

Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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Threepence

MALAYA

THE process of dividing the world between the Great Powers appealed greatly to the public imagination in the nineteenth century, and inspired the Imperialist dream of "painting the map red" that captured British enthusiasm and reached its climax when Mafeking added a new word to the language. Perhaps part of the impregnability of that illusion was the fact that nobody was compelled to do anything tangible in order to justify their proud imperialist claims, other than the pride-conscripts who officered the army and the hunger-conscripts who served in it. And they were doubtless fortified in their practical contributions to Empire-building by "the lordliest life on earth" in far off countries where they became a special privileged caste, providing each rank understood its place in the then appointed scheme of things.

The traditional British Army and the British Empire were irrevocably joined together. The British Army was always there to defend the interests of imperialism; it took the flag to follow trade wherever it went. No matter where British traders and settlers had established themselves, by means of commercial penetration which invariably began with self-humiliation before the dignitaries established there and finished with the self-complacent superiority indelibly associated to-day with "Poonah", the Army finally stepped in to assert the rights or claims of the commercial penetrators and eventually annex the territory.

The Malaya Story

The news that the Guards are going to Malaya must be a whiff of nostalgia in the nostrils of the retired colonels at Bath and Cheltenham. All the build-up of a nineteenth century campaign is there. British planters and settlers have been murdered by Chinese terrorists. The Russians are blamed for causing the trouble (they always were and only the use of the term "Communist" by the Press seems a trifle anachronistic). We must step in to defend the peaceful Malays and restore outraged British interests. The Cabinet has been urged not to delay, and they are now sending the Guards. The Press rushes in with happy little stories of last-minute military marriages. The Singapore gentlemen for whose benefit the troops are going out, have hastily prepared the ground for the Army by decorating their clubs with banners saying, "For officers and civilians only". We await the beleaguered garrison story to make the atmosphere perfect.

Empire No Longer

But, unfortunately, behind all this window-dressing is the glaring truth that the nineteenth-century British Empire does not now exist. The spirit of public enthusiasm died in the First World War, when the clash between imperialisms brought home the fact that a heavy price was to be paid for world sovereignty, and the first public reaction against militarism took place in the revolution from the senseless waste of lives in trench warfare until to-day the Army is insufficient to police the world. Moreover, a glaring truth has been brought home to the imperialists, which is that the only way to colonise is to exterminate the native population to the point where it becomes negligible, as in America and Australia. Although the comic columnists may extract that sentence from its context to horrify their sentimental readers, it is unfortunately true that colonisation and humanitarian-

SPANISH ANARCHIST MURDERED BY POLICE

Raul Carballeira, a young militant of Argentinian origin, who was an active member of the Spanish Anarchist Youth Movement in France, and went to Spain illegally in order to participate in the re-organisation of the youth movement, has recently been murdered by the fascist police at Barcelona.

Carballeira was killed when the police raided a meeting of the illegal C.N.T. (the anarcho-syndicalist organisation) and a fight ensued between the police and our comrades.

ism can never mix, and the only way the coloniser has ever established himself is by quickfire and ruthless wiping out, such as Andrew Jackson undertook. Hitler learned the lesson and used it in Europe. Britain's Empire in Canada and Australia and its lost Empire in the United States, was firmly established on that principle. It was unable to do so in India, where it was faced with an old and complex civilisation, and that explains why it is on its way out in India. The followers of Malan would like to use these methods in South Africa, but are late on the scene, and will eventually find, as outlined in these columns before, that the Africans are awakening to consciousness and will not tolerate such methods used on them and will be provoked to a defence that will shatter white hegemony.

The eventual outcome of imperialism is the awakening of the oppressed peoples to a sense of independence, often expressed in nationalism, and no matter what sacrifices are poured out by the metropolitan power, in the finish all they will have to show for it are the neat white cemeteries in bizarre surroundings in the most distant corners of the world. The experience of the long occupation of India, and the late desperate struggle to hang on in Palestine, would prove this without doubt; and the fact is that the British Empire does not now come under the control of men determined to hang on at all costs until thrown out. This romantic Churchillian policy which not even the Conservatives now uphold, has been superseded by a realisation of the facts of power politics to-day and the struggle between America and Russia; and all the "Four Feathers" atmosphere that may surround the Malaya adventure is only there to please the gallery.

No More Isolated Struggles

There is a tense situation in Malaya which is accentuated by many factors. Undoubtedly the major factor is the Japanese occupation which exploded the legend of white superiority, and yet was succeeded by the Singapore Old Gang. The internal politics of revolutionary movements have something to do with it—the Communists are strong because, as in Burma, they collaborated with the Japanese and received military training during the years of the Russo-Japanese Pact, and only towards

the finish, with a change in policy from Moscow, did they switch from being pro-Japanese to anti-Japanese, when their superior military training enabled them to dominate the resistance movements. Coupled with this is the factor that Chinese Communists are the nearest highly-organised movement able to give them support since the Indian Congress trailed off into national diplomacy and away from anti-imperialism. But the Communists are not so powerful as to be able to dominate Malaya in the fashion depicted by the Press, except that the publicity given to them naturally tends in their favour. Surprisingly enough, the Malaysians are not receptive to the clarion calls for "defence of Christian civilisation" or "for the benefit of the overwhelming mass of non-Christians in the world" "defence of democracy—far less "our Western standard of values". They know exactly what that means, and it means something much more different in the Far East from what it does to the after-dinner speakers in the Guildhall. The mass of them are bound to be apathetic in any struggle involving the sovereignty of the West, and more inclined to side with the East if this is represented by anybody with the faintest regard for their interests. It has been fortunate for the American State Department that the "East" has so far been represented by totalitarian powers with no regard for anybody but themselves.

To-day, there is no isolated struggle, but every outbreak is caught up in the vortex leading to the Third World War. Nineteenth century Imperialism is dead and damned, and this latest military adventure, coming so soon on the heels of the Palestine episode as to enable the now superfluous Palestine Police to be rushed to Malaya, is a test of strength between America and Russia who will both be interested to see "their side" win. The aim of the more utilitarian Imperialists is to re-create an Empire in Africa; they have little hope of remaining in Malaya for ever, and well appreciate that when it eventually is necessary they will have to evacuate Malaya just as they did in Palestine, in spite of all the "reasons" now advanced for going there. But, in the phrase which will be Mankind's Famous Last Words, "We have to honour our commitments."

INTERNATIONALIST.

These are the Fruits of Victory

THE resignation of the Government of Wurttemberg in protest against the reparation policy of the French Government has thrown into relief a situation which reflects in the most sinister manner, not only on the French authorities, but also on British industrial interests and the Labour Government who, given the circumstances of occupation in Germany, must have granted at least tacit approval to the activities of the industrialists involved.

On the surface, the matter appears to be one in which the French authorities are principally responsible, and the revelations of the Wurttemberg authorities give a staggering picture of the unprincipled way in which French interests have made inevitable the poverty of this particularly fertile and industrious corner of Germany.

Until recently, the French occupation forces and officials have, like the Russians, been living off the country, and, before the American and British authorities protested against this, they appear to have consumed somewhere about a third of the agricultural produce of the area. Added to this, there have been all kinds of payments for reparations and the upkeep of occupation forces, to such an

extent that it is estimated that somewhere about 60 per cent. of the income of the area found its way into French pockets.

Having been obliged to give up their agricultural tribute, the French have now decided on a further programme of dismantling factories, and, after having taken away 20,000 machines and machine tools in 1945-6, now propose to take a further 11,000. If this programme is carried out, the result will be that Wurttemberg's productivity will be considerably lower even than that of the rest of Western Germany, being reduced in various industries to levels of from 15% to 50% of that of 1936.

Undoubtedly, the French industries, and particularly the clock industry, will benefit from this. But that it is not only French interests which have engineered this new blow at German economic stability is shown by what one would have thought a very tactless statement in the report of the British Clock and Watch Manufacturers' Association, published in their official journal during last July. The report runs as follows:

"Lengthy negotiations and discussions have been conducted by Mr. Barrett over the past three years with a view to fixing the

Conditions in the Nursing Profession

THE recent agitation among nurses for better wages and working conditions has thrown some light on conditions in a trade which has always been over-worked and under-paid, and to give a further insight into this matter we print below some comment which we have received from a Male Nurse.

"Recently, I have become a State Enrolled Assistant Nurse (Male) with a

Conference of the War Resisters' International

A LARGE international conference of War Resisters was held from the 5th to the 11th August at Shrewsbury, and was attended by 135 delegates from a total of 86 countries. Many of these men and women had suffered long terms of imprisonment for their anti-militarist activities, including Robert Porchet, a French delegate who was imprisoned on Devil's Island for fifteen years for refusal to carry out military service, and Aldo Rescigno, who was sentenced to death by the Italian fascists for his conscientious objection but managed to escape and live in hiding until the end of the war.

After lengthy discussions on a variety of subjects, the conference adopted the following unanimous resolution:

"This conference of the War Resisters' International representing 56 sections in 30 countries and individual members in 86 countries has considered the economic and political problems of the world to-day and particularly the growing danger of a new war. It has re-affirmed the determination of its members to work for the prevention of war, the removal of the causes of war and to take no part in any war. Its members have been reminded of the teachings of Gandhi and this has strengthened their belief that a peaceful solution of the world's difficulties can be found if there is a persistent endeavour in goodwill to do so."

While we may not agree in every detail with the terms of this resolution, we welcome any movement to promote resistance to militarism at a time like the present, when war propaganda and scares of war are being used cynically and deliberately by all governments to increase their power over the peoples under their domination.

"While there is a lower class,
I am in it; while there is a
criminal element, I am of
it; while there is a soul in
prison, I am not free."

EUGENE V. DEBS.

salary of £5 1s. 6d. per week, only to discover that Male Ward Orderlies employed in the same hospital are getting a basic salary of £5 8s. 0d. weekly, plus 3/- weekly for shift work, plus time-and-a-half for Sunday work, and double rate for Bank Holidays; they have almost no responsibility, they are not required to do night duty, they wear the same uniform as a Pupil Assistant Nurse or an Intermediate Assistant Nurse; they use the same locker-cum-changing-cum-rest-room as Male Nurses, and they walk straight into the job without any training.

"Now, I do not begrudge them their wages—they earn every penny of it—but I do strongly condemn as radically unfair and intolerable, a system which allows them more favourable terms than I have had to take after two years' training at the apprenticeship rates of £4 1s. 6d per week for the first year (plus 10/- weekly Government Training Grant) which, although raised 5/- to £4 6s. 6d. in the second year, was offset by a reduction of 2/- per week in the Government Training Grant; and yet I find that if I continue on current arrangements which allow for yearly increments of 4/- weekly to a maximum of £6 1s. 6d., I shall then—after four years—only be worth 1s. 6d. more than a Male Ward Orderly in an ordinary week, and much less if the week happens to include a Bank Holiday; this in spite of having to do as much shift-work when on day duty, and in addition having to spend approximately six months in every year on night duty."

These paragraphs show fairly vividly the kind of wages for which nurses are expected to work at inconvenient hours and often unpleasant duties. We do not, as our correspondent appears to do, consider that the situation can be solved satisfactorily by raising the trained nurses into a higher paid and therefore privileged class. The real solution appears to be a standard of payment in which nobody will feel a grievance if his abilities or interests lead him to take work that is more arduous or exacting. And such a state of affairs can certainly not be achieved at a salary of £5 1s. 6d. a week, which makes nursing among the worst paid trades in this country.

on by the Allied Control Commission was obtained by an association of British manufacturers without the active assistance of influential administrators, and the tacit approval of ministers. So we see, under the *aegis* of a Labour Government, the perpetuation of the old processes of capitalism carried on as ever before.

No Work in the Mines Without Union Cards

A JOINT COMMITTEE of four representatives of the national Union of Mineworkers and four of the Coal Board, is to be set up shortly to discuss a national agreement for the collection of trade union subscriptions by deductions from miners' pay.

The Union's proposal is that the miners should sign two contracts, one undertaking to obey regulations and abide by agreements and the other agreeing to the deduction of their union subscription of about 1s. per week from their pay packets.

How far the Unions have travelled since the pioneering days! It is surprising that there is less and less militancy in the Unions when the act of joining the Union is a purely administrative one; in fact, if the proposals go through, it will be rather like paying for permission to work as a miner. What about all the talk of the worker's right to work and to a living? Presumably, that will only be possible under the Union's dictatorship if he pays them tribute money. Otherwise he must starve.

future level of the German horological industry below the 72% of the 1938 level which had been agreed by the Allied Control Commission. It is pleasing to be able to record that the final result had been to reach agreement that the German industry is to be reduced to 50% of the 1938 level.

"The result is what we wanted to achieve; and although there can be no doubt that the Germans will ultimately redevelop their horological industry on a strong basis, the present position means that the British industry has been given a certain amount of breathing space in order to become organised on a sound basis.

"The thanks of the association have already been conveyed to Mr. Barrett for his patient and untiring work in achieving this result."

A more cynical admission of the usual cut-throat activities of industrial imperialism it would be difficult to imagine. And it is equally difficult to imagine that all this has been done without the active assistance of the Labour Government. Papers sympathetic to the government, like the *Tribune*, try to give this impression, but it is impossible to believe that a radical change in a programme agreed

The Organic Society—3

FROM the historical development of the city, Mumford proceeds to discuss the lines along which it can be restored as a communal unit, based on the needs of its inhabitants and drawing its life from their co-operation. He seeks the hope in decentralisation, political and physical, in the dissolution of metropolitan aggregations and the reconstruction of community consciousness in smaller centres of population where a regular integration between rural and urban activities will become practicable.

Mumford sees the breakdown of the power state as an essential for the re-birth of a rational urban society; this must be accompanied by a destruction of faith in social abstractions and a reaffirmation of the importance of human relationships and of the concrete activities and products of men in society. Modern technical developments have placed in our hands the means of decentralisation. Long-distance transmission of electric power removes the need for industry to centre round coalfields, road and air transport remove the need for a valley pattern of urban development dictated by the low gradients of steam haulage. Regionalism, with its integration of urban and rural life, its decentralisation of industry and administration, had become possible on the highest technical plane. It is on this regional development and the federal organisation of regions that Mumford places his hope for the elimination of social chaos.

But the future of the new social era is by no means certain, as Mumford is well aware. Today, after six years of war, we are left with the results of an unco-ordinated mechanical progress which had been used for destruction by the socially obsolete forces of power politics and competitive capitalism. Many areas are faced with a scarcity economy wholly incompatible with the potentialities of modern production, and even where, as in America, abundance is said to exist, the nature of a system based on profit instead of use precipitates a crisis of under-consumption.

Man's Personal Nature

The lesson of the last war and its aftermath is that progress is not—as the Victorians thought—inevitable, and that mechanical progress alone cannot bring any real improvement in the conditions of human life. Man is not wholly dominated by his environment. He has also a personal nature, which may be affected by external circumstances, but which has also an emergent quality of its own that helps to determine human character and thought, and in its turn exerts an influence on the environment. If we neglect this personal element in man, we cannot bring about social harmony, for it has become evident that the old ideas of a change in economic or purely social conditions being sufficient to alter the nature of man or even of society itself in any fundamental way, are wholly erroneous. There must be a moral change. Before man can accept the values of a just and free society or enjoy the organically balanced life that has been made possible by technical developments. The equilibrium of society is wholly dependent on the inner equilibrium of the individuals who compose it. If these individuals are unbalanced, mentally or emotionally unbalanced, their actions in turn will endanger the balance of society.

Naturally, the inner and outer changes are interdependent. It is difficult to attain personal equilibrium in an unstable environment, but before any movement towards a freely balanced society can be initiated there must be at least a change in mental attitude. When men desire personal wholeness, they will strive for balance in the environment where they live.

It is to the exploration of the personal nature of man that Mumford devotes his third book, *The Condition of Man*. This volume, he warns us, does not consider fully the solution of the human problem, the final investigation of which is left for a fourth and final book. The object of *The Condition of Man* is to consider the development and changes of man's ideas, beliefs and ways of life during the history of European civilisation, from the dawn of Greek culture to the present day.

It is rather in the hope that such a revaluation of history may play a similar therapeutic rôle to that of revelations of past events in the treatment of an individual neurotic that Mumford commences his own historical survey of the intellectual development of Western man.

"In an attempt to control the dis-integrating forces that are at work in our society, we must resume the search for unity, and to this end, we must explore the historic nature of the modern personality and the community, in all their richness, variety, complication and depth, as both the means and the end of our effort. As the processes of unity take form in the mind, we may expect to see a similar integration take place in institutions. But this change is not an automatic one. Only those who daily seek to renew and perfect themselves will be capable of transforming our society; while only those who are eager to share their highest goods with the whole community—indeed, with all humanity—will be capable of transforming themselves."

It is impossible here for me to do more than comment briefly on Mumford's brilliant historical survey, and it seems best to concentrate on a brief synopsis of his views of the nature and needs of man.

Function of Work

He sees man as continuous with the animal world, and sharing with it the constant interaction with the environment which results from the needs of sustenance and survival. For this reason, work is the most important factor in developing both the individual man and the society in which he lives, in developing aesthetic as well as economic powers, for—"every mastery of the economic conditions of life lightens the burdens of

servile work and opens up new possibilities for art and play; and in these realms man gains a fuller insight into his surroundings, his community and himself."

But, although an organic view of man's development cannot ignore the importance of his technical powers or the function of work in his life, it would be foolish to contend that this is the only essential reality in human existence. Mumford rightly refutes those whose belief in economic determinism carries them to such absurdities that they ascribe "an independent life to mechanisms and conceive of the human community as being passively moulded by them."

Work, on the contrary, though it affects man continually, is also a means subordinate to the human will by which is attained more than the mere satisfaction of animal needs. "The rôle of work is to make man a master of the conditions of life: hence its constant discipline is essential to his grasp of the real world. The function of work is to provide man with a living: not for the purpose of enlarging his capacities to consume, but of liberating his capacities to create. The social meaning of work derives from the acts of creation it makes possible."

Dynamic Equilibrium

It is in the creation of a "dynamic equilibrium" within the organism and in the perpetration of the processes of growth that work and every other act of man have their principal purpose. It is in this "dynamic equilibrium" that human sanity and health are to be found, in "an even internal equilibrium that frees the mind for independent explorations and a balance of mind that enables the body to function as an effective whole, despite continued changes of circumstance, changes of occupation, and changes of physiological equilibrium through growth itself."

This equilibrium can only be attained through freedom, which allows continual change. Man advanced beyond the other beasts primarily because he was more free and adventurous. But his development has been co-operative, and his freedom, in so far as it is creative, lies within co-operation—"not freedom to reject his social heritage, to depart from the human norm, but to select, to modify, to augment that heritage, and to raise the norm."

(To be concluded.)

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

The Superstition of Government

AN impression fixed by long habit of mind, especially where that habit has been transmitted through many generations, ends by assuming the form of instinctive knowledge, too clear to admit of discussion, still less to require demonstration. If such impression is originally based on facts accepted by reason, we call it *common sense*; if, on the other hand, it springs from error in matter of fact or is the result of distorted reasoning, we call it *prejudice*. In expounding Anarchism we are met by a certain stolid repugnance as well as a seemingly inability to grasp our idea, and this we find to be owing to a prepossession in favour of Government. Let us therefore examine and see if this superstition is based on common sense, or whether it is not the result of prejudice carefully maintained and cultivated in the past by those who have put themselves forward as the guides of humanity.

Throughout the whole of history, Government is continually presented to us as a permanent factor of human life as well as its most important and interesting aspect; even the legends and myths which precede history are full of the glorious or terrible deeds of rulers—giants on earth, and gods and devils innumerable throughout the universe divide between them the government of men and things. Are we therefore to conclude that government is natural to man? or that it is a requisite of man's social life? We might be tempted to answer this question in the affirmative, but for another fact which is co-universal with Government and which entirely upsets its claim to be in harmony with man's moral and social nature. That fact is *Revolt*. In no historic time has Government failed to encounter Revolt, either overt or covert; individuals or classes have at all times contended to subvert the dominion of other classes or individuals in order to win that dominion for themselves. This traditional spirit of revolt is also presented to us in those legends and myths which are the echoes of prehistoric times: Jehovah has to struggle for pre-eminence with the archangel Satan, who leads to rebellion a portion of the angelic host, and who continues, even after his expulsion from heaven we are told, to keep up a fairly successful warfare against heaven's monarch. So, also, in the ancient classic story, Jupiter dethrones his father Saturn, and in his turn becomes "Father of the gods and King of men."

I have spoken of the hostility of individuals and classes who happen for the time to be out of power, as directed against those who for the moment are in power; but of course this hostility would be powerless without the co-operation of the people or a considerable section thereof, and therefore it is that whoever raises the standard of revolt or of opposition (which is only revolt minus military warfare) professes to do so in the interest of the people, who are led to hope for a betterment of their condition as a result of a successful change. Insurrectionary and opposition leaders have always posed as deliverers of the people in order to gain its support, and have taught it to regard the exercise of power and the spoils of office as the just reward of their condescension in taking up the cudgels on behalf of its interests. Obviously, therefore, during the many ages that personal ambitions and rival castes have warred for supremacy, it has never suited them to so much as even hint to the vile populace whose help they were soliciting that the evils it suffered were inherent in Government itself; on the contrary, it was their policy to leave the principles of Government and Authority un-

challenged, and to insist only upon the transfer of power to themselves, together with the privileges and perquisites of power, whilst promising the people as its share of the advantage gained some alleviation of its servitude.

When, therefore, the Anarchist proposes the abolition of Government and the rejection of Authority, and claims that the affairs of society shall be arranged by mutual understanding of the people themselves, instead of being imposed on them by some external force, he finds that the minds of those he addresses never having been used to contemplate such a possibility, the suggestion bewilders them, and no clear corresponding idea is awakened. This is shown by the question almost invariably asked by those who for the first time hear of Anarchism: "How, then, will you regulate this, that, or the other, for us?" not grasping the fact that Anarchism (or Libertarianism, if you prefer the word) repudiates regulation and leaves the persons concerned to manage each matter for themselves by mutual agreement, compromise or concession.

Moreover, so accustomed are people to regard those who propose political changes as candidates for political power, that when they hear that Anarchist propagandists do not desire power or place, and reject authority for themselves as well as well as for others, they are puzzled to conceive the motive which actuates them, used as they themselves have always been to regard the desire for personal advancement as inseparable from the rôle of an agitator; hence a suspicion is apt to affect them that there must be something hidden, something kept back in such an unusual proceeding as that of an individual championing an unpopular and

(Continued on page 4)

SOVIET EDUCATION

The Minister of Education, Mr. Voznesensky, has just written an article for the Russian provincial press on the past year in the schools which will make many of our simpler fellow-travellers blink in astonishment. Mr. Voznesensky certainly finds much to praise, but he also finds some startling deficiencies. In the "overwhelming majority of regions and provinces" the Universal Compulsory Education Act (which provides education for all up to sixteen years) was not observed satisfactorily. "Far from all children" attended schools, and many who did left without finishing the prescribed course. Mr. Voznesensky also noted that "far more children remain in the same form for a second year", and that "the majority of children" had failed in Russian, in which they had a low written and spoken standard. While these admissions may surprise us, who have heard so much of the superiority of Soviet education, they do not shock us: we have the same difficulties and some of the same deficiencies in our own schools. What

must shock any Western democrat is Mr. Voznesensky's complaint that many Russian teachers are too objective and "apolitical" in their treatment of social phenomena—in other words, they try to teach the truth. What is needed, he says, is "first and foremost, a high quality of ideological and political education" and "an implacable struggle against the influence of surviving capitalist elements among pupils" expressed, apparently, in such things as indiscipline, "religious prejudices", and the use of cribs.

Manchester Guardian, 12/8/48.

Reviews

POLITICS, Spring 1948 (New York, 4/6).

THE latest issue of "Politics" (Spring 1948) devotes more than half its contents to articles on the U.S.S.R. Editor Dwight MacDonald has forestalled the criticisms which will be levelled against him for bringing out an issue most of which deals unfavourably with the Soviet Union, at the present time. In an introductory article he answers these criticisms: "Why an anti-war pacifist journal runs such a series at this time? Is this not—objectively, of course—contributing to the war spirit over there? Is not the commercial press already doing the job ad nauseam? Don't almost all of the likely readers of 'Politics' already know pretty well what kind of society there is in Russia? Why does 'Politics' here—and in the past—devote so much space to criticising fascism and native reaction?" The answer to these objections should silence for ever those well-meaning people who think it is not always opportune to tell the truth. "Freedom" has been receiving "more-in-sorrow-than-in-anger" protests from them ever since Russia has become a potential enemy of the democracies and we are glad to see a fellow magazine dealing so ably with their criticisms.

If Dwight MacDonald's article failed to convince them, the tone of the articles should convince them that there is no possible comparison between the hysterical outbursts against Russia which one finds in the capitalist press and a survey undertaken merely with the aim of presenting facts. The survey begins with an historical article and is followed by a series of testimonies either by Russians abroad or by French or German prisoners of war in Russia. One article deals with Soviet Pan-Slavism and another with Soviet Imperialism, two questions which are generally neglected when dealing with Russian problems. The last part of the survey is dedicated to the cultural purges in the realms of economics, music and literature. Finally, an extremely useful "Layman's Reading List on the U.S.S.R." has been compiled by Dwight MacDonald. It is probably the first time that such a comprehensive, and at the same time, simple bibliography has been published with the view to helping not the specialist on Russian affairs but the ordinary reader. It does not claim to be a final reading list and will be re-issued in the Autumn incorporating criticisms and suggestions from readers. It is to be hoped that it will be then issued as a pamphlet and will prove as useful to American readers as to English ones.

This issue of "Politics" also contains an article on Mass Culture and a psychological study on Childhood Amnesia, book reviews and letters, which all contribute to make it a most valuable issue and make one feel that the 70 pp. "Politics" as a quarterly is perhaps even more interesting than was the thinner "Politics" as a monthly.

RESISTANCE

A new and exceptionally interesting issue of "Resistance" has just arrived from America. It includes an inspiring and hitherto unpublished letter from Vanzetti to the Chinese anarchist, Li Pei Kan, a lengthy and stimulating discussion of the implications of the Spanish revolution, an important article on militarism in America, entitled "Registration for War", and other valuable items. As the only anarchist periodical which appears with any frequency in the English language in America, "Resistance" is fulfilling an extremely important function, and it is encouraging to see the steady improvement of its quality in almost every issue.

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A Book on Karaganda Concentration Camp

A BOOK has just appeared in Sweden, and will shortly be published in Germany, containing some very interesting information on the well-known concentration camp at Karaganda in Russia, where a group of Spanish anti-fascists have been interned for nine years. The author of this book is Margarete Buber, the widow of the ex-communist leader and agent of the Komintern in Germany, Heinz Neumann, who fell into disgrace with the Kremlin and disappeared when he was in Moscow, ten years ago. Being the "widow" of someone who had "disappeared", Margarete Buber was also interned in a concentration camp and accused of taking part in a counter-revolutionary plot. She spent two years in the concentration camp at Karaganda. In 1940, without a word of explanation, the Russian authorities handed her over to the German Gestapo in compliance with the treaty of alliance between Stalin and Hitler. Margarete Buber was immediately interned by the Nazis in the women's concentration camp at Ravensbrück in Germany, where she spent four years until her liberation in 1945. Margarete Buber describes her experiences in a book entitled *I was the prisoner of Stalin and Hitler* which is a terrible

indictment of both the red and brown brands of totalitarianism. The first part of the book contains a detailed description of the life led by the prisoners in the Karaganda Camp.

This book also contains some passages which are of special interest to syndicalist and anarchist readers. Margarete Buber tells for example, that while she was in prison in Moscow waiting to be handed over to the Germans, she found herself in the company of some other German anti-fascist women. Among them was Zenzi Mühsam, the widow of our comrade, the German anarchist poet, Erich Mühsam, who was murdered by the Nazis in a concentration camp in 1934. Zenzi, who had fled to Czechoslovakia, committed the mistake to accept an invitation to go to Russia, where she was told that the complete works of Mühsam were going to be published. This promise was never kept and eventually Zenzi was imprisoned and sentenced to years of concentration camp for, like the Spaniards now interned, she wished to leave Russia. According to M. Buber, she was not handed over to the Nazis and is probably still in some Russian prison or concentration camp.

I.W.M.A. Press Bulletin.

Centralia Post-Mortem

(From an American Correspondent)

MARCH 25th, 1947, 111 miners died in an explosion in the Centralia, Illinois, No. 5 mine. Sensational developments followed. John Lewis pointed out that only two mines in the country met the safety specifications of the U.S. Bureau of Mines, and called a week-long strike of "mourning". The government, "operating" the mines that Truman had "seized" in a previous strike, closed hundreds of them for thorough inspection; some stayed shut permanently. The director of the Illinois department of mines was blasted out of office, the governor came under fire, following revelations that the miners had written the governor, a year before the explosion, "this is a plea to you to please save our lives," and that state mine inspectors had, on instructions from above, solicited political contributions from coal companies.¹ State and federal authorities were shown to have had ample warning of disaster while the coal company had blithely ignored dozens of directives to correct dangerous conditions.

After putting these facts together in an excellent 28-page article in *Harper's Magazine* (March, 1948), the journalist John Bartlow Martin goes further, beyond the specious question of legal responsibility, to ask "Who is guilty? What are the remedies?" and his answer is startling:

But actually responsibility here transcends individuals. The miners at Centralia, seeking somebody who would heed their convictions that their lives were in danger, found themselves confronted with officialdom, a huge organism scarcely mortal. The State Inspector, the Federal Inspector, the State Board, the Federal C.M.A. (Coal Mines Administrator), the company officials—all these forever invoked 'higher authority', they forever passed from hand to hand a stream of memoranda and letters, decisions and laws and rulings, and they lost their own identities. As one strives to fix responsibility for the disaster, again and again one is confronted, as were the miners, not with any individual but with a host of individuals fused into a vast, unapproachable, insensate organism. Perhaps this immovable juggernaut is the true villain in the piece. Certainly all those in authority were too remote from the persons whose lives they controlled. And this is only to confess once more that in making our society complex we have made it unmanageable.

Profits First

Now, if we cut our way through this jungle of institutions and agencies to what is the core, we find an essential contradiction: the men whose lives are in danger are not the men who manage the mines. This sounds too obvious; yet it is only by expressing it in this obvious way

¹The governor, Dwight Green, recovered sufficiently from the blow to his political ambitions, to keynote the 1948 Republican convention

that the solution becomes apparent. Put it another way: safety cuts into profits. We have the coal company president who says frankly: "Hell, I don't know anything about a coal mine"; we have his mine manager who says: "In the winter you can sell all the coal you can get out. So you want top production, you don't want to stop to rock dust." (Rock-dusting would have saved over a hundred lives at Centralia.) Delicately high-gear high-speed factories are often made safe by profit-minded management, for whom a safety-guard on a machine is cheaper than accident-interruption of the clock-regulated flow of production. In the mine the scales swing the other way: it is cheaper to take a risk expressed in insurance rates, certain valuations of miners' lives and limbs, and the wages that must be paid to induce men to work in the mines.

To reconcile the basic contradiction, a whole series of arrangements has been undertaken—more or less unsuccessful palliatives that total up to the complex of shifting authority. The state mine inspector at Centralia was one honest man, the best that can be hoped for in a political appointee: scrupulous but not heroic; he could not break through the red tape—how was he to know there was really going to be an explosion, many other mines were just as bad. The miners have a union. Let us put things in just proportion: in many ways the union has been of tremendous benefit to the miners; but there are very definite limits to what a capitalist trade union

can do. Says Martin: "We can take the Department out of politics, we can jail the operators who violate the law, we can clarify the authority of government bureaus, and still the best safeguard that the miners will have is a powerful vigilant union sincere in its single-minded desire to protect the lives of its members." Unfortunately, the union is also part of the institutional superstructure. Asked by a Senate sub-committee for legislative suggestions, the U.M.W. district president, a Lewis appointee, said: "Well, Senator, I have not given that any study." This man lives in a fine suburb in the state capital, he is responsible to Lewis alone, the miners cannot remove him. Lewis has not neglected the safety issue, it is true, but his demand has been that the government take responsibility: a definite improvement over the operator-dominated state agencies. Yet none of these inspectors and officials can be killed if the mine finally blows up. None begins with the question: Is this the safest possible method to mine coal? They all accept the operators' criterion: Is this the most profitable method to mine coal? Then the Bureau of Mines and the union try to patch up a murderous system by rock-dusting to limit the sweep of explosions, by permissible equipment, etc., etc. And still, as Lewis said, "There is too much blood on our coal."

To illustrate. Blasting of coal set off the Centralia explosion. Everyone knows that "on-shift-shooting" (blasting while the mine is full of men) is an unnecessary

(Continued on page 4)

A Poem for Tito

The following is an extract from a translation of a poem which appeared in *Novy Mir*, the Moscow magazine, early this year. It is interesting to note the contrast between the attitude it adopts, under the official patronage of the Moscow literary bosses, and the vilification of Tito which is the present fashion.

TITO

by Vladimir Lipschitz.

Towards the land where the sun does not
vanish in the mists,
Towards the land where the mountains stand
round like giants,
Fly, my friend, fly,
Fly, my friend, towards the Balkans.

There were prisons, escapes, struggles,
There was that bitter word, exile,
Only Russia, fatherland of liberty,
Recognised a son in the Montenegro.

But above the gulf of Finland rose the day,
The cries of gulls and flocks of foam...
Fly, my friend, fly,
Fly towards your native Stieny.

The Neva bows proudly
And around the northern granite
Has shown me the meaning
Of the legendary name: Tito.

In Croatian, it is Tito.
But in Russian it sounds like: But thou?
I am the servant of my people.
I will die for them. But thou?

This name defeats the enemy.
This name awakens those who slept.
This name, like a finger, accuses
Whoever betrays his duty.
Thus spoke the songs of the young
partisans.

Foreign Commentary

An Admission by Moscow

FOR many months, the Spanish Libertarian movement in exile has been agitating, in its Press and at public meetings, for the release of the 56 Spanish anti-fascists held by the Russians in a concentration camp at Karaganda (*Freedom*, 7/2/48). Much sympathy has been evoked on all sides and the Spanish Communists in exile who, of course, had to toe the party line, were the only organisation not to support the campaign for the release of these men. To cover up their embarrassment, they used the old Communist dodge of accusing the prisoners of being fascists! Now they will have to find an excuse for this lie because, according to an editorial in the Spanish anarchist youth paper *Ruta* (Paris 27/8/48), a radio message has recently been picked up which stated that 46 of the 56 men "have signed a document whereby they undertake to work in the U.S.S.R. as free workers and under the same conditions as their brothers, the Russian workers". It also answers another Communist story that there were no Spaniards at Karaganda!

THE KOSENKINA CASE

WHEN we read of the case of the Russian teacher, Mrs. Kosenkina, who threw herself from the third floor window of the Russian Consulate, and the pious editorials in the leading American papers about not allowing Russian police methods on American soil we thought of the Anarchist Andrea Salsedo, about whom we had heard much in our youth, but when we came to look up details of his case, could find nothing. But the editor of our American contemporary *L'Adunata dei Reformati* thought of the same parallel and he was able to give the facts (28/8/48). Andrea Salsedo's mangled body was found on the pavement at Park Row on May 3rd, 1920, beneath the windows of a building where on the 14th floor he had been secretly held prisoner by the federal government police. No one has at any time dared to even suggest that Andrea Salsedo had committed any crime other than that of being an anarchist. He was a printer and had been arrested in the course of enquiries being made as to who had

printed certain leaflets to which objection had been taken by the authorities. What did the *New York Times* say then? Were they as great champions of the freedom of the individual to hold political opinions as they are to-day in the Kosenkina case? Of course, Mrs. Kosenkina has proved useful copy for the anti-Red campaign, and those who whom the Kosenkina case should be a lesson—those sincere but misguided Leftists who think Russia a worker's paradise—will, as a reaction to the Press hysteria feel more sympathetic to Russia than before, and the true significance of the Kosenkina affair will be lost on them.

To what extent Mrs. Kosenkina's case is being exploited can be gathered from this report in the *New York Herald Tribune* (25/8/48) which quoted a police report that she had postponed her interview with the Press as "she had become exhausted by preparations for news reel and television coverage of her proposed interview." Earlier, two photographers representing a pool of cameramen took pictures of her.

LIBERTARIAN.

THROUGH THE PRESS

FOREVER WAR

A new plan is being prepared by the Government for service production in the Royal Ordnance factories to meet any sudden emergency.

The House of Commons Committee on Estimates urge, in a report published to-day, that it should be expedited and completed with such certainty as present circumstances allow.

The report, which deals with civil work done in the 23 factories retained under Government control, says that the civil work should be of such a type that it can be carried out with the minimum alteration to factory lay-out for war production.

It should be such that it can be discontinued in an emergency without adversely affecting the economy of the country on a war-time footing.

Evening Standard, 17/8/48.

PLUS CA CHANGE..

The Italian Parliament overrode objections to-night that \$300,000 is too large an annual expense account for the President of this country's two-year-old republic. Parliament approved the allowance after speeches arguing that it would be improper to "lower the Presidency in comparison with the monarchy".

Parliament agreed also that the President should have one 1,000-room former royal palace, a 10,000-acre estate designed for fox-hunting and bird-shooting, and a salary of \$21,000.

N.Y. Herald Tribune, 7/8/48.

ROBBING PETER...

Since the end of the war, Britain has received more grants and credits from the rest of the world than any other country, according to Uno statistics published to-day.

Between May 1945 and June this year, Government and private financial aid to Britain totalled an equivalent of £1,667,500,000.

In the same period Britain aided other war-devastated countries with Government and private aid totalling an equivalent of £612,500,000.

The highest British contribution went to Germany, which received £238,000,000. The Soviet Union received direct British aid totalling £4,000,000.

Evening Standard, 23/8/48.

INDIGNATION DEPT.

"I think you are two dirty sneaks," said Dame Lilian Barker in the juvenile court at Great Missenden, Buckinghamshire to-day two boys—one 13 and one 10—who were accused of stealing three cherry pies and a meat pie from the home of a woman who allowed them into her garden to pick up fallen cherries.

After making this comment, Dame Lilian—who was formerly in charge of Aylesbury Borstal Institution—told one of the boys to go home and wash behind his ears.

The boys were placed on probation for two years.

Evening Standard, 16/8/48.

Keep your sense of proportion! The kids may have been hungry or may be the pies smelt nice.

MORE WITCH HUNTING

America's biggest witch hunt is scheduled to start in the coming winter.

The House of Representatives "Un-American Activities" Committee will then make investigations into Communism in universities, colleges, school and the Press.

Leading scholars of Princeton and other universities, including Columbia, Yale, Harvard, New York and Pennsylvania, will be compelled to appear to answer questions or run the risk of prosecution for ignoring the committee's orders.

Investigators have been visiting educational institutions during the past year, buying text books written by college professors or used in universities and other educational institutions.

Students and ex-students will be summoned before the committee to be asked if their professors or teachers have interpreted history, past or present, in such a way as to cast reflections on the American way of economic and social life.

Inquiry will be made into the private lives of professors and teachers to discover whether any of their acquaintances are Communists, Socialists or people who have at any time expressed sympathy with activities in the Soviet Union.

News Chronicle, 18/8/48.

SOCIALIST MORALITY

Mr. George Benson, Labour M.P. for Chesterfield, speaking at Alveston, Derby, yesterday, said unofficial strikes were holding the country to ransom, the very danger of the capitalist system against which the Labour Party had crusaded. The Socialist Party was in danger of adopting capitalist morals.

Urging a return to the ideals which Socialism had supported, he said, "We worked to make industry serve the community as a whole rather than a minority."

The Socialist ideal was that every industry should work for the good of the community as a whole, and not merely for the benefit of the industry's own workers.

Observer, 23/8/48.

ERSATZ MIRACLES

Detroiters witnessed what they thought was the first religious skywriting since the invention of the aeroplane; a plane which inscribed an eleven-mile-long "Jesus saves" in white smoke. The stunt was the brain child of the Rev. Bert Turner, 36, an itinerant evangelist. The skywriting company reduced its usual rate to \$10 a word, threw in a free cross between the two words and a couple more at the end, "if the pilot had any smoke left".

Time, 23/8/48.

YOUR WEEKLY UTILITY EGG

An egg is an egg. That is, according to a Danish export agency, the view of the rationing authorities in Great Britain. And that is why Denmark is exporting its smallest eggs to England. The Danish hens lay eggs which differ in weight from sixty-five to fifty grams. The price is the same, but the British prefer having twenty eggs per 1,000 grams instead of sixteen, thus covering the ration needs of twenty persons instead of sixteen.

N.Y. Herald Tribune, 18/8/48.

Industrial Notes

Communist Influence on Shop Stewards' Movement

THE contribution of Stalinism towards the destruction of any militant spirit that might previously have appeared in the Trade Union movement is shown nowhere so clearly as in the way in which the unscrupulous use of the shop stewards' movement by Communist elements for their own party ends has added another weapon to the assault which trade union bosses continually mount against any rank-and-file activity within the unions. The original shop steward movement which started during the 1914-18 war and reached its peak in the years immediately following 1918, was a genuinely militant movement, strongly imbued with syndicalist ideas and feeling, which attempted some genuine rank-and-file organisation of workers at the place of production, and encouraged direct struggle against the management in individual establishments. Very soon, however, the Communists saw that such a movement could be used to further the political ends of the Third International, and, using the revolutionary phrases of the 1920's and early 1930's and exploiting the various industrial disputes of the time, as well as the movements among unemployed workers, the Stalinists contrived to infiltrate the shop stewards' movement with their own active members to an extent out of all proportion to their actual strength.

The beginning of the war found them entrenched by these means in the strategic positions of many unions, and during these years the deliberate working in with the management on the part of Stalinist shop stewards did more than anything else to destroy what might have been a valuable militant rank-and-file movement.

Now, when, as at the recent conference of the Seamen's Union, a shop steward movement is proposed, it is immediately associated in the minds of the delegates with the Communist tactics of recent years, and in this instance the Union bosses had no difficulty in getting a large majority for rejecting the proposal.

Yet there are few industries where a strong organisation on the job is more necessary than at sea, where the word of the captain is still law and only a really strong militant movement is likely to break the attitude on the part of the authorities of regarding as mutiny even the mildest protest involving direct action at sea.

★
THERE seems some likelihood of a new campaign for an increase of wages for farm workers. At present the basic wage for labourers is

£4 ros. od. a week, with a few shillings extra for certain specialised jobs. This is certainly the lowest average for any major industry except textiles, and in most industries requiring specialised skill wages are nearly 50% higher. Yet the farm labourer is a great deal more skilled than the average machinist or fitter or plumber, particularly as his skill must be so varied, while the high rent of the new rural cottages is tending to cancel out the advantage formerly gained from cheap country housing.

The demands being put forward by various union branches vary between £5 and £6 ros. od. a week. The increase granted is likely to be nearer the lower than the higher figure, particularly in view of the fact that land workers are still badly organised and the two unions representing them are not characterised by any particular militancy.

CENTRALIA POST-MORTEN

(Continued from page 3)

invitation to wholesale slaughter in case of a "windy shot" or other mishap. Forty years ago the Illinois miners compelled the operators to hire shot-firers to do this risky work after the rest of the miners had gone home. But in a mechanized multiple-shift mine, on-shift-shooting is "economical", so that presently the U.M.W. and the Bureau of Mines sanction a practice that killed a hundred and eleven men at Centralia. It is not corporate and bureaucratic complexity that killed the Centralia miners, but rather the impossibility of repairing the fundamental profit-safety contradiction by imposing remedial institutions.

Again, the Russians have experimented at burning coal underground and piping gas away from the mine; similar experiments have recently begun in America. We can be sure that in America, as in Russia, this system will be introduced generally only if more "economical"; the saving in lives would be insufficient incentive.

For Workers' Control

One could hardly make a clearer case that operation of the mines must be in the hands of the men who work in them—who else will think first of all in terms of safety? Plainly, government managers approach safety with the production-mindedness of capitalist managers.

One could hardly make a clearer case, either, that safety now depends on the men in the mines—to take initiative, demand that the mine be made safe, refuse to work till the mine is cleaned up.

Oppressed by the coal company, economic pressures, and bureaucratic regulations, this is a hard step for miners to take. The Centralia miners did not do it—they wrote appeals. The company had intimidated it would seal the mine if compelled to make extensive repairs; it had done that with another mine. Men of sixty and seventy, as many Centralia miners were, faced possible joblessness. "Sure we could've wildcatted it—and we'd have had the Supreme Court and the government and the whole public down on our necks." Not only that: Lewis does not look kindly on wildcats, particularly in Illinois where he has enjoyed the operators' friendship ever since he helped them put over a wage-cut by stolen ballots and machine guns in 1932. The miners preferred to go down into the mine, rather than buck these forces. And there was more to it: the habit of submission. The Centralia miners were among the few in Illinois who did not revolt against Lewis in 1932; they have been under "provisional" district government for fifteen years, under Lewis' dictatorship for thirty; at Centralia No. 5 several months elapsed before Local 52 so much as appointed a safety committee, and even after the disaster the only surviving member of the committee didn't know what his powers were.

The institutional organisation of present-day society does not encourage initiative and responsibility on the part of workers; it punishes it. Hence we can hardly blame the Centralia miners. Yet it is by learning the necessity for such initiative and responsibility, even in the face of severest repression, that men can protect themselves from injury and exploitation and begin to tear down the patterns of delegated responsibility, remote authority and complex institutions. D.T.W.

Rôle of Workers in Industry

The rôle of the workers in nationalised industries is obviously a subject which will receive attention at the T.U.C. Congress at Margate this month. According to the *Manchester Guardian's* Labour correspondent (27/8/48): "There is a difference of opinion between the Union of Post Office Workers and the Post Office Engineering Union on the question of giving the unions a direct say in running the Post Office. The U.P.W. wants the Post Office to be run by a 'joint administrative council', with the Postmaster General as chairman and an equal number of representatives from the unions and from the official side. The Post Office Engineers, however, have moved an amendment to make the joint council 'advisory' instead of 'administrative'. It is an important difference, supporting the T.U.C.'s traditional policy that the unions should remain independent of management against the 'syndicalist' demand for a direct trade union share in management."

The National Union of Railwaymen, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and the Constructional Engineering Union are among the unions which are specifically demanding more power for the 'workers' in the control of nationalised industry. But, to quote the *Manchester Guardian*, "it is not quite clear how far these demands are for a direct share in management as distinct from the appointment of more trade unionists to the present independent boards." The National Union of Mineworkers wants "radical change" in the machinery of nationalisation, with "greater representation from the Labour and trade union movement," but it also suggests that "extensive training" should be undertaken to develop the "new kind of administrator" that it wants to see.

SECRECY OVER PRISON LIFE

WE have long been used to the habit of secrecy and the deliberate obstruction of enquiry into conditions of prisons by which the British Home Office and prison authorities emulate, in their own way, the more widespread secrecy of the "forbidden" zones of Communist and Nazi prisons and concentration camps.

Prisoners' letters and conversations with visitors have always been submitted to rigorous censorship to prevent actual details of what happens in prison being aired in public. The disciplinary courts of visiting magistrates are always held in strict secrecy, with no provision whatever for the accused to be represented by counsel. Organisations, like the Howard League, the Prison Reform Council and the Freedom Defence Committee, which interest themselves in the affairs of prisoners, find in their way every obstacle bureaucratic ingenuity can invent to prevent them from gaining exact and usable information about abuses which are known to exist.

A final impertinence on the part of the prison authorities consists in their efforts to prevent prison officers from publicising faults of the prison system which have moved the indignation of even these hardened servants of the administration.

Recently, a member of the Prison Officers' Association made statements in the conference of that body in which he criticised the overcrowding in prisons. Immediately on his return he was called before the governor and asked for an explanation regarding the press reports of his statements at the conference which had come into the hands of the authorities.

We make no friends of the "screws", and we do not consider that men who take up this occupation are likely to have the interests of the prisoners very much at heart. But this very fact makes anything they may say in criticism of the system all the more significant, and the whole incident reveals in its most unpleasant and blatant light the continued attempt by the authorities to draw the veil over what happens behind the bars.

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Yours fraternally, W.C.

Dear Comrades,

I note that my subscription to Freedom Press expires this month. I therefore enclose 8/6 in payment of a further year's subscription. I hope by thus responding quickly to the renewal notice and by extending my subscription from 6 months to 12 months to show my sympathy with "Freedom's" editors at the present difficult time and also to demonstrate my confidence in the future of so worthwhile a paper.

Yours fraternally, D.E.S.

Dear Sir,

Herewith P.O. for 8/6 being subscription for second copy of "Freedom" as requested in last issue.

Yours faithfully, J.W.S.

★
The three readers whose letters we reproduce above have responded to an appeal for funds and new readers in three different but equally important ways. One has sent a donation to our still very small Special Appeal fund; the second has made sure of renewing his subscription early, and for a year instead of six months as he would normally; the third has ordered an extra copy of "Freedom"

with which to obtain new readers for the paper. But too many readers and comrades have still not come forward. If they cannot afford a contribution, they can nevertheless give their services for a few hours each month for outdoor selling of the paper and Freedom Press publications. We are a long way from our £900 target and though we have added a number of new subscribers to our lists since an appeal was made we need many more. And those subscribers who have received renewal notices and have not done so yet, please send your remittances now.

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TITO versus COMINFORM

(From a Yugoslav correspondent)

DURING the past twenty years, Soviet propaganda took great pains to convince the world that thanks to the wise guidance of Comrade Stalin, all the Communist parties had produced leaders who could be rightly called "the best sons of the people". Recent events in Eastern Europe showed, however, the Communist élite in a far less agreeable light since both Tito and the Cominform displayed in their struggle for supremacy, a lack of scruples commonly associated only with Chicago gangsters. Yet this sordid dispute was somehow enlivened by the fact that both sides made frequent use of the same quotations from Marx, Lenin and Stalin in support of their respective claims to orthodoxy.

★
The Cominform journal *For a lasting peace for a popular democracy*, stands in the forefront of the propaganda campaign against Tito. The latest numbers of this newspaper devoted so many articles to the "unmasking" of the present leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, that they gave the impression that the organ of international Communism has almost forgotten the existence of American capitalism, British Social Democracy and the Catholic Church. Every issue published series of new charges ranging from the absurd to the true and including the somewhat late discovery that the leaders of the Y.C.P. do not understand the ABC of Marxism. At the same time, Communists all over the world were advised to study carefully the Cominform resolution on Yugoslavia and to "raise high the banner of proletarian internationalism".

★
Meanwhile, the Pravda publishing house published an anti-Tito booklet which the "healthy elements" of the Y.C.P. distributed in Belgrade. Fortunately for the régime, the Russian-trained secret police O.Z.N.A. was on the alert, arrested the guilty Stalinists and confiscated a number of copies of the booklet in which, among other charges, Mr. Molotov accused one of the Yugoslav Under-Secretaries for Foreign Affairs of being a British agent. A few days later, Tito also published a pamphlet in which he accused the U.S.S.R. of using "bourgeois methods of espionage".

★
In view of his inability to command the unswerving loyalty of the entire ruling-class, Marshal Tito was forced to make a number of changes in the State machinery. Ministers were dismissed,

officers put into prison and the Y.C.P. purged of "certain few unhealthy wavering careerists and hidden hostile elements". But these preventive measures did not suffice. When his Ambassador at Bucarest sided with the Cominform, he was immediately deprived of his nationality and accused of leading an "immoral life". A fortnight later frontier guards shot General Yovanovic who as Chief of Staff of the National Liberation Army during the war, was responsible for some of the successes which foreign observers attributed to Marshal Tito's military genius. In its comment on his unsuccessful attempt to flee to Rumania, the Y.C.P. paper *Borba* declared that the General "deserved to die", while the other side described it as "a cowardly murder".

The Superstition of Government

(Continued from page 2)

persecuted cause and, at the same time, disclaiming any special personal advantage as his proposed reward.

There is, it seems to me, no other way of combating this prejudice—our prejudice, I think, it has been shown to be—than by patient reiteration of our principles and repeated pointing out of their logical character; in this way we shall go on in the future, as we have already begun, to familiarise the popular mind with our ideas, which is the indispensable preliminary to their acceptance. In this good work let us persevere; our success will be commensurate with our efforts.

HENRY GLASSE.

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Meetings and Announcements

CENTRAL LONDON

Sunday evening lectures will be again held at 8, Endsleigh Gardens, commencing on Sunday, 26th Sept. Further details in next issue of "Freedom".

BIRMINGHAM

The first meeting of the new season will be held at 7 p.m. on Sunday, 12th Sept., in Dick Sheppard House, 36, Holloway Head.

Subject: "Freedom in Danger".
All readers cordially invited. Enquiries to S. E. Parker, 72, Coldbath Road, Billesley, Birmingham 14.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

Public Meetings at
MAXWELL STREET
are held every Sunday evening.

Speakers:
John Gaffney, Frank Leech, Eddie Shew.

BRISTOL

Public Meeting
Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, 7p.m.,
27th September.

Speaker: K. Greenslade
on "Facts supporting Anarchism".
Meetings will be held every Monday at
7 p.m., at 73 Whitehall Road.