

Freedom

AN ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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BERLIN: PRICE IN HUMAN MISERY

WITH a few commendable exceptions, the press has treated the blockade of Berlin almost wholly in its political aspect—the struggle between Russia and the West. There can be no doubt at all that in doing so they are reporting what, for the governments involved, is the most important aspect, and the one which determines the kind of action taken. The unpalatable side of the business—the distress of the Berlin population caught between the grindstones of East and West—has been barely considered.

Months ago, when the struggle began openly with the currency reforms in the Western zones and the counter move of blockade by Russia, we drew attention to the fundamental immorality of manoeuvres in a political game whose ill-effects are visited not upon the immediate opponent but upon the masses of the population instead. Political moves are justified by reactionaries and reformists alike by an appeal to the logic of expediency: a certain action is justified because it "prevents worse befalling". In a world of practical necessities it is not possible to disregard such considerations; but it is incumbent upon those who take it upon themselves to justify power politics to see to it that what does follow from actions promoted by expediency is not in fact disastrous to the populations involved. For after all, the justification of government itself is that it protects the interests of the people, the nation at large, the community. The situation of Berlin provides one more example of the fundamental falsity of this justification.

For responsible people, it is axiomatic that one faces up to the consequences of one's actions: only so can one assess their value in the light of events. The basic irresponsibility of so-called democracy—as understood either by the Russian or the Western governments—is indicated by the fact that the press reports the arguments of expediency but wholly fails to make known the results of those arguments on the condition of the people of Berlin. The only papers to make such disclosures have been those with an insignificant circulation—the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Times*.

What Has Happened?

The currency reforms of several months ago in the Western occupation zones had certain effects which we shall touch on later. The most important immediate effect was the counter move of the Russian occupation authorities in closing

the road and rail connections of Berlin with the West, thereby depriving the population of the Western zones of the city of their food supply. We shall not discuss here the question of whether the Western powers should or should not have accepted this challenge; that is for the believers in political expediency to explore. The fact is that they did take up the challenge, and therefore took upon themselves the task of supplying Berlin by air transport. The Air Lift has been an extraordinary operation, a triumph of organisation and resource. But it remains a move in the struggle between the Powers, and the relative success or failure which attend it is worked out in hardship not for the Kremlin or the Russian Occupation Authorities, but for the German inhabitants of Berlin.

How successful has it been? The blockade has extended for more than a hundred days. The *Manchester Guardian* estimates an average of 3,500 tons a day, and states that the Allied view of the city's requirements is 4,000 tons a day, while the Berlin city government estimates needs at 6,000 tons a day (though this includes other items besides food).

So far disaster has been staved off, and rations are said to have been largely met. But in the past rations were supplemented by the black market which was necessary to all classes, and the *Manchester Guardian* writes: "All that has been stopped and about the only additional source of supply is black market potatoes after the best Eastern German harvest in twenty years. The old, the poor, and the unemployed are striving to do something almost unheard-of—live on their rations. Moreover lack of money often makes it impossible to buy all of them."

Warmth for the Winter

So far, no fuel has been flown to Berlin for the civil population, who now face the formidable cold of a Berlin winter. How serious this prospect is is shown by the fact that calculations have been made as to how far the need could be met by felling the trees of Berlin itself, and by making inroads into the woods near Berlin. The trees in the city's streets could provide 70,000 tons, or 1½ cwt. for each household. This figure illustrates more vividly than more important ones the desperate shifts to which political struggles can reduce a population, for it indicates what formidable sacrifices (consider what London would be like—for decades to come—if every tree were felled) have to be considered, and for what miserable returns. There is not space to discuss the light-famine, but it

seems that there will be no artificial light after 5 p.m. this winter.

The Russian authorities just look on. Not indifferently however; what concerns them is how much credit they lose, and how much the British and American administrations gain or lose by the air lift. Both sides view the reactions of the population merely from the point of view of how it affects their credit. One does not say they are wholly unconcerned about the humanities involved, but we do assert that such questions are relegated to subsidiary

positions, and denied the primacy that is their due.

We have seen that the currency reforms initiated the particular round of stroke and counter-stroke for which Berlin is the battle-ground. It has had disastrous results on its own, for it has created a drastic shortage of money in the Western zones. Charitable endeavours have come to an end, welfare projects which sought to alleviate the grosser hardships have dried up. "The uncontrolled economic policy which it at present being carried

"Power, like a desolating pestilence,
Pollutes whate'er it touches; and obedience
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,
Makes slaves of men, and of the human frame,
A mechanized automaton."
SHELLEY (Queen Mab)

through," writes the *Times*, "has, among its various consequences, also hastened the 'return to normal' and further weakened the power of the workers. (The trade unions lost nearly all their funds in the currency reforms and the individual worker is engaged in a desperate struggle to keep up with ever-rising prices.)" We have seen that the currency reform has deprived the poorest section of the Berlin population of the means to buy the whole of their rations. (Continued on page 4)

Unrest in France

FRANCE has just emerged from a series of governmental crises, to be overcome by a wave of strikes. At the moment of writing, over three hundred thousand miners have been on strike for a week, taxmen have struck in Paris, and railwaymen, textile and steel workers are on strike in many parts of France.

The strikes have been described as being inspired by the Communists, and there is little doubt that the C.G.T. in calling the strike has been largely motivated by the international situation and by the United Nations Assembly in Paris. The Communists could hardly be expected to resist the temptation to show their strength to politicians of all nations, by starting a widespread movement of strikes under their very noses (the taxmen's strike must have caused discomfort to many of them, or to their staff, but, on the other hand, it is reported that Vishinsky was unable to make himself heard through the multi-translation network at one of U.N.O.'s assemblies because of a partial electricians' strike).

Whatever the political reasons behind the strikes are, the French workers would be amply justified in striking for economic reasons alone. The rapid increase in the

cost of living is not only creating great hardships among the working class but it also forces them into a constant state of anxiety. There seems no limit to the heights to which prices will soar, and no action is ever taken to check the speculations of food producers and shopkeepers. Meat, for example, has been delivered to big cities recently in small quantities in order to force the already high price still higher. All kinds of goods suddenly disappear mysteriously from the shops and can only be obtained at black market prices. This uncertainty as to the future aggravates the privations imposed by the prevailing low wages. Such a situation requires drastic changes, and one can only be surprised to see that the trade unions put forward demands which even if they were to be accepted in full by the government, would bring no appreciable amelioration to the condition of the workers. In the miners' strike called by the Communist-controlled C.G.T. and feebly supported by the Christian Union and the reformist Union, *Force Ouvrière*, the list of demands appears all the more modest since the miners seem to be engaged in a bitter struggle.

The miners demand that the Government's decrees for the reduction of personnel in the mining industry should be repealed. They further ask for a sliding scale of higher wages for the most skilled categories of miners, the increase of pensions, and the extension of the rights of miners' delegates. They also adhere to the C.G.T. demand for a minimum wage for all workers of 14,300 francs per month (at the official rate of exchange about £17). Three days after the strike of the miners began, this "vital minimum" wage was raised by the C.G.T. to 15,000 francs, as the previous figure was based on the cost of living index during September. Since then the government had raised the price of bread, milk and transportation rates, which was reflected in a rise of nearly 7 per cent. in the cost of living since September.

This rapid rise in the cost of living is abundant proof of the futility of the C.G.T.'s demand for a "vital minimum". During the past few years every wage increase has been offset by an increase in prices and, in spite of all the strikes and agitation, the standard of living of the workers has not improved; on the contrary. Even if the C.G.T. were to obtain a 15,000 francs minimum wage for all its members, it would be obliged to ask for a further increase in a few weeks, or even days, since this figure does not take into account the government's increases in the price of coal, gas, electricity and petrol which are going to come into effect presently.

The demand for higher wages for the most skilled categories of miners also presents many drawbacks; it will not only divide the mining community but the price of goods will be increased according to the higher wages, thus worsening the position of less paid workers.

These are the ineffectual demands for which French miners are striking at present. And yet this strike is bound to produce great sufferings. It will not only bring immediate misery to the mining community, but may lead to extensive clashes with the police if M. Queille carries out his threat of strong action to end the miners' "insurrectionary" strike. Already clashes have occurred between miners wishing to return to work and those in favour of carrying on the struggle, several miners have been injured and a Yugoslav is reported to have been trampled to death. If the government attempts to use armed force to protect

those miners who wish to return to work there will be more bloody incidents. The strike can have other serious consequences in the deterioration of equipment of many coalmines and the danger that if the coke ovens are allowed to cool too much there will be unemployment for several months in the local industry.

These dangers and sufferings are always present in strikes of such magnitude, they are not unknown to the miners and it proves how strong their feelings of grievance must be that they are prepared to run such risks. But this feeling has not been allowed to manifest itself in the expression of far-reaching demands. The T.U. leadership asks the maximum sacrifices from the workers for ridiculously modest objectives, justifying thereby the suspicion that the strike has not been called primarily in the defence of workers' rights but for political ends.

In contrast to the confused, equivocal demands of the C.G.T., the French anarchist paper *Le Libertaire* urges revolutionary workers to fight for something worthwhile.

"We must replace minimum demands by maximum demands, and aim at a radical change in the structure of the mining industry."

"While the C.G.T. demands the repeal of certain government decrees we must fight for the abolition of the nationalisation of the mines and its replacement by workers' control of the mining industry."

"Instead of a minimum wage we must demand a share in the profits for all the workers. Instead of a greater hierarchy of salaries we demand the abolition of any hierarchy in salaries."

"Shortening of working hours. Increased production not by imposing a greater effort on the miners but by employing the idle and the lazy (bureaucrats, policemen, priests, etc.)."

"We should be in favour of an unlimited strike, but the aim must be worthy of the sacrifices which the strike will cause, and this aim is WORKERS' CONTROL."

STEPPING-UP PRODUCTION

DISCUSSIONS are being held between the N.C.B. and the N.U.M. to reach an agreement on ending the customary day's closing of a pit when a fatal accident occurs. It is stated that any agreement will probably apply to accidents in which not more than three lives are lost, and that such an agreement would raise output by between 500,000 to a million tons annually.

Since a day's output at a large pit is between 3,000 and 4,000 tons, it can be seen that the Coal Board and the Mineworkers' Union are anticipating a high accident rate. And in fact by the logic of these cold-blooded calculations one can assume that they are resigned to the annual toll of miners' lives. "Join the Miners" say the advertisements, "Unofficial Strikes—they're Treason" says Will Lawther, "I hope the miners won't disappoint me," says Lord Hindley, referring to his export target. But they do not speak of the price that is paid in death, mutilation and disease for their statistical triumphs.

The announcement of the proposed agreement did not go on to say that energetic steps were to be taken to reduce the dangers in pits, nor that alternative sources of fuel were being developed, all it did was to specify that the lives of one, two or three miners were not worth one day's output of coal, but that, presumably, four lives did qualify.

Churchill Foretells Future

CHURCHILL was in his element once again at the Conservative Party Conference, when he rivalled his "blood, sweat, toil and tears" speeches of the last war with some gloomy prognostications of future events, giving his opinion that the atom bomb in the hands of America was a "sombre guarantee of peace and freedom", and making the blood of his audience curdle with hints of what would happen if and when the Russians begin to make atom bombs in quantity.

We have had such "sombre guarantees" of peace before in the shape of bigger and better armaments among the various world powers competing for domination; always in the past the race for armament has ended sooner or later in war, and there is no reason to suppose that it will be any different this time, that Churchill's "sombre guarantee of peace" will not in fact hasten the advent of war.

But perhaps the most interesting point of Churchill's speech was his attack on his old friends in the Kremlin. We are told that:

"The fourteen men in the Kremlin,

who rule nearly 300,000,000 human beings with an arbitrary authority never possessed by any Czar since Ivan the Terrible, who are now holding down nearly half Europe by Communist methods, dread the friendship of the free civilised world almost as much as they would its hostility."

It is, to say the least, strange to reflect that these are the very same group of men (with one or two minor changes) with whom Churchill wined and dined so well in the banquetting halls of the Kremlin a very few years ago, and whom he then welcomed as brothers into the alliance of "freedom-loving peoples". Can the same men have been good democrats in 1945 and the reverse in 1948? Rulers do not change as quickly as all that; the alteration of attitude is to be found in the kaleidoscopic pattern of political alliances, and this is merely another illustration of the old political axiom that a change of circumstances, a veering of interests, will make the ally of yesterday into the enemy of to-day. The Communists are not the only expert acrobats in the political arena.

But perhaps, more than any particular actions of the government at the present time, their general attitude most surely indicates the kind of attack on personal freedom which is likely to spring out of the present war scare, whether or not it is allowed to develop into actual hostilities. A few weeks back we had Montgomery's unpleasant remarks about the need for discipline; now Shinwell goes a few steps further by saying:

"The nation will have need of disciplined people for a steady effect in time of war—people who are used to obeying orders."

That, spoken boldly, represents the general object of the British ruling class—Labour or Tory—at the present day; they wish to create a state of obedient puppets whom they can lead into any political or military adventure that may seem necessary for the health of the state.

We say the reverse. If you wish to keep out of war, if you wish to have peace and a reasonable enjoyment of life and its amenities, then refuse to obey! For it is the state that creates war and keeps men from enjoying the fruits of nature and the products of social endeavour, and without obedience the state cannot live.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH ANARCHISM?

R. ANSAY'S criticism of anarchism is partially justified. It is true that, mainly through fear of blueprints, anarchists rarely present a clear picture of the society they visualise. But it is by no means true that the only incitement given to enthusiasts is to subscribe to funds, or that anarchists fail entirely to co-operate with science.

Reader's Opinions

Whether or not anarchists guess at the future of anarchy, the editor of the *American Anarchist* Science Fiction, unlike many of his contributors, tries by scientific methods to guess at the future developments of science, and at least one editorial which reached the British edition deals with the future society. The *Metropolis*, he says, is a purely contemporary phenomenon. At present, people find it convenient to live in big cities, where expensive capital equipment like electricity, water and sewage works can be communally owned, and where theatres, cinemas, art galleries, dance halls, and

cultural institutions are within easy distance. But as methods of conducting electricity, water and sewage improve, and the light aeroplane becomes universally available, people will find it no less economical or convenient, and much more pleasant, to live in small towns and isolated houses, connected by airways.

Even under authority, then, science will probably lead the world into regionalism. So we are making no blueprints if we say that if the big cities have not split up before the revolution, they will probably split up after it. There must be many parallel scientific prophecies.

The anarchist definitely has duties in the authoritarian society, other than to spread his beliefs and subscribe to funds. He must prepare himself for Anarchy, by trying to do a productive job and take pride in it, to make friends and be generally liked, to have a well-adjusted sex life. If he can do this more or less in spite of authority, he will be ready for the revolution.

How to be Happy though Human, by W. B. Wolfe, a psychologist, is recommended as a readable but authentic guide to rational life in a neurotic society. There is no guide to life in Anarchy. DONALD ROOM.

ANARCHISM AND HEALTH

THE question of good health is not a matter of pills and potions, nor is the mind and body to be healed in five minutes by those who believe the word "doctor" indicates the magical release from pain and poverty. The doctors of medicine and the doctors of science and philosophy are not proof that the world is getting better or saner. The politician has been doing stupid and harmful things for long enough; the technician is fast catching up: only the so-called "common herd" has at least hesitated in this catastrophic advance to disaster, disease and death.

It is, therefore, no dull or academic subject this one of Health and Freedom. In our view, only the introduction of an Anarchist way of life could possibly answer this problem of full and developing health. Health is bound up with happiness: the Modern State has replaced happiness with entertainment, and men and women in fear of economic insecurity can know but the half-pleasures of a commercialised cinema and sport, never the free, creative joy of a liberated human being.

We have recently entered upon the path of a New Health Act, in which Socialism is supposed to remove class privilege and treatment from the surgery and the consulting room. That may have been the Socialism of the pioneers, but not of the parliamentary legislators today. Socialism is only a word in this era: the authoritarian system must, and is, going on. In this country it may be rather more relaxed than in the Communist spheres of influence, but the re-

sults for the common man will be much the same.

What has all this to do with health? Health is living. Health is individual and social co-operation in reality, not in high-sounding phrases!

Anarchists have no blue-print of a brave new society and are sceptical of all planners whether from left or right. Any Health Scheme presented from "the top" may work within the social system to-day, up to a point, but will never be the "People's own"; will never, in fact, be anything but a medical scheme in the most limited meaning of that term.

We remember that old saying: "Man heal thyself"; when men wake up to their own capacity for health and happiness the time will be ripe for Anarchist communities, for the Brotherhood of Man which we preach so glibly and practice so little.

It should be the task of all those calling themselves Libertarians to speak and write along these lines of preventive medicine: such as the immediate attention to housing and hygiene; to work for decentralisation and for the exposure of all Statesmen whose authoritarian ideas are leading to war and disease. These are tasks for the development of real health. To the most unenlightened individual these Libertarian ideas must have a definite appeal. It is our duty to spread them. We live in a sick society. It will require more than a pill, more than a fashionable injection or operation to put the patient right. Anarchism IS health because it encourages the social atmosphere which alone gives the individual the freedom to breathe, to think and to be happy. Nothing less is sound health. Nothing less will do for creative, visionary men. J. H. MOORHOUSE.

Book Reviews

R. M. FOX: "James Connolly: The Forerunner". (The Kerryman Press, Tralee. 10/6).

WHEN we are told that British governments treat their revolutionaries mildly and tolerantly, it is well to reflect that this, if true, is only because there have been so few of them, and to consider the fate of the two examples of militant revolutionaries on an international scale that the British Isles have produced during this century, John Maclean of Glasgow who died in 1921 broken in mind and body as a result of the brutal treatment he received in prison, and James Connolly who was executed by an English firing-squad in

Dublin in 1916, propped up in a chair because he was too badly wounded to stand.

R. M. Fox in his biography of Connolly hastens to defend him against those socialists who deprecate his Irish nationalism and those Nationalists who minimise his socialism:

"Connolly cannot be measured by any petty yardstick of dogma, either National or Labour. The little men of the Marxian textbooks, mumbling their favourite incantations have not known what to make of Connolly. He irritated them by his unorthodoxy. Yet he had read widely and thought deeply on social matters. He knew their theories and he took as much as he wanted to explain social and national struggles. But he also knew that theory can only be an approximation to reality for man is greater than any theory and the more rigid this becomes, the more it fails to make allowance for life. Connolly believed in the human spirit. He refused to accept any explanation of the world that treated men and women as ciphers, as undifferentiated masses whose individual strivings and sufferings were of no account."

The book is an admirable example of well-documented biography, tracing Connolly's life from his poverty-stricken childhood and youth in Ballybay and Edinburgh, his foundation of the Irish Socialist Republican Party in 1896, his departure for America where, in its heroic days he became an organiser for the I.W.W. (the chapter "Crucible" gives a most interesting account of the effect of I.W.W. theory and activity on his industrial outlook), his return to Ireland in the big strike movements in the years just before the first World War, the formation of the Citizen Army as a workers' defence force in 1913, its development in the war years, culminating in the Easter Rising of 1916, the proclamation of the Irish Republic, and the execution of Connolly, wounded and defiant on the 12th of May.

Though the author has dealt with the Easter Rising far more fully in his "Green Banners" and "The History of the Irish Citizen Army", the account given here is sufficiently clear to leave the reader with no doubt that it was the apparent failure of 1916, and not the legal wrangles after the war which really and finally threw off the English yoke, and illustrated the wisdom of Fintan Lalor's words a hundred years ago:

"Any man who tells you that an act of armed resistance—even if offered by ten men only—even if offered by men armed only with stones—any man who tells you that such an act of resistance is premature, imprudent or dangerous—any and every such man should at once be spurned and spat at. For remark you this and recollect it, that somewhere and somehow, and by somebody, a beginning must be made and that the first act of resistance is always, and must be ever, premature, imprudent and dangerous."

But we cannot help reflecting, that though, as R. M. Fox shows, a number of socialistic measures have been put into effect in Eire, as in Britain, and state-control is replacing "private" enterprise, it remains true that we are as far from

Connolly's vision of a free society as ever. Something has gone wrong, and the putting into effect of policies which he advocated and did not live to see, has not had the results which he anticipated. Connolly did not oppose the anarcho-syndicalist conception of industrial action for seizing control of the means of production, but he thought that it should be supplemented by political activity. What has happened has been that industrial action has been superseded by sterile and deceptive party politics.

Innumerable socialist politicians have begun their careers with the integrity, humanity and devotion of Connolly and ended as miserable careerists, while those who have not compromised have remained politically impotent. If Connolly's life had not been cut short by English bullets, and assuming that he would not have been executed by the Free State Government in 1921, what would have become of him? Would he have climbed on to the political band-wagon of de Valera or would he have remained honest, but clung to illusions about the value of political activity and sat in ineffectual opposition in the Dail, or would he have moved forward into the anarchist position and abandoned his faith in State socialism as a solution to Ireland's ills?

These are the unanswerable questions which Fox's absorbing but uncritical biography raises.

COLIN WARD.

YEARS OF FREEDOM. The Story of Ireland 1921—1948. By R. M. Fox (Trumpet Books, Cork. 6d.)

NOTHING can surprise us more than our ignorance about something we think we know something about. Recent circumstances have turned many English people to look towards Ireland with sympathy—for holiday purposes. And English publishers have been producing books to help the visitor to appreciate that strange land. Hence, to-day you will quite often meet people in Britain who claim to know more than something about Ireland, for they have actually been there and may even have read about it before the steak-eating. But they will not know most of the things R. M. Fox tells us in this most useful and timely pamphlet. It should perhaps be made clear that he deals with Eire, and not with the Six County Area called "Northern Ireland", and that the pamphlet's chief purpose is to present in simplified form a sketch of social history since 1921, not for tourists but for serious students. Here and there, R.M. Fox gives us some succulently dry remarks such as this: "There is always the gap between vision and the reality. And in that gap there is always room for the little energetic men to squeeze in and identify the national purpose with their self-interest." Alas, Eire has not a monopoly of that! In a couple of sentences, he says one of the best things ever said about literary censorship: "If a society is healthy then its literature will be healthy too. And no amount of monkeying with the thermometer of literature will greatly affect the moral temperature of the nation." Although published in Eire and, presumably, chiefly intended for Irish readers, this unpretentious little work deserves a wide audience in Britain. C.D.

FREEDOM DEFENCE COMMITTEE BULLETIN No. 7. Autumn 1948. 4d.

THE latest issue of the F.D.C. Bulletin contains a detailed account of the way in which the Committee's work is deliberately hampered by the Home Office. A number of cases are quoted of letters from the Committee being withheld from prisoners and of prisoners being prevented from writing to the Committee, which at no time since its formation has been able to discover the policy of the Home Office on this point, despite prolonged and evasive correspondence. Another example of government obstructionism is given in the notes on the Committee's efforts to get information on the Baillie-Stewart case.

A disquieting report is given of the treatment meted out to those of the former members of the Polish forces who refused to be repatriated or to join the Polish Resettlement Corps.

"Allowing for the fact that the 'recalcitrants' were viewed with considerable disfavour by the authorities, we nevertheless feel that in their efforts to bring them into line the Army authorities treated them in an unnecessarily harsh manner. After being forcibly taken before a Polish Lt.-Colonel by an armed detachment of British soldiers, they were informed they were discharged and forcibly deprived of their army books, then driven in lorries to an Assistance Board camp."

(Continued on page 3)

Organised Vengeance Called "Justice"—2

Kropotkin's essay entitled *Organised Vengeance Called Justice* was published by Freedom Press in pamphlet form in 1902. It was written "with the special desire to draw attention on the origin of the institution of 'Justice' and to invite a discussion which would

throw light upon that subject". This discussion of the conception of "Justice" through the ages and in our modern society has not lost its timeliness: The first part of this essay, published in our last issue, showed how the idea of Punishment was born and in this concluding section Kropotkin shows that "Punishment is worse than Crime".

But what about the Code? The Code, all codes, represents a gathering of traditions, of formulas borrowed from old conceptions absolutely repugnant to all Socialist ideas of to-day; survivals of our slavish past, slavish in action, slavish in speech, slavish in thought. It is of no consequence that some of the leading moral ideas may be in accordance with our own; the moment a punishment is decreed for the non-fulfilment of a good action we will have nothing to do with it. A Code is the past stereotyped and put across the path of human progress.

Every legal punishment is legalised vengeance, vengeance made obligatory, and we must ask ourselves what is the use of vengeance? Does it help maintain social customs? Does it ever prevent the small minorities of breakers of good custom from doing so? Never. On the contrary, to proclaim the duties of vengeance is simply helping the existence of anti-social customs. Think of the amount of filthy perversity thrown into society by the police institution, far more dangerous to society than any act committed by criminals. Think of the "well-intentioned lies" of magistrates meant to get the truth out of the criminals. Think of all that happens round us and you will understand why Anarchists have no hesitation in declaring that Punishment is worse than Crime. And every one studying those questions and going to the root will come to the same conclusion, and will try to find some other means of protecting society against the evil-doers.

Everyone will see that arbitration, arbiters being chosen by the contending parties will be sufficient in the very great majority of cases to quell arising disputes. Everyone will admit that the policy of non-interference now so greatly favoured is a bad habit acquired since the State found it convenient to assume the duty of keeping order. Active intervention of friends, neighbours, passers-by would prevent a large proportion of conflicts. Let it be everybody's duty to assist the weak, to interfere between fighting people, and police will not be required at all.

But we cannot help reflecting, that though, as R. M. Fox shows, a number of socialistic measures have been put into effect in Eire, as in Britain, and state-control is replacing "private" enterprise, it remains true that we are as far from

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CONCLUSIONS.

So-called Justice is a survival from a past serfdom based, for the interest of the privileged classes, on the Roman law and on the ideas of divine Vengeance.

In the history of society, organisation of Vengeance under the name of Justice is coterminous with the State; they imply one another; they were born together, flourished together and are doomed to perish together.

Coming from an age of serfdom it helps to maintain serfdom in present society; through its police, prisons and the like, it is an open sore, throwing out a constant stream of purulence into society, a far greater evil than the one it is supposed to fight against.

Any society founded on better economics than ours will certainly come also to the conclusion that it is unwise to keep any punitive institution.

The way of doing without it will be found in voluntary arbitration, in greater effectual solidarity, in the powerful educative means which a society will have that does not leave to the policeman the care of its public morality.

PETER KROPOTKIN.

ON February 28th of this year, the Gold Coast police fired on a procession organized by the Ex-Servicemen's Union to present a petition to the Governor. The procession had left the route which one of the Union's leaders had committed it to observing, and when the police barred the way, began to stone them. The Police Superintendent had a bugle blown and announced that he would give the order to fire if the procession did not disperse. He actually gave the order after tear bombs had proved futile, but "it apparently was not heard" (or, more likely, perhaps, was not obeyed); so he seized a rifle him-

Imperialism in West Africa

self, fired six shots at the procession, killing two and injuring "four or five" (a curious vagueness comes over the Commission of enquiry's report at this not unimportant point). The procession then dispersed.

Disturbances were not at an end, however, for shops were broken into, and the colonial government declared a state of emergency. Under cover of this, the Governor arrested six men, said to be leaders of the United Gold Coast Convention, and held them for a month not only without trial, but also without right of *habeas corpus* or access to the Judges, and without any evidence being brought against them. This action, so utterly alien to any conception of civil liberty or even of elementary justice, has been the subject of protests by the Freedom Defence Committee.

General Unrest

The shootings at Accra provided a trigger for the release of a general unrest on the Gold Coast. There seems no doubt that the Commission of Inquiry set up by the Colonial Office (whose report is now published) is correct in its analysis of the causes of this unrest. The cost of living was far in advance of the rise in wages, and the economic position of the colony had suffered considerably since the war (and, of course, during the war too; no doubt it was the failure of the peace to redeem promises of better times after the necessity for wartime "sacrifices" had disappeared that sharpened this economic unrest). The Commission does not specifically say that the economic life of the colony is in the hands of the United Africa Company, but that is the case and is an additional source of understandable bitterness. Nor does the Commission make any direct criticism of the Company: they seem to accept it as a God-given feature of Gold Coast life.

An additional and powerful cause of unrest was the discontent of African ex-servicemen. It is a disadvantage of urging men to enlist for the defence of a better world, that when victory is

achieved they are disappointed (to put it mildly) when not a better but a worse world materialises. The Commission of Inquiry laboriously examines the alleged grounds for ex-servicemen's grievances, and finds them mainly groundless; but that does nothing to explain away the disillusionments of peace.

But perhaps the most significant factor in the unrest, though the most impalpable, is a general distrust of government itself. Here is the Commission's Report: "By far the most serious problem which the Administration has to face in the Gold Coast is the suspicion which surrounds Government activity of any sort. Its origin, apart from political propaganda, is disperse and often obscure. It does not attach to persons or individuals in Government service. It is an attitude of mind based on no one specific grievance. That it exists we had evidence on all sides. That it must be overcome is the hard core of the problem of healthy relations between Government and governed."

This is a clear statement, extraordinary in a government report. And it gives the lie to that idea, beloved of governments, that unrest under their administration can only come from the subversive propaganda of "men of ill will". Such suspicion is, indeed, the inevitable accompaniment of the deprivation of responsibility for their own lives which the existence of government forces upon the governed. Every man regards his life as his own, and unless he be utterly demoralised, resents the administration which sets out to run it for him.

Alleged Communist Affiliations

The Governor justified himself in holding the six men without trial on the grounds that there was reason to believe that they "were in touch with Communist organisations overseas." The Commission justified the governor's action in arresting the men, but condemned it (managing none the less to exonerate the governor) for depriving them of their right of access to His Majesty's judges. Actually, the only "evidence" of Communist inspiration in the disturbances was the fact that the United Gold Coast Convention employed as secretary a man who had associated with the Communist Party while in London and was still a party member. The Commission unhesitatingly dismisses the alleged Communist inspiration as fantastic.

What does seem clear enough is that nationalist organisations in the Gold Coast sought to utilise the general unrest for the advancement of their own political aspirations. That is the way political parties go to work—whether in the colonies or in Britain—and it is not

for the colonial administration to blame them for that. The telegrams which the leaders of the United Gold Coast Convention sent out during the disturbances make it quite clear that they hoped to assume power in the place of the existing administration. The Commission recognises this and does not condemn it, chiefly, one gathers, because they did not regard it as a very serious threat to the

colonial government. Their whole tone is one of genial but amused contempt for the administrative capacity of Africans, but one wonders if this tone is assumed for the purpose of diminishing the importance of the February disturbances.

Nevertheless their recommendations include measures for the incorporation of African politicians into the structure of (Continued on page 4)

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F.D.C. Bulletin

(Continued from page 2)

Further force was not then used, and the men remained in the lorries for three days and nights. They were then taken in hand-cuffs before a magistrate and sentenced to two months' imprisonment for failing to register as aliens within 48 hours of 'landing' and recommended for deportation. No discharge certificate was issued—only a Home Office form agreeing to their discharge."

The Bulletin also contains an account of the civil liberties case on the Gold Coast which have been brought to its attention, a statement by many well-known sponsors on the Civil Service purge, and some case-histories of the American "Witch-hunt". There are notes on the progress of the Amnesty campaign and an article on the dangers of "Blanket" legislation. The editorial on "The Threat to Civil Liberties" draws attention to the urgent need for a much wider and richer deserved public support for the Committee's activities.

Foreign Commentary

Appeasement in Spain ?

ONE had only to look at the queer collection of nations that made up the Allied Forces during the late war to realise that the "war for Freedom" existed in name only and in the hearts of many well-meaning men and women who would not otherwise have been willing to participate. To-day only three years after the cease fire one of the allies has taken the place of defeated Nazi Germany, as world enemy No. 1, and the democracies are looking around for new allies to take part in the future struggle. On the basis of Churchill's war-time declaration that all men and women prepared to kill Germans were our allies, the Americans have cast their net wide and an attempt is now being made to recruit all Russia's enemies for the democratic crusade.

Senator Gurney, Republican of South Dakota, and Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, has recently returned from a tour of Europe which included a couple of days with Franco and General Vigon, Chief of the Spanish General Staff. The *Manchester Guardian's* New York correspondent (7/10/48) points out that "Senator Gurney's reasoning about Spain is startling but is approved in private by an alarming number of Congressmen, Roman Catholics, and business men. 'Franco has been fighting Communism since 1936' was Senator Gurney's line yesterday. The State Department said last night that there was no change in the official United States' attitude to Franco Spain and that American policy was to support the decisions of the United Nations."

Another recent American caller on Franco was Mr. James Farley, former United States Democratic Party Chairman who had what he termed "an extremely pleasant and interesting" talk with General Franco. It lasted for an hour and a half and Mr. Farley said he learned much from General Franco's "intelligent observations on all subjects we discussed."

He had told Franco that he "hoped to

see the most amicable and satisfactory relations between his country and mine before too long." Asked whether he had discussed the military aspect of the world situation, Mr. Farley replied: "I would rather not answer that question," but General Franco could "make some very pertinent and worth-while observations to the leaders of Allied forces, and it might be well for them to have them."

So it seems that we can expect a change in attitude towards Franco, and the change of front will not be difficult if the politicians re-read Mr. Churchill's famous broadcast speech on the eventful day Hitler attacked Russia, in which he welcomed Russia into the democratic fold. It was also the day when the Communists declared that the capitalist war had become democratic and would henceforth receive their support!

Emboldened presumably by the American senator and others, it is reported that fifteen of the twenty Latin-American countries have organised a bloc in the General Assembly to support the admission of Franco Spain to the United Nations.

But so far as Spain is concerned, we still believe that Franco will go not as a result of diplomatic manoeuvres in Lisbon and New York, but by the will of the Spanish people. Of course, if America supplies lend-lease war material to Spain as part of the anti-Russian defence preparations, and thus strengthens Franco's Military power, then the Spanish workers' struggle will be made no easier.

PRESS CENSORSHIP IN EGYPT

OUR Middle East correspondent has often drawn attention to the political intolerance in Egypt as well as the press censorship which is its natural development. A recent issue of the American weekly *Time* (27/9/48) informs readers that the magazine's Cairo office has been closed down following the deportation of

their correspondent, Don Burke. It is pointed out that the press censorship in Egypt was "intolerable to the point where Egyptian censors even rewrote correspondents' copy to suit themselves. . . . *Time* was banned for being unfriendly to the Arab cause." The correspondent refers to the way he was spied on and his telephone, which had been cut off for some pretext or other, when it was restored to service "had something new added". "Whenever you picked up the receiver, the racket of the wire tapping apparatus sounded like a pinball machine." At the end of August, Mr. Burke was informed that he had seven days in which to leave the country. One cannot help feeling that in the long run this growing spirit of intolerance is as dangerous as any threats from atom-bombs. Already large parts of the world are cut off from one another by censorship and by travel restrictions and as time goes on they seem to increase rather than the contrary.

ARAB REFUGEES IN PALESTINE

COUNT BERNADOTTE'S report, which has been published in this country by the Stationery Office, deals with the plight of the 350,000 Arabs who have fled from the Jewish areas of Palestine and are living in the most primitive conditions and suffering severe privations. Two-thirds of the refugees are under 18 years of age and nearly one-third are children under five. One in ten is either an expectant or a nursing mother. Some 50,000 "simply camped on the ground under trees."

Is it possible that the Jews who support the idea of a Jewish home on the grounds that their brothers have been persecuted and tortured and driven from their homes in Germany, Poland, Hungary, etc., condone what is happening to the Palestine Arabs?

LIBERTARIAN.

MUTUAL AID

In Oklahoma City, Mrs. Clara Pyatt, who lived in a tent with her two children, started to build a shack with tag ends of used lumber. A dozen taxi-drivers, some of them on strike, heard of her plight, built her a three-roomed bungalow in three days.

Time, 4/10/48.

RIDDLE FOR PSYCHOLOGISTS

Army psychologists are seeking the reason why nearly thirteen million unclaimed campaign medals lie cluttering up the War Office.

More than five million Service men and women earned these medals during the war, but so far fewer than 800,000 have filled in claim forms at the post office. Actual distribution has been made to 284,000 people—with an average of three medals or stars to each.

Why so few claimants? War Office say: "We just don't know."

News Chronicle, 30/9/48.

May we suggest to Army psychologists that ex-servicemen feel perhaps that governments:

Red Cross all the Wounded,

Wooden Cross those who fall,

Iron Cross the Heroes,

And Double Cross them all.

WANTED: HOUSES NOT MEDALS

I live in one room 12ft. by 10ft. with my husband and two babies, one 10 months, the other two years. I have to do all my cooking on a gas ring in the room. The place is all dry rot. The floor of my room is like a hill. I have a brick under my bed to keep it up. My two-year-old has to sleep with me and her father. The other is lucky to have a cot. Neither child knows what it is to crawl. They have toys they cannot

play with, there is nowhere to play.

My husband has been in the Army for five years. That he may be called up again does not give him much heart to think this is what he has been fighting for.

Letter to *News Chronicle*, 5/10/48.

MORE LUNACY

Qualified authorities said to-night that the Austrian government expected, and was "fully prepared for such an eventuality" that if the Western powers ever left Berlin, the Russians would "make Vienna another Berlin".

The sources said the government already was storing supplies in Vienna "sufficient to feed the city's 1,600,000 population for a period of between six and nine months".

The sources said while the Western Allies maintain no airfields in their sectors of Vienna but use facilities in the surrounding Soviet Occupation Zone, six to nine months would be adequate to build new airfields in the Western zones of Vienna in order to start an eventual air lift to Vienna.

The sources said an air lift to Vienna would be easier to operate than in Germany because the distances from the British and American Zones to Vienna were only about 100 miles.

N.Y. Herald Tribune, 30/9/48.

COMMUNIST PUNCTILIOUSNESS

Flight-Lieut. Norman Clark, of Calne, Wiltshire, received a bunch of flowers and model of a York aircraft from Margot Pfeil, at Gatow airfield, Berlin, to mark the 100th day of the airlift.

A Communist-controlled newspaper in Berlin calls for a military trial of people responsible for the presentation. They claim there is a Control law forbidding the "making and distribution of model aircraft to prevent German rearmament."

Daily Herald, 4/9/48.

INDIA GOES MILITARY

The land of the late Mahatma Gandhi is hastening to perfect a modern military machine. The speed with which militarization is being undertaken raises anew the question of how far Gandhi's ideas have permeated into the population.

Almost everyone pays tribute to Gandhi's teachings, including non-violence. But a remarkable aspect of the present trend is the scant open opposition. One exception was the response to a proposal for military training as a requirement for graduation from the University of Bombay; there was considerable hostility to this step, some of the objectors pointing out that the revered Gandhi himself could not have received a diploma if enrolled under such rules.

The government recently announced that it will open a national war academy at Kharakvasla, near Poona. Candidates from 15 to 17 are to be admitted on merit. Pending construction of the institution, an inter-service academy will be started next year at Dehra Dun.

Defence Minister Sardar Baldev Singh has announced plans for raising a Territorial Force, to start with 130,000 men, which would be a second line of defence in addition to the regular army. He said that he proposed the formation in answer to "persistent demand" from the people for youth military preparedness.

Projects are also being put forward for military training in the schools. The United Provinces is inaugurating a plan for compulsory military training of all high school students, both boys and girls. Plans call for extending this to all the secondary schools of this large section. The students are to be organized in platoons, and rifles and other military equipment will be used.

Madras province also has a scheme for school military training. In discussing the plan, teachers brought forward the usual alleged advantages to discipline and courage, and some wished to include girls in the undertaking. There was opposition to the plan, as a whole, but it was not substantial. A concession was made providing that use of rifles might be dropped if there were objections.

Worldover Press, 3/9/48.

State Declares War on Absentees

AND still they come. Last week we drew attention to the report that the National Union of Mineworkers was approaching the National Coal Board to establish the check-off (compulsory union dues-paying) in all British pits. We gave what we thought were the reasons behind the move. Now, hard on the heels of that report comes the news of a further move by the Coal Board—Union alliance to victimise miners who are, in official terms, "guilty of habitual absenteeism".

That this word "guilty" can be used in this context without any apparent embarrassment or self-consciousness is a sign of the times. It is a word with an obvious connection with "sin" or "crime"—and that is precisely how workers are being taught to think of absenteeism or strikes. The attitude of people like Will Lawther, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, is obviously that "if you tell anybody anything enough he will begin to believe it". Well, Lawther's main contribution to trade union theory (is there any?) over the last few years has been limited to fixing the labels of "traitors", "criminals", "saboteurs" and similar epithets to those who dare to come out on unofficial strike. Now "guilty" is being applied to absentees—for whatever reason they are absent—and apparently nobody in official circles sees anything wrong in it.

A Lock-out

The new move by the mining bosses is a particularly vicious one. It is a form of the lock-out, and consists simply in refusing to continue to employ any miner found guilty of this heinous crime of absenteeism. And not merely is the miner sacked from the particular pits in which he has been working, but he is blacklisted throughout the entire industry! Not merely does he lose his job, but he has no further chance of getting another in any mine in the country!

Significantly enough the first division to take this action is the most successful one—the East Midlands division. Production in the mines stand to-day 1,800,000 tons above the figure for the same period last year, so the absenteeism does not seem to be affecting production very seriously, does it?

Nearly all Derbyshire, Notts, and Leicestershire pits are carrying out purges of miners with poor attendance records, and the procedure is not only that they are dismissed, but that their names are posted on colliery notice boards for all to see. It is like a return to the public pillory, or the stocks, with possible exception that it is doubtful if there is any public scorn directed against the "guilty".

But now we come to one very important part of it. In the words of the *News Chronicle*:

"This decision is not the Coal Board's but has been taken by the pit consultative committees comprising the men's workmates and representatives of the management."

For "men's workmates" read "local union officials". There can be a vast difference.

The fact that the union members of the consultative committees are thoroughly enjoying the situation can be judged from the following, also from the *News Chronicle*:

"Mr. Herbert Booth, Notts area secretary of the Miner's Union, told me that his union wholeheartedly support the move to ban habitual absentees from the industry."

"Now, if we knew a man had been sacked for absenteeism at one pit and the Ministry of Labour sent him to another we would raise 'merry hell', said Mr. Booth."

From this cheerful enjoyment in the victimisation of fellow-workers, it is rather difficult to believe that the unions are the men's representatives, isn't it?

The Wickedest Thing

That the miners themselves are uneasy about the whole thing, goes without saying. Whatever may be done in their name, we may be sure the rank-and-file miners are not looking with favour upon the increasing restrictions and compulsions which are being forced upon

them. Indeed, one miner of Creswell colliery, near Mansfield (where eight men were dismissed and their names publicly displayed on the notice board by the colliery baths), a Mr. John Morris—

"... who has been employed at the colliery for 42 years, described the action as 'the wickedest thing I have ever seen posted up at any pit since I started work at the age 13."

"I see nothing wrong in dismissing a man for not following his employment, but this does not stop at dismissal. It brands him before the public and makes it impossible for him to find employment elsewhere. I feel that nothing worse has been practised in Germany or Russia."

"Mr. Morris, who is an underground miner, is not one of the men affected." (*News Chronicle* report.)

And to that, we have little to add. P.S.

THE KING STREET TERRIERS

THE Communist Party, through long practice in exploiting, for its own purposes, popular agitation and discontent, manages to spoil every pie it gets its fingers into. The way in which it pollutes and discredits everything it touches can be seen in the melancholy history of the Unemployed movement in the thirties, of the Spanish struggle, of the Squatters' movement and of last year's French strikes. Now the Communists are seeking to canalise the opposition to the recruiting drive for the territorial army into their own policy of backing Russia in the undeclared war between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. To see the insincerity and one-sidedness of these new-found war-resisters, we have only to envisage the situation which would have arisen if Britain had been in the Russian instead of the American sphere of influence. Then the C.P. would have become as they were from 1941 to 1945, a party of back-room recruiting sergeants. They would have been urging "every sincere anti-fascist" to play his part in the citizen army for the defence of "democracy" against Yankee plutocracy and all dissident elements like pacifists, Trotskyists and anarchists would have been called a fascist fifth-column, as they were during the war. Incidents such as last week's demonstration at the Mansion House would have been called the work of "fascist gangs" and demands would have been made for swift punitive action against the offenders.

The Communist action last week could not have been better timed had it been organised by the government itself. It will enable the authorities to label all the genuine opposition to the coming war as Communist agitation and the gutter press to inflame public opinion against the real war resisters who seek to expose the way in which the rival imperialisms of East and West intend to make a battle-ground of Western Europe, and to show up the Government and the Communist Party as the contemptible willing puppets of Wall Street and the Kremlin respectively, which they undoubtedly are.

Our position must be made perfectly clear. We must fight unrelentingly the new guns before butter policy which is shared by the government and opposition alike, and we must expose the true nature of the cynical opportunists of the Communist Party, whose only objection to atomic war is that they want us to be on the other side.

TAX CHANGE AGAINST STRIKERS

ANOTHER method the State can use against absentees is now being considered by the Government. It is that of altering the P.A.Y.E. income tax system so that the tax rebates which can now be drawn when a man's wages drop, through unemployment, sickness or absenteeism, could not be drawn immediately, but would be deducted from the amount of tax payable throughout the coming year.

In other words, if you are on strike for a week and are due for an immediate rebate of, say £5, it may be sufficient for you to live on, and thus continue the strike. So the Government are considering a means by which you will get your rebate by paying 2/- a week less income tax over the next fifty weeks—thereby depriving you of benefit when you need it most and yet giving it to you in small quantities when it will do you practically no good.

They have probably not yet got around to wondering what will happen if you die in the meantime!

We have always regarded taxes as robbery, and modern systems of collecting taxes have rendered them almost impossible to avoid—every shopkeeper, publican and employer is now a government tax collector. But now they are being used as a strike-breaking weapon. As in the days before the unions, so now in our Socialist trade-union paradise, hunger will be the means the employers and the State will use to force men to work on their terms.

One more step towards the Slave State.

50th ANNIVERSARY OF WHITEWAY COLONY

To celebrate the first 50 years of Whiteway a Reunion and Exhibition will be held during the last week in October (30th, 31st).

Friends and old colonists are welcome. Limited accommodation for those living at a distance can be provided if they immediately contact the Assistant Secretary, Tom Keell Wolfe at Whiteway Colony, Nr. Stroud, Glos.

Imperialism in West Africa

(Continued from page 3)

the colonial administration. Hitherto, the government has relied upon the Chiefs for local administration, and the Commission censures it for failing to realise that the star of the Chiefs is on the wane. The setting up of a cabinet containing African ministers would still further undermine the influence of the Chiefs. Needless to say it will not materially advance the desire of the population to administer their own lives, and we are therefore quite indifferent to this "reform" which is essentially political in nature. We must point out however that it sets the African politicians at loggerheads with the Chiefs (whose representatives are in London at the moment, no doubt fighting their "waning" case), and as such the whole recommendation can be seen as another manifestation of the method of Divide-and-Rule. Over this struggle the colonial administration can preside as the rejoicing third masquerading as the impartial arbitrator.

It will be seen that the aim of the West African people would seem to be freedom from government, or at least deep-rooted suspicion of the administration. The absorption of African politicians into this administration may go some way to satisfying their ambitions but it will have little enough effect on the aspirations of the people.

The British in Africa

There was a time when the socialist movement condemned the whole business of imperialism and the exploitation of "backward" peoples. But to-day socialists provide a new gloss for imperialism, all the more useful to it for that old arguments are so threadbare. The *Tribune*, for example, declared outright that Britain has a duty to stay in Africa: "If Africa is not exploited with the aid of capital goods and technical assistance which can only come from the West, whole stretches of that continent will be submerged by disease, poverty and appalling disaster. Africa can only be

saved by a huge joint exertion between the native and the invader." We regard this as so much verbiage. The ills of Africa may in part be traceable to the economic backwardness of the continent, but this would not be true at all if Africa were not subjected to the world's economic hazards because of the fact that imperialism exploits its materials and labour. Of all continents it is the most thinly populated and the idea that it could not maintain its indigenous population is simply absurd.

As it is, the vast mass of the African population is kept in the backward position of being unskilled labourers, while such "economic advance" as there is provides jobs for colonial whites and western-educated Africans. The "huge joint exertion between the native and the invader" means in plain terms a huge effort on the part of the African worker to supply wealth to the invader and those of the educated Africans whose ambition is achieved when they have climbed onto the imperialist bandwagon.

This is not to say that a free Britain could not supply technical (or even non-technical—why not?) assistance to an Africa freed from imperialist exploitation. But technical assistance from Imperialist Britain holds no prospects for the Gold Coast workers. Can it be that their suspicion of all government activity springs from an instinctive recognition of this fact?

BERLIN

(Continued from page 1)
The Counter Blockade

In providing the air lift the Western powers could claim that they were only doing what they could to counter the wholly unjustifiable Russian blockade. The sorrows of the workers could be turned almost wholly to their political advantage. Now, however, in the manner of politicians, they have joined the Russians by blockading the Russian zone. Two blacks make a white. Needless to say the Germans who happen to live in the area of Germany occupied by Russia have to feel the weight of this counter move. Their sufferings become the stakes in the struggle and are added to those of the Berliners.

According to the *Manchester Guardian* "There is every indication that the Russians are fighting a losing battle in their zone and are attempting to counter it by pumping in food from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Union itself and by organising a police force of great size wielding despotic powers. The food ration in the Soviet zone still lags far behind that of Western Germany and, paradoxically, that of Western Berlin. The latest reports show that meat and fat deliveries are again three weeks in arrears and that recourse is being had to substitutes of skimmed milk cheese and stale fish. Industries are running short of raw materials and textile exports are falling away as the quality of goods can no longer be maintained. General Clay has made it clear that the battle of the blockade is by no means as one-sided as first appeared."

It may not be one-sided for the power contestants, but it is one-sided enough as far as suffering goes. The powers may reap some benefit: the German workers—and more particularly the old, the infirm, the unemployed—pay the price.

Benefits of Rule

So much for the material miseries of the German people in this struggle. Within the framework of the political conception there is little enough that can be done about it. But the whole page of this history demonstrates the mechanisms whereby government is the enemy of the people. By an economic fiat expressed as currency reform the workers have been robbed and reduced to still greater economic servitude. By a political counterstroke normal modes of transport have been interrupted, creating a situation of near disaster. Such strokes are only possible to those who control economy and transport—the governments involved. The people would not feel such strokes on their own backs if they themselves controlled economy and administrative machinery. But they cannot achieve such control with a government. The emancipation of a people from such ills requires the dismantling of all power institutions—in a word, the abolition of the state and the institution of government.

Thank You and Please!

AS readers will see from our 5th List of contributions to the Special Appeal Fund, there is a slowing up in the number of contributions received, but we are glad that some friends have realised that the "5/- a month" scheme is the only way for "Freedom" to be put on a sound financial basis. We look to other comrades and groups to follow this lead and thus hasten the day when "Freedom" will appear on 8 pages once more.

May we take this opportunity of expressing our thanks to all those readers who have written encouraging letters and who have sent contributions to the Special Appeal Fund?

Though we have, in most cases, acknowledged receipt by a printed card only, we are sure they realise that we would have wished to answer personally each letter received, were we not always so hard-pressed for time!

Special Appeal

5th LIST

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Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.
OCT. 17th Sean Gannon
"Ireland since 1922"
OCTOBER 24th A. Meltzer
"The Middle East To-day"
OCTOBER 31st John Turner
"Synthesis"
NOVEMBER 7th John Hewetson
"World Politics and Food Supplies"
NOVEMBER 14th Philip Sansom
"The State"
NOVEMBER 21st Alex Comfort
"Can We Modify Human Conduct"
NOVEMBER 28th F. A. Ridley
"The Conflict of European Ideologies"

NORTH EAST LONDON

OCTOBER 19th F. A. Ridley
"The Cromwellian Revolution"
NOVEMBER 2nd Alan Smith
"The Prospect Before Us"
Comrades interested should ring WAN 2396

LIVERPOOL

Open Discussion Meetings held every Tuesday at 7.30 in Central Liverpool. Comrades interested ring Royal 4669.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

Indoor Meetings,
CENTRAL HALLS, Bath Street,
every Sunday at 7 p.m.,
commencing Oct. 3rd
Frank Leech, Willy Carlyle, John Gaffney,
Eddie Shaw.

BRISTOL

Public Meeting
Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, 7p.m.,
NOVEMBER 2nd
Questions and Discussion

BIRMINGHAM

Discussion-Lectures are held on alternate Sundays in Dick Sheppard House, 36, Holloway Head, at 7 p.m.

OCTOBER 24th Mat Kavanagh
"Anarchism—Past and Present"

A Public Meeting will be held in the BULL RING, at 11 a.m., Sunday, Oct. 24th.
Speaker: Mat Kavanagh.