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Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

"Patriotism is the most foolish of passions, and the passion of the foolish."
SCHOPENHAUER.
"After all, the Anarchists are right: the poor have no country."
CLEMENCEAU.

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Twopence

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH SPANISH WORKERS NOW!

THE Spanish situation has been on the consciences of the various elements known as the Left Wing for eleven years, and it is pathetic to see how little they have done about it. When the Spanish struggle began in 1936, when Franco's clerico-Fascist insurrection was pitted against the revolutionary achievements and aspirations of the working class, the Republicans, their Socialist hangers-on, the Communist agents of Russian foreign policy, and, we must not forget, certain self-styled revolutionists among the Anarchist ranks also, told the workers to conceal their social aims from the outside world. "Let the world think in terms of 'Democratic Republic' resisting a rebellion," they said, "and in this way, we will get help from the democratic governments." That help did not come, and has not come to this day when the 'Left Wing' is deeply entrenched in practically every European country.

But under cover of this slogan—that of 'Democracy versus Fascism', the bourgeois opportunists who did not happen to find themselves on Franco's side, were able to frustrate and finally destroy the revolution under cover of the magic words 'discipline' and 'unity'. They have not changed their tune since the defeat, and to-day, the same forces (and even the same faces), are to be found in Spanish emigré circles, expounding the same views, and playing at governments among themselves, lacking neither Ministers nor Ambassadors, and wanting only one thing—power.

Isolated groups claim to represent this and that organisation, which in Spain itself has or had hundreds of thousands of members, and persuade themselves that they are struggling against Franco, when they continue the same old well-worn task of "persuading the democratic forces to take action". Is it not clear by now that the 'democratic forces' have no desire to take action? These groups know this,

but only by these constant appeals can they justify their existence, later on, to the masses inside Spain to whom they mean to present themselves as leaders.

The reason why the 'democratic forces' cannot be persuaded to take action is that they have never had any real interest in the Spanish struggle. To be candid, they backed it for its glamour value, and not for itself. By representing the Spanish war as one of heroic Republicans versus wicked Fascists, they projected into it a symbol of themselves, the Left against the Right, the Labour Party against the Tories, the *Front Populaire* against the Rightists. The Communists for their part, felt discredited after the Moscow Trials, and backed the International Brigade as a propagandist counter-blast.

At the present moment Franco exists by sufrage of the great powers. They know that his regime is unstable and for that reason would like to see him replaced. But they do not wish to see his downfall followed by a workers' revolution, by the

same anarcho-sindicalist wave that swept over Spain in 1936. Therefore, both the allegedly anti-Fascist politicians and Franco himself have their alternative plans. The Leftist politicians aim at stepping in with a ready-made government to be installed with foreign bayonets when a workers' rebellion has already taken place, while Franco plans a gradual switch-over of power to the Monarchists, who, in turn want an agreement with the Left that will stabilise the regime by persuading the workers that they have at last got back their own leaders in place of Franco.

Meanwhile, Spain suffers under Fascism, and its agony is all the more acute because of the people's knowledge that even in victory, a sell-out is already planned by those with the least contribution to make. And there are those who are not ashamed to parade openly to the world their intention to cash-in on the bitter struggle in progress in Spain by publicly talking of political deals and alliances, by the formation of dummy govern-

ments, by open discussions with intermediary governments, and in some cases, even with Franco himself.

The Spanish people must themselves give the answer to their discredited leaders and the shady opportunists. And we in Britain must expose to the British workers, what lies and humbug are perpetrated by the Left opportunists here, who used the years of anti-Fascism in Spain as a build-up for their own political ends, and having got power as a result of it immediately dropped their interest in the anti-Fascist

struggle. (They no longer needed to disguise the bait. The fish was caught!)

Can we do nothing to aid the Spanish workers? Cannot we for once take the *offensive* instead of forever playing a defensive rôle? We must awaken an Anarchist militancy that will at least equal the militancy of our opponents. If we can arouse the British worker's conscience to some real demonstration of international solidarity and determination, we do not need to wait for a big organisation of thousands, we can act now!

Workers of the World Unite Red Army Ban on "Fratting"

RED ARMY officers in Austria and Hungary have been forbidden "any social intercourse with the local population on pain of severe punishment."

This was disclosed at the beginning of the week in a "top secret" Soviet order quoted at length by an American Columbia radio correspondent,

and released to the Press by his Paris office.

Signed by Col. Gen. Kurasov, commanding general of the Russian Central Group of Armies (Austria and Hungary), the order, promulgated last month, accused a number of officers of falling under the influence of "bourgeois ideology."

"Some of our officers," the general is quoted as saying, "have forgotten their allegiance and are attempting to satisfy their desires by personal enrichment, by acquaintance with foreign women, by attendance at foreign variety shows, cabarets and by the temptations of hard drinking.

"Some of the Soviet officers abroad have started cohabitation with foreign women, have been put in difficult situations and, being afraid of punishment by Soviet justice, have turned to the fatal way of treachery.

The order quoted the case of a major from the Political Division who was stated to have lived with a foreign woman and to have become a traitor to the Soviet Union, and added "some dozen similar cases throw doubts on our security and the preservation of State secrets entrusted to the Central Group of Forces."

In the present tense situation, "while our wartime Allies have become our opponents," the order urged the imperative importance of showing the superiority of the Russian way of life.

'AMNESTY' IN SPAIN

A B.U.P. report states that: "A limited amnesty for Spaniards serving sentences for offences against the Franco regime was decreed in Madrid to-day, eleventh anniversary of the outbreak of the civil war.

It affects Spaniards arrested for minor political offences after the end of the war who are serving sentences of less than 12 years or who have not yet been brought to trial."

We publish this report, taken from the *News Chronicle*, (19/7/47) not that we believe in Franco's "amnesties" but because we think it worth recording that Franco admits that there are still an unspecified number of Spaniards in gaol since 1939 who have not yet been brought to trial. Of course everyone knew that but it is more convincing when the information comes straight from the horse's mouth.

Labour Direction Threat T.U. Bosses Preparing to Betray Workers

THERE was no battle at Hastings when the world's biggest union, the Transport and General Workers, held its conference there last week. There was no battle, no struggle. The leaders were followed by as unambiguously sheep-like a flock of delegates as one could wish to avoid. And more shackles were well and truly fashioned for the British worker.

There are two ways of destroying the usefulness of the trade unions. It can be done as Hitler did it, by physical destruction and banning of the organisation, or it can be done in a more subtle way, by absorbing the unions into the machinery of government, and turning them from militant fighting organisations of the workers into disciplinary weapons against the workers. The second method is now favoured by most governments.

THE TACTIC

In Britain, the tactic of introducing unpopular measures through the trade unions has proved effective. During the war, Bevin, because of his standing in the T.U. movement, was able to introduce the infamous regulation 1AA against strikers, after putting into practice one of the most complete systems of labour regimentation in the world. And he was able to do this without any large-scale opposition from

the workers. Admittedly the war situation rendered them docile, but it was mainly because it was "our Ernie" doing the dirty work that made them think it was clean.

To-day, Arthur Deakin has stepped into Bevin's shoes as the boss of the T. & G.W.U., most powerful figure on the T.U.C. So if the government have piece of dirty work to carry out—who better to introduce it to the workers than "our Arthur"?

And at Hastings Arthur Deakin paved the way for the government to re-introduce a measure hitherto only tolerated in this country in war-time—the direction of labour.

DISCIPLINE

When the Glasgow dockers were on strike two months ago, there was no-one more violent in his attacks on them than Deakin. Calling the strikers "saboteurs", "criminals", etc., he appealed for disciplinary action by the government. His pal, Will Lawther, of the Mineworkers, has called for the prosecution of unofficial strikers.

Members of the Transport and General Workers' Union have, in carrying out the T.U.C.'s declared policy of the closed

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Dutch Using Bombers Australian Dockers Refuse to Load Ships Bound for Indonesia

Hostilities between Dutch and Indonesians in Java and in parts of Sumatra are reported as we go to press. The Dutch Government appear prepared to carry out full scale military operations against the Indonesians, and the use of bombing planes equipped with rockets, machine guns and light bombs has been admitted in the Dutch Army communiqué.

The Indonesian Premier, Mr. Sjarifoedin, in a broadcast warned the Dutch of the hatred air attacks would arouse.

The first working-class reaction to this latest aggression by the Dutch comes from Australia where according to an Associated Press report the Waterside Workers' Federation has banned temporarily the

loading of two Dutch ships, because of "the reported violent Dutch aggression against the Indonesian people." One ship is in Brisbane and the other in Adelaide.

The assistant general secretary of the federation, Mr. Roach, said the ban would stand until the Indonesian situation became more clear. He added that the federation would also consider calling upon waterside workers in other countries, including Britain, the United States, and Holland, to impose a similar ban.

It is to be hoped that British Dockers will know their duty without waiting to be asked.

Controversy:

The Commune: A Factor in a Free Society

GEORGE WOODCOCK'S article on "The Commune as a Factor in a Free Society" (*Freedom*, 14/6/47) betrays, I am afraid, rather a lack of thought on the subject. It is surprising that even a superficial study of Anarchist theories could lend one to the belief that anarcho-syndicalism automatically precludes the commune; and anarcho-communist automatically precludes the syndicate.

One can dispose of his opening argument speedily: it is true as he says that Anarchist movements are emerging from the war with great vigour but it is not accompanied by "large-scale syndicalist movements" the only significance of this is the fact that up to the present mass support for our ideas in any form has not been achieved. A libertarian organization could not be formed without the desire of at any rate a large minority for it; it is not the case that the Anarchist movement has rejected syndicalist activity, it merely puts forward the ideas and it awaits the workers to take advantage of them. The only alternative would be for it to appear as a pseudo-Messianic body that proposed to do the emancipating for them, like the political parties. What would be the point of "large-scale syndicalist" movements at this stage?

Then again it would be quite justifiable to sneer at the I.W.W. as having "precious little to do with anarchism" if it claimed anything of the sort: since it sets out to be an organization of workers run from the bottom up, if it were directed in any way by anarchists it would be contrary to its own purpose (and as un-anarchistic as a Government composed of Anarchists!). It may be true that it is "old-fashioned" since the modern U.S. worker follows Lewis or Green or Bridges but I don't see the harm of being "behind the times" in that respect. In instances where an organization has a great workers' history behind it (like the anarcho-syndicalist unions in the Latin American countries, for instance) it would be stupid to change the name and form of the organization simply because it no longer had the support it enjoyed in the "old-fashioned" days when there was more action and less talk.

To come to the point of George Woodcock's argument: he claims that the commune was relegated to a minor place in syndicalist theory. This is not so. The local syndicates have always been considered as the natural basis of a commune: both in the form of a militant "trades council" under capitalism and as the basis of a commune in a free society. The idea of industrial unionism is essential to an industrial society—it would be impossible otherwise to consider how such essential industries—railways, post, etc.—that could not possibly be local, can be run. The idea of 'one big union' need not frighten us into talking as our correspondent does of "monster unions". After all, what is meant by them is mass unionism in the sense of participation of everyone on the job, not through representation by delegates but by actual meetings on the job. What is this but the basis of the free commune? Anarchist ideas on industrial activity obviously involve "mass" movements—of everyone taking part—rather than "representative" movements.

What is more to the point, again is his statement, "We have tended in the past twenty years to retire from the idea of anarchist communism put forward by Kropotkin and Reclus." Surely any study of Kropotkin and Reclus shows that their idea of anarchist communism basically includes syndicates. Kropotkin's ideas on the position of the labour movement were the subject of an article recently in *Freedom*. Throughout Kropotkin's writings on anarchist communism you will find his idea of the anarchist communist society based on "the trade union and the local council": which in the jargon we have evolved in the last thirty years in

the anarchist movement to distinguish ourselves from so many reformist and pseudo-revolutionary tendencies, is simply the anarcho-syndicalist position, as you will find it defined in Reclus, Malatesta, etc., also.

I do not know of any "classical" communist writer who has in fact tried

to 'write down' the necessity of balancing the revolutionary anarchist movement in a syndicalist and communist character, i.e., one of unions and councils. In fact, with the distance of time from early controversies in the Anarchist movement, the various contributions made by such anarchist writers at one time thought

diverse, such as Kropotkin, Stirner and the French syndicalists, seem to synthesize into an Anarchist position for to-day.

Lastly, does not George Woodcock's statement that "there is no syndicalist activity in England to-day" seem to point to a conclusion that he has simply overlooked what "syndicalist activity", in this

sense, is. It is not an official programme: it is the unofficial spontaneous risings in industry as manifested in England and elsewhere in the world. The object of Anarchism is not to *direct* such activities, but to show how they could be utilised for the building of a free society.

A.M.

George Woodcock's Reply to A.M.

POSSIBLY my article does display a "lack of thought" on this subject. I did not regard it as anything more than a provisional point of view which I hoped might provoke discussion on a vital topic. However that may be, A.M. shows an equally lamentable lack of reading power, since he represents me as putting forward contentions wholly different from those I actually raised.

It seems frankly incredible to me that anybody should gather from my article the impression that I condemn syndicalist activity as such, or contend that it is incompatible with anarchist communism. On the contrary, I stress throughout the necessity for working class struggle to end the present social system, and emphasise the need for the workers to organise themselves at the place of work. What I do argue against is, firstly, the tendency to relegate consideration of communal organisation to the background of our ideas, and, secondly, the perpetration of an idea of industrial organisation and struggle which ignores the technological development of modern industry.

I will quote two paragraphs from my article which, I think, exonerate me from any desire to condemn syndicalist activity in general, and which also summarise my point of view.

1. "I do not for a moment deny the necessity for a revolutionary fighting movement of the workers to precipitate the end of capitalism. But it is essential, firstly, that the

workers should be careful not to imitate capitalist forms of organisation and set up unwieldy and ossified organisations, secondly, that we should not necessarily accept the syndicate as it is evolved in struggle against capitalism as a model for organisation in a free society, and, thirdly, that it should be realised that man considered only as a worker is a pretty lopsided individual. It is capitalism which makes men think of themselves as workers only—anarchism must make them strive to be whole men—and a whole man is a good deal more than a mere producer."

2. "The return to an emphasis on anarchist communism, instead of the now out-dated "Big Unionism" of the 1920's, necessitates a change in practical approach. Large-scale unity of workers in each industry is still necessary—but it is even more necessary to gain an intensive organisation in each place of work, and also the local association of workers of all trades."

Since A.M. seems habitually to confuse my meanings, I should say that by "organisation" I mean the sense of "self-organisation" in which the word is generally used by anarchists.

I wholly disagree with A.M.'s statement that the commune has not been relegated to a minor place in syndicalist theory. In recent years at least—which

is what I have been talking of—little actual thought has been given to ideas of communal organisation. If anarchist thought is to embrace the good elements of modern sociological and technological advances, it is certainly necessary for it to give more thought to this subject.

I agree that our function is to put forward our ideas and wait for the workers to accept them. But this is no excuse for abstaining from perpetual self-criticism to see why these ideas are not accepted, and whether they still accord with current social developments. The anarchist, surely, does not accept the various Marxist or mystical ideas of the inevitability of progress. He knows real progress has to be struggled for by a continual relation of action to the changing circumstances of the social environment.

I think A.M. dangerously minimises the dangers of large-scale organisation. To my mind any large-scale body carries within it the dangers of affairs getting beyond the control of the individual members. The anarcho-syndicalist movement in the Spanish civil war was an example. The workers at the point of production made real revolutionary achievements in their land communes and collectivised farms. The C.N.T. itself tended in action to become more and more like any other large-scale leftist organisation. It adopted a great measure of centralisation, threw up a crust of leaders who actually played at government, and pursued a

generally reformist policy. There were many reasons for this, but undoubtedly one of them was the unwieldy character of the movement with the distance which this placed between the rank and file and the "delegates" who had become much more like "representatives".

Decades of mass parties and mass unions have given rise to a widely-held error that a big organisation is a more effective fighting organisation than a small one. In fact, experience proves that organisation and swift action at the point of production, by even a small number of individuals, can be just as effective and much more practical. Admittedly, there are still some industries which would at present still demand "industrial" organisation. Is that any reason for denying the validity of maximum decentralisation as an immediate object?

A.M.'s point about syndicalism being manifested in spontaneous risings in industry here and abroad is not wholly valid, unless one distorts the definition very much. Admittedly, strikers in England sometimes use a syndicalist technique, but the fact still remains that their struggle is reformist and not revolutionary in object. Hence these manifestations are only potentially syndicalist. It would be merely facile progressivism to take them for more than they are and assume a revolutionary consciousness where no such thing exists.

Lastly, of course the "classical" anarchist theorists supported the essential ideas of syndicalist activity. I have so far failed to find where I denied this fact.

Pacifism and Anarchism

THERE has been since the beginning of the 1939 war, a growing alignment between two movements in this country which might be expected to have little in common, the pacifist and the anarchist movements. The alignment has been chiefly fortuitous, in that both movements were opposed to the war, although the basis of their opposition was not the same. Everyone who finds himself in the position of a war-resister however, naturally comes into contact with the ideas of other war-resisters, and so it is that the pacifist and the anarchist movements now tend to overlap.

Before the war the pacifist movement in this country was large, and well-sponsored by well-known figures and intellectuals. The outbreak of the war and its steady continuance has shown how flimsy was the peacetime pacifism of the majority of the movement in the 1930's. The war produced a catastrophic decline in the numbers of the pacifist movement, and also a widening split between the religious and non-religious pacifists.

The anarchist movement, on the other hand, was at a low ebb before the war, in spite of the impetus it received by the example of the Spanish revolution. The revolution was defeated and the sudden enthusiasm waned. The anarchist movement has never recovered from the appalling confusion on the Left in the 1920's, which was mainly due to the tragic aftermath of the hopes of the Russian revolution. It took anarchists outside Russia some time to realize fully the counter-revolutionary nature of the regime that was being consolidated there. Nothing succeeds like success, and the 'success' of Russia under a centralized dictatorship was pretty thoroughly sold to the mass of the working class movement for very many years, and the libertarian ideas of the anarchists suffered a sad reverse.

The coming of this last war gave a jolt to the comfortable illusion in the minds of many people, that the State is just a public utility. The State began to reveal its true nature more plainly in wartime. The alleged 'public utility' shewed itself to have a life and an inhuman will of its own. It shewed not only its physical powers of coercing the citizen quite arbitrarily, but its amazing resources for stifling, debauching and moulding the public will to accord with all its changing policies. Although this corruption of the people's will is only superficial, the mass action resulting from it is far more base, brutal and stupid than any actions the

people could possibly undertake of their own volition.

This jolt to the illusions as to the nature of the State, affected many thinking people profoundly. It was as though the children of an orthodox family suddenly found out that their revered papa was really a stupendous liar, a big-time swindler, a cold-blooded murderer and undoubtedly insane. What a guider of one's destinies! Many people could not stand the shock of this horrible reality, and deliberately doped themselves with any banal nonsense that the M.O.I. cared to hand out.

The Pacifist Dilemma

Among the pacifists who have had the intelligence and the strength of character to maintain their stand in wartime, anarchist ideas have been rapidly spreading. While the pacifist movement as a whole has been dwindling, therefore, the anarchist movement has been growing and developing.

That pacifists should become concerned in the anarchist movement, is no less shocking to the die-hard anarchists of the old John Most variety, than to the authoritarian pillars of the pacifist movement. The fact that the pacifist movement is being strongly influenced by anarchism, is indicated by the constant vilification of anarchy by writers and speakers of the pacifist authoritarian school.

The greater part of the non-religious pacifists, while conceding much to anarchism, are however, social democrats. They see in some form of socialist democracy the solution to the problems of war and social violence. Perhaps George Lansbury best represented the case of the pacifist socialist in his *Why Pacifists Should be Socialists* (Fact No. 7). This is certainly a well-reasoned argument shewing that capitalism is maintained by violence and must lead to war. But Lansbury could not or would not really deal with the question of how a hypothetical pacifist socialist government would act in the conditions in which it must find itself.

The fallacy of pacifist social democracy is apparent when we try and envisage how it would work in practice if there were a government composed of men like Lansbury. It is not enough for pacifist socialists to deplore the intrinsic violence of the socializing campaigns of the Bolsheviks, Fascists and Nazis. They must try to conceive how their own ideas would work out in practice, recognizing that the violence which is inherent in our

present society would not evaporate overnight with a change of government.

A government, if it is to exist at all, must see that its laws are observed. Supposing therefore, that a hostile and reactionary minority openly defied the progressive legislation of a pacifist socialist government, what would be the result? Either the pacifist principle would be broken and the law would be enforced by the violence of police or military, or the government would literally cease to exist by abdicating its coercive power. There is a curious theory however, which deserves some mention, that a government could actually govern by sheer moral authority and without resort to force, provided it had the support of the majority of the people. In actual fact what would happen when a forceful minority defied such a government (supposing it could come into being) would be that the pent-up stresses of the class struggle would flare up into open revolution—with the 'government' as a passive spectator. That is, anarchy would be the direct result of the situation, unless the forces of reaction succeeded in consolidating a new (non-pacifist!) government.

Pacifism and the Revolution

Let us now consider how pacifist ideas are likely to fare if social change is to proceed on anarchist lines. Many people fear that if the moderating, if suppressive, authority of the State were to break down completely, the sudden release of the terrible stresses inherent in capitalist society would produce such a welter of violence that all the human values that pacifists uphold would utterly perish.

It is undeniable that in the first stages of any revolutionary outbreak violence will certainly occur. People are conditioned to act in certain ways by the conditions under which they now live. But the revolutionary movement can by no means be committed to the employment and establishment of violence as a regular technique. The people of some parts may solve the problem of recalcitrant landowners by the massacre of their supporters and the hanging of landowning families from the ancestral gateposts. But the people of other parts may achieve the pooling of land without resort to bloodshed. It is idle to dogmatize about the methods of revolutionary struggle which must be used. Everyone can learn from the lessons of the past and from the study of other people's theories—but the people themselves on the spot must improvise and elaborate their own methods

of revolution. If no lofty central authority is directing the revolutionary action, it is safe to say that ordinary men and women—even in hot blood—will be a thousand times more pacifist and humane than when they are compelled to act as cogs in the State machine.

Pacifists will have to witness much violence whatever happens: only if social change proceeds along anarchist lines however, will they be free to try and make their ideas achieve some practical influence on how things go. Anarchists, whatever their views on the use of violence, are utterly opposed to the idea of conscribing unwilling men for slaughter. But pacifists who believe that Man is not a violent and insanely ferocious beast, will surely agree that a society in which each man's actions, social or anti-social, are his own responsibility, will be immeasurably more pacifist than the one which we know to-day.

Herbert Read has recently expressed himself that all anarchism in the future must necessarily be pacifist. This statement is rather surprising, and, taken in a literal context is a mis-statement of fact. No anarchist, whatever his views on the subject, can deny the fact that the genuinely anarchist activity which goes on all over the world to-day is not entirely pacifist, nor can anyone seriously imagine that such activity will take a specifically pacifist turn within any measurable time. The probability is, in fact, that the revolution will eventually be achieved by people with somewhat differing views on that as on other matters. It is inevitable that the violence of the past, along with a host of other stupidities, will colour all our theories and actions in the achievement of our revolutionary ends.

In a movement such as ours there is room for action on a wide front. The narrow-minded attitude of those who glory in the romantic side of violence and scorn all who are not with them, is not so much in evidence to-day. Is there a danger, on the other hand, that the movement may be swamped by a pacifist influence which will strangle its militancy and lead it into paths of mere passivity? This, and the danger of sheerly romantic terrorism, is to be avoided by common work and mutual respect on the part of those who differ in their estimation of the usefulness of violence in the achievement of revolutionary ends. Such differences are largely academic as far as most of the real work which devolves on our movement.

TONY GIBSO

ANARCHISM

—Interpretations

We accept all natural authorities and all influences of fact, but none of right; for every authority or every influence of right, officially imposed as such, becoming directly an oppression and a falsehood, would inevitably impose upon us slavery and absurdity.

In a word, we reject all legislation, all authority and all privileged, licenced, official and legal influence, even though arising from universal suffrage, convinced that it can turn only to the advantage of a dominant minority of exploiters against the interests of the immense majority in subjection to them.

This is the sense in which we are really Anarchists.

Michael BAKUNIN.

WORKING WITH LEAD

Disease for Atom Workers

A FEW weeks back, we made mention in *Freedom* (14/6/47), of the government's latest scheme for recruiting new workers to its atomic energy plant at Springfields, near Preston, Lancs. The Ministry of Supply is to open a training school for boys and girls of 15 years and over with the promise of salaries which must seem quite attractive at that age.

The salaries offered for older, qualified chemists, however, are not considered particularly good for the industry, and we rather cynically thought at the time that this lowness of reward was the reason why there was a shortage of workers at the plant. Now, however, it seems that another reason may be the more important one—that the effects upon health of working on atomic research are becoming known, and health is, rightly, considered before wealth.

We have to thank Bob Edwards, assistant general secretary of the Chemical Workers' Union, for bringing forward to public notice (in a report to the T.U.C.) what is happening to workers at the Risley research station, near Warrington, where, he says, the ill-effects of atom work include sterility.

News Review, 17/4/47, described Bob Edwards' report thus:

"The C.W.U. claimed that members engaged on atomic research are suffering from the effects of atomic energy radiation.

"Of 250 men employed on research at a Northern atomic station, more than 20 men are ill. They claim they have . . . become sterile, that they are breaking out in rashes, and falling asleep in buses. Their home lives are being disrupted.

"Complained C.W.U. Assistant Secretary Bob Edwards: 'The men are human guinea pigs. The scandal is that nobody seems to know the toxic effect on the men's future health and well-being . . . 'Most surprised were atomic scientists. To Birmingham University's Professor C. P. Moon, the charges came as a complete shock.

"Responsible for atomic research in Britain, the Ministry of Supply announced: 'There are no grounds for supposing that precautions so far taken are inadequate. There is no evidence of lassitude or sterility. There has been one case of dermatitis. This is a good record.' 'But the C.W.U.'s Edwards was not satisfied. 'Twelve months from now,' he challenged, 'all my statements will be vindicated.'"

SECURITY DEMANDED

Shortly after Edwards' statement to the T.U.C., a more sinister incident occurred. The vice-president of the Chemical Workers' Union, George Turton, was due to speak at a conference on industrial health in Manchester, and intended to deal with the illnesses which are said to be attacking workers near radio-active plants. He received a letter, however, just before he went, warning him "to use the utmost discretion in dealing with this matter. It is still on the secret list." Turton said that the letter implied "that any detailed disclosures might constitute a breach of the Official Secrets Act and I am not going to do that.

"What I had to say would have been in the interests of the community and not of an alien country . . . A number of men are suffering from atomic sickness and I do not know how long they will last."

Since then the British and American

GOVERNMENT SEEK POWER TO ENFORCE 'STAGGERING'

AT the end of June it was announced that:

"Full agreement was reached after a four-hour conference between engineering employers and trade unions at the Ministry of Labour on a national scheme for the staggering of hours to reduce the electricity load this winter."

This "staggering" of hours was to entail the introduction or extension of night shifts and possibly working on Saturday mornings, where the five-day week operates. It was stated that the scheme should only be regarded as a temporary measure, not permanent, and that while the broad principles are laid down in the national agreement, the details were to be worked out according to local conditions.

A fortnight after the publication of this agreement comes the news that the government are now seeking powers to impose penalties upon employers and workers who refuse to agree to work staggered hours.

The democratic practice of completely over-ruling a minority who "cannot be allowed to wreck the scheme", is thus to be put into action. Minister of Labour George Isaacs and Minister of Fuel and Power Shinwell have been given the task of devising the punishments, which will probably be fines for the employers and prison for the workers.

governments openly banned the discussion of atomic energy at the International Congress of Pure and Allied Chemistry which met in London on July 17th.

The horrible thing about all this is that not only are workers already in atomic research open to danger from radio-active substances, but that the curtain of secrecy over the whole business means that new entrants into the industry—including boys and girls just leaving school at 15—will take up the work in complete—and one can only believe deliberately fostered—ignorance of the possible consequences to their health.

SECURITY MEASURES

The tightening up of secrecy on atomic matters has led to the Home Secretary declaring the atomic research development station at Harwell, Berkshire, the Department of Atomic Research at Risley, Lancs, and the Ministry of Supply Factory at Springfield, to be regarded as prohibited areas under the Official Secrets Act of 1911.

In America, the "atom bomb town" of Los Alamos, New Mexico, is being transformed from a township of huts and trailers clustered round the atom plant into a permanent institution under a multi-million dollar programme.

The 7,000 workers are to be provided with 1,000 new houses, six new blocks of flats, schools, cinemas and shops—and the population is strictly limited to workers on the atom plant and their families who all live behind an intense security curtain.

At a new base at Sandia, New Mexico, according to the *News Chronicle* 17/7/47,

"New forms of warfare are being planned by a "superblitz board" of young Army officers working, with scientists, under the orders of Gen. Eisenhower, Chief of Staff. They are answerable only to him."

WORKERS' PROTECTION

All of which adds up, one way or another, to misery for the common man. If he works in an atomic plant, he lays himself open to horrible disease. Even if he lives near such a plant, there seems to be no guarantee that he cannot be affected by radio-action in the neighbourhood. And the fate of the peoples of the world when these "new forms of warfare" break out needs no stressing.

Is it retrogressive to wonder if any of it is worth-while?

Is it reactionary to suggest that maybe we could get on quite well without atomic energy?

Only one thing seems certain. That workers everywhere should refuse to work

TROUBLES OF A TAXIMAN

THOSE of us who take a taxi only when we are moving from one semi-furnished room to another, or when the firm is paying, are sometimes inclined to forget that there is probably no body of workers more under the thumb of the police than taxi-drivers. And probably none in a better position to observe the character and behaviour of those known as "our betters".

The livelihood of taxidrivers is, quite literally, in the hands of the police. Not only do they largely depend upon them for getting their licences renewed, but at any time their cabs can be tested by the police and if any fault is found, however minor its nature, they can be ordered into "dock", leaving the driver without his means of livelihood. The police, too, seem only too ready, should a taxi be involved in any accident, to jump to the conclusion that the taximan is in the wrong.

Earning a Living

During the war, taximen will not deny, they had a fairly good time—with regard to monetary reward for their services, that is. When England's cities were teeming with American soldiers with money to burn, taximen came into their own, and were able to reverse their pre-war position.

For, before the war, it was not so unusual for a taximan to take his cab out in the morning and return with it at night without having driven a single fare all day. And taxidrivers do not receive a standing wage from their employers—they are paid entirely in proportion to the amount on their clock at the end of the day.

To-day, taxis are in demand, there being nearly 3,000 fewer cabs on the streets of London, for instance, than before the war. So drivers are doing better. But they are doing better purely because

in their State's atomic research plants. That workers should boycott these filthy activities as long as they are controlled by maniacs whose first thought is for their own power, and whose only use for such power is destructive.

We can wait for the possible benefits of atomic energy until all industries are under the decentralised control of the workers in them. For only then can we be certain that those industries are being used for the common good; that workers will not be asked or forced to sacrifice their health or their lives on behalf of a larger lunacy; and that the benefits to a community of any product are weighed against the cost of production in terms of humanity, not in terms of cash or national pride.

of the increased work they do; their rates are the same now as before.

The passenger pays 9d. a mile, as the clock ticks. Of this, the employer gets 6d., the driver 3d. From that you can get an idea of how many miles a cab must travel a day to pay the driver a living wage, although the taximeter also clocks up on a time basis as well as mileage. And, of course, the driver gets the extras for additional passengers over two, luggage or merchandise—and tips.

On the question of tips, most taximen find they get a better deal from White-chapel Jews than from Mayfair ladies, who think 3d. "over the clock" is generous.

The Price of a Cab

The position of the owner-driver is somewhat different from the employed driver. But out of about 8,400 cab drivers in London to-day, only about 1,000 own their cabs. And with the price of cabs as they are just now it's doubtful whether that number is going to increase very much.

The pre-war price of a taxicab was £395. To-day the hire-purchase price is £1,246 (£312 down and £3 13s. 2d. a week for more than five years) which means that a driver seeking his independence must saddle himself with a crippling debt, disastrously reducing his earnings for years to come. And if Mr. Daltons' little scheme for doubling purchase tax on expensive cars applies to taxicabs it will mean another £250 on that price!

At the moment, out of 3,500 new cabs promised for Britain's main cities last year, about 12 are on the streets of London.

Pre-War Scheme

Before the war, taxidrivers had a scheme for maintaining a high proportion of new taxis on the road. About 200 of them got together and subsidised the design and building of a prototype for a new model taxicab to be built by Ford's of Dagenham. It was to have all the improvements the drivers' desired for their own comfort and convenience plus radio and refinements for the passenger, and was to cost £150. This was to be paid for by

a down-payment of £50 and £2 a week for a year, at the end of which time Ford would take the old model back and give the owner a brand new model for a continuance of the £2 a week only. And so on, every year.

In that way, at a figure taxidrivers could afford, they could all have their own cabs, which would have always been the latest model available and would never have deteriorated in the old bone-shakers some of them now are. But the police, who had to pass the model, could not tolerate anything so useful as that. For nine months they obstructed the scheme, finding faults here and there, until finally they demanded such an alteration that Ford's threw up the job in disgust, and the taximen were back where they started.

Now, two firms, Austin and Beardmore have practically the monopoly of taxi building and the prices are as I have quoted.

The Union

Taximen form a section of the Transport and General Workers' Union. Need I say more? About two-thirds of London drivers pay union dues and the union boss, William Cox, is campaigning to bring in the other third. But taximen I have spoken to are very bitter about Mr. Cox.

Should a driver be charged, for instance, with a driving offence and go to see Mr. Cox to ask for representation, he is told that the union cannot afford to have him represented, and that he should plead guilty and get off as lightly as he can! It is difficult, in fact, to find out just what Mr. Cox does with his time, and taximen have now come to the same conclusions as many other workers with regard to their union officials—that having won cushy jobs for themselves they are no longer interested in the workers.

The Alternative

In May, 1944, the taxidrivers in Manchester staged a boycott against a system of licensing foisted upon them by the railway companies which operated seriously against the taximen. They were asked to pay exorbitant "rents" for the use of station approaches and could ply for hire only at the one station for which they had paid rent. The taximen boycotted the stations and completely defeated the railway companies. It was an example of direct action by workers on the spot which could be a feature of a militant, decentralised taxidrivers' syndicate.

By the nature of their work decentralised into units of one, taximen would benefit considerably by the formation of a loosely organised syndicate with no paid officials to ignore their needs, but with elected delegates to carry out their temporary functions in any particular circumstance. By practising mutual aid among themselves, no individual driver need suffer from persecution by the police, and by boycotting high-priced taxis, the price could be made to drop. But all that is for the men to decide for themselves when they have an organisation where they can be heard, not ignored.

As it is, as one taximan said to me about his chance of getting a new cab—"When some lord sits on his arse in the middle of the road, taxi and all, something might be done, but till then, we just keep rattling along!"

PHILIP SANSON.

Land Notes Wages & Reforms

It would, I suppose, be difficult to write anything about agriculture this week without making mention of the Royal. Since I happen just now to be working not very many miles from Lincoln I had, in company with the other men, a day off in order to go and the farm was shut down for the day—that is as far as a farm can ever shut down. But there is nothing that comes to my mind about this great event in the farming world that would be of any particular interest to readers of *Freedom*; though I admit I had hopes when I went of being able to pick up a bit of copy to help fill up these Notes. Unfortunately, I was not successful.

The Royal is a trade show, very interesting to those in, or closely connected with, the trade, like most agricultural shows, but of no particular interest to people not connected with farming and having no political or social implications that I can think of, that might be of interest to the layman. In our present society, constituted as it is, the Royal no doubt serves a very useful purpose, both from an educative and business standpoint. Having said that, there is not much more that one can say about it.

WAGES AND REFORMS

Perhaps I should make some reference to the fact that the Agricultural Wages Board has recommended an increase in the minimum wage for agricultural workers over 21, with the usual corresponding increases for boys and women, from 80/- to 90/- per week as from the autumn.

Oddly enough, cottage rents will also be raised to 6/- and board and lodging deductions for men living in to 30/- per week. So, when you add that on to the increased, and increasing, cost of living, the worker is not really any better off. The most that can be said is that his economic position remains static: if it does not get any better it at least does

not deteriorate and, when a man sees the extra ten bob written up on his pay envelope, he does in actual fact derive some satisfaction from it and probably even momentarily succumbs to the pleasant illusion that he really is better off; which is, I suppose, from the State's point of view, what matters. But, as the *News Chronicle* remarked sadly, in a recent leading article referring to the miners, the impetus to work and be quiet given by reforms soon wears off. A truly awful dilemma for the powers that be.

POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The only political significance that this particular wage increase has is that it will come into force more or less at the same time that the Control of Engagements Order comes to an end—for the time being anyway. This order rules that a worker, while still permitted to retain the privilege of changing his employer with ease as often as he may decide, is not allowed to leave the industry in which he is at present employed—in this particular instance, agriculture. It was feared by some that when this order was rescinded, there would be a rush of men off the land to more highly-paid jobs in nearby towns. The new increase is, therefore, granted largely as an incentive to farm-workers to stay put.

Naturally enough, this move will not be without its effect, particularly as, in my opinion, the exodus would not in any case have been as large as some seemed to think. Granted that a very small per cent. of men at present employed in agriculture, and especially perhaps by the A.E.C.'s and mostly in some mechanical capacity, only entered the industry in the early part of the war solely with the very understandable and sensible motive of evading call-up if at all possible, and that many of these men will quit agriculture as soon as they are allowed to do so; even so the total percentage of workers

who would have left, even if only a smaller increase had been granted, would, I think, have been quite small. The present economic status of farm-workers is probably now in fact somewhat higher than the lowest paid urban jobs—anyhow, when the lower cost of living in rural areas, especially the smaller amount of earnings used up on rent and fares, is taken into account. There is also more opportunity than in most industries for extra hours at overtime rates for those who want the extra cash which can be had thereby, or who find that they have to have it occasionally in order to keep themselves at all adequately supplied with tobacco or cigarettes.

THE BASIS OF CIVILIZATION

The great increase in the price of tobacco is, I think, more resented than any other action taken by the present government, falling as it does on those who can least afford it. My own foreman, who had given up smoking his pipe, so he said, suddenly appeared with it again one Monday morning three weeks ago. When I remarked on the fact with the gleeful satisfaction of one who was wise enough never even to make the attempt, he laughed shamefacedly and then swore and said, "Well, I reckon if life ain't worth a drink and a smoke, it ain't worth nothing." Which, allowing for that exaggeration which is permissible in order to lend emphasis, is true enough.

In a free society, no doubt, these opiates, so necessary in a frustrating and life-denying existence for those who, through temperamental difficulties, cannot take to religion or Marxism, would play a much smaller part. But that we could ever do entirely without them, that our lives could ever be so arranged (terrifying word) that we hardly ever felt the need of either solace or stimulus, I myself am extremely doubtful.

G.V.

SEAMEN WILL SEE THE POINT . . .

"I have been reading a story about a boy who ran away to sea in the 1890's and I have decided to run away to sea. Is it easy? I am 45."

(Reader's piercing yell.)

EASY as pic, cully, once you get past the Seamen's Union and the Marine Engineers' Union and the Stevedores' Union and the Deck-Stewards' Union and the Boys' Union and the Cargo-Trimmers' Union and the Donkeymen's Union and the Purser's Union and the Master Mariners' Union and the Marine Apprentices' Union and the Bilge-cleaners' Union and the Swabbers' Union and the Nat. Union of Sea-Cooks and the Nat. Union of Watchkeepers and the Nat. Union of Binnacle-Polishers and the Nat. Union of Bosuns' Mates and the Mercantile Marine Control Board and the Board of Trade and the Dept. of Overseas Trade and a few more we forget.

Tuck in your beard like Tolstoy and tell 'em all you ask is a tall ship and a star to steer her by. They'll love you.

Timothy Shy in

News Chronicle (16/7/47).

Sorry about that, readers, it just crept in . . .

Anarchist Movement in France Today

WE can justifiably congratulate ourselves on the widespread growth of our French anarchist movement during the last two years. At the time of the "Liberation", our groups and our militant comrades were dispersed—engaged in various resistance activities, keeping outside the main stream of Nationalist political activity which they rightly considered to be ephemeral and potentially reactionary.

The war, deportations, prisons, concentration camps, and firing squads considerably reduced our numbers. None of the regimes which followed the 1936 set-back to the proletarian movements had neglected the suppression of the libertarian elements. Jourdain died in hospital, Huart, in a concentration camp, and Gordin in Germany. The pacifist Ruff also died in Germany, and Volin, veteran of the Russian revolution, died as a result of his privations during the occupation. Many others, too; some, who paid dearly for the crime of having perceived the truth about the war, and for being unafraid to disclose it; and others who were unwilling to submit, and continued their struggle in its various forms.

RE-BIRTH OF THE MOVEMENT

It was necessary to start again from scratch. A few tenacious old comrades: Youth seeking the truth; a situation closed to anyone not wearing blinkers; the fulfilment of our past predictions—all these have influenced the growth of a new and vigorous movement.

This is why we have an organ which each week reaches nearly 100,000 workers, despite sabotage, boycotts and financial difficulties and the obstacles placed in our path by the parties, cliques and imperialist interests.

Thus, we are addressing the people, from Lille to Marseilles, from Brest to Mulhouse, and from Chambéry to Bordeaux. New groups are rallying round us, syndicalist elements are coming to our support, and dispirited militants are revived by our enthusiasm. One by one, our conclusions justify themselves, for our theories relate to the present situation, our solutions are based on present realities.

Our challenge strikes to the very roots of the great social changes which shake the whole country. The opposition which has appeared, against the political parties which demand the trust of the working classes only in order to exploit them; the discontent which has followed the transformation of the C.G.T. into a mere propaganda appendage of the imperialist state; are regrouping around the principles which we have never ceased to proclaim. Thus, there has been born the new C.N.T. which is rapidly developing, agitating and struggling. The thousands of letters which flood our offices testify to the new curiosity, interest, and faith in our movement.

Moreover, there are everywhere—in France, in Italy, in England, isolated Libertarian socialist, not only amongst the "Left" of the Socialist movement, but also amongst the Christian socialist and all liberal-minded elements. There are a multitude of federalists, partisans of workers' control, adversaries of the total state, defenders of the rights of the individual. But, unfortunately, (with some exceptions) they seldom go beyond lip-service to these ideas. Rare are those who follow them to their logical conclusion, and free themselves from their electoral pre-occupations, their faith in the form of the State, some aspect of patriotism, or some sort of capitalist society.

THE INESCAPABLE CHOICE

It was to these elements, no doubt, and especially to the left socialists, that Leon Blum addressed himself in his editorial in the *Populaire* for 17th June:

"Here then, is the inexorable dilemma: either to expose oneself completely to all the risks inherent in the exercise of authority, or to abandon absolutely all forms of political action. Those who reject and evade the difficulties inseparable from the exercise of power, must, if they are to be consistent, adopt the second conclusion. They must cry: 'No more political, electoral or parliamentary action! Proudhon and Bakunin were right against Marx. The anarchist syndicalists were right against Guesde and Jaures.'"

And, indeed, neither we nor the growing band of militants, intellectuals, and disoriented elements will be willing to seek and grope blindly, to indulge in futile activity like the squirrel continually turning the wheel in his cage, but

getting nowhere.

We are getting to the root of the problem. Every day the course of events and experiences turn more and more people of goodwill towards libertarian ideas. But an examination of this re-orientation, which is revealed both in the day-to-day struggle and in the clash of ideas, shows that we have not yet learnt to take advantage of the change of attitude, or, to be exact, we have not yet learnt how to make it conscious and vocal.

We must build up a *Libertaire* with a circulation of 500,000, or a widely-circulated daily paper, we must organise far more numerous meetings for this vast, enthusiastic new audience, or else we must be content to remain an objectively negligible force.

THE FUNCTION OF PROPAGANDA

A political party, seeking to gain, or to maintain power, looks upon the masses as a raw material, to be moulded into the required pattern, and must hold out all sorts of bait to the unconvinced. It promises high prices to the peasant-farmers, high wages to the industrial workers, substantial profits to the capitalists and an easy life to the bureaucrats. When elected, it uses all the machinery of the State to maintain its power, and can conveniently forget its promises in the interests of "higher policy", "national defence", or a host of other excuses.

Thus, for the politicians, the press and platform are nothing more than a means to power, and not a basically essential aspect of their activities. To us, on the other hand, our printed and oral propaganda, should serve to educate both a writer and readers, speakers and audiences, to prepare them, and to make them capable of effective direct action.

When our comrades distribute their pamphlets at the Renault works, or among the railwaymen, it isn't for the sake of enrolling them in an anarchist group or to get their signatures to a petition, it is in order to make them more conscious of their rôle in the struggle, more audacious and determined, more self-reliant. The first strike at Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, like that at the Renault works was a significant indication that the anarchists are setting about their task.

There have been many set-backs in the publication of the *Libertaire* during the first months of our return to open activity. But all the press, even those papers who have received orders of silence, have not been able to suppress the libertarian influence in the recent strikes. Propaganda by action has been far more effective than mere agitation, which is only its prelude.

It is a lesson from which some of the anarchists themselves should profit, for too many groups seem to have lost sight of the fact that we must intervene in these events as an active and influential element. It is a welcome indication that a factory or workshop group, or a syndicalist minority, are more important, when it comes to activity, than a group whose members meet once a fortnight or once a month to discuss events or change library books.

OUR TASKS

The consistent use of direct action is, moreover, the only way of playing our hand against the elements who under various names seek to exploit some aspect of libertarian ideology. In strikes, demonstrations, and "Squatter" activities, on one side of the barricade we find the genuinely revolutionary forces, and on the other, the opportunist phrasemongers, who endeavour to climb into a privileged position by exploiting popular sentiment.

Direct action, thus conceived, is the only way to avoid losing contact with working class realities, as they actually are; and to avoid for ever vacillating between idealisation and condemnation of the down-trodden masses. From the continual contact between clear-sighted militants and the, at present, less advanced elements, there will develop the most suitable forms of action, applicable to any given situation, and in keeping with our final aims.

The anarchist has no blue-print. He does not wish to dictate the structure of the world of to-morrow; he wants to assist and inspire all the elements from which the free society will emerge. He is anxious to work side by side with all genuine and sincerely freedom-loving groups in all spheres. But he must remain independent. He cannot under the pretext of "unity", or in order to gain fresh support, give up his right

The Story of 22,000 Forgotten Men 31,000 more shot, tortured and starved to death

THE *News Chronicle* have rendered a public service in publishing a report by their special correspondent in La Paz, Peter Grieve, on the fate of 53,000 men, who were hired by the United Nations to bring out rubber from the Amazonian forest, at a time during the war when the main sources of natural rubber in the Far East were in the hands of the Japanese forces. Of these 53,000 men, 31,000 are known to have died; "Only a handful of the 53,000—writes Peter Grieve—has been able to fight its way back, and nearly 22,000 remain trapped in the forest."

The story of the "death trek" by Grieve calls it begins late in 1942, when the joint American-Brazilian plan was drawn up to produce the vitally needed wild rubber. The Rubber Bank was established and backed by American capital; Brazil undertook to transport the men from the Atlantic coast states of Brazil into the forest and to provide food, medicine, clothes.

Men were recruited by various means for the "Special Mobilisation Service for Amazon Workers" and Grieve describes the experiences of these men on their long rail and lorry trek to the forest. At a camp at Therezina, the men were kept in "big open sheds for 15 days and guarded by troops with machine-guns. Soldiers were always present at meals to prevent criticism, and beatings were

to criticise freely his allies and sympathisers; any more than we can be indulgent with the faults of our own movement, here and abroad.

We wish to deceive no-one—our cards are on the table. We must, at all costs retain our integrity; we will not betray our anarchist ideals; nor will we pretend to a greater influence than we actually have. Such greater influence belongs to the demagogic trickery of the political parties.

Nor must we deceive ourselves into exaggerating our strength because of our propagandist and agitational activities. We must not mistake words for actions. Our strength will not be measured by the loudness of our voice, but in our deeds.

"LIBERTAIRE"

frequent. "Six thousand men were already collected in this camp and the sickness was terrible. One eye-witness heard of 50 deaths at that particular camp."

BOILING WATER CURE

After protests to the State Governor, cattle trucks were provided to take one party on to Sao Luiz. The camp there held 12,000 men. One eye witness described conditions at Sao Luiz as follows:—

"The camp finally held 12,000 men, and many died from yellow fever. There were shootings, too. One man, who in a fit of anger threw a plate of food on the ground at the feet of the camp commandant, was shot on the spot. Another died in similar circumstances.

"The incensed mob then marched on the town. In the suburbs they came up against barricades manned by troops with machine-guns.

"The commander said he had orders to kill as many as was necessary to quell the trouble. In the tense atmosphere arrangements were made to place 8,000 men aboard the steamer Pedro Primo and the other 4,000 between the steamer Para and an American cruiser.

"I was eight days aboard the Pedro Primo. Conditions were abominable, and we finally revolted and attacked the guards. Of course, we were subdued. How?

"Well, they turned hoses of boiling salt water from the engine rooms on us. Those who caught the first shock had the flesh peeled from their bones. Ten children were among those who died in the Pedro Primo. We had the boiling water cure twice."

SLAVE LABOUR

Ten months after the start of the journey, they reached Manios, where they were handed over to the Amazon Valley Supply Service. The eye-witness quoted above continues:—

"Complaints about treatment were punished with solitary confinement.

"Now this is what happened at Manaus. A rubber trader would apply to the Amazon Supply, saying: 'I can take so many men. How much?'

"We were sold to the traders for 1,200 cruzeiros (£16) a head. The trader paid the Amazon Supply, but placed the sum

against our accounts, so that when we started work we were already heavily in debt.

"From Manaus we were sent out in launches to the rubber areas throughout Amazonia. Our 6,000-mile journey was over and, though our work was just beginning, for most of us our lives were soon to end."

The 31,000 victims died, according to Grieve, of malaria, beriberi, skin diseases, etc., but above all from malnutrition. "Only a microscopic part of the food and medicines provided for them ever reached them. These supplies went straight to the black-market."

The 22,000 who remain in Amazonia are shackled there by "debts" which they have not the faintest chance of redeeming.

"Responsible Brazilians and foreign businessmen know all these things", writes Grieve, "for they have been spectators. And they are confirmed by American missionaries. But now, while the Brazilian Government and the Rubber Bank wrangle about the responsibility for this sorry state there is still no official answer to the question: "Where are these men?'"

Yes, where are these men, and where are the million German P.O.W.s who have "disappeared" in Russia, the thousands of Italian P.O.W.s who have also "disappeared" in Russia, and all the men and women who are every day "disappearing" in Europe. The Nazis certainly have many millions of lives on their consciences, but when the full price paid for this "war for freedom" will be known, when more Amazonian scandals will leak out (after all we have only heard of the Amazonian scandal two years after the end of hostilities) who will be able to honestly say that the "Allies" have clear consciences?

STUPIDITY

EUROPE's soil was exhausted. And yet, Hoover charged, "We, including our Allies, have been as busy as bees destroying the capacity to manufacture fertilizers."

German nitrogen and phosphoric acid plants were being dynamited because they could be converted to munitions manufacture.

The world's total nitrogen production (2,600,000 tons) is more than 1,000,000 tons short of world requirements. —Time (28/5/47).

50 years of Anarchist Propaganda

50 YEARS ago, last month, a group of workers in Buenos Aires founded an Anarchist paper which they called *La Protesta Humana*. It answered a growing demand for an anarchist periodical in the Spanish language; a demand which had been created by the agitation very largely of immigrants from Europe, amongst whom our old comrade Malatesta played a leading rôle. It was in 1889 that Malatesta first published *La Questione Sociale*, an Italian anarchist journal, in Buenos Aires, where he was also one of the founders of the resistance groups among the bakers (1887), as well as of other groups. *El Perseguido* was published (in Spanish) from 1890 to 1897 in which year it was taken over and transformed into *La Protesta Humana*. This anarchist journal was to appear weekly for the next nine years. It was not an easy existence for a paper which was always the rallying point for the workers struggle. By 1902-1903 the movement had established itself firmly and was responsible for the most important strikes in the country (e.g. the dockers strike). *Protesta Humana* not only supported and encouraged the struggles, but was, as one writer puts it, the "soul" of the strikes. Government reaction was merciless; militants were arrested and immigrants deported; *La Protesta Humana* was seized but with that determination which runs right through its fifty years of existence, appeared again within a few weeks. And Dr. Juan Craigie, whom our comrades refer to as "the father of the *Protesta Humana*" because of his superhuman

efforts during the early years of the paper, created a sensation throughout the country when he defied official attempts to prevent the paper being sold, by hiring a carriage, which he filled with copies of the paper, and by driving through the streets of Buenos Aires selling the paper with one hand and brandishing a revolver in the other, ready to counteract any attempts at interference by the police!

LA PROTESTA—DAILY!

In November, 1903, the title of the paper was changed to its present one of *La Protesta*, and in 1906 the weekly became a daily. But the road was still difficult and dangerous for our comrades. In 1910 more reprisals resulted in more deportations culminated in the setting on fire of the *Protesta* offices and printing works by crazed mobs, who then paraded the streets carrying parts of the destroyed printing machines as trophies. Then, during the years 1911-12 *La Protesta* was published clandestinely, appearing legally once more in June 1912, as a weekly. Yet again the Anarchist movement and the revolutionary workers' organisation F.O.R.A. which was anarchist inspired (see our correspondent's article *Four Forces in S. America* in the last issue), demonstrated their powers of recovery and within a few months *La Protesta* was again appearing as a daily and continued as such until 1930. Those comrades editing the paper were always exposed to reprisals by the hirings of the reactionaries, and in fact, in 1928, Emilia Lopez Arango, who had been one of the editors for 16 years was foully murdered.

THE LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

La Protesta has always been a paper with a large circulation among the militant workers. The fact that during 8 years (1922-1928) a weekly literary supplement was published, is an effective

answer to those self-styled "working class revolutionaries" who sneer at anarchist papers which try to give their readers not only articles on the "class struggle" but also articles which in present-day language would be referred to as "cultural". During the eight years that the supplement was published, (for the first three years in newspaper format and afterwards in magazine format) the works of the world's best social writers and thinkers were made available to the workers of Argentine in Spanish translation. A Spanish Anarchist, D. de Santillan, was the editor who, to quote from *La Protesta*, "deserves high praise" both for the editorship of this supplement as well as for the physical effort of translating the major part of it.

DIFFICULT YEARS 1930-1947

The past 17 years have been most difficult years for *La Protesta*. It was suppressed in 1930 after the *coup d'etat* of General Uriburu and the bloody repression that lasted for 18 more months took its toll of the anarchists and the militants of the F.O.R.A. *La Protesta* has had a more or less clandestine existence ever since varying in degree with the particular regime in power. But one thing is certain: that no regime will succeed in suppressing this voice of Anarchism in Argentina. It may be driven underground, it may come out at irregular intervals, but our comrades insist that it should come out.

The Anniversary issue of *La Protesta* which we have before us, bearing the date of June 13th, 1947, is the 7,946th issue! Translate these cold figures into human effort and self sacrifice, solidarity and co-operation, deportations and imprisonments, joy and disappointments. For as we join in sending our greetings to the comrades of *La Protesta* on its 50th Anniversary, we recall, above all, this record of human effort and tenacity in face of overwhelming odds, which makes their achievement the greater. May the day be not far distant when once more we shall be able to see *La Protesta*—DAILY! LIBERTARIAN.

Background to Spanish Generals' Rising of 18th July, 1936

No. 21 of *New Views in Events and Books*, the interesting mimeographed bulletin published from 505 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, is devoted to a study by *Integer of Church and Politics in Our Time*. The first section is

devoted to *European Churches versus Hitler-Mussolini, the second to Religion and Irreligion in the Spanish Civil War*. Owing to space considerations we have been obliged to drastically condense the second section for publication in *Freedom*.

The revolt that broke out in Spain on July 18th, 1936, was not a Fascist coup. It was the working-out of an Army-Church plot against the Spanish Republic. The Falange, the movement of Spanish Fascism, became important only after Mussolini (and Hitler) had taken a hand in the push against Spanish democracy and sent great contingents of troops as well as fascist organizers into Spain.

The plot against the Spanish Republic was first planned and prepared by the heads of the Spanish military forces working in conjunction with the Jesuit order. The designated chief of the revolution was, to begin with, General José Sanjurjo, the former commander of the national gendarmerie (Guardia Civil) and acknowledged first soldier of Spain. Aiding him were Generals Mola, Godeó, Quiépo de Llano and Francisco Franco. Each of the four subordinate military leaders was going to take charge of the armed forces in his district. Obeying their officers the troops would move against the civil authorities. The plot looked fool-proof. The Republican government was without defence.

The aims of the revolution were the following: the overthrow of the Republic and the restoration to the Church and Army of the powers and privileges they enjoyed under the king but had begun to lose with the introduction of the Republican regime in 1931.

Why They Wanted To Overthrow The Republic

The Spanish Army had an officer for every six private soldiers. It was commanded by more than 800 generals of various ranks. This military class enjoyed unparalleled prestige and privileges. The Republican government retired about 900 officers (on generous pensions) and very timidly attempted to reform the cadres of the national armed forces so that the civil authorities might not be entirely helpless in face of action by the monarchist generals. The anti-militarist trend of Republican policy was stepped up after the elections of February 16th, 1936, returned a clear majority of "Left" parties to the Cortes (the Parliament).

The Constitution of the Spanish Republic (adopted in 1931) disestablished the Church, which had always regarded Spain as its special preserve. The Roman Catholic Church was given the same status as it enjoys in the United States. Religious education by priests was excluded from the public schools, but was otherwise not interfered with. Marriage became a civil act, and for the first time divorce was recognised by law in Spain.

The most serious attack on the privileged position of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain was the dissolution and expropriation of the great and powerful *Compañía de Jesús*, the Society of Jesus. No other religious order was in any way touched by the Republican regime.

The Jesuits were wealthy and influential. They possessed many churches and schools. They had profitable, big investments in landed property and industrial enterprises. The Jesuits were said to have been a very important factor in the Spanish money market. They have always considered Spain as their home grounds, so to say, having been first organized there under the captaincy of the lord of Loyola, Inigo Lopez de Recalde.

At different times their social and political power was so great in Spain that the Catholic monarchs of the country were obliged to expel the order from Spanish territory.

The promulgation of the Republican Constitution was the declaration of a war to the death between the Spanish Democracy and the powerful international Society of Jesus. The Jesuits could regain their great wealth and power in Spain only upon the fall of the Republic and the abrogation of the Republican Constitution with its tricky foreign-allegiance clause. By this clause the Republic had decreed its own destruction.

In pre-war Spain, which was largely an agricultural country, the poor were very poor and the rich very rich. In a country of 24 million, 45% of the land was in the hands of 27,912 proprietors, 55% in the hands of 1,427. The solution of the agrarian problem promised by the Republic was certain to scare many proud persons, the nobility of Spain with close connection in the higher levels of the Army and the Church. The Republican government began by confiscating the immense landed properties of the Jesuits when the order was dissolved. In case of other big land-owners, the plan was to have the government buy them out or

force them to cultivate the vast tracks they used as parks for the hunt.

The Spanish rich thought the Republican government was too easy with the Spanish poor. They said the situation called for less mollycoddling of the poor. They said it called for a strong hand, one that could be entirely trusted. Sanjurjo was going to provide that reliable force. The Army and the Church were going to take Spain in charge and set it right.

Mussolini and Hitler Take a Hand

Sanjurjo, the first chief of the rebellion, lost his life when the plane that carried him from Lisbon to the Spanish border crashed on Portuguese soil. Five months

and great Spain, has crushed the dragon and he bites the dust in agony . . ." He said that under the holy sign of the cross, the forces of religion and righteousness would soon arrive triumphant in Madrid. A "National Government" was formed in Burgos.

There was bloody "cleaning" of liberals, socialists and trade-unionists wherever the rebels got the upper hand, but thanks to the decisive action of the civilian population in the country as a whole, the plot failed to develop according to plan. Then the Army-Church plotters appealed for immediate aid to Hitler and Mussolini.

The Saviours of Spain

Soon Nazi planes forced the occupation of Badajoz, and Portuguese "volunteers" and Nazi material began to pour across the western border. Italian planes and ships ferried the Moors and Foreign Legionaries across the straits into Spain.

After Sanjurjo's death, Mola began to refer to himself as the "Caudillo", the chief, of the "National Movement". As the head of the Junta of National Defence—the government named in Burgos at a time when the rebellion was checked elsewhere in Spain—Mola's claim to supreme leadership were good. Then the "Cath-

emotional, Bohemian son of Primo de Rivera, José Antonio.

The first two groups were guided "spiritually" by the Roman Catholic Church, especially the Jesuits, old hands at undercover plotting in Spanish history.

Church, Requetés and Falange

Most of the Church hierarchy, with the "Black Pope", Cardinal Segura, at their head, took an active part in the rebellion. Here and there a bishop dissented and was sullenly silent. And, of course, some among the lower clergy took an open stand for the Republic. It is true that in some Loyalist districts, the sentiments of the people was bitterly anti-priest. At the inception of the Army Church revolt, mobs harassed and murdered priests, for the importance of the clergy in the making of the revolt was well-known, and all priests were suspected of being gun-toting plotters, confederates of the frocked propagandists who in the name of Jesus Christ broadcast calls for the slaughter of all "infidels", liberals, Masons and "Reds".

It was the Carlist *requetés*—the Catholic Traditionalists—ploughboys and

a great deal to fear from the programme of slaughter launched by the Catholic reactionaries and was financed and guided by foreign Fascism.

In 1937, upon the advice of the foreign patrons of the "National" movement, the Catholic politicians (the Catholic Traditionalists) and the Falange were merged in a single totalitarian party, named the "Traditionalist Falange"—*Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Jons*. And who was made the leader of the new party, or, at least, its nominal leader? Why, no other than Francisco Franco, who had already been picked out by the Germans and Italians as the Generalissimo of all "National" forces and the Caudillo (Chief) of New and United Spain.

Franco, Franco, Franco!

The short, well-upholstered general with the placid face of a rug merchant from Smyrna had belonged neither to the Catholic Traditionalists nor to the Falange. He was known as a devout Catholic, though his wife was under Jesuit influence. He had hesitated for a while before joining in Sanjurjo's plot against the Republic. It was even thought he would back the Republic, with the hope

AN ARMY-CHURCH CONSPIRACY

before, immediately after the Republican parties had won a sweeping victory in the Cortes elections, he conferred with Hitler and Mussolini. It is not known what promises and commitments had been made by the negotiators.

As a result of the pro-Republican stand of the sailors of the national navy, the Moorish regiments and the Foreign Legion commanded by Franco were left stranded in Morocco. General Godeó was defeated and captured by the people of Barcelona. Also in Madrid and Valencia the civilian population quelled the revolt of the military. Many officers refused to break their oath to support the Republic. Only in the north, the Carlist *requetés*, the Catholic Traditionalists, harangued by their priests, moved behind General Mola in a holy crusade to extirpate godless liberalism, which they believed had been smuggled into Spain by the devil soon after the French Revolution. In Burgos, the ancient city of old Castile, Mola declared: "The wretched government of the socialist-liberal concubinage is dead, vanquished by the gallant gesture of the army . . . Spain, the true Spain, Catholic

lic Traditionalist" general lost his life in a plane accident. Some people imputed the accident to Nazi or Italian technicians; the choice of the German and Italian governments was neither Mola, nor Quiépo de Llano, the colourful, high-living and very eccentric radio general in Sevilla, but the relatively unknown Francisco Franco.

The latter was a very ambitious little man. Like all Spanish militarists he was supposed to be monarchist. But in his desire to supersede older men in the army hierarchy, he had flirted crudely with the Republic. A few weeks before the outbreak of the rebellion, he had almost changed his mind concerning the overthrow of the government, and he closed his proclamation to the army in Africa (July, 1936) with the words "Viva la Republica!"—Long live the Republic!

The Spanish participants in the rebellion were: the Monarchist (Alfonsist) officer class, the Catholic Traditionalists (Carlist *requetés*), and the Falange, members of the Spanish fascist movement organized under the leadership of the very

squires from the Pyrenees who, fired by their priests with the fanatical desire to finish off all liberals and infidels, provided the "Nationalist" side with native fighting men, before the rebel regime controlled enough territory to conscript the population for its armies.

Such were the strictly Spanish saviours of Spain. In the face of the heroism with which the people met the rebellion, these elements would have been quite ineffective without their foreign allies and protectors. In the second year of the Civil War, the Spanish columns on the rebel side figured as inactive, not too reliable adjuncts to the Italian and Moorish regiments, the German fliers, and the Foreign Legion.

The Reconversion of the "National" Movement

When the Germans and the Fascist Italians took rebel Spain in charge, the Falange was built up into a large organization. The growth of the Falange was due in great part to the fact that it offered itself as refuge for people who had

of becoming number one military figure in Spain if his superior, Sanjurjo, and comrades like Godeó, Mola and Quiépo de Llano, were discredited and lost their status as rebels against the constitutional government. The overthrow of a civilian regime by the army, supported by the Axis powers, looked like a sure bet, and Franco went along with the others.

Like the reorganized Falange, Franco the Generalissimo and Caudillo was a creature of Hitler and Mussolini. The desire to get on was a strong characteristic of the swarthy little general and he could be relied on to serve his foreign backers. He would suffer no compunction about suiting dominated Spain to the World War plans of the German and Italian governments.

Spanish Dictatorship Largely a Church Affair

Since the second year of the Civil War, Spain has been supposedly run by the Grand Council of the Falange Española Tradicionalista. The Council took the place of the Cortes, the Spanish Parliament.

The united Falange Española Tradicionalista y Jons never became a monolithic, highly integrated party like the parties which ran Germany and Italy and Soviet Russia. It was never one party. It always was, and remains, an amalgam of several groups of politicians, sets of militarists and Church dignitaries. Inside, or rather in connection with, this makeshift combination, the former cronies of José Antonio de Rivera, the original Falangists, went in for the typical Fascist carnival of coloured shirts, Roman salutes and mass spectacles at which children and adolescents shouted "Franco, Franco, Franco!"

As a result of the Church-Army Falangist rebellion, in which more than a million Spaniards lost their lives, the Roman Catholic Church is now enforcing in Spain the same privileges that belonged to it in Europe before the Reformation. Practising membership in the Church is compulsory to every man, woman and child.

The last execution for heresy took place in Spain in 1826. Upon "Nationalist" victory over the Republic, many men and women were executed for the same crime. The word "Communism" replaced the old word "heresy". "Communism" in New Spain stands especially for atheism, agnosticism, or what we call in the United States "free thought", ethical unitarianism.

In New Spain, topped by the rotund little figure of Franco and supervised by the monarchist general—education, morality, books, the theatre, even dress (on beaches and in other public places), fall under the supervision of the Church. A person who does not attend mass on Sundays and feast days, or takes communion infrequently, becomes suspect, and may find his way to prison or concentration camp as a non-Christian Red. In 1941, when at Franco's (or Hitler's) order foodstuffs were shipped out of Spain into Germany, and the lower two-thirds of the Spanish population lived on half-rations, a working man had to show a ticket signed by a priest, saying he had attended mass, in order to get an extra ration of bread for his children.

What is therefore this "Christian" State that still ran Spain two years after the fall of Hitler and Mussolini? Is it a "Fascist State"? Well, up to 1945, that is, up to the collapse of Hitler's empire, the official theorists of New Spain called it a Catholic-Fascist State. Franco's State was Catholic-Fascist in the sense

(Continued on page 8)

Middle East Notes

"Culture" and Politics

"CULTURE" is a familiar shady fellow-traveller of politics. The Nazi boosting of German culture and Wagner and the "Communist" boosting of Russian culture and Dostoevsky and (surprisingly) Tolstoy in order to glorify the current regimes in these countries are examples. The "Communists" indeed, evolved quite a technique of admiring national culture when supporting a regime or alternatively a Marxist analysis when opposing it!

When Britain was dominant in Egypt, cultural relations between "Shakespeare's England" and "Pharaoh's Egypt" were all the vogue among the cosmopolitan Egyptian-minded middle-class, and English schools were fashionable for the children of even rabid nationalist politicians. Hence, the Anglo-Egyptian Union, which was finally dissolved last week (on the 4th July) after an incredibly protracted series of meetings in which leading members of the Union absolved themselves of their pro-English past by literally attacking English domination of the A.E. U. and demanding that it be wound up and its property handed to this or that Egyptian body. It is now at least dissolved and the wrangling over the property, library and files commences in real earnest.

On similar lines has been the storm of protest in the Arabic press over the Gezira Sporting Club. "How can independent Egypt tolerate a body in its midst which discriminates against Egyptian members?" Cairo and Alexandria are such international towns and its wealthy class of so many nations, that among its exclusive clubs there has never been such discrimination (as has marked India so noticeably, for instance), but the Gezira Sporting Club is one of the clubs noted for its British military (officers) membership and has been exclusively English, later admitting other Europeans and a few upper-class Egyptians.

With the ending of military occupation of the capital, the Government have stepped in, after protests in par-

liament and the club has amended its statutes in agreement with the authorities.

This is a cause of great delight to the nationalists who see yet another step towards full independence, but how does it benefit the impoverished fellah living in poverty and dirt, with a few pence between himself and famine, who may be landless with the next rising of the Nile, to know that he may now consider himself eligible for membership of the ritziest club in Cairo?

AMERICA OVER ASIA

Abdel Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League, professed himself delighted with the reception he has received in Washington. There is no need to wonder at that when one reads what he said there:

"I don't think the Americans will continually be passive in Egypt's case. I just don't see how the U.S. can take a negative attitude indefinitely. Egypt's case is just—and the people of this country believe in justice.

"Speaking purely practically, Egypt is the bulwark of the United States' position in the Middle East. The Truman Doctrine can't work without a satisfied Egypt.

"Remember there are 20,000,000 people in Egypt and 7,000,000 in the Sudan. They have a high degree of agricultural production and cultural advancement. Nobody can, in justice, afford to antagonise Egypt."

(Don't forget the "cultural" advancement!)

"Azzam Pasha grew enthusiastic when he enlarged on closer ties between the Arab countries and the Western world.

"We must exchange more students, more professors, more technicians," he said. "There is a vast field for development in the Arab world. There is money to be made there, too.

"But above all, there is the opportunity for understanding, the building up

of a higher standard of living—and for assuring peace."

Just where the "above all" should be placed is a matter of opinion.

FRENCH MOROCCO

On July 5th, France announced the creation of a "full-fledged" cabinet for Morocco—consisting of ten Frenchman and ten Moroccans—under the premiership of Grand Vizier El Mokkari. "France continues to assume responsibility for foreign affairs and national defence" and therefore follows the British technique of granting a show of independence.

The spokesman at the Quai d'Orsay told the Associated Press representative that one aim of the reform was "to create an elite of young Moroccans and prepare them for fuller responsibilities. He said he thought it would go towards meeting the demands of Moroccan nationalists". I dare say it will, since the (French-educated) Nationalists ask nothing more than the participation in the exploitation of their "fellow-countrymen". A plan that provides Ministry portfolios for ambitious politicians, guarantees landlordism and provides more openings for "local talent" in the legal administration, is quite likely to meet the demands of the Moroccan nationalists who are further removed from the *fellahs* than they are from the French. It will also satisfy those who call for careers for the student class and do not place their demands as high as bread and freedom.

An amusing footnote.—"The spokesman was asked if he thought the reform would satisfy Abd-el-Krim—former Riff leader now in Egypt. He said he did not know and added that France felt she could no longer place any confidence in his words or thoughts or acts." (AP, 5/7/47).

How the ungrateful Abd-el-Krim merits Franco's loss of confidence in him! He escaped after only twenty years imprisonment in Reunion Island!

A.M.

A Definition of Personality

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY. Ralph Linton. (Kegan Paul, 10/6).

THIS book deals with a subject which is very important to anarchists: the definition of 'personality' and its connection with society and culture. The writer raises many more questions than he answers, so that the book is provo-

cative, exasperating and finally rather dull; when an answer is given it is not a new one. However, the problems are neatly presented against a background of fact, and the book is useful as a starting point for thought and discussion.

Professor Linton begins by pointing out that workers in the fields of anthropology, sociology and psychology, are finding it necessary to co-operate on certain questions: the three fields are tending to merge into one comprehensive map of

man's nature. A point at which convergence is already taking place is that of the concept of personality, and this book endeavours to gather the facts supplied by each science and to combine them in a preliminary montage diagram. A barrier to convergence hitherto has been the lack of a common terminology: the writer offers one, and one of the minor pleasures for the reader of this book is the careful unrolling of a network of definitions upon which discussion proceeds. But not all

the definitions are satisfactory: a knot slips and the net lets the reader fall. One of these weak places in the writer's argument is his definition of 'society', which he distinguishes sharply from his concept of 'culture'.

"The human environment," he says, "consists of an organised group of other individuals, that is, a society, and of a particular way of life which is characteristic of this group, a culture." One sees at once that these definitions are dependent on each other: a group of individuals can hardly be "organised" unless for a cultural purpose: organisation implies a way of life, culture. Later, when one reads that culture may be defined as "the way of life of any society", one wonders what society is when it is not pursuing a way of life: Perhaps Professor Linton is referring to social institutions like the Church or Government which, in more senses than one, represent ways of death? But no, for soon we find that a social institution is only a "configuration of culture patterns". Or possibly the Professor has machinery in mind, knives and forks and grave-stones, the things produced by a social process? That this inference is also wrong is shown by the Professor's final definition "A culture is the configuration of learned behaviour and results of behaviour whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society", in which the phrase "results of behaviour" refers to all those inanimate objects collectively called 'material culture'. In short then, Professor Linton seems to use the word 'society' as a synonym for 'persons': he offers two concepts, that of the personality and that of culture, the latter being the way of life of two or more persons. That this is in fact what the writer means is shown by his lack of attention to 'society'; the few remarks he makes about it can all be resolved into statements on culture or on personality.

Perhaps it is natural for an anthropologist to translate the definitions current in sociology into the terms used in his own science; it is a little confusing for the reader, but once the necessary mental (Continued on page 7)

THE BABEUF PLOT

The Babeuf Plot, by David Thomson. Kegan Paul, 7/6.

"Gracchus" Babeuf, the leader of the plot which preceded Napoleon's final destruction of the French Revolution, has attained an almost mythical reputation as an early Communist. From the Stalinists leftward, all kinds of Marxists regard him as an ancestor, and it is therefore surprising that no important book on this conspirator should have been published in England since the superficial work of Belfort Bax in 1911.

The gap has now been partially filled by David Thomson, whose *The Babeuf Plot* gives a sketchy but interesting study of a very significant episode in revolutionary history.

Mr. Thomson is not always accurate or thorough in his information. Among the sheer inaccuracies, he tells us that Blanqui, Babeuf's greatest conspiratorial descendant, took a part in the government of the Commune, when in fact, although nominally elected to the Council of the Commune, Blanqui spent the whole of that period safely incarcerated in a government prison many miles from Paris. Among the examples of slipshod historical research, Thomson talks of the French working class movement as if it were wholly Jacobin or Marxist, ignoring the fact that the revolutionary syndicalist movement was largely motivated by anarchist ideas wholly unrelated to the authoritarian concepts of Babeuf, which had their logical descent in the Blanquist and Marxist traditions. In fact, the one mention of syndicalism is used, quite inaccurately, to give the impression that the direct action advocated by the syndicalists was in some way descended from Babeuf's idea of the putsch by a disciplined body of conspirators. In fact, it was based on a totally different idea, of the masses themselves creating the revolution instead of being directed by doctrinaire leaders.

Nevertheless, in spite of these slips, this remains an interesting book, primarily because it recognises that Babeuf's ideas and his plot had such an important influence on the subsequent development of revolutionary movements. Babeuf was the first authoritarian communist. Apart from the mumbo-jumbo of dialectical materialism, he had all the basic ideas of Marxism—the demands for collective ownership of property, for a disciplined party organisation, for a dictatorship to usher in the rule of "freedom", and so forth. Like the Marxists, he believed in imposing equality from above, a process which inevitably results in the situation where some, like the pigs in *Animal Farm*, are "more equal than others". It is significant that, in spite of all the talk of collective ownership, his conspiracy

F.D.C. REPORTS on its ACTIVITIES

FREEDOM DEFENCE COMMITTEE BULLETIN, No. 5. July - August, 1947. 8 pages, 3d. (Published by the F.D.C. at 8 Endsleigh Gardens, London W.C.1.)

THE fifth issue of this all too infrequently published bulletin has just appeared and is of particular interest to those readers of *Freedom* who would like to have some idea of the work done by the Committee, since it contains the Secretary's Report at the Annual General Meeting held in London recently.

It is also encouraging to learn that the Committee is proposing to once more campaign for an amnesty for deserters. An interesting report is published on the Mutinies at Northallerton and Aldershot Military prisons, and Alex Comfort contributes an article on the Liberal "Bill of Rights".

It is most encouraging to see in these days when apathy is the general rule, that the Committee's special appeal for £500 during 1947 to guarantee its continued activity has met with such good response: over £400 has already been received. And it is also gratifying to learn that readers of *Freedom* are well represented among the many contributors.

of the Equals became a movement of the disgruntled middle class and even, at one time, received the tentative support of at least one member of the reigning Directory, the political weathercock Barras. It is true that there was a libertarian element in the Conspiracy of the Equals, represented by Sylvain Maréchal, who drafted the *Manifesto of the Equals*, which claimed true economic and social equality and the elimination of rulership from human society. But the *Manifesto* was pushed aside in the later days of the conspiracy, when it began to curry the favour of the middle classes, and the Babouvists finally decided that a successful *coup d'état* should hand over power to a small committee of its leaders.

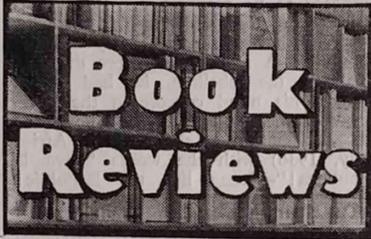
Babeuf's conspiracy traced the blueprint for many subsequent conspiratorial movements, of the Right as well as the Left. From his methods the Nazis learnt as much as the Communists. But the really significant lesson of this abortive plot is that a closed conspiracy cannot succeed if it does not assure itself beforehand of the neutrality of those in the key power positions, as most of the right wing putschists have done (like Franco and Mussolini), or gain access to the armed forces, as Lenin did. Babeuf failed to do either in a surprisingly purlind way, and it is an ironical fact that the one man who showed some sense of tactics was the police spy Grisel, who urged the conspirators to corrupt the armed forces.

To read the story of Babeuf's failure,

and to realise how little revolutionary the change would have been if he had succeeded, should reinforce our ideas of the futility of this kind of conspiratorial action. A movement of revolution can only succeed, and remain revolutionary, if it springs from the mass of the people. In that case no band of conspirators can propel the masses further than they intend to go; if, on the other hand, a conspiratorial body gains the actual direction of the revolutionary movement, then its own internal discipline will produce the power element to destroy the revolution. Any conspiratorial group has to be centralised and disciplined; it is therefore a dangerous weapon, because it cannot avoid carrying within itself the seeds of authority. Only the free action of the people is truly revolutionary; it can be prepared by revolutionary militants, but it cannot be led, except to destruction, by a group, like the Equals, who themselves seek to attain power.

Babeuf, personally a courageous and in some ways a sincere man, leaves for the revolutionary only this negative lesson.

G.W.



The Fate of the American Novel

THE state of the modern American novel is even more socially dictated than that of our own. The entire mechanism of publishing in contemporary America has been thrown out of gear, not by a public demand for bad work, nor even by public intolerance of social criticism (the American public is infinitely more broadminded in its reading than in its attitudes—it swallowed Sinclair and Dreiser and Steinbeck and paid them handsomely) but by a kind of sweepstake mentality derived from the gigantic rewards which are involved in the production of a successful book. To Englishmen accustomed to the small, self-supporting publishing house, represented by dozens of self-contained businesses ready to consider nearly all the possible levels of writing, it is almost incredible that 90% of novels issued by many American publishers are undertaken at an expected dead loss, in the interest of the greater or lesser literary jackpots on which the business is to be made profitable. For this state of affairs the high wage rates, unwillingness of printers to strip machines for small impressions, and large overhead costs of commercial travelling in a large country are all to blame, but the highest single item is advertisement running into thousands of dollars, the amount spent on a forthcoming book being advertised in the trade press to stimulate bookshop orders. Demoralising as this is for the publisher, it is far more so for the author, and the last state of the socially responsible writer is frequently pitiable—a literary guzzler surrounded by tycoons to whom he has to be polite, writing drivel-scripts or war propaganda with as much cynicism as he can decently command, and revenging himself by slipping in satirical asides which may get through. The responsible literature of America, except for occasional successes, like those of Farrell and Faulkner, depends almost entirely on philanthropy, the export of MSS to England, and luck. I doubt if one American edition of Miller, Patchen, Rexroth, or even many editions of Faulkner or the pre-collaborationist Steinbeck paid their way; Laughlin runs *NEW DIRECTIONS*, the most progressive of the literary publishing houses, at a loss of some \$15,000 annually, publishing work which in England, published by a concern of the size and status of, say, Hogarth Press or Grey Walls Press, would cover easily and would be unlucky if it did not show a profit of a few hundred pounds. Writers who publicly underrate the temptation of money are certainly not proof against concrete offers in nine cases out of ten, and the collapse of fiction-writers one after another into acquiescence is even more depressing than it would be if state censorship prevented anyone non-acquiescent from being printed openly. The lack of any middle term between dead loss and a financial bonanza makes it

impossible for publishers to keep their minds off the sure thing. The "sure thing" is the moronic composite novel, written in collaboration by advertising agents and script-writers, in which normal sexuality is taboo but sadism essential, political thought replaced by operatic attitudes, and the whole puffed with a figurehead author, usually a female good-looker, and groomed for filming. In view of these conditions it is astounding that the best-seller market should be worth study. It has produced no great novels, but several very interesting ones. I was thinking of books like *North-west Passage* (excluding the super-added irrelevant second half, which is not part of the picture) or *Anthony Adverse*, an astounding combination of goodness and badness, seems in the aggregate to be a successful illusion in genre-writing, a novelistic equivalent of *Hassan* or Rimsky's *Scheherazade*, which may be irritating but for which it is hard not to feel some respect. The mechanics of the situation make it almost inevitable that it should be the author's first book which is the best, the others representing downward degrees of conformity. *Of Mice and Men* compared with *The Moon is Down*, or Sinclair then with Sinclair now, or Hemingway the novelist with Hemingway the war reporter.

The state of English publishing, as regards the novel, is nothing like so discouraging. There is a common illusion among readers, fostered by unsuccessful writers, that vast numbers of MSS of genius are in some way suppressed, either by the commercialism of publishers or the stupidity of the public. It is important for intelligent reading to recognise that at present very nearly everything which is publishable at any of the many levels of fiction has an outlet. The rewards of the financially successful author being nothing like as dazzling as in the United States, novels are written either as a regular employment, like making boots, or out of conviction, or from a compulsion to shine without taking any socially unacceptable action to draw notice on oneself. In spite of what I have said about the "serious" intention of the novel, I have no quarrel with the purely manufactured product except insofar as it competes unfairly for the talent of potential writers and is acquiescent, collaborationist, and safe. I do not think that fiction has played any serious part in "debauching public taste" or any of the other activities attributed to lowbrow novels by those who dislike them. Nor are the intentionally bad works, produced to measure, serious except as a symptom. The only really serious mischief which can be done by fiction, from the social viewpoint, occurs when a previously progressive or reputedly progressive novelist is bought up.

ALEX COMFORT.

The Problem of Power

THE ETHICS OF POWER by Herbert Read. A "Peace News" pamphlet.

THIS pamphlet may well be a milestone in the philosophical development of Herbert Read, or it may be merely an overcompensatory reaction from his former position of a defender of revolutionary violence. The newly renegaded Jew is said to eat pork three times a day, and Herbert Read certainly goes for the whole hog. He writes thus:

"The doctrine of non-resistance to evil may be hard to understand and difficult to practice, but its effectiveness has been demonstrated again and again in the course of history."

I agree: its effectiveness for perpetuating all the horrors of exploitation and tyranny throughout history. Why else have the proud wielders of power sedulously fostered the teachings of meekness of the Prophet of Nazareth for the edification of the poor and humble? Non-resistance to evil is, alas, a commonplace 'virtue' which the poor practice only too well.

In developing his theme of the corruptive influence of power, Read notes that order and peace have been established by power, and he goes on to quote the well-known letter of Lord Acton to Bishop Creighton on the corruption of power, in which Acton states:

"Great men are almost always bad men, even when they exert influence and not authority, still more when you superadd the tendency or the certainty of corruption by authority."

But later in the pamphlet, the defeat of British power in India is referred to as being the work of "... a man in a loincloth preaching a gospel of meekness and non-violent resistance." This raises further confusing issues. Ghandi's gospel is here misrepresented as meekness, and although some attempt is made to distinguish between non-resistance to evil and non-violent resistance, the issue is too hurriedly passed over. Again, it is assumed that the "man in a loincloth" remains uncorrupted by the nature of the power he wields, but it seems doubtful if he can escape the aptness of Lord Acton's mighty condemnation quoted above. It is the nature of an organisation which determines whether or not there is a core of self-engendering corruption within it—whether it is centralized and functioning through the superstition, fear and blind obedience of its rank and file, or whether its rank and file themselves bear the responsibility for shaping its policy.

This pamphlet, based on a B.B.C. talk, has been published by *Peace News*, and is presumably intended mainly for P.P.U. readers. As such, it has the particular merit of focussing attention on the problem of power rather than that of violence. From the standpoint of an anarchist however, it is both confused and contradictory in its later theme. When such sweeping assumptions are made, as in this pamphlet, we look for a deal of weighty argument to support them.

G.

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A Definition of Personality

(Continued from page 6)

adjustment has been made one can follow Professor Linton into his discussion of personality. By this word he means: "The organised aggregate of psychological processes and states pertaining to the individual". He goes on to show how the psychological processes and states are influenced by the culture to which the individual belongs; how what we call our personalities are not entirely our own, but are reflections of the culture about us. The personality consists of a number of behaviour patterns, habitual or otherwise, which have been formed on the basis of response, and responses to situations which have not been formed deliberately (that is, the response is learned but not taught). By 'behaviour patterns' the writer means patterns of covert as well as overt behaviour: attitudes which remain subjective come into his definition. Thus the personality is not, so to speak, entirely a free state; it is the embassy of the external culture, set up within our territory: the turn of the head, the phrase on the tongue, the flicker of resentment or pleasure at the newspaper headline—these behaviour patterns are the flags of the country without, proclaiming that the frontier is illusory, the world international, that we are all members of one another.

None of this is new, nor is it quite satisfactory. The writer does not define the word 'individual', for instance, and though he does not ignore the part played by the individual in the formation of personality, he does not seem to give it sufficient prominence. Behaviour patterns, he seems to imply, are simply the seals of a culture, stamped on the plastic surface of the individual—they are masks put on a blank face. It seems more true to say that the individual chooses and selects to some degree: that a behaviour pattern, like a symptom, is a compromise between subjective and objective pressures. Though ourselves are masklike, the masks are partly alive; we are like plastic surgeons operating on ourselves. Again, the factor of consciousness is the main characteristic of individuality. Thus, the writer does not distinguish to a satisfactory degree between groups which are in process of conscious formation and groups which have become habitual—for though as the writer points out, social institutions begin as a way of life, culturally, they are institutions insofar as they have ceased to change and in so far as participation in them has become habitual and ritualistic. Or, in other words, 'society' means more than a plurality of persons: there are groupings in which people contact one another without living; social groupings, as distinct from communal or cultural groupings. Culture may be set against convention; a person may be

LAND RACKET IN THE COUNTRY

A GOOD deal has been said on the property ramp in London and the larger towns, but very little, so far as I have seen, of the similar racket in rural areas, where it has reached as great proportions and has even greater social and economic consequences.

To give only one example, in a part of Buckinghamshire which I visit frequently there is a large estate, owned by a peer who, incidentally, belongs to the Labour group in the House of Lords. Recently, this landowner put up a large section of his land, including several farms and many cottages, for sale in individual lots.

The prices he obtained were already high—about twice the pre-war value of the property. But worse followed. Most of the property was bought by land speculators, who have immediately done their best to raise the prices still further, and have succeeded in increasing the cost of cottages and land in the district far beyond the pocket of any worker who wishes to invest his savings in a small holding, or to buy a cottage for his own habitation.

One cottage, for instance, would have been worth £300 at most before the war. It was small and had no main water or electricity and only an earth closet. The socialist peer began by making 150%—he sold it at £750 to the speculator, who in turn sold it to a middle-class buyer for £1,500. Similarly, a small disused farmhouse, with no land, was sold to the speculator for £950. He added a few acres of rough grazing—barren chalk hillside—and a couple of adjacent barns. The price then became £3,900—and he received it from a rich woman with ideas of turning it into a "charming old-world home".

more cultured than he is conventional.

It will be seen that this book disappoints anyone who is anxious to find a satisfactory definition of individual, freedom, responsibility, society, or even of person and culture—that is to say, anyone who wants to find a logical and scientific addition to anarchist theory. Nevertheless, the book may provoke thought about the matter, and its recapitulation of old material about personality-formation is a timely reminder—in view of the recent discussion in *Freedom* about education for a new society—that we have to carry out a subjective as well as an objective revolution, that we have to weaken the authority within as well as without, if we want to create a stable libertarian community.

L.A.

Another example of gross profiteering in the same area was that of a large house which had been bought just before the war for less than £1,100 by a well-known Stalinist fellow-traveller. At the end of the war, when it was safe to return to London, the "comrade" showed his solidarity with the homeless worker by selling his house to an even richer man for four times the price he originally paid for it!

The result of such profiteering is that in the whole of this district house prices have risen to a great height, and any cottage that falls vacant is sold at an inflated figure.

Clearly there is no need to sympathize with the moneyed fools who pay such ridiculous prices. They are the more or less willing accomplices to the racket. The more serious consequences are, firstly, that land and farms are becoming so dear that the small farmer or holder stands no chance of becoming independent, and is likely to remain a tenant all his life, and, secondly, that the continual purchase of cottages by wealthy weekenders has caused an acute shortage of rentable

cottages, which in its turn means that there is not sufficient accommodation for agricultural workers. In this particular district there is a great lack of houses for new men to live in. A farmer friend of mine can only find one man to help him on a medium-sized mixed farm—for the rest he had to persuade labourers employed on other farms to work for him after their normal day is finished—which is certainly a very unsatisfactory way of running a farm. The more cottages that are sold by speculators, the worse the situation becomes, and undoubtedly this is a contributory factor to the generally poor condition of farms in this district. Moreover, so far as I can see, no effort is made in the country areas to take over the many vacant large houses and turn them into homes for land workers. Houses vacated by the military authorities or abandoned as Land Army hostels are either allowed to lapse into disuse, or are turned back into homes for the wealthy, instead of being used to house the workers who are necessary to make English agriculture productive to the full extent of its potentialities.

EX-LANDWORKER.

The Standards of British Journalism

The low level of the standards of British journalism is shown many times in the capitalist press. As a typical example, we take the *Sunday Pictorial* (8/6/47) which has an article headed: "STERN GANG 'CONFESSES': 'I SENT KING A LETTER-BOMB'." This story states that a man in Genoa claimed that he posted twenty-four letter bombs to prominent Britons, including the King, but does not say who the man is, or to whom he confessed, or whether he is under arrest or not for saying so.

The article then goes on to the following extraordinary remarks:

"The Genoa plotters live in dirty, narrow streets in what were once the marble palaces of the merchant princes of the old city.

They meet in back rooms and the language they speak is German.

Nearly as many women as men attend these murder conferences, and in the rooms in which they make up the bombs, women and even children lend a hand.

Ten Scotland Yard officers are in Northern Italy combing out Jewish circles in efforts to find the senders of the letter-bombs."

What are the ten Scotland Yard officers combing out Jewish circles in Italy for, when the *Sunday Pictorial* knows who the terrorists are, where they meet, what language they speak, how they discuss and prepare bombs, and has obviously—from the remarks of its (unnamed) correspondent—been in their hide-out?

Could this story have been written in London?

How many other 'inside' stories are equally plausible?

You think this is an isolated case? Just pick up a newspaper at random and pick out similar stories.

While writing the above on June 10th, the *Evening Standard* for that date caught my eye. "HOW NEW YORK'S JEWS RUN THEIR WAR WITH BRITAIN". In this article a reporter states of the "four powerful Jewish language daily papers" in New York:—

"Editorially their policy follows the Zionist line. Officially they all mildly favour Haganah (the group which is concentrating on trying to demolish British military installations in Palestine in order to quicken illegal immigration). But it is Irgun—who use terror as a political weapon, supported by the anarchist "American League for a free Palestine," which receive the editorial approval."

How long has this League been anarchist? And all those papers supporting it, too? Our propaganda is moving faster than we think!

DEMOCRATIC ARMY?

One of the most irritating half-truths in the Government's advertisement campaign for Army volunteers, is the statement that with the exception of a few specialists (such as doctors) all officers rise from the ranks nowadays. It is true that they come from the ranks, but the young recruit may quite easily be deceived by the belief that they rise from the ranks. There are ranker officers, certainly; especially on temporary commissions in these days of understaffing, who have been perhaps twenty years in the ranks and risen to perhaps Company Sergeant Major and who are getting temporary commissions as second-lieutenants and the like in the present time. But the majority of officers are far too young for that: they are recruited from the ranks when they have not been long enough in the Army to qualify as a lance-corporal or even one-star private. How are they picked? By their qualifications for leadership, argues the Army. And apparently their qualifications for leadership are their background, University education and accent, family connections and the like. They are marked out for the Officers' Mess as soon as they get into the Army. Why therefore such a farce as putting them in the ranks anyway?

And what would be amazing in view of conscription if applied to the ranks

seems to be quite an accepted thing as regards officers. Some while ago in Palestine an officer shot a bystander on a day when there was apparently no terrorist activity, as his nerves seemed to be on edge owing to previous days . . . he was charged with murder and found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to dismissal from the Services.

Think how many Other Ranks have been trying to get that 'sentence'!

But it is not necessary to shoot anyone to get dismissed from the Services (if you happen to belong to the class that gets commissions). When discussing the award of honours in the Birthday List as regards divorced people, the *Star* (12/6/47) went on to say:

"There are many high officers in the fighting and civil services to-day who have received promotion after divorce.

The principle behind application of the rules to the Services, civil and military, is whether a divorce or the behaviour of the man or woman brings discredit on the service. If it does, he can be asked to resign."

"Can be asked to resign!" How about "democratizing" this rule to the Other Ranks! Can you imagine how great would be the queue to the Divorce Courts then!

OUR ROMANCE

When the official announcement is made from Buckingham Palace of the engagement of Princess Elizabeth, the King will send messages to both Houses of Parliament.

In the Commons the bearer of the message will be the Prime Minister, who will announce it from the Bar. Then he will walk slowly up the floor of the House to the table bowing three times on the way and read the message.

Both Houses will pass messages of congratulation and these will be taken to the King.

Parliament then has to signify its assent to the betrothal.

Parliament will also have to pass legislation fixing a new allowance for Princess Elizabeth on her marriage.

The last provision made for her was in 1937—£6,000 a year until she became 21 and then £15,000, "should there be no Duke of Cornwall". The Princess at present has £15,000.

★

Before the wedding Lieut. Mountbatten, it is expected, will be raised to the peerage and probably become a duke.

Constitutional experts have been busy for some time studying the procedure, and because of the fact that comparable precedent goes very far back, a good deal of extra research has been necessary.

After Prince Philip became a British citizen the *London Gazette* announced that he had become a commoner, and would in future be known as Lieut. Philip Mountbatten.

★

Lieut. Mountbatten is at present a member of the Greek Orthodox Church, but it is probable that in due course he will be received into the Church of England.

Evening Standard, 9/7/47.

It must be love!

GUINEA PIGS

Descendants of the 160,000 survivors of Hiroshima are to be kept under medical supervision for several generations, so that any effects on human heredity can be studied.—Dr. Austin Brues of the U.S. Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission reported yesterday.

Daily Express, 3/7/47.

Through the Press

THE INFORMER

A prisoner who warned the prison authorities of the threatened mass escape from Wandsworth reported last week has been released following threats from the ring-leaders, who have discovered the informant's name. He is now being sought by underworld friends of the gang in prison.

Reynold's News, 29/6/47.

LOVING AND LEAVING

Dr. F. W. Norwood, back in England for the first time since 1940, told a congregation in Cheam, Surrey, yesterday: "There is something unspeakably peaceful, yet strong, about this country. She is the same old England. She is still the great hope of the world.

"The kindness and courtesy of the people have impressed me most in this post-war Britain."

Dr. Norwood, Minister of the City Temple for 17 years, has resigned from the pulpit at St. James's United Church, Montreal. He is returning to Canada.

Daily Express, 30/6/47.

Much as he likes us, he doesn't think he'll stay.

A WOMAN AND THE STATE

Kept 1,600 miles from her husband by the Russian refusal to let her come to England, a twenty-three-year-old telephone operator in the British Embassy at Moscow is threatened with gaol—unless she pays a tax because she is childless.

She is one of the fifteen wives the Russians refuse to allow to travel.

Irena's plea, written in Russian, says: "Is it possible to send me a little bit of money because I must pay 1,500 roubles yearly for tax because I have no children.

"I am fed up without you. I love you more than life. I think always of the happy times when we were together.

"Forgive me for having to ask you for money. At present I haven't a penny, because of the high cost of living. Please don't be angry with me."

Rowley said last night: "I cannot send her this money—it would mean about £60.

"It is ironic that this has happened because she has no children—that is the one thing we want most dearly, to be together and start a family."

Mr. Alfred C. Hall, of Albion-avenue, Clapham, S.W., who applied for a visa to visit his Russian bride, has been told by the Soviet Embassy to apply again next year.

Daily Mirror, 15/7/47.

THE AMERICAN WAY

Those who refused to believe in the hard-boiled cynicism of the American reporters in the film "Front Page" should read the accounts of Tojo's attempted suicide in "Star-Spangled Mikado" and the work of two American war correspondents.

Six of them who accompanied the officers who went to arrest the former Premier of Japan got there in time to hear the shot that nearly killed him.

Bursting into the room, they took part in a scene which Frank Kelley, of the *Herald Tribune* described as "a cross between a Marx Brothers movie, 'Hellzapoppin', and an Irish wake.

While one reporter shouted his story over the telephone, a pal told him what was going on: "The joint is swimming in blood . . . He's not dead yet . . . I hope the fish dies in time for my deadline."

A photographer put the dropped revolver back in the hands of the man they thought was dying and moved his head, "to improve the picture". Another camera man placed the ex-Premier's samurai sword between his legs.

Misunderstanding the signal given him, another correspondent telephoned that Tojo was dead.

"Who it it?" asked an Army photographer, seeing the body. Smoking a cigar and exploding flash bulbs, he actually argued whether he should smack Tojo with his camera, to finish him off.

Tojo bled for two hours. Then doctors arrived, and saved his life.

The People, 6/7/47.

THERE IS NO GOD

While praying in Westminster Cathedral, Mr. Albert Thibau, of Keighley, Yorkshire put down his brief case containing £90 in cash and irreplaceable designs. A little later he found that case and contents had been stolen.

Evening Standard, 7/7/47.

DIED BEYOND HER MEANS

An alley cat named Lily in Sacramento, California, who was left £1,250 in the will of her eccentric mistress, died to-day after eight years of eating such delicacies as crab meat, turkey and pure cream. She died "broke", and a pet hospital had to pay funeral expenses.

Daily Express, 3/7/47.

GREAT AND IMPORTANT

Horse-racing is costing owners £2,500,000 a year, according to an estimate by the council of the Racehorse Owners' Association, who held their third annual general meeting at the Dorchester Hotel, London, to-day.

This is an impossible state of affairs, and obviously cannot continue indefinitely, the council's report says. "If racing, which is a great and important industry is to survive, it must be organised and conducted on a rational and economic basis."

Evening Standard, 7/7/47.

THE OFFICIAL MIND

Four snowdrop bulbs in a tiny cardboard box were confiscated at Croydon Airport from a woman on one of three special airplanes bringing German brides from Hamburg.

Customs' officers said the snowdrops needed an import licence, and decided to hold them until it was obtained.

The snowdrops belonged to Mrs. Ruth Wieland, an English girl who married a German before the war and was returning to spend a holiday with her parents. She had dug them up specially in the woods near her home in Bavaria.

Evening Standard, 10/7/47.

NECESSITY OF LIFE

Worried man is Colonel Douglas Lyall-Grant, president of London Scottish Rugby Football Club.

Some days ago Mrs. Lyall-Grant was taking the colonel's sporrans to be cleaned. When she reached the cleaners she found she had left it on a bus.

Now, the colonel tells me, he may have to cancel important engagements unless the missing sporrans is returned to him.

Evening Standard, 2/7/47.

THE QUESTION

Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery told ex-Servicemen at a luncheon to-day about his hours of work. He did a seven-day week and "long hours".

"I have had no let-up since the beginning of the war—it is a question of how long one can carry on without going mad," he said.

Sunday Express, 13/7/47.

But how is one to tell?

OBJECTIVE REPORTING

As a rule, strikes take place only when the workers are fighting for a genuine demand . . . The *Daily Worker* undertakes to state the views of strikers whether official or unofficial; especially as other newspapers are not usually prepared to extend this measure of fairness.—*Daily Worker*, July 8.

"Members of the *Daily Worker* warehouse staff stopped work at a moment's notice last night. After a short stoppage work was resumed on instructions of their union officials."—*Daily Worker*, to-day.

I had to turn to other newspapers to find the cause of the strike: reason given by the men is that they allege the *Daily Worker* dismissed a man for redundancy, and then employed a member of a different union to do his work.

Evening Standard, 14/7/47.

RE-EDUCATION

Mixed concert parties and mixed bands of both British and Germans are permitted, provided that:

(a) British and German acts are separate.

(b) Bandleaders and compères are British.

Extract from the Special Routine Order issued by the Control Commission for Germany.

Abolish the Ministry of Labour!

WHEN the French masses rose against their oppressors one hundred and fifty years ago, they selected as the institution most typical of their servitude the great royal prison, the Bastille, and its immediate levelling to the ground was symptomatic of the revolution. As typical of different oppressive regimes have been the churches in Spain, the Nazi Party offices in Germany, the banks in America. In this country the Labour Exchanges are more and more becoming typical of the dreary capitalist bureaucracy that marks this country at the present time.

The Ministry of Labour has greatly extended its functions from a Government employment agency to the position it held in the war, controlling National Service and being supreme dictator of our destinies. Had the war-time call-up been purely catch-as-catch-can, like the old

Press Gang, or more or less general, like conscription in 1916, it would have been equally bad and perhaps more unfair in the first case or more inefficient in the second, but it would not have given so much power completely into the hands of a few men in the upper Civil Servant class, who had literally the power of life and death in their hands.

It cannot be seriously denied that political records of persons due for call-up into the Army were scrutinised and an attempt made to introduce a 'cat-and-mouse' system not dissimilar to that tried on conscientious objectors, whereby persons classified as 'politically dangerous' were not called up to the Armed Forces for reasons which, whenever challenged, the Ministry of Labour representatives 'have not been prepared to state' or 'were not in a position to disclose', but as soon as their criticisms or attacks upon the system became too severe, then they were called up. The idea presumably being that if they kept quiet they would be left alone.

In addition, men in particular industries that were reserved, have been threatened with de-reservation if they carried on political, or more particularly strike, agitation, and the threat of call-up against strike 'agitators' has been one of the main weapons of the Ministry of Labour against strike action, one only held off by the far more formidable weapon of further strike action against such call-up, such as that taken in Northumberland and Durham during the war.

The Ministry of Labour, outside whose dismal branches long queues were waiting for employment (or, more usually, unemployment benefit) during the last 'peace', also became the place to which all had to go to seek work at all during the war. The result being that one's entire means of livelihood rested on the decisions of a few officials, whose importance swelled like balloons.

Has this completely ended with the war? Mr. Bevin, when Minister of Labour, regarded the triumph of his department over the entire nation, as a great social advance. Mr. Isaacs has continued the tradition, while being forced to yield on certain points—for instance, he could hardly have directed people demobilised after seven years to work where they were told or go back into the Army, so the threat of the Army has gradually had to slide into the threat of unemployment. For us however this is not good enough. Those who believe in civil freedom cannot be content to see an organisation with so much power as the Ministry of Labour. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the enslaving trends of modern socialism that only the Anarchists—who after all don't believe in any form of government and therefore any department of government, at all—should see the dangers of the continued existence of an institution which leaves certain men in charge of national servitude. M.A.

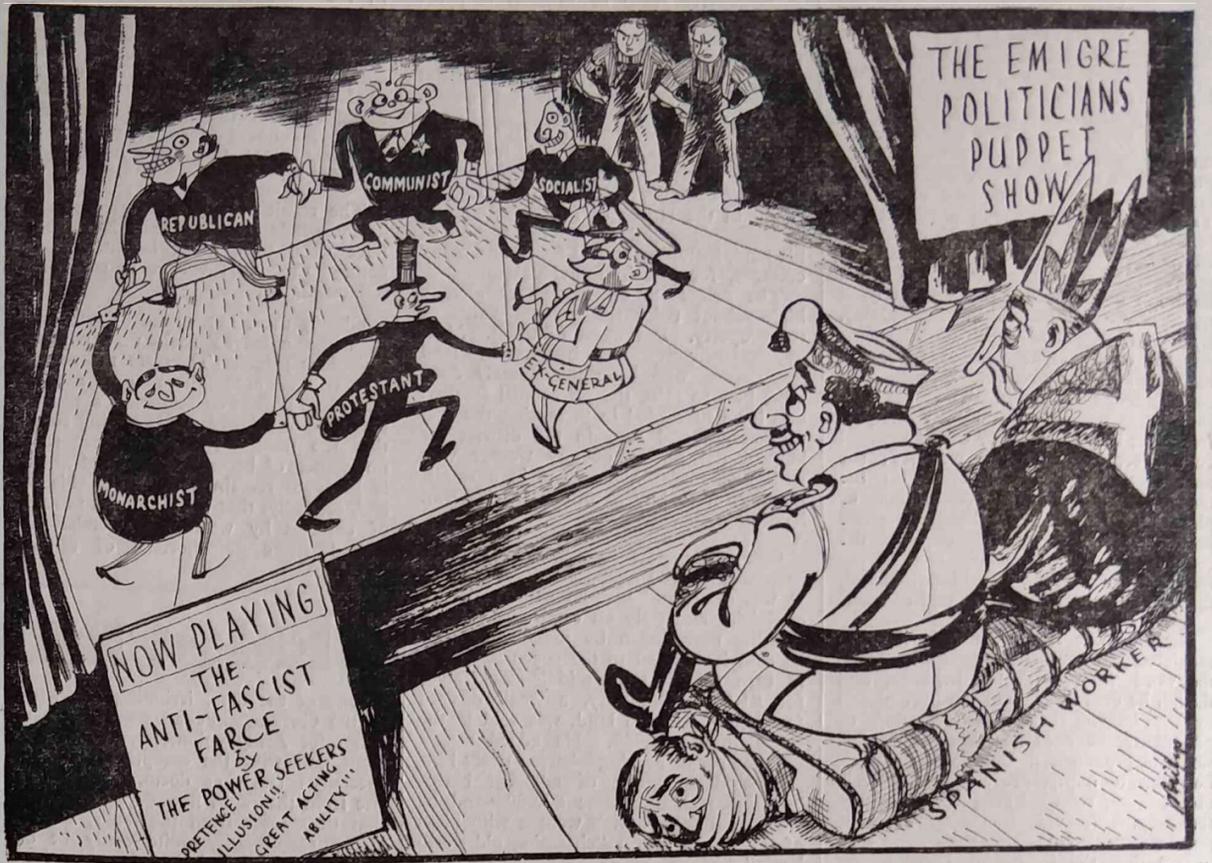
Church and Army in Spain

(Continued from page 5)
that it was run jointly by Fascists and the Roman Catholic Church, aided by the army.

Redemption by Labour in Catholic-Fascist Spain

Now the forced-labour system that was instituted in Spain under the Catholic-Fascist dictatorship approximates closely the forced-labour system of atheistic Russia. After victory over the Republican forces, Franco's State held more than a million prisoners, most of them working people, civilians. The subtraction of so many workers from the economy of the country was certain to hurt it at a time when the Axis powers looked to Spain for essential raw materials and foodstuffs. Therefore, the Republican prisoners were set to work to earn their keep. This programme was officially credited to the genius of the Jesuit Father Pérez del Pulgar.

The law called "Redemption by Labour" regulates the employment and payment of the political prisoners, most of whom have been given very long sentences. In 1945, the forced manual labourer in Catholic-Fascist Spain received a daily wage of 4½ cents (50 céntimos). The wives of married men were allowed 18 cents (2 pesetas) a day and 9 cents (1 peseta) for each child under fifteen. Since forced labourers working at such wage rates could not be expected to be very productive, the prisoners were offered the chance to shorten their sentences for commendable work. Thus for one day of good work two days were to be subtracted from the prisoner's term. Clerical prisoner-workers received no wages besides food, but also had their work days count towards the shortening of their sentences. Also in Communist Russia, the policy of government-employer is to have political and common lawbreakers "redeem" themselves by labour. There too, the prisoner may shorten his sentence by the performance of commendable, productive labour. It is for such Christian statesmanship that Franco has received the Pope's blessings.



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JULY 27th Louis Adeane
Shelley's Life and Thought

There will be NO meetings during the whole of August. Watch this column for the announcement of the re-commencement of the lectures with an entirely new series.

N.E. LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

NEXT MEETING—
at 71, Streetfield Ave., East Ham, E.6
29th JULY
Business Meeting.

Any enquiries to:—
27 Red Lion Street, W.C.1.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

Open Air Meetings
at Maxwell Street, (Argyll St.)
every Sunday at 7 p.m.

Speakers: Frank Leech
Eddie Shaw Preston Clements

LANCASHIRE GROUPS MANCHESTER

No. 1 Committee Room,
Houldsworth Hall, Deansgate.
Friday, 15th Aug. at 7.15 p.m.
Mat Kavanagh on
Nationalisation & the Worker

Open Air Meeting. Platt Fields,
Sunday, 17th Aug. at 7.30 p.m.
Enquiries to S. L. Flackett, 28, Braemar
Avenue, Stretford, Nr. Manchester

CHORLEY

Public Meeting at
Oddfellows Rooms, 9, Cunliffe Street,
Tuesday, Aug. 19th at 7.30 p.m.
Mat Kavanagh on Why Vote?
Enquiries: Chorley Area Group
11, Ribblesdale Place

LIVERPOOL

Coopers Hall, Shaw Street,
Liverpool 6
Sunday, 24th Aug. at 7 p.m.
Mat Kavanagh on Why Vote?

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP

Regular fortnightly public discussion
meetings are held on Sundays at 7 p.m.
at Dick Sheppard House,
36 Holloway Head.
Next Meeting—August 10th

SOUTHSEA

August Bank Holiday Weekend
OPEN AIR Meetings at Burgoyne
Road, Nr. South Pier.
Sunday, August 3, at 7.30 p.m.
Monday, August 4, at 3.30 and
7.30 p.m.

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

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Conscription & V.D.

Much has been said for and against conscription; economic factors have been weighed against strategic factors, and the Labour Government has now pushed the Conscription Bill through Parliament as fast as it could, with almost indecent haste, in fact.

Lord Moran, President of the Royal College of Physicians, has now drawn attention to the effect of conscription on the health of conscripts. Speaking in the House of Lords on June 3rd, he gave some startling figures on the incidence of venereal diseases in the armed forces abroad. In September last year there were the following rates for new cases of V.D.:

In Japan	228 per 1000
In Germany	185 "
In Austria and Italy	168 "
In Burma and Malaya	141 "
In the Middle East	31 "
In Britain	33 "

Lord Moran also pointed out that since conscription, as at present contemplated, will do little or nothing apparently to give this country security in time of war, its real purpose was to provide armies of occupation. Yet the use of conscripts overseas, he declared, was a policy which no democratic European government had ever countenanced; and he was profoundly concerned at its effect on health and morale.

The Government proposes to send a large proportion of conscripts at 18 years old, and straight from school, quite inexperienced in the outside world, to Germany and other occupation areas for their military training. In some of these areas the new-infection rate for V.D. was higher than one man in five. Lord Nathan's reply for the Government to Lord Moran, was very lame indeed. He spoke of giving intensive thought to the matter, "of the work of Army Chaplains, and Army Education and Welfare organizations. Finally, he passed the buck altogether by suggesting that the real solution lay in "correct upbringing"!

State's Responsibility

But, clearly, the Army and the Government cannot escape their responsibilities like that. If they thrust young men of 18 into unfavourable environments they must expect bad results. In addition, it is well known from past experience that

as the food position of a defeated population worsens, prostitution increases. Desperate women and young girls sell themselves to the soldiers of the armies of occupation for the sake of trivial items of foods to feed their families and themselves. And the sexual suppression which is enforced on adolescence (this is what Lord Nathan's "correct upbringing" means in actuality) ensures that the occupying soldiers take full advantage of these dreadful bargains. Italy saw this sort of degradation in the closing stages of the war, and prostitution is still rampant there; and hence also venereal disease.

It is time the slavery of conscription was rejected. But since parliament has failed to throw it out, there only remains the direct action of the conscript-to-be—in refusing to subject himself to the hated measure.

THE MIXTURE AS BEFORE

Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery said to-day there is no evidence yet to show that a future war is going to be push-button.

"As a soldier I couldn't possibly recommend to my Ministers that we scrap everything and turn over to button pushing. There is no evidence that land battle will disappear. Therefore as soldiers we have to be prepared for battle on land as in the past.

"It is possible that atom bombs in the future will be outlawed, as was gas. It is possible, too, that atomic and guided missiles will be effectively countered."

Evening Standard, 28/6/47.

Stop Press

GLASGOW ANARCHISTS CHARGED

Two of our Glasgow comrades, Eddie Shaw and Preston Clements, have been charged with obstructing traffic in Maxwell Street. Is it an attempt to "clean-up" the city prior to the Royal Visit?

More details in our next issue.

The Meaning of Freedom

Freedom is a word that means a lot of different things for a lot of people. FREEDOM we find, as we walk through the shops is a permanent wave, or it is a dishwasher. Passing from the soap department to the soft-soap department, it becomes a catch-word on the lips of politicians. From right to left, they will talk about it, but it doesn't mean the same thing to all of them, or perhaps it means very little to any of them. But to us, at the moment, FREEDOM means a paper which we think deserves your support. Don't you think so too? If so, what about it? One of our main problems, (and yours too, no doubt), is money. In these days, when our rulers implore us to "work and pray, and live on hay", there isn't much cash about, but the Press Fund is a good use for whatever you can spare. Of course the best way to reduce the

cost of producing the paper is to increase the circulation. Are you taking as many copies as you can, to distribute and sell to your friends? Are you getting new subscribers? Does your newsagent sell "Freedom"?

Press Fund

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