

## In this Issue:

Carpenter on the  
Treatment of Crime p. 2  
The Prospect Before Us p. 3  
Spain's Forgotten Men p. 4  
The Irish Elections - p. 5  
Freedom Press  
Publications p. 6

# Freedom

A N A R C H I S T F O R T N I G H T L Y

On Politicians: "The swarm  
of cringers, dough faces,  
lice of politics, planners of  
sly innovations for their  
own preferment."

WALT WHITMAN.

Vol. 9 No. 3

February 7th, 1948

Threepence

## CHANNEL TUNNEL & ATOMIC WAR

**D**URING the middle of January, an old plan, raised and rejected time and again during the last century, came up once again for discussion. It was the Channel Tunnel, which at last seems to have gained some kind of general official blessing, in that it was the subject of discussions of a presumably serious character which involved two representatives of the British government and also the former French Minister of Reconstruction, Dautry.

The Channel Tunnel is a perfectly practicable project. It involves problems which are greater in magnitude but no different in kind from such works of engineering as the Severn Tunnel. At any time during this century it could have been built, provided competent engineers and the necessary capital were available. Even to-day, when costs have risen, the price of £100,000,000 suggested is little more than a week's expenditure of the British Government during the last war.

Yet the fact remains that in time of peace this project was not put into operation and that it only appears as a "practicable" venture at a time when the British and American governments are seeking closer political and strategic relationships with Western Europe. The real significance of the present proposal seems to be that, in an atomic war, transport of troops to France by sea may be easily interrupted, while a tunnel under the Channel would perhaps provide a safer method. This, of course, is conjecture, but it is significant that the project should come forward for serious discussion at this particular time.

### INVENTIONS AND WAR

It is, of course, merely one illustration of the way in which, under the capitalist system, efforts are made for destructive purposes where they cannot be made for constructive ones. While the Channel tunnel was merely an idea of great social value, a means of making it more convenient for people to travel between England and France, continual objections were raised to it on financial and other grounds. Now that it becomes a matter of strategic value, the air seems immediately to have cleared. Money can be spent freely where it was grudging before.

It is not difficult to find other instances of the kind; indeed, they abound. Before the 1914-18 war, the original development of aircraft was left in the hands of derided amateurs; as soon, however, as it became evident that aeroplanes could be used for military purposes, their development was taken in hand by the governments and went on at a greatly accelerated pace, because money was no longer grudging for their development.

Similar developments have been carried out in all branches of industry, in chemicals, in medicine. Such products as synthetic oil and rubber, such processes as the extraction of aluminium from clay and magnesium from sea-water, all of vast importance in creating an economy of abundance, were deliberately held up, and their development sabotaged by capitalist vested interests in time of peace. As soon, however, as they became useful in time of war, they were immediately developed, armies of scientists were set to work on them, money

was lavished so that they could be brought into operation on a full scale.

In the same way, such medical discoveries as penicillin, which would have been carried on by neglected individual research workers in time of peace, were heavily subsidised, so that they could be rapidly brought into general use. And, most obvious of all, there is the question of atomic power. Before the war, the idea of atomic power was little more than a vision, but the needs of war brought about its development, not in a beneficial manner, but as the most destructive kind of military weapon the world has yet known.

### FALLACY OF PROGRESS IN WAR

These facts, the apparent stagnation of scientific and industrial development of the amenities of life during peacetime, and their sudden blossoming under the impetus of war, have led many people to say, unthinkingly, that war is the great medium of progress. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

In fact, as we have seen, almost every discovery which has been developed in war has in fact been originated in peacetime and could not be developed then for lack of support. Atomic energy, the aeroplane, a host of chemical and medical discoveries, and our old friend, the Channel tunnel, all are the ideas of independent men, originated and neglected in peacetime,

developed and perverted in time of war.

It is, as has often been observed, one of the essential contradictions of imperialist capitalism that, in order to preserve the class inequality necessary for its maintenance, it cannot give back to the workers in its own society the benefits of their productive effort. Where possible, the excess of production is used for export to dependent and colonial countries; when imperialist competition has saturated the world markets, war is the inevitable result, and then, not only is the surplus production absorbed in destructive activity, but the needs of the conflict force the seizure and perversion of discoveries beneficial in their original intention, to destructive ends.

The progress of war is in fact quite illusory. It represents one step forward, two back; it gives us civil aeroplanes, but it also gives us supersonic bombers and atom bombs for them to carry. It gives us penicillin, but it also gives us bacteriological warfare. It is, in fact, a phenomenon of a system by which natural scientific and industrial progress are continually halted and diverted from their course.

### REAL PROGRESS

Logically, since the original discoveries are almost always made by individual scientists or engineers working on their own lines, or in small, neglected groups, during time of peace, it should be possible to develop them for popular benefit without war. Instead, except for destructive purposes, capitalism deliberately hinders them. True progress, by which the results of scientific progress are used immediately and beneficially for the improvement and broadening of life, can only be achieved in a society where a privileged system, with all its contradictions, has been ended, and where production is adapted to use rather than gain.

## THESE FOREIGNERS

**THE TROUBLE** with being patriotic is not only that it conflicts with common sense; it also conflicts with itself at times. Take the Amalgamated Engineering Union, for instance. Here is a union which has pledged itself to do everything possible (and some things impossible) to bring Britain through. And when it is asked to do a little thing like allowing Poles to work in the mining equipment industry—basic enough, surely—it says "No!"

Of course, everybody knows that the Poles may be alright when they are blasting Jerry out of the skies above Britain and performing other heroics against the Hun, but they mustn't be allowed to take jobs away from British workers, must they?

What a narrow-minded attitude this is! And how bound up with the fears of the future, which, as we show on

this page, are well-founded enough, but still the fears of a capitalist future which should be fought against.

### Coloured Workers Barred

Not officially banned by any union, since they are legally British are coloured colonial workers who, nevertheless, find difficulty in getting work in England, "in spite of the manpower shortage". These coloured workers, coming from West Africa, West Indies and even Hong Kong, find themselves up against an insidious colour-bar in their search for work in a country many of them fought for during the war, and to get to which many either stowed away or spent their last shilling.

The Colonial Office refuses to admit the colour bar, of course, and makes the excuse:

"Many of these men are unskilled. They

## MOHANDAS GANDHI

### Saint or Politician?

The bullets fired by a Hindu nationalist which killed Mohandas Gandhi ended only his personal career, for the varied forces set in motion by this enigmatic man have an unpredictable and conflicting destiny before them. His message, like the message of every other prophet, ancient or modern, Jesus or Marx, will be interpreted in divergent and incompatible ways, his name and memory will be invoked by opposing and mutually hostile causes. He will be all things to all men.

**SHREWD** political tactician, he appeared at the same time a simple saint-like mystic; barrister and practising lawyer, he became the advocate of law-breaking on a nationwide scale; decorated by the British for his services in recruiting for the first World War, he became one of the greatest theoreticians and practical exponents of absolute pacifism and non-violence. The enemy of industrialism, he lived for years in the house of Birla, one of India's leading industrialists; abhorring the West and its ways, he always carried with him a cheap fountain pen and a mass-produced American watch.

To-day, tribute is being paid to Gandhi by political leaders, soldiers and statesmen all over the world. Already he is canonized by those who a very few years ago reviled him and who stand for the negation of every one of Gandhi's ideas. General Smuts describes him as "a prince among men," but continues to persecute those South African Indians who are to-day adopting tactics of civil disobedience and passive resistance. Winston Churchill who has contemptuously called Gandhi a "naked fakir" now pays his tribute with the long line of former Viceroy's against whom such a bitter struggle was fought. The King speaks of the irreparable loss suffered by the people of India and by mankind, and the Prime Minister hastened to the microphone to praise the man "revered as a divinely inspired saint", but did they, or Lord Mountbatten, then commander in South-East Asia, protest when, in 1942, this "giant among men" was interned for the last time, only to be released for health reasons three and-a-half years ago? Did they express their shame when Mrs. Gandhi was not released even though she was dying?

We do not subscribe to the Great Man myth, and we believe that the idolatrous worship of "great men" can only harm the causes which they champion. And while we admire the courage and single-mindedness with which Gandhi put into practice the anarchist teachings of Leo Tolstoy and Henry David Thoreau (whose essay "On The Duty of Civil Disobedience" gave its name to his greatest campaigns against British imperialism); while we cannot over-estimate the value and importance of the great Salt Marches; of his awakening into social consciousness the peasant

masses; or his efforts in the last few months to arouse and bring into action the bonds of human sympathy and responsibility to end communal bloodshed, we must at the same time point out the inevitable falsity of his position in the Nationalist struggle, the inescapable compromise with principle that entry into the political struggle brings—the class-collaboration in the name of unity which makes the eventual "liberation" merely a change of masters for the Indian factory workers and peasants. *Reaction begins with the conquest of power.* How often this aphorism must have passed through the mind of the disillusioned old man during the last few months of his life—triumphant for the new Indian ruling class, bitter for the old leader whose teachings were flouted and ignored even by his closest disciples.

### DEATH OF OSCAR SLATER

**THE** death of Oscar Slater a few days ago, has an extremely topical relevance, in view of the present discussions concerning the abolition of the death penalty.

Slater, a German by birth, was convicted in 1909 for the murder of a woman in Edinburgh, the sole evidence against him being the fact that the housemaid of the murdered woman identified him as the man she had seen leaving the flat where the murder took place.

Slater was sentenced to death, but almost immediately reprieved, and given life imprisonment instead. To many people it seemed evident that he was innocent and had been victim of a really gross miscarriage of justice. A campaign, headed by Conan Doyle, was set on foot to demand his release, but it was not until he had been in prison for 19 years that he was released. He then appealed, and the original verdict was quashed. A shame-faced government gave him £6,000 in compensation for his years of suffering.

Slater's case shows how easily an innocent man can be found guilty of a crime he did not commit. Evidence of a circumstantial nature is always suspect, yet how many men have hanged on such evidence alone! Even the best-proved murder case, except when there are numerous witnesses to the act, leaves an element of doubt.

This fact alone, quite apart from any moral or libertarian contentions, proves the injustice of the death penalty, for a man sentenced to wrong-imprisonment at least stands a chance of getting out; but for a man hanged wrongfully there is no return.

come here after seeing stories of Britain's manpower shortage without knowing that the severe shortage exists only in the skilled and basic industries. Consequently, they find it difficult to get work here."

What about the spivs and the drones? Are they skilled?



# CARPENTER ON THE TREATMENT OF CRIME

We are reproducing below the text of a lecture recently delivered by Frank Dawtry, Secretary of the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, on the ideas of Edward Carpenter regarding criminology. There are certain ideas expressed by the author regarding penal methods with which we do not agree,

nor do we imagine Carpenter would have accepted them wholly, but we think that the lack of material concerning such an unjustly neglected libertarian thinker as Carpenter, as well as the interest raised by the Criminal Justice Bill in the penal system, justify us in giving space to this contribution.—EDS.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

THE war is over and news of crime appears once more in the newspaper headlines. People are asking again what can be done about the criminal and it is an appropriate time to turn to such a man as Edward Carpenter who studied the problem in his day and can give us thought and guidance on the subject. We shall find, however, that he takes us into a wide field, for it is almost impossible to consider Edward Carpenter apart from his whole philosophy. The working of a man of his stature cannot be divided into compartments. As one of his biographers says, "It would be difficult to identify Carpenter with any particular social movement; his spirit lies behind them all." A study of his attitude to criminals, or his attitude to any other problem involves the understanding of his attitude to life as a whole, for this sets his standard and colours his approach to every subject.

To appreciate this is a necessary starting point, for just as he regarded different problems as inseparable from the whole, so may we realise that the final solution of most problems will be easier and more satisfactory if they are regarded as part of a whole and approached with an all-embracing philosophy. This applies particularly to the subject of crime and criminals, for crime is a communal concern and criminals are members of the community. They are not a set of people apart from the rest, and the less we regard them as being so, the better we shall be able to understand them. They are part of society, undistinguished except by the revelation of their offences. There are no physical characteristics or mental distinctions about them. It is true that the Italian, Lombroso, advanced a theory about the cranial and facial characteristics of the criminal type, but the theory collapsed when it was discovered that the same characteristics were so widespread as to be found in the Italian Bench of Bishops and the British

House of Lords. It is true also that the average mental standard of the prison population is lower than the general average, but this merely shows that we put into prison some of those who ought to be under mental treatment and for whom prison is obviously a very wrong place.

## What is a Criminal?

We know there are law-breakers and wrong-doers in our midst, but no general definition covers them all; the best attempt to do so was that of Laurence Housman who said that the person we call criminal is one who suffers from a defective sense of citizenship and responsibility. That is generally true. We never know what struggles the offender has had, how often he has overcome his weakness or defeated his temptations—we only know of his ultimate failure which brought him into conflict with the law. Those who fail are largely the victims of an accumulation of conditions

which proved too much for them. They reflect the society in which they live. Edward Carpenter went further and said they were a product of that society. In his day poverty was no doubt the primary cause of most crime; "a man steals a loaf—feed him," said Carpenter, but he never suggested that this met the whole situation and he continued his wider work for the creation of conditions in which poverty would cease to exist.

To-day, crimes are more complex as life is more complex but the same answers apply; our mentally and spiritually starved people seek release and break out in anti-social conduct, or seek to gain profit by pandering to the greed of others. The ultimate responsibility of us all is not diminished and there is need for mental and spiritual sustenance which we are able, if we will, to contribute while at the same time we endeavour to improve the standards of our age and establish new (or re-establish the old) values.

It is generally realised that legal and moral standards are not always alike; illegal conduct may be highly moral, immorality may not be illegal, and empty virtue may be no more than legality without any positive value.

"For as dirt is only matter in the wrong place, so evil in man consists only in actions or passions which are uncontrolled by the human within him, and undedicated to its service. The evil consists not in the actions or the passions themselves but in the fact that they are inhumanly used. The most unblemished virtue erected into a barrier between oneself and a suffering brother or sister, the whitest marble image, howsoever lovely set up in the

Holy Place of the temple of man, where the spirit alone should dwell,—becomes blasphemy and a pollution."

## The Relativity of Laws

We know, furthermore, that some actions are wrong at one time and right at another. Laws and customs define what constitutes crime and what is legal, but laws and standards change from age to age and from place to place. Thus, we call a man criminal because he violates the code of his time, but the code of his time depends on the ideals of the time. Laws grew from customs which represented the general idea of their age, but laws can be altered and replaced to fit changing customs.

"The severest penalties, the most stringent public opinion, biting deep down into the individual conscience, enforce the various codes at various times and places; yet they all contradict each other. Polygamy in one country, polyandry in another; brother and sister marriage allowed at one time, marriage with your mother's cousin forbidden at another; prostitution sacred in the temples of antiquity, trampled underfoot in the gutters of great cities to-day; monogamy respectable in one land, a mark of class inferiority in another; celibacy scorned by some sections of people and accepted as the highest state by others, and so on . . ."

So it is emphasised by Carpenter that it is never easy to say who is a criminal, nor is it ever possible to avoid some social responsibility for him. If he reflects bad law, then we must alter the law and not condemn the offender. If he reflects an evil element in society let us not be deluded into thinking that we

shall cure the evil in society by punishing or dealing only with its product. Treatment of the defective member, be it a sore finger in the body or a criminal in society must be regarded as part of a whole process—and the emphasis must in any case be on the word *treatment*. We do not punish an offending finger or tooth, nor do we punish those whose social defects show in other ways, although it is interesting to remember that less than a hundred years ago we did still punish our lunatics. Now we know that the method must obviously be treatment, and the same applies to those we to-day call criminal. Their need is treatment and training for citizenship, not merely punishment which may make them more actively anti-social.

"In the prison, the State is seen . . . beating its own children, whom it has reared in poverty and ignorance and among conditions which must inevitably lead to crime—beating them for its own sins and neglect, and confirming them in their hatred of itself and of each other."

Carpenter not only condemned such treatments, but in his study from which that extract is taken, "Prison, Police and Punishment (1904)" he made suggestions for improvement. He demanded a review of our system of justice, suggested the segregation of young offenders (which came about in Borstal) and supported the adoption of a system of probation then being advocated by social workers. He made out a strong case for the establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal, which is now such an accepted institution that we find it hard to believe that it was still a subject for propaganda forty years ago. Carpenter also drew attention in his book to the prison experiments of his time such as those in Russia and at the Elmira Reformatory in America and urged their adoption here with special schemes for the training of first offenders in good conditions of comparative freedom. At the time of his writing he was met with the usual answer to the pioneer—"You cannot do that"—but it has been done. Wakefield prison, run as a community, with its camp, and a second larger camp now established in the West country have shown how right he was.

What Wakefield and the camps have done for adults, and Borstal and probation for youth and first offenders, is still not sufficient. There is much more to be done, but these experiments have shown the way and above all they have proved how much can be done by trust, whereas so little can be done by punishment and fear of punishment. "Fear may make a man conform to the respectabilities; it never yet made a good citizen." The ideal is to trust and in trust to foster reliance and responsibility. It is an ideal not to be limited to our treatment of criminals, for what can be done in that way for a part of the community can be done by the whole and we shall find that codes and rules are no more essential in communal life than walls and bars are in gaol. In place of an outwardly conceived code, fitted on to man and compelling man

(Continued on page 8)

# THE ELIZABETHAN ANARCHY

(Continued from previous issue)

## Marlowe's Death

Marlowe's subversiveness was clearly of too outspoken a kind for the authorities of his time. He was named as an atheist, and there is more than a little evidence that his death in a tavern brawl at the hands of a servant of one of the Queen's ministers was more premeditated than it appeared.

Others were more cautious in their application of subversive ideas. Nevertheless, they are there, and we find in Shakespeare, for instance, a continual belittling of kings, either by their absolute villainy, as in John or Richard III, by their weakness, as in Henry VI, by their falling into the misfortunes of ordinary men, as in Lear, or by their glories being sapped by the humour of commoners, as Henry V was made to appear a blood-thirsty fool by the sly, earthy wit of Falstaff and Bardolph. For Shakespeare's cowards and fools are more than merely comic figures. They are the types of the ordinary, peaceful man, who likes good living and hates to fight. Falstaff's speech on honour is more subversive than a shelf of political tracts:

"Can honour set to a leg? No: or an arm? No: or take away the grief of a wound? No. Honour hath no skill in surgery, then? No. What is honour? A word. What is that word honour? Air. A trim reckoning!—Who hath it? he that died o' Wednesday. Doth he feel it? No. Doth he hear it? No. 'Tis insensible, then? Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living? No. Why? detraction will not suffer it. Therefore I'll none of it: honour is a mere scutcheon:—and so ends my catechism."

## Shakespeare and Liberty

The miseries of a land oppressed are demonstrated often enough in Shakespeare, while his admiration of fighters for liberty is shown in the forthright excellence of Brutus in comparison with the plausible cunning of Mark Anthony. Yet Anthony has his moment of glory—when he too realises that a crown itself can become a burden that is well lost for love.

Nor was Shakespeare alone in his realisation of the condition of man and the kind of injustice by which the powerful bear down upon the weak. A play like *The Duchess of Malfi* has for its theme the most violent and brutal forms of tyranny over the innocent; there is a deep knowledge of the state of human bondage, and an equally deep feeling of need for a change within the hearts of men, in the dying speech of the repentant

assassin, Bosola:

O! this gloomy world!  
In what a shadow, or deep pit of darkness,  
Doth womanish and fearful mankind live!  
Let worthy minds ne'er stagger in distrust  
To suffer death or shame for what is just:  
Mine is another voyage.

Other Elizabethans, like Ford in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* and Tourneur in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, plumbed further depths of human hearts held in the servitude of ideas, while Ben Jonson, particularly in *Volpone*, embarks on a social criticism which reaches its logical end in the violent and healthy bitterness towards a corrupt society which Wycherley expressed a generation or more afterwards in *The Plain Dealer*.

## The Stoic Tradition

In another of his essays on the Elizabethans, Mr. Eliot has pointed out the debt owed by these writers to Seneca, the Stoic dramatist of ancient Rome whose works were so ably translated by their contemporary, Thomas Lodge. The side of Stoic philosophy which Mr. Eliot tends to see in the Elizabethans is its deliberate resignation, its fatalistic acceptance of death as an inevitable part of the process of existence. But there is another, more positive side to stoicism which is reflected in the peculiar humanistic individualism of the Elizabethans. Epictetus, told his pupils, "For your part, do not wish to be a general, or a senator, or a consul, but to be free." And throughout the plays of the Elizabethans we find this theme of the futility of power; for them, it was always a subject of thought that:

"Imperial Caesar, dead and turn'd to clay,  
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away."

and they were alive to the fact that in life power brought its own reverses and defeats which the ordinary man could not know. *King Lear* is an allegory in the futility of kingly glory, and the famous speech of Wolsey in *Henry VIII* is almost a sermon on the folly of men who attempt to attain anything by the pursuit of greatness through office.

"Vain pomp and glory of this world,  
I hate ye:  
I feel my heart new open'd. O how wretched  
Is that poor man that hangs on prince's favours!  
There is, betwixt that smile we  
would aspire to,

That sweet aspect of princes and  
their ruin,  
More pangs and fears than wars or  
women have;  
And when he falls, he falls like  
Lucifer,  
Never to hope again."

It was in this true Stoic spirit that the great Elizabethan dramatists themselves faced the life of their time. They learnt by the tragic exception of Marlowe, and no others of them meddled in politics, except through the oblique language of their plays, or sought the glory of great names. Indeed, among them we find men who lived such obscure lives, lives so completely wedded to the common flux of their age, that they failed to leave any definite mark outside their actual writings. Of Shakespeare the discussions have been so voluminous that they succeed only in boring us; of Webster little is known but the name. Like Jacques in *As You Like It*, they preferred the "abandon'd cave" of obscurity to the pomp of power, to becoming, as Webster described a politician, "the devil's quilted anvil."

## Agents of Freedom

In all their works the great Elizabethans were the agents of freedom. They elevated the individual human spirit into its proper dignity, they strove to undermine ideas of power and social convention, they sought to be free by eschewing and showing the uselessness of all the highest rewards of privilege. But, I can hear the political sectarian declaring, there are merely negative acts; in what way did the Elizabethans point to a free society? To this I would answer that the Elizabethans did not point to any concrete social order, or sketch any Utopias. They left these acts to less free ages, when the domination of systems makes men tend to express even their hopes systematically. What they did was much more positive, for in their works, like the men who lived in other periods of balanced freedom, they actually created portions of that liberty which is growing within the human race.

The plays of Shakespeare or Congreve, the paintings of Michelangelo, the ideas of Godwin, the poetry of Baudelaire, are all little areas of spiritual freedom, where we can leave the evil of a degraded society and enjoy at least a partial liberty. In such works these periods of comparative freedom are conserved, and will continue to play their part in helping men to realise the nature of freedom even in ages of mental servitude like the present. As every real work of art is subversive, they all prepare for the eventual overthrow of that servitude. In the free society, if men

ever attain it, these works will have their place, for, since it is a question of attitude rather than "progress" that produces a great work of art, it is unlikely if they will ever be exceeded. In this way, like all real artists, the Elizabethans were revolutionaries and anarchists.

As for Mr. Eliot's contention that the Elizabethans are part of the movement which has culminated in "the present regimen in Europe", I think the foregoing pages have disproved this fairly thoroughly. There are, of course, elements of social and artistic continuity between their age and our own, as there must be between all ages which follow one another in the same country. But this kind of continuity can exist at the same time as a complete discontinuity of those elements of social relationship which are important in determining the nature of an age and its productions.

The Elizabethan period was dominated by two prominent factors; firstly, the general idea held by its writers, of the self-sufficiency of the human individual—an attitude in opposition to the unquestioning respect for collectivity which inspired their predecessors; secondly, the social balance of forces which produced the atmosphere of freedom where the great writers of the age blossomed like flowers in a kind climate. The rise of the modern State in its present form, which began just after the Elizabethan age, with the work of men like Richelieu and Cromwell, the tendency to return to uniformity of ideas and morals, beginning with the iron rule of the "Saints" under the Commonwealth, and the gradual elimination of the kind of major social conflict which produces a balance of forces friendly to freedom; all these tendencies are contrary to the spirit of the Elizabethan age, and as they are the main causes of our modern social degeneration, we cannot in any way accept Mr. Eliot's proposition that the Elizabethan "anarchism" has any casual relationship to our present social chaos. On the contrary, the literary tradition that still stems from the Elizabethans is one of the few hopeful things in our present era. While there are writers who preserve their integrity of outlook and embrace the same respect for human individuality as the Elizabethans, we have a profoundly revolutionary force that will always work towards freedom and regeneration. Perhaps eventually it will achieve the termination of that slavery of ideas which maintains the modern social order, and bring, with the permanent end of coercive institutions, a new and fuller realisation of the state of mental freedom in which the Elizabethans worked and created.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

## ON GOVERNMENT

THE experience of the centuries tells us that the best of governments is that which best contrives to make itself useless. Do we need parasites so that we may work, or priests so that we may speak to God? We have no further need of representatives to govern us.

The exploitation of man by man, it has been said, is theft. In the same way, the government of man by man is slavery; and all positive religion, ending in the dogma of papal infallibility, is itself nothing more than the adoration of man by man, idolatry.

Absolutism, establishing at one and the same time the power of the altar, of the throne and of the strong-room, has multiplied, like a net, the chains binding humanity. After the government of man by man, after the exploitation of man by man, after the adoration of man by man, and, to end this series, the punishment of man by man!

Philosophic reason repudiates these symbols of savagery, it denounces these exaggerated forms of human respect. But it does not admit, with the jacobins and the doctrinaires that one can proceed to that reform by legislative authority. It only gives its confidence to reforms which come out of the free will of societies: the only revolutions which it acknowledges are those which proceed from the initiative of the masses; it denies, in the most absolute manner, the revolutionary competence of governments.

PIERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON

(From  
"Confessions of a Revolutionary")



# The Prospect Before Us A "TYPICAL MINER"

**A**N INDEPENDENT M.P. is indeed in an advantageous position. He can be all things to all men; he can run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, and because he is never likely to be in office, nobody is very concerned. Mind you, he has his uses. Because he is unattached and can more or less say what he likes, and because he can have many informed contacts in governmental, parliamentary and managerial circles he can sometimes be relied upon to spill the beans. Sometimes.

Such an Independent is W. J. Brown, who provides interesting and often pungent articles fairly regularly in the *London Evening Standard*. "Political Newsfront" is the name of the feature, and the semi-military tang of the name fits well the impression W. J. Brown gives of being perpetually up in arms about something or other.

Now, it is a very good thing to be up in arms—anarchists always are, for one thing—but one does look for a purpose behind agitation, after all. A year ago, when London's Transport workers were on unofficial strike in no uncertain fashion (*Freedom*, 1/2/47), Mr. Brown was demanding that "We must Lock, Bolt and Bar the Floodgates of Anarchy". To-day, his writing against the restrictions introduced or maintained by the Government or the T.U.C. have almost a libertarian flavour... but tomorrow, should the workers show some militancy again we should have no doubt as to his concern for law and order.

## Two Years To Go

All this is rather by the way, and the only excuse for this little homily on what after all is only to be expected from a politician is that this particular one has seen fit to draw back the curtain on the future just a little—more than any government supporter would, anyhow. "Britain's problem," says W. J. Brown, "is not only to produce a lot more. It is also to produce it at prices which enable it to be sold in the markets of the world."

"That second need does not loom so large at the moment. The sellers' market is still with us. Two years hence or less, and it won't be."

"Then there will come (there will be bound to come if we have not solved our problem in the meantime) wage-slashing and increases of hours, or widespread unemployment."

"Whatever Government is in power makes no difference to our basic economic situation."

We might have written that ourselves, except for the first paragraph. For the word "produce" is used now in such a vague sense as almost to imply that production for its own sake is necessary and desirable. Production, surely, should be based on our needs, and not to enable us to compete in the markets of the world with the only result that the standard of living both for ourselves and our competitors goes down. For that is what competition means.

## Capitalists Co-operate

It is not by accident that cartels and amalgamations and monopolies have grown up among manufacturers. Firms who for years carried on ruthless and cut-throat competition with each other gradually came to realize that by ceasing to compete and beginning to co-operate they could not only stop the downward trend of the prices of their products (and consequently profits) but stabilise and even increase them. When the peoples of competing nations begin to realise the futility of competition, and how actually suicidal it really is, we shall be getting somewhere.

But W. J. Brown's remarks as to what is going to happen when the present seller's market is glutted, is worthy of our notice. He, of course, has no solution to offer. He mutters vaguely at the end of his article about improving management and incentives, and removing restrictive practices, but nothing more. Perhaps it is because he realises, as must do many others in similar positions who have not the courage to say so, that no solution is possible under capitalism. Indeed, he refers to "our basic economic situation", which is capitalism, being unaltered by any government.

## The Cuts Begin

How near we are to the end of the seller's market, and how soon the workers standard will be attacked may be judged from the fact that already things are on the move in that direction. On Merseyside 20,000 ship repair workers have received notice of the end of the "payment-by-results" system (once known as piece-work), by March 29th. This will reduce wages for most workers by 6d. to 1s. an hour.

It is no mere coincidence that this move is taking place on Merseyside just now. As we mentioned in our last issue, unemployment in Liverpool has topped 25,000, and there is nothing employers like better than a nice big pool of unemployed to play with! This can be

coupled with the fact that ship building is rapidly making good the shipping losses we sustained during the war, and, indeed, the American shipbuilders are already beginning to feel the pinch of over-production. That is why one of the strings attached to the Marshall Plan was the restriction on British ship-building. Can this action by Merseyside employers, incidentally, be taken to indicate that the M. Plan will be adopted by Gt. Britain?

What it really boils down to, however, is simply this: under capitalism the worker gets it in the neck either way. In times of shortage he has to work like mad to produce things he cannot afford because, although wages are relatively high, prices are higher, and in any case the best goods are exported. In times of abundance and cheapness he is thrown out of work or his wages are cut and again he cannot afford the goods he produces.

What the workers are actually doing to-day is working themselves out of their jobs.

## What We Believe

Now, how do we as anarchists feel about this? We have never claimed to be advocates of full employment. It has never been our idea of heaven to be able to look forward to an uninterrupted life of wage slavery. What we demand as far as work is concerned is the opportunity to work for the common good in the trade, industry or pro-

fession of our choice, in the production of things that are needed by the community of which we are a part. And when that work is done and the needs of society satisfied we want to enjoy our leisure in the manner of our choice.

We believe—more, we know—that when capitalism is abolished the tremendous amount of energy which to-day is wasted in futile and unproductive toil can be canalised into useful work, with a resultant lightening of labour all round. We do not welcome work for its own sake, unless it be an activity which gives pleasure in the doing, and we condemn the capitalist practice of sweating the workers until they create abundance and then denying them the wherewithal to enjoy it.

Meanwhile, however, we are in the struggle. In the defence of our standards to-day can be forged the weapons of our emancipation to a free society. Militancy and a refusal to be exploited are the first prerequisites for freedom.

PHILIP SANSON.

## Failure of Registration

**T**HE results of the first registration under the new labour conscription show a very meagre return for the vast efforts of the Government to round up people who are not anxious to enter industry. This was the registration which covered street tradesmen, newspaper sellers, etc. The total number registering amounted to just over 13,000. Clearly this is very far short of the actual number of street traders of various kinds operating in the large towns, and it looks as though there has been a satisfactorily high number of evasions. From the Government's point of view, it is a poor return on all the efforts they have made.

But, although the figures have not yet

**D**URING all the varying attitudes towards coal-miners—heroes under bombing, traitors who strike, heroes of recovery, etc.—*Freedom* has sought to lay stress on the dangerous nature of their work, and its arduousness. The industrial hazards of coalmining have been dramatically underlined by a recent incident of journalism. The *Observer* illustrated an article on coal with a camera study of a "typical Coalminer". This photograph evidently made a considerable impression, for the editor received many requests for copies of it.

One of those who wrote was the wife of the miner who posed for the photograph—I had almost written his widow. And she explained that her

husband, James Bishop, was now an invalid, crippled with rheumatism and silicosis and has "no hopes of getting out of bed again."

The story of this miner serves to give actuality to the unemotional figures for miners' ill-health which have been given in many articles in *Freedom*. His case is just one among many hundreds. The *Observer's* correspondent writes:

"He met with accidents, but each time recovered and went back to mining, 'the job I know'. In all, he worked for 34 years underground. When Suchitzky took his photograph Bishop appeared to be in his prime but, in fact, the ordeal of the pits had already begun to tell. He was troubled by rheumatism, the result of working in water. And, worse, the 'dust' was gradually taking a grip on him."

By 1946 his strength was ebbing. It was a struggle to go to work even two or three days a week. It was an agonising year for him. His last day's work was on December 29th, 1946. He knew then that the 'dust' had got him. Three weeks later he was taken to hospital in a serious stage of pneumoconiosis."

## For this relief, much thanks

The total income of the family, with two girls at work, is under £5 a week, and this has to keep six persons, including two schoolboys. Needless to say, some of this income comes from relief moneys; the way in which this is handed out provides a commentary on the way in which public funds are made available to those in need. Lest it be thought that the views of *Freedom* bias this report I will quote again the *Observer's* correspondent.

"A fire must be kept going in the cramped room constantly. Ironically, the miner who hewed coal for 34 years has had the concession of cheap coal withdrawn from him since he became helpless. Miners on compensation must buy coal at the price charged to the public."

Bishop receives £2 0s. 8d. compensation weekly. If he were available for light work he could draw unemployment pay which would be considerably better than compensation. But, short of a miracle, he is unlikely ever to be available for any work again."

And to add bureaucratic insult to industrial injury:

"For some months before Bishop's claim for compensation was established the family was forced to seek public assistance. Their savings had been exhausted. But as soon as compensation pay was received by Bishop he had to refund the full amount the family had been given out of public assistance funds—£31. (A cruel stupidity, like the denial of cheap coal.) This was repaid by instalments I believe, and it drove the family into extremity again."

Such treatment of one of its injured members could only come from a society like ours which contains hardly a trace of social feeling. In a free society, where communal feeling is a powerful factor in human relations and the management of human affairs, such callousness would be impossible.

## Publicity Brings Gifts

That the callousness lies in the structure of society rather than in the individuals who compose it is shown by two facts. First, that the Bishops were being helped by their neighbours in the manner familiar to all working districts. Second, that the publicity given to his case by the *Observer* has brought an avalanche of gifts and offers of help from all over the country. That is as it should be. And it is characteristic of human feelings that Bishop himself, in a letter to the *Observer*, points out that there are hundreds like him. His family are sharing the gifts with others in need.

The disaster of this man thus serves to illuminate the social instincts of man, as well as the soul-lessness of official relief. One should not forget that it also shows the need for the abandonment of all dangerous occupations and the devotion of human and scientific endeavour to their replacement by healthy activities.

J.H.

## Land Notes

# NONSENSE ABOUT THE LAND

**A**S often happens when looking through my collection of press cuttings prior to beginning these Land Notes, I am increasingly overcome by a sense of exasperation and bad-temper. Making due allowance for a naturally intolerant disposition, I still maintain that there can be few, if any, jobs about which more arrant nonsense is said or written than farming. For this reason most of the cuttings usually get thrown away un-referred to, but on this occasion by way of a change, I propose to reproduce a selection of them.

Here then, are a couple from two consecutive issues of *The Farmer's Weekly*, 9/1/48 and 16/1/48:

(I)

If the U.S. Marshall Plan is finally approved by Congress it is understood that about ten million pounds worth of farm machinery would be scheduled for Britain, according to estimates given in Washington on Wednesday. The quantity would be delivered between April this year and June, 1952.

Pre-war imports of tractors, which constitute by far the most valuable form of farm machinery coming into Britain and which came mostly from America, were at the rate of rather over half a million pounds a year.

(II)

A 20-million dollar order for Ferguson tractors made at the Banner Lane Works, Coventry, has been received from the United States, according to an announcement by Harry Ferguson, Ltd., Coventry. It is stated to be the largest contract received in Britain since the start of the export drive.

When the leading industrial countries of the world are reduced to an economy based apparently on the taking in of each other's washing, one may safely surmise that the system has seen its best days.

## Legal Dept.

And now from *The Manchester Guardian* (7/8/48):

Frederick Henry Dennis (34), farmer, of Poslingford Hall, Poslingford, was at West Suffolk Quarter Sessions yesterday fined £100 for growing buckwheat, used to feed poultry and cage birds, without the consent of the County War Agricultural Committee. Dennis pleaded not guilty. It was stated that the War Agricultural Committee sent a man to plough in 22

acres of buckwheat on Dennis's farm, but after ploughing nine acres the ploughman was withdrawn.

The Chairman (Captain H. R. King) told the jury to dismiss from their minds any criticism of the action of the War Agricultural Committee. The ploughing in of the buckwheat might not have been according to commonsense, but it was according to law.

If one assumes that the Chairman of the Bench has some knowledge of the law (though this is often a risky assumption to make) it is illuminating to hear from such a source that the law is not necessarily in the least compatible with commonsense. Some of us have long suspected that this might sometimes be so and it is encouraging to have our suspicions confirmed by one who is, or at least ought to be, in a position to know.

## Casualization of Labour—a footnote

**Re:** my contribution to the last issue of *Freedom* on the casualization of labour, I was interested to come across the following—also from *The Manchester Guardian* (7/1/48):

Numerically, the standing-off of permanent labour is not a big problem, but it is a tendency in the wrong direction, particularly in the arable counties. Your correspondent heard of about 200 cases in Suffolk and of others in Norfolk and Lincolnshire. In Holland (Lincolnshire) there is about 1.2 per cent. of unemployment among farm workers. Everything possible is being done and must be done to convince farmers that casualisation is a bad thing. Seasonal labour is another matter; that we must always have on the arable farm. But the farmer who thinks he can stand-off his permanent labour and pick it up again when he wants it for routine farm work is in for a rude awakening. One farmer (not in Suffolk) who had dismissed several men was heard to say he hoped they would not get work before March as he would then want them again. One hopes he will not get them. He is not very likely to.

## Feeding Britain

Then there was the talk on the Home Service by Mr. Paget, M.P., on "Feeding Britain" which was reproduced in *The Listener* (8/1/48).

Following the orthodox line on this

subject, as becomes a talk delivered after the nine o'clock news, Mr. Paget, among other things, said:

We must always get most of our food from beyond the seas. This is a problem which is not going to be solved just by pushing up the production of exports. Many of the areas from which we at present get our food do not need the goods that we can export. America does not really need our manufactures. The Dominions have done a lot to adjust their economies to ours. They have deliberately retained the need for our production, and they have done it to help us, from disinterested love of the motherland, something unique and splendid in the history of nations, but the time must come when they develop their own industries. So we must look ahead and be prepared to develop new areas of the world that can both supply our needs and need our products.

That I consider to be quite a fair summary of the present dilemma of our economy. Lesser breeds across the seas no longer want our industrial products because they have been unco-operative enough to start to fulfil their own requirements themselves. Even the Dominions, as Mr. Paget points out, cannot go on "adjusting their economy to ours" indefinitely and their "disinterested love of the motherland", unique though it may be, is being put to a severe strain. Hence the hectic search, the longing, yearning, striving to find other people who can be persuaded, or cajoled, into buying the damn stuff and paying for it indirectly, of course, by selling us cheaply some variety of food.

Incidentally, one cannot help wondering whether the Honorable Member really believes what he says when he talks about the "disinterested" concern of the Dominions for the economic welfare of the Motherland. Is the Honorable Member a conscious, or unconscious, hypocrite? Hard though it may be to credit, it would seem that he probably quite genuinely believes what he says. After all, if one repeats a thing sufficiently often, however nonsensical it may be, there is a tendency to end by even believing it oneself. "Life," as Oscar Wilde said in a rather different context, "imitates Art."

G.V.



## Foreign Commentary

## Spain's Forgotten Men

HOW many people, we wonder, ever think of what happened to the thousands of Spanish anti-Francoists who, when the open struggle ended in Spain preferred exile to living in Franco's Spain? During the past seven years millions of men, women and children have been wandering across the continent, homeless and friendless; others have fled before advancing armies, others have been forced into concentration camps or slave labour units. And millions have died. It is not altogether surprising then that the problem of the unhappy Spanish refugees should have been absorbed into the general problem of Europe's Displaced Persons.

More than a million Spaniards preferred exile to Franco, and their odyssey during these past years is a measure of their hatred for all that Franco stands for. The majority were in French concentration camps in S.-Western France and those who survived the first months, living in the most primitive conditions imaginable were either taken over by the Germans or succeeded in escaping during the period of confusion at the beginning of the war. But small groups of refugees are also to be found in most European countries, a larger number in Mexico, N. Africa, and in some S. American countries. And wherever a nucleus of Spaniards was to be found, so they created means of contact through printed or duplicated bulletins, and in France with several large printed newspapers.

But now it has been brought to the exiled Spaniards' notice that a small group of their countrymen have been traced in Stalin's Russia. Needless to say, they do not include La Passionaria or such exalted personages

of the Spanish C.P.! No, they are simply the remnants of the crew of a Spanish merchant ship which during the Spanish struggle was plying between republican Spain and Russia, and which had the misfortune to be in the Black Sea a few months before the collapse in Spain.

The ship, the *Cabo San Augustin*, had made a number of trips to Russia on behalf of the Spanish Government, and on those occasions the cargo consisted of artistic treasures and large quantities of gold which were being "entrusted to the Soviet Government for safe keeping". On their return journeys they carried war material.

The Russian government was obviously aware of the fact that the end was in sight, and instructions were given to prevent the *Cabo San Augustin* from sailing for Spain. To make doubly sure that the boat would not slip out of Odessa, the crew were taken ashore and kept under a kind of house arrest. Later they were put to work in the port on loading and unloading ships and on labouring jobs. They supplemented their starvation wages by making rope shoes, a craft at which they excelled.

## Destination—Siberia

Later they were questioned by Russian officials as to whether they wished to remain in Russia or go elsewhere. Very few of them opted to remain, and equally few expressed a wish to return to Spain. The others asked to join their compatriots either in France or Mexico. It is interesting to note that those who asked to return to Spain were immediately provided with the necessary facilities for doing so. The others, who neither wished to remain in Russia nor return to Spain, were then transferred to the prison of Feodosia in Crimea, and from there to the prison of Novosibirski, where they were drafted with a large batch of Russians awaiting deportation to Siberia. For more than two months they were engaged on railway construction from a camp in Yakoustk, on the banks of the river Lena, but the mortality rate among them was so alarmingly high that the camp commandant was granted his request

that they should be transferred to a part of the country where the climate was less rigorous. And, since 1942, those that are left of the crew of the *Cabo San Augustin*, are in a camp in Karaganda, without hope of ever being allowed to leave the country.

The news that these and other Spaniards are being used as forced labour has been revealed only recently by eye-witnesses who shared their fate but who have since been repatriated, and their case has been taken up by the *Solidaridad Obrera*, the weekly paper of the Spanish Libertarian movement in France. Already, a number of detailed articles have been published, including statements made by men and women who have come forward since the articles started to appear, to give more first-hand information.

*Solidaridad Obrera* (17/1/48) points out that though the interned Spaniards are not anarchists but republicans, socialists and ex-communists who fought against Franco and the Phalangists, "they deserve the same consideration as if they had been anarchist comrades" and calls for a world-wide campaign to secure their liberation. Already there has been much agitation among the Spanish groups in France, but it is now necessary that the facts should be known throughout the world. Then perhaps it will be possible to save these forgotten men from a living death in the "Workers' paradise".

## Postscript

We believe that *Freedom* is read by a few Communists in spite of the King St. Index, which makes it a mortal sin for a good C.P.-er to read *Freedom* Press publications. (Incidentally, the *Daily Worker* used to subscribe to *Freedom*, but it seems as if they found it dangerous to have it in their files, for they have recently cancelled their order.) To those readers we would ask this question: Why do you protest when your comrades in Spain are arrested and kept in prison or even shot and yet have nothing to say when Stalin holds Spanish anti-fascists against their will and uses them as forced labour? If you think that Stalin is wrong about these Spanish workers, then have the courage to say so, not only to yourselves but to your bosses at King St. and the Kremlin, Moscow.

LIBERTARIAN.

## Germany

## A LUNATIC SCHEME

THE latest lunatic proposal of the Anglo-American occupation authorities is that on a certain day the 20,000,000 German householders in their zones should register the quantity of food they possess. The registration is supposed to be a measure to counter black marketing, but its effect will clearly be derisory.

The real hoarders and black-marketeers will obviously transfer their stores to safe places, and the people who will be caught out will probably be the poor devils who are keeping a pound or two of coffee or sugar on the side for the bartering which is almost the only real way of getting goods in Germany to-day.

It is ridiculous to think of stopping black-marketeering when the Anglo-American occupation and control personnel are themselves the main source of supplies for it, and when the virtual devaluation of cash has made barter

the main method of exchange.

In addition to its unpleasantness to all the people who will be affected, it appears that this useless registration, besides wasting much labour needed for reconstruction purposes, will take up so much paper that newspapers will not be allowed to appear for several days.

Meanwhile, as an ironical footnote to this folly, 100,000 workers in Nuremberg and 80,000 in Cologne have struck over their slight rations. Are they hoarders? And how many of the other 20,000,000 are? Clearly, the quantity of food actually hoarded would make no real difference to the condition of the mass of the German workers. Their needs can only be met by the sending of food in really large quantities to Germany. Measures against hoarding are intended only to cover up the failure of the administration to do this.

## END OF A SHIPYARD

## West Loses by Launching Programme Late

By HENRY HOLM (Worldover Press Correspondent)

BERLIN.—The recently published plan of the Western Allies for the dismantling of German industrial plants contains, in the opinion of many people here, some rather odd reasoning. Take the case of Kiel, the former naval base, a shipbuilding city of a quarter million.

Two of Kiel's three big shipyards are out of commission. Largely destroyed in the war, they are not allowed to work, because their war role was purely military. The third one, Holmag, was authorised by the British to continue. So, with new

machines, Holmag began to make Diesel motors, farm tractors and textile machinery. At the export fair in Hanover last summer, Holmag booked a good many orders.

With great surprise, then, people read on the recent list of plants to be dismantled the name, Holmag. The workers refused to do the dismantling, since this is the last important industrial plant in Kiel and with it would go any chance of a job. So the premises were occupied by British and German police. The British commander, Brigadier Helby, explained to the workers that the dismantling was necessary because they had shifted the plant from war to peace production in a remarkably short time. This showed that they could go back to war production with equal speed.

Thereupon, the Frankfurter Hefte, a Roman Catholic monthly in the U.S. Zone, pointed out that the Germans are really at a loss how to satisfy the Occupying Powers. They are constantly admonished to work as hard as possible, in order to speed up production for the benefit of all Europe. But when they do so, like the Holmag workers, they are severely punished for overdoing it. Moreover, the Holmag administration, buying new machinery, and the Holmag workers, putting it into production, took in good faith the promise of an Occupying Power that they could go on. This confidence, once lost, is not easily restored.

The argument that the machinery from Holmag was needed in other countries, is not convincing. The same machinery is available at the Krupp-owned Germania Werft in Kiel, where it is slowly decaying. It is not easy to allay the suspicion among Germans that behind this part of the dismantling programme is the British shipbuilding industry, which does not want German competition restored.

As for the measures taken to overcome the resistance of the Holmag workers, the Frankfurter Hefte writes: "When to-day at the Holmag, the British Military Government, despite protests from the government of Schleswig-Holstein, makes use of the German police under British command to press their orders against German workers, it may convince us of its power but scarcely of its right."

The Western Allies, their decisions on policy and their methods slowed down by bureaucracy, have launched their dismantling programme so late that the Germans have had time to recover from their post-war shock and are much more critical than in 1945. The Russians, on the other hand, dismantled at the very start when the Germans were still stunned and full of Nazi propaganda that the loss of the war would mean a terrible vengeance. The Germans would have accepted any dismantling then.

Russian dismantling has been thorough enough. One of its worst features is the enormous amount of railway material taken out. In the Russian Zone the German railroads are now exclusively single-track—a severe disruption of the transport system.

## RUSSIA

## Devaluation or Confiscation?

THE American economist Solomon M. Schwarz explains in the *New Leader* (20/12/47) that it is quite wrong to call the currency reform which has recently taken place in Russia, a devaluation.

*Freedom* has been guilty of using this expression (a mistake shared by the American *Daily Worker* and the *New York Times*) and we shall make amends by quoting extracts from Mr. Schwarz's article:

The decree of December 14th does not devalue the rouble but aims to support its buying power by outright confiscation of a large part of the accumulated savings. This is a singular currency reform hardly comparable with reforms in other countries and possible only in a country with unlimited economic and political power concentrated in the hands of the State authorities.

The provisions of the decree make this clear. The old inflated roubles are to be replaced by new ones. Old roubles in circulation are to be exchanged until December 22 (in remote districts until December 29) for new roubles at the rate of ten roubles to one new rouble. During the same time old roubles can be used to buy goods at the rate of one-tenth of their value. Thus, the currency in circulation loses 90 per cent. of its value. Old roubles not used or exchanged before December 22 (or 29) become valueless paper.

The revaluation of deposits, current accounts and bonds of public loans follows a different and much more favourable pattern. The deposits, i.e., mostly savings of private citizens, are to be revalued up to 3,000 roubles at the rate of one old rouble to one new rouble. This is a kind of premium for people who hold their savings in banks. The first 3,000 roubles of larger bank deposits are revalued to their full amount, the following 7,000 at the rate of three old roubles to two new ones, i.e., with a loss of 33½ per cent., the rest over 10,000 roubles is to be revalued at the rate of two old roubles to one new rouble, i.e., with a loss of 50 per cent.

The current accounts of co-operative enterprises and organizations and of the kolkhozes are to be revalued with a loss of 20 per cent. of their nominal value (the current accounts of State enterprises seem not to suffer any diminution and private individuals cannot have current accounts in the Soviet Union), the bonds of public loans—with a loss of 66½ to 80 per cent.

These sharp differences in the rates of devaluation can hardly be explained if we consider the reform in terms of the orthodox theory. If it were an orthodox devaluation, how would it be possible to reduce the value of roubles in circulation by 90 per cent. and to leave savings in banks either unaffected or reduced in value at varying lesser rates?

(Among the depositors of the savings banks those with savings under 3,000 roubles are probably the great majority, though their deposits may form a relatively small part of all the money in banks.) It is even more difficult to sustain the devaluation theory if we take into consideration that wages, pensions, taxes, contract obligations between enterprises, etc., remain unchanged and that some prices are lowered, others raised, without direct connection with the supposed devaluation.

If we seemed to have gone wrong as to the term used to characterize the currency reform we did not however fall into the *Daily Worker's* mistake of interpreting the decree as being to the advantage of the Russian people. We apparently have Moscow on our side as this further extract from Mr. Schwarz shows:

I read with astonishment in the *Daily Worker* of December 15 that the decree "raises real wages of all workers and farmers"—that it brings material improvement to all working people. The authors of the decree were much more realistic; the decree declares:

"The carrying out of the currency reform demands certain sacrifices. The State is taking on itself the greater part of the sacrifices, but it is also necessary

for the population to bear a part of the sacrifices—all the more so since it will be the last sacrifice."

It is childish to say that "the State" and not the population bears "the greatest part of the sacrifices." All "sacrifices" of the State are borne by the people. But the authors of the decree do not close their eyes to the fact that the population is affected directly too, and the decree tries to alleviate the impression of this hard statement by a promise that this will be "the last sacrifice".

Who are the people who have to bear the sacrifices for the sake of currency reform? The greatest sacrifices are asked from those who hold their money in cash, not in the savings banks. In the cities they are mostly people whose savings are so limited or uncertain that

they are not accustomed to make bank deposits. They form the lowest strata of the urban working population. Of course, the financial results of their enforced sacrifices cannot be important to the economy, but for these needy people the loss of their money is a great blow.

But the greatest burden will fall on the peasants. They are not accustomed to deposit their money in savings banks. Most of them keep their savings at home. During the war and in the first post-war years there was very little to buy for their money and they hoped for a better future when they could get commodities they had needed for years. Now this money is 90 per cent. lost. The currency reform is being carried out mainly at the expense of the Russian peasantry.

## INDIANS DEFY SOUTH AFRICAN DISCRIMINATION

WHEN Gandhi died one of the people who made the most fulsome tributes to his memory was the Premier of South Africa, General Smuts. But at the very same time Indians in South Africa are forced to carry on the same campaign against racial discrimination for which Gandhi himself worked during his period in South Africa.

They are fighting against the Asiatic and Land Tenure Act, passed two years ago by the South African Government to restrict the occupation and acquisition of land by Indians in Natal and Transvaal.

Recently there was a campaign of squatting in Durban, during which many Indians were beaten up by white reactionaries and a number of them, together with the English

clergyman, Michael Scott, were imprisoned.

Now, fifteen Natal Indians have carried the campaign a step further by openly defying another racial act which forbids them to cross the frontier into the Transvaal. These Indians have travelled to Johannesburg, where they intend to wait until the Government either prosecute them or makes some concessions to their demands.

South Africa is probably the worst country in the world to-day for blatant racialism. The Indians suffer, but the Negro natives of the country have an even worse deal from the alliance of British and Boer exploiters who govern the country. It is only by a really widely-spread campaign of defiance and direct action that they can ever hope to get rid of this evil domination.



# IRELAND'S POLITICAL CIRCUS Patton Explains

By the time you read these lines, the outcome of the Eire General Election of February 4th will be known, so I would be unwise to attempt a prophecy of the result. But whatever the new alignment of the Irish political parties may be, it is hard to see how they will solve the grave problems facing the country—the high and rising cost of living, the adverse balance of trade (£84,000,000 last year), and the stream of emigrants leaving the Green Isle to seek work abroad.

## The Nation's Governess

DE VALERA'S Fianna Fail party has ruled since 1932 (when he supplanted William Cosgrave's Free State Party which had emerged successful from the Civil War to cope with the troubled twenties). The erstwhile revolutionary assumed the role of a stern but kindly governess with a brood of troublesome orphans. He has changed the name of the country, has declared, after consulting the Oxford English Dictionary, that Eire is in fact a Republic. He has attempted to put into practice the famous "Workers' Charter", Papal Encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* has encouraged manufacturers and traders with a comprehensive tariff system, while the Land Commission has broken up many of the big estates into family holdings. But with the passage of time, bringing increasing hardships to the sections of the community which his party once supported—the industrial workers, small-holders and old people—the policy of the *Taoiseach* has become little different from that of his predecessor.

In the 1944 elections Dev's trump card was the skill and determination with which he had kept his people out of the war, but with the aftermath of war, touching Ireland almost to the same extent as it has affected the successful belligerents, the people are discontented and disturbed by the cost of living, by the scarcities, the housing shortage and inflated prices caused by the influx of tourists.

## Dev's Opponents

The old Cosgrave party, now led by General Mulcahy and known as *Finé Gael*, is as devoid of policy as the Tories—its equivalent—are in Britain. It represents the remaining landowners, their hangers-on and some elements of the professional classes and stands for a closer liaison with Britain.

Clann na Talmhain, the Farmers' party which was the third largest in the last Dail, is merely a sort of National Farmers' Union and hopes to be invited to participate in a coalition.

There are two Labour parties, both small and weak, one standing for a watered-down version of the British Labour Party and paying lip-service to the memory of James Connolly and the other, the National Labour Party, a tentative emulation of the workers' organisation of the Catholic Corporate State.

## The Dark Horse

But the real threat to De Valera has been the new Republican party, the Clann

## PROVED BY DEFAULT

Some important facts about the Soviet regime may now be considered as proved by default. Not a scintilla of evidence, for instance, has been found in the voluminous Soviet archives to prove that there was any connection between the Trotskyists and the Nazis. Had any such evidence existed it would have been a most valuable exhibit for the Soviet prosecution in the Nuremberg trial. Nor was one shred of evidence discovered to support the Soviet contention that the Nazis massacred the thousands of Polish war prisoners in the Katyn Forest. The circumstantial proof that this particular atrocity was of Soviet, not of Nazi origin, remains overwhelming. Dallin and Nicolaevsky, in their *Forced Labour in Soviet Russia*, mentioned the specific locations of scores of Soviet slave labour reservations. Had even one of these locations been inaccurate the Soviet Government would scarcely have missed the propaganda opportunity to take foreign correspondents to the place and thereby try to discredit the book. That it has not done so is as good a proof of guilt by default as could be imagined.

The New Leader (U.S.A.), 27/12/47.

no Poblachta of Sean MacBride, whose winning of two out of three seats in recent by-elections decided the wily *Taoiseach* to hold the General Election now, instead of next year. MacBride, a typically picturesque Irish politician, is the son of Major John MacBride who fought against Britain in the Boer War and was executed by the British for his part in the 1916 Rising, and of Maud Gonne, the beautiful Sinn Féin leader and orator. MacBride himself was an active I.R.A. commander, in and out of prison during the Cosgrave and De Valera regimes, now a leading Dublin barrister. His party is all things to nearly all men. He intends to stop the drift of labour abroad, to stabilize prices, to oppose the foreign landlords, to make the currency independent of sterling, to clean-up public life, but has not given us an inkling of how this is to be achieved. His support comes from various sources, from the younger generation of professional and business men, from literary circles, from extreme nationalists and ex-I.R.A. supporters, disgruntled Labour men and former Communists. In fact, all the makings of a National Socialist movement. As for the Church,

which carries so much weight in political allegiances, it is reported that "he did once tell a visiting journalist that he was a practising Catholic, adding thoughtfully, that it might be difficult to succeed if he were not."

## The Betrayal

These, then, are the forces ranged against each other in this week's National Circus in the twenty-six counties. How far we have travelled from the ideas and aspirations of James Connolly, Padraig Pearse and George Russell! And how futile seems the struggle of our fathers when the nation they fought to found is squabbled over by political adventurers, Catholic puritans, jumped-up industrialists and scheming tradesmen. The Irish workers, on the land and in the towns, must learn the lessons of their continual betrayal. And the first lesson (a hard one for the Irish!) is that of the futility of political action. Their strength lies, not in the Dail, but in their own hands. May this lesson be learnt soon!

COLUM MACBHAIRDE.

# STRIKES IN SPAIN

THE year 1948 opened with a number of 'go-slow' strikes in Barcelona, Bilbao and elsewhere. New methods are being used to deal with strikes, of which a recent example was in the La Maquinista Maritima y Terrestre metallurgical factory in Barcelona. When the strike had gone on for some days without a settlement—the Secretary of the 'Vertical Syndicate' tried his best but failed—an Army Colonel turned up at the factory and addressed the assembled workers and technicians. He informed them that, from that moment, the factory was requisitioned, the workers mobilised, and all under military jurisdiction. Later in the day, soldiers came and the workers restarted work covered by machine-guns and rifles. But the work went on at a slower pace than ever, for no attempt was made to deal with the workers' grievances. The failure to deal with these grievances—pay, hours, food and general working conditions—not only in Barcelona but everywhere, is responsible for strikes and unrest. This, with a shortage of raw materials, accounts for the big decline in national production.

THE CNT in Catalonia last year formed a Committee to look after the interests of Anarcho-Syndicalist prisoners in this area. On 1st Nov. they printed and published clandestinely, a manifesto addressed to 'all persons of free conscience' on behalf of the prisoners, especially those in the Barcelona Model Prison, and voicing a general protest against the conditions in which they live. The principal point made in this statement is of importance. It is that in the prisons, those accused of or sentenced for genuinely common crimes (robbery, murder, assault, etc.) are better treated than the political prisoners. The latter are isolated from all social benefits given to the common criminals—cultural classes, cinema shows, etc.—and even from the use of the barber's shop and showerbaths. Parcels of clothes or little comforts addressed to political prisoners and delivered at the prison mysteriously disappear and never reach the addressees. The prison staff seem to be given a free hand to maltreat the *politicos* as they please. I was talking recently with the wife of a political prisoner who is so ill with tuberculosis that there is little or no hope of saving his life. For two

months she has been trying to get permission to see him, but it is always refused. This woman said to me: "Is there nobody in England who will do anything for us? My man is dying and Franco will not allow me to see him."

## Ruhr Comrade Dies In Mine Accident

Comrade Heinrich Hellmann has lost his life in a Ruhr mine accident. Comrade Hellmann was one of the remaining handful of active revolutionaries left, who are fighting with determination for a new orientation of the Ruhr miners on anarchist lines. He was known to many as a splendid comrade and friend, with a long record of revolutionary activity. He lost his father Wilhelm and his brother Willi, who were both killed in the conflict between the counter-revolution and the Ruhr workers in 1925. Thousands, friends and foes, joined the procession at their burial to demonstrate their solidarity and protest. Rose Hellmann, his mother, and Karl Börder, her companion, were arrested by the Gestapo as soon as Hitler came to power. Comrade Börder and Muhsam were prison mates in Brandenburg. The names of Hellmann and Börder are known to all militant miners in the Ruhr district, where once the organised anarcho-syndicalists had 12,000 members.

The loss of such a comrade as Hellmann is a heavy blow to the newly-growing movement. Comrade Hellmann's mother and widow, Börder, and many of the old comrades who knew Goldman, Nettlau, etc., and have maintained their Anarchist attitude, where many others have given way under the stress of persecution and privations or have become reformists, have

tences for military offences... I am convinced that, in justice to other men, soldiers who go to sleep on post, who go absent for an unreasonable time during combat, who shirk in battle, should be executed.

It is utterly stupid to say that general officers... are not capable of knowing how to remove the life of one miserable poltroon."

Patton was not only convinced that he had supreme power over men, God was also to be bullied to do what he wanted. Shortly before Christmas 1944, Patton recalls:

"The weather was so bad that I directed all army chaplains to pray for dry weather."

He called Chaplain O'Neill of the Third Army into his office and the conversation went along these lines:

General Patton: Chaplain, I want you to publish a prayer for good weather. I'm tired of these soldiers having to fight mud and floods as well as Germans. See if you can't get God to work on our side.

Chaplain O'Neill: Sir, it's going to take a pretty thick prayer rug for that kind of praying.

Patton: I don't care if it takes the flying carpet. I want the praying done.

O'Neill: Yes, sir. May I say, general, that it usually isn't a customary thing among men of my profession to pray for clear weather to kill fellow men.

Patton: Chaplain, are you teaching me theology or are you the chaplain of the Third Army? I want a prayer.

O'Neill: Yes, sir.

The prayer was issued to the troops, and the next day the weather cleared.

## British Government Sells Planes in Palestine

THAT the British authorities are taking up a vested interest in strife in Palestine after their departure, is shown by the recent news that the Army Disposals Board has recently sold to a subsidiary organisation of the Jewish Agency some 21 Auster aircraft, capable of bearing machine guns and carrying 100 lb. bombs. The Jewish Agency is also negotiating with the Army Disposals Board for the sale of 100 armoured cars, and also mortars, Bren guns and other weapons.

This thinly-disguised arming of the military forces of the new Jewish State shows that the British government still has its interests in maintaining an atmosphere of strife in the near East, so that it can prevent all the peoples of that area from combining to oppose the domination of the oil monopoly. Already, the Arab forces in Transjordan have been equipped, subsidised and officered by the British army. Now something very similar is being done with the Jewish forces. The old policy, divide and rule! Even if the British armies are not there, the imperial capitalists hope to maintain enough puppet armies of one

kind or another to safeguard their own material interests.

## TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE?

LIVING in a police state has its comic sides, though they may offer poor compensation for the major annoyances of life under such a condition. We are beginning in England to experience some of these follies of bureaucracies gone mad, but there have been few more ridiculous improbabilities than a recent incident in Edinburgh.

Two men approached another man and proposed a black market deal to him. The third man turned out to be a police inspector looking for black marketeers, and arrested the other two. But when they got to the police station, these two revealed themselves as being also police inspectors trying to get cases against black marketeers by the time-honoured and despicable dodge of provocation.

On this particular occasion the results of the under-hand activities of these police spies was comic and harmless; usually, however, their sneaking methods of tempting people into breaking the law and then arresting them are only too successful. But that is what one must expect from a police system where efficiency and promotion are necessarily gauged by success in producing arrested "criminals" with cast-iron cases against them.



SEND FOOD  
CLOTHING  
AND MONEY  
FOR  
GERMANY  
to the  
FREEDOM  
PRESS,  
27 Red Lion St.  
London, W.C.1



# TWO FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

## 1. Poetry & Anarchism

**POETRY AND ANARCHISM**  
by Herbert Read. (Freedom Press, 5/-)

AFTER having been out of print for some time, a new edition of Herbert Read's *Poetry and Anarchism* has now appeared, and it is to be welcomed in that it makes available one of the most valuable and best written books on libertarian thought in the English language.

*Poetry and Anarchism* was originally written in 1938. At that time the Spanish revolution was struggling for its life, not only against the Fascists, but also against the authoritarian elements, headed by the Communists, within the "Republican" lines. In England the limelight was consistently thrown on the Communists and Socialists, and the achievements of the anarchists in social reconstruction were comparatively unknown, not only to the general newspaper readers, but also to the majority of intellectuals.

Hence, at this time, those of the writers who were at all socially conscious tended to support the Communists; all the leading younger poets of the time ran with the party pack—writers like Spender and Day Lewis produced vague pro-Communist tracts, and the only poet of any standing who realised the validity of anarchist ideas was Herbert Read.

To-day, the situation has altered. The final days of the Spanish civil war, the Communist somersaults and betrayals during the 1939-45 war, the emergence of disquieting facts concerning the Moscow trials and the suppression of free speech and thought in Soviet Russia, have had their cumulative effect of detaching the majority of left-wing writers from the Communist Party. Most of them now hold an independent position, but there is a considerable number of the younger writers, both in England and America, who now express anarchist ideas or libertarian views closely akin to anarchism. Marxism was the theoretical pole of literature in the 1930's; to-day its place has undoubtedly been taken by anarchism and its allied libertarian tendencies.

Nevertheless, although the scene has changed, Read's *Poetry and Anarchism* remains as important as it did before. In 1938 it was an unpopular bog among intellectuals; to-day, when such books as Spender's *Forward from Liberalism* have become as dated as the aspidistra in the parlour window, it still remains, in spite of the events which have broken so many cocksure visions of the Left, a pertinent and constructive work. Indeed, the events have rather tended to confirm Read's analysis and to give more point to his arguments for an anarchist society.

In the introductory chapter Read states his belief that the intellectual should confine himself to essentials, and so distinguishes himself from the poets who limp like Baudelaire's albatross on the uncongenial ground of party politics. "There is nothing I so instinctively avoid," he says, "as a static system of ideas. I realise that form, pattern, and order are essential aspects of existence, but in themselves they are the attributes of death." These words should be borne in mind, for there is a temptation even for anarchists to become dogmatic and to be led into the impasse of sectarianism.

Read develops his argument by showing the impossibility in modern society of the artist finding the circumstances necessary for his complete fulfilment. He shows the difficulty of escape from the evils of an industrial capitalism, and then demonstrates, by a review of the position of artists in Russia and the fascist coun-

tries, how a revolution which has established the government of a political sect can only worsen the position of the artist because it must either use him for its own ends or destroy him. He then turns to examine the case of England, afflicted by a disease of uniformity, a national hatred of the individualist and the artist. This condition, he shows, exists because the English more than any other race have sold their souls to capitalism.

"We in England have suffered the severest form of capitalist exploitation we have paid for it, not only in physical horror and destitution, in appalling deserts of cinders and smoke, in whole cities of slums and rivers of filth—we have paid for it also in a death of the spirit. We have no taste because we have no faith in our common humanity."

It is only in a communal, classless society that the poet will give free expression to the individual and unpredictable urges of creation. Read argues the need for a society based on common ownership and the necessity within such a society of freedom and the abolition of classes and of bureaucratic state machinery. He demonstrates that anarcho-syndicalist administration by functional organisations of the workers is the only practical solution to the problem posed. This section of *Poetry and Anarchism* and the later essay, *The Philosophy of Anarchism*, represent the clearest and most stimulating modern exposition of the anarchist theory.

The other day I was talking to a fairly well-known historical writer who was formerly a leading Labour Party theoretician and, having left the Labour Party because of its internal dictatorship, now wanders in a kind of hinterland of vague liberalism. This writer admitted to me that anarchism was the only basis on which the artist or the intellectual could possibly conduct his life and contended that the rest of society was not ready for anarchism. Read's arguments give the answer to this partial attitude, by showing that the freedom of the artist is bound up with the freedom of society in general; where a ruling class finds it necessary to impose any kind of restriction, it is bound, first of all, to inhibit free expression.

There are some details, almost wholly of definition, on which I would not wholly agree with Read, but these in no way detract from the value of *Poetry and Anarchism* as a good and clear exposition of the only

Three New Important  
**FREEDOM PRESS**  
publications  
now available

### A HANDBOOK ON HANGING

by Charles Duff

In our opinion this book is the most damning indictment of Capital Punishment yet written, and in view of the fact that during the coming months arguments will be put forward for and against the Death penalty, FREEDOM PRESS have produced this new, revised cheap edition of Charles Duff's little masterpiece.

It created a stir when it was published 20 years ago, and we are sure that the present edition containing much new material, including the Nuremberg Hangings, will rouse strong feelings on both sides.

80 pages 2s. (post 3d)

### POETRY AND ANARCHISM

by Herbert Read

This book has been announced already but publication was delayed at the binding stage in its production. However, copies are now ready and all orders in hand are being dealt with. Although this book may be considered by some an unorthodox approach to Anarchism, it is to be recommended to anarchists and non-anarchists alike.

80 pages cloth 5s. (post 4d.)

### NATIONALISM AND CULTURE

by Rudolf Rocker

If you can afford the price of this book, we urge you to obtain a copy now. If you cannot, then you will be doing a service to yourself and others by asking your local Public Library to order a copy. Already many readers have done so, with good results. F. A. Ridley, editor of "Socialist Leader" recently wrote of this book that "whatever one may think of its author's standpoint, it is indisputable that (it) is one of the few great books hitherto produced in the 20th century; one of the very few on social philosophy that will withstand the passing of the centuries."

592 pages 2ls. (post 9d.)

Send your orders now to:  
**FREEDOM PRESS**  
27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

system that will rid mankind of war, poverty and injustice and, by doing this, give to the poet and the artist latent in every man its maximum freedom for creative expression.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

## I.L.P. Criticises Labour

**SOCIALIST POLICY FOR TO-DAY,**  
by Bob Edwards (National Labour Press, 6d.)

THE ILP has been going through a process of losing its political influence and also its most famous members. From a political party with a footing of three members in the House of Commons, it has shrunk in a year or so into a purist faction trying to maintain in a world of Labour corruption at least some of the idealist values of the early Socialist pioneers. In the process it has lost many distinguished names, but seems to be all the better for the loss of such dead wood, and there has been a certain definite increase in the acuteness of its criticisms of the policy adopted by the present Labour Government. The old cant about having to support the Labour Government, just because it is a Labour Government, has been dropped with the trimmers who put it forward, and the ILP, losing any possibility of gaining power in a foreseeable space of time, has at least increased its value as a medium of criticism.

Bob Edwards, who recently wrote a very interesting book exposing the monopoly rackets in the Chemical industry, has now published a pamphlet criticising the policy of the Labour Government with regard to the "Crisis", and indicating the causes

for this crisis. And there is very much that he has to say that we can agree with strongly.

He points out how the Labour government is perpetuating the monopoly capitalist system at home and the imperialist system abroad, and indicates the essential fallacies of the export drive, which, while depriving British workers of the products of their own industry, largely in order to maintain large military commitments abroad, is doomed to failure because of the intense competition it is likely to meet abroad.

He advocates a sweeping away of the vested interests that clog production in this country, and an adequate use of scientific discoveries in the way of chemicals and power production to ensure that sufficient is produced here to keep the people in abundance. He brings forward much evidence to support the possibility of putting this policy into effect—a policy which has been advocated by the anarchists for the past 40 years!

He also calls for the abolition of labour direction and the placing of the means of production under workers' control. But there is, of course, behind all this the fact that as a last resort the ILP still advocates that this policy should be put forward by a government. Like other

## 2. A Handbook on Hanging

**A HANDBOOK ON HANGING**  
by Charles Duff (Freedom Press, 80 pp., 2/-).

IN about six weeks time the Criminal Justice Bill will be given its third reading in Parliament. In the course of the debate an amendment will be considered which proposes that the death penalty should be abolished.

It would seem that too many people in this country allow their horror of brutal murders to blind them to the brutality and barbarity of judicial hangings. At any rate that is the conclusion one is forced into if one accepts the findings of the Gallop poll taken in 1947, which revealed that some 65 per cent, of the people in this country were in favour of retaining hanging, 25 per cent. were opposed and 10 per cent. "didn't know". It is possible that many of the 65 per cent. lack the necessary imagination to visualise what mental torture a man must undergo for weeks as he waits for the day of execution. Or they may suppress such sentiments because in such matters one must be a "realist and not a sentimentalist". But how many of these people would support capital punishment were they able to know exactly what it implied, quite apart from the mental torture of

the man to be hanged? And this is a question which all those who are in favour of hanging must face up to, and yet don't. Charles Duff's *Handbook on Hanging* will jerk many of them out of their self-righteousness and self-complacency!

The *Handbook* is a satire, and successful satire at that. The author succeeds in obliging one to read the book right through in spite of the unpleasant subject under discussion. Indeed, there are moments when Duff's wit makes us smile and almost overlook the sordid detail he may be dealing with. But in the end one realises that an overwhelming case has been built up for the abolition of Capital punishment on ethical grounds.

And it was because the *Freedom Press* felt this aspect of the case was being lost in the campaigns of statistics and counter-statistics, that it was decided to bring out a new edition of the *Handbook on Hanging*, at a price within everyone's reach.

It was first published 20 years ago; a new edition was printed in 1938. The present edition is as the author states on the title page, "enlarged, diligently compared and revised in accordance with the most recent developments." A section is included on the Nuremberg Hangings and another on the recent utterances of Prof. Joad, G. B. Shaw and Viscount Templewood (former Home Secretary) on the subject of Capital Punishment.

*A Handbook on Hanging* is a piece of satirical writing worth reading *per se*. But it is also the most telling attack on capital punishment we have yet read. It is just the thing to loan those acquaintances or workmates who, without giving much thought to the subject, support this most barbarous of existing institutions.

V.

## Freedom Bookshop

### FROM OUR STOCK:

THE LOOM OF LANGUAGE	Frederick Bodmer 15/-
TECHNICS & CIVILISATION	Lewis Mumford 21/-
TO THE FINLAND STATION	Edmund Wilson 20/-
ROGUES' GALLERY	ed. by Ellery Queen 10/6
ON ART & SOCIALISM	Wm. Morris 8/6
THE REPRIEVE	Jean-Paul Sartre 10/-
THE AGE OF REASON	Jean-Paul Sartre 10/-
THE WAYWARD BUS	J. Steinbeck 9/6
LETTERS FROM AN OUTPOST	Alex Comfort 7/6
POLITICS OF THE UNPOLITICAL	Herbert Read 7/6
GULLIVER'S TRAVELS	Jonathan Swift 6/-
THE BROTHERS KARAMAZOV	Dostoevsky, 2 vols., each 4/-
THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR	KHAYYAM 3/6
DEAR BABY	Wm. Saroyan 6/-
THE STORY OF MANKIND	Van Loon 2/-
POLITICS & LETTERS	Winter/Spring Number 5/-

We also distribute "Le Libertaire" 3d., "Resistance" 3d., "Industrial Worker" 3d., "L'Adunata" 3d., "Volonta" 1/-, "Senstatano" 2d.

Specimen copies will be sent on request.

Postage is not included in above prices, and should be added.

List of "Freedom" Publications, etc., on request.

Please send all orders to  
**FREEDOM BOOKSHOP**  
27, RED LION STREET  
LONDON - W.C.1.

## WILLIAM MORRIS AND THE COMMUNISTS

THERE is something of a dog fight going on between the Labourites and the Communists as to which party the late William Morris belongs to. Attlee claims that Morris would have approved his own brand of "democratic socialism", the Communists that Morris would have taken a C.P. card had he lived to-day, and an article in the *Daily Worker* maintained that, because Morris used the word "Communism" he was necessarily as good as a Marxist.

We agree with the Communists that Morris would have no use for Attlee's "democratic Socialism". But we also claim that he would have had just as little use for present-day Communism.

It is true that Morris wrote a pamphlet advocating Communism as a means of economic life. But so did Kropotkin. The fact is that the word *Communism* has quite a different meaning to-day from what it had fifty or sixty years ago. Then it was used almost completely in a libertarian sense, by the anarchists and other free Socialists. It did not come back into use by the authoritarians until after the Russian revolution when the Bolsheviks (until then calling themselves social-democrats) wished to cash-in on the reputation which anarchist communism enjoyed in Russia, and, since they could not call themselves anarchists, adopted the title of Communists.

Morris was never a Marxist. He always disliked Marxism. And no-one who reads his works will have any illusions about his possible approval of what is going on to-day in Russia under the name of Communism. Morris always advocated a libertarian society, and for what he called "State Socialism" (of which the most extreme form masquerades as Communism in Russia to-day) he had the greatest contempt.

In *News from Nowhere*, we find the sketch of a purely anarchist society, without laws, government, prisons, police, or any other of those State Socialist amenities which the Communists of to-day support.

The man of the future, talking of government in *News from Nowhere*, described government as:

"... the machinery of tyranny. Now tyranny has come to an end and we no longer need such machinery; we could not possibly use it since we are free. Therefore, in your sense of the word we have no government."

Does that sound like Uncle Joe's NKVD Paradise?

political parties, it has not yet given up its respect for power, and until it does, its most excellent intentions will always be vitiated by this fundamental contradiction. It is only because this side of ILP theory is hardly mentioned by Bob Edwards that we agree so much with what he says in this pamphlet, which, as a careful and informed criticism of the Labour Government, is well worth attention.



# Letters to the Editors

## ANARCHIST INTERNATIONAL

DEAR COMRADES,

"Libertarian" states, in my view correctly, that an Anarchist International can "never assume the role of a Cominform" but I am not sure the alternative is a "federation of national federations"; I do not believe our movement should be divided on purely nationalistic lines, and our discussions on tactics dealt with by groups which happen merely to reside in the same country. The alternative does not seem to me to be an international centre, but one suggested by the organisation of the Italian movement as described in the subsequent issue (Dec. 27th): namely, no central committee but merely a correspondence commission serving to co-ordinate the bodies belonging to the organization.

It would be interesting to know if this has proved successful in Italy; and if so, it would not only be more in accordance with our philosophy, but also with the practical possibility of its maintenance.

One point I hope the Union of Anarchist Groups ought to insist on, in my opinion, is that such association is only beneficial if it is confined to those who are convinced of our aims and have "kept the faith". To include for the sake of numbers and unity, those pessimistic of the possibility of action and who have therefore collaborated with any authoritarian and political tendency they could, would be to take away from its value altogether.

INTERNATIONALIST.

## Letter from Canada

DEAR COMRADES,

During the time that I have read your paper I have been impressed again and again by the accuracy of your views and facts. These have often been repeated and shared by other people and groups who cannot be considered anarchist in any sense of the term. One instance I have in mind is the recent publicity given to some small firms in Canada and the U.S.A., where employees share in profits and ownership as well as direction. While this may seem to be a capitalist sop, I

believe that aggressive and intelligent workers can develop this into 100% worker-owned industry which is in other words—syndicalism.

Here in the rural area working-class consciousness and solidarity are nil. The more progressive and intelligent people are C.C.F. (the Canadian Socialists) who at present have the crusading spirit which the British Labour Party had some years ago before taking office. While I am supposed to be C.C.F. I find *Freedom* a great comfort in the local uncongenial political atmosphere.

In conclusion, I would like to see a discussion in *Freedom* on the rôle of medicine and eugenics in ushering in the future libertarian era. While I believe that better environment will improve the general character of men, I also feel that the factor of heredity must not be neglected. I think the quantity of increased freedom to people must keep pace with their moral quality. The influence of eugenics on heredity is conceded by all. Can a democratic system of eugenics be carried out compatible with anarchist principles? My reason for asking about eugenics is that it is absent from anarchist literature. I feel that it must play an important part in the development of future society and cannot be ignored. What do the medical contributors to your columns think about it?

Ontario, Canada.

M.A.P.

## PRESTON CLEMENTS

DEAR COMRADES,

Preston Clements, whose illness was noted in the December issue of *Freedom*, has since contracted double pneumonia, but is now fortunately out of danger and on the road to recovery. Those friends and comrades who were kind enough to write wishing him well may care to know that his address is now Ward 8B, Stobhill Hospital, Glasgow, N.

On leaving hospital the comrade will have to undergo a long period of convalescence in the country, and we would be very grateful if any reader of *Freedom* knowing of a vacant country cottage, however remote, would write to me at 43, Cunningham Street, Glasgow, C.1.

Yours fraternally,  
MARGARET CLEMENTS.

# INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

A MOUTHFUL of fine words about individual freedom are of little use in removing the shackles from a bound man. When we hear Conservatives and Liberals bemoaning the restrictions and regulations imposed by the present Government we can only ask two questions, "What did and would you do in power?" and "What are you doing about it now?"

The standardisation of industrial life under capitalism has steadily grown throughout the years of the present century, and the life of the average man and woman in capitalism has been made-to-measure, bound by the mass factories and chain-stores and mass-produced houses, with every opportunity for enjoyment standardised and regulated, and the opportunity for work at the decisions of a group of top-ranking speculators and business men. This dreary existence has been glossed over by capitalist apologists as the days of 'individual initiative'. Who were the individuals who had the opportunity to exploit their own initiative? The vast majority had to subordinate their initiative to their employers. They had nothing to exploit but their own labour; it was only those with capital to exploit who could exercise their individual initiative. And did it bring individual freedom? To a few dozen—the men who rose from nothing by a series of fortunate coincidences and few scruples to become captains of industry—perhaps. Not to those who became small shopkeepers, and were tied down to serve their customers and depend on goodwill which they had to court like a capricious employer, and often finish up selling out to the chain-stores. Only the war, bringing the quota system, has made them independent.

## HEAD IN THE SAND

DEAR SIR,

I'm writing to ask you to discontinue sending me *Freedom*. I'm doing this because although *Freedom* is a good paper, I find it most depressing reading.

There is so much which is depressing these days that I don't wish to read a paper which gives so little hope to the world.

West Drayton.

J.N.

## Freedom Between the Wars

There was no individual freedom in Britain between the wars for the majority of the people, only for the very few who rose to the top. Life was standardised and set by the compulsion of economic necessity. That is what the Liberals and Conservatives did when they were in power. What do they propose to do if they regain power? They talk of sweeping away controls but do not let us know specifically what they are going to sweep away. Will direction of labour continue? Will identity cards continue? If conscription continues, they must do—will conscription continue? (The Conservatives always stood alone for compulsory military training on the Continental model. The "Left" opposed it, before they realised how much power it gave them.)

So far from stating which controls they propose to abolish, the "opponents" of the present Government talk in generalities because it is quite obvious that they propose to abolish very few except those directly concerning their individual profits. Direction of labour suits the employers very well, and while opposition to it is a good electioneering tactic, there is little intention to do away with it. The people who pretend to oppose controls talk of "action against strikers" which can only be such things as direction and police proceedings on the present totalitarian model.

The situation in this prospect is similar to that in prohibition-era America. The capitalists and middle-class were vociferous in opposing Prohibition, which deprived them of their individual liberty and encouraged gangsterism. But they welcomed it as depriving "the shiftless workman" of a drink, and when it became clear as daylight that it didn't prevent them having a drink themselves if they had enough money and knew the right people, they allowed it to continue, until eventually the gangster element went too far, and made so much a racket of it that it had to be repealed.

## Ruling Class and Direction

Our ruling class oppose Direction of Labour which theoretically deprives them of their "individual liberty" in hiring and firing, and makes certain sections of them

subject to it themselves, as well as encouraging "spivs" and black market racketeering in goods in short supply as a result of switching labour on to "export only". But they welcome it as shackling the workman, and as it becomes quite clear that the employer is as well protected by police proceedings as by hiring and firing, they will doubtless allow it to continue until our growing "underworld" reaches the same degree as America's did. Alternatively, unless the workman wakes up to realise what's going on, the former will probably be sooner!

It is clear that the Liberals and Conservatives, while theoretically opposing the government's programme of State control, do nothing about it. It is quite clear too that something could be done about it if anybody wanted to do it. Writing protests to the papers about the indignity in carrying about an identity card are useless—it is doubtful if the present Ministers of State read anything in the papers beyond carefully selected clippings saying what a good job they're doing. Since deserters and people on the run generally don't carry identity cards because they can't do so, it seems that one can live quite well without them, and now that the war is over, what are we carrying them for?

## Refusal to Obey

It has been proved that people cannot be kept in jobs which they do not wish to do. It is more or less merely a question of whether one prefers to go to prison once or twice. The collapse of the Bevin coal-mining scheme, when thousands of coal-mine conscripts were "missing", rather seems to indicate it.

It would really be a very good thing if the entire population of Great Britain changed its address and failed to notify the National Registration Officer. This would certainly occur to a native population subject to the demands put upon us, but as we are too civilised to think of such a thing would it be too much to suggest to the controlled, regulated, directed and rationed population of Britons that never will be slaves while free labour is so easy to handle, that once in a while they try filling in a form wrongly, or failing to send in a return just to see what happens?

A.M.

## PROLECATS

It pays to be a worker in Labourite New Zealand, as even cats have found out. While "prolecats" who keep warehouses free of rats and mice get weekly meat ration tickets, household "aristocrats" are denied all ration privileges.

The Call, 9/1/48.

Animals unlike humans had been able, up to now, to put into practice the maxim: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." N.Z. cats are now in the position of poor human beings.

## SPONTANEOUS DEMONSTRATION

Generalissimo Stalin will soon be receiving about 12,000,000 identical printed postcards—if everybody in Czechoslovakia responds to an appeal in Prague's Communist paper.

Every Czechoslovak citizen is urged to post a card issued by the Association of Friends of the Soviet Union, with a text in Czech and Russian expressing their desire for a strong alliance with the Soviet Union, and bearing the address (also printed): "J. V. Stalin, Moscow, Kremlin."

The large nationalised enterprises have ordered such postcards for every one of their employees.

Leader, 24/1/48.

## WAR—NON-STOP

When an ex-soldier said at Bow county court to-day that he returned home when the war was over, Judge Alun Pugh said: "But the war is not yet over; we are still in a state of emergency."

Evening Standard, 21/1/48.

## THOSE POOR RICH

A happy band of travellers left chilly London to-day, bound for sunny South America. Some were on business, others on holiday. They sail to-morrow on the maiden voyage as a liner, of the SS. Andes.

The holiday-makers will have no dollars to spend—but the Andes will act as a floating hotel in Buenos Aires, and they will pay in sterling. Fare for a first class suite de luxe for two is £1,200. A first class stateroom for two (with private bathroom) costs £650.

Lord Poulett, who farms in Somerset, is taking his blonde Danish wife on a five-week trip for a holiday. Lady Katherine Drummond, 84-year-old widow and daughter of the late Marquess of Bristol, is doing the five-week round trip.

There are several lucky family parties. Sir Benjamin Bromhead is taking his wife, their three children, and their governess.

Evening Standard, 21/1/48.

# Through the Press

## BUY THEM OFF!

A suggestion for a special official welcome for the first grain shipment from the U.S.S.R. was turned down by Mr. Harold Wilson, President of the Board of Trade, yesterday in the Commons.

He saw no reason for it, he told Sir Richard Acland, as official welcomes were not given to shipments from other countries.

When Cmdr. Noble (Con., Chelsea) asked whether the 12 Soviet wives could be sent in the ship, he said this was a trade, not a political agreement.

News Chronicle, 23/1/48.

Why not exchange Soviet wives for British goods?

## ARE THEY REALLY NECESSARY?

No fewer than 25,000 controls hem in the individual lives of the people of Britain, declared Lord Woolton in a Conservative Party political broadcast last night.

Sunday Dispatch, 25/1/48.

Jefferson once said: "That Government is best which governs least."

## GOD'S PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER

The Church Assembly has recommended the appointment of a Chief Information Secretary at a salary of £2,000 a year, an assistant at £1,500, a Press officer at £1,000, and assistants.

This is part of a £14,000 a year scheme to give more publicity to the Church.

Proposals include the setting up of a Church Information Board to be responsible for advising the Archbishop of Canterbury on public opinion.

News Chronicle, 26/1/48.

## STAKHANOVITE?

Dr. Charles Hill, secretary of the British Medical Association, deploring the decline in family life in Britain, said in London to-day: "We are told about the present increase in the birth-rate by the Ministry of Health with such pride that one might be led to believe that the Minister of Health was himself responsible for it."

Evening Standard, 29/1/48.

## "DISTURBED"

Education chiefs are disturbed by the Army's report that ten in every hundred recruits can't read or write.

And Sir Graham Savage, Education Officer of the L.C.C., suggested to the Association of Education Officers in London yesterday:

"I wonder if the Army could be persuaded to send particulars of the men found to be illiterate so that we could trace back the fact to a cause, much as the Medical Officer of Health does in the case of epidemics?"

Sir Graham, president of the Association, complained that the totals given by Army chiefs on the number of illiterates had "baffling" differences.

Daily Mirror, 23/1/48.

## BRIGHT-NEWS

The directors of F. W. Woolworth and Co., announce a final dividend of 35 per cent. and a bonus of 20 per cent., both less tax, on Ordinary stock for the year ended December 31st, 1947, making 70 per cent. for the year (same).

Net profits £9,603,834 (against £9,148,357).

Evening Standard, 20/1/48.

## BUSINESS WITH TEARS

Soviet Russia is now Britain's biggest foreign market for machinery, and our machinery exports to her in 1947 were more than double any peacetime year, according to a Board of Trade analysis of the 1947 import and export figures, published to-day.

Daily Worker, 24/1/48.

Sir Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer, said that any loss of interest in connection with the Soviet trade agreement was approximately £4 million.

News Chronicle, 28/1/48.

## SNOOPING?

Whitehall unions are receiving complaints from members alleging new activity by M.I.5.

One extreme Left Wing unionist, who holds a confidential Ministry post, says that telephone calls at his flat are being "tapped".

Daily Express, 26/1/48.

## 'MAN OF PEACE'

Molotov has been nominated by Bucharest University for this year's Peace Prize.

Daily Express, 23/1/48.

## DEPT. OF IDIOCY

A U.S. district judge yesterday ordered the State of Oklahoma to admit a Negro to its university law school or refuse to admit Whites this term.

Judge Justin Henshaw ruled that the State would have to provide "equal facilities" for Mrs. Ada Lois Fisher, 23.

University officials had decided to found a complete new college—for Negroes only—to keep Mrs. Fisher out.

It was to open next Monday. The facilities were to be "excellent". And Mrs. Fisher was to be the only student.

The officials boasted: "We've never had a Negro student since the university started in 1882."

Mrs. Fisher enrolled at the university on Monday—with the support of the Supreme Court.

Daily Mirror, 23/1/48.

## THAT SHOCKING BUSINESS

Married schoolgirls who are going to have babies are to be expelled from schools in Berkeley County, West Virginia, U.S.A.

Superintendent of Schools, G. W. Ropp told the *Daily Mirror* New York correspondent: "The situation became critical at a secondary school at Martinsburg, where fourteen married couples are enrolled."

"About four of the married girls there have babies. We decided it wasn't in the best interests of the boys and girls to have obviously pregnant students in the classrooms."

"These girls were causing undesirable discussions among the other pupils, some of whom are as young as twelve."

"This talk was carried into the homes and we received complaints from parents."

Daily Mirror, 24/12/47.

It would be interesting to know what West Virginian mothers do when they expect a child and have already grown-up children.

## ROYAL PRIVILEGE

Wedding gifts from abroad to Princess Elizabeth involved a liability of £11,004 4s. 8d. Purchase Tax and £1,310 15s. 8d. Customs Duty, which had been waived.

Daily Herald, 21/1/48.

## POLICEMAN CHEATS

In Cambridge, Mass., a would-be policeman flunked his physical when examiners found that he had raised his height to the required 5ft. 6ins. by plastering his long hair back over half a coconut shell.

Time, 19/1/48.

## "THE CRITICS"

I can hardly trust myself to comment on the gracious ignorance with which the group dismissed William Morris. The poor mutts seemed to agree that because the Socialism of Morris was not that of the present Government, one of England's greatest men should be dismissed as a quaintly anarchistic rentier who meant well but was nothing compared with Herbert Morrison.

Radio Correspondent,

News Chronicle, 24/1/48.

## FRATERNISATION

The Archbishop of York, Dr. Garbett, said yesterday at York, that many more men representing Labour and the trade unions should be given a place in the reformed House of Lords.

"The whole House would now welcome a larger representation of the Labour Party, especially of those with practical experience in the mines, shipyards and other industries," he declared.

Daily Herald, 14/1/48.

## LOST PROPERTY

Miss Sibyl Clement Brown told a London conference on mental health yesterday:

"D.P. children are still shipped like parcels, on which even direction labels are missing."

"It is possible for respected societies of our own Commonwealth to ship children to the other end of the world, sending with them no account whatever of their precious lives."

News Chronicle, 17/1/48.

## HIS FRIENDS

Ex-King Umberto of Italy said to-day he believes Britain is "too fair" to deprive his family of its money in London. "I have confidence in the British sense of fair play," he said.

Daily Express, 17/1/48.

## JOIN THE MINERS!

Three miners and their families had to move out yesterday from huts at Bentley, Yorks.

They could find no other homes so they went to the workhouse. By workhouse rules, the miners cannot go out to their jobs.

The huts where they lived are wanted for trainees for the pits.

Daily Express, 14/1/48.



## Anarchist Commentary

# Cat and Mouse Continues

DISCRIMINATION against conscientious objectors continues, even in nominal times of peace. Recently, a Bristol objector, who had already served a sentence of a month for refusing to take a medical examination has been brought before the courts again and sentenced to three months on the same charge. The man in question served in the N.F.S. during the war, when he was injured, and is at present working on a farm. Thus, his persecution can serve no really useful purpose, even to the Government, and seems to have been actuated by pure bureaucratic malice on the part of the Ministry of Labour.

## WAR OFFICE HOLDS LANDS

THE struggle between the Service Ministries and the people in the country districts over the grabbing of land for training purposes is still continuing. The original War Office demands have been

somewhat whittled down, but they are still asking for a wholly disproportionate area of land which is either of agricultural value or which contains valuable natural and scenic amenities.

In Wales, the area has been reduced from the original claim of 140,000 acres to 100,000. The Welsh people in general, through their various organisations, have expressed their dissatisfaction with having so much of their land still devoted to military purposes, but so far the attempts to get the area further reduced have been completely unsuccessful.

Meanwhile, a most dangerous precedent is being created under a so-called workers' government, by which the Service Departments are denying the workers access to holiday areas which they have been able to use for centuries.

## THE CASE OF TWO ATOM SCIENTISTS

SOMETHING which looks very like political discrimination of the best American type has taken place in the case of two scientists, Ian Hutcheon and Dudley Spalding, formerly members of the Communist Party, who were employed at the Government guided-missile research station at Westcott.

Both men, with first-class science degrees, had been employed as temporary experimental officers at the station since April, 1946. Some months ago they were approved for appointment to permanent positions at the station and strongly recommended by the superintendent. Since then, however, they have been told by the Ministry of Supply that they cannot have permanent posts as atomic research officers, and were directed to other Government employment. Both men resigned in protest.

An interesting fact is that the *Daily Express* thought fit to devote its main headline to the case, but this paper has considerably distorted the story for purposes of sensation. It makes a headline that the men were "sacked", and then says that they were "forced to resign", both of which statements are untrue. The men resigned voluntarily when they realised they would not be given the permanent posts to which they were entitled, as we are informed by a correspondent from Wadham College, Oxford, where one of the men, Ian Hutcheon, is now studying for a physics degree.

The case is therefore interesting from two points of view. It shows firstly a really typical example of distortion in the capitalist press. But we should not be led away by that into minimising the fact that the two men seem quite evidently to have

been the victims of political discrimination. We hold no particular brief for them personally, as we regard scientists who engage in atomic research for military purposes singularly lacking in social responsibility, but in its general application their case does represent something which looks very like a beginning in England of the anti-Communist witch-hunt at present going on in America.

## NUDES IN NEWPORT

THE controversy over Kelly's painting of a nude girl smoking a cigarette, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy and then bought for the Newport Art Gallery, has at last ended with the retention of the picture and the defeat of the moralists.

The particular variety of moralism exhibited in Newport is peculiar and interesting. Apparently a nude is not immoral in itself, but with the addition of a cigarette, it becomes "unwholesome, suggestive and offensive to womanhood". No doubt the cigarette can be regarded as a remotely phallic symbol, but it is certainly interesting to see Newport moralists attaching such an exaggerated importance to it. Have they been reading their Freud too well? Or are they like that just by nature?

# DON'T TAKE US FOR GRANTED

TO be taken for granted is a disadvantage in more ways than one. And somehow we feel that our comrades take "Freedom" for granted even more than do the sympathisers amongst our readers.

"Freedom" (and its predecessor "War Commentary") has now appeared regularly for the past eight years and it is perhaps assumed that the production of the paper has, more or less, become an automatic process, requiring a minimum of energy and thought, and very little money!

Yet there is more than twice the material in "Freedom" now than there was in "War Commentary" in 1940, and it appears twice as often. And each issue of "Freedom" costs twice the price of "War Commentary" to produce.

Very few of our comrades submit articles to the Editors or write letters for publication, and even fewer of them contribute to the Press Fund. Yet we are convinced that if "Freedom" failed to appear they would be surprised and even shocked. And the sum total of this attitude is what we call "to be taken for granted"!

May we make it quite clear to all our comrades that we welcome contributions to the columns of "Freedom" (though obviously we cannot be expected to give a carte blanche undertaking that all MSS received will be published) and unreservedly accept their contributions to the Press Fund. Furthermore, no group of comrades presumes to monopolise the distribution of "Freedom". No offer to sell "Freedom" at meetings or at street corners has ever been turned down. In fact, we have always been the champions of the rights of comrades to sell the paper without police interference. Our only regret is that there have been so few comrades to champion.

And lastly, it is a mistake to think that the members of Freedom Press group spend their days in armchairs, smoking Turkish cigarettes in long amber holders, talking

airily of existentialism and surrealism and Wilhelm Reich. We produce the paper and the F.P. publications, we lick the stamps and address the wrappers; we send out reminders to subscribers and visit book-sellers with our books; we make up the parcels of food and clothing for Germany; we also run a bookshop and deal with nearly 5,000 letters a year. And when that's done we find time to earn our livings as best we can.

So, please don't take us for granted. "Freedom" and the cause it stands for need more workers and more money to develop and expand. We need money immediately to pay off our 1947 debts, and if this cannot be done soon our programme of work for 1948 will suffer, and this will in its turn affect all our work for the future. The January total published below is less than half of what we need each month this year if we are to keep going.

## Press Fund

January 16th—29th:

London, Ontario: F.P. 5/-; Allentown: W.S. £1/0/0; M.L. 10/-; Anon 2/6; Anon 6/-; Oxford: B.E.H. 6/6; Edinburgh: Anon 2/-; Arizona: B.R.B. 4/-; London: Anon £3/0/0; S. Woodford: E.L. 5/-; London: D. -/6d.; Argyll: F.D. (per J.W.) 10/-; Glasgow: collected by J.W. £5/0/0; Bolton: W.H.B. 5/6; Fulham: F.D.C. 1/-; Denver, Col.: R.B. £1/7/4; London: R.F. 10/-; London: E.L.D. 2/6; Oxford: D.R.L. 3/-; Altrincham: M.A. 10/-; Tamworth: V.R. 1/6; London: N.C.A. 1/6; Haslemere: H.B. 6/-; London: H.A.M. 6/6; Edinburgh: G.L. 10/-; Whitway: L.G.W. 5/-.

Previously acknowledged	£16 1 4
1948 TOTAL TO DATE	£12 9 0
	£28 10 4



# EDWARD CARPENTER ON CRIME

(Continued from page 2)

to fit, we should see man at the centre making the code from the core of his own life.

"It is the gradual growth of this supreme life in each individual which is the great and indeed the only hope of Society—it is that for which Society exists: a life which so far from dwarfing individuality enhances immensely its power, causing the individual to move with the weight of the universe behind him—and exalting what were once his little peculiarities and defects into the splendid manifestations of his humanity . . ."

## Man at the Centre

Man at the centre—the individual making new laws and setting new standards; that is where our personal responsibility as citizens and our responsibility for the criminal are to be found irretrievably combined. The new standards to be set will be above the law; for a mere compliance with the law is not necessarily the best contribution to good citizenship. Compliance may be based only on fear, convention or sheer inertia, and progress may well demand a refusal to comply. (Remember Maxim Gorki's famous words, "I did not come into this world to comply with it.")

While, therefore, we try to train the criminal and treat him as a responsible person, and to assist him when he returns to civil life, we cannot be satisfied with that, however great an advance it represents on our former general treatment of crime. Society itself waits also for transformation. The basis for the right treatment of criminals only points to what must be the basis for all human relationships. We can learn, as Edward Carpenter wanted our children to learn as they grew "to regard all human beings of whatever race and class as ends in themselves never to be looked on as mere things or chattels to be made use of." The new society which will largely eradicate crime, will not be built or stand for long on a foundation only of law, rules and compliance. It might, instead, be a good thing to abandon a few rules and trust ourselves and our fellows a little more; to practice freedom of contact amongst ourselves in a knowledge that we might both give and take from such experiences.

Such freedom for human beings, as for prisoners, means also a growth of respect and responsibility, so that we may act in unity and seek a one-ness, or wholeness of society (whole-ness is holiness). To do this is to approach the social problem as Carpenter did; patch-work will get us a very little way, theories and parties not much further.

The need is for a conscious effort to build a society of people living active lives, travelling with the stream of positive goodness and not spending time turning to right or left in combat with one another or with the evils they believe they can defeat.

"As long as man feels an ultimate antagonism between himself and society, as long as he tries to hold his own life as a thing apart from that of others, so long the question must arise whether he will act for self or for those others . . . But when he discovers that there is no ultimate antagonism between himself and society; when he

finds that the gratification of every desire which he has or can have may be rendered social, or beneficial to his fellows, by being used at the right time and place—and on the other hand that every demand made upon him by society will and must gratify some portion of his nature—some desire of his heart, why, all the distinctions collapse again, they do not hold water any more. A larger life descends upon him which includes both sides, and prompts actions in accordance with an unwritten and unimagined law."

## Getting Rid of Fears

Here is a grand vision of men living freely together, expansive and fearless; and thus we can complete the circle, for when we are rid of fears we shall need and make fewer laws and create less crime. Dignity and purpose will return to life which will become something more full and embracing than we have known, no longer calling for or honouring mere piety and cloistered virtue.

We need opportunities for affection to grow in abandonment of restraint, in an openness of approach between individuals. We can make such approaches ourselves if only we have sufficient faith in the ultimate response—and Carpenter assures us, "All is well to-day and a million years hence." It is easy to say this; it is a very hard thing to believe to-day when the world is in chaos and permanent things seem to have gone. That in fact makes it all the more essential for us to endeavour to preserve the ideal; "Is your present experience hard to bear? Do not fly the lesson but have a care that you master it while there is yet time."

So we come back to the criminal. He will be no more when society ceases to create him. Meantime new methods of treating him must be in the spirit of the new society wherein no man will be counted worthless or regarded as beyond hope. Our contribution here and now to the treatment of the criminal to-day and to the creation of the new society tomorrow is one and the same; to count every individual as being of importance, and to maintain our ideals in the encouragement and faith of Edward Carpenter's blessing.

"When the ideal has once alighted, when it has looked forth from the windows with ever so passing a glance upon the earth, then we may go in to supper, you and I, and take our ease—the rest will be seen to."

FRANK DAWTRY.

## FREEDOM Anarchist Fortnightly Price 3d.

Postal Subscription Rates  
6 months 4/6 (U.S.A. \$1)  
12 months 8/6 (U.S.A. \$2)  
Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies,  
6 months 7/6 (\$1.50)  
12 months 15/- (\$3)

All Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers

FREEDOM PRESS  
27 Red Lion Street  
London, W.C.1 England  
Tel: Chancery 8364

## meetings and Announcements

### UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.  
At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.  
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  
"Anarchism and the Left"  
MARCH 7th Bert Smith  
"The Last Oven."  
A Survey of the Baking Trade.

### NORTH EAST LONDON

FEB. 10th Mat Kavanagh  
"The Irish Question"  
FEB. 24th Sidney Hanson  
"The Menace of Freemasonry"

Comrades interested should ring  
WAN 2396.

### HAMPSTEAD

An Inaugural  
PUBLIC DISCUSSION MEETING  
on Thursday, Feb. 12th at 8 p.m.  
at STANFIELD HOUSE,  
(Greenhill, Hampstead High St.)  
Speakers: Mat Kavanagh and Philip Sansom  
on  
"Anarchist Aims and Principles".  
This meeting was originally announced for  
Feb. 5th, but had to be postponed.  
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 Leech, Eddie Shaw.  
Doors open 6.30 p.m.

### LANCASHIRE FEDERATION MERSEYSIDE

Sunday Evening Lectures  
FEB. 8th General Discussion  
"Anarchism"  
FEB. 15th Les Griffiths and Alfred Booth  
"Toward a New Social Order"  
at Cooper Hall, Shaw St., Liverpool.  
Commence at 7.30 p.m.  
A further meeting will be held on Feb. 22.

### CHORLEY

PUBLIC LECTURE  
SUN., FEB. 8th Albert Smith, B.A.  
"Science and Responsible SOCIAL Planning"  
in the Oddfellows Rooms,  
9, Cunliffe St., Chorley, Lancs.  
Commence at 7.15 p.m.

Comrades are asked to note the

### NEW ADDRESS for

U.A.G. (Lancashire):—  
17, Chester Avenue, Puxbury,  
Chorley, Lancs.

### WEST LONDON

WEDNESDAY, FEB 11th  
at 7.30 p.m.,  
at 9, ROSSETTI GARDENS,  
Flood Street, Chelsea, S.W.3.  
Discussion opened by Mat Kavanagh on  
"Anarchism and Workers' Control"