

Freedom

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Twopence

"Oh give me liberty! For even were Paradise my prison, still I should long to leap the crystal walls."

JOHN DRYDEN.

'SUCCESS' - BUT WHO PAYS?

FOR some time now, the Press, led by the *News Chronicle*, have been indulging in an elaborate campaign of forced optimism, under the title of "Talk Success". Cabinet Ministers, industrial magnates and government officials have willingly lent themselves to the support of this campaign, and the newsmen have gone out of the way to compile information which will give the impression that, as Dr. Pangloss said in *Candide*, we are living in the best of all possible worlds. The idea seems to be that if we tell ourselves everything is going well, and carefully avoid admitting that anything can possibly be wrong in the world around us, then, slowly but surely, we shall overcome all our difficulties without having to make any radical change in our economic system or our social outlook. It is a typical nineteenth-century delusion, a hangover of the palmy days of capitalist expansion, and it is significant that it should emanate from the newspaper which represents that typically nineteenth-century party, the Liberals.

Underlying Motives

But it is not merely a question of stupidity sticking its head in the sand and refusing to face up to realities. Such a campaign at the present moment has come as a godsend to the Labour Government, because, firstly, it gives them a means of covering up their own failures by drumming in these supposed successes, and, secondly, if it results in creating an emotional atmosphere similar to that which existed during the war, it will make it easier for compulsion to be applied to the workers.

The capitalists also have their interest in supporting the campaign, since it helps them to drive the workers on by a competitive system which gives excuses for lowering conditions of work and attacking the workers' gains. Clearly, stupid as the campaign may seem on the surface, it has a very sinister underlying motive, and it is being so worked up by means of continued suggestion that many people are undoubtedly being taken in by it. It is therefore necessary to examine it rather

closely before we merely write it off as another newspaper stunt.

What Is Success?

Firstly, what is the success of which we are being told? If the daily columns in the *News Chronicle* which are devoted to this subject are examined, it will be seen that they consist mostly of reports from individual factories and of isolated groups of statistics, all clearly chosen to give the impression required by editorial policy.

We are told of one factory where export figures show an increase of 233% over pre-war figures. But we are not told what this factory is producing, if any, for home consumption. We are told of increased coal production in various pits, of isolated instances of quick loading of wagons, and so forth.

On the same page Herbert Morrison is quoted as giving yet more statistics in a broadcast speech, in which he said:

"We are exporting by volume nearly one-fifth more than pre-war. Our battered and run-down railways are carrying a fifth more goods than pre-war with 15 per cent. fewer wagons."

"This autumn we touched the highest peak of steel production on record in war or peace."

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

"Despite the drought, we are producing much more milk and a greater volume of agricultural produce generally than we were."

Meaning Of The Statistics

These figures sound impressive. But what do they mean in terms of the human needs of people in Britain? Perhaps one-fifth more exports are being sent abroad, but how much in the way of consumption goods is left for the people who themselves work in the factories? Where did the extra one-fifth of goods carried on the railways go? Certainly not into the homes of the workers. How much of the high

steel production is being used for houses and how much for luxury cars for export, armaments for the next war, etc.?

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

Clearly such glibly spoken statistics as those of Herbert Morrison mean nothing. The only success that should be recognised is that which is counted in human terms. Are people properly fed? Are they contented? Are they healthy? The answer to these questions is that the diet of the British workers is, as has been shown by recent medical statistics, considerably lower than that required for a healthy life. Their physical condition is poor, and they are either apathetic or disgruntled. What else should they be?

The Dangers

But the "Talk Success" campaign, far from showing any real immediate benefits, may well be the means of making matters worse for the workers. Already it is being used to shift the emphasis from the worker on to the work, from health on to production. A constant propaganda goes on for voluntary working of extra hours, for longer shifts, for higher speeds. A British type of Stakhanovism, with all its implications, is being organised.

These are the principal dangers of this new drive. Firstly, the effect of an increased tempo of work, artificially stepped up by propaganda and by time-checking methods, will be to further undermine the health and nervous

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DEAKIN'S DISCOVERY

There are Communists in the Trade Unions!

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

One would think, from the virtuous manner in which Deakin has spoken of political activity within the unions, that there was no connection whatever between the Labour Party and the T.U.C., but it must be remembered that in politics that which is in order for oneself is not necessarily right for anyone else.

But there is more to it than that. The Cominform has not taken long to make itself felt on the Continent, and here in Britain Harry Pollitt and the King Street caucus are just beginning to catch up. There is a new party line; instead of collaboration with the boss, instead of subjugation of the workers' interests to the cause of greater production, we are now going to have a basin-full of class conflict. One could almost hear them saying: "Dust off that old formula, Harry, and put it back in the window!"

Nothing New

To the workers, of course, there is nothing new in Deakin's discovery. They know perfectly well what goes on in the unions, and so does Deakin. What is upsetting him is that instead of being all pals together, so that the

regimentation of the workers can go on smoothly and painlessly (except for the workers—but they don't matter), things can be made awkward if the Communists so choose. Or are told to so choose.

The tactic of infiltration into office in the unions has been going on for years. And such is the dynamic of a disciplined party like the C.P. that now they have captured executive positions in some of the unions with influence out of all proportion to the actual C.P. membership in those unions.

In Deakin's own union for example, there are eight C.P.s in the executive committee of 33—a proportion of one in four. Yet among the rank and file membership of 1,250,000 the proportion of Communists can hardly be more than one in 200.

At the T.U.C. Conference at Southport this autumn, out of 833 delegates about 65 were Communists—a proportion of roughly one in 13. Yet the entire membership of the C.P. compared with the entire membership of the T.U.C. affiliated bodies (40,000 compared with 7,500,000) is about one in 175!

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Ministers' Conference Not a Failure

THOSE who think that the Foreign Ministers' Conference was a failure, show singular political naïveté. The Conference did not achieve what it was never meant to achieve, i.e. the unity of Germany and Austria under American domination or the same unity under the aegis of Russia. Nothing short of the first solution would have satisfied Mr. Marshall and only the second would have appeased Mr. Molotov.

It is equally unrealistic to think that the breaking down of the Conference will lead to a division of Europe and Germany, for the good reason that the division has already existed for considerable a time. Only the wildest Utopians could have hoped to see unity rise out of the ashes of disunity.

It is unfair to say, however, that the conference has achieved nothing. It has, by its "failure" justified the policy of "what we have, we hold" carried out by the Great Powers.

Since it has now been made perfectly clear to the whole world that a four-Power agreement on the question of Austria and Germany is impossible (at least for the time being) Russia feels perfectly justified in holding a firm grip on her zones and the other Powers in uniting to strengthen the control of their own zones.

Concentration of power in the hands of the United States has taken place in the latter camp. Britain's strained economic situation has allowed America to gain economic control (and eventually political control) of the Western Zone. Thus, the ground has been cleared for a straight fight between the Big Two.

The fate of the German people, which might have been expected to retain the attention of such a conference, seemed however quite irrelevant. It was left to the *Manchester Guardian* to express some misgivings with that old-fashioned attempt at soul-searching which sometimes creeps in its columns: "The average German however anxiously he reads the signs on the wall, still does not know whether the occupying Powers are there to destroy him or to save him. It is not easy to tell whether they know themselves."

Germans, facing another winter of starvation, have probably less difficulty in settling this matter. But whatever criminal intentions they attribute to the foreign powers which rule their lives, they are mistaken. Governments are above such trifling considerations. They neither want to save nor destroy, they merely want to use the German people in their imperialist struggle. Whether it is saved or destroyed in the process is beside the point.

STALIN'S CHRISTMAS BOX

IF we can believe the *Daily Worker*, Stalin's Christmas present to the Russian people, the devaluation of the rouble and the abolition of rationing, will be received with jubilation. "At a single blow," says this newspaper admiringly, "the Soviet Government has ended all rationing and restored peace-time trading, raised the purchasing power of the rouble, lowered the cost of living, maintained wages and deprived speculators of nine-tenths of their ill-gotten war-time gains."

It will have been a shock for many to learn that there are such creatures as "spivs" in Russia. We had been led to understand that the black market was peculiar to our corrupted economic system, and that thanks to wise economic measures, Russia had not suffered from this curse.

Any black-marketeering which existed (if one can give it that name) was regulated by the Government and in fact most of it took place in State-shops. It now appears, however, that there was another black market which forced the government to carry out a drastic currency reform.

We had also been told, Reg Bishop devoted a whole pamphlet to tell us, that Soviet millionaires were not the unscrupulous individuals like their capitalist counterparts, for: "... in the Soviet Union the millionaire has acquired his roubles by his own toil and by services to the Soviet State and People."

It seems rather unfair, in the light of this, that he should be deprived of part of his fortune. Let us see how this man,

who has deserved so well of his country, would fare under the new decree. Let us take the case of that farmer, mentioned by Reg. Bishop, who had managed to put aside one million roubles.

If the millionaire-farmer had by ill-luck stuffed his money in his mattress he will have to go to a bank and he will receive one rouble for ten of the old ones. If, on the other hand, he had put his money in a savings bank or State bank, his first 3,000 roubles will be changed at par. But if he had been wise enough to put it in a co-operative undertaking or a collective farm, he will receive four roubles for five.

In whatever way the wealthy farmer had invested the money, he will have to bear a substantial loss.

Let's consider the happier fate of a factory worker. He earns 900 roubles a month and he has managed to put aside 1,000 roubles to buy some clothes. He has no bank account, so he keeps them in his wallet; he will get a hundred roubles in exchange but his loss will be insignificant compared with that of the farmer. As the decree points out the losses to the working people will be "short-termed and insignificant."

The *News Chronicle*, unlike the *Daily Worker* and the *Daily Express*, did not comment enthusiastically on the new measures. Its City Editor described them as "an act of the purest *laissez-faire* economy" and remarked in a typical petit-bourgeois manner: "Henceforth, apparently, her (Russia's) citizens will be able to buy food and clothing insofar as they have the money to pay for them. That is the classic capitalist system, though it is now in full operation in comparatively few capitalist countries. In this respect the Communist wheel has come the full circle."

By one of those curious hazards of history it was announced that the United States were considering the introduction of food rationing practically at the same time as Russia announced that she was

giving up hers. It conclusively shows how mistaken the city editor of the *News Chronicle* is in comparing Russian methods to those of capitalist countries.

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

We would also like to know how the Russian worker can feel very elated because bread and macaroni have gone down in price when the price of milk, eggs, tea, fruit, clothes and footwear will be higher than the former rationed prices.

The abolition of clothes rationing is surprising in view of the shortage of consumer goods of which the Government has never made any secret. Their price was already much higher, in relation to wages, than in Britain. But the remedy for these increases is hard work, longer hours resulting in a bigger wages packet. A solution which cannot have escaped the vigilant attention of the Government. Indeed, the *Daily Worker* might have mentioned that the single blow was administered with a double-edged hammer.

We feel compelled to mention one disturbing aspect of the introduction of this new decree. If Stalin was out to catch black-marketeers he should have seen that the secret was well-kept. Instead, accurate forecasts appeared three weeks before the news was officially announced in the foreign Press and we learn that in Russia shops were emptied of their goods. If Dalton was forced to resign, what should be the fate of the Trotskyist-fascist who softened the single blow?

OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM ANSWERED

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J.R.H.

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

1. THE FUTURE SOCIETY

ANARCHISTS have always opposed the idea of making carefully planned blueprints of a future society, for a number of reasons, of which the principal are as follows. Firstly, the circumstances of a free society will certainly not resemble our own in their general nature, and therefore we cannot on the basis of present economy, build any accurate vision of what opportunities will arise in a revolutionary situation. Secondly, we have no right to lay down any "party line" of action for the people to follow in the event of a revolution; if the revolution arises from the spontaneous action of the people, then it can remain libertarian only so long as they carry out their own initiatives freely—if, on the other hand, it is carried out under the direction of a group of conspirators with a carefully worked out plan of action, then the revolution has already assumed an authoritarian shape and is likely to crystallise into a "revolutionary" government, and such institutions, as we know from history, usually become in a very short space of time just as reactionary as their conservative predecessors.

The anarchist can only suggest the general lines of activity for a revolutionary change of society, and, wherever he is able, initiate or draw attention to experiments in social organisation which will provide a basis of practical knowledge from which the workers can build up their own institutions after the revolution.

The general principle on which anarchist theory is based calls for a destruction of the State and of all means

of authority, and the devolution of administration into the hands of the people themselves. Any kind of centralisation takes away this direct administration, and constitutes authority. Therefore, the anarchist believes in the maximum possible

decentralisation and localisation of all economic and social functions. Every unit of production and of social life should be of such a size that every person engaged in its functioning is able to take an active part in all decisions. Between all such localised units there should only be a co-operative and federal unity of agreement and co-ordination, but nothing in the way of an overriding authority.

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

Examples are the various free schools, and other experiments in libertarian education, social service experiments like the Peckham Health Centre, and groups which attempt to carry out the principles of free socialism on a really comprehensive scale, affecting all the activities of group life, such as the Palestine collectives, the Spanish peasant communes in the civil war, and the modern Doukhobor settlements in Canada. All these experiments are of really great practical value because they are much more than mere blue prints; they are actual living examples of people co-operating successfully without authority or centralisation, and, in many cases, actually practicing the abolition of property and money which anarchists always advocate. In countries where the workers already have widespread militant organisations and are expecting revolutionary opportunities it is possible for them to make quite elaborate plans for the practical organisation of society, as was done in Spain, but in a

country like England, where there is as yet no sufficiently large revolutionary movement, such plans would clearly be merely Utopian.

Therefore, we contend that the job of the anarchist is not to tell the workers just what they must do when the revolution takes place; it is to show them that in practical life they can take their own decisions and administer their own affairs, and to indicate the general principles on which practical initiative can work without resorting to authority. That is why a practical example of successful libertarian co-operation is of far greater value than all the theoretical blue-prints which political parties have made, but never adhered to. Unlike political parties, we make no programmes or promises; if the workers want a free society, they can only build it by their own free initiative and by combining to achieve the objectives that are attainable at the time. The creation of hypothetical Utopias will hinder rather than help, for it focuses attention on a myth instead of the practical realities of the situation. But practical experiments here and now, and the demonstration of actual achievements of libertarian co-operation in every-day life, even under our capitalist system, are invaluable in preparing the workers to be able to take their fate into their own hands.

2. REGIONALISM AND SYNDICALISM

The second point raised by J.R.H. brings us to one practical field in which libertarian organisation can take place, here and now, both as a means of laying

the foundation of revolutionary organisation and of preparing for the revolution. That is in the field of organisation among the workers in industry on a revolutionary syndicalist basis.

Since the word "syndicalism" has attained a somewhat loose meaning in recent years, and has been used by reformists and authoritarians to describe methods of organisation which are certainly not libertarian, it is necessary here to say what anarchists mean when they talk of syndicalism, or anarcho-syndicalism as it should really be called.

A great deal of careless propaganda for "One Big Union" and for industrial unionism in general has certainly been so phrased as to give the impression that syndicalists necessarily think in terms of huge, monolithic organisations of the workers. Hence J.R.H.'s difficulty in seeing the compatibility between regionalism and syndicalism.

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

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MICHAEL BAKUNIN

(Continued from last issue)

Prison and Exile

When Bakunin appeared in London more than twelve years later, such friends as Alexander Herzen, the famous Russian liberal, might have mistaken him for a ghost except that spirits were not supposed to be so massive in their build and so eloquent on the subject of materialism. He had spent eight years in the dungeons of four countries, handed about like some curious monster on exhibit, and then four years of Siberian exile; years of equal torture to his robust body and vigorous mind, days of depression and nights of sleeplessness, all so demoralizing that when he was handed over to the Russian authorities and buried alive in the infamous Peter-and-Paul fortress (which later was to lodge Kropotkin), he penned—at the suggestion of the Tsar—his Confession, a document of dostoevskian self-abasement, which was to be made public by the Bolsheviks in 1921 and which Bakunin himself, in his correspondence, considered 'a great blunder'.

A True Seeker

The years after imprisonment and exile found Bakunin becoming more and more a conscious anarchist though never in any sense of dull dogmatism, for as he put it: "No theory, no ready-made system, no book that has ever been written will save the world. I cleave to no system, I am a true seeker." That does not mean, though, that Bakunin had no radical moorings: he had come to realize after his relations with Continental uprisings that nationalist movements could not bring about the social revolution; that, going beyond Marx in his materialist interpretation of capitalist society, the State could become a ruling class above the existing capitalistic rulers, and that in the place of both must come the expropriation of land and the means of production to be worked collectively by workers' associations. With these views taking shape, Bakunin began to realize, too, that what was needed for its accomplishment was an international revolutionary movement. For a time he worked within the radical democratic organization, the League for Peace and Freedom, building a reputation as an orator and gaining numbers of adherents to his ideas, notably the brothers Elisee and Elie Reclus. But it was not long before Bakunin became disgusted with the essentially bourgeois nature of the League and founded his International Alliance of Social Democracy which soon gained, with the help of spirited bakounian letters (the phrase is Vanzetti's), thousands of followers in Switzerland, Italy and Spain. In 1868 Bakunin had joined the International Working Men's Association and he soon saw that it was foolish to divide the forces of labour by maintaining his own organization and, therefore, after petitioning the General Council, led by Marx, he was allowed to enter the Alliance into the International though only as separate branches. Marx already considered Bakunin as a menace to his own authority.

The proceedings of the International after Bakunin's entry are fraught with prophetic significance for the radical movement of to-day; it left us a heritage of radical watchwords, realized by the workers themselves, which are still vital now, but, unfortunately, it also left a sorry legacy of dirty tactics, involving slander, contrived voting and purges, which have all but ruined the socialist movements which followed. Even Franz Mehring and Otto Ruhle, the admiring biographers of Marx, have been forced to put the blame for what developed on their master's shoulders.

Struggle in the International

However, it is wrong to believe that it was principally petty politics and character differences which caused the monumental clash between Marx and Bakunin. In his last years, for his death was near, Bakunin examined the real issues at stake in a letter to the Internationalists of Romagna which is worth quoting at length. He was able to say despite all the calumny: "Fortunately for the International there existed in London a group of men who were, in the true sense of the words, the real founders and initiators of that body. I speak of the

small group of Germans whose leader is Karl Marx. These estimable persons regard me as an enemy, and maltreat me as such whenever and wherever they can. They are greatly mistaken. I am in no respect their enemy and it gives me on the contrary lively satisfaction when I am able to do them justice. I have often an opportunity of doing so, for I regard them as genuinely important and estimable persons, in respect both of intelligence and knowledge, and also in respect of their passionate devotion to the cause of the proletariat and of a loyalty to that cause which has withstood every possible test—a devotion and a loyalty which has been proved by the achievements of twenty years. Marx is the supreme economic and socialist genius of our day. In the course of my life, I have come in contact with a great many learned men, but I know no one else who is so profoundly learned as he. Engels, who is now secretary for Italy and Spain, Marx's friend and pupil, is also a man of outstanding intelligence. As long ago as 1846 and 1848, working together, they founded the party of the German communists, and their activities in this direction have continued ever since. Marx edited the profound and admirable Preamble to the Provisional Rules of the International, and gave a body to the instinctively unanimous aspirations of the proletariat of nearly all countries of Europe, in that, during the years 1863-1864 he conceived the International and affected its establishment. These are great and splendid services, and it would be very ungrateful of us if we were reluctant to acknowledge their importance." Then why the clash? Bakunin goes on: Marx is an authoritarian and centralizing communist. He wants what we want: the complete triumph of economic and social equality, but he wants it in the State and through the State power, the dictatorship of a very strong and, so to say, despotic provisional government, that is, by the negation of liberty. His economic ideal is the State as sole owner of the land and of all kinds of capital, cultivating the land through well-paid agricultural associations under the management of State engineers, and controlling all industrial and commercial enterprises with State capital.

"We want the same triumph of economic and social equality through the abolition of the State, and of all that passes by the name of law (which, in our view, is the permanent negation of human rights). We want a reconstruction of society, and the unification of mankind, to be achieved, not from above downwards, by any sort of authority, or by socialist officials, engineers, and other accredited men of learning—but from below upwards, by the free federation of all kinds of workers' associations liberated from the yoke of the State.

"You see that two theories could hardly be more sharply opposed to one another than ours are. But there is another difference between us, a purely personal one.

"Marx has two odious faults: he is vain and jealous. He detested Proudhon, simply because Proudhon's great name and well-deserved reputation were prejudicial to him. There is no term of abuse that Marx failed to apply to Proudhon. Marx is egotistical to the pitch of insanity. He talks of 'my ideas', and cannot understand that ideas belong to no one in particular, but that, if we look very carefully, we shall always find that the best and greatest ideas are the product of the instinctive labour of all . . ."

Bakunin saw the struggle clearly, but after his expulsion from the International, his strength began to decline rapidly. He started but failed to complete several theoretical works, notably *The State Idea and Anarchy* and *The Knouto-Germanic Empire*, a document full of insights into what later developed into Nazism. He further saw the shape of the future in one of his last letters, when, despairing over the defeat of the Paris Commune and the reaction that followed, he wrote to Elisee Reclus: "There remains another hope, the world war. Sooner or later these enormous military states will have to destroy and devour each other. But what an outlook!" On July 1st, 1876, he died in Berne, and overcautious Swiss followers, when asked by the police what the deceased's occupation or means of livelihood had been, replied that he had been the owner of a villa in

Italian Switzerland. The police listed the dead man in the official records as "Michel de Bakounine, rentier."

Michael Bakunin's place in the company of great anarchists of the past has been based, in the seventy years since his death, more on the spirit of his personality than on the substance of his mind. This is especially so in the English-speaking world where his *God and the State*, now out of print, has been the only complete fragment (so to speak) translated. And it is true that Bakunin never had the socratic skill of Proudhon; Godwin was far his superior when it came to formal reason as Kropotkin was in the matter of scientific method, and he certainly did not possess the keen common sense of a Malatesta.

Bakunin's Influence

But it is wrong to assume that Bakunin was merely (the noun belongs to Marx) an unusual "bullock" in the revolutionary arena.

Some might say to-day, as E. H. Carr does, that Bakunin's personality was distinctly neurotic. That does not lessen the part he played in founding the revolutionary anarchist movement in Europe, especially in Spain where, during the Revolution of 1936, many of the anarchist ideas proved their practical value.

Nor does the term "neurotic" or his inferiority in the company of those more dialectically skilled dull his insights into the problem of achieving a just and free world. It is as though we were listening to a man still alive, commenting on an international conference, when we read: "It would be a fearful contradiction and absurd naïveté on our part to express, as has been done at the present Congress [Bakunin was speaking before the League for Peace and Freedom], the desire to establish international justice, freedom, and peace, and at the same time wish to retain the State. States cannot be made to change their nature, since it is in virtue of that they are States, and if they renounce it, they cease to exist. There cannot therefore be a good, just, and moral State. All States are bad in the sense that they constitute by their nature, i.e., by the conditions of the purpose for which they exist, the absolute negation of human justice, freedom and morality. And in this respect, whatever you may say, there is no great difference between the uncouth Russian Empire and the most civilized States of Europe. The Tsarist Empire [read Stalinist] does cynically what other States do under the mask of hypocrisy; it represents, in its open, despotic, contemptuous attitude to humanity, the secret ideal which is the aim and delight of all European statesmen and officials. All European States [and we might add those of other continents] do what they are doing insofar as they are not prevented by public opinion and, in particular, by the new but already powerful solidarity of the working classes, which carries in itself the seed of the destruction of the State. Only a weak State can be a virtuous State, and even it is wicked in its thoughts and its desires."

Or listen to Bakunin in these words, a possible inspiration for Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*: "Man becomes man, and his humanity becomes conscious and real, only in society and by the joint activity of society. He frees himself from the yoke of external nature only by joint—that is, society—labour; it alone is capable of making the surface of the earth fit for the evolution of mankind; but without such external liberation neither intellectual nor moral liberation is possible. . . . Outside of society man would have remained forever a wild beast, or, what comes to about the same thing, a saint. Finally, in his isolation man cannot have the consciousness of liberty. What liberty means for man is that he is recognized as free, and treated as free, by those who surround him; liberty is not a matter of isolation, therefore, but of mutuality—not of separateness, but of combination; for every man it is only the mirroring of his humanity (that is, of his human rights) in the consciousness of his brothers."

Bakunin's place in all this? Let him speak for himself: "You tell me [he wrote a correspondent] that I can become the Garibaldi of socialism? I care very little to become a Garibaldi and play a grotesque role. I shall die and the worms will eat me, but I want our idea to triumph. I want the masses of humanity to be really emancipated from all authorities and from all heroes present, and to come."

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

ANARCHISM —Interpretations

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

In such a society the organisations or institutions which they will form will be exactly in accordance with their needs; in fact, it will be a representative society.

GEORGE BARRETT.

Industrial Notes

Attack on Factory Acts

WE have never suggested that the Factory Acts are of revolutionary or radical importance, or that legislation can in any way solve the problems of the workers. Nevertheless, they do represent concessions wrung from the capitalist class in the last hundred years by a combination of working-class opposition and liberal humanitarian sentiment, and in a sense form a minimum safeguard against extreme forms of exploitation.

But any concessions legislated by the ruling class are dangerous because they make the workers neglectful of these sides of their problem; they tend too often to think that the government is looking after their interests, when in fact it is waiting until they are lulled into an inattentive condition in order to take away with one hand what it has given with the other.

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

instance is that of the recent order increasing the number of hours which women and young persons can work, allowing young people to be put to work before 7 a.m., and for them to work six-hour shifts without meal breaks.

So far, we have seen no protests either by trade unions or Labour M.P.s at these alterations which will undoubtedly tell on the health of young persons employed in factories, and this is another indication that the workers' real safeguards lie, not in legislation, trade union bosses or 'labour' parliamentarians, but only in their own militant vigilance against any form of ruling-class exploitation or infringements on their hard-won safeguards.

SWEATED INDUSTRIES

AN examination of the statistics for wages in various industries in England reveals the existence of perpetual sweated conditions in certain industries which always lag behind the rest in the rates of wages paid to their workers. The worst of these are still the textile and clothing industries. While the average wages for all industrial workers in the country are £5 3s. 6d. a week (a miserable enough rate at the present standard of living), in the textile industries the average is still only £4 0s. 10d., and in the clothing industry, always celebrated for its exploitation of cheap labour, it remains as low as £3 11s. 0d. As we have said before, it is significant that these are the industries in which there are the worst shortages of labour—shortages which the government and the employers lament without taking

the obvious step of increasing wages to attract more workers.

Another interesting point about the wages rates is the sexual discrimination which it shows. The average rate for men in industry is £6 3s. 5d. a week—that for women is £3 7s. 4d. The old argument is that most men have to support families and most women do not. This is not by any means always true, and, in any case, the generally subordinate position of women in the community is assisted by the disparity in wages. Under the present system it is in fact impossible for any system based on needs to be evolved, and, until we reach a society where everyone will receive freely according to his personal circumstances and requirements, we should ensure as far as possible that there is no discrimination within industry on a sex or any other basis—that, in fact, there should be equal pay for equal effort.

A last point about the wages statistics, of particular importance to those who still hope that their problems will be solved by nationalisation of industry, is that the wage increases since 1938 have been lowest of all in public utility services and government industrial establishments. While wage rates in general have risen 94%, in public utility services they have only risen 68% and in Government industrial establishments only 58%, although we have had a Labour Government for two years. This all goes to show that the State, far from favouring the workers, is an even more difficult opponent in the struggle for improved conditions than the individual capitalist.

Objections to Anarchism Answered

(Continued from page 2)

best general and particular effect. But they have no power over the individual groups, no paid executives, no power class of trade union bosses.

J.R.H. suggests that in a revolutionary society the syndicates will tend to "exploit" other industries, and to hamper decentralisation by not agreeing to workers going into agriculture. He is evidently basing his opinions on the actions of reformist trade unions, who sometimes represent, in capitalist society, the interests of one section of workers against the rest. In a free society, however, where the wage system has been abolished, there would be no need for such rivalries. Where goods are distributed according to need, why should one section of the workers try to gain an advantage over the rest? It would be like a man in our own society trying to keep other people from walking on the common footpath—and that doesn't happen often among sensible people. The desire among certain sections of the working class at present to grab more than their fellows arises from the perpetual sense of insecurity, both personal and communal, in a capitalist society. Where such motives exist no longer, where every man is sure of the means of an ample life, he is unlikely to react in the same way as many—but by no means all—people do in our present insecure world.

Further, it should be remembered, a society based on free co-operation would not place so much emphasis on a man's trade or profession, and, where the need to struggle against authority had vanished, the militancy of the workers would be turned into more constructive channels. A man would not only be a member of, say, a bricklayers' syndicate; he would also belong to the commune, of group of local residents, for whom the houses were built; he might belong to several voluntary associations for carrying on various pursuits, and certainly he would be unlikely to allow one occupation to interfere with the other. Moreover, in an environment where insecurity, and its two related impulses, the desire for power and that for profit, had vanished, what earthly reason could a man who lays bricks have to refuse to build houses for the man who drives a tractor plough? Indeed, in a decentralised society, where all the old restrictions have vanished, there is likely to be a continual interchange of personnel between the field, the factory and the workshop, and in many cases the same man will combine, say, fruit-growing, tractor-building and designing pottery or writing plays. A free society is a fluid and versatile society; where men are free to pass from one occupation to another, and where the requirements of the various workshop syndicates and communal living groups are settled by a network of mutual agreements, there is unlikely to be any struggle of vested interests, partly because people will not desire such interests, partly because there will be no centralised organisation powerful enough to enforce them.

Finally, it should be noted that in the one instance where the syndicates actually took over the administration of their own industries, in Spain during the civil war, where railways, municipal transport, factories, farms, were all run by syndicates, they worked for the benefit of the community in general and there was never any question of one industry trying to gain an advantage over the rest.

DEFEAT AT THE SAVOY

EVEN though we criticised the handling of the strike of the Savoy Hotel Group catering workers a month ago, we hardly imagined that the result would be quite as barren as it has turned out to be. With the sole exception of the fact that a separate union for catering workers may be formed, instead of their being a section of the heterogeneous N.U.G.M.W., the outcome of what at time looked like becoming a militant strike can only be described as abject defeat.

The occasion was used, of course, by Mr. Arthur Lewis, the General and Municipal's Catering Section organiser, for a little bit of publicity for the union—and for himself. One wonders if the colossal personal success of his namesake, John L., in America, has given him ideas, but the unpleasant fact is that his "leadership" of the Savoy strike seemed to be directed much more at drawing attention to himself than winning a working-class victory.

Victimisation

Going back to work on the feeblest of compromises—that union and manage-

Piazza—many of the strikers are finding ment would find another job for Frank that the management have strange ideas of what "no victimisation" means.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the N.U.G.M.W. on Dec. 2nd, it was announced that 50 per cent. of the workers would go back the first week, 25 per cent. the second week, and the rest "as and when opportunity affords". (An unlucky outlook for the last 25 per cent.!) Those with the longest service were to go back first. This arrangement had been made by the union to help the management more easily to get rid of the black-legs in the hotels, some of whom it will be remembered had been directed to the hotels by Employment Exchanges.

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

It is high time that there was a resurgence among the catering workers of that militancy they have shown in the past. The need for a new organisation has been made clear; to create a similar reformist union to that already existing is obviously going to solve nothing in the long run. There is in existence a recently formed syndicalist organisation called the "Catering Action Movement", which we have already mentioned more than once in these columns. It may be the beginning of a militant movement among catering workers which could really affect the status of the workers on the job.

The opportunity is there for catering workers to use once they realise the union leaders and politicians can do nothing for them but lead them up the garden path, and that upon their own efforts rests their future.

C.O. PERSECUTION CONTINUES

"For failing to work in a coal mine as directed by the Ministry of Labour, following exemption by an Edinburgh tribunal from military service because he was a C.O., John McLennan was at Brentford, yesterday, sent to prison for six months. McLennan, a Jehovah Witness, said that he spent his whole time in the ministry of the gospel, and this was more beneficial than working in a mine. Daily Telegraph, 4/12/47.

Whether preaching the gospel is "more beneficial" than coal mining may be open to discussion but we note that ministers of the Church England and other religious orders who do not oppose war are exempt from registration.

Land Notes

OUR FOOD AND OUR FARMS

IT is with a twinge of doubt that I devote most of this lot of Land Notes to one of those many little policy pamphlets which it is my misfortune to have to read. Is it just a waste of space to write about them here? Not entirely so, I think. If, as an anarchist, one rejects these political panaceas, it does become one to try and make clear every so often why one does so and not to appear to reject them out of hand.

One factor that all these Plans for British Agriculture have in common is an air of unreality. Anarchism is sometimes said to be Utopian in the sense that there is no immediate likelihood, or even possibility, of such a form of society coming about and therefore an analysis from an anarchist viewpoint is, even when admitted to be largely correct, irrelevant to immediate political and social issues. Hence, it is said, it is easy for anarchists to talk because they can rely on not seeing their ideas materialize and being subject to the test of actual existing conditions.

The odd thing is that this criticism of anarchism applies quite as, if not more, strongly to most reformism, for all these planners can, with even greater certainty, rely on their plans never having the remotest chance of being put into practice. For the sake of the planners' peace of mind, and for the good of all and sundry, this is perhaps just as well. Indeed, it is something to be thankful for. Building bureaucratic castles in the air is, after all, a comparatively harmless pastime though it does seem a disgraceful waste of "public money" that people should be paid to do so. Or perhaps I am just envious.

Agriculture Under Industrial Capitalism

One ethereal castle, through and around which I have just wended by weary way, is *Our Food and Our Farms*, published by the Liberal National Council. Here are some points of interest that I noticed.

First of all, "the major fact to be appreciated about post-war reconstruction is that to retain her position as a First-Class Power, Great Britain must remain predominantly an industrial country. No body of opinion has recognised this truth more readily than the farming com-

munity, whose leaders, representing both farmers and workers, have never claimed for their calling more than its proper place in the economy of an industrial State."

The main problem with which this pamphlet, and most other similar pamphlets, is concerned is therefore posed right at the beginning: namely, the exact nature of the ways and means by which British agriculture can be made to serve the imperative needs of industrial capitalism. That agriculture has, in a quite subordinate capacity of course, an important contribution to make here is obvious enough. As the Liberal National Council says: "It may be added that increased agricultural production by decreasing pressure on our exchange resources would serve to sustain the value of sterling, and so prevent not only increases in the cost of living, but also those fluctuations in the cost of labour and materials which are the greatest handicap to trade in general, and especially to export trade."

If, in your simplicity, you thought that the main object of agricultural production in Britain was to produce food, it is to be hoped that you are now better informed.

British agriculture, owing to "our diminished currency resources", is now in a much stronger position than it was, in is true that, in a moment of lyrical entimes and, one gathers, might become a dangerous junior partner. Therefore, "however alien to our traditions or harmful to our political faith", a certain amount of planning, in other words, control and restraint, becomes necessary. It is true that, in a moment of lyrical enthusiasm, the writers state that they "are encouraged and inspired by the call of mankind throughout the world to seek expansion (of food production) by the best and quickest means". But, having then given a long list of the vast quantities and varieties of food that were imported in 1938, they add hurriedly that of course "it is not suggested that the whole of these imports could or should (my italics) be replaced by home production." Oh dear, no; don't get us wrong.

The Dilemma of Liberalism

Having then, in the words of the Agriculture Bill of last year, decided "what part of the nation's food, in the national interest it is desirable (my italics again) to produce in the United Kingdom", how do

the Liberals propose to go about it? Well, as far as I can see, in exactly the same way as the Labour Party, the Conservatives, the Communists or any other political party, by an increasingly complicated and involved system of Boards, Commissions, Committees and what have you.

"In the realm of Marketing, the Minister will have to work with the various agencies now in existence, such as the Milk Marketing Board, the Potato Marketing Board, the Livestock Commission and similar bodies . . . and (God help us) he may well require new Boards for additional commodities to be established."

In the sphere of actual production, farmers will not be issued with Direction Orders but, this being a very hypothetical Liberal Government which is averse to such things, "the Minister will have to exercise (oh charming euphemism!) persuasive authority" through modernised War Ags. who will offer the fortunate farmers "wise advice, ready assistance and tactful persuasion (!)" Though it is admitted that "in practice the most effective method of securing farmers' co-operation would probably be through the medium of prices." (That this is not always so, and does not always produce the results intended, I will illustrate later.

The Bureaucratic Ideal

The writers of this pamphlet state that they "have had the advantage of consultation with a number of leading members of the grain, meat and fruit trades in Great Britain". People who, in fact, have a vested interest in keeping the present fantastic system of distribution in being. No wonder they recommend more jobs for themselves and their friends on an ever-increasing number of Boards and Commissions. It never seems to occur to anyone that the actual producers of food might have a useful contribution to make on the subject of its production and distribution. But then maybe their suggestions would not be to the liking of those engaged in that very profitable game of postman's knock, or merry-go-round, known as trade.

The truth is that regulated production of food in Britain, restricted and subordinated to the needs of a system built up on imports and exports, cannot be achieved. Fortunately, the bureaucratic State, resolving efficiently the contra-

dictions inherent in the present development of capitalism, remains an unattainable ideal.

Planning Prices—and Results

Some three months ago, I wrote in these Notes that "ironically enough the attempt to modify the more glaring injustices and absurdities of the profit system by planning, only results, for the most part, in even greater chaos largely because the persons responsible for the 'planning' are almost always quite divorced from what they plan about."

An example of this unfortunate state of affairs is the present situation in regard to the killing of both immature stock and breeding stock. Briefly, the position is this.

During the war emphasis, through prices as well as through compulsion, was laid on milk and cereal crops to the great detriment of beef and mutton, the actual supply of which, in the form of stores, and the potential supply, in the form of breeding stock, decreased considerably. Especially was this so in the case of sheep. In an attempt to check and, if possible, reverse this trend and encourage the breeding of sheep and beef cattle, prices to the producer for mutton and beef were raised. The result so far has been temporarily to increase supplies, but at the same time at the cost of greatly endangering all future supplies. After the financial losses occasioned by last winter's weather, many producers have succumbed to the temptation to reap the benefit of the increase in prices for fatstock by sending for grading breeding stock they would otherwise have kept longer and young stock which, on a long-term view which they cannot afford to take, would, assuming what in fact no farmer ever can assume, that prices would remain stable, would have shown a greater profit if they had been retained and sold later. In the case of sheep, therefore, large numbers of ewes that are still sound in the mouth, as well as small animals under 100 lbs. live weight, are being sent for slaughter. This at a time when the need to increase the greatly diminished flocks is greater perhaps than it has ever been.

All of which goes to show that relying on the incentive of prices can sometimes produce results quite other than those anticipated.

G.V.

France

WORKERS' DEFEAT

FRENCH unrest has come to an end to the great satisfaction of all political parties (the Communists excepted). Mr. Bidault has merrily declared to British journalists: "The battle has been fought, and the battle has been won." The victors being, of course, the forces of reaction.

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

The law for the "protection of the liberty of work and the defence of the Republic" provides for:

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

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

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

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

It would be difficult to shed tears over the breaking up of the Stalinist-controlled C.G.T. but it would be equally untimely to rejoice if the split merely produces two organisations, one controlled by the Communists, the other by the old reformist bureaucrats. The first will continue to incite the workers to strike whenever it suits Moscow's interests, the second will prevent workers from using strikes, however legitimate their grievances may be, for fear of weakening a reactionary government.

The only hope lies in the truly syndicalist organisation, the C.N.T., which is increasingly gaining adherents amongst French workers. Being free from political allegiances, the C.N.T. wants to use the strike weapon to defend the workers' rights, it wants the workers to recapture the spirit of 1936 when, with little interference from political leaders and bureaucrats, they occupied the factories and in some places ran them with their own elected factory committees.

Those strikes, unlike the recent ones, by uniting in a single movement labourers and technicians, skilled workers and employees, strengthened the solidarity of the working class. Their aims were clear: increase in wages, holidays with pay, right of the workers to organise, respect of workers' dignity. These were aims to which every worker could subscribe to and for which they would struggle to-day if the issues were not obscured by political parties.

White Man's Justice

IS the United States Supreme Court beginning to feel that the way "justice" is being administered in the Southern States may be somewhat "un-American"?

For the second time in the past week it has intervened in cases where Negroes had been tried by all-white juries. It first ordered a new trial to a negro who had been found guilty in Mississippi and it consented to review the case in which nine Negroes were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

There seems to be less response, however, to defend the rights of American Negroes than to preserve the country from Communist infiltration. During recent years, in several decisions, the Supreme Court has ruled that Negroes must be

Work of an American Anarchist
The Labadie Labour Collection

SOONER or later anyone interested in the development of the labour or anarchist movements will become conscious of the "Labadie Collection" at Michigan University and its curator, Miss Agnes Inglis.

The Collection is a unique one, and perhaps this description of it and its founder (condensed from R. C. Stewart's article in the *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review* for May, 1947) will enable it to be more widely known, used and appreciated.

The Founder

The Collection is, in great part, a picture of the man who founded it, Charles Joseph Antoine Labadie, (1850-1933), far better known as plain Jo Labadie, Michigan's "gentle anarchist". Labadie had a French and Indian background, and his family's wandering life

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

By 1877, when he settled in Detroit, he had seen a good part of the country and had been active in the "Big Six" Typographical Union of New York. In 1878, he took part in the first secret sessions in Michigan of the "Noble Order of the Knights of Labour" (they met as the "Washington Literary Society") and later he became an organiser of the Order. In the same year, he stood for Detroit's mayoralty in the interest of the "Greenback" currency reform party, and later moved towards Marxism, though what he later called his "Marxmanship" was never very keen.

He Becomes an Anarchist

During the 1880's he was attracted to anarchist ideas and propagated them for the remainder of his life. His subsequent importance in the Michigan labour movement is unquestioned. He was one of the founders of the Detroit Council of Trades, as well as of the Michigan Federation of Labour of which he was twice elected President.

A small incident will give some idea of his status in the local community. In 1893 he was advised, for health reasons, to take outdoor work and he got employment with the Detroit Water Board. After some fifteen years the "Water Commissioner" discovered that he was employing a man who was "uttering and publishing anarchist ideas denunciatory of all government". Labadie was given notice, but scarcely had the sun set on the deed than protests began to pour in. All the unions were up in arms, the Press, of every political persuasion, was solid for Labadie, and in two days time Labadie was reinstated.

When Labadie was sixty-two his old friend, Carl Schmit, gave him forty acres of farm land to enable him to retire. Relieved of the necessity of wage labour he continued to write, print and distribute his tracts and poems. "If you don't have the price," he advertised, "the books will go to anyone who asks." He died in 1933, twenty-two years after the bulk of his collection had been given to the University

of Michigan Library, where it still remains.

Survey of the Collection

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

To catalogue even most of the sections would be a prohibitive task, for all the great anarchists of the U.S., and most of those of the Western World are strongly represented. Josiah Warren's notebooks are available as are practically all of Tucker's publications and an almost complete file of *Liberty*. Mrs. Tucker donated files of Proudhon's three newspapers complete except for the suppressed issues.

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

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

There is much Spanish literature representative of all factions in the Civil War. The rise of the AFL and CIO is well represented with, of course, detailed documentation of local activity. All the numerous socialist, labour and communist groupings are well covered and the IWW, in particular.

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

The Labadie Collection was formally presented to the University in 1911. Through the years it has been enlarged both in scope and depth, owing mainly to the thoughtfulness and generosity of hundreds of donors and its curator, Miss Agnes Inglis, whose abilities have earned the collection a well deserved prominence among researchers everywhere. If in the future it receives as much from its friends as it has in the past the University will possess a library second to none in the province of radical labour history.

Foreign Commentary

The Italian Anarchist Movement To-day

WE had occasion recently to consult Max Nettlau's biography of Malatesta (which, incidentally, has been published in Italian and Spanish translations but not in the language in which it was originally written—English!) and came across a passage which particularly impressed the writer of this column. It referred to Malatesta's arrest in 1898 when he and other comrades were charged under Article 248 with "criminal conspiracy". This was one of the many laws under an earlier dictatorship in Italy—that of Crispi—classified revolutionaries under the heading of "criminals". When the trial took place, 3,000 anarchists in every part of Italy signed a statement in which they declared that they were guilty of the same "crime" as Malatesta. This was indeed a courageous and defiant gesture, and reading of this incident in 1947, it gives one some idea of the anarchist tradition of militancy in Italy. It would seem that neither the dictatorship of Crispi nor that of Mussolini have succeeded in stifling the anarchist's voice, though some Italian comrades, who were active in the movement after the last war, warn one against over-optimism in assessing the strength and influence of the movement which has arisen out of the physical and moral ruins of Italy after 20 years of fascism and three years of destructive warfare.

Yet in spite of these warnings those who follow the activities of our Italian comrades cannot but feel enthusiastic about the possibilities for the future of our movement. Comparisons are sometimes depressing and often misleading. One argument put forward by the "pessimists" is that, compared with such movements as the Communists, the Anarchists have lost ground. By this they mean that during the few years after the 1914-18 war the Italian anarchist movement, compared with the other Left wing

organisations, was stronger than it is to-day. Certainly with their daily paper *Umanità Nova* and the Italian Syndicalist Union, their influence in the country was more widely felt than it is to-day. It must also be admitted that the Italian movement would greatly benefit by a few more thinkers of the calibre of Malatesta. Yet one gets the impression that a process of integration is taking place, a process which found its first expression at the congress of Bologna (Freedom, 17/5/47) earlier this year. At this Congress important organisational decisions were taken: decentralisation by the abolition of the National Committee and co-ordination by the creation of the Correspondence Commission of 3 comrades. And such national problems as the religious question and anti-militarism are co-ordinated by the Lombard and Florentine Federations respectively.

THE ANARCHIST PRESS

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

ORAL PROPAGANDA

The spoken word is as important as the written word to the development of our movement, and in Italy our comrades are able to call on a large number of public speakers to hold meetings in every part of the country. Besides the local speakers, a number of comrades are prepared to carry out speaking tours of whole regions and this arrangement has the double ad-

vantage of assisting local propaganda work and at the same time permitting the speaker to make personal contact with large numbers of comrades, and of discussing internal matters affecting the movement. In a word, he fills the role of co-ordinator in a much more effective way than any impersonal central body could possibly hope to do.

When a speaker visits a town there may be a group in existence to make the necessary arrangements for meetings. Or it may be only individual comrades. But the fact is that in almost every town and village anarchists are to be found. Even in the island of Sardinia our speaker addressed meetings in twelve different towns in twelve days!

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

GENERAL PICTURE

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

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

LIBERTARIAN.

Middle East Notes

IS IT ILLOGICAL?

THOSE who support fully the Arab or the Jewish "official case" on Palestine often argue that it is "illogical" to support the principle of unrestricted immigration while at the same time opposing a "Jewish State" since it is undoubtedly the policy of Jewish nationalists to use immigration as a lever to statehood. Since Anarchists are opposed to any State and to nationalism itself—which at the same time must mean that they would at any time be unprepared to put barriers against movement from one part of the world to another part of the world for any purpose—it struck me as interesting to see if the Anarchist case is so "illogical".

The fact is that there is a very large proportion of Jews in Palestine who are not particularly interested in the formation of yet another State, and who do not in fact see the dangers of such a State at a time when nationalist and semi-totalitarian feeling is uppermost. However, they are in the main passively accepting the principle of a Jewish State for the very simple reason that they are afraid that in its absence they will see an Arab State, which will they believe keep out any further immigration of Jews and may even break up the settlement of Jews in Palestine at present. Moreover, they would not be prepared to be a minority under Arab rule, for various reasons including nationalism, but in the main do not appear to object to living parallel to the Arab community.

The Arab attitude is almost precisely the reverse: namely, that they do not wish to become subject to a Jewish State, which could facilitate immigration to the point where the Arabs would become a minority; and in which they believe the Arabs would by reason of their economic position in society to begin with, find themselves in a perpetually inferior position. It is not immigration as such that is generally objected to; in other

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

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

GERMAN INDUSTRIAL SECRETS

THE German industrial secrets have now been made public in a series of reports published by the Stationery Office, and the Allied Governments no doubt think they have disarmed criticism by making the information available for anyone who cares to pay a few pence for a report. In fact, how far will these processes become available for the general good of the community? To a very slight extent, for most of them are such that only big scale capitalists can afford to put them into operation.

What it means is that the British people have paid in taxes for the obtaining of these secrets, and then they are turned over to any capitalist who chooses to exploit them and in his turn make more profit out of the same workers who paid the taxes for him to obtain them. It is the same old story, with British and American capitalists doing the exploitation instead of German and Japanese.

LITTLE BELGIUM

Has Big Teeth

URANIUM and Belgium—these words have become linked in the minds of many people. For Belgian recovery is often attributed to the sale of atomic mineral by the Congo to the United States. Contrary to general opinion, however, Belgium has not grown rich on this contribution to scientific warfare. In the first place, Congo finances are handled quite separately from those of Belgium itself. And in the second place, revenue from uranium-bearing ores is a tiny fraction of the income from Congo mineral exports as a whole.

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

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

administrators have been made by devoted Catholic missionaries, who charge that in some of the schools they have found 60 per cent. of the African pupils infected by venereal disease; who declare that in the former German territory of Ruanda-Urundi, now a Belgian mandate, 36,000 natives starved to death in 1943 through a partially preventable famine; who condemn the drain of native labour from villages into commercial centres where the workers are poorly protected—and who blame such evils primarily on maladministration.

Be it noted that these criticisms come, not from outsiders, but from conscience-troubled Belgians. A Socialist group published a well-documented booklet, "Congo 1947" containing sensational but not easily refuted charges. Yet the Liberal-Conservative daily newspaper *La Dernière Heure* has been equally outspoken. "The colonial problem," recently wrote the Brussels correspondent of the *Journal de Genève*, "is the order of the

day in our country." At any rate, a colonial congress running in the Belgian capital significantly deals less with economic production and profits than with social progress and native well-being. The record is far from wholly bad: more than 1,150,000 children of school age, or 42 per cent., are now receiving regular instruction. In such terrain and against such primitive backgrounds, a completely irresponsible administration could have done much worse. Emphasis in the future is to be on developing skill at trades, but not excluding the more artistic crafts.

Little Belgium is just one-eighth the size of its vast African colonial empire; its 8,500,000 people hold in their hands the welfare of 13,800,000 natives. It is a tremendous charge, even without the special world responsibility of uranium; with the uranium, the Congo is destined to come ever more closely under worldwide scrutiny.

(Worldover Press, U.S.A.)

THE BIG RED HUNT—LATEST INSTALMENT

THE hunt for Communists and anybody else who can be attacked by accusations of Communism because of his racial sympathies, continues with all the zest of an old-fashioned Hollywood serial. Nobody quite knows who will be jumped on in the next week's instalment, but there is this difference from the serials, that the victim never gets away. The whole mob of American reactionism settles like a pack of hounds on his tail and doesn't let go.

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

Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities; these men will also have to face trial for contempt of Congress, where they are likely to be fined or imprisoned, or both, in spite of the fact that their sole crime is refusing to answer a question. When this kind of thing happens, one wonders just in what respect America is better than Russia. Clearly, if the need arose the F.B.I. would become another O.G.P.U., and the boasted democratic liberties would go by the board.

Next on the list, apparently, are the broadcasting industry and publishers, as well as people engaged in the production of newspapers and periodicals. It looks as though these industries will soon find themselves brought up for investigation.

Meanwhile, various public bodies, particularly universities and colleges, are taking the initiative in preparing their own campaigns against the Un-Americans. Columbia University, the University of Wisconsin, and two colleges in New York have warned off speakers suspected of Communist sympathies. Elsewhere organisation have been refused permission to use public halls because of their suspected leftist affiliations.

The fun is getting really fast and furious. Whose turn next?

Reaction on the March

● GREECE

The Greek Parliament has passed a Government motion forbidding strikes during the present "armed rebellion". Heavy punishment, including the death penalty, was provided to deal with instigators.

● ITALY

Following the departure of the last contingent of American troops from Italy, President Truman gave a warning:

"The United States continues its interest in the preservation of a free and independent Italy. If in the course of events it becomes apparent that the freedom and independence of Italy upon which the peace settlement is based are being threatened, directly or indirectly, the United States as a signatory of the peace treaty and as a member of the United Nations will be obliged to consider what measures would be appropriate for the maintenance of peace and security."

With the warning came a reminder that the United States now has 12 war vessels in the Mediterranean, including an aircraft-carrier and three cruisers, which will remain there indefinitely. The U.S. also has 5,000 troops in Trieste.

● POLAND

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

Controversy

In Defence of Rocker

[Olday's criticism in Freedom of Rocker's pamphlet on Germany has provoked violent controversy. H. Rüdiger submitted a number of lengthy protests and explanations to Freedom, of which, owing to lack of space, we can only reproduce the official statement of the F.F.S.]

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

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

John Olday was in touch with the German anarchist movement up to 1939 and did active underground work under the Nazi terror. During and after the war he has worked consistently for the international anarchist movement. When he said that he spoke for the comrades in Germany, he was speaking for those who maintain their true anarchist principles of opposition to the State and non-co-operation in Governmental activities, and not for those who accept reformist compromises and these have no longer any real right to call themselves anarchists. The F.A.U.D. before the war was a syndicalist, not an anarchist organisation, and included many non-anarchists. Apparently the F.F.S. is similar in this respect.—Eds.]

COMRADE Alfred Leinau, head of the F.F.S. National Information Office, representing all the Western German groups of the Federation of Free Socialists, writes as follows:

A few words on the question of how we, and I personally, stand in relation to Rocker's pamphlet *Zur Betrachtung der Lage in Deutschland*. My views may be regarded as the line taken by all comrades in the Reich who are organised in the F.F.S. I have had many letters concerning the question, and have talked to many comrades about the pamphlet. We all shared the same view.

The pamphlet was expected with great impatience. The change of the situation in Germany made us old F.A.U.D. members realise we could not simply start

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

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

Rocker's opinions about the German C.P. only express what we also feel. With us he asserts that the previous form of the F.A.U.D. is of no more value to us. We have long since taken new ways. At our first national conference (in practice only a Western German conference) we decided to reorganise in the F.F.S. We must be more tolerant than before.

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

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

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

Rocker also demands collaboration with Trade Unions, with which we agree. We libertarian socialists in Germany thank our old comrade Rocker for his pamphlet, which is a valuable contribution to the new orientation of our movement and has offered good service in regaining our comrades.

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

For the Federation of Free Socialists,
A. LEINAU.

ANOTHER DISAPPEARANCE IN THE RUSSIAN ZONE

ELSEWHERE in this issue we print letters telling news of the disappearance of two of our comrades in the Russian Zone. In the *Manchester Guardian* of the 9th December, a similar case was reported, that of Gerda Roesch, and, as each of these cases throws some light on the others, we reproduce a short summary of the details.

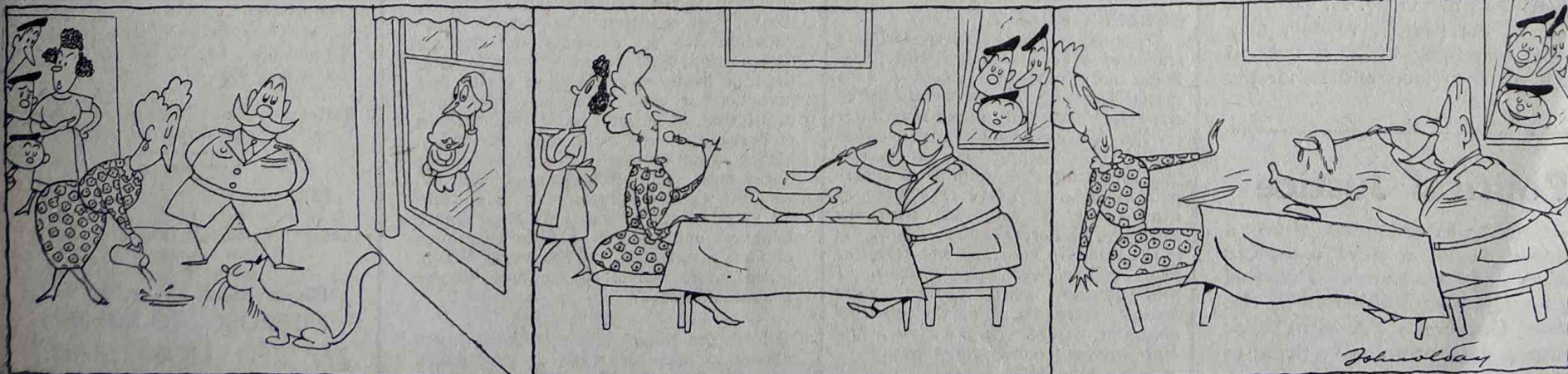
Gerda Roesch, a girl of 21 resident in the British sector of Berlin, went to a theatre in the Russian sector of Berlin on the 8th March. When she came out she was stopped by German police and Russian detectives and, although her papers were in order, was taken to the nearest Russian command-post. On the 15th March her father went to this command-post and was told to apply to the German police, who claimed to know nothing of the matter. On the 27th March, however, the Soviet News Agency published a statement, 19 days after the girl's disappearance, admitting that she and other students were under arrest.

The girl has since that time been in the hands of the Russian authorities, and held without trial and without her relatives being allowed to see her or even to know where she is. Continued efforts, independently and through the British authorities have failed to locate her or even to ascertain on what charge she has been held for nine months. A Communist-inspired paper, the *Berliner Zeitung*, tried to cover up the case with the usual accusation that she had been involved in a Fascist plot; since, however, the facts have not been made public and no trial has taken place, it is evident that there is no evidence for this, since the Russians would have been quick to use the case to help maintain their prestige. Indeed, there is no indication why the girl has disappeared; the concrete fact is that she was actually arrested by the Russians, and they admit to holding her for nine months *incommunicado* and without trial. Further comment is unnecessary.

THE THREE MUSKETEERS—18

WITH THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION

By JOHN OLDAY



WHILE PEOPLE STARVE...

THERE IS NOTHING LIKE A GOOD STEW...

IF IT'S NOT MADE OF CAT!

FREEDOM AND CULTURE

Book Reviews

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

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

That attitude, though very tempting, is nevertheless a very dangerous one, for, as Malinowski says in *Freedom and Civilisation*, "no word has to be so carefully defined as the word freedom. A precise definition is necessary, since if we do not draw sharp lines round this fundamental concept, we may play into the hands of the enemies of freedom." This, that is to say, "playing into the hands of the enemies of freedom", is exactly

what Malinowski, despite his avowed intention to the contrary, ends by doing.

One's suspicions are aroused at the outset when, in "Political Prelude", freedom in the political sense is seen to find its most adequate expression in American Democracy. This political prelude, together with the subsequent introductory chapter, "What Are We Fighting For?", is lib-lab stuff of the worst order, really dreadful. Roosevelt could do this sort of thing much better. America "honestly lived and worked for peace", and the attack on Pearl Harbour is referred to as that "unforeseen, treacherous, long-planned and well-prepared attack". This despite the fact that it is known that the attack was expected by American Intelligence. From all this follows that we must "insist on 'America first' as the country which will lead the Commonwealth of Nations on its determined road to permanent peace."

Authoritarian Freedom

However, you are advised not to let this unfortunate beginning put you off entirely, for this book has some significance and is worth reading, if only because it is a good exposition of what may be termed the authoritarian conception of freedom, which is of course a contradiction in terms.

Malinowski is, or rather was (he died in 1942), essentially by training and by temperament a "pure" scientist. That is, he was a first-rate field-worker and devoted his life to the study of anthropology, mostly by first-hand observation among primitive peoples, and as a research worker and student his contri-

butions to anthropology were outstanding. Such books as *The Sexual Life of Savages*, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, provided very valuable data for understanding of our more complex and, as it is called somewhat complacently, more civilised society.

When, however, Malinowski, as an anthropologist, begins to enter the field of sociology, the results are not so happy. Like most specialists, and above all scientists, his political naivety is, by contrast with his great knowledge and understanding of his own particular subject, quite astounding.

His decline probably began with his *Dynamics of Culture Change; an Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa* (Yale University Press), which in effect, and one gathers also by intention, is more or less a manual for colonial administrators on how to apply the findings of anthropology to the government of "natives", that is, how an enlightened imperialism should, in its own interests, adopt more modern methods if it is to maintain its rule.

Malinowski as Scientist

Granted Malinowski's ability to collect and arrange data in an orderly, precise and, what is usually called, scientific manner, it is not surprising to find that his classification under different headings, generating from what he calls "the central core of freedom", of the various ways and means by which men in differing cultures have tried to attain freedom is executed in a helpful and clarifying manner. One might, though, note in passing that he does create a certain amount of confusion by failing apparently to make any distinction between the words liberty and freedom, which are by no means synonymous, and one should not use one or the other simply for the sake of verbal variety. (Space makes impossible any elaboration of this necessary, and by no means purely academic, distinction

between liberty and freedom, but for those interested Herbert Read has some very illuminating comments to make on the subject in his *Chains of Freedom*, NOW, No. 8).

The Basic Freedom

Malinowski begins by dealing with man as an animal and he rightly stresses that, in this fundamental biological sense, man is not free and never has been, in that he has to breathe, has to eat, has to sleep and do many other things in order to maintain his mere survival. However, one does not really have to be a scientist to realise this or to have it proved before one believes it.

The first, basic, freedom is then freedom from environment, or to be precise, freedom from complete dominance by environment. Hence, freedom begins with technics or, as Malinowski says, artifacts. Hence, also, according to his argument, freedom is not, and cannot be, a purely negative thing. Neither can it ever be a purely personal and individual thing, since it fundamentally depends on artifacts, and almost all artifacts require the co-operation of more than one person if they are to perform the function for which they were specifically invented.

Now, not many people will dispute the general line of this argument which Malinowski, as an anthropologist, is able to develop ably and convincingly. It is when he comes to the cultural aspect of freedom that he is not convincing. It is true, as he himself says, that "the potentialities of oppression and bondage enter with the very appearance of culture". But that is not the same as saying, as he does later in effect say, that oppression is a necessary concomitant of culture. Culture, for its continued existence and development, admittedly requires choice and therefore, by inference, restraint, as also does the action of any individual. Freedom is, therefore, quite truly not simply the absence of restraint

but it is the absence of enforced, external restraint. Which is what Malinowski will not admit. He is essentially authoritarian because he insists that discipline and restraint must be imposed on the individual by the group, failing to realise that, even from the group's point of view, restraint or discipline is most reliable and most conducive to the good of the individual and the group when it is self-imposed, as the result of voluntary decision by the individual. Obviously there are exceptional cases, like the proverbial raving madman, when external restraint is necessary and unavoidable. But these sort of arguments are mere red herrings and do not affect the real issue.

Malinowski's Authoritarianism

Some of Malinowski's many remarks on the place and function of education will perhaps best express his authoritarian outlook.

"Education implies the disciplining of infantile moods, whims and drives."

"Children must submit to parental authority, and later on must help and assist their parents."

"The value of coercion is evident. It is used as an instrument in all education."

"On the analysis of education we have to remember that it is always based on the use of punishment and reward."

The child's "fits of idleness or disobedience must be gradually curtailed, formed and translated into culturally relevant choices".

Previously, Malinowski has written that "the sound theory of freedom consists in the full realisation that men must have scope for the choice of what they want to do and where to get it". His conception of freedom and culture however, as he develops it, ends by becoming just what he himself has warned us that culture can become, namely, "a vast conditioning apparatus, in which every entry into a co-operative group means the conditioning of the organism to the acquisition of new habits". Culture, then, ends by being the successful acquisition of habits!

Finally, Malinowski's insidious argument reaches its logical outcome when he declares: "Strict discipline is the condition indispensable for any successful effort", and that in times of crisis men must always "fall back on discipline, unquestioning and mechanical". To which one is tempted to reply, "Heil Hitler!"

Early in the book he emphasised that "the word of freedom is also capable of indefinite perversions". A true enough statement of which Malinowski, unfortunately, himself provides an excellent example.

GERALD VAUGHAN.

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Keep an Eye on the Guide

THE INTELLIGENT MAN'S GUIDE TO THE POST-WAR WORLD. G. D. H. Cole. (Gollancz, 21/-).

SOME years ago that famous paradoxologist and joker, George Bernard Shaw, published a book called *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism*. Shaw's methods were more those of a cattle drover than a guide, and his expositions of socialism, far from providing an unbiased selection of facts on which the female (or male) intelligence could do its own selective work, consisted of such a loud and opinionated hollering of the personal views of the author that the really intelligent person of either sex who read his book would clearly decide to become anything but a Shavian Socialist.

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

rest, a map of the author's own social outlook and party allegiances.

The *Intelligent Man's Guide to the Post-war World*, it must be granted, has its uses. For those who care to plough through its 1,100-odd pages, there is a mass of factual information to be gleaned, both on economic affairs and political events, while there is a whole series of useful charts and maps. The book also serves to refresh one's memory of the complicated series of political events that have led to the present international situation, and it contains some lucid but not very full introductions to the various currents of political and social movements. But in both these channels the reader is to be warned of pitfalls; Cole does not misrepresent his opponents, nor does

he wholly ignore them, but, where he has clearly no real case on which to condemn them, he tends to lessen their importance by discussing them in tiny paragraphs. Thus Anarchism, Anarchist Communism and Syndicalism, Godwin and Proudhon, all make their small-part appearances on his stage, and are dismissed into the crowd when he remarks that Anarchist Communism "belongs to the Socialist philosophies", and then fails to say any more about it or to explain how it differs radically from every form of what is commonly known as socialism.

In another respect Cole's book shows that fundamental timidity which characterises Labour intellectuals of his type when they are faced with the problem of Russia. I think that it arises very largely from the fact that, while they realise that Russia is really not a revolutionary society and has many features which repel their lingering liberal susceptibilities, they cannot escape the fact that everything which has happened in Russia is the more or less logical outcome of the idea of State socialism pushed to its ruthless conclusion. Thus, Cole's attitude is very shaky, as when he says:

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HERBERT READ:

"It is impossible to give an adequate review of a book so dense with facts. I can only state that where I have special knowledge as in the history of art, I have invariably found these facts correct. Their interpretation is another matter. I do not say that this 'Weltanschauung' is destined to supersede all others. There is a grain of truth—even a vein of truth—in Spengler, in Pareto and in Marx. It is the obsession with this one aspect of truth that vitiates their systems. I find Rocker more tolerant, more modest, more aware of the essential values in culture. In one word I find him infinitely more sympathetic."

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"Obviously there has been a revolution—which I dislike—from the first fine flourishing of Socialist idealism and a return to the greater use of material incentives and the greater recognition of inequality in both payment and education. I am not in a position to judge how far these steps were avoidable; and in any case I can see no evidence in them that the Soviet Union is building up a new system of class exploitation. Inequalities, if they are not too extreme, do not constitute class differences; and inequalities of earned income are very different from inequalities based on incomes from property descending from father to son."

In this argument Cole glosses over no less than three important facts. Firstly, the right of inheritance has been reintroduced in Russia. Secondly, the changes in education, with the introduction of fees, have in themselves helped to create and perpetuate a class difference, since they mean that in general only the children of bureaucrats and technicians can obtain higher education and in their turn become bureaucrats and technicians. Thirdly, where a factory director can earn from 50 to 80 times as much as an ordinary labourer, one becomes a little suspicious of Cole's standards of equality. When, indeed, does inequality for him become a class difference?

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

G.W.

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Portraits of Politicians—1

STAFFORD CRIPPS

THE cupidity of lawyers is proverbial. Sir Stafford Cripps is a lawyer. Minister of Economic Affairs and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Cripps holds not only the reins of the nation's economy but the strings of its purse as well and has come to overshadow Attlee, Morrison and even Bevin.

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

In the nineteen-twenties Cripps and his father, Lord Parmoor, joined the Labour Party and he was made Solicitor-General in Ramsay MacDonald's second Labour Government.

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

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

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

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

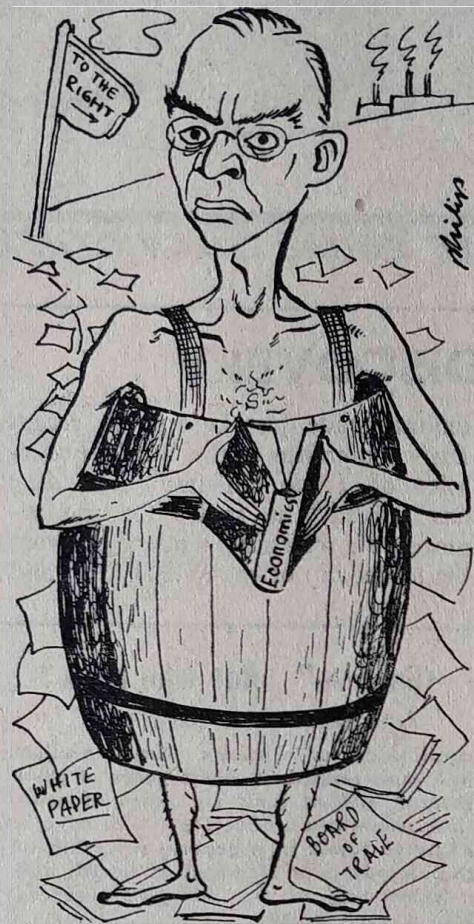
As we have so often been reminded recently Cripps leads an ascetic life, rises at 4.15 a.m., eats only uncooked foods and takes a cold bath each morning. Stomach trouble, contracted during the last war, is partly responsible for his Spartan diet, but one gathers he would like the nation to share his austerity. He recently cynically remarked in the House of Commons: "It has never yet been worked out how far a donkey will walk after a carrot permanently held beyond his reach." With his present power over British workers he is in a position to find out.

Cripps has been aptly called "the nation's governess" and indeed, knowing what is good for other people is a trait of character which he seems to have

possessed since his early youth. According to his brother: "When Stafford was quite young he was very fond of giving advice to the elder members of the family. This earned him the nickname of 'Dad', which still sticks to him at home."

It is easy to imagine how much this do-gooder enjoys his immense power to make a whole nation do what he thinks is good for them and if they do not appreciate his supreme wisdom he will not hesitate to become a martinet. For now Cripps no longer call the workers "comrades", he no longer urges them to oppose conscription, he no longer objects to a totalitarian capitalist government.

Sir Stafford Cripps is in power now.



CRIPPS QUOTED—

1935 "I cannot rid myself of the sordid history of capitalist deception. The empty and hollow excuses of 1914, which I was then fool enough to believe, echo through the arguments of to-day. The 'war to end war', the need to fight to save democracy, the cry to crush the foul autocracy of Prussian militarism—all have their counterparts in to-day's arguments. (Labour Party Conference.)

1936 "It is quite idle to imagine that we can combine with an imperialist Government and carry out a policy of anti-imperialism... Inevitably the Labour Movement, once it has assented to the policy of rearmament, will be drawn in to and share the responsibilities and, as in 1914, the Opposition will cease and our movement will become officially part of the totalitarian War Cabinet." (Evening Citizen.)

1937 "To-day you have the most glorious opportunity that the workers have ever had... The capitalists are in your (the workers') hands. Refuse to make munitions, refuse to make armaments, and they are helpless. They would have to hand the control of the country over to you." (Eastleigh, March 14th.)

1946 "The majority of workers are not fitted to take over the control of industry." Bristol, 27/10/46.)

Letters to the Editors

FROM GERMANY

COMRADES, We are very pleased to receive "Freedom" regularly now, with its cartoons. The series of articles on Germany by John Olday were of the greatest interest. We are much impressed by "Freedom's" attitude towards Germany. Please tell the comrades that their work achieves more here than a hundred conferences by Ministers; these are always bound to lead nowhere, especially since they can never agree as to which direction the horse is to be driven, backwards or forwards. There is a new proverb running through Germany, which says: "Even little Moritz saw the collapse of Potsdam in advance—unfortunately the big three did not invite him to take part in the Conference."

You have realised clearly what goes on here, as your articles show. What enormous mistakes have been made! We could provide hundreds of examples to article No. 1, showing how even to-day National-socialism is dominant in Germany. When the Allies came, the Military Government at first preferred to select for the Administration mainly people who had spent long terms in Concentration Camps. It soon became apparent that for the most part purely opportunist criminal elements were attracted. The term "K.L.ers" (concentration camp inmates) soon lost its honourable meaning and became an expression of contempt. The decent elements, who could have defeated Nationalism, were pushed back and condemned to helplessness. The activities of the timeservers discredited the Left and thus gave Nationalism a new impetus. The authorities decided on different courses from day to day. They ignored German social democracy, at least here in the American zone, and made full use of the clergy and, in the British zone, of the Nationalists. Both have failed, but nevertheless have regained strong influence. Both have strengthened the Nationalist underground. The U.N.R.R.A. has only assisted them, for you cannot teach a people democracy by starting the multitude and at the same time swelling the foreign occupiers with white bread, butter, eggs and bacon. Ask yourself, could you remain cool towards people who in your presence not only

live on but also waste all the treasures which you have had to go without for years—while you live on two slices of bread a day?

They spoke of democracy and constituted a strong military government, which cannot rule with justice, but only with force!

The ordinary American soldiers have, in contrast, always acted decently. On the other hand many foreigners and, I regret to say, many D.P.s and also Jews (though I am a Jew myself) have done everything in their power to rub it into the German people that it deserves only to starve. In contrast, Americans have again and again supported German children and women.

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

I regret to have to tell you that our friend X*, who went to see her parents in the Russian zone has disappeared. It must be admitted that she took photographs in order to make a reportage. The Russians arrested her 3½ months ago. In spite of all our attempts, we have not been able to get any information about her whereabouts. A near relative of hers in the Russian zone has also been kidnapped. The American authorities tell us that any interference on their part would only worsen the cases. F.F.

★

DEAR COMRADES,

As far as "Freedom" goes, it is a great pity we cannot have a German edition yet.

We deeply regret to have to inform you that Comrade Y* has "disappeared". As you know, the exchange of information with comrades in the Eastern zone has to be extremely carefully arranged. All we know from our friends is that he has "disappeared". It may take some time before we get to know the details. Neutral friends have written to the registration office in E. but received no reply. Their mail was returned stamped "unknown". Schleswig-Holstein. B.R.

*For reasons which will be obvious to our readers, we are not printing the names of the comrades who have disappeared in the Russian zone.

LEGAL EXAMPLES

(I)

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

(II)

In Philadelphia, when Lorenzo Brokenbaugh admitted that he had four wives, Judge Raymond MacNeille gave him 9 to 18 months and a piece of his legal mind: "You're setting a bad example for those of us who have only one wife." Time (U.S.A.), 15/12/47.

OF MICE AND MEN

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

The Signal Corps did not describe the gadgets used to generate the waves. Neither did it tell the military objective of the experiments. The Germans tried with no success to use sound as a military weapon in World War II, but their devices were comparatively crude. The Signal Corps may see some possibility of killing not only mice, but men. Time (U.S.A.), 8/12/47.

RAY OF SUNSHINE

In response to a request by the government of Pakistan, the Indian government supplied it with 1,640,000 cubic centimetres of cholera vaccine. After finding that it had enough of the vaccine to meet any probable needs in Pakistan, the New Delhi authorities asked Pakistan to let it know of any further requirements.

★ The Red Army in the German Soviet Occupation Zone recently found a truckload of scientific instruments of great value, stolen by the Nazis during the war from the Uccle Observatory, near Brussels, and returned them to the rightful owners under the guidance of the Belgian astronomer, Fernand Moreau. Worldover Press, 21/11/47.

ESSENTIAL INDUSTRY

A war-time radar factory on the outskirts of Bournemouth has been turned into one of the largest cosmetic undertakings in Europe, and all within a year, by Max Factor and Co. (Inc.). The factory produces 50 per cent. of all British exports of cosmetics as distinct from perfumery and other toilet preparations. News Chronicle, 16/12/47.

PROFIT FROM PAIN

Extract from the Annual Report of Aspro Limited:—

"The net profit for the year ending 30th June, 1947 (after charging £125,000 for Profits Tax, but before provision of Income Tax) is £593,557 or approximately £170,000 more than the previous year. Your directors have pleasure in recommending a Final Dividend on the Ordinary Stock of 35% less tax, making a total for the year of 50% less tax, as against a total of 35% last year..." News Chronicle, 4/12/47.

RESIGNATION

Sign in a Sixth-avenue shop window: "Stop worrying, you'll never get out of this world alive." Daily Express, 16/12/47.

NATIONAL SWINDLE

The National Coal Board was fined a total of £6 with £2 costs at Salisbury yesterday on summonses for supplying coal under weight to a Salisbury factory, for failing to weigh the lorry, and for not entering the correct weight on the coal delivery tickets. Daily Mail, 16/12/47.

Through the Press

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN

(I)

Churchill—Stalin

Churchill should send a congratulatory message to Stalin. By putting an end to the rationing of food and manufactured goods the Soviet Government has taken for its own the Tory leader's sweeping slogan "Set the people free." News Chronicle, 16/12/47.

(II)

Baldwin—Gallagher

"He told me," said Mr. Gallagher, "that he had a Scottish mother and a Welsh father, and I told him that I had a Scottish mother and an Irish father. That seemed to create a bond between us."

"History will judge his long life and work. Some may praise and some may blame, but here to-day nothing should be said to disturb his rest and the minds of those near and dear to him. In the quiet countryside that he loved let him rest in peace." Daily Express, 16/12/47.

ROYAL FUND-RAISING

Whenever kings and barons in England wanted money in the old days they "borrowed" it from Jewish merchants. If the money lender declined they were "persuaded" by torture. One method was to pull their teeth out, and another was to haul them over the glowing coals of a small fire, giving them "a roasting." Reveille, 16/12/47.

Perhaps it's a good thing Elizabeth is getting £40,000!

THE PLIGHT OF THE OLD PEOPLE

The problem of old people living alone in rooms and, in some cases, dying from neglect and semi-starvation, was discussed at a conference at Croydon to-day.

It was reported that Croydon Public Assistance Institution was partly destroyed by bombs and the remaining accommodation was overcrowded.

No more old people could be admitted at the present time and some of them on the waiting list were in difficulties.

Prices were completely beyond the reach of the Old Age Pensions on which they were trying to live, and they urgently needed both food and clothing.

Speakers said that the main need of the moment was to see that the old people got at least one hot meal a day.

The Guild of Social Service are already helping a number of cases, and hot lunches are taken by the guild in special containers to the old people, but only a limited number can be supplied. Evening Standard, 17/12/47.

SPIVING IN HIGH PLACES

Retail prices of the nuts recently auctioned by the Ministry of Food are not to be controlled, Mr. Strachey told the Commons yesterday.

When Mr. H. L. Austin (Lab., Stretford) complained that the nuts were entirely beyond the workers' pockets for Christmas, Mr. Strachey said the difficulty was that the supply was so limited.

The Ministry had realised about £1,750,000 on the nut auctions, with a profit of £1,250,000. This was the end of the supplies. News Chronicle, 9/12/47.

RED REFLEXES

In Palestine, Red reflexes jerked obediently in response to Russia's U.N. vote in favour of partition. In Jewish Tel Aviv the minuscule Communist Party of Palestine, long scornful of any kind of purely Jewish nationalism, changed its name to Communist Party of Eretz Israel (Land of Israel).

Arab Communists in nearby Lebanon were apparently under no such need for semantic flips. Beirut Communist pamphleteers announced that they were "ready to fight for the liberation of Palestine from Zionist imperialism." Time (U.S.A.), 15/12/47.

AMERICAN CYNICISM

Washington cynics are telling a story about the representative from the little republic of San Marino who asked for aid under the Marshall Plan. State Department officials referred him to the Secretary. He explained that his people had suffered from the war and its aftermath. "How many of you are there?" he was asked. "Only a few thousand." "And do you have a Communist problem?" "No, we are spared that." "Well," said Mr. Marshall, "I'm sorry we can't help." So, on his way home, the unhappy man called on President Auriol in Paris and explained his problem. "Can you," he said hopefully, "spare us just a dozen Communists?" The New Statesman and Nation, 13/12/47.

CAPITALIST ECONOMY

Wholesale milliners in London, commenting on the report that 20,000 women's hats might have to be burned unless the Board of Trade allow them to be sold without price restriction, said the number was nearly half a million.

Board of Trade answer was: "There is no need to destroy them. They could be given to institutions."

Some of the hats were made two years ago. Each carries 50 per cent. purchase tax.

If the hats were given away the whole-salers would still have to pay tax. But if the hats were destroyed they would be exempt.

Pre-war such lines would have been disposed of at bargain sales. Evening Standard, 11/12/47.

AMERICANA

Mrs. Jacob Astor dazzled Manhattan's El Morocco night-club by exhibiting Wow-wow, her Chihuahua, in a new look. Wow-wow—a male—had a diamond ring on each paw and a sapphire choker around his innocent neck. Time (U.S.A.), 15/12/47.

MAKE FRUITFUL THE LAND

I occupy three acres of early market gardening land here, all that remains of a holding of 65 acres compulsorily acquired over a period of years for schools, playing fields, and a housing estate. The was originally one of the most highly productive holdings in the country. The remaining three acres have been intensively cultivated, and by careful management have produced two and three crops, including up to 30 tons of early potatoes, each year. A compulsory purchase order has now been made on this land for the extension of an adjoining playing field of 4½ acres, less than one-third of which is ever used. Daily Mail, 16/12/47.

MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION

The difficulties of Mr. Tom Williams in finding a suitable chairman for his Land Commission must have been great. But the appointment of Sir Frederick Burrows must shock even the faithful.

Sir Frederick has a long and honourable career behind him in the service of the railways and the N.U.R. He was taken from this sphere to be Governor of Bengal.

Now he is to manage the farm land placed at his disposal by the Ministry of Agriculture and advise the Minister in matters relating to the purchase of land.

Will someone please say what are Sir Frederick's qualifications for his new job? Daily Express, 9/12/47.

VICTIM OF WORK

At 52, His Majesty shows his years only by a tiredness round the eyes. He now wears glasses for reading, due to ten years' unremitting study of State documents, every one of which he insists on reading with meticulous care. News Review, 11/12/47.

UNDERSTATEMENT

Emperor Hirohito, on his first visit to Hiroshima, 28 months after the first atom bomb fell, said: "There seems to have been considerable damage here." The bomb killed 80,000 people and destroyed or damaged 60,000 buildings. Daily Express, 8/12/47.

Anarchist Commentary

VICTIM OF WORK

THE effect of so-called "scientific" methods of organising work, which really means how to get the most out of the workers in the least time, was shown in the recent case of a woman who committed suicide as a result of anxiety caused by continual time checking in her work as a dress alteration hand.

At the inquest a representative of Harrods, the employers, stated "an incentive bonus system, which had been started, necessitated a check being kept on work". The continual watching and timing of her work gave the woman an enhanced feeling of insecurity, which, in an already unhealthy mental state, precipitated her suicide.

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

WHEN IS A DETERRENT NOT A DETERRENT?

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

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

it seems pretty obvious to anybody else. In fact, the real explanation of the matter is that prison discipline is based entirely on physical terror, and the warders are in general so hated for their brutality that the authorities feel bound to retain flogging within the prisons in order to keep their system ticking over.

RANK GOES LOWBROW

J. ARTHUR RANK, the British film magnate, has apparently not found that his firm is prospering sufficiently, although it can afford to lock up more than nine million pounds in the current year's film productions, and he has therefore, according to reports, decided on a change of policy. According to the newshawks, his pictures of "high intellectual" value cost more to produce, and therefore he has decided to abandon these pictures in favour of cheaply produced farces and thrillers, with more "box office appeal".

In fact, we yet wait to see more than one or two even moderately good pictures from Rank's studios, and certainly "high intellectual quality" has been eminently lacking. Elaborate production, affected acting, phoney psychology, there certainly has been, but—high intellectual quality? Where?

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

As for box-office appeal, that is usually the product of conditioning by the film magnates themselves, who have successfully managed to degrade popular taste. If they produced really good films, and gave the people a chance to see something intelligent, they might well find that box office appeal would be a completely different thing from what it is now.

Clearly, the two main reasons for the film boss's new policy are, firstly, to save money by giving the public the cheapest they will accept, and, secondly, to make sure that nothing that even smells radical, either from an artistic or a political point of view, gets through.

The only way in which we can hope to get good films in Britain is to resort to the French and Italian method of small, independent studios, which produce films of conscientiously good quality. And with the present monopoly hold that seems difficult. The ideal thing would be for a group of disgruntled and idealistic actors and technicians to set up a co-operative studio—and there are more impossible things than that.

MINISTRY ABOVE ITS OWN LAWS

A WEEK after the Zip French Cleaners Ltd. were prosecuted by the Ministry of Fuel for exhibiting a revolving sign using two and a half ounces of coal a year the Board of Trade set up an illuminated "export quiz" display worked by mains electricity in the Stoke Town Hall.

When questioned about this consumption of electricity, a spokesman for the Ministry of Fuel and Power coolly announced that the Ministries were not covered by the Control of Fuel Order, 1942!

Thanks and Please!

Press Fund

December 3rd—16th:

SINCE we announced, about a month ago, that the price of FREEDOM would be increased to 3d. a copy, we have received nearly £50 for the Press Fund! This is most encouraging, more so since the contributors have been in the main readers who were renewing their subscriptions at the new rate. But the cloud in this otherwise blue sky is the fairly large number of subscribers, to whom renewal notices were sent at the beginning of the month, who have not yet replied. We are proposing to send a further reminder to these friends early in the New Year. It means a lot of extra work for our already overworked administration, and extra postages which we can ill-afford.

This issue of FREEDOM should reach our subscribers just before the end of the year. May we ask those readers who received a renewal post card to deal with it immediately and so save us extra work. And if their families, nieces and nephews have left them with a little loose cash after the seasonal depredations, will they add a small contribution to the Press Fund, so that the £350 mark is passed before we face the problems of another year of publishing FREEDOM?

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"...BUT SOME ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS." WITH ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO GEORGE ORWELL (ANIMAL FARM)

DEAKIN'S DISCOVERY

(Continued from page 1)

Communists occupying key positions in important unions include Arthur Horner (secretary N.U.M.); Jim Gardner (Foundry Workers); John Horner (Fire Brigades' Union); Sam Henderson (Passenger Service group, T.G.W.U.) and Wall Hanking (A.E.U.).

The Tactic

How have the C.P. managed to wheedle their way into these positions? The apathy of most workers towards T.U. affairs is undoubtedly the factor which gives them most chance. In a union with an interested membership they do not get the influence. The Civil Service Clerical Association, for example, at its Spring conference this year, threw out several Communist-inspired resolutions, and there are signs of a revolt among the ranks against party members and fellow-travellers on the executive.

The great majority of union members, however, do not trouble to vote (and who can blame them?), so that a small be disciplined body of Communists ordered to vote in a certain direction can elect their picked officers to executive positions with what are actually small minorities of unionists.

Deakin Sees the Red Light

What has worried Arthur Deakin, however, is not a discovery of undemocratic practice in the unions, but a statement by Kuznetsov, chief (under Stalin) of the Soviet trade

unions, made just before the recent Paris conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions: "The time has arrived," he said, "for the removal of reformist tendencies from the leadership of the W.F.T.U.," and

"Success"—But who pays?

(Continued from page 1)

equilibrium of workers whose vitality has been sapped by eight years of poor feeding and at least six years of wartime overwork. Therefore, the drive is likely to result in a general lowering of the already poor standard of health and a shortening of the effective working life of each person.

Secondly, this increased speed of work is likely to have a bad effect on the product, since the worker who is being continually pressed to produce quantity is likely to skimp quality, and since it is an established fact that machines which are worked too hard tend to depreciate more quickly than they normally would.

Thirdly, the heightened rate of production is, under present circumstances, a danger to the workers' standard of life, since where production per hour increases, whether it is from improved machinery or from the harder effort of the workers, there is a temptation for the managers to alter piecework rates to the disadvantage of the workers, and so make an increased tempo, which was at first voluntary, become a necessity in order that the worker should maintain his earnings at a reasonable level.

In addition to this, the "Success" campaign offers excuses for relaxing the safeguards which the workers have won over years of struggle. Already, as we note elsewhere, the factory regulations are being altered to the disadvantage of the workers.

The Risk Of Compulsion

Finally, we would remind the workers how often, during the last war, what began as a voluntary effort was later changed to compulsion. The Government has reintroduced industrial conscription; the "Talk Success" campaign is calculated, at least partially, to induce people to accept with equanimity such infringements on their freedom.

Let us be realistic. When the health and material standards of the workers improve radically, when British agriculture reaches its full potentiality of feeding Britain and British industry is used primarily to supply the producers themselves, when threats of war have passed away, then it will be time to talk success. But while the toil of the workers is used to profit the capitalists by boosting the luxury trade, while the factories are still producing materials for the next war, while health and nutrition go from bad to worse, while working conditions and the liberty of the workers steadily deteriorate, then so far as the common people are concerned we can only talk of failure. These factors are inevitable under the present system of competitive imperialism, and real success will continue to be a continually receding mirage in the distance until the people themselves decide to put an end to a social system based on exploitation and replace it by one where the well-being of men as individuals, and not of any such abstract entity as the nation, is regarded as the only end of production.

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

Now, Arthur Deakin is the president of the World Federation, and nothing worries a union boss like the possibility of losing a job!

What Should We Do?

In these political wrangles anarchists can take no sides. The trade unions have long since outlived any real usefulness for the workers, and whether they are controlled by Labour politicians or Communists, the difference in unpleasantness is one of degree only.

The task facing the working-class to-day is one of creating new, militant organisations based on a structure which prevents their being controlled by any political faction. Industrial syndicates without leaders, under the direct control of the rank-and-file through being organised on the job and from the bottom up, in eliminating the sinecure for the paid official would at the same time prevent the worker from being used in tawdry struggles for power wherein his position is always the same—at the bottom.

P.S.

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

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Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.
Please Note:
In view of the holidays there will be no lecture on the 21st and 28th December.
JAN. 4th Tony Weaver
"Impressions from France"
JAN. 11th John Turner
"The Work of PATRICK GEDDES"

N.E. LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

At Flat 3, 43, New Wanstead
(Nr. Green Man, E.11)
Lectures to be Announced

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

Public Meetings at
CENTRAL HALLS, BATH ST.
will be held every Sunday evening.
Speakers:
John Giffney, Frank
Leech, Eddie Shaw.
Doors open 6.30 p.m.

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

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

LEEDS AREA

Those interested in the formation of a Discussion Group should contact:
Anthony Earnshaw,
18, Ellers Road, Hare Hills, Leeds, 8.

ILLNESS.

It is with deep regret that we learn that our comrade Preston Clements has a severe breakdown and will not be able to participate in active propaganda for at least twelve months, but more important in the meantime is getting somewhere in the country to get complete rest and the necessary nourishment.

The nature of the collapse, which is physical and mental, demands quietness and complete relaxation. Unless this is forthcoming immediately our good comrade may be lost to the Movement for all time.

Any comrades who find themselves in a position to help in this respect, or can offer suggestions should contact Eddie Shaw at 173, Dalmarock Road, Glasgow, E.1, or Preston Clements, 43, Cunningham Street, Glasgow, C.1.

EDDIE SHAW.