence for this, since Russians would have been quick to use will remain there indefinitely. The U.S. the case to help maintain their prestige. also has 5,000 troops in Trieste. Indeed, there is no indication why the girl has disappeared; the concrete fact is that she was actually arrested by the Russians, and they admit to holding her for nine months incomunicado and without trial. Further comment is unnecessary.

and who blame such evils primarily

Has Big Teeth

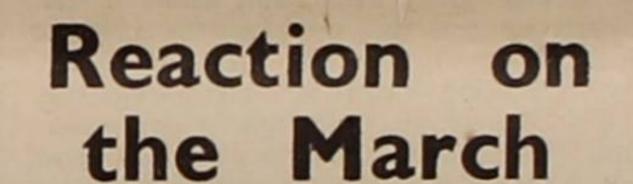
maladministration. Be it noted that these criticisms come, troubled Belgians. A Socialist group published a well-documented booklet "Congo 1947" containing sensational but not easily refuted charges. Derniere Heure has been equally out spoken. "The colonial problem," recently wrote the Brussels correspondent of the

per cent, of the African pupils infected economic production and profits than with The record is far from wholly bad: mo the workers are poorly protected— done much worse. Emphasis in the future not excluding the more artistic crafts.

> Little Belgium is just one-eightieth the remendous charge, even without the with the uranium, the Congo is o to come ever more closely under worldwide scrutiny.

Nobody quite knows who will be jumped on in the next week's instalment, but there is this difference from the serials, like a pack of hounds on his tail and doesn't let go.

The Motion Picture Association America has now ruled that the film industry shall dismiss all employees proved to be Communists and suspend without pay anyone suspected of being a Communist until he swears on oath that this is not so. The first people to be



#### **GREECE**

The Greek Parliament has passed a Heavy punishment, including the death penalty, was provided to deal with

#### **ITALY**

Following the departure of the last contingent of American troops from Italy, President Truman gave a warning: "The United States continues its

terest in the preservation of a free and Zeitung, tried to cover up the case with for the maintenance of peace and

> vessels in the Mediterranean, including aircraft-carrier and three cruisers, which

#### POLAND

40 41 42 43 44 45

In Warsaw more Polish nationals, employed as secretaries and translators Embassies have been arrested.

I else who can be attacked by accu- American Activities; these men will also compromises and these have no longer any us he asserts that the previous form of sations of Communism because of his have to face trial for contempt of Con- real right to call themselves anarchists. the F.A.U.D. is of no more value to racial sympathies, continues with all the gress, where they are likely to be fined The F.A.U.D. before the war was a us. We have long since taken new ways. zest of an old-fashioned Hollywood serial. or imprisoned, or both, in spite of the syndicalist, not an anarchist organisation. At our first national conference (in fact that their sole crime is refusing to answer a question. When this kind of think happens, one wonders just in what that the victim never gets away. The respect America is better than Russia. whole mob of American reactionism settles Clearly, if the need arose the F.B.I. would become another O.G.P.U., and the COMRADE Alfred Leinau, head of boasted democratic liberties would go by the board.

Next on the list, apparently, are th

broadcasting industry and publishers, as well as people engaged in the production | Free Socialists, writes as follows: of newspapers and periodicals. It looks as though these industries will soon find themselves brought up for investigation. ticularly universities and colleges, are Lage in Deutschland. My views may be taking the initiative in preparing their regarded as the line taken by all comrades own campaigns against the Un-Americans. in the Reich who are organised in the Columbia University, the University of F.F.S. I have had many letters concern-Communist sympathies. Elsewhere organisation have been refused permission to use public halls because of their suspected leftist affiliations.

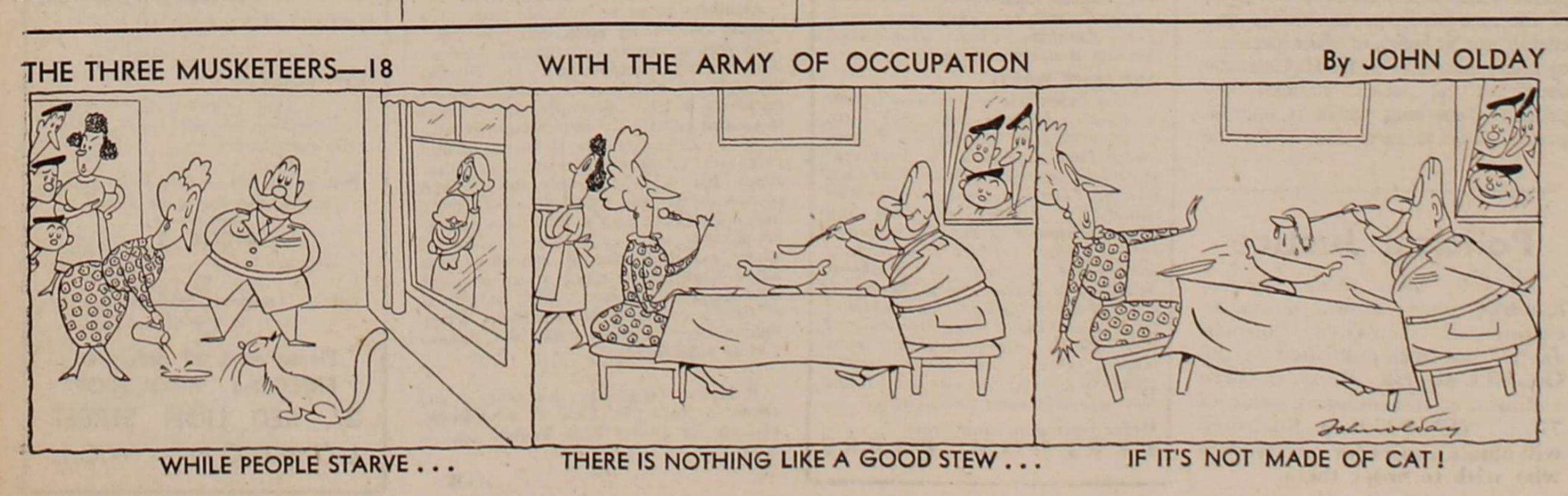
furious. Whose turn next?

# MORE SOLIDARITY!

and readers of Freedom for their parcels. As it is, we cannot do support in enabling us to send more than send each of them an parcels to a few of our German occasional token parcel to keep comrades. But it is vital that our up their spirits. Please send work in this field should not only regularly, even if it is only a small continue, but grow. So far, it is amount each time. only a small beginning, and we cannot hope to keep more than two or three families going adequately with what we receive at contributions to the Parcels present (it has to be remembered Fund: that the figures below cover a period of about six weeks).

We do not ask for large amounts of food or large sums of money. If every reader were to send, every month, something like a shilling and one item of food or soap, we would be able to supply many more of our com- parcels and two clothing parcles.

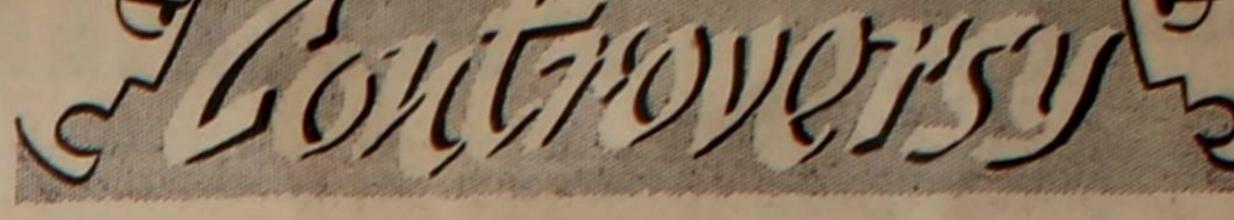
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(Worldover Press, U.S.A.)





a number of lengthy protests and explanations to Freedom, of which, owing to lack of space, we can only reproduce the official statement of the F.F.S.

John Olday has copied the whole material without any cuts, and sent it for distribution as a German circular to his comrades and contacts in Germany.

To reprint Olday's answer to the protests in full would also require more space than is available. Olday maintains they need little comment as they speak for themselves and justify his criticism.

John Olday was in touch with the German anarchist movement up to 1939 and did active underground work under the Nazi terror. During and after the war he has worked consistently for the international anarchist movement. When he said that he spoke for the comrades in Germany, he was speaking for those who maintain their true anarchist principles of opposition to the State and nonco-operation in Governmental activities. parently the F.F.S. is similar in respect.-EDS.]

the F.F.S. National Information Office, representing all the Western German groups of the Federation of

A few words on the question of how we, and I personally, stand in relation to Meanwhile, various public bodies, par- Rocker's pamphlet Zur Betrachtung der shared the same view.

The pamphlet was expected with great The fun is getting really fast and in Germany made us old F.A.U.D. members realise we could not simply start

We acknowledge the following

L.W. £1; J.B. £1; R.D. £1; G.V. 3/-.

Total We have received food, points, etc., sufficient to send 19 food

## In Defence of Rocker

Olday's criticism in Freedom of Rocker's where we had ended in 1933. We realised amphlet on Germany has provoked vio- that our new literature dealing with lent controversy. H. Rüdiger submitted topical problems must use a language different from the past. Thus many letters were sent by us in 1945 and 1946, asking comrades abroad to take the initiative and combine the views given in our letters into a pamphlet to be printed outside Germany. We are all pleased that our old comrade Rocker put this wish into pratice. Rocker reflects in the pamphlet the views which we showed in our letters, and returns our own opinions to us in concentrated form. He does not desire to give new truths, but to express what the situation demands. On Page 6 he writes: "Nothing is more dangerous than the belief in absolute truths. What we term by this name can at any time be replaced by a new realisation."

> We agree when Rocker prefers to stay in America. In Germany physically strong men are needed. Rocker can do more for mankind there than here. He proves it, by putting the profits of the German edition of "Nationalism and Culture" at our disposal.

Rocker's opinions about the German THE hunt for Communists and anybody Representatives Committee on Un- and not for those who accept reformist C.P. only express what we also feel. With and included many non-anarchists.. Ap- practice only a Western German conference) we decided to reorganise in the F.F.S. We must be more tolerant than

> Rocker's acceptance of Federalism meets with our approval. Naturally, we know that when governments talk of Federalism they mean something different than we do. But the present hour confronts us with the necessity of aiming at objectives nearer to reality. A federalistic Europe is worth striving for, even if it is first of all capitalistic; compared with a divided Europe, it reduces the danger of war.

Rocker's idea concerning a libertarian movement in Germany is in accordance with the decisions of our National conference this year, which took place when Wisconsin, and two colleges in New York | ing the question, and have talked to many the pamphlet was not even published. have warned off speakers suspected of comrades about the pamphlet. We all We were of the opinion that our movement must be more tolerant. It must first of all continue the spiritual heritage of our movement; in addition seek alliance with impatience. The change of the situation all people standing near to us. Each member is free to work where he considers it right. Our conference recommended. above all, active collaboration in the Trade Unions and Town Councils, and also the taking of responsible positions in order to demonstrate what we consider our way.

But Rocker misjudges the situation in-so-far as, in the meantime, the centralsation of Germany has-unfortunatelyagain increased. But fundamentally We wish to thank comrades rades in Europe with regular Rocker is completely right, and our task can only be "to grasp everything where there is a possibility". Perhaps out of such work will grow a situation in which the councils will receive back their right to self-determination. Rocker very correctly says; "Besides, it does not matter that by doing so our movement wins prestige, so long as our collaboration serves the interest of the whole." That is why we also are of the opinion that we can take part in council elections, not with our own lists, but in such a manner that a comrade who is nominated shall not

> Rocker also demands collaboration with E.G. 6/-; J.S.R. 4/-; G.M. | Trade Unions, with which we agree. We 10/-; G.B.A. £1; W.M.C. libertarian socialists in Germany thank our old comrade Rocker for his pamphle 10/-; H.A.A. 10/-; O.M. £1; which is a valuable contribution to the new orientation of our movement and has  $\dots$   $\frac{57}{3}/0$  offered good service in regaining our

> > Some weeks ago we received Olday's criticism. He gives a completely wrong picture of things. In addition, it is said that Olday speaks in the name of the German comrades. It is for that reason above all that I write. As the provisionally elected liaison man of all groups of the old F.A.U.D., now F.F.S., I declare now that I do not know Olday and that the German comrades have never commissioned articles abroad in their name. It is also not correct when he writes that we had no opportunity to contact countries abroad. I wish Olday could see the letters I receive from all over he world. When we want to give information to the foreign press, we go our own way. We have no reason to attack people, but have to do it when the impression is given that articles are written in our name and when attacks are made on a man like Rocker. for whom we have honest admiration. We therefore declare that we have nothing in common with either Olday or with Willy F. from Wuppertal, and that we have commissioned neither of them.

For the Federation of Free Socialists, A. LEINAU.



21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22



CIVILIS-FREEDOM AND Bronislaw ATION, by Malinowski (Allen & Unwin, 16/-).

THE word freedom, like the word love, can mean all things to all men and like love its emotional, and human history. Despite this fact, or perhaps, rather, because of it, numerous attempts have been made to define it, and, so lacking in unanimity have been the definitions arrived at, that many persons have come to the conclusion that the concept of freedom is, in the words of Ruth Ward Asher (Freedom, its Meaning), "something that cannot be analysed into component parts or reduced to simple statements. It is a meaning we must simply recognize, simply accept."

That attitude, though very tempting, is nevertheless a very dangerous one, for, as Malinowski savs in Freedom and Civilisation, "no word has to be so carefully defined as the word freedom. A precise definition concept, we may play into the hands of the enemies of freedom." This, that is to say, "playing into the hands of the enemies of freedom", is exactly

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tention to the contrary, ends by

One's suspicions are aroused at the outset when, in "Political Prelude", freedom in the political sense is seen introductory chapter, "What Are We scientists, his political naived Fighting For?", is lib-lab stuff of the worst order, really dreadful. Roosevelt could do this sort of thing much attack was expected by American Intelligence. From all this follows that we must "insist on 'America first' as the country which will lead the Comonwealth of Nations on its determined road to permanent peace."

#### Authoritarian Freedom

this unfortunate beginning put you off entirely, for this book has some significance and is worth reading, if only because it is a good exposition of what may be termed the authoritarian conception of freedom, which is of course a contradiction in terms.

Such books as The Sexual Life of Society, provided very valuable data for understanding of our more complex and, No. 8). as it is called somewhat complacently, more civilised society.

When, however, Malinowski, as an to find its most adequate expression in anthropologist, begins to enter the field of American Democracy. This political sociology, the results are not so happy. Like most specialists, and above all in this fundamental biological sense, man trast with his great knowledge and under- he has standing of his own particular subject, quite astounding.

better. America "honestly lived and Dynamics of Culture Change; an Inquiry one believes it. worked for peace", and the attack on into Race Relations in Africa (Yale intellectual, appeal has been one of Pearl Harbour is referred to as that University Press), which in effect, and The first, basic, freedom is then freedom the strongest motivating forces in "unforeseen, treacherous, long-planned one gathers also by intention, is more or from environment, or to be precise, freeand well-prepared attack". This des- less a manual for colonial administrators dom from complete dominance by environon how to apply the findings of anthro- ment. Hence, freedom begins with on the place and function of education pite the fact that it is known that the pology to the government of "natives", technics or, as Malinowski says, artifacts. will perhaps best express his authoritarian that is, how an enlightened imperialism Hence, also, according to his argument, outlook. should, in its own interests, adopt more freedom is not, and cannot be, a purely modern methods if it is to maintain its negative thing. Neither can it ever be

Granted Malinowski's ability to collect which they were specifically invented. and arrange data in an orderly, precise and, what is usually called, scientific manner, it is not surprising to find that general line of this argument which his classification under different headings, Malinowski, as an anthropologist, is able generating from what he calls "the central to develop ably and convincingly. It is formed and translated into culturally core of freedom", of the various ways when he comes to the cultural aspect of relevant choices". and means by which men in differing freedom that he is not convincing. It is cultures have tried to attain freedom is true, as he himself says, that "the executed in a helpful and clarifying potentialities of oppression and bondage the full realisation that men must have manner. One might, though, note in enter with the very appearance of scope for the choice of what they want passing that he does create a certain culture". But that is not the same as to do and where to get it". His con-Malinowski is, or rather was (he died amount of confusion by failing apparently saying, as he does later in effect say, that ception of freedom and culture however, in 1942), essentially by training and by to make any distinction between the words oppression is a necessary concomitant of as he develops it, ends by becoming just temperament a "pure" scientist. That is, liberty and freedom, which are by no culture. Culture, for its continued what he himself has warned us that sharp lines round this fundamental he was a first-rate field-worker and means synonymous, and one should not existence and development, admittedly re- culture can become, namely, "a vast devoted his life to the study of anthro- use one or the other simply for the sake quires choice and therefore, by inference, conditioning apparatus, in which every pology, mostly by first-hand observation of verbal variety. (Space makes impossible restraint, as also does the action of any entry into a co-operative group means the among primitive peoples, and as a any elaboration of this necessary, and by individual. Freedom is, therefore, quite conditioning of the organism to the



## GUIDE TO THE POST-WAR outlook and party allegiances. WORLD. G. D. H. Cole. (Gollancz, 21/-).

SOME years ago that famous paradoxologist and joker, George both on economic affairs and political to Socialism. Snaw's methods were complicated series of political events that commonly known as socialism. more those of a cattle drover than a have led to the present international guide, and his expositions of socialism, situation, and it contains some lucid but selective work, consisted of such a not misrepresent his opponents, nor does loud and opinionated hollering of the personal views of the author that the really intelligent person of either sex who read his book would clearly decide to become anything but a Shavian Socialist.

Since that day the purveyors of guides for intelligent folk (the sex of their audience has changed lately have tended to a more persuasive and scholarly tone, though they too have also tended ot be propagandists for a 592 pp. point of view rather than, as one might reasonably expect a guide to be, expounders whose function is to lay before the reader a certain mass of information and let him draw his own conclusions. There is a great field for purely informative books on political and social matters, but most most noxious superstition of our time. of the men with the knowledge and energy are so fixed in their personal opinions that, like G. D. H. Cole, the author of the present volume, they produce something which is only in part a guide to facts and is, for the

#### **Political Justice**

At last, after more than a Spengler, in Pareto and in Marx. hundred years, a new complete is the obsession with this one aspect of edition of Godwin's Political truth that vitiates their systems. I Justice has been published by the Oxford University Press, in three values in culture. In one word I find volumes, at the inclusive price of 70/-. The Freedom Bookshop Order your copy now from will obtain copies for any readers who wish to order them.

A FREEDOM PRESS EDITION IS NOW AVAILABLE OF RUDOLF **ROCKER'S MOUMENTAL WORK** NATIONALISM AND CULTURE 21s. (postage 8d.) 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>" x 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>" Some Opinions : **BERTRAND RUSSELL:** 

"'Nationalism and Culture' is an important contribution to political philosophy, both on account of its penetrating and widely informative analysis of many famous writers, and on account of the brilliant criticism of state-worship, the prevailing and I hope it will be widely read in all those countries where disinterested thinking is not yet illegal." **HERBERT READ:** 

"It is impossible to give an adequate review of a book so dense with facts. I can only state that where I have special knowledge as in the history of art, I have invariably found these facts correct. Their interpretation is another matter. I do not say that this Weltanschauung' is destined to supersede all others. There is a grain of truth—even a vein of truth—in find Rocker more tolerant, more modest, more aware of the essential him infinitely more sympathetic." FRÉEDOM PRESS FREEDOM



#### Malinowski as Scientist

omments to make on the subject in his Chains of Freedom, NOW,

#### The Basic Freedom

Malinowski begins by dealing with man one does not really have to be a scientist the real issue. His decline probably began with his to realise this or to have it proved before

> a purely personal and individual thing, since it fundamentally depends on artifacts, and almost all artifacts require the co-operation of more than one person if they are to perform the function for

Now, not many people will dispute the the use of punishment and reward."



But in both these channels the reader

clearly no real case on which to condemn Hitler!" them, he tends to lessen their importance through its 1,100-odd pages, there is a his stage, and are dismissed into the crowd example. mass of factual information to be gleaned, when he remarks that Anarchist Communism "belongs to the Socialist philo-Bernard Shaw, published a book events, while there is a whole series of sophies", and then fails to say any more called The Intelligent Woman's Guide useful charts and maps. The book also about it or to explain how it differs to Socialism. Shaw's methods were serves to refresh one's memory of the radically from every form of what is

In another respect Cole's book shows far from providing an unbiassed not very full introductions to the various that fundamental timidity which characselection of facts on which the female Currents of political and social movements. terises Labour intellectuals of his type when they are faced with the problem of | FROM OUR STOCK : (or male) intelligence could do its own is to be warned of pitfalls; Cole does Russia. I think that it arises very largely from the fact that, while they realise | STALIN that Russia is really not a revolutionary society and has many features which repel their lingering liberal susceptibilities, they cannot escape the fact that everything which has happened in Russia is the more or less logical outcome of the idea of State socialism pushed to its ruthless conclusion. Thus, Cole's attitude | AIR CONDITIONED NIGHTis very shaky, as when he says:

> "Obviously there has been a revulsion-which I dislike-from the first ROME UNDER THE TERROR fine flourishing of Socialist idealism and a return to the greater use of material THE FEAR OF FREEDOM incentives and the greater recognition of inequality in both payment and THE MOMENT by Virginia Woolf 10/6 education. I am not in a position to judge how far these steps were avoidable; and in any case I can see no evidence in them that the Soviet Union is building up a new system of class exploitation. Inequalities, if they are ART & SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY not too extreme, do not constitute class differences; and inequalities of earned | SCIENCE, LIBERTY & PEACE income are very different from inequalities based on incomes from pro- PORTRAIT OF A LADY perty descending from father to son." In this argument Cole glosses over no less than three important facts. Firstly, the right of inheritance has been reintroduced in Russia. Secondly, the changes in education, with the introduction of fees, have in themselvse helped to create and perpetuate a class difference, since they mean that in general only the children of bureaucrats and technicians can obtain higher education and in their turn become bureaucrats and technicians. Thirdly, where a factory director can earn from

50 to 80 times as much as an ordinary labourer, one becomes a little suspicious of Cole's standards of equality. When, indeed, does inequality for him become a class difference?

It is for things like this that, if you choose to take Mr. Cole as your guide, you should always keep a good eye on him.

G.W.

what Malinowski, despite his avowed butions to anthropology were outstanding. between liberty and freedom, but for those but it is the absence of enforced, external not admit. He is essentially authoritarian because he insists that discipline and restraint must be imposed on the individual by the group, failing to realise that, even from the group's point of view, restraint or discipline is most reliable and most and the group when it is self-imposed, as to maintain his mere survival. However, are mere red herrings and do not affect

## Malinowski's

#### Authoritarianism

Some of Malinowski's many remarks

"Education implies the disciplining of infantile moods, whims and drives." "Children must submit to parental authority, and later on must help and assist their parents."

"The value of coercion is evident. It is used as an instrument in all education." "On the analysis of education we have to remember that it is always based on

The child's "fits of idleness or disobedience must be gradually curtailed,

Previously, Malinowski has written that "the sound theory of freedom consists in research worker and student his contri- no means purely academic, distinction truly not simply the absence of restraint acquisition of new habits". Culture, then, ends by being the sucessful acquisition of

Finally, Malinowski's insidious argument reaches its logical outcome when he unquestioning and mechanical". To THE INTELLIGENT MAN'S rest, a map of the author's own social he wholly ignore them, but, where he has which one is tempted to reply, "Heil

Early in the book he emphasised that by discussing them in tiny paragraphs. "the word of freedom is also capable of The Intelligent Man's Guide to the Thus Anarchism, Anarchist Communism indefinite perversions". A true enough Post-war World, it must be granted, has and Syndicalism, Godwin and Proudhon, statement of which Malinowski, units uses. For those who care to plough all make their small-part appearances on fortunately, himself provides an excellent

GERALD VAUGHAN.

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economy but the strings of its purse as is partly responsible for his Spartan diet, which still sticks to him at home." well and has come to overshadow Attlee, but one gathers he would like the nation Morrison and even Bevin.

**Portraits of Politicians\_1** 

tradition. He is a lawyer like his father and grandfather, a member of Parliament like nine of his forefathers, and a country land-owner like the rest of his family from the 12th century onwards.

In the nineteen-twenties Cripps and his father, Lord Parmoor, joined the Labour nation's governess" and indeed, knowing Party and he was made Solicitor-General what is good for other people is a trait in Ramsay MacDonald's second Labour of character which he seems to have Government.

A few months after the "Socialist League" was formed in 1932, following the betraval of the Labour movement by MacDonald, Snowden and Co., Cripps became its Chairman. In 1937 he was advocating the United Front with the Communists and after its rejection by the Labour Party Conference that year he campaigned for a Popular Front of Labour, Communists, Liberals and "left" Tories. This led to his expulsion from the party in 1939, after which he gave up the Popular Front campaign and applied for re-admission to the fold.

In 1940, Churchill sent Cripps as British Ambassador to Moscow from whence he returned in triumph with the Anglo-Soviet Pact, after Russia's entry into the war.

He then joined the Government but the astute Churchill, worried by his popularity, shipped him to India to promise the Indians political independence after the war in exchange for support in the war against Japan. As could be expected the Indian leaders were not impressed by the promise of pie in the sky and the mission

On his return Cripps was installed as "Leader of the House of Commons" and later was Minister of Aircraft Production (he then called the workers "comrades", [util] such a good line at the time) and at the end of the war to which he so nobly gave his services (see quotes) was reelected to the Labour Party in time for the General Election and the job of President of the Board of Trade.

## LEGAL EXAMPLES

In Auburn, Calif., County Sheriff E. J. Aspro Limited:-Kenison was jailed for drunken driving for the second time in two weeks.

baugh admitted that he had four wives, £170,000 more than the previous year. total of £6 with £2 costs at Salisbury Arab Communists in nearby Lebanon MAKE FRUITFUL THE Judge Raymond MacNeille gave him 9 to 18 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 18 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 18 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 19 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 19 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 19 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 19 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 19 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 19 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 19 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 19 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 19 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 19 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 19 months and a piece of his legal mind: mending a Final Dividend on the 19 months and a piece of his legal mind: "You're setting a bad example for those Ordinary Stock of 35% less tax, making for failing to weigh the lorry, and for leteers announced that they were "ready of us who have only one wife."

#### OF MICE AND MEN

Little sound waves are deadlier than big ones. Last week the U.S. Army Signal Corps described (with dark reticence) some experiments at State College, Pa., on sound waves too short (highpitched) for the human ear to hear. The inaudible racket killed mice in one minute. The insidious little waves also killed BROTHERS UNDER THE

The Signal Corps did not describe the SKIN gadgets used to generate the waves. Neither did it tell the military objective of the experiments. The Germans tried with no success to use sound as a military weapon in World War II, but their devices were comparatively crude. The devices were comparatively crude. The difficulties of Mr. Tom Williams Signal Corps may see some possibility of goods the Soviet Government has taken by bombs and the remaining accom-net for its own the Tory leader's sweeping modation was overcrowded. killing not only mice, but men.

### RAY OF SUNSHINE

In response to a request by the government of Pakistan, the Indian government supplied it with 1,640,000 cubic centiany probable needs in Pakistan, the New a Scottish mother and an Irish father. got at least one hot meal a day. know of any further requirements.

Occupation Zone recently found a truck- blame, but here to-day nothing should be limited number can be supplied. load of scientific instruments of great said to disturb his rest and the minds value, stolen by the Nazis during the war of those near and dear to him. In the from the Ucclé Observatory, near Brussels, quiet countryside that he loved let him SPIVING IN HIGH and returned them to the rightful owners rest in peace." under the guidance of the Belgian astronomer, Fernand Moreau.

## ESSENTIAL INDUSTRY

skirts of Bournemouth has been turned If the money lender declined they were from perfumery and other toilet Perhaps it's a good thing Elizabeth is

takes a cold bath each morning. Stomach trouble, contracted during the last war, to share his austerity. He recently cynically remarked in the House of Commons: "It has never yet been worked out how far a donkey will walk after a carrot permanently held beyond his reach." With his present power over British workers he is in a position to find out.

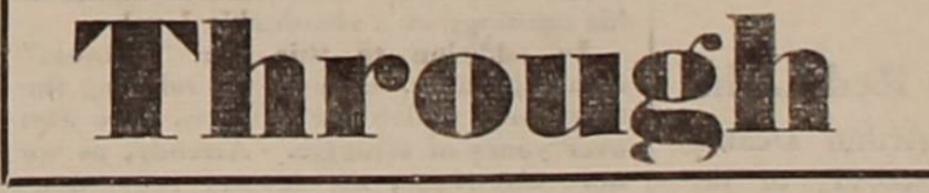
Cripps has been aptly called

PROFIT FROM PAIN

"The net profit for the year ending 30th June, 1947 (after charging £125,000 for Profits Tax, but before provision of NATIONAL SWINDLE Time (U.S.A.), 15/12/47. against a total of 35% last year . . " coal delivery tickets. News Chronicle, 4/12/47.

RESIGNATION Sign in a Sixth-avenue shop window: Extract from the Annual Report of "Stop worrying, you'll never get out of this world alive."

In Philadelphia, when Lorenzo Broken- Income Tax) is £593,557 or approximately The National Coal Board was fined a Israel (Land of Israel). a total for the year of 50% less tax, as not entering the correct weight on the to fight for the liberation of Palestine Daily Mail, 16/12/47.



#### Churchill—Stalin

for its own the Tory leader's sweeping modation was overcrowded. Time (U.S.A.), 8/12/47. slogan "Set the people free."

## Baldwin-Gallagher

## Worldover Press, 21/11/47. ROYAL FUND-RAISING

wanted money in the old days they the Commons yesterday. A war-time radar factory on the out- "borrowed" it from Jewish merchants.

News Chronicle, 16/12/47. getting £40,000!

39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52

#### THE PLIGHT OF THE OLD AMERICAN CYNICISM PEOPLE Washington cynics are telling a story

in rooms and, in some cases, dying from republic of San Marino who asked for aid neglect and semi-starvation, was discussed under the Marshall Plan. State Depart-Churchill should send a congratulatory at a conference at Croydon to-day. message to Stalin. By putting an end to It was reported that Croydon Public Secretary. He explained that his people REVOLUTION

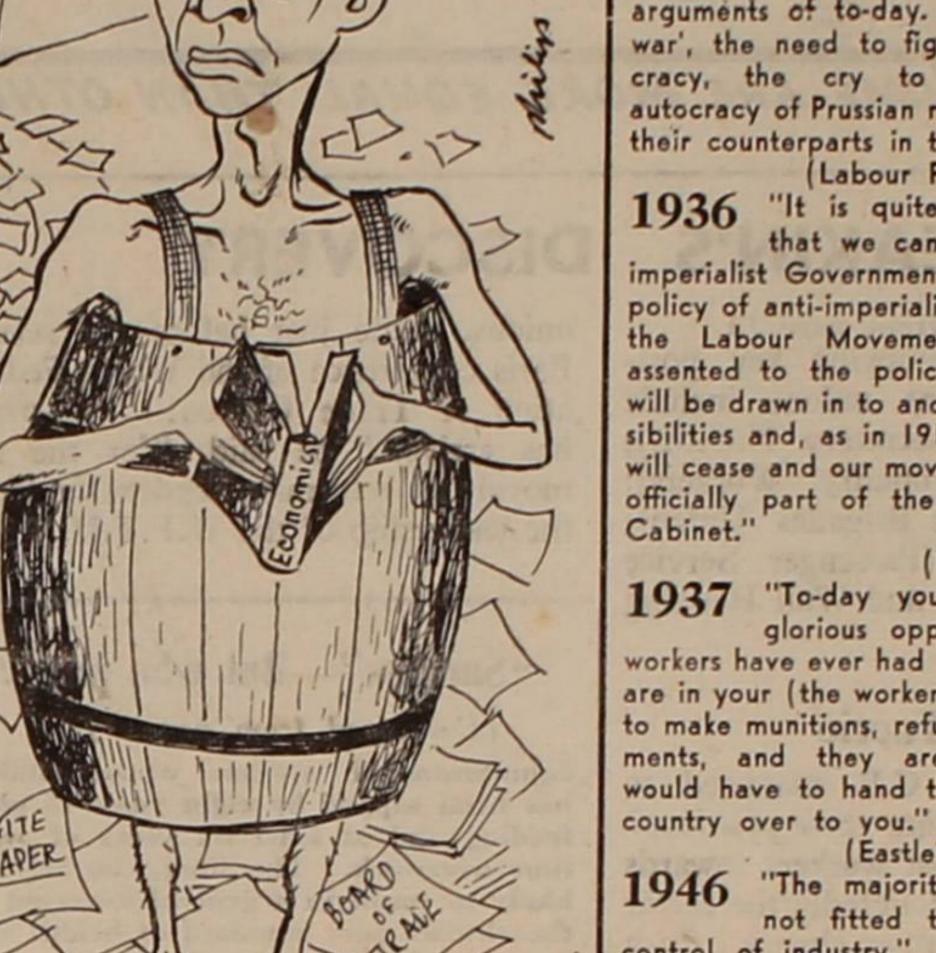
No more old people could be admitted "And do you have a Communist prob- But the appointment of Sir Frederick News Chronicle, 16/12/47. at the present time and some of them lem?" "No, we are spared that." Burrows must shock even the faithful. on the waiting list were in difficulties. "Well," said Mr. Marshall, "I'm sorry Sir Frederick has a long and honour-Prices were completely beyond the we can't help." So, on his way home, able career behind him in the service of reach of the Old Age Pensions on which the unhappy man called on President the railways and the N.U.R. He was they were trying to live, and they urgently Auriol in Paris and explained his problem. taken from this sphere to be Governor of "He told me," said Mr. Gallagher, needed both food and clothing. metres of cholera vaccine. After finding "that he had a Scottish mother and a Speakers said that the main need of the just a dozen Communists?" that it had enough of the vaccine to meet Welsh father, and I told him that I had moment was to see that the old people Delhi authorities asked Pakistan to let it That seemed to create a bond between The Guild of Social Service are already

"History will judge his long life and lunches are taken by the guild in special The Red Army in the German Soviet work. Some may praise and some may containers to the old people, but only a Evening Standard, 17/12/47.

# Daily Express, 16/12/47. PLACES

auctioned by the Ministry of Food are no need to destroy them. They could be years' unremitting study of State docu-Whenever kings and barons in England not to be controlled, Mr. Strachey told given to institutions." When Mr. H. L. Austin (Lab., ago. Each carries 50 per cent. purchase Stretford) complained that the nuts were tax. into one of the largest cosmetic under- "persuaded" by torture. One method was entirely beyond the workers' pockets for takings in Europe, and all within a year, to pull their teeth out, and another was Christmas, Mr. Strachey said the diffitakings in Europe, and all within a year, by Max Factor and Co. (Inc.). The factory produces 50 per cent. of all small fire, giving them "a roasting". to pull their teeth out, and another was to haul them over the glowing coals of a small fire, giving them "a roasting". British exports of cosmetics as distinct Reveille, 16/12/47. £1,750,000 on the nut auctions, with a exempt.

of the supplies. News Chronicle, 9/12/47.



do-gooder enjoys his immense power t make a whole nation do what he think is good for them and if they do not appre hesitate to become a martinet. For nov Cripps no longer call the workers "comrades", he no longer urges them to oppose onscription, he no longer objects to totalitarian capitalist government. Sir Stafford Cripps is in power now.

THE cupidity of lawyers is proverbial. As we have so often been reminded possessed since his early youth. Accord-Sir Stafford Cripps is a lawyer. recently Cripps leads an ascetic life, rises ing to his brother: "When Stafford was Economic Affairs and at 4.15 a.m., eats only uncooked foods and quite young he was very fond of givin advice to the elder members of the family

AS STAND 664



### **CRIPPS QUOTED** —

1935 "I cannot rid myself of the sordid history of capitalist deception. The empty and hollow excuses of 1914, which I was then foo enough to believe, echo through the arguments of to-day. The 'war to end war', the need to fight to save democracy, the cry to crush the foul autocracy of Prussian militarism—all have their counterparts in to-days' arguments. (Labour Party Conference.) 1936 "It is quite idle to imagine that we can combine with an imperialist Government and carry out a policy of anti-imperialism . . . Inevitably the Labour Movement, once it has assented to the policy of rearmament, will be drawn in to and share the responsibilities and, as in 1914, the Opposition will cease and our movement will become officially part of the totalitarian War

(Evening Citizen".) 1937 "To-day you have the most are in your (the workers') hands. Refuse ments, and they are helpless. They would have to hand the control of the

not fitted to take over the

STAFFORD CRIPPS dettesstothe ditors

# FROM GERMANY

many by John Olday were of the greatest We are much impressed by 'Freedom's' attitude towards Germany schieves more here than a hundred conferences by Ministers; these are always they can never agree as to which direction the horse it to be driven, backwards or There is a new proverb running through Germany, which says. Potsdam in advance-unfortunately the in the Conference."

You have realised clearly what goes o here, as your articles show. enormous mistakes have been made! We could provide hundreds of examples to article No. 1, showing how even to-day National-socialism is dominant in Germany. When the Allies came, the Military Government at first preferred to select for the Administration mainly people who had spent long terms in Concentration Camps. It soon became apparent that for the most part purely opportunist criminal elements were attracted. The term "K.L'ers" (concentration camp inmates) soon lost its honourable meaning and became an expression of contempt. The decent elements, who DEAR COMRADES, could have defeated Nationalism, were As far as "Freedom" goes, it is a great ness. The activities of the timeservers discredited the Left and thus gave We deeply regret to have to inform (Eastleigh, March 14th.) for you cannot teach a people democracy stamped "unknown". 1946 "The majority of workers are by starving the multitude and at the same Schleswig-Holstein. people who in your presence not only disappeared in the Russian zone.

#### RED REFLEXES In Palestine, Red reflexes jerked

purely Jewish nationalism, changed its his innocent neck. name to Communist Party of Eretz

from Zionist imperialism."

Time (U.S.A.), 15/12/47.



The problem of old people living alone about the representative from the little ment officials referred him to the the rationing of food and manufactured Assistance Institution was partly destroyed had suffered from the war and its after- The difficulties of Mr. Tom Williams "Can you," he said hopefully, "spare us Bengal.

The New Statesman and

## helping a number of cases, and hot CAPITALIST ECONOMY

Wholesale milliners in London, com- job? menting on the report that 20,000 women's hats might have to be burned unless the Board of Trade allow them to be sold VICTIM OF WORK without price restriction, said the number At 52, His Majesty shows his years was nearly half a million.

Some of the hats were made two years

If the hats were given away the whole- Emperor Hirohito, on his first visit to

disposed of at bargain sales. Evening Standard, 11/12/47. which you have had to go without for

They spoke of democracy and constituted a strong military government, which annot rule with justice, but only with

The ordinary American soldiers have, in contrast, always acted decently. On the other hand many foreigners and, I egret to say, many D.P.s and also Jews hough I am a few myself) have done the German people that it deserves only to starve. In contrast, Americans have ain and again supported German hildren and women.

To your last article (No. 6) we can add nothing, though we are kept well informed by our friends from the Eastern

I regret to have to tell you that our friend X\*, who went to see her parents in the Russian zone has disappeared. It must be admitted that she took photographs in order to make a reportage. The Russians arrested her 31 months ago. In pite of all our attempts, we have not been able to get any information about her whereabouts. A near relative of hers in the Russian zone has also been kidnapped. The American authorities tell us that any interference on their part would only worsen the cases. Munich. F.F.

pushed back and condemned to helpless- pity we cannot have a German edition

Nationalism a new impetus. The author- you that Comrade Y\* has "disappeared". ities decided on different courses from day As you know, the exchange of informto day. They ignored German social- ation with comrades in the Eastern glorious opportunity that the democracy, at least here in the American zone has to be extremely carefully workers have ever had ... The capitalists | zone, and made full use of the clergy and, arranged. All we know from our friends in the British zone, of the Nationalists. is that he has "disappeared". It may take to make munitions, refuse to make arma- Both have failed, but nevertheless have re- some time before we get to know the gained strong influence. Both have details. Neutral friends have written to strengthened the Nationalist underground. the registration office in E. but received The U.N.R.R.A. has only assisted them, no reply. Their mail was returned

time swelling the foreign occupiers with \*For reasons which will be obvious to white bread, butter, eggs and bacon. Ask our readers, we are not printing the Bristol, 27/10/46.) yourself, could you remain cool towards the names of the comrades who have

#### AMERICANA

Mrs. Jacob Astor dazzled Manhattan's obediently in response to Russia's U.N. El Morocco night-club by exhibiting vote in favour of partition. In Jewish Wow-wow, her Chihuahua, in a new look. Daily Express, 16/12/47. Tel Aviv the minuscule Communist Party Wow-wow-a male- had a diamond ring of Palestine, long scornful of any kind of on each paw and a sapphire choker around Time (U.S.A.), 15/12/47.

I occupy three acres of early marketgardening land here, all that remains of a holding of 65 acres compulsorily acquired over a period of years for schools, playing fields, and a housing estate. This was originally one of the most highly productive holdings in the country. The remaining three acres have been intensively cultivated, and by careful management have produced two and three crops, including up to 30 tons of early potatoes, each year. A compulsory purchase order has now been made on this land for the extension of an adjoining playing field of 41 acres, less than one-third of which is ever used.

Daily Mail, 16/12/47.

# MANAGERIAL

he was asked. "Only a few thousand." Land Commission must have been great.

Now he is to manage the farm land

placed at his disposal by the Minister of Nation, 13/12/47. Agriculture and advise the Minister in matters relating to the purchase of land. Will someone please say what are Sir Frederick's qualifications for his new

Daily Express, 9/12/47.

only by a tiredness round the eyes. He Retail prices of the nuts recently Board of Trade answer was: "There is now wears glasses for reading, due to ten ments, every one of which he insists on reading with meticulous care. News Review, 11/12/47.

## UNDERSTATEMENT

been considerable damage here." The profit of £1,250,000. This was the end Pre-war such lines would have been bomb killed 80,000 people and destroyed or damaged 60,000 buildings. Daily Express, 8/12/474