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Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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Threepence

"To argue against any breach of liberty from the ill use that may be made of it, is to argue against liberty itself, since all is capable of being abused."
LORD LYTTLETON.

MARSHALL'S MIRACLE

THE State Department's report which gives estimates of the food, raw materials and machinery that will be shipped by the United States under the Marshall Plan, if Congress gives its approval, has sharpened the controversy as to the merits, or otherwise, of this scheme.

Mr. Truman and his associates have candidly presented the scheme as an essential instrument of American foreign policy and seem certain that it can "achieve miraculous results". The British Labour Party has now unreservedly rallied to these views and has called a European Congress of the Socialist parties in countries adhering to the Marshall Plan to be held in March. But the Beaverbrook Press and the Communist Party oppose the Plan as undermining Britain's independence, while claiming that they are not opposed to American aid.

On one point, however, there is general agreement, from Mr. Truman to Mr. Pollitt—that the Marshall Plan is being used as a political weapon. The issues become less clear when the economic aspects of the Plan are being discussed.

The United States would like the world to think of the Plan as a crusade against police States, totalitarian rule, political and moral chaos. They have abandoned the rôle of the philanthropist assumed at the beginning and taken up that of the crusader. There is a third rôle which they could play with little effort, but which is deprived of glamour, that of the business man. A 20th century business man, of course, who has mastered the art of buying the right kind of government as if it were a new piece of machinery and who is more fond of waving the torch of liberty than his cheque book. A 20th century business man who becomes a Tom Paine when the business rival is Stalin and who remains a plain business man when the customer is Peron.

The Marshall Plan is not, as it has often been described, an "example of a responsible and unselfish action". The Marshall Plan is business and as such it is outside ethical considerations. It can only be good or bad business, and the report, recently published, seems to indicate that it is not bad business.

It would be ridiculous, of course, to believe that America is merely trying to get rid of her surplus production. The plan will mean "sacrifices" which have been accepted all the more readily because it is understood that they will fall on the shoulders of the American worker rather than on those of the capitalists.

One can also see at first glance that the plan for future European recovery is going to mean the immediate recovery of certain American industries. Originally, the Marshall Plan was to provide

(on a credit arrangement) bread for the workers and raw materials and plant equipment for industry. Now, very substantial trimmings have been added. The biggest item of the exports to Britain is tobacco and France and Switzerland are also to receive considerable quantities although they have not asked for it. It will neither feed nor give labour to European workers but it will help the badly hit American tobacco industry.

It is also difficult to understand how an "unselfish" administration could propose to increase by 34 million dollars American shipping construction during the next fiscal year, while it suggested that shipbuilding in Europe should be curtailed during the next four years.

It is a truism to say that the Marshall Plan will render Western Europe politically and economically subservient to the United States. The only two alternatives which have been put forward are that of the Beaverbrook Press, which demands greater efforts and sacrifices on the part of the workers (while advocating at the same time the re-introduction of the basic petrol ration to show clearly that the workers alone

should make sacrifices) and that of the Communist Party, which would like to replace the Marshall Plan by a Molotov Plan.

These two plans being obviously incompatible, Europe is being divided in two sections which should, rationally, complement one another. Before the war more than 60% of the total imports of countries now behind the iron curtain came from Western Europe while only about 15% came from Russia. These countries, on the other hand, were exporting many of the agricultural products and raw materials which the countries in the Marshall area must now import from America. As if frontiers were not bad enough, we now have iron curtains, dollar areas, sterling areas, etc. It is impossible for Europe to achieve a healthy economy until these artificial barriers disappear.

We cannot accept the Marshall Plan any more than we can accept capitalism and imperialism. We cannot support a Molotov plan any more than we can support totalitarianism. We refuse to take sides. One does not choose between plague and cholera, particularly when one does not believe in miracles.

MINERS VICTIMISED FOR STRIKING

THE National Coal Board, pleased with its success against the Grimethorpe miners in the court action heard at Barnsley on December 19th, have applied for and been granted summonses against 191 miners of Seaham Harbour.

The Board is claiming damages for alleged breach of contract on Dec. 16th from 24 men at the Vane Tempest Colliery. Damages claimed are for £5 per head. 167 men are being summonsed concerning a strike on December 29th. Damages from these men to be £10 per head. The cases are fixed to be heard at Seaham Harbour on February 14th.

The action against the Grimethorpe miners arose out of the unofficial strike throughout the Yorkshire coalfields last September, which began at Grimethorpe (see *Freedom*, Sept. 6th and 20th) and is all the more disgusting because the men agreed to go back on the promise of the Coal Board and the Union to establish a fairly-chosen fact-finding committee, by whose decisions the men agreed to abide. As reported in *Freedom* of Nov. 1st, this fact-finding committee backed up the miners and affirmed the justice of their claims that the extra work demanded of them was impracticable in the circumstances.

The Coal Board was no doubt stinging under its defeat, for it had been forced to withdraw dismissal notices served on the strikers and to allow the men to go back to work on their old arrangements pending the fact-finders' decision.

The Act under which the prosecution took place was the Employers and Workers Act of 1875—a hoary relic of the days of free enterprise which the State did not hesitate to use when it suited. The fines, levied against forty miners, total £304, and are to be deducted from their pay-packets (a particularly high-handed method of settlement) at the rate of 10/- per week starting from January 16th.

There is only one answer to this State aggression—the solidarity and determination of the workers not to allow militant miners to be victimised in this fashion. A full-blooded strike now, and to hell with production, could stop the payments by the Grimethorpe men, and save the Seaham miners from the same decision—for it is obvious that the State's police courts would not give a decision against the N.C.B.

What is happening to militant miners to-day can happen to workers anywhere as nationalisation spreads the grim framework of State control over more industries. There is only one characteristic the State demands of its workers—servility. If

you refuse to be servile the State shows its true nature, the essential similarity between governments is shown to be deeper than the labels they show to the world.

State control, nationalisation, means totalitarianism. The time to resist is now—tomorrow may be too late.

INDIAN RIOTS

THE contamination of the racial riots in India, caused more than anything else by the policy of ruling by division used by both Indian and British politicians, whose fostering of Hindu-Moslem differences lay at the base of the insane mutual persecution between these two sects, came recently when the homeless refugees from the Punjab who are to-day crowding Delhi, many of them living in complete poverty and starvation, without any kind of shelter from the bad weather, tried to squat in houses vacated by Moslems who had fled to Pakistan. They were turned back by the police, who used violence to prevent them from taking this free accommodation, but did not do anything to solve the homeless condition which is at the root of the problem.

At the present juncture it is rather pointless to argue about the rights and wrongs of the actions of the refugees. They were homeless, and there were vacant houses which they should be free to occupy. The fact that racial bitterness became involved in their demonstrations is unfortunate, but the blame for that must rest with the leaders who have fostered such emotions and used them to support their own ends.

In a city like New Delhi, where there is a vast Governor-General's palace and great governmental buildings, as well as mansions and villas belonging to officials, and expensive clubs in plenty, it is fantastic that there should be people who, driven from their homes in a quarrel made by their rulers, should have to sleep in the streets and feed, where they can, on charity.

STATE MEDICINE

THE subject of the National Health Scheme has scarcely been discussed on its own merits, for it has become a struggle between the Minister of Health and the Negotiating Committee of the British Medical Association. And since both sides appear to have acted in domineering and sectional ways this struggle has itself been complicated by questions of prestige and petty triumphs.

At the present time, the Panel system makes those engaged in the lower income groups eligible for free medical treatment. And as far as it goes, that is all to the good. But it only goes as far as to cover those "gainfully employed", to use the Ministry of Labour's elegant phrase. Wives and children are not covered and have to buy their medical treatment, so that the poor inevitably get less attention than the rich. Meanwhile, the standard of panel medicine is not very high—which is why so many people view with misgiving its universal application. It is not well paid, so that doctors inevitably pay more attention to the private, fee-paying, side of their work. Patients who are well off therefore view the panel with distaste, those who are poor regard their doctors with disillusionment and bitterness. Yet in the existing social environment things could hardly be different.

Commonsense and justice demand that the needs of the sick should receive adequate attention regardless of their capacity to pay. This principle is recognized and is the basis of the proposed Act, and as such it marks an advance.

The difficulties arise when such social advances are taken up and applied by the State. Inevitably, the first question is that of how a comprehensive scheme is to be paid for, and the concern for questions of expense which already affect the existing Panel system, will certainly be carried over into the new Act. And the same goes

for the red tape, the form filling, and all the rest of bureaucratic absurdities inseparable from centralization. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the extension of the scheme to wives and children will benefit the lowest income groups. And the increased separation of medical attention from direct remuneration is at least potentially a tremendous advance.

All the same, the scheme ignores the fundamental factor in present-day ill health. Public attention is focussed on such questions as the sale of practices and the extension of specialist services, while causes of ill health are simply neglected. For the new comprehensive scheme will still have to try and repair the effects of diseases principally caused or aggravated by poverty; and patients will still be hampered in their ability to benefit from medical attention by their over-riding need to go out and earn wages. The chief killing diseases will still be many times more common among the lower income groups than among the higher, and the anxiety which characterizes the lives of the great majority of people will still inflict chronic ill-health on thousands.

The new scheme has been criticized because there are not enough doctors to operate it; it will undoubtedly intensify the hastiness by which panel practice is marred. Yet the elimination of poverty would so reduce the illhealth that the remaining sickness could receive proper attention and time. At no point does the new scheme even recognize that the elimination of poverty is the first problem in the struggle against disease. It can hardly be expected to do so since the very existence of the State which is to take over medicine depends on the economic servitude of the mass of people. Authority demands obedience, but can only exact it where poverty is widespread, and economic uncertainty the rule. The State cannot radically attack ill-health, for by eliminating poverty it would undermine its own authority.

Jim Crow Education

A RECENT decision of the Supreme Court of the United States has revealed the extent to which discrimination against Negroes exists even in American States which are outside the traditional Southern area of Negro baiting.

The case concerned a Negro woman who has graduated at a Negro university in Oklahoma. She then applied to be admitted to the law faculty of the Oklahoma University, but, although she fulfilled every educational qualification, she was refused admission, entirely because of her race.

The decision of the Supreme Court means that the girl must be admitted to the University's law faculty, or a separate law school will have to be built by the University, complete with staff, for her legal education.

The real significance of the incident lies, not in the Supreme Court's decision, which for once is humane

and just, but in the fact that, in spite of a multitude of laws which recognise the rights of Negroes to equal status, including the American Constitution itself, there still remains in many parts of America a vast mass of reactionary opinion which actively or passively opposes the granting of justice to racial minorities. A few individuals may, by the effort and expense of going as far as the Supreme Court, get some rectification of the attempt to discriminate against them; the majority of Negroes, the industrial workers, agricultural labourers and share croppers, have to bear their lot as best they can. In general, they can expect little justice or friendly treatment their whole lives through, and their only hope lies in a social system where all inequalities and discriminations of every kind are purged away. Their only solution is in a militant working-class movement that will unite Americans of all races in the struggle for a free society.

Somalis Die For Imperialism

MANY Somalis died and were wounded in fighting which broke out in Italian Somaliland between the Nationalist Somali Youth League and Somali tribesmen who had been recruited by the local Italian colonisers in order to suppress any movement that might be a threat to the desire of the Italian ruling class to get back their colonies with a free hand in exploitation.

The Somali Youth League held a procession designed to convey its aspirations to the commission appointed by the Council of Foreign Ministers to inquire into conditions there. The pro-Italian tribesmen and the Italians who were inciting them then proceeded to attack the procession and the Youth League headquarters. A pitched battle took place, in which more than eighty Italians and fifty Somalis were killed or wounded.

The total effect of this clash, in which neither side represents the real interests of the Somali tribesmen and town dwellers, has been that the Allied Military authorities have been given an excuse to apply a curfew and other means of military repression.

THE ELIZABETHAN ANARCHY

IN one of his articles on the Elizabethans, T. S. Eliot has said: "Even the philosophical basis, the general attitude towards life of the Elizabethans, is one of anarchism, of dissolution, of decay. It is in fact exactly parallel and indeed one and the same thing as their artistic greediness, their desire for every sort of effect together, their unwillingness to accept any limitation and abide by it. The Elizabethans are in fact a part of the movement of progress or deterioration which has culminated in Sir Arthur Pinero and the present regimen in Europe."

Naturally enough, Mr. Eliot, as a classicist and an intellectual and spiritual authoritarian, uses the term "anarchism" in a pejorative sense; he means to convey that idea of decadent chaos which is often and wrongfully associated with the word "anarchism", and it is clear that he himself has no doubt that the movement of which the Elizabethans were a part was in fact one of deterioration, and not of progress.

My own contention, which I shall sketch briefly in the following essay, is that the general attitude towards life of the Elizabethans was indeed one of anarchism, but anarchism considered in its true and positive meaning, and that, far from representing a process of deterioration which has continued to this day, the culture of the Elizabethans was actually one of

regeneration, and represented a positive phase in direct opposition to the kind of social and intellectual decadence represented in our own age. I will avoid deliberately the use of the word *progress*, partly because this has been too much abused by those advocates of material progress whose activities have recently culminated in the monstrous achievement of the atomic bomb, and partly because I am not at all sure that the kind of mental states represented by the Elizabethan and our own ages are capable of consideration in progressive terms. They are motivated by influences and desires so radically different, that their relationship seems more of opposition than of progression, and for this reason I prefer to stress their essential natures by saying that Elizabethan literature is motivated by a positive, literature in our own age by a negative, spirit.

Cultural Anarchy

In order to appreciate Elizabethan literature it is necessary first to give at least some slight attention to the general social and cultural backgrounds of the age, for differences in the art of various ages spring not merely from the differing personalities of its exponents, but also from the atmospheres in which they worked. It is perhaps true that great writing can be performed by a strong man in any environment, but man's strength in turn is conditioned by his environment, and each age tends to produce the works of art which its social and cultural attitudes deserve, until such time as resistance

to the accepted ideas and practices produces a movement of revolt in which the artist can find his place in an oppositional environment. In general, while in certain circumstances a frustration may stimulate the artist, the most fruitful social environment for the production of really vital work is one in which the maximum personal freedom exists in an atmosphere of social flux and growth. Thus, ideally, the best environment for the artist would be that of social and cultural anarchy, where all authoritarian institutions and conventions had died away and where man and society were involved in a process of continual development in free living.

But, among civilised people at least, no such society has in fact existed up to the present, and we have to seek fruitful environments for the production of good art and literature in ages where society was undergoing periods of change or insecurity, in which nominal authority was held unstably by a moribund ruling class whose rivals were sufficiently strong for there to exist such a balance of forces that for the time being none could make good its superiority or exert any effective power. In such social environments a kind of freedom has in fact existed, an imitation anarchy, marred indeed by individual acts of tyranny, by continuing economic inequalities, but providing incentives to action, and giving almost unlimited opportunities for the defiance of accepted conventions and the practice of free conduct, and thus producing a very live body of art.

In fact, if we look carefully at the culturally vigorous periods, we find they were indeed such times when authority was weak, when chaos acted almost as a substitute for anarchy. The turbulent cities of ancient Greece, with their perpetual social unrest and unstable rulers, provided a far greater output of valuable art than the ordered centuries of the Roman

republic; the great age of Roman poetry, when Virgil, Horace, Propertius and Catullus all flourished, was when the republic died under the struggles of the various candidates for imperial power and Brutus and his associates made their fight for liberty; the best periods of Chinese art were when the imperial authority was nominal and the country enjoyed a more or less decentralised system of administration; the Renaissance in Italy, the great age of German music and philosophy, were times of stupendous literary and artistic vitality in countries where authority was disunited and broken into tiny principalities, whose very rivalries assisted to create a dominance of men of thought and vision. French literature and art reached their highest level during that nineteenth century which saw three rebellions, two empires, two kingdoms, two republics and a revolutionary commune, but which also made Paris the artistic centre of the world. And the greatest ages of English writing were the age of the Romantic revival, when the French Revolution and its attendant movements of unrest threatened the stability of authority in every land of Europe, the Restoration period, when the Royalist and Whig interests had reached the stalemate of temporary equality, and the Elizabethan period which we are now considering.

A Decaying Society

It may be objected that the Elizabethan era, subjected to the reign of an absolute monarch, could not justly be called a period of social flux. But it must be borne in mind that so-called Elizabethan literature was in fact largely Jacobean. Twelve of Shakespeare's greatest plays were produced after the accession of James I; the best work of Ben Jonson, Ford, Tournier, Massinger and Middleton belong to this later age. This second part of the "Elizabethan" period was most certainly a time of active social disorder. The monarchy, in the hands of a weak king and corrupt followers, was attacked on the one hand by the remaining Catholic and feudal interests, and on the other hand by the new middle classes, clamouring for their full share of power and also united under a religious banner, that of Puritanism. The Gunpowder Plot was merely one outward sign of a condition that went deeply into the hidden places of social life; everywhere men were struggling to set themselves free from domination and, even if their own end was only power, their very struggle to gain it resulted in a greater freedom for the ordinary people who did not take part in the political tangle. A social equilibrium was established which was only upset when Charles I reached over too far in an attempt to regain the absolute power. Generally speaking, in the reign of James I there was a wide measure of actual freedom of thought and living; the king's own homosexual capers effectively destroyed any pretence of conventional morality, and, in spite of the Star Chamber and the witch-hunting tendencies of the time, there was a wide tendency to explore the limits of thought and science. It was the age of Bacon's most important pioneer work.

But the Elizabethan ferment had actually begun long before James came to the throne. If we contrast the bold mental exploration typified in a play like *Dr. Faustus*, with the development of the mediaeval world view which is shown in a book like *Utopia*, we can see clearly that, while the social conceptions of Thomas More are based on a collective community as envisaged by Catholic theologians, the world of man seen by

Marlowe is centred around the individual. Renaissance individualism, which had already produced its giants of achievement in Italy, arrived late in England, but its flowering was no less abundant. Nowhere does pure humanism, the idea of the dignity of man as an individual, find greater expression than in the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramas. The development and individuation of the characters in these plays was amazingly rapid, and men like Shakespeare and Webster peered into the intricate depths of the human soul with a vision more penetrating than anything since the Greek tragedians. Dante saw the sins of man in relation to a pre-ordained pattern of universal morality; the Elizabethans saw the personal conscience as the only true criterion of human activities. They carried on the thoughts of that greatest of Renaissance humanists, Pico della Mirandola, who, in his famous speech on the dignity of man, makes God say to Adam:

"I have set thee in the midst of the world, that thou mayst the more easily behold and see all that is therein. I created thee a being neither heavenly nor earthly, neither mortal nor immortal only, that thou mightest be free to shape and to overcome thyself. Thou mayst sink into a beast, and be born anew to the divine likeness. The brutes bring from their mother's body what they will carry with them as long as they live; the higher spirits are from the beginning, or soon after, what they will be for ever. To thee alone is given a growth and a development depending on thine own free will. Thou bearest in thee the germs of a universal life."

The Humanist Faith

From this great reverence for man, as the summit of creation, there sprang naturally a subversive element which the Tudor kings had perhaps not expected when they destroyed, to serve their own interests, the collective authoritarianism of the mediaeval church. The Elizabethan writers, in making man supreme, began to see that he was greater than the State, than the Church, than convention and morality. They began to see the need for removing the obstacles to mental freedom, for pursuing the knowledge of man and his universe to its most occult depths. The symbolic genius of Marlowe set their model in the person of Faustus. Forbidden knowledge appeared to them as Helen appeared before that indefatigable seeker, and they might say to knowledge, as he to Helen:

O, thou art fairer than the evening air
Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars;
Brighter art thou than flaming Jupiter
When he appear'd to hapless Semele;
More lovely than the monarch of the sky
In wanton Arethusa's arms;
And none but thou shalt be my
paramour!

They sought all knowledge; it is significant that this age saw not merely the birth of scientific enquiry, but also a recrudescence of the search for more occult and mystical forms of knowledge; the work of Dr. Dee and the secret orders as well as of Francis Bacon, who himself seems to have had connections with occultist groups. As for Marlowe, he was clearly a follower of Faustus in his thirst for knowledge; although in the end of his masterpiece he makes punishment come to Faustus in accordance with good Christian usage, Marlowe sets out to praise that individual strength of will which persists in its search without regard for the consequences and is ready to barter its immortal life, if need be, for the sake of knowing all.

(To be continued.)

OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM-3

(We print below the final replies to points raised in a letter from a reader, J.R.H., published in our issue of the 27th December last.)

5. Malefactors

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?

Firstly, it should be made clear that the populace, as a collectivity, have no rights. It is only individual men who have rights to protect themselves, but where a danger exists which affects or may affect a number of people, they are obviously justified in combining to deal with it. But they are still protecting their rights, safety and freedom as individuals.

We agree that individuals have a right to protect themselves from brutality. They do not need to "be protected", as such "protection" from outside usually confers power which its possessors tend to use indiscriminately. But we are not quite clear what J.R.H. means by lunacy. Many forms of lunacy are harmless, and mental instability is almost always aggravated by the kind of restraint imposed by our present society. But what is called lunacy is often a social disease, and in a society with fewer restrictions, less anxiety and better general health there would undoubtedly be much less mental strain. There is much evidence to show that kinds of violent lunacy, which are aggravated by restraint, improve under conditions of kindness and freedom. The homicidal lunatic may have to be restrained when he is about to commit a violent act, but it is much better to educate the people among whom he lives in the best way to treat him than to attempt any permanent institutional restraint, which is usually worse than useless.

J.R.H. becomes rather confused when he goes on to call lunatics "malefactors", but presumably he

means by this title all kinds of people who perform, for various reasons, acts against the current social morality.

We are usually accused of wishing to subject society to the tyranny of the malefactor, and therefore it is at least refreshing to find someone with a concern for the malefactor, since at the present day the criminal is usually the victim of society rather than the reverse.

But the majority of what are called crimes under our present society fall into three main classes. There are crimes of various kinds against the State; these will no longer exist or no longer be regarded as crimes when the State disappears. There are crimes against property, or motivated by the lack of property, which include many acts of violence and certainly contain more instances than any other category. There are sexual crimes, some of which, like homosexual acts, are merely breaches of moral prejudices, and others, like certain forms of violence, the product of a warped attitude caused by the lack of sexual freedom. With the abolition of the State, property and a restrictive sexual code, all these classes of "crime" would naturally die out, the first two categories immediately and automatically, the last, in a sympathetic social environment very quickly.

There remains one class of "malefactor" to be considered—the counter-revolutionary, the man who seeks to impose his power on others. Anarchists, unlike most other leftists, do not seek revenge; nevertheless, the fact remains that, in the early days of a free society, there may be a residue of people who would still desire to regain their old privileges and re-impose their domination over others. But the answer to such people is not imprisonment and censorship; we cannot gain freedom for ourselves by denying it to others. The real remedy is a continual vigilance among the workers, so that any such attempt may be countered by immediate direct action to defend freedom, but only in so far as it is necessary for the purpose.

The "enraged and ill-informed mob" is a legend familiar to capitalist propaganda. But the mob that commits excesses of cruelty or destruction is always one that fights for reactionary motives and is incited by reactionary elements—the Negro-lynching or Jew-baiting mob. The workers in revolutions, as distinct from the political groups who use ruthless methods to gain power, rarely apply wanton cruelty; during 1848, for instance, the few people hanged on lamp-posts were all notorious tyrants or crafty politicians, and their number was minute in comparison with the number of workers afterwards killed off by the "well-informed".

In any case, a free society is only likely to come about when the workers are sufficiently conscious of social realities to act, not as an "enraged and ill-informed mob", but with judgment and intelligence. The conditions of a free society will contribute to increase understanding and gentleness towards other people who do not fit into the general pattern of thought and action.

6. Are We Anarchists?

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

Yes, we are Anarchists, since we believe in abolishing all public authority. In place of public authority we would place administration of communal and economic affairs by the people directly involved in them. If each man has a direct share in all decisions relating to his work and welfare, if all local and industrial groups take decisions based on direct discussion, then any other administration becomes superfluous and dangerous. Public authority, with its idea of the rule of institutions over individuals is a danger to freedom against which we must always fight. Therefore we call ourselves Anarchists, because any other title would be misleading.

Why am I an Anarchist?

AS a result of comparing circumstances, events and men, having seen at work our honest friends of the Commune, how in fearing to be terrible, they were energetic only in order to throw away their lives, I came rapidly to the conviction that honest men in power will be as incapable as the dishonest ones are injurious and that it is impossible for liberty ever to ally itself to any kind of power.

I felt that a revolution that took any form of government would merely be a sham which could only mark time and could never open the doors of progress; that the institutions of the past, which seemed to disappear, would remain under changed names, that all the old world is held together in chains and is like a single block destined to disappear entirely to make room for a new world, happy and free under the sky.

I see that the laws of attraction which for ever carry the numberless spheres towards new suns between the two eternities of the past and the future, should also preside over the destinies of beings in the eternal progress which draws them towards a true and ever-growing ideal. I am an anarchist, then, because anarchy alone will make the happiness of humanity, and because the highest idea which can be seized by the human intelligence is anarchy.

Anarchy alone can make man conscious,

because it alone can make him free; it will therefore be the complete separation between the horde of slaves and humanity.

For every man who gains power, the State becomes himself, he considers it as a dog considers the bone he gnaws and it is for himself that he defends it.

If power makes man ferocious, egotistical and cruel, servitude degrades him, anarchy then will mean the end of the horrible miseries in which the human race has always groaned; it alone will not mean a beginning again of sufferings, and, more and more, it will draw to it those hearts which are tempered for the combat of justice and truth.

Humanity wishes to live and will cling to anarchy in the desperate struggle in which it engages to climb out of the abyss; it is the rugged path up the precipice; all other ideas are like rolling stones and tufts of grass which one tears up by the roots in falling more deeply than before. It is necessary to struggle not only with courage, but with logic, and it is time that the real ideal, greater and more beautiful than all the fictions which have preceded it, should show itself in such magnitude that the disinherited masses will no longer dye with their blood the dreams of deception.

That is why I am an anarchist.

LOUISE MICHEL.

Industrial Notes

UNION TYRANNY

TYRANNY is a hard word, but can be a harder circumstance. And harder still to bear when the tyranny is also a betrayal of trust and belief.

A year ago, the first week of the nationalisation of the mines was marked by a strike of the Winding Enginemens' Union against the National Coal Board's refusal to recognise that union as a negotiating body. At that time the big union, the National Union of Mineworkers, played the blackleg. To the accompaniment of noises off by Will Lawther and Arthur Horner (N.U.M. President and Secretary respectively) screaming "Sabotage," "Prosecute them," etc., members of the N.U.M. took over the work of the striking enginemens, and by minimising the effect of the strike, broke it.

To-day, after 12 months of patiently waiting for "negotiations" (how that word is beginning to stink!) the little union is again on the verge of striking, a decision to strike on Monday, 12th Jan. being reversed only at a last-minute meeting. But before the event the Executive Committee of the N.U.M. saw fit to issue a warning to the Enginemens, voiced by President Will Lawther, who said: "If a stoppage takes place, steps will be taken to fill the places of all the strikers and also to prevent their ever coming back to their jobs." And the patriotic Arthur Horner added: "Either we save this country and get the coal this year, or we submit to an unnecessary stoppage because of a minority with no justice in their case."

Small Coal Losses Involved

There are 2,000 members of the Winders' union, and a strike by them would result in an estimated loss of 750,000 tons of coal a week. In the first week of 1948, 4,059,000 tons of coal were mined in Britain. Less than one-fifth of output, therefore, would be affected by a winders' strike, and yet these union leaders can pretend that the whole future of Britain is at stake.

But do you see what we mean by tyranny and betrayal? It was not the National Coal Board who warned the enginemens, it was a *Trade Union*—an organisation supposed to represent the workers, defend them and redress their grievances; an organisation built up on the solidarity of the workers one with another. And we find its officers prepared to take away a man's livelihood, strike at the stomachs of his wife and kids because he dares to exercise his rights of association and of withdrawal of labour.

Horner Playing Safe

Arthur Horner, presumably, is playing safe for a time because his position may not be quite so secure as he thought. Horner is a Communist, and the recent attacks on Communists in high office in the F.U.'s may have made him change his mind about following the party line too closely. The party line is disruption and discontent, but Horner has a job to keep, after all.

UNION PRIVILEGE

ANOTHER example of coercive trends in the trade unions and of their collaboration with employers against non-union workers comes from Coventry. There, last October, the Corporation granted an increase 3½d. per hour over the national rate of 2½d. for building labourers. A request from the Coventry branch of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, however, has led the Council to decide that this increase over the minimum shall apply only to trade union members.

Non-union labourers are already getting the higher rate (2/6d. per hour)

but if they refuse to join the union they will be sacked and then offered re-engagement at 2/2½d. So that, in fact, the request from union members has the effect of cutting the wages of their non-unionist fellow workers.

There was a time when it was an honour and a pleasure to belong to a trade union. That day is past.

UNEMPLOYMENT INCREASING

IT seems almost fantastic that there should be unemployment in Britain to-day, yet the total number of insured persons registered as unemployed in the

United Kingdom on 10th November, 1947 (last available figures) was no less than 293,023.

Industrially, the biggest total was from Building and Civil Engineering Construction (25,385), while Engineering, including Iron and Steel Founding, had 18,350 unemployed.

Since November 10th, the position has worsened owing to the cessation of capital expenditure on public works, and there are now 25,000 unemployed in Liverpool alone, a position which warranted the presence of Harold Wilson, the Board of Trade's President, to discuss a solution.

It would be funny if it were not tragic that, with all its powers, the government can solve neither its problem of manpower shortage, nor that of unemployment!

KEEPING OUT THE COMMUNISTS

FOLLOWING upon recent agitation against Communists in executive positions in the trade unions, and the disproportion of their influence to their members (see "Deakin's Discovery", *Freedom*, 27/12/47), a revolt against their infiltration has shown itself in recent union elections.

Most notable defeat has been that of Jim Hammond, a Communist who has been president of the Lancashire miners, but who was not re-elected. Arthur Horner, Communist secretary of the N.U.M. (see "Union Tyranny", this page) has, of course, a permanent position for which he does not have to seek re-election, which may be lucky for him, but nevertheless, his position could become extremely uncomfortable if anti-Communist feeling grows really strong in the N.U.M.

In the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers' election, the job of general-secretary went, against Communist opposition, to Dame Anne Loughlin, and in elections for offices in the London district branch of the Musicians' Union, known Communists holding or seeking election were

rejected. Five, who were members of the district committee, were defeated, together with C.P. members standing for election as president, referee, national executive member, and as Trades Council delegates.

Out of the Frying Pan

It is in the Civil Service Clerical Association (Whitehall bureaucrats' T.U.) however, that anti-Communist agitation is finding its most vocal expression, and its most amusing feature. A campaign committee has been found to mobilise anti-Communist votes, which declares that Communists and fellow-travellers are not more than 3 per cent. of the C.S.C.A. membership, yet have control of the national executive. In the name of the Association this executive has made donations to a number of thinly-veiled Stalinist organisations, such as the British-Soviet Joint Committee, National Council for Civil Liberties, and so on.

What is amusing is that the executive is accusing Conservatives in the Association of using exactly the

same sort of infiltrating tactics as the Communists. L.C. White, C.S.C.A. general-secretary stated: "We are warning our members to be on the look-out at their annual meeting for the people put up by the Conservatives. Communist attempts at domination have frequently been alleged. Now it looks as though the London Conservative Union is aiming at domination. The Conservative Party is trying to infiltrate."

The members should listen to Mr. White; he should be able to tell infiltration when he sees it. Mr. White is a member of the editorial board of the *Daily Worker*!

According to Laski and the prophets of the press, a revolution has been accomplished, silently and bloodlessly, the forces of exploitation have been overthrown and the era of the common man has come. The State will now control the tools of production and all will be well for the worker if he will only see that it is to his benefit to work harder than he has ever done before. The target of production must rise higher and higher.

How the ghosts of Taylor and Bedaux must laugh in derision when they remember how the labour leaders of yesterday (now our masters) denounced their scientific plans of drawing the last drop of blood and the last ounce of strength from their victims. Little wonder the Tory Party approves and promises that when once more in power they will surpass the Labour Party in giving to the State still greater powers of control. This is the logical development of modern capitalism.

The conditions after the first world war were somewhat similar to those of to-day. Then as now, the labour leaders were making frantic appeals to the workers to produce more; huge posters appeared everywhere with slogans such as "To have more you must produce more." "You must work as you fought", and so on. It is with regret that we must say that the workers fell for this clap-net. Two years later the people, hungry and with broken shoes and hearts marched from all over Britain to London. They had glutted the market: they had served the purpose but now the Government had no more

use for them. S. Wales, parts of Lancashire and Scotland were derelict and actual starvation faced the workers, skilled or unskilled. The syren voices of their betrayers now told them that it was an inevitable stage towards their emancipation and when they were sufficiently class-conscious to elect a Labour Government all misery would end. They did not have to wait as long as that. Soon the pits opened and the mills were working. Germany, Japan and other countries wanted chemicals, coal, cloth, and, above all, steel. The markets of the world revived; Germany and Britain exchanged and manufactured for one another, knowing what the increase of industrial activity meant. But their dupes thought of nothing but a full wage packet while catastrophe crept up on them.

Now, the new masters are aiming at making servile tools for the State through their compulsory scheme of Civil Defence. Do they visualise another war as a way out? And do not all these trends prove to the workers how futile are their hopes of ever achieving anything worth while through the means of Parliamentarism? It has been well tried and found very much wanting! Workers must realise that there is only one method by which they can gain their emancipation—by relying on their own efforts—by organising on the job—by taking Direct Action THEMSELVES.

The trade unions are now (thanks to labour mis-leaders) part of the Governmental machinery of State capitalism, as corrupt and as impotent as Dr. Ley's Labour Front, or the Bolshevik trade unions.

Totalitarianism must of necessity control the forces of labour and that is what the unions do to-day. They are controlled from the top by charlatans who are in league with the boss-class. The way out should be evident to all workers.

In Glasgow, Liverpool, London and many other places, the workers have learned to form unofficial committees and ignore the boards set up by the unholy alliance of bosses, unions and government officials.

Out of such commonsense action will grow the Anarchist Syndicates of the near future. That way and that way only lies the hope of winning a world where men can live in peace, economic security and above all, FREEDOM.

M. KAVANAGH.

Land Notes

THE CASUALIZATION OF LABOUR

THE steadily increasing mechanisation of British agriculture is producing one result of some importance both here and now and for the future, and that is the increasing casualization of labour.

The older farming systems, above all the four-course with its numerous variations according to locality, evolved not only from the needs of the soil but quite equally from the needs of the people who lived by and on it. The basis of the old farm systems was the steady employment of a certain number of men throughout the year and consequently the avoidance, as far as that was possible, of peak periods and slack periods. It was largely for this reason, for example, that large horse-teams, such as were used in the Dominions, were never used here where the two-horse team, except on certain heavy land, remained the accepted power unit. It also accounts in part for the absence of mechanization and "improved methods" in certain jobs, when these jobs occurred at a time of the year when any reduction in the labour required would only have resulted in one or more men having nothing useful to do.

The farms of a given district, therefore, provided a steady livelihood throughout the year for the men who were employed on them. All were part of a community whose members changed but rarely. The coming of large, mechanised power-units has, however, severely shaken the old local

autonomy and is rapidly bringing about its disintegration.

Especially is this so in the large-farm districts of the South and East. The permanent staff on such farms is kept at a minimum and consists almost entirely of tractor-drivers and stockmen. Now a few large, mechanized units can cultivate and sow but they cannot harvest. One man can plough, cultivate and sow, say, 30 acres of beet in a comparatively small number of man-hours, but it requires at least half-a-dozen men to cut it out, and later to lift and top it and lead it off the field. That applies, though to a slightly lesser extent, to cereal crops as well.

The Results

All this means that, apart from other contributory causes, the resident rural population continues to decline for there is simply not sufficient all-the-year-round employment to be had, and the local labourers are increasingly giving place to gangs of migratory workers either working on their own, usually in small groups, or employed by the Committees and hired out to farmers. The existence of a vast quantity of P.O.W. slave labour has heightened this trend and a new class of unattached rural proletariat is coming into being.

The social results of this development are considerable. Firstly, the relation of master and man becomes more impersonal and more akin to that existing in most urban employment. This in itself results, or at least tends to result, in poorer quality work since a casual worker, employed a few weeks at most, cannot possibly have the same interest in his work as a local man working permanently on a particular farm. In his turn the gaffer has little if any interest in such men and the relationship is usually one of mutual distrust. The fact that much, even most, casual work is performed on a

piece-work basis adds to this indifference of the worker as to the results. I happened to work in a potato field last season where about one ton per acre must have remained unpicked at the initial lifting, that is deliberately trodden under out of sight by men and girls picking at so much an acre. Not that I criticize this almost universal practice. After all, a casual wage-earner cannot be expected to be unduly concerned about his employer's profit or loss on a particular crop. Why should he?

On the other hand, such an attitude, when not combined with any conscious social purpose, so conditions the worker into complete indifference to his work that it becomes all the more difficult for him to make any real attempt to change the social structure which brings about his frustration. Furthermore, the break-down of the old local community, with all its manifest injustices, removes, or at any rate greatly weakens, the base on which the new commune of workers, instead of the old community of masters and men, might be built.

Potatoes and Prices

WITH the present shortage of potatoes for sale to the consumer, it is noticeable that, as usual, the most is made of the opportunity to canalize the urban housewife's natural annoyance into an antagonism towards the growers. The *Sunday Dispatch* (11/1/48), for example, has as a sub-headline to a report on the situation, "Food Ministry Says Farmers Are Holding Back Stocks," and proceeds to elaborate and substantiate this statement.

"Said an official of the Fruit Trades Federation: 'Farmers have been holding back stocks to get higher prices. This particular shortage is due to the 5s.-a-ton increase which took place at the beginning of the month, and the fact that another

10s.-a-ton increase is due on Feb. 1st.'"

The implication is clearly that it is immoral and unpatriotic and against the interests of the nation—not to mention those of the wholesalers—for farmers to delay loading until the price increase comes into operation. The members of the Fruit Trades Federation are, one gathers, uninfluenced by such pecuniary considerations. The answer to that is . . . (deleted by censor).

Food as a Commodity

Yet, once again, it is necessary to point out that either one produces food, like anything else, for profit or one produces it for need. There is simply no workable compromise. Farmers are compelled to get the best price they can for their products. If they allowed any considerations other than that of profit to influence their transactions they would sooner or later be out of business for, like everyone else, they are part of "the system" whether they happen to like it or not, and in order to get a living they must keep to the rules. Which is what the trawler owners are doing, incidentally, by tying up their boats and paying off their crews rather than pay the extra 25s.-a-ton demanded by the N.C.B. Oddly enough, *The Sunday Dispatch* does not criticize the trawler owners for this action, the results of which cause quite as much inconvenience to the public as that of the farmers in holding back potatoes and is, by existing standards, neither more nor less justifiable. This does not imply any particular partiality on the part of *The Sunday Dispatch* for trawler owners as such, but is largely the result of that strange inconsistency of industrial capitalism which accepts the profit motive as the *raison d'être* for all business except farming, and assumes that farmers have an obligation to grow food, quite irrespective of how profitable or otherwise it is to do so.

G.V.

Letter from **France**

TRADE UNION SPLIT

A MONTH after the abrupt ending of the strikes, and fifteen days after the decision of the non-Communist elements to leave the General Confederation of Labour, the situation of the Trade Unions, far from becoming clearer, is considerably more confused.

Spontaneous Movement

But in the minds of the rank-and-file militants, who had known the hatred, insults and trickery on the part of the Communist fanatics, that unity was nothing more than a comedy, a farce, a booby trap.

The vast majority of the "Workers' Strength" groups pronounced themselves in favour of the constitution of a new CGT. Among the railway workers, for example, the leader Oradou, faithful to Jouhaux, found himself alone. On the other hand, the influence of the Socialist Party made itself felt in the federations and provincial Unions of the North, and showed itself favourable to the break. Finally, the existence of more and more independent unions was threatening the reformist leaders and depriving them of followers.

The split was thus a spontaneous operation, born of events and of the will of the workers themselves, at least of a section among them, without doubt the most conscious section.

In reality, the split confirmed the defeat of the reformist chiefs, condemned their passivity and their falsely unitary tactics. The moving element of the syndicalist renaissance was found among the extremists, whether they were organised in the anarcho-syndicalist CNT, in the Trade Union Committees of Action or in the independent organisations.

The hope of a new working-class central organisation, free of parties, of Governments and of the bosses, animated their spirits. The hope of a return to working-class independence appeared real, immediate and possible.

But this did not take into account the manoeuvring of the old Trade Union officials. Accepting their rebuff, they set to work and proclaimed themselves a provisional bureau of the new CGT.

All the press, either from ignorance or calculation, considered them as the authentic representatives of an independent trade unionism. The Socialist-Christian government made haste to recognise them. At the elections of the Economic Council, Jouhaux was re-elected by all the delegates of managements and workers, except, of course, for the Stalinist members.

The political operation of the Third Force—not ours, of course—embracing liberals, Gaullists, Socialist and Christian Democrats, appealed to some of the most representative "Workers' Strength" leaders to figures in their lists.

Bureaucratic Manoeuvres

In the unions themselves, the old officials profited by their perfect knowledge of working-class movements, to put their hands on the commanding posts. Wherever there existed independent mass organisations, as among the railwaymen and postmen, they created phantom federations, stuffed with officials, and then engaged in negotiations for "unification", demanding for themselves the lion's share. Thus, they generously offered three out of 26 seats on the Administrative Commission of the new CGT to the independent bodies. These were accepted in the interests of unity, but the pill was very bitter.

Thus was gradually designed the structure of the new central organisation, which found itself unquestionably in the hands of a trade union bureaucracy that events themselves had relegated to the realms of antiquity, directed by a spirit favourable to governmental organisations and influenced by the Western bloc.

Undoubtedly, it is probable that at the constituent Congress there will be voices to protest against this miscarriage, but it is no less probable that Jouhaux and his following will succeed in taking a high hand with the CGT No. 2.

Towards Independence

For this reason, should one consider the present experience useless and lose interest in it? Certainly not. The working mass is reconsidering syndicalism. The discussions on the Charter of Amiens, on the libertarian influence in the old CGT, on the rôle of the syndicates and their independence of political parties have lost their old-fashioned tone and are fed by burning facts and lessons.

The enormous rank-and-file fermentation allows the revolutionary elements to propagate their conceptions and make them heard. A work of reconciliation, of agreement and of mutual respect is going on between anarchist militants, revolutionary syndicalists and working-class militants who have appeared during the strikes.

The CNT is in contact with the Syndicalist Federation of Postal Workers and with the Trade Union Committee of Action of the Railway Workers, with the independent unions of metal workers of the Paris region. On the regional plane, the local Unions of CNT Syndicates and the independent unions of Bordeaux work in collaboration. In the Maine and Loire regions, negotiations are going on between the CNT and the "Workers' Force" opposed to Jouhaux.

It is certain that we are yet only at the first stage of syndicalist clarification. It is much more through campaigns of agitation, through movements of demand and through strikes that the real influence of revolutionary tendencies will be shown, and not merely in the choice of secretaries and officials of the various syndicalist organisations.

The CNT has thus a double rôle to play. Its peculiar part is to gather together the maximum revolutionary forces. Its more general but no less fruitful function is to bring to birth in the whole working-class movement currents of discontent which correspond to the situation, to initiate battles against the State, the managements and the imperialist blocs, to be the most combative and the most clear-sighted.

Thus will be unmasked not only the Stalinist leaders who make use of popular discontent for their ends of defending Russian imperialism, but also the reformist leaders who are favourable to American imperialism and are ready to assure the triumph of State corporatism.

In the present circumstances, over and above the immense effort of propaganda, of getting rid of the thugs, of revolutionary clarification, it is vigorous ideas which can gather the proletariat in the struggles for which they feel the need and know the aims: the refusal to pay taxes, the suppression of commercial middle-men, the strike for the control of public services, the refusal to participate in colonial wars.

The parliamentary third force which tries to harness the working-class to its adventures is destined to succumb with the capitalist regime which it dare not change. The revolutionary third force still possesses every chance of victory, if it dares to and knows how to act alone. For among the debris and ruins which social decomposition leaves in France, as in Europe, the working-class still and always represents the determining element for any bold solution.

S. PARANE.

Foreign Commentary

UKRAINIAN WITCH HUNT

ALEXANDER WERTH, recently described by Walter Holmes as a "reliable correspondent" (a well-earned compliment considering that journalist's consistent efforts to whitewash the Russian regime), describes in the *Manchester Guardian* a purge carried out amongst Russian writers. It bears a strange resemblance to the heresy hunt which has recently taken place in the United States.

Like Hollywood actors, Soviet writers seem to be prone to all kinds of deviations of which they are blissfully unaware but which do not escape the vigilant eye of the Board of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, a kind of Committee of un-Soviet Activities. This Board has discovered that some Ukrainian novelists, poets and critics were not doing their duty in promoting Communist ideals or the Soviet way of life.

According to the Ukrainian Writers' Union, says Werth, some writers show "nationalist" trends. Moreover, some poets, including the elderly Ukrainian poet Maxim Rylsky, still show escapist and "art for art's sake" tendencies.

The well-known novelist Y. Yanovsky is severely attacked for his "artistically and ideologically decadent" novel *Live Waters*.

"He has borrowed from reactionary literature the idea that things biological, instinctive, and animal are superior to things rational, social, and human. These bourgeois-decadent conceptions are applied to the description of Soviet people and of the post-war collective farms in the Ukraine. Among Yanovsky's people the majority are morally decadent people, or sadists, like one of his Ukrainian characters, Gandzi, who, during the Occupation, 'astonished even the Germans by his cruelty' . . . His world is dominated by cruelty and pathological passions."

Another writer, I. Senchenko, is accused of having written a "slandering" novel, *Our Generation*, "containing a lampoon of Soviet youth". These people are guilty of having, "under the guise of nationalist romanticism, put across a pessimistic bourgeois philosophy of life and mankind. Such an approach to life can only condemn literature to a slavish dependence on the West and to complete decay."

Maxim Rylsky is particularly attacked for an "escapist" poem, *Journey into my Youth*.

What Mr. Werth is in a better position than us to find out is why so many writers produce "escapist" literature. There should be no desire

to escape, if only with a poem, from a workers' (and writers') paradise.

Mr. Werth's only comment is that the line taken by the Ukrainian Writers' Union "is, of course, (italics ours) completely consistent with the line taken in Russia proper". And to prove that the "line" never wavers he tells us how in Russia two writers were selected by Zhdanov, in his famous address, as examples of the "wrong point of view": Anna Akhmatova, "who was said to be an escapist, largely living sentimentally in the past and absorbed in her personal emotions and Zoschenko, who was described as trivial, frivolous and cynical in his distorted portrayal of Soviet life".

Again, like some Hollywood actors, Soviet writers know on which side their bread is buttered and can take a hint. "Zoschenko," Werth tells us, "has shown signs of mending his ways and a recent number of *Novy Mir*, publishes humorous "sketches" of life among the partisans of the Leningrad province, with ludicrous Germans as the chief source of merriment. Now he is also writing a comic play called *How I Became an American Millionaire*—which is sure to be a success!"

The late Reg Bishop told us how one became a Soviet Millionaire. We have done our best to give publicity to his pamphlet which had only part of the success it deserved.

MORE SABOTAGE?

WE have been repeatedly told that Russia got rid of its 5th column long ago. It was a tough job and apart from the people shot or otherwise "eliminated" millions of people have been put in concentration camps.

David Y. Dallin and Boris Nicolaevsky, authors of *Forced Labour in Soviet Russia*, relying on official Soviet sources, estimate that the number of people in slave labour camps has varied from 7 to 12 millions. This statement has brought on them all the fury of Mr. Vishinsky who, before a committee of the United Nations, described them as "idiots or gangsters" who got their information from "Hitlerite agents".

Unabashed, Dallin and Nicolaevsky are seeking to institute a \$1,000,000,000 slander suit against Andrei Vishinsky and their counsel

has asked Mr. Vishinsky to waive his diplomatic immunity and accept service of the complaint, so that the issues involved can be tried before an impartial American court.

It is unlikely that anybody will be able to establish the exact number of prisoners in Russia. Only the overthrow of Stalin's regime may bring to light the many times duplicated records of the N.K.V.D.

Whether there are seven or twelve million prisoners, one thing appears certain and it is that all the "saboteurs", "fascist agents", etc., have not yet been rounded up. They seem particularly active just now in sabotaging the turn-round of railway wagons.

The State Prosecutor's office has issued a statement, which was broadcast (presumably by way of encouraging the others) giving details of sentences passed by military tribunals between October and December on railway officials who had "systematically allowed delays in loading and unloading goods wagons at stations and industrial undertakings."

We can only give two examples of these sentences (quoted more extensively in the *Manchester Guardian*, 8/1/48):

M. V. Bulgakov, head of the Argamash mine, Elets Mining Board: Two years' "deprivation of liberty", for having allowed 13,300 wagon-hours to be lost at night and on days off when wagons had stood idle (sentence passed by Moscow-Donbas Railway Military Tribunal on November 28);

L. K. Groman, head of the Lenin section, Topstroymentazh Trust, Ministry of Fuel Enterprises Construction: Three years' "deprivation of liberty", for having caused the loss of 11,050 wagon-hours, through failure to use unloading machines to full capacity and failure to supply workers with the necessary tools (sentence passed by the Tomsk Railway Military Tribunal on October 6).

The severity of the sentences by military courts, the use of the word systematically in the State Prosecutor's statement clearly show that the condemned officials are treated like saboteurs, wilfully trying to undermine the State.

Either these men are not guilty of systematically allowing delays, etc., and in that case it is a sad reflection on Soviet Justice that they should be condemned, or they are guilty, and it shows that thirty years after the revolution and after more than twenty years of continuous purges Stalin's

Sinister Moves

Inside Spanish Prisons

A CORRESPONDENT writes from Madrid: "It has long been a custom of Franco's penal system to move prisoners from one prison to another—especially if they should happen to be prisoners disinclined to accept their fate without protest. So common has this practice been that it is jocularly referred to by the prisoners as 'Imperial Tourism'. Some long-term prisoners have been in most of the jails of Spain at one time or another during the last eight years. Now there has been a new development. Just over a month ago all prisoners in Alcalá de Henares were transferred to Ocaña. A few days before that, the prisoners in Ocaña were transferred to the Central Prison of Guadalajara, and now there is evidence of a large-scale movement of prisoners from the South to the North of Spain: from Andalucía to Burgos and Santoña. And from East to West, etc. The prisoners are moved by stages, from prison to prison, until they reach their destinations and, as a rule, when the operation has been completed and a new prison filled, the prisoners are all new to one another. They are separated and rearranged on the way. What is the object of all this? One can

think of many objects, but there is an overruling one. When a prison has been emptied, notices appear in the press to the effect that, owing to the decrease in the number of prisoners, the prison has been closed. Nothing is said when it has been re-filled with the new batch! The underground Opposition has been deeply moved by these transfers, believing that Franco is using the manoeuvre to shoot off numbers of politicals against whom there is not enough 'evidence' even for his farcical courts—the eyes of the world have been turned on these courts during 1947. At any rate, the position is that the whereabouts of many who had constant contacts with the outer world can no longer be traced. The mere fact that this is so indicates a sinister purpose. In Madrid, opinion is that this mass movement of prisoners is related to a project of Franco's which has long been in his mind: to move from Spain to Guinea the most dangerous of the political prisoners. It is to be hoped that the friends of the prisoners outside Spain will leave no stone unturned to get to the bottom of the whole business—for there is one thing certain about it: it bodes no good for the prisoners."

Spanish News Letter, 10/1/47.

regime does not command the loyalty of the citizens.

FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH

The American *New Leader* tells us of a new trick American plutocrats have got up to:

Vishinsky should take note that the Fascists, Social Fascists, Trotskyites and other agents of Wall Street have developed a new, especially dangerous method of anti-Soviet propaganda. They simply take Soviet books, magazine articles, and other sources of Communist wisdom, translate them word by word into English, and present them to the American public.

This vile trick was perpetrated recently when the *Modern Review* translated from the magazine *Bolshevik*, M. Dynnik's article on Contemporary Bourgeois Philosophy in the U.S.A. And now a book has been published called *I Want To Be Like Stalin*, which reproduces the chapters on moral and civic education from an official pedagogical textbook, published in Russia in 1946. The book has a very able and very moderate introduction by George S. Counts, who chose the texts and translated them together with Nucia P. Lodge. But the "real thing" is the Russian text itself.

And to think there was a time when American publishers decided not to publish, and even withdrew from circulation, books critical of Russia!

M.L.B.

Europe Sees U.S. Food Habits at Close Range

IT is sometimes rumoured in Europe that people in the United States occasionally eat the heart out a slice of bread and throw away the crust. This would find no credence here were it not for the great number of crusts from American mess halls in Berlin. German employees at U.S. Headquarters, several thousand in number, have recently been given permission to take these crusts, which formerly were thrown away. The handful of crusts they collect once a week makes Friday a gala day.

In general, U.S. forces are forbidden to give the remnants of any provisions to Germans, but must truck them outside of town to be thrown away. Not even the Germans doing this work may take any food home, though some American soldiers turn their backs when the trucks are dumped and pretend not to see what the workers have pocketed.

The rule against giving away food remnants leads to surreptitious "collecting". This can be dangerous, as when not long ago some ammunition exploded in a refuse box, killing one and wounding several of the children who were rummaging the food scraps in it.

Worldover Press, 26/12/47.

PALESTINE 1948

THE rattle of machine-guns echoes through the streets of Jerusalem and Jaffa. Bombs explode, and men die. Throughout the Middle East, troops assemble and arm. The American, Russian, British and French governments all seek to exploit, as far as their divergent imperialist interests will permit, the Jewish-Arab conflict which they have done so much to provoke. But no-one seems to be able to understand what it is all about—not even those who are killing, or being killed. It seems to us essential that we should put before our readers certain basic truths on the social background of the Palestine struggle.

WHAT we are reading in the left-wing press on this subject is nothing but propaganda in the worst sense of the word—emotional word-spinning on purely sentimental predilections with not the slightest effort to analyse the facts. Many among them are pro-Zionist because they are aware of the sufferings endured by the Jewish *Diaspora*, the Western Jewish populations, during the war; or because they have read of the agrarian co-operative colonies in Palestine. The others are pro-Arab because of their attachment to the idea of the emancipation of colonial people and their hatred of capitalist intrusions.

The actual problem is far less simple, and cannot be decided by ethnological sympathies or communal ties. Palestine is in a vital strategic position for the control of the Arabian peninsula, of the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Suez Canal. It is a market for British, American and Arab traders. It is a battleground between two imperialist blocs seeking raw materials; between two social theories, statism and liberalism; between two economic systems, Jewish capitalism and Arab feudalism. It is also a mosaic of "minorities", racial and religious; and a land of social experiments. For the Zionist Jew it is the promised national home, for the Arab nationalist it is a land to be liberated from the infidel.

National Frontiers and Class Frontiers

On the other hand, each of these factors has many aspects. Although certain general tendencies characterise the Jewish and Arab movements, their component elements are of great variety. It is not a political colour, but an economic one which disturbs the rainbow of opinions which the Jewish Agency and the Arab High Commission claim to represent.

There is, without doubt, less irreconcilability between certain Zionist and Arab elements (for example that of the rector of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Lieb Magnes, and that of the *Ittihad* group—both factions favouring Jewish-Arab co-operation), than between the ultra-nationalists faithful to the fascist conceptions of their dead leader Jabotinsky and the supporters of the Left Socialist organisation *Paole Zion*, or between certain Arab workers' unions and the great feudal Moslem chiefs.

In 1945 and 1946 lightning strikes united Jewish and Arab workers in a common struggle against the British mandatory authorities and against certain employers. Some quarters, for example, of the station area of Tel Aviv, are inhabited by a mixed population of poor workers. The similarity of their conditions of life has brought about active co-operation which is re-inforced by a common dislike of the British authorities. But these partial and limited tendencies towards communal harmony are not at present sufficient to counter-balance the great ethnic, religious, and economic forces of the two opposing civilisations.

The West Invades the East

The Jews represent the West, its technique, its enterprising spirit, its organising ability. Although there are thousands of Eastern Sephardic Jews, the recent immigrants form the majority. The dynamic of Zionist life is found in the stream of capital and personnel from the *Diaspora*—the Jewish communities scattered throughout the world, to the *Yishuv*—the Jews of Palestine. The Jewish Agency, the actual Zionist government, co-ordinates, harmonises, and reconciles opposing tendencies.

The immigrants have brought with them bold projects and thorough experience of industry and commerce. They have set up new enterprises and helped to transform the country into an economic centre capable of satisfying many of the needs of the Near-East and Middle-East markets.

The *Histradout*, the Jewish General Federation of Labour, besides being a trade union, is an immense production co-operative which carries out contracts for big public works, not only for the Palestine government, but also for the British authorities. This organisation has built great strategic roads and military installations for the British, not only in Palestine, but in the Lebanon and Syria.

Finally, there are the agricultural pioneers of the *Kibbutzim*, following their religious, political, or social affinities, continually penetrating further into the interior of the country. Some of them are organised on a basis of absolute equality, following strictly socialist methods and

principles. Money is not used within the community, equality of the sexes is a reality, all administrative powers are purely functional and executive. State farms and Collective farms of the Soviet type are considered by many of these pioneers to be an obsolete organisational form, vitiated by the Statist principle.

But, behind this liberty and this disinterestedness, there remains all the same, the power of money.

The Basis of the Question

In effect, it is financial assistance, mainly from North America, which keeps these enterprises going, more like voluntary labour camps or the outposts of political infiltration, than genuine economic experiments. It is not difficult to understand the solidarity that exists between the Zionist colonies, the Jewish Agency and the *Diaspora*. Solidarity of race, and of interests, appears everywhere, in organisation, in external propaganda, and in the Defence Army, but above all in the distribution of the Manna from Heaven—the providential dollar.

Reduced to defending themselves in the coastal towns, the Jewish bourgeoisie could not hold out for long in the event of an Arab uprising. Deprived of the umbilical cord which has continued to

nourish them since birth—the pious gifts of the whole world—the *Kibbutzim* would disappear at the first general Moslem uprising. The youth of the agricultural colonies are active, well-trained and audacious, their type changes more and more in every generation from that of the traditional Jew of the Ghetto to that of an occupying army. They provide the finest troops of the *Haganah*, and the most active groups of the *Irgun*. Zionism is still in the stage of conquest, in the political-military phase.

This situation is not without its advantages—it saves the occupied as well as the occupiers from the most ruthless aspects of "primitive accumulation". But it makes no clearer the social problem which is still veiled by its secondary aspects. It would be necessary no doubt for the country to reach its demographic saturation, its maximum population density in relation to its productive capacity, for the class tendencies to show themselves clearly, disrupting the apparent national unity, born of the colonising spirit and cemented by ethnological ties.

Economic Weakness of the Arab World

On the other side we find a feudal economy, incapable of competing with any hope of success against the Zionist assault. The rich Arab is a landowner, a trader or speculator, rarely an industrialist. His religious and caste traditions are the reason for this. He looks with envy upon the success of the newcomers to Palestine. After having sold his reputedly desert lands to Jewish buyers, he finds that "Western Methods" have rendered them fertile and productive. The reaction has been an anti-Zionist movement in the political field, the diversion of social discontent into anti-Jewish channels,

attempts to create new Arab industry in the economic field, efforts to supplant the Jewish colonies but to make use of their technical and financial innovations.

Serious obstacles impede the following of this last aim which presupposes the rupture of the Zionist umbilical cord. Apart from the managerial inferiority of the Arabs, the most important is the extremely low purchasing power of the Arab masses. Another is the traditional mistrust of the wealthy Arabs, of placing their capital in industrial enterprises.

An example of the divergent tendencies of Zionist and Arab commercial activities was given by the visit of their two commercial delegations to London. The Jewish delegation negotiated for the purchase of machinery and raw materials; the Arab envoys sought finished goods, less costly and more immediately saleable.

To sum up, Palestine is a country where the capitalist and industrial forms of national independence have not yet been achieved, either by the Arabs or the Jews. Perhaps it should be added that they no longer can be, in a world dominated by two great imperialisms.

Conclusions

The solution of the Palestine problem will only be found outside the sphere of national states, and outside the capitalist system. But is this not also the case in all countries, is it not the case throughout Europe? What do the phrases "National independence" and "capitalist prosperity" mean to-day? Nothing, absolutely nothing.

We hope that the Jewish and Arab people, like those of all countries, will learn this from the inextricable difficulties into which they have been thrown by their ambitious and ruthless masters.

DAMASHKI.

American Amnesty Sham

THE President's Amnesty Board has at last presented its report on the restoration of civil rights to the 15,805 conscientious objectors and "draft dodgers" who have been sent to prison for various offences against the Selective Service laws. This report also affects the fate of some hundreds of conscientious objectors who are still serving the last months of their long prison sentences.

The recommendations of the Committee are derisory in the extreme. Only 1,523 cases, or less than one in ten, are recommended for amnesty. The rest, whose crime was that they did not wish to take part in a war they did not approve, remain branded as criminals without civil rights.

Of these, no less than 10,000 have been written off as "draft dodgers" and no further consideration has been given to their cases. Of the remainder, admitted to be conscientious objectors, only those who can prove religious affiliations have been considered as eligible for amnesty. Even among the religious objectors the amnesty is by no means complete, since, once again, a savage discrimination has been used against the Jehovah's Witnesses, who were sentenced to long periods of imprisonment during the war, and of whose 4,000-odd prisoners and ex-prisoners, only a relatively small minority have been granted an amnesty.

In addition, any kind of resistance against prison or Civilian Public Service

camp authorities seems to have been regarded as a reason for not granting an amnesty, for the report of the Chairman of the Committee for Amnesty tells us that "pardon has been denied even to religious C.O.'s, including theological students and others, who in prison protested against Jimcrow conditions, or who were conscientiously unable to continue in Civilian Public Service camps under conditions of forced unpaid labour."

Furthermore, the report shows signs of racial discrimination, in that "there is no reference in the Board's report to Negroes who could not conscientiously serve in the armed forces under conditions of segregation." Presumably these men are included among the ten thousand written off as draft dodgers.

This iniquitous report, coming at the time of anti-Communist activities of the FBI and the attack on radicals in films and education, shows clearly the way the wind is setting in America. A totalitarianism is rising up which is only allowed to keep the appearance of democracy because so far the people show a fair amount of unity in supporting attacks on minorities, failing to realise that their own freedom is bound up with that of those who are persecuted, no matter what their beliefs. As soon as any mass movement of protest were to begin, it is clear that the American government would immediately adopt a more totalitarian policy and attitude.

FOOD FOR GERMANY

THE response to our appeal for assistance for our German comrades has improved considerably since the last appeal. In the past fortnight cash contributions have been more than double those of the previous similar period, while we have received quite a number of parcels of clothes and items of food. For all these we thank those who have sent, both in our own name and on behalf of the German comrades.

But we have still only touched the edge of our problem. So far we have been able to send only 28 food parcels as well as a number of clothes parcels, and the need grows greater from day to day. Reports from both the British and Russian zones tell us that people all over Germany are not even receiving regularly the rations to which they are nominally entitled. Some of our correspondents have not had any fat for four weeks, and so on.

So please continue to send your contributions, and try and increase them, so that we can at least reach the modest target of 50 parcels a month. Even that will only be a beginning!

Contributions received: B.A. £1/10/0; V.T. £2; G.T. 5/6; L.W. £1; C.C. 2/6; A.R. 3/-; J.C. 3/-; V.P. £1. Previously acknowledged £9/17/0. TOTAL £16/1/0.

Industrial Worker, 20/12/47.

GERMANS STRIKE

WITH the continued and even intensified food shortage making itself felt even more because of winter conditions, discontent in Germany is once again rising to the level where the workers are proceeding to the direct manifestation of their protest against the treatment to which they are being subjected.

In the Ruhr, centre of German industry, 50,000 Essen workers held a five-hour strike in protest against the food cuts. They included municipal and transport workers, and were joined by a thousand miners, who, although themselves receiving favoured rations, stayed away from work in solidarity with their less fortunate fellow workers.

In addition, they held a demonstration in the main square of the town, at which they voiced their discontent at the action of the politicians who, to promote their own interests and further their own imperialist intrigues, keep Germany divided into artificial and economically unbalanced sections. The workers threatened that unless better supplies of food were forthcoming, the strikes would continue.

At Soligen, a general strike of forty-eight hours was called, only the men in essential industries staying at work, and a demonstration of 15,000 strikers outside the town hall demanded more food.

In Hamburg, 12,000 dock workers struck for four days in protest against

the food situation, and only went back to work because food ships had arrived and they did not want their action to aggravate the situation.

In Munich, the tramway workers struck over a different feature of present-day German troubles, declaring that they could no longer accept responsibility for the overcrowding due to inadequate supplies of transport vehicles.

All these new demonstrations help to show that the German workers are passing from passive to active discontent, and, while the workers' movements may partly be used by interested political groups to further their own ends, the fact remains that they represent a genuine movement of rebellion which may well get beyond the control of the politicians and go on its own way.

1 HEN EQUALS 13 MINERS

In Germany, says Senator Knowland, who has just been there, a hen "earns" 13 times as much as a coal miner. A miner, he says, gets 60 marks for his week digging coal—about \$6.00. His hen by laying five eggs a week that get sold on the black market, brings in 800 marks a week. If you reckon in marks, which should be accorded the greater care, which in fact should be head of the household—the hen or the miner?

News from FRANCE

(By a French Correspondent)

MAYER'S FINANCIAL PROJECT

ONE of the main preoccupations of public opinion in France is the eventual application of the fantastic project of fiscal reorganisation known as the "Mayer Plan". This project, which constitutes the supreme hope for that strange combination which insists in calling itself the *Third Force*, has met with the opposition of both the Gaullist right-wing and the Communist Party. One must admit that the opposition is not lacking in arguments.

At a recent meeting of the "Confederation of the Middle Classes" a speaker has given the following example: if a shopkeeper faithfully respected the projected fiscal measures he would have to pay the Treasury on a yearly income of 600,000 francs the sum of 603,000 francs!

If the Government succeeds in passing these new measures one can be sure that the victims will not be the profiteers of French misery who have long-established accomplices inside the bureaucracy of the Fourth Republic who allow them to "live" and prosper in peace. On the other hand, the position of small businessmen who have so far resisted the temptations of the black market will become catastrophic.

★

Furthermore, Mr. Schumann's Government thinks of introducing a fiscal passport which would be compulsory for every citizen and which would permit a very strict control of the activities, means of existence and eventual displacement of each individual. It is not very pretty and it is not very new either. It remains to be seen if the French people will accept more easily this ignoble legal servitude than they have accepted the "Compulsory Service of Work" introduced by the Nazi authorities during the occupation.

★

Particularly ridiculous detail: the Government has introduced a tax on the "idle". There are no doubt in France, like everywhere else, individuals whose opulent idleness is an insult to poverty. But there are also, and to a greater extent, people who are condemned for various reasons, to forced idleness. Are they going to be forced to pay for the crime of a State which has condemned hundreds of thousands of its citizens to unemployment?

EX-PARTY MEMBER

MARSHALL, ex-mayor of the Commune of Saint-Denis and member of the Central Committee of Doriot's Party, has been condemned to death. The new mayor of Saint-Denis was a witness for the prosecution. People who have committed crimes similar to those of Marshall, generally get away with ten years' hard labour. But the new Mayor of Saint Denis is a Communist and Marshall had left the Party, after a somewhat stormy discussion, in 1936. That's all.

NEW MEMBERS

ON the other hand, ex-collaborators who promise to behave themselves have every chance to enjoy the blessings of Mr. Thorez' Party. I hear from a reliable source that the Communists have begun to get in touch, with great discretion, through the intermediary of lawyers and prison warders, with ex-fascists. De Gaulle's Party does exactly the same through their own agents. Which only goes to show that fascism can lead anywhere, providing one gets out of it and gets out of prison.

ANTI-SEMITIC COMMUNISTS

IS it in order to please converted fascists that the Communist daily has begun to publish anti-Semitic cartoons? One of them shows five members of the Government and Prime Minister Schumann listening to the Communists singing the Marseillaise and wondering what song it could be. Four of these men are Jews and the cartoonist has taken great care to make it plain. The Communist Trade Union paper *La Vie Ouvrière* finds it necessary to inform its readers that Mr. Blum's name "in Yiddish means flower". As if this discovery lent weight to its attacks on Leon Blum.

These are not isolated cases and have brought strong protests in the Socialist daily *Le Populaire*, which accuses the Communist Party of using Nazi methods. The Socialists might have discovered this a little earlier.

Book Reviews

ITALY.

MALATESTA — Selections from his writings,* edited by C. Zaccaria and G. Berneri, 413 pp, Naples.

After twenty years of fascism the Italian Anarchist Movement found itself weakened by the loss of many of its best militants. Many of them had died of slow death in prisons and concentration camps, others had met with swift and glorious death fighting fascism in Spain. The recovery of the movement was, however, more rapid than many had expected. It was reborn in action, in the underground struggles and the strikes which followed the fall of Mussolini's régime.

After the liberation many comrades came back from exile; others were freed from prison and internment. But the great majority of the movement was composed of young people who came to anarchism more instinctively and from disgust with political parties than through any profound knowledge of its ideas. For them, in particular, it was necessary to have books and pamphlets through which they could give a more clear and concrete shape to their vague aspirations.

No works could fulfil this task better than those of Malatesta. Kropotkin and Bakunin may have been more profound and original thinkers but Malatesta's writings, by their clarity, their conciseness, their relevance to present problems, are the best suited to help a movement in building on solid foundations.

His life was closely linked with the birth of the anarchist and syndicalist movements in Italy, to which he not only gave a theoretical basis, but which he also helped to organise. The last ten years of

Anarchist Books Abroad

THE post-war years have seen a re-birth of the Anarchist Movement in countries which have been ravaged by fascism and war. Newspapers which had been obliged to cease publication during the years of dictatorship and occupation sprang to life again, dozens of pamphlets were hurriedly produced to answer the needs of newly-formed groups and organisations and, during the past two years, books have begun to appear, reprints of theoretical works, biographies, autobiographies and historical works.

his life were spent in fighting Mussolini's dictatorship and the memory of his message and his struggles is still alive among Italian workers.

The selection of his writings presented in this volume gives not only an exposition of Malatesta's theoretical thought but also his practical answers to the questions of syndicalism, of collaboration with political parties, of the Church and the Russian myth, and these answers have lost none of their topicality.

This volume also contains some of his letters and many photographs which have not been published before. One of them, taken in London, shows him, appropriately enough, with two policemen. It must have been taken at the time of his exile in England when he was arrested for denouncing the Italo-Turkish war in a news-sheet published in London. The British Government intended to deport him but working-class demonstrations took place all over Britain and assured that he should remain in this country.

Writing to the editors of this book, Prof. Salvemini, the Italian historian, paid the following tribute:

"I have devoured Malatesta's book from beginning to end with great interest. It is an historical source of the first order for the interpretation of Italian events and I will use it, if I may, in putting finishing touches to a book I am preparing on the origins of the fascist movement, in which I had already devoted several pages to Malatesta. I have been very moved by the pictures of him contained in your book."

ERRICO MALATESTA* by Armando Borghi, 278 pp, Milan.

Malatesta had always refused to write the history of his life, though he was often pressed to do so by his comrades. He used to answer that he had no time for it, that to propagate anarchist ideas and prepare for the revolution were far more important tasks. Max Nettlau, the historian of the anarchist movement, and Luigi Fabbri have both written well-documented biographies which have appeared in Spanish.

Armando Borghi's biography of Malatesta was published in Italian for the first time in New York in 1933. A slightly revised edition with a new introduction by the author now appears in Italy. Borghi knew Malatesta as a disciple and as a companion in arms. He spent his youth in the Romagna where Malatesta was particularly active and where anarchist ideas found a fertile soil. In 1914, Borghi became General-Secretary of the Italian Syndicalist Union, which adhered to the anarcho-syndicalist principles of anti-parliamentarism and workers' control. He was interned during the first world war for opposing Italy's participation to the war.

When Malatesta returned to Italy in 1919, Borghi, still secretary of the Syndicalist Union and Malatesta, at the time editor of the anarchist daily *Umanità Nova* fought, side by side, the rising tide of fascism.

Borghi wrote this book during his exile, hoping that, one day, the Italian people would be able to hear once again the anarchist message. His wish has, at last, been fulfilled.

MUSSOLINI IN CAMICIA by Armando Borghi, Bologna.

This book was published in English in 1927, in New York, under the title *Mussolini Red and Black*. It later appeared in London and Paris and many of our readers will remember it.

Besides being an account of Mussolini's personal rise to power it contains a well-documented survey of the strikes and the occupation of the factories which followed the war and the rôle played by the various political parties. It shows that the responsibility for Mussolini's success falls on the heads of many politicians who to-day parade as the great enemies of fascism.

It would be impossible to give here a complete survey of the literature produced. The Spanish Anarchist Movement in France, for example, has published scores of pamphlets and books. In the United States, South America, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Holland and Sweden, books and pamphlets have appeared which deserve notice. We shall mention them at a later date and limit ourselves, for the time being, to a rather arbitrary selection among the books we have received during the past year.

UNA BATTAGLIA, Luigi Galleani, 378 pp, Rome.

Luigi Galleani is another great figure of the Italian Anarchist Movement. He joined the anarchist ranks at the end of the last century and was condemned to be interned in the famous Pantelleria island by Crispi's dictatorial government. In 1899 he managed to escape and eventually reached the United States where, for twenty years he carried out anarchist propaganda in the weekly called *Cronica Sovversiva* he had founded at Barre, Vermont, in 1903, and by innumerable lecture tours.

When war was declared in 1914 Galleani took up an uncompromising anti-militarist attitude which led to his arrest and the suppression of his newspaper when the United States entered the general conflict. This book is a collection of articles written in the heat of the anti-war struggle when the American government tried to stifle the voice of the anarchists by the most ruthless police methods.

In 1919 Galleani was again arrested and deported to Italy together with eight of his comrades and collaborators. When he arrived at Genoa he was arrested by the police of Nitti's government. On learning of his arrest the seamen threatened to leave their ships if he was not released and within twenty-four hours he was freed.

The articles gathered in this volume, written between December 1914 and March 1919, constitute an important contribution to the history of the Italian anarchist movement in America during those years and are a burning indictment of war.

FRANCE.

LA VIE ARDENTE ET INTREPIDE DE LOUISE MICHEL* by Fernand Planche, Paris.

This is a complete biography of this great woman fighter containing many hitherto unpublished documents and photographs. Her participation in the glorious days of the Commune occupies a large portion of the book. This work

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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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has received the attention it deserves and in a few months ran into two editions and sold 10,000 copies.

DE PRISON EN PRISON* by Louis Lecoin, Paris.

This is the autobiography of an anarchist whose life has been devoted first and foremost to the struggle against war. In a country which does not recognise conscientious objectors, refusal to serve is punished with severe prison sentences and even death.

For having refused to fight in the first world war, Lecoin served ten years in prison. Though being over military age when the second world war started, he served two years in concentration camps for his opposition to it. By his stand he lived up to the declaration in his book:

"We condemn war and the military dictatorship inherent to it as the supreme evil, we condemn the terrible destruction of lives and of material and moral values which result from them."

"We condemn the lies, the censorship, the fanaticism, the jingoistic exaltation which accompany the preparation of war and war itself and the decadence of habits and institutions which bring down the so-called democratic states to the level of totalitarian régimes."

"We condemn war as resulting from a social and economic régime which creates poverty in the midst of plenty, which drives to speculation, to bitter competition and to corruption by the capitalist class, millions of human beings whose interests, all over the world, are identical."

As this statement shows, Lecoin's pacifism is a consistent one; it is not enough to fight war—one must fight the causes of war. It was this task which he carried out by his activity within the French Anarchist movement. His fight for justice and freedom is perhaps better expressed in the campaign which he organised for the defence of Sacco and Vanzetti. Later, when Italian and Spanish anarchists took refuge in France and met with the persecutions and imprisonments which the French Government was fond

Whose Freedom?

DESIGN FOR LIVING, 1/-.

Freedom, considered in its logical and absolute sense, has a very definite meaning, but there are many relative ways in which it is commonly used which should always make us wary when we hear it from propagandists of various schools.

The anarchist idea of social freedom is the freedom of the individual to do as he wishes, provided his freedom does not impinge on the freedom of others. This is a logical conception of freedom.

The various ideas of freedom put forward by politicians mean, at most, the freedom of a certain restricted class to do what they will, regardless of the freedom of the rest of the community.

The freedom discussed in this pamphlet is of the latter kind. It conveys the views of a group of Conservative and Liberal M.P.s and candidates who wish to have the best of both worlds by using what they find convenient of Socialist State control to further the ends of private capitalism, but at the same time to preserve the right of individual capitalists to make as much money as they like. There are many schools of thought within the capitalist camp, according to whether you belong to a big combine or whether you run a small factory, for internal disunity is a characteristic of the capitalist ruling class, and while they combine to attack the workers, among themselves it is often a case of dog eating dog.

Among the paragraph headings of this pamphlet we find many "freedoms", which on investigation appear to partake of a peculiar and distorted nature. "Freedom of enterprise" means that the State should provide cash to set small capitalists going. "Freedom to work", on the other hand, means that the workers should abandon the so-called restrictive practices developed over many years to safeguard their rights and should work as hard as their bosses desire. "Freedom to produce" means the break-up of monopoly trusts in favour of the individual capitalist. "Freedom to enjoy the Fruits of Enterprise" means a return to the old legend of "from newspaper boy to millionaire", and so on.

This pamphlet, at best, is no more than an anachronistic oddity at a time when the capitalist economy is being inevitably welded into State monopoly, and, as the individual capitalists find that the profits of nationalisation and entry into the new managerial class are sufficient rewards for their loss of "freedom", we can expect this kind of attitude to disappear. At worst, it is a confusion of the idea of freedom and an example of the kind of vague capitalist self-justification which uses radical phrases for a reactionary end.

of dispensing to political refugees, Lecoin always offered his help and, as in the case of the Spanish anarchists Ascaso, Durruti and Jover, organised campaigns on their behalf. He was for a time editor of the *Libertaire* and, during the Spanish revolution, took an active part in organising the aid to Spain.

This book is more than an account of the author's struggles; it also provides an important contribution to the history of the French Anarchist movement during the past thirty years.

CHINA.

From China we have received three beautifully produced volumes of Kropotkin's works: *The Conquest of Bread* and *Ethics* translated by Li Pei Kan, and *Mutual Aid* translated by Tchau Su.

From Chengtu we have also received two pamphlets: *Science and Anarchism* by Malatesta and *Free Education* by Aleksis C. Ferm, translated by Lu Chie Bo. In Chengtu is also published a weekly called *The Thought*.

Books marked with an asterisk are obtainable from Freedom Bookshop.

ANIMAL FARM BANNED

TO those who are at all taken by the myth of Czech democracy, by the propaganda that Czechoslovakia leans further towards free institutions than the other countries behind the iron curtain, it may come as a surprise to hear that George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, which was accepted and printed by a Czech publisher, was immediately banned on appearance. This act, however, is all of a piece with present tendencies in Czechoslovakia, which is already moving so far in the direction of complete Communist totalitarianism that it can no longer afford the luxury of allowing even the most oblique public attack on Soviet Russia.

It is gratifying to hear that, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the ban, *Animal Farm* is being discussed in Prague and copies are being surreptitiously passed from hand to hand.

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A PLAN FOR MISERY

ECONOMICS is defined in the dictionary as the science dealing with the production and distribution of wealth, but a recent correspondent of the *Economist* who describes it as no more scientific than astrology was nearer the truth. The government, in order to get dollars to continue our food purchases from the American Empire (known as the dollar area), propose to cut down housing and industrial building and the production of industrial equipment. Constructional work for roads and railways, school and social services, new towns, new fuel and power and electrical installations, are to be stopped or postponed. Workers in these industries are to be rendered unemployed, and then painlessly absorbed into other jobs.

The building industry is the hardest hit, and as *Keystone*, organ of the building technicians, says in its January issue:

"Building, while not a primary industry, producing raw materials, is the most important secondary industry, on which our whole economy depends. There cannot be any expansion of our power to produce goods without buildings. On buildings also depend the social services. To cripple such an industry at a time of building and housing famine, and to drive out through unemployment a quarter of a million skilled workers, would seem a paradox and a tragedy. THE REALLY FRIGHTENING FEATURE OF THE POLICY IS THAT IT WILL LEAVE US WITH NOT A SCRAP MORE POWER TO PRODUCE GOODS THAN BEFORE, IN FACT WITH LESS, AND WE SHALL BE JUST AS DEPENDENT ON DOLLARS AS BEFORE."

But not only is the policy outlined in the White Paper on Capital Investment going to bring misery to the British people, it is also foredoomed to failure. And all the pep propaganda and "Talk Success" campaigns of the government and the press won't alter the unpalatable truth. For the countries which are expected to purchase our exports either don't want them or can't afford them. Most of the countries in the "Dollar Area", for that very reason are likely to import American goods. Or, like the Argentine, one of the up-and-coming industrial powers, they have set rigid restrictions on imports in order to encourage their own industry. The position of the European countries in relation to Britain is just like Britain's to America. They are as short of sterling as we are of dollars. Our economic pundits are relying on the Marshall Plan, America's bribe to Western Europe for her support in the Cold War against Russia, to give purchasing power to these countries. The dollars, they hope, will cross the Atlantic for a Grand Tour of Europe, and return to Wall Street by way of Britain.

Meanwhile, as the chains of industrial slavery tighten around the British people, cajoled, persuaded, bullied and directed into attempting to achieve that increased production, while the means and the incentives to achieve it are being taken out of their hands, their standard of living, their comfort, their health and their educational opportunities will decline.

Despite the appalling arrears in house-building, the number planned for next year "should not exceed 140,000", which is not even half the number built in a year before the war. Despite the deplorable conditions for travelling, and the increasing toll of accidents on our worn-out railway system, railway reconstruction is to be severely curtailed and the output of new buses, trams, and lorries cut by one-half. Although it was announced by F. M. Montgomery on the 13th of this month that one in ten of new army conscripts could not read or write, all building of adult education centres, youth clubs and community centres is to be postponed.

And is the government's belated agricultural programme going to make us less dependent on the tyranny of the dollar? Readers of *Freedom's* "Land Notes" can have few illusions about that. The Minister of Agriculture himself stated in public a few days ago that the land battle is being lost because of the demands of other government departments.

The White Paper plans to save £400,000,000 at the cost of all this misery and suffering. They could save half this sum straight away by halving the size of the standing army, which is over twice as large again as before the war. And why stop at half? But the programme in which our co-operation is demanded is, as *Freedom* has demonstrated (20/9/47), not merely a starvation economy, but a war economy.

C.W.

Through the Press

BIBLE STAKHANOVITES

On the stroke of New Year's Day, the Rev. B. R. Minton of Covington, Ind., launched a 74-hour marathon reading of the Bible's 1,189 chapters. The reading was done by some 150 of his Assembly of God Pentecostal parishioners in 30-minute shifts, was broadcast day and night over a public address system. Said Pastor Minton: "We hope the idea catches fire in other communities."

Time, 12/1/48.

Dr. BERVEN EXPLAINED (I)

This is the season for stories about Stalin's supposed decrepitude and imminent demise. Just about a year ago there was a prolific crop of such figments, all of which proved to have sprung from the imaginations of catchpenny journalistic hacks in quarters no nearer to Moscow than Stockholm, Berne, or even New York.

Now the visit of Dr. Berven, the well-known Swedish cancer specialist to Moscow has served as seed for just such a harvest of wishful thoughts.

Although Dr. Berven himself explained that he was only going to Moscow in order to return a visit of some Soviet scientists, the incident was rapidly developed into a drama around Stalin's supposed deathbed.

Daily Worker, 10/1/48.

Dr. BERVEN EXPLAINED (II)

Professor Berven, the Swedish cancer specialist, who was called to Moscow, has treated a Field-Marshal of the Soviet Tank Forces suffering from a skin cancer. He said this to-night on his arrival in Helsinki on his way to Stockholm.

Concerning rumours about Stalin's health which circulated when he was asked to visit Moscow, Professor Berven said: "I have never seen Stalin. I heard in Moscow that he is in good health."

News Chronicle, 14/1/48.

NEW RECRUIT?

Mr. Shinwell, War Minister, inspected British Army quarters near Bielefeld to-day, and said: "They are nearly as good as the Savoy."

"If this is the Army in Germany I'd like to be in it. You had better enlist me now."

For two hours he walked through troops' and officers' billets. Then he said to General Sir Richard McCreey, Rhine Army commander:

"Conditions appear better than in Britain—I have already said what I think about conditions there—but of course these modern German barracks are much superior."

Daily Express, 13/1/48.

LOSING FARM BATTLE

Mr. Tom Williams, Minister of Agriculture, said at Lindholme R.A.F. farm, near Doncaster, yesterday: "The farmers are gradually losing the battle for agricultural land."

"Everybody wants land—the Ministry of Health for housing estates, the Transport Ministry for more roads, the Air Ministry for airfields. It is up to you to use the spare land as best you can."

Daily Express, 5/1/48.

THREATS AND KISSES

Palmiro Togliatti, Italian Communist leader, told his party congress in Milan to-day: "We have behind us tens of thousands of youths, who learned to use arms as partisans and are ready to use them again if necessary."

"Nevertheless, we do not menace or seek recourse to violence." He greeted British Communist leader Harry Pollitt with a kiss on each cheek.

Daily Express, 5/1/48.

BARGAINS BASEMENT

Despite the frequent lamentations of priest and parson about the decline of church attendances it appears that the "quality" of those that still attend is as good, or as bad, as ever. We append herewith a list from a Catholic newspaper, duly indexed and numbered, of thanks for favours received and hopes for favours to come. We have but one comment to make. If this sort of advertising was done outside the protection of the Church, someone would have to pay heavily for the imposture.

2744.—I know you will be pleased to learn that in less than a week after writing to you my favour was granted. . . . I obtained a position, and a splendid one, in an engineer's office. . . . I am sure I should not have obtained such a position if it had not been for the lamp.

2746.—In July, I had four lamps lit, and all favours had been granted. . . . In September, I had two lamps lit. One was to get rain as our paddock was nearly all burnt out. . . . We have got lovely rain. The other was to get a good buyer for the stock we had to sell, and we got the buyer within a week. . . . The Votive Lamps were wonderful.

2781.—I am enclosing 5s. as a thank-offering for a great favour received, namely a good price for our land.

2787.—Some months ago I had a Votive Lamp burnt for my special intention. I was very much in need of some money to pay debts. . . . I received the money quite unexpectedly.

2875.—Please find enclosed one pound note, for which kindly light a lamp in honour of St. Jude for favours received within the last few weeks. St. Jude is really wonderful.

The Freethinker, 11/1/48.

SECRET PRISON TRIAL

Sentences recommended by visiting magistrates for the thirty-two ringleaders of the recent Dartmoor trouble include loss of remission and privileges, bread and water, and birching.

Daily Mirror, 13/1/48.

DEPT. OF CORRECTION

In Columbus, Ind., freed Prisoner James Wheeler, was put right back in jail when he was caught departing with 16 jail teaspoons.

Time (U.S.A.), 12/1/48.

OBITUARY

Unusual touch at the Golders Green Crematorium funeral of Communist Reg Bishop yesterday was the organ background of the "Internationale", and then—as the 300 mourners departed—"Lily of Laguna". A fine tribute, most of us thought, to the man's political convictions and his music-hall predilections.

News Chronicle, 9/11/48.

MUTUAL AID

In Los Angeles, a burglar, climbing into the office of Dr. J. Lewis Bruce, slipped and fell through the transom, cut himself, telephoned the doctor, who came on the run and patched him up, refused to prosecute.

Time, 5/1/48.

BLESSING OR CURSE?

Mr. Wong Wen-Hao, Minister for Natural Resources, stated in Nanking to-day that China has uranium deposits in several regions, extending from Kiangsi to the island of Formosa, and including Manchuria and Sinkiang, both on the borders of Russia.

Observer, 11/1/47.

BRITISH FREEDOM

The British citizen to-day is encompassed about with a mass of prohibitions and obligations which are eating into his independent status. Freedom is not being swept aside, but it is being nibbled away.

The milkman who is compelled to display a ridiculous "L" while he learns to guide his electric barrow through the streets; the man who cannot sell logs from his garden because the Town and Country Planning Act says he lives in a residential area; the man who was fined for building a partition in his kitchen; the man who was dispossessed of his house by a secret circular—all these are the unfortunate who, unwittingly perhaps, have trespassed outside the dwindling field of freedom.

These are not monstrous oppressions. But tyranny was always a petty monarch. When he gets too big, men rise and pull him down, but long before that point he can make life quite intolerable.

News Chronicle, 13/1/48.

Letters to the Editors

One Man Fight

DEAR "FREEDOM" COMRADES,

Since draft day in 1942, I have moved around in order not to work in a place where any war tax is taken away from my pay. I have been fired several times for my attitude. Here is my current statement of refusal to pay taxes:

For half-a-dozen free spirits to refuse to follow the majority into world chaos which will come with World War III might seem presumptuous. We do not expect to deflect the downward path of that gangster's shadow in the Whitehouse who weekly tries to be all things to all men. Neither do we expect to deter the new militaristic Secretary of State as he spreads American and Allied Imperialism over the world under the guise of the Four Freedoms. We are due for a dictatorship and a depression as an aftermath of war. Our boasted war prosperity has ended.

For those who think several lessons might be learned:

1. Preparedness does not prevent war.
2. Higher education does not produce the ability to think nor the courage to act.
3. A just and durable peace is not possible under capitalism.
4. Russia, China, Spain and the South American countries have open dictatorships. The United States choosing one and another for these dictatorships to play against the other—all this makes for World War III.
5. Peace comes through a change of heart of the individual: through the practice of the Sermon on the Mount which denies all return of evil for evil; all courts, prisons, armies, bombs and States.
6. War comes as the chief business of all governments. "War is the health of the State." To expect a United Nations to overcome war while each nation increases its conscriptive powers is foolish and hypocritical.
7. We who made the atomic bomb are the chief war criminals of history.
8. Churches which support the State and war deny Christ who said: "Thou shalt not kill"; "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword."
9. Wars cannot be prevented by those who continue to write letters or sign petitions to cowardly congressmen and

presidents. Wars will cease only when we know killing is wrong, whether at home or in war.

10. The majority is always wrong. Ethically minded people should not be dominated by the rule of the majority on vital issues. As *Life* magazine says, it is "the individual conscience versus the atomic bomb."

The common man does not desire war. Left to himself he is peaceful until stirred up by politicians, lying diplomats, subservient clergy, atomic scientists, and the whole warmongering press, movie and radio. The common man knows better but when the clergy tells him he fights for "God and Country", when intellectual leaders tell him he fights for the Four Freedoms; when union leaders tell him he fights for "time-and-a-half"; and when all tell him we are to be invaded (when in fact we are always the invaders from the time we broke the first Indian treaty until the last "V" day), what is the poor man to do but weakly follow the dumb majority? What we need is men who dare, as did Thoreau in 1845 when he refused to pay taxes to a State which upheld slavery and the Mexican War, and who said: "One on the side of God is a majority."

Phoenix, Arizona. AMMON A. HENNACY.

Books for Sale

DEAR COMRADES,

We have the following books for sale, to benefit the funds of the Northern Area of the Union of Anarchist Groups.

- Art and Society*. Herbert Read. 15/-.
The Case for Action. 2/-.
Short History of the World. H. G. Wells. 2/-.
Existentialism. 6/-.
Anthropology. Vols. I and II. E. B. Tylor. 2/6 each.
The Descent of Man. Charles Darwin. 2/6.

All these are new books.

Comrades are also invited to give second-hand books for the benefit of the funds.

Orders should be sent to U. of A.G., Lancashire Area, 11, Ribblesdale Place, Chorley, Lancs. A.

BRITAIN 1948

A midwife who has brought more than 1,000 babies into the world, has refused to attend a miner's wife because of the "appalling condition of the slum in which the mother-to-be is living."

Nurse Sophia James, 52, midwife for the Welsh mining village of Blackwood, will in future refuse to attend all other expectant mothers who live in slums. "It's a miracle some of the babies ever live, considering the insanitary hovels in which they first saw the light of day," she told the *Pictorial*.

The miner's wife, Mrs. Florence Jones, of Cwmpenmaen, lives with her husband, two miner sons, two young girls and a boy, in a rat-infested two bedroom cottage.

"I cannot fight the slums any more," said Nurse James.

"The strain and risk have grown too much for me—the responsibility must now be taken by the authorities."

Sunday Pictorial, 11/1/48.

POLICE PROGRESS

When 27-year-old Jean Henriot was arrested in Paris yesterday accused of stealing 50 rifles and ammunition, police saw him put a piece of paper in his mouth, chew it, and swallow it.

An inspector rushed him to hospital and had the paper extracted by a stomach pump.

The chewed pieces were put together. They made up a railway luggage check for a trunk left at Montparnasse Station.

The trunk was found to contain hunting rifles and ammunition. Henriot then made a full confession.

"This is probably the first time stomach pumps have been used to fight crime in this way," said the police inspector. "We had to act quickly."

Sunday Dispatch, 11/1/48.

MONEY BEFORE LOVE

There will be no marriage between ex-King Michael and Princess Anne of Bourbon Parma for the moment, according to Major Vergotti, Michael's aid.

Major Vergotti told Associated Press in Lausanne last night that for the present Michael is concerned with "bigger things", and mentioned money as the most important.

Reynold's News, 11/1/48.

RE-EDUCATING GERMANY

When Mr. Shinwell, Secretary for War, visited a regimental holding unit at Bielefeld, in the British Zone of Germany, to-day, he learned that 1½ per cent. of recruits are rated illiterate and have to be placed in the illiteracy class. He saw soldiers learning to spell their own names.

News Chronicle, 13/1/48.

SOCIALIST BRITAIN (II)

For a year or so—until Clarence House is ready—Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip are not likely to have a home of their own in London.

Evening Standard, 13/1/48.

★

Windsorham Moor, Surrey, which—it is announced from Buckingham Palace—Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh are to lease from Mrs. Warwick Bryant, formerly Mrs. Philip Hill. The Princess and her husband intend to use Windsorham Moor as a weekend home because of the Duke's duties at the Admiralty. They will move in within a few weeks. A modern house, it is described as being "very comfortable" and "easy to run."

News Chronicle, 9/1/48.

SOCIALIST BRITAIN (III)

Wood smoke blows out of the New Forest and shreds away along the main road to Winchester. A score of fires among the trees and sparks shoot upwards lighting the dying afternoon.

A woman with a bucket of water plods along the main road and climbs the trail into the forest. She has walked two miles for the water to make tea for her family. As she disappears among the trees two girls come from the opposite direction on the road. Between them they carry a heavy bag. There and back they have walked five miles to the shops at Lyndhurst. One of the girls is soon to have a child.

A hundred yards up the muddy trail is a clearing where twenty families live in huts made of poles and tarpaulins. The camp is spread on rising ground and the huts straggle in all directions. Thirty or forty hens scratch among the bushes and a pack of dogs scuffle in the piles of damp leaves.

This is just one of the camps in the New Forest where British ex-Servicemen look at their tarpaulin roofs, and earthen floors and ask each other bitter questions.

Until seventeen years ago this clearing was freely used by pedlars, casual labourers and other travellers. Then the Forestry Commission stepped in. Boundary stakes were placed round each camp in the New Forest, and a set of bye-laws was passed. Families had to get a permit to stay, and no dwelling could be built as a permanent home. To define this it was forbidden to lay a floor, hang a door, or make a window.

To-day homeless families live here, drawing water, cutting wood and struggling to keep clean. Their life is a ceaseless fight against primitive things, and the future for their children is not bright.

Leader, 10/1/48.

Anarchist Commentary

Atomic Secrecy

A REPORT which has been made by the Chemical Workers' Union to the Scientific Advisory Committee of the T.U.C. draws attention to the heavy incidence of occupational sickness among workers connected with atomic plants, and reveals the fact that there have been new or unusual diseases arising in connection with this work, although, from the lack of information which reaches the public it is impossible to estimate just how serious or dangerous these illnesses are.

Indeed, much of the report by the Chemical Workers' Union has, owing to Government regulations, to be kept secret, and it is this secrecy over every aspect of atomic working that makes the present official policy seem so particularly sinister.

Clearly, it is in the public interest, in the interests of the people of the world as a whole, that all the atomic secrets should be made open. This would at least help to prevent their use by one country for its power ends over all the others, and would at least in part help to counteract the tendency for industrial use of atomic energy to fall into monopoly hands, though in the present society too much should not be expected from either of these factors.

But, even if one were to grant all the points about the need for keeping secrecy about processes, there still would be no excuse for keeping people in the dark as to the effects of atom bombs and the dangers of the utilisation of atomic resources on the workers and on people living in the vicinity of plants. By keeping such facts secret, the Government are quite

deliberately robbing the victims of their greatest weapon to obtain rectification, that of publicity, besides hamstringing in advance, from lack of information, any reasonably adequate kind of propaganda against atomic war.

Profits from Nationalisation

WHY the capitalists and rentiers make only a nominal protest against nationalisation has been shown in the latest case of nationalisation of transport. In our last issue we noted how the railway shareholders were rubbing their hands over a better deal than they had expected.

But an even greater example of the way in which nationalisation puts profits into the hands of the rich is shown in the case of Thomas Tillings, the road passenger transport combine who are selling out to the Transport Commission. The terms of payment by the Commission are to depend on the profits for the last three years.

When this news reached the Stock Exchange, far from the shares of Tillings falling in value, there was an immediate and phenomenal rise in value, and shares which on the morning of the 13th January were quoted at 78/3, had risen to 90/- by the evening. One shareholder alone found herself richer by £26,000 in one day as the result of this proposed nationalisation.

Nationalisation, in whatever industry it happens, has always the same result. The capitalists become richer and more secure, the old managerial class consolidates its position, and the worker remains as down-trodden as ever, except that now he has the whole power of the State against him. The old, old story, of "To him that hath shall be given."

Shinwell and the Army

SOMETHING of a newspaper sensation has been made out of Shinwell's visits to army camps and the disgust he expressed at conditions under which the men were forced to live.

Among other things he said that, "I am certain the general public has no idea . . . how the great majority of men and women in it are living. The public do not seem to be aware that the Army, for the most part, lives in quarters which people in civilian life would not accept."

This is certainly an odd and inexact statement, considering that the vast majority of people in this country, during the last eight years, have either passed through the armed forces themselves, or have close relatives who have served. All these people have experienced or heard of the terrible living conditions in the armed forces, and the fact that Shinwell expresses astonishment at them shows, at best, that members of the Cabinet which conducted the war are strangely out of touch with the way in which the rank and file live (sufficiently damaging criticism of the Labour Party hierarchy which is supposed to represent the working men and women—in and out of uniform), or, at worst, that his remarks are part of a deliberately demagogic Labour Party policy by which long-standing abuses are suddenly brought to light, so that good resolutions can be made and published with a view to the voters in a forthcoming election.

Whether there will be any real change in conditions in the army is another matter. We seem to remember a great fuss about Hore-Belisha's plans to humanise the army before the war, and an equally great fuss at the end of the war about the new democratic army. Yet men are still living in quarters which self-respecting pigs would find unpleasant. If Shinwell's promises mean nothing more than past promises have meant, then the serving men and women will be wise to expect little. In any case, with the best will in the world, no member of the Government is a match for the indurated tradition of suppression by which the army is run, and which makes it appear necessary to the brass hats to keep their men at a sub-human level of life, in the hope of cowering their spirits enough to keep them submissive.

The Passport Case

WHILE the displaced persons of Europe have remained in starvation camps in Germany and Eastern Europe, and the democratic governments have done nothing to better their condition or to provide homes for them, it has been obvious to any sensible person that the only solution to the problem was to send them to those countries where there is plenty of room and need for people to populate vast regions of yet uncultivated land.

A few people were evidently sufficiently impressed with the logic of the idea to take direct action, and to transport the



FREEDOM OF POLITICAL ACTION

NOTHING could represent a more severe threat to the future of freedom in this country than the many efforts which are being made at present to force the Government into making laws which, while on the surface aiming at a suppression of resurgent Fascist and anti-Semitic activities, will place laws on the statute book which may be used at some time for a general attack on the freedom of the press and of speech

by a reactionary government of either the right or the left.

There has been the draft Bill for the banning of "Fascist" organisations which the crypto-Communists and their allies tried to get the Haldane Society to adopt. There was the similar proposal which the ironically named National Council for Civil Liberties tried to get the Government to adopt. In both of these measures the description "fascist", when ap-

plied to either organisations or propaganda, was extremely loosely defined and, considering the breadth of meaning of the word "fascist" in the Communist dictionary, it would obviously be easy for any government, were such a Bill passed, to use its provisions against any of its opponents, since the terms of the Bill as drafted left it for the government itself to decide whether a movement could be called Fascist.

The latest attempt of this kind is a proposal which Hector Hughes is about to try and introduce in the House of Commons. This measure is supposed to be designed to combat anti-Semitism, but the wording of it conveys that it is proposed to introduce penalties for anybody writing or speaking in a way which may be interpreted as "insulting" to the religion of another. Mr. Hughes may be honestly seeking some means of combating anti-Semitism, but the Bill he has introduced could be used by almost any group for its own ends. A fundamentalist magistrate might decide that certain statements of the Bishop of Birmingham were insulting to the religion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, while, with such legislation on the statute book, no free thinker could possibly regard himself as safe from persecution. In fact, it can easily be imagined that the Bill might defeat its own ends, for what would be easier than for a Fascist government to decide that Jewish ideas were insulting to the Christian religion and send Jews to prison by a measure originally intended to protect them?

The Board of Deputies of British Jews have joined in the fight by asking for the prohibition of statements likely to arouse racial prejudice, and by hinting at the suppression of Mosley's new party.

We stand against all anti-Semitism, against Fascism in every shape or form, and therefore we are against that characteristic institution of Fascism, the persecution of those who hold minority opinions, no matter how unpleasant we regard them. Any legislation aimed at reducing the freedom of action of any group is bound to be reflected upon others, and once we admit the principle of prohibition we place all the freedom we still possess in immediate danger. The way to combat Fascism is not by suppression, but by persuading people with concrete alternatives that Fascism is foolish and unjust. Any other action merely plays into the Fascist hands and, by using their methods, justifies their policy.

few and so lacking in the confidence of a gaining cause.

Rationally, it is difficult to justify the horror with which incest is regarded, despite the fact that it is normal among animals, and has been normal in certain human cultures, both primitive and highly organized. Nevertheless, this horror exists codified into the law, and like most irrational fears perpetrates detestable cruelty. On January 7th, a sister, aged 20 and two brothers, aged 24 and 26, pleading guilty to acts of incest, were sentenced to three years' penal servitude in the case of the sister and the younger brother, and 18 months in the case of the elder brother. They were tried at the Old Bailey, and lived in Bloomsbury.

Even if one feels "horror" for incest (and how many people genuinely do?) such a sentence is entirely vile. We recommend unreservedly Lord Raglan's clear examination of the incest question in his book *Jocasta's Crime*, which was issued in the Thinkers' Library. Meanwhile, it is evident that the present age is still behind that in which John Ford, the late contemporary of Shakespeare, wrote his tremendous play *'Tis Pity she's a Whore*, in which he dealt sympathetically with the incest theme.

Holy Church and Marriage

THE view of sexual morals expressed in these columns may not be acceptable to everyone. We believe, however, that it is informed by a sense of human dignity and responsibility. In this respect, at least, free conceptions of human behaviour compare favourably with those of the Holy Catholic Church.

Commenting on a recent decision of the House of Lords regarding divorce, Cardinal Griffin defined the attitude of Rome towards human marriage. The Code of Canon Law, he declared, states: "The primary purpose of marriage is the procreation and education of children; the secondary end, mutual support and the relief of concupiscence." The phrasing—the italics are ours—is interesting; normal people may regard sexual urges as excellent and potentially beautiful, but for Holy Church their exercise is the "relief" of mere lust. The whole clerical contempt for the body and fear of its impulses is implicit in the Canon Law phrase.

Press Fund

January 1st—15th

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Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.

JAN. 25th John Hewetson
The Paris Commune

FEB. 1st Ethel Hall
"Kropotkin's Life and Work."

FEB. 8th F. A. Ridley
Ed. Socialist Leader
"The Conflict of Ideologies in 1948."

FEB. 15th Gerald Vaughan
"Rocker's Nationalism and Culture."

FEB. 22nd Charles Duff
introduces his "Handbook on Hanging."

FEB. 29th Tony Gibson
"The Anarchist Movement Abroad."

MARCH 7th Bert Smith
"The Last Oven."
A Survey of the Baking Trade.

NORTH EAST LONDON

JAN. 27th Allen Smith
"Pain, Sex and Time."
At the usual address.

Comrades interested should ring
WAN 2396.

HAMPSTEAD

An Inaugural
PUBLIC DISCUSSION MEETING
will be held
on Thursday, FEB. 5th, at 8 p.m.

Speakers: Mat Kavanagh and Philip Sansom
on
"Anarchist Aims and Principles".
Discussion and Questions Invited.
Admission Free.

All enquiries to:—
R. MILTON,
79 Platt's Lane. N.W.3

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

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