## There is no Atom Secret

excuse to keep them on a war footing and

In fact, all the talk of atomic "secrets

is a great hoax, and the sooner the

peoples of the world realise it the better.

There is no security from an atomic war

but the direct action of the people them-

preparation of atomic weapons. In this

action the scientist and the workers of

other kinds must act together. Only in

this kind of solidarity does there rest any

hope of avoiding a catastrophic war in

But There Are Secret

Agreements

'secrecy", there is still our old friend,

until they became accomplished facts.

PROTEST BY BUILDING

WORKERS AT

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Building workers at Buckingham Palace

carry out repairs there at the present

At a meeting of 150 workers engaged

at the Palace, a resolution passed stated

that the men are "disgusted at being

employed on such a site as Buckingham

Palace when the sufferings of the working

class owing to inadequate housing are

deplorable." They also asked the National

Federation of Building Trades Ooperatives

to get them moved to "more essential

The Ministry of Works, however, think

it more economical and sensible to go on

with the work rather than wait until the

Palace falls into ever worse repair, and

states that the work consists of modern-

isation of old and uneconomical heating

quarters. (Not the teeniest touch of paint

to the Queen's boudoir while she's away?)

We hope a similar protest will come

of Parliament. At the moment, 110 are

from the building workers at the Houses

working there, and the number will soon

be increased to 500-men who can ill be

work, such as housing".

the comparatively near future.

selves, in refusing to partake in the

make them amenable to military discipline.

Much of the diplomacy and political Russian people in a warlike state of mind. subject of a verbatim report."

## meetings and

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

Mechanism and Civilization

Anarchism, Past and Future Should We Revise Anarchism?

Owing to the Easter Holiday, there will be no lecture at Endleigh Gardens on Sunday, April 6th, as announced.

The lecture on Reich, by Gerald Vaughan, will be given at a later date, and the L.A.G. apologise to comrades for inconvenience caused cancellation.

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS (Lancashire)

#### PUBLIC LECTURES in CHORLEY

at the ODDFELLOWS ROOMS, 9 Cunliffe Street, Chorley, at 7-0 p.m.

Sunday, March 30. Albert Smith, B.A. Science-Basis of a New Philosophy

What We Learn From Biology Science and Social Planning

The Futility of Trade Unionism

Descriptive leaflets from:-U.A.G., II Ribbesdale Place. Chorley.

NORTH EAST LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

A GROUP MEETING TUESDAY, 15th APRIL at 7.30 p.m. at 43 NEW WANSTEAD (Near Whipps X) E.17

DISCUSSION led by H.G. HANMER

"What Do You Understand by Anarchism?"

All Enquiries to :-The Secretary, c/o FreedomPress.

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crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the

spared from the necessary work of FREEDOM PRESS 27 Red Lion Street At the Palace, the men's union have. London, W.C.I of course, accepted the Ministry's ruling, Tel: Chancery 8364 but we hope the workers themselves will not let it rest at that.

in this filthy diplomatic game where the the atomic bomb scare is being deliberately causes of war are generated without the worked up by governments of various knowledge of the ordinary men and countries; their purpose is clear. They women of the nations concerned.

> human dignity consists in this, that man should do what is good, not because he is told to do it, but simply because he thinks that really is the best that he can ever wish or desire."

### Death of John Humphrey

liplomacy. Over the past few series of arrangements which were made ferences, and which were never published with him the struggle to keep Freedom alive nearly a score of years ago, it comes

voting procedure at the Security Council, When the Freedom group of that day the agreement that the Ukraine and White Russia should be recognised as independent member states of the United Nations, and the agreement that the Kuriles and Sakhalin should be ceded to Russia. All these have leaked out during able, to help him with the work of setting the past few months, and now it is reup the type by hand. He was a Londoner vealed that there is also a secret agreement about Austrian reparations. If no less than five agreements on important uiet, thorough way to devote his energy there are many more which are still conhis spare time in learning printing, for cealed in the various foreign offices of the which he bought a printing press, and world, and may continue to do their evil soon mastered the craft. His aim was to The Sexual Delinquent work in darkness without ever being give the bottom dog a chance to air his views-in the words of William Morris, In no way is the duplicity of our poli-"to voice his unlearny discontent". He wrote numerous pamphlets on Anarchy

ticians revealed so much as in the existence of these agreements. Churchill stated in the House of Commons, with for two Anarchist papers, so he started a paper, Community Life, devoted to All his work was done without pay. He

his trade, and gave his spare time printing and lecturing. He was always (Indian or Irish) reappeared, the police during the past two years we have by attending. have protested—though so far only through their union—against having to

others should see the light. MAT KAVANAGH.

readers to FREEDOM? Have work goes on. you asked your newsagent to stock the paper?

your friends? We can supply you Refrattari" we notice among the with copies of the current issue | announcements that a Los Angeles



## L.A.G. Sunday Meetings

PSYCHOLOGY OF SWEARING

On February 16th, the lecture meeting

anized by the London Anarchist Group was to have been addressed by Geoffrey Pittock-Buss, on the subject of fuel crisis, however, prevented the lecturer devoid of even the most elementary from being present, so Tony Gibson at psychological insight. As at other lec-BAKUNIN. From being present, so Tony Gloson at psychological insight. As at other received short notice spoke on the social psychology of cursing and swearing. He to the heart of the matter without in oaths on religious themes, and that a the whole discussion was freed from that in countries such as Italy, Spain and audience was clearly glad to have these Ireland, where the power of the church matters treated in a direct and open was still considerable. In this country manner, for they obviously felt that the during the last fifty years or more subject is an important one, particularly swearing has acquired an almost ex- in the light it sheds on the nature of our clusively sexual or excretory content, and society, and the shams and cruelties Tony Gibson pointed out that at home Paul Potts on Ignazio Silone for the most part, workers' language became expurgated as far as the commoner In discussing the significance of buted swearing to frustration, and the ethical side of socialism. He regarded the

maintaining that frustration. Tony Gibson stressed that such matters workers in bonds. The audience received emphasizing the human and ethical conand discussion was very animated.

pointed out that swearing took its origin mincing words or evading the main issues,

Sexual Delinquency". He described the

the operation of the law against homo-

sexuals and against those compulsion-

neurotics who engage in what is called

"indecency". Despite the fact that the

normal sexual activity inevitably en-

courages the growth of abnormal forms,

"swearwords" are concerned. He attri- Silone's work, Paul Potts stressed the form it took indicated the chief force relegation of ethical standards under specious theories of "ends justifying means"—that is, justifying ignoble and discussion was devoted to Silone's present position in the Italian Socialist Party, and extremely vigorous opinions were expressed-not least by the lecturer who On 23rd February Dr. Alex. Comfort received an enthusiastic ovation at the spoke on "Contemporary Attitudes to close of the discussion.

### THANKS AMERICA!

worked all day in the Underground at | \ A /E do not often mention our | share is 50 dollars. In the same issue VV American comrades in these the Refrattari group of Detroit would travel further than the spoken to which FREEDOM PRESS has and the announcement asks comrades word. Whenever a suppressed paper benefited by their solidarity. But and friends "to show their solidarity" these visits were always fruitless. During refrained from making any direct These unsolicited examples of the stormy days of the Irish struggle his appeals to our comrades in America solidarity are a real source of enwork was invaluable, and very few knew because, besides having to maintain couragement to those comrades res-The older generation will miss him, and their own Press, they have shouldered ponsible for the Freedom Press, and feel that a gap is left in the ranks of many other responsibilities which we at the same time a very real contrithe pioneers. To the younger generation, realised were of more immediate bution to our continued activity. We his life should be an inspiration to urge urgency than the needs of Freedom take this opportunity to thank all our them to greater efforts. Humphrey never Press. They have been largely res- comrades in America (many of whom he knew that causes are won by those who ponsible for setting the Italian have been in contact with us many feel that they must act now, and not wait Anarchist movement on its feet, from years and with whom a strong until a movement is popular. He was of a financial point of view, and have bond of comradeship exists) for this those who toil in the night, when every- also sent large quantities of anarchist generous support, and to assure them literature to bridge the gap whilst that our aim is always to increase our the Italian comrades set to work after activities for the ideals we share in more than twenty years enforced common. silence. The American comrades have also been responsible for thousands WANTED: 2,000 New Readers! of food and clothing parcels to Are you helping to introduce new "liberated Europe", and still their

But in spite of all this activity they Anon £2/0/0: Sidmouth: J.S. 2/-: Sheffield: do not altogether forget FREEDOM! Can you sell a few copies among In a recent issue of "l'Adunata dei Bristol: T.C. 2/6; York: H.A. 10/2. (6 copies 1/-, 12 copies 2/- post Youth group held a social evening Previously acknowledged to raise funds for the Anarchist Press,

and that as a result "Freedom's"

columns though we have for many announce that a social evening is to years been conscious of the extent be held to raise funds for "Freedom"

### Press Fund

March 14th-March 28th: Upper Beeding: R.G. 3/-: Denham: E.L. Ashton-under-Lyne: J.P. 13/9: London: V.C. 3/6: New Earswick: H.A.A. 10/-:

1947 TOTAL TO DATE £126 10 11

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Miners and 5-day Week p. 3 Russia's Concentration

Camps p. 5

"Liberty without Socialism means privilege and injustice; Socialism without freedom means slavery and brutality."

BAKUNIN.

5th April, 1947 Volume 8 No. 7

### They Have Fooled Us Long Enough

It would be difficult to imagine a more pathetic confession of administrative bankruptcy or a more incongruous appeal to popular trust than the broadcast on March 18th in which Attlee, speaking as the inspired but inept oracle of the Labour government, discoursed on the national economic crisis and the government's nebulous plans for overcoming it.

He began with a tribute to what has already been done since the war, a tribute that made one wonder immediately just why there

was an economic crisis. "Millions of men and woman," he told us, "have returned from the forces and from munitions to civilian life. Industries

have been restarted with great energy. As a result the number of employed persons is greater than in 1938, the output of goods had by the end of 1946 almost reached pre-war level, and exports had exceeded pre-war level."

And yet, we are in the midst of an economic crisis, fuel and food and clothing are short, cigarettes are as scarce as ever they were during the war, fruit and vegetables cost astronomical prices, and the quality of almost all the goods we receive is lower than it was before the war. What is the explanation?

It is quite clear. More people than any real recovery. He says, for instance, ever before are engaged on export that manufacture, when we need goods primarily for home consumption. This fact is caused as much as anything else by a foolish agricultural policy of the government, which has failed to increase of the need for importing large of hypocritical talk reminds one very of this inept agricultural policy has compulsion was always introduced after been seen in the floods caused by a great smoke-screen of voluntarism had bursting dikes in the Fen District. No been laid down. That a government inefficient organisation for dealing with new conscription bill should talk of happened in Holland under such

#### Unproductive Workers

But there is also the fact, which we have often pointed out in Freedom, that while there may be more people em ployed than in 1938, there are no more employed on productive work. Out of the 20,000,000 employed persons in Britain, at least a third are doing quite senseless work. These include 700,000 civil servants, 400,000 employees of the gambling industry, the people still making munitions, the police force, local council clerks, all the people involved in capitalist finance such as bank and insurance employees etc. All these people are retained in quite unproductive work merely order to carry out the regulations i posed by the government, to prepare for another war and to administer the various rackets involved in the money

But we must also remember that there are a vast number of men stil in the forces, engaged in fulfillin various commitments, not of the British people, but of the British government. the playing fields of Eton. Attlee admitted this when he said:

"We could have recovered quicker if we had brought all our men home from abroad-but then we should have failed in our duty to our

Whose friends? We are quite certain that the people whose interests are at battle." troops to return to productive work.

Voluntary Compulsion us an idea how useless it will be for ments.

"In peacetime we need the same willingness and public spirit and we need a plan. But we cannot compel people. That is the point you must

the productivity of the English soil to Just how far off compulsion are all the an equivalent of that of Holland and various government regulations and re-Belgium, which would have relieved us strictions is surely evident! This kind quantities of food. A further example much of the early days of the war, when which still administers EWOs in several industries and has just brought in not compelling people is as ridiculous

government, that the plan, whatever it is, will be operated from above, and that the people will have no say in its

"The Government's part is to see to it that those needs which are the most urgent come first, and to plan the future development of the country on sound lines."

The "soundness" of the government's plans is amply indicated on a passage from the latter part of Attlee's speech: like china, sheets, towels, and household goods generally. We are also short of machinery, factories, houses,

and materials. We must increase our

An excellent way to solve our shortages at home! It must not be forgotten that part due to the fact that mining and demonstration protesting against the and presented a petition. electricity generating machinery had been shipped abroad by British capitalists instead of being used to increase the fuel production at home.

Governmental Games Attlee ends with a clownish caper on

"We understand teamwork from the games we play. We will continue to play our games, but we must not let them take precedence of work. Let us take our work in the spirit in which we take our play, remembering that belief in victory is half the

present cared for by British soldiers in But there are two sides in most games, death for an alleged "ritual murder" would be a direct encouragement Palestine, Greece, Egypt, India and and one sets out to beat the other. In have now been hanged, themselves African natives who would believe Germany are no friends of the British the game at present being played in victims of what looks very much like a power of West African medicine to be addition, it is estimated that within workers. They are the same un- Britain, there are the governing classes, judicial murder. No protests now can greater than that of the English law. principled international capitalists and including bureaucrats, capitalists, trade save the men who have been hanged, Leaving aside for the moment the financiers who have caused two wars union bosses, on one side, and on the but there are still four men left in general theoretical question of ritual and hope to profit by a third. The fact other the workers. It is a game with prison who can be released if sufficiently murders, these newspapers completely finding its way on to the black market that they are friends of Mr. Attlee and the marked cards and aces up the sleeve, strong protests are made, and if the ignore the fact that there are many to feed the well-to-do. Labour government shows clearly where in which the governing classes have case is not allowed just to die now that details in the case in question which make his sympathies lie. The real friends of the decided to win by whatever means lies its most sensational phase is over. it very doubtful indeed whether the men

a crisis exists, but they are becoming wider implications. increasingly disinclined to work them- There has been a rapid taking of sides and no tangible proof has ever In order to end this chaos of present- selves to death in order to help capital- over this question, and one of the most been brought forward that he was day capitalist Britain. Attlee talks ism out of its troubles. Nor is com- disquieting facts is that a number of actually murdered. The most that has parading tanks in the streets, and they glibly of a plan. Of what the plan will pulsion likely to do more than induce newsapers which in general maintain a been ascertained is that he disappeared. will doubtless attempt a bloody supconsist he is the reverse of explicit, but further resentment, as has been shown certain decency of approach, such as the The evidence on which the men were pression of any rising that took place some of his vague phrases at least give by recent strikes and go-slow move- Manchester Guardian and the Economist, condemned was wholly circumstantial,

A Practical Plan

current crisis of capitalism is one that is anarchists have to offer. Let the they will realise they are working for their own eventual good. Abolish the embark on productive work of their own countries at present occupied. End the export for financial gain of goods needed this country, and, by modernisin English agriculture, make unnecessary the import of food from abroad-thu releasing it for countries where it i

workers of Britain could soon end the science to produce enough food and Russia during the war was made a with a Russian girl? them working in freedom for a society where the needs of every person will

### FRATERNIZING FOR

have been chosen by the Russian Government for the promulgation ( its new decree banning marriages between Soviet citizens and aliens. The and speeches and articles try to persuade the world of the friendship choice. Let the soldiers come home uniting Russia to the Great Democracies, vet if a Soviet citizen falls in love with an American, or a so doing, let the British workers British, let alone a German subject, he or she is prevented by law from

Soviet Union in 1945; the others have Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

been waiting, for as long as five years

in some cases, for permission to join The Soviet Government has never

relied on the supreme qualities of its regime to keep its citizens within Russian frontiers. To try to leave Russia is considered "treason to the fatherland" and punishable by death. But marriage with an alien does not necessarily imply that the Soviet citizen would leave his country. There It may be argued that this decree might be cases where the "alien" more humane than the practice would be willing to take up residence which has so far existed, of letting in Russia. How does the Russian Soviet girls marry foreigners and then Government justify the ban on alien preventing them from joining their marriages in those cases? By the husbands. The latest attempt of the superior racial qualities of the British Government to persuade the Russians? By the corrupting influence Russian Government to grant exit a citizen of a bourgeois state could visas to Russian wives of British have on a Soviet citizen? But what officers and soldiers who served in if a British communist fell in love

few days ago on the highest level and No doubt those communists who abolition of those compulsive institutions, has met with a final refusal. Of were disgusted by Hitler's law forsuch as the state and capitalism, which the 27 Soviet girls who married bidding Germans to marry Jews will crush down the workers and prevent British servicemen during the war, find some powerful argument to only 12 were allowed to leave the justify this new decree of the

## GERMAN WORKERS DEMAND FOOD

### 100,000 IN DUSSELDORF STRIKE

to come to a head. This is taking the trams ceased to run. place most actively in the Ruhr, which This was the largest demonstration has been one of the worst-hit areas in Germany since the end of the war, and which has the most solidly but more was to follow. On the 27th

three-hour strike of 35,000 workers in continued requisitioning of houses for public utility concerns, who marched British families. On the same day to the Military Government head- 4,000 people in Aachen marched to quarters in Wuppertal in a great the Military Government headquarters catastrophic conditions and demanding On the next day there was a general

The long-suppressed discontent of some alleviation. For the period of ing food situation has at last begun undertakings did not function, and

working-class population in Germany. March, 1,500 women in Cologne pro-The demonstrations began with a tested against food shortages and the

authorities, in the face of widespread be made to stay the execution of these public protests both in Britain and men, since according to the newspaper Africa, three of the men sentenced to editors in question, such "weakness Moreover, such a flagrant miscarriage were in fact guilty of murder, and also countries should be the workers of those It has become clear during the past of even so-called democratic justice that there were a number of irregularities lands, whose best interests would be two years that the workers are in a should be used to expose and to try in the case which make the conviction bad served, as would our own, by the with- completely anothetic state towards all and overthrow the corruption of British in law. drawal and demobilisation of British appeals from the government, and all colonial administration. It is therefore To begin, no body or portion of a mission authorities are palpably wortales of woe. They do not doubt that desirable to consider the case in its body has been discovered which has been ried. But, instead of immediate

have actually come forward and stated

Owing to the obduracy of the colonial that it is unfortunate that attempts should

services and factories in the city were closed down, and more than 100,000 the German people with the worsen- the strike, water, gas and electricity people came into the streets to demonstrate against the Military authorities. Military cars were overturned and stoned, and windows were broken in office buildings. Since then, there have been de-

strike in Dusseldorf. All transport

monstrations in Dortmund and other Ruhr towns, where, among others, the miners, who receive specially large rations, have struck in solidarity with the rest of the population.

These demonstrations and strikes have been occasioned by the steady decline in the food situation in the British zone. At the beginning of the autumn promises were made that the ration would be in the neighbourhood of 1,550 calories. But the authorities have failed miserably even to reach that wholly inadequate level, and during the past few weeks the actual rations received have sunk to about 800 calories. Apparently there is now plenty of grain at Hamburg and Bremen, but the transport system to the the Ruhr is quite inefficient, and, in two months some 30,000 tons of grain have disappeared in transit—no doubt

The growing discontent of the German is likely to break out into even greater demonstrations unless conditions change, and the Control Com-

at the present time.

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 18 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

As prisons really are. This photograph shows the interior of a Wing at Wandsworth Prison. Warders are seen snooping (through the spy holes) on the prisoners in their shown in the too close proximity have this experience, and that perhaps mentary account which misleads at no

prisoner who inflates his own im- panions (they do it for the extra gets almost none. they "are always smiling".

pitying schoolmaster, a paederast, one buildings, cleaners and all, for one his wife, and has nothing to say to infers, eternally ashamed that a man can hear the drop throughout the her-a scene which provides comic of his education should be in prison. whole place. And the clock was relief, but which is not overdone. The merchant navy officer whom he stopped so that we other prisoners The homosexual problem is treated seeks to befriend, exhibits the normal couldn't hear the exact minute when with extraordinary tact, and is utterly unthinking prisoner who quickly the state committed its cold and re- truthful. One must leave the play

portance to his by no means duped money and their kindliness comes It is impossible to convey in an companions in order to try and keep from their inevitable pity for the boy); article the way in which the play up the self-respect which the prison upsets the governor who hopes for portrays the effect of the indignities clothes and regimen seek to destroy. reprieve which doesn't come. The of prison—in the insulting clothes, There is a cheerful coloured prisoner, The condemned cell sequence provides the insulting food, the insults of the forever begging cigarette-ends from the dramatic moments, and I can warders, and the superiority of the his fellows or obliging warders, forever testify to the demoralizing effect of an governor—it shows these factors railing gently at the English because impending execution, for I have been moulding the thoughts and words and in prison (Wandsworth) when a man actions of the group of prisoners. One was "topped", as the prisoners say. can mention the scene in which the Then there is the elderly self- We were cleared out of the main old bigamist Brown has a visit from adapts his morals to the environment volting murder. Yet despite all these to convey this and more, and it does precautions, or perhaps because of it very well indeed. them, prisoners can think and talk of

man, nevertheless, represents many a warders, who are his constant com- but imprisonment and penal servitude

These men, and several others, are nothing else. Douglas Home didn't Of course, it cannot give a docuwhich makes them get on each other's explains why the full tenseness and point. It cannot show the solitary nerves, lose their tempers, fight, hold expectancy and horrible fascination of existence in one's cell, which forms more than half a prisoner's day. The governor and the chaplain (do some of us recognize them?) do not represent typical governors and chaplainsthe picture is altogether too favourable to them. The warders on the other hand are remarkably exact. There is brutal bullying one and a genial easy going human one. Both types exist, but the former are numerically predominant. It is right to show the brutal type not wholly immune to human feelings, while the genial one is so unnerved by the execution that he becomes irrationally strict—I have seen this kind of thing happen. It shows how warders' behaviour is affected by the nature of the job they

#### The Actors

The cast is remarkable. For one account, but also for his immensely welcome play.

ANARCHIST.

"Revolutions are never made, neither by individuals nor yet by secret societies. They come about automatically, in a measure; the power of things, the current of events and facts. produces them. They are long preparing in the depth of the obscure consciousness of the masses—then they break out suddenly, not seldom on apparently slight occasion . . . The social revolution means the destruction of all institutions of inequality, and the establishment of economic and social

A group of "prisoners" from the Vaudeville Theatre. They play the parts of I.R.A. terrorist, brothel keeper, bigamist, homosexual, confidence trickster, etc. "The cast is remarkable"-writes "Freedom's" critic.

## TORA MA

ANYTHING which helps to enlighten people about what goes on in prison is immensely welcome, and it is this which gives importance to the prison play "Now Barabbas . . ." now running at the Vaudeville Theatre in the Strand. For the most significant thing about the play is the fact that it is about prison and prisoners and is running in the West End. It is making those who see it think about prison no longer in terms of a vague threat which "makes for righteousness", but in terms of shouting warders, frayed nerves, starved human impulses-in a word, it is making prison life real, at least to some extent, to those who have never been to prison.

I am not in a position to say how much it tells such a person about prison, because, having been imprisoned three times, I can claim a more thorough knowledge than a play can give! Yet if prison has lost its bloom for me, I am in all the better position to say how far this play accords with the reality. With some minor reservations which I shall make later, it is very real indeed.

#### William Douglas Home

William Douglas Home, for how did The action is episodic, in short the son of an earl come to acquire flashes, but extraordinarily quick and such "inside" knowledge, if I may integrated. be allowed the pun? As an officer in the battle of Normandy he was ordered to shell a position of which the defenders had already offered to surrender. He refused to be a participant in such a gratuitous massacre, and disobeyed—thereby showing far he dominates almost all his fellow greater human responsibility than the prisoners. There is an effeminate brutal idiots who issued the order. homosexual, portrayed so clearly that " Result: sentenced by court martial to one can recognize in him dozens of prison-first at Wormwood Scrubbs, "poufs" (as prison slang calls them) then at Wakefield Model Prison. In who are present in numbers in every prison, Douglas Home was well liked prison-I can recall about ten in one by his fellows; and he seems also to shop alone. There is the old boaster, have liked them, for his character Brown, another perennial type, fordrawing is extraordinarily exact and ever describing scenes with the penetrating, while at the same time governor in which he comes out best, sympathetic. He has drawn on his though the audience has already seen own experience (except in one major what actually transpired. There is particular-the condemned cell epi- another type of boaster, too, in the tradictions, for he has made a

a local prison.

and a young fellow condemned to death for shooting a policeman and But first a word about the author, whom we see in the condemned cell.

IRA man doing 7 years, of so forceful a character, domineering even, that "squadron leader" who tells each newcomer that he flew his 'plane at "zero composite picture out of a model and feet above Trafalgar Square" and got court-martialled "as an example", while actually he is a small-time crook We are shown some aspects of the with many sentences, during the last each other in contempt, but whose an execution is not realized. daily lives of a group of prisoners in of which, as the governor reminds need for human contact makes them close contact with one another; of the him, he calls himself an Admiral! seek friendship and sympathy from at

### ANARCHISM - Interpretations

necessary, thanks to human stupidity; yet they are always an evil, a monstrous evil and a great disaster, not only with regard to the victims, but also for the sake of the purity and perfection of the purpose

whose name they take place . "One must not wonder if in the first moment of their uprising the people kill many oppressors and exploiters this misfortune, which is of no more importance anyhow than the damage done by a thunderstorm, can perhaps not be avoided. But this natural fact will be neither moral nor even useful. Political massacres have never killed parties; particularly have they always themselves impotent for authority is vested far less which the privileged acquire by any institutions, particularly by the State and private property. If one would make a thorough revolution, therefore, one must attack things and relationships, destroy property and the State: then there is no need of destroying men and exposing one's self to the inevitable reaction which the slaughtering of men always has provoked and always will provoke in every society. But, in order to have the right to deal humanely with men without danger to the revolution, one must be inexorable towards things and relationships, destroy everything, and first and foremost property and its inevitable consequence the State. This is the whole secret of the BAKUNIN.

men than in the position

Typical Characters The ordinary prisoners include an

warders, the governor, the chaplain; In some degree a caricature, this least one among them. They are

shown making trivial requests to the governor, cadging tobacco, and always shouted at by the warders. For in prison, both the brutal warders who predominate, and the occasional genial ones, all shout their orders up the long

halls and landings-"get a move on

there, shut-up talking, stop smoking,

get back to your cell there, get inside

and slam your doors . . ." nothing but shouting and noise.

Frayed Nerves This is the atmosphere of the play and of prison-nerves eternally on edge. It is this that makes the characters show each other photographs of their girls, sets them quarrelling, makes them, unwillingly or willingly, form homosexual relationships; for the perpetual sexual starvation is the emotional backcloth of prison life, perhaps its most inhuman component.

Of a more dramatic kind are the frayed nerves of the young man condemned to death. His presence in the prison upsets the chaplain who visits him daily and likes him; the two stupid, but none the less, kindly

As the prison appears at the Vaudeville Theatre. The action of the play is episodic,

in short flashes, but extraordinarily quick and integrated.

There is another criticism here. If the public go home thinking about the ethics of capital punishment instead of about the dreary death that prison is, these condemned cell scenes will detract from the chief value of equality." the play. For capital punishment receives plenty of public discussion,

wonders how men who have not presumably been inside can have absorbed so much of the atmosphere of prisoners. The IRA man dominates the group and Julian Somers (who plays the part) stands out on that convincing rendering. Stanley Beard as the genial screw, King, and David Duncan as the brutal Jackson, are quite excellent. But there are many others who are no less good, and there are no weak members of the cast. Altogether they give an honest and straightforward performance, which is just what is wanted in this exceedingly

BAKUNIN.

are not getting a square deal.

5th April, 1947.

Recently the headlines of the national dailies were blazoned with the news that the agreement between the news that the agreement between the National Union of Mineworkers viding for the long-promised five-day was dry on the paper. The reason reasonable average for the piece- "absenteeism" the negotiators of this state of health. The existence of this week was signed and it would be for this resentment soon becomes worker; quite acceptable to both. As agreement are likely to defeat their clause alone will do much to fan the operative from May 5th next. obvious when it is observed that there it is now, under the published terms own ends. The effect of such a dis-Coupled with sundry other minor are certain clauses and conditions of the agreements, the day-worker will criminatory clause may be to impair will do nothing to appease the miners benefits such as the abolition of bath attached to the "golden" agreement. get his normal daily wage plus onedues, in the words of Will Lawther, In the early stages of the negopresident of the Mineworkers Union, tiations which preceded the signing "This agreement places the British of the agreement, the miners were miner in the best position of any given to understand that there would miners in the world, not forgetting be no loss of weekly earnings as a John L's." Which, of course, may be result of working only five shifts inso but it does not follow that the stead of six shifts to the week. It conditions of the British miner is was also understood that there would

(from a Glasgow Comrade)

If the Ministry of Labour succeed in

their move against the Glasgow dockers,

then another 500 men will be added to

the 27,000 unemployed in Glasgow—a

very unpleasant prospect for the workers

of this city, with its visible evidence im-

printed indelibly in every street and every

other face of the bitter struggle for

existence that has taken place in the years

The Glasgow dockers were not satisfied

with the Ministry's excuses or the Port

Director's explanations for the sacking of

one man in every seven on the grounds

of redundancy. In reply to the authorities'

move to serve 500 notices of dismissal on

March 26th, 3,800 dockers struck work on

The Ministry of Labour argue that this

is a part of the national plan for the regis-

tration and decasualisation which in the

case of the Clyde would involve this dis-

placement. Attempting to sweeten the

bitter pill, they explained that it is only

the recently employed and those who do

not work hard enough who are affected.

The challenge is made to the authorities

to show evidence where the normal work

expected from the Clyde dockers has not

been carried out satisfactorily. The

charges made of slacking or irregularity

few months after the lavish praise

showered on the Glasgow dockers for their

Britain's traffic and achieved the record

The dockers claim that their post-war

record of achievement is as great as it was

before, even though the labour force has

been reduced voluntarily by 1,700 workers,

pay any political levy. The Committee

will not tolerate any political affiliations

or interference. It is a dockers' union

conditions than operate anywhere else in

It is not surprising that the opinion

Herculean efforts over the past seven

vears when the Clyde handled 80%

turn round of ships.

disorganisation.

on the scrap heap.

for the dockers.

the country.

nationalisation.

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

are sheer nonsense coming as they do a

## and the National Coal Board pro- this agreement, even before the ink, wages for the day wage miner and a their blind anxiety to eliminate work out the week in an enfeebled

necessaritly bettered by this agree- be paid to all miners a bonus shift ment. In fact, strong resentment has based upon a national average. This already been expressed by miners to would have meant an increase in

DOCKERS

STRIKE

to sit idly by and see Glasgow go back

the black depression of pre-war days.

Byrnes, make this statement

get a square deal.

to the drift South tendency.

strikers, through Secretary Michael

All the men want is that cargoes

should come back to the river, and that

mount to admitting that the Clyde is

fifth for the five shifts to make up his compelling a sick miner who, fearing State control. money for the sixth shift not worked. The piece-worker will only get a plus of 16 per cent. on his earnings for five shifts which is, of course, less than one-fifth and does not fully compensate him for the loss of earnings for the sixth shift. However, worse

In order to qualify for the bonus

payment, the miner must work five complete shifts; if he is injured or is will still get his fifth or 16 per cent. plus for the shifts actually worked. But the sick man is penalised; for a miner absent for any other cause including sickness will get only the normal day's pay or piece-rate for the time worked. This is indeed Dead hoped to bring the dockers into public Sea fruit. Hitherto, most payments made to miners in compensation for subject. Time and again I heard from the shifts lost through no fault of their Union Committee the determination not own, such as transport failure, breakdown of pit machinery, extreme adverse weather and other "acts God", carried the proviso payment, exceptions being made in the city, as well as the dockers, should the cases of injury and sickness, etc. If we admit that 500 of our labour We now witness a step backwards, force are redundant, we become parties for the new agreement excludes the general thing, actually there would be than anything else. As everyone knows, sick man, robbing him at a time when no need for strikes of any kind. Of the trade union officials consider the To acquiesce with the cut is tantahe needs the money most, and once getting a fair share of the country's more places him, as always, in the guessing, whichever way we feel inclined rassing times for the Labour govern-We deplore the action of our civic category of a suspected malingerer. to take it; but the fact is, that there is ment, strikes cannot be countenanced despicable and disgusting in the ex-

TOM CARLILE.

## Alternative to Strikes

in a recent issue of the Railway Review, discussed the possibilities of the "stay-in" strike. This article was indeed something surprising appearing in official journal of a bureaucratic trade

It is also interesting to observe that discussions are at the present time frowned upon by the union officials in such a thing as strike action is the

"atmosphere" has been created in the paper's editorial office by the receipt of much correspondence reflecting the strong dissatisfaction of many railway workers with the wages question; for were several letters from various grades of railway workers expressing in no uncertain manner keen disappointment.

away on trade union work (note) he I INDER the above heading a writer postal workers for an improvement of their very low standards are being resisted by the "Socialist" government.

> Referring again to the article, the writer says "At the present moment, in nearly every industry, workers have complaints which they are seeking to have redressed, and the present method of 'negotiation' appears to be either extremely slow or practically ineffective; -and in many industries actual conditions of work are so unhealthy, uncomfortable and inefficient, that it is becoming imperative for the workers to take to some form of drastic action".

The foregoing is in general a true description of conditions in industry today. There must be some reason why the workers do not take drastic action! That reason is that the centralised administration of the unions has placed the power of veto action by the workers in the hands of permanent officials and The article in question suggested that others who are influenced more by when nationalised industries were the ambitions to become permanent officials course, this is begging the question, or political fortunes of the Labour Party to indulging in wishful thinking, or just be paramount, and as these are embarstill no evidence that the workers will because they would lead to further be any better off under State capitalism embarrassments. We are getting the than under private capitalism. We necessary evidence in industrial disputes have for instance quite recently been to-day, to prove conclusively that the informed that the Post Office earned trade union officials are adamantly three times the profit of a previous cor- opposed to the workers taking action aspects of Tory policy. Even so in responding period, but the claims of the to secure improvements of any kind; and so we can be certain that the idea of a "stay-in" strike would be

Land notes

Work is essential, not regattas.

### Insumity ROLLE

and any further reduction would impair the efficiency of the port, and cause TINLESS perhaps one is a professional of Food who would sell it to the wholejournalist, writing an article is rather salers, who would sell it to the retailers, like going to the dentist or getting up in who would finally sell it to that almost Michael Byrne says that thousands of tons the morning-one tends to put it off till forgotten nonentity, the consumer. But of machinery and other goods normally the last possible moment, with results that the whole ingenious arrangement fell shipped from Glasgow are being sent by must often be regrettably obvious to the through because U.N.O. decided to reroad to English ports, despite protests unfortunate reader, and it is with a somefrom manufacturers, while, after 30 years | what guilty conscience that I sit down to Franco Spain be formally broken off. So in the docks, Glasgow men are thrown hastily write these notes.

The dockers contend that as they work | quot on the job they are in a position to pass an opinion, which is definitely that they badly,' said Mr. E. H. Gardener, National price-the difference, of course, being Faced with strike action, the Por Director is prepared to argue over the number of men involved in the 'redund ancy' order, although he has no power over the order itself. The dockers' is one of Solidarity-One Out, All Out. Transport and General Workers, one of plements would have been more valuable potatoes he had purchased from if it had been kept at home'." (Reynolds chant, he found his long-lost knife. in the country. This union is not controlled by Transport House, nor does it

(2) "'Agricultural machinery, including parts, to the value of £5,250,000 has been ordered from the U.S. and Canada for delivery this year: orders are now being placed for 1948,' stated Mr. Tom Williams, This freedom has not been achieved Minister of Agriculture, yesterday." (Daily without cost. They lost their funds | Mirror, 19/3/47.) through the courts to Ernest Bevin, but

Truly, the world gets queerer and their independence has given solidarity | queerer; so much so indeed that one someand strength which in the industrial times wonders if it is worth while botherstruggle has obtained for these men better | ing to point out the fact .

Merry-Go-Round.

The merry-go-round arrangement is widespread that an attempt is being ferred to above is, however, almost naive made to break up this free trade union | in the simplicity of its operation compare and to bring the Clyde dockers under the with one that was told me by a farm Transport House whip. It would friend last week-end. The Ministry obviously serve a political end to have all Food had contracted with the farmer the dockers ironed down to the lowest grow a certain acreage of a particular level and well disciplined before they be- variety of early potatoes for seed, which come servants of the King under seed the Ministry of Food proposed purchasing with a view to re-selling to the The strikers have no complaint against | Spanish Government who were going to the dockers of other ports to which much sell it, through the usual involved chanand not a levelling down, is their desire. | crop of potatoes had been harvested in The Press in this strike is again dis- May the process was to be repeated in torting and misrepresenting the workers' reverse. The Spanish Government was to case with streaming headlines about buy the ware to sell to the Ministry "Rations in Danger!"—a malicious mis-

commend that diplomatic relations with the Ministry of Food, not having appar-By way of making a start here are two ently foreseen the possibility of this token gesture by the peace-loving nations of the world, had to purchase the original seed potatoes at seed price and put them on the market for consumption at the ware

borne indirectly by the consumer just the bury last night. 'It is a remarkable same in his capacity as tax-payer. All of which reminds me of that little penknife. In a few months time, when

> Alice-in-Wonderland Dept. Before we leave this Alice-in-Wonderland Dept., here are a few more news

merely bored, as you please Firstly, the current buying price of ing to import monkeys to eat them. wheat as purchased by the Government from the growers in three different coun- Straightening It Out tries: (a) English wheat—average 73/per quarter, (b) Canadian-98/- per space for much else, is a cutting from the quarter and (c) Argentine-140/- per Sunday Express (23/3/47). "When farmer quarter. A quarter of wheat is still a J. L. Brighton, of Newton Flotman quarter of wheat wherever it is grown, so applied to the Ministry of Agriculture fo why, you may well ask, such discrepancy a permit for straight wire he received one in prices? Well, very briefly, there are for coiled wire. 'No straight wire i ways deal) and certain parties have to be we have is straight. We can't get coiled propitiated. Lest it might be thought that Now the Ministry has sent Mr. Brighton 140/- per quarter was a bit mean, the blue-print for making coiled wire Government have gratuitously given the straight." Argentine an extra seven million pounds If you have managed to read through for frozen meat also. In the words of the all the above, do you wonder that one' Minister, "The Argentine Government style is apt to become a bit peevish? The after all, always begin at home—not chaotic than the social order under which where the farming community is concerned we exist-I nearly said live-here and

More Of The Same

Then, here is Strachev, as reported the Daily Mail (25/3/47). "It is scarcely ful organisation represented by a great possible to exaggerate the importance of | hostile press, parliament, and the ineginning the rehabilitation of our live- | timidation of the union bosses, strike

And now Dr. Summerskill in the House | is a much more serious matter than of Commons on March 6th, as reported | hitherto. As workers learn to apin the Farmers' Weekly (14/3/47). "We preciate the changing social conditions agreed to facilitate the shipping of animal accelerated by the aftermath of an eeding-stuffs to Denmark (my italics) in order that she could produce more milk attention to methods of making union

feeding-stuffs in this country would have day methods, consideration will be given enabled many animals to recover from the | to the different ways of enforcing their recent weather who have died, or will die, claims whilst remaining at work. through malnutrition. Losses in sheep alone are estimated at two million, and When the workers in industry adopt more are dving, or probably will die, the "stay-in" strike, or "working-to-rule" because pineapples at 10/- and 15/- each | strike as it might be called, they really to a bag of maize which might have saved since the very conditions of such a

the lives of half a dozen sheep. to a question in the House of Commons, individual workers. that he hopes soon to import as many monkey-nuts as were imported before the war. I should not, by now, be at all surprised to learn that he is also arrang-

anathema to the union bosses. The conception of the "stay-in" strike is, however, something which is most likely to be strengthened as a result of the frustrated efforts of workers confronted by the alliance of industrial, political and union bosses. More and more workers are being compelled by events to realise that the idea of union leaderships acting as organisers of strikes, or even any other form of direct action, is an idea completely outof-date. When one considers the power-

action to-day-always "unofficial"imperialist war, they will give more organisations effective. Being convinced of the ineffectiveness of present-

render quite redundant the bureaucracy, strike require local organisation with Meanwhile, Strachey states, in answer | the closest possible contact with

But the "stay-in" strike also repre-

sents an ideological advance on the part of the workers. It brings the workers closer together. In ordinary strikes there is always a glorious sense of workers' unity, which persists long after the strike, finally becoming dissipated in the return to bureaucratic control. There is the possibility in the "stay-in" strike to extend unity to the workers in other industries whose prejudices are often inflamed by the propaganda of the capitalist press. For the workers could undertake to run the industry partially so as not unnecessarily to inconvenience other workers. If the busmen, for example, or railwaymen, decided to run such partial services, they could organise to maintain and service the vehicles, and take the fares directly. The miners could produce the coal and sell directly; in other industries too. production could go on and the workers keep control of their own products. When workers are ready to take this logical step in their vast numbers, no state coercive apparatus could prevent it; the intriguing of the union bosses would be of no avail.

(Continued on page 5)

For about a month, linotypists, typoproducing newspapers, weeklies and resequence, the related branches of activity:

status of the press was organised.

### The New Press

forces and the arrival of the allied troops, most important printing works, and particularly those of the Petit Parisien, Intransigeant, the Paris Soir, and Le Matin. The great parties and movements shared out this booty. The DeGaullists, socialists, communists and M.R.P. were the first and practically the only beneficiaries of these measures.

Newspapers which had appeared under the occupation or under Vichy were forbidden, their proprietors and editors hunted down and their goods confiscated. The clandestine sheets Combat l'Humanité, le Populaire, and a whole series of other papers animated by members of the resistance took their place and used the requisitioned material and

the resistance papers becoming clients of the State organisation. In reality, most of these political organs lived through a period during which the conduct of finances was carried on with great fraud, and debts accounting to some hundreds of millions were inscribed in the books of the Société Nationale des Entreprises d

Each party placed its supporters as editors, administrators, inspectors. The

On the other hand, it was necessary have a preliminary authorisation, given by the Government, to obtain the right t publish a paper. Only the resistance movements obtained that authorisation and a traffic in influence was rapidly governmental service which granted or refused the paper necessary for the press.

#### The Putrid Press

of the occupation, the press which was rotted by money and the pressure of powers interested in manoeuvring French

right, authentic resisters to whom the "new masters" had to give the right to appear. M.R.P., dailies like Figaro arose and were

resistant or anti-Communist elements

to voice their opposition to war. The Soviet liaison officers, Soviet literature, Allied Occupation Authorities have just and Soviet cinemas; it has given the Soviet And indeed the last two issues of our given permission to the "Society of the and satellite liaison officers complete access friend Don Basilio-the satirical anti-Opponents of Military Service" (Bund to the lists of displaced persons; it has clerical Rome weekly-devotes most of it der Kriegsdienstgegner) to function again repeatedly warned them against the space to denouncing Article 5 which after its long eclipse under the Nazis. bleakness of their future if they should denounces in banner headlines as the And the revived Society feels it has refuse repatriation; it has compelled the "Fascist Concordat". Don Basilio (whose plenty to do. One of its first attacks will camp authorities to terminate schools circulation was put at 250,000 copies be on the efforts of the present Austrian and vocational courses, and it has shunted a recent article in News Review) takes Government to be allowed to have its own the refugees about pointlessly from camp the credit for much of the opposition

Austrian branch of the War Resisters' International, the Society has so far en- finally, where ordinary persuasion has voted to activities of the groups, that the rolled a considerable membership and is failed to work, it has endeavoured to bribe Anarchists have played a large part distributing its anti-war literature on a the DP's by offering volunteers for the public agitation against the Vatican large scale throughout Austria.

In many parts of Germany, also, local groups of war resisters are now affiliating directly with the War Resisters' International. They plan later on to amalthe International's first post-war pamph- the relations between the Roman Catholic simple people can be forgiven if they (The War Resister).

The movement of the Paris newspaper The following article on the Parisian | were fighting single-handed against the | keeping themselves on 75 francs a day, workers allows us to see from the inside | newspaper workers strike was written | whole weight of a hostile government, the | which is less than the price of a meal in the picture of the French press and the before the strike had ended. The con- antagonism of the official trade unions a workers'

not be considered wholly as a defeat. They But still they carried on for over a month, effect on other French workers.

Groups of financiers and industrialists their corporate interests. acquired numerous organs, using resisters When the Stalinist tide came, the

debts, which led to the disappearance of to sacrifice and the hymns to production, printing workers and on There remained, facing each other, the wanted to guarantee the purchasing value among them to hinder new claims. But and the sheets of the important economic a year demanded a 25% increase, i.e. 75% living index had suffered a new increase, groups. A few "independents" combined in all.

In February, a law was passed sup- particularly to the discourse of Ambroise beginning of February. pressing the preliminary authorisation. Croizat, Communist Minister of Labour, they replied: "The press has changed its master, but no part of it has returned to its true proprietors; the workers. We have thus no interest in working more nor escaped Communist colonisation. They to be made, suppress the corruption which Committee did not wish to give in are syndicates with a fifty-years' old reigns in your administration, but do not them. tradition of struggle, and their members seek to cut our wages."

include a strong proportion of the extreme The rotary machine operators, mostly Soir, were ready to give in left: syndicalists, revolutionary socialists, communists, were soon in conflict with the attempted to appear. But the stiffening of Under the occupation, the militants of by press and radio as agents of the trusts. from doing this. this federation participated in maintaining Sympathy towards the Stalinists was trans- The shock troops of the Communist the syndical organisations but not many formed into hatred, and the organ of the Party (Communist Youth and Defence of them defended the patriotic positions Communist Party l'Humanité, experienced Committees of l'Humanité) wanted to take of the official resistance. Strong in their several days of slow working. In the by force the printing works where the past of struggle, enjoying conditions of provinces, notably in Lille, the printing organ of the Communist Party was publife superior to the average, they gathered workers, in solidarity, made the Com- lished. Three hundred, then on the

put forward new demands. After long To the governmental arguments, and negotiations, they went on strike at the

#### The Present Conflict

bourgeoisie, whose faults, while being tended to continue the price-lowering The printing workers' syndicates are different, are no less immoral than those campaign, immediately took up its position among the rare organisations which have of the old ones. If there are economies against any increase of salaries. The Strike

Minister of Labour who denounced them the government attitude stopped them

by assault the premises where the strikers

A leaflet of the Printers' Federation expopulation and denounced in the same terms the old corrupt press and the press

Some newspapers wished to arrange publication in London or Brussels. Immediately working-class solidarity came into play and the Printers' union in Brussels called on its members to break this attempt at scabbing. In Paris, little by little, the newspapers

strikers. It should be noted that no newswith the exception of perhaps two or three weeklies—lives by its sales. All have to face deficits running from 1 to 4 million

The needs of the parties to influence opinion, the value of the press to financial or religious groups, demand the reappearance of the papers, that is to say, to give satisfaction to the strikers.

Neither the insults nor the insinuations thrown at the printing workers, nor the equivocal attitude of the C.G.T., nor the attacks directed by every means at the bastions of independent syndicalism have succeeded in breaking down the morale of

There remains the government, entangled in its financial calculations, but incapable of halting the increase in the price of meat, or of providing wine in a country overflowing with it. This government, composed, let us remember, of all the great democratic parties: Communist, Socialist, M.R.P. and radical, wishes to break down an obstacle which it thought had been eliminated long since, a conscious, clear-headed and combative working-class

### Gold Coast Ritual Murders

(Continued from page 1) based on statements made by members of an opposing political faction within the native state to which they belonged. Already, one of the leading persons concerned in this evidence has been stricken with remorse since the tribal feuds. This fact, of course, renders

Futhermore, great play has been made tribal feuds run very strong in the area in question, and it has in fact been ... And Justify The Expense stated that the jury consisted almost entirely of a tribal group who were hostile

on in Indo-China. What is becoming | Lastly, although according to West very clear is that the war in Indo-China | African law, as according to British law, is most unpopular in France. So much | a trial at assizes must be preceded by a so that at a bye-election being held in a | magistrate's enquiry, no such subsidiary few days time the Communists have been | court was held in this case. The men concentrating on the peoples' opposition | were tried directly by the assizes, and to this colonial war to win votes. The | therefore the conviction is legally void.

more reconciliatory nature, unlike their any of the men in question were actually attitude at the outset. Combat (27/3/47), involved in a "ritual" murder. But, even the independent daily, has just completed | if they were, it is interesting to reflect just a series of articles by a Frenchman who how far the British administration has has just returned from Indo-China where | any moral right to condemn them. The he has been serving as a soldier in ritual murder is presumably held to have General Leclerc's army there, and in the some kind of magical significance and, concluding paragraph he puts forward the | according to the various groups, like the view that mistakes have been made by the | Leopard and Gorilla societies who prac-French. "Viet Nam wish for autonomy lice such acts, to have eventually some practical result. But, in point of fact, the British authorities, in West Africa and even at home, are equally guilty of ritual murder. For what is an execution named George killed. And, morever, the white medicine a hanging is as pointless and ineffective as "In a short time, McNear was making the ritual murder of the African jungle. money on his "two streaks of rust". Then Both are the products of the superstitions he started battling labour unions. In that still keep men under the grip of

brotherhoods again, rode out shootings frameups as in this particular case) have and fires, finally refused Government at least a certain moral advantage over the so-called civilised peoples of the "When he got it back, the brotherhoods | world. For all their savagery and superwalked out again. Then, in February, stition has not brought them to the kind 1946, the fight took an ugly turn. Two of wholesale murder which is perpetrated pickets were killed in a battle with guards! in war. The justifiers of the Hiroshima acquitted of manslaughter charges; cities by cascade bombing have no room McNear was never linked with the for moral indignation against the pathetic thugs who carry out a few murders a year "But one night last week, McNear's in the African jungle. Both are equally medicine men of the African jungle. Let before we begin to criticise others.

5th April, 1947.

vast majority of the whites.

land, and went to prison for three

months for his participation. At the

National Socialists. The use of "camps"

instead of, or in addition to, prisons,

suggests that the number of the "socially

dangerous" persons in the country featur-

The first inmates of the early Bolshevik

socialists with whom the Leninists had

near-Bolshevik), Socialist-Revolutionists

(populists), and Anarchists, with a sprink-

ling of rank and file Communists who had

offended the Party leadership. Some of

the Tsarist police, and especially the

secret police were incorporated into the

new State apparatus. The monarchist

dangerous enough from the propaganda

angle to merit the isolator treatment.

The Civil War was, in its way,

a patriotic war against foreign powers.

After the Civil War, the monarchists were

no longer a threat to the rulers of Russia.

The early isolators were located in the

old Tsarist jails and in newly constructed

camps in East European Russia (Kazan)

and in the near-Arctic North (Archangel

Others were put behind barbed wire.

ing this institution, is very large.

In spite of certain passages of the The Man Who Defies New Testament, it is not very often those of any other denomination for The Colour Bar that matter, imbued with a sufficiently strong feeling of the essential brotherhood of man to make them fight actively for this concept.

RUSSIA'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS

NE of the most original products of | We referred to the following article, Government. The employment of | On December 17th, 1935, the Izvestia

social control was the polit-isolator, the Looking Ahead (31st December, 1946) labour must be condemned but one must cription of the grandeur of the task ac-

Citizens came to be "isolated" in the have a kind of self-government. Much

concentration camps not because they of the camp administration, except the

wanted to have something to sav about superintendent and guards, is made up of

the government of their country, but be- prisoners. The trustee self-government

cause they did not want to work as fast stresses, of course, production. The model

as was required by the State-Boss, or is the "trustee" trade-union in non-prison

a positive, cash-and-carry role to play in this. However we shall see that the Soviet

process of the country. The number of Southern road-gangs have to pass an

possible to feed them all without bank- Leninism to get their jobs? No. That is

An exception, whose sincerity and tenacity compel our admiration, is tained in economic, political and Michael Scott, the white priest who has taken a leading part in the strugprogress and development for any of gles of the South African coloured peoples to end the discrimination which is practiced against them by the

Since his release from prison on this first charge, Michael Scott has again Michael Scott first came into the news last year, when, as reported i Freedom, he joined with the Indians stricted area. Michael Scott took an byactive part in the demonstrations of Indians who squatted on forbidden

law; landless people with no votes or rights or hopes in the land of their birth, but as helots of another race perpetually migrating in search of wages

prison-camp for political dissidents. That in our last editorial. We feel that this not forget the millions of Russian

was something entirely new in the line of detailed account of the birth of the prisoners who have been submitted to

coercion. The idea was to isolate, separate | concentration camp in Russia and its similar conditions during the last twenty

views dangerous to the State. The isolator | particularly interesting at a time when does not allow us to give the article

ditions, or because they protested against

the high prices of foodstuff, or because, as

farmers, they refused to exchange their

produce at prices offered them by the

As a result, the "class" make-up of the

population of the Soviet concentration

camps changed radically. They came to

contain very few political, intellectua

inmates and very many uncultured, low-

brow non-political workers and peasants.

State-monopoly middleman.

devised by the Russian Bolsheviks was we hear many protests about the use in full.

were Mensheviks, Maximalists (a kind of because they kicked about wages and con- Soviet industry.)

imitated by the Italian Fascists and later of German slave labour by the Russian

and bread and a place to bear their

But even this action was against the is over and the scare has passed. laws of the democratic Union of South before a Court of "Justice" on the man to live in a native village without the permission of the Minister of

Orlando, near Johannesburg, a settle- discussion, an outbreak of smallpox majority of "His Majesty's subjects" obtaining land outside a very re- ment inhabited, to use his own words, occurred in the native settlement and, in South Africa, and one can be sure ... homeless people outlawed by the who would do anything about it, the to meet Michael Scott or any other of authorities were forced to allow him the few white men who are struggling to go back to tend the sick people to destroy the colour bar and give the and try and stop the epidemic. They Negroes and Indians equal rights.

intend, however, to bring him before the courts again once the epidemic

of how the coloured people are treated | a Right-wing Government, and by leading ment. In a manifesto issued he stated:

complished by the B.A.M. camp, the

the corpses of forced labourers.

PASHA SPEAKS

Nahil Abbas Halim issued a very pro-

A LABOUR

"Within three years, if the present state of affairs is allowed to continue, the Government will lose all authority and there will be anarchy.

"He warned capitalists and the Egyptian Government of the 'writing on the wall', adding that the conditions of the poor have been going from bad to

Egyptian Mail, 7/3/47.

only salvation for Egypt is the advent of the Labour Party" which would thwart the impending danger of "communism" and anarchy. He warned that owing to the impending fall of State revenues, "foreign capitalists would have to flee by night, to save their Egyptian money from the Egyptian Government," and of a "tax massacre" of the landowners who would hasten to sell their land, bringing the price Bolshevik genius in the department of published in the American news letter German prisoners of war as forced published an article giving a lyrical desof land to nothing.

inmates of which double-tracked the revenues, foreign capital (i.e., imperialist eastern part of the Trans-Siberian rail- capital) and land values and the drift to from the rest of society, all persons with development to a major institution is years. We regret that shortage of space road. According to the article, the heroic the time when government would count convict labourers had turned over with for nothing, and there would be the free their picks and shovels two and a half society of Anarchy, the Pasha proposed times as much soil as was moved in the | the advent to power of the Labour Party. construction of the White Sea-Baltic He is quite right in assessing the historical Canal and fifteen times as much as was role of Social-Democracy as counternecessary to build the famous Dniepros- revolutionary. Egyptian "Socialists", troy. This great labour was accomplished accepting the principles of the Labour under typical North Asiatic conditions- Party direct from present day Britain, take the ground permanently frozen, winters | it for granted that it is the function of a with temperatures of 40 to 50 below zero, Labour Party to prevent revolution and the sticky heat and Siberian mosquitos in | betray the workers. In this they are the summer time. A fault-finding bour- wiser than the ardent politically-minded geois commentator might have added that Labourites who study Marxism in many miles of this road are ballasted with | England. The only point the Egyptian Labour Pashas have overlooked is that the In July, 1937, the Volga-Moscow Canal the masses, represent yourself to them as and the Louisiana turpentine camp. How- was finished, and 55,000 con-labourers a militant leader, gain their confidence, ever, the few tiny con camps in our dear were granted conditional liberty. Here, and then betray them. It is true, the South are small, petty-bourgeois potatoes too, the most tractable were freed. British Labour Party is recruiting its new compared with the big-socialist, many- Those who had not pleased the police M.P.'s from the upper classes, but the old modern Russia. An authority like achievements. In 1936, convict labour mains; the Egyptian Labour Party, whose Kravchenko estimates that at present no under the guidance of the NKVD built | future is directed in the palaces of the less than 20 million men and women are 700 miles of highway connecting Yakutsk | mighty, can hardly impress the fellahheen so employed in the USSR. Our non- with the Komsomolsk and Khabarovsk and workers as any different from the other political parties, unless it learns the lessons of the British Labour Party more

### Alternative to Strikes

(Continued from page 3)

So, we see the "stay-in" strike leads control of industry, which is an idea the "academic" nonsense, and the union bosses view with all the horror their constitutional characters can muster. It is, therefore, very surprising to find a union journal daring to publish an article discussing the bureaucrats' nightmare.

The acceptance of the principle of workers' control of industry implies the necessity for organisation in industrial unions, with local all-embracing committees; and as the workers would control directly their own affairs in each flatters, for safety's sake, the official above locality, there would be no need for a centralised bureaucracy. We have to recognise however that the idea of a Internal Affairs and learn to be sociable national leadership dies hard, and so we must emphasise that the so-called leaders do not lead anything or anybody. Even in the present state of ineffective trade unions it is the ordinary worker with natural qualities who remains to inspire his fellow men, and in the form of industrial or syndicalist unionism, there will be ample opportunities of service to one's fellows and to society as a whole, from the naturally equipped leader. But there will be no positions of self and power to degrade and ultimately to corrupt such

> We workers to-day, in this period of political perfidy, this time of social disintegration and totalitarian drift, must appreciate the need for a social outlook that will guide through the day-today struggle for social amelioration to social and individual freedom founded on the basis of workers' control of industry. Cannot we now take the practical steps for the formation of our

> > G. W. ROOKE.

The Parisian Federation of

## number of journalists trebled in less than a year. The price of newspapers rose from 50 centimes to 3 and then to 4 UNRRA & Displaced Persons been stricken with remorse since the conviction and has admitted that the convicted men were actually the victims of an intrigue based on political and

because of its reactionary policy towards

ercion. It has suspended newspapers Ruota on the most curious ground." printed by camp inmates; it has prohibited The Guardian's correspondent concludes them from receiving newspapers in their by pointing out that: War Resistance In Austria own languages other than those printed "Perhaps one of the least desirable to camp; it has made life miserable by the Lateran Treaty and it is interesting repatriation 60 days' rations."

(Worldover Press.) "The State and the Catholic Church militarised, he will not be likely to start he strolled near his home in Peoria, some- proportion and realise that the mass-This welcome news nevertheless are each in their own order independent another war-at least not until his former prompts the sobering reflection that the and sovereign. Their relations are regu- enemies find it convenient to help him to blast. At week's end there were few clues to-day are far more dangerous to Allied government are glad enough to see lated by the Lateran pacts. Any rearm; and that the victorious countries but \$41,615 in rewards." pacifism in defeated enemies, but do not | modification of the pacts, bilaterally could afford to disarm. But, of course, And to think that the white man wants

New Leader attempts to demonstrate that the general reaction to this Article can- year. the closing down of UNRRA will not be not be gauged. The Rome correspondent regretted by many Displaced Persons of the Manchester Guardian (25/3/47) those DP's who refuse to return to their Italian Protestants and Jews whose leaders countries of origin. The writer points out called on Signor de Nicola, provisional

attention to the meaning of article five. "Their complaint was that the Italian Persons at possible. On the other hand, State would contribute from taxation to it was specifically instructed that where the salaries of priests but not to those of the DP's had fears about returning, no pastors or rabbis. Non-Catholics would coercion was to be employed. The DP's therefore have to pay towards maintaining were to be provided with all possible the Catholic Church. Further, the 'UNRRA has sent no refugee back at non-Catholic children. Further, the the point of the bayonet. It has turned Catholic Church, the Lateran pacts, ar no one over by force to NKVD. But the Concordat forbid divorce in a country if it has not resorted to physical coercion, where adultery is practised on an immen measures of psychological and moral co- annulments of their marriages from Sacra

stranglehold on the Italian masses.

### Arming For Peace!

The politicians were not so stupid as to make the mistake they made in the is Article 5 of the Constitution dealing with as a "war to end wars". Nevertheless let in German, Der Kriegsdienstgegner | Church and the State. Article 5 reads assume that once the enemy has been welcome it at home. War resistance is agreed, does not require any revision of that is far from being the case. All the to bring civilization to the Ju-Ju man! this constitution. Other religious con- victorious countries are maintaining huge

THE jobs undertaken by UNRRA have fessions may legally organise themselves armed forces and not stinting the Services | invalid all the evidence against them. been many and numerous. Un- according to their own statutes, provided all the money they require. France is doubtedly there must be thousands of men that they do not infringe upon the no exception to the rule. And in the last by the Colonial Office and the newsand women who are alive to-day, thanks juridicial order of the Italian State." few days 52,000 million francs were voted papers mentioned above on the fact that to the food and medical attention received. Owing to the inefficient distribution of the for the armed services for the second from that relief organization. On the Italian Press in this country (papers reach quarter of 1947. This represents an ex- found guilty by a native jury. However, other hand a writer in the American the newsagents at least nine days late) penditure of about £430 million for the as has already been indicated, inter-

Meanwhile, France's private war goes to the accused. comments in the Press are also of a It is thus extremely doubtful whether is understandable and must be respected."

### Stranger Than Fiction

the American Magazine Time (24/3/47): | the Old Testament ritual of revenge, "A rupt Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad on the bench, contend that such a killing

1929 he rode a cowcatcher through an tyranny and violence. picket line to break his first But perhaps the real ritual murderers

portant economic operations of the great Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs. Progress In Concentration

Camps As the Communist modernizers Russia began to take in hand and guide the economic life of the millions under their command, their difficulties in social management became more economic than Bolshevik intellectuals who had fooled the

rupting the Socialist State. Then Bolshevik another kind of democracy.) Solovestsky Monastery). With the coninventiveness sparkled again. solidation of the Bolshevik regime, the camps spread to Siberia, the vast stretches The imaginative, resourceful Bolshevil of which now offer the stage for the im-

police department conceived a new economic form. The old Tsarist Katorga was put on a scientific, business basis History now had the modern, "compleat' concentration camp, where the guests not stay idle behind the barbed wire, but, under the guidance and protection special police, they build canals, lay rail-

work in foundries, in exchange for their

Bolshevik repression had killed all hope solved with a minimum of speeches and OGPU.)

#### Soviet Concentration Camps Before The War Here are some facts and figures (from

our own South: the Georgia road gang

con-campers themselves puts the figure

Wallace calls Soviet economic democracy

(Do the county supervisors in charge of

examination in the Fundamentals of

close to 30 million. It is hard to believe

scientific witnesses say that rumour among railway lines.

importance of the camps in preparing the

If you give the con-camp inmate a of the White Sea-Baltic Canal, with minimum allowance of bread just for 59,516 such workers having their sentences minimum if he works well, and deny him and women were thus rewarded. No less war-weary peasant soldiers into handing any food if he refuses to work or slows than 300,000 must have laboured under them over State power in November 1917 up-why, then the entire problem of OGPU management to build the Canal. -had practically disappeared. Efficient labour and management relations is (We know that the Cheka later became

invaders, were prepared with the cooperation of the NKVD. The four initials of this interesting organization stood for the Russian "Ministry of Internal Affairs". The economic importance of the Soviet concentration camps became so important that straight to the principle of workers' the police department in charge of the camps was now a full "ministry". The politicians of the Labour Party consider NKVD marshalled millions of convict the Soviet republic) but also engineers, doctors and other technicians. Sometimes the NKVD reached out for an unfortunate persons who have not the gift of winning the approval of their superiors.

The great Lenin had already foreseen

that to attain security in face of a possible

foreign attack, the Bolshevik State might

have to retreat into Russian Asia. The

Pittsburghs of the Urals, which played an

behind barbed wire. (To be continued).

him, the socially inept sometimes

themselves working for the Ministry

THE THREE MUSKETEERS-5

"Such wonderful comradeship"



1 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

5th April, 1947.

adulation of film stars and its attendant

rites of speculating on their matrimonial

affairs has not destroyed our own aptitude

In accordance with present-day trends,

politics raises its ugly head, the Daily

Worker thundering against any alliance

with the Greek Royal Family, and the

"Left" Labourites taking up the cue.

When Queen Victoria married a German

which was sponsored by the Whigs, but

the circle has turned, and to-day it is the

"Left" which is worried about a foreigner

maintained an almost complete con-

spiracy of silence against the Spanish

Revolution (treating it as a Civil War

between Republicans and Fascists and

ignoring altogether the libertarian achieve-

ments), but compensated for that by a

manufactured crisis as to whether it was

right for a proposed Queen of England

We are not interested in the politics,

to have previous husbands living.

own especial balderdash.

being Prince Consort.

## A Handbook on Sociology

its heights one can glimpse almost every juxtaposition of orthodox sociological Mr. Kelson attacks the primitives first, reason for his reliance on the social prin-County Home for the Uncared-For there buyer a few warnings regarding the defects were (1940) 325 patients cared for by one of his purchase. are notes on American life, but the book and the writers seem to be unaware that draws its material from nearly every place and historical period. The vast array of a small power-group. (Even so, 'Marxist' facts gathered into six hundred pages is presented in a lucid prose and a clear notes for discussion. In short, the first As a contrast to this cursory treatment of two requirements for a handbook are adequately and admirably met.

But there is a third requirement. This timidity goes an even greater naivety. "The is that the relevant facts should be life of a city is . . . excellently organised" selected and presented in an unprejudiced (p. 585) say the authors who seem never way. On the whole even this difficult to have encountered waste nor heard the task is achieved. The authors wish to word 'necropolitan'. Indeed on the subshow that social life is a resultant of ject of the city this book is singularly illfour factors, which are:

Natural (or geographical and climatic) environment; Group (family, tribal, national) environment; Biological ininheritance or culture (customs, mores).

is the most important factor in the shaping is favourable for the peaceful arts" of society—which is to say among other (p. 536) is a remark hardly borne out by things, that social institutions are not the Italian Renaissance. The peaceful based on an unchanging 'human nature' arts are treated in a rather patrician but can be altered by educational and fashion altogether, which has an obvious other means. This is not a very original bearing on the authors' definition of view, but it does involve a summing-up 'psychopaths': "We compare them with and balancing of various contradictory ourselves, that is, with what we expect. doctrines held by psychologists and others, and if they deviate widely we class them a summing-up that in general is remark- as abnormal" (p. 146)—a definition that able for its objectivity and clarity. It may make a 'psychopath' out of anyone is not often that one finds orthodox 'deviating' from the group-norm: i.e., sociology probing the hollowness of class- pacifists, anarchists, artists, or any other equality before the law, exposing the individual. It is of course the orthodox mechanism of propaganda, or pointing out definition; but one might as well point

SS HARDENED

ANARCHY OR CHAOS 2/6, Cloth 4/6 pointed out that 'personality' is acquired, NEW LIFE TO THE LAND RAILWAYS AND SOCIETY HOMES OR HOVELS? ANARCHISM AND MORALITY WHAT IS ANARCHISM? Peter Kropotkin. THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE (Chosen by Herbert Read) Errico Malatesta: ANARCHY VOTE WHAT FOR? Herbert Read: THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM I THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN William Godwin: SELECTIONS FROM POLITICAL THE KRONDSTADT REVOLT KROPOTKIN-HIS FEDERALIST Alexander Berkman: A.B.C. OF ANARCHISM John Hewetson: ITALY AFTER MUSSOLINI ILL-HEALTH, POVERTY AND THE STATE Cloth 2/6, Paper 1/-MUTUAL AID & SOCIAL

Gaston Leval: THE MARCH TO DEATH GENERAL IDEA OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE 19th CENTURY Cloth 5/-F. A. Ridley: THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE MODERN AGE THE STRUGGLE IN THE FACTORY 3d. THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT 6d. THE FRENCH COOKS SYNDICATE 3d.

Ogburn &Nimkofl. (Kegan Paul, 25/-.) property, war and the State. One has causality but according to social law, of different thing from vengeance; in any facts in an easily available form. It does: Kropotkin on co-operation as to Darwin of retribution; so that whereas at first Mr. Kelson is anxious to show that

is mentioned only once; 'dialectic' never.) are described at length. ('Philosophic a vital factor in social change, American business economy is described unsoundly and to the exhaustion of the reader. With informed and the reader is advised to supplement its information with a busride to the nearest library. If the journey does not enlighten him, Mumford's heritance (inherited tendencies); Social Culture of Cities or Sinclair's Metropolitan Man will do so. "If the government is well organised so that trade and They think that of these four the last economic life flow smoothly, the situation

> bd. their demolition of the 'self' leaves nothing 3d. of the individual to be discussed by · sociologists. There are some superficialities. Two tables of working-class expenditure (p. 315) to hand however. The reader will find a 3d. very illuminating account of the penetra-

> > Gorer's African Dances (Penguin).

out yet again the possible political con-

sequences of dropping a value judgment

from psychiatry. "Clearly the idea (of

self) is acquired, not inherited, since

maturation. As the authors have already

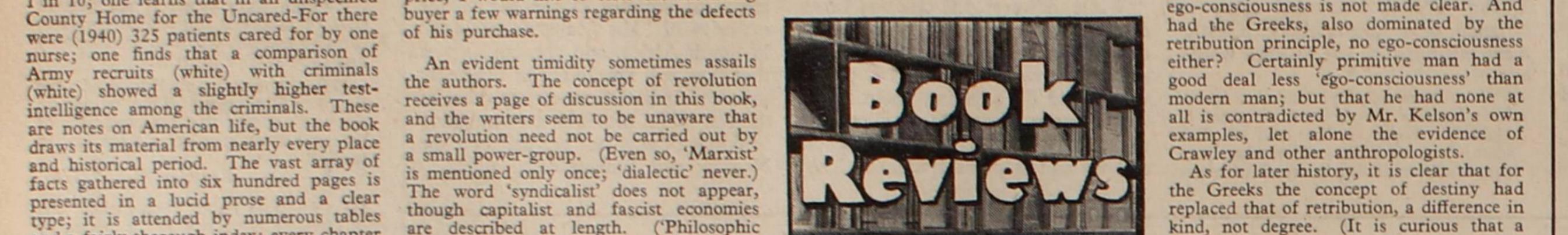
such a wide field and offering so much. hearted. A final criticism might be directed not so much at this book as at orthodox

As the Labour Movement has the emancipation of labour the logic of capitalist structure. sociology in general. The present authors gained in extent, it has lost in depth. technics is due to their belief that ideas and 'fantasies' play a smaller part in life.

Thus though they talk a great deal about legalistic and constitutional channels. the effect on the present of the past, they The old revolutionary zeal and virtually ignore the effect on the present evangelistic fervour had to be tamed of the future. It is obvious however that attitudes mainly orientated to the future down, for the Party had now become strikes, and have employed soldiers. They have sought to ban cipation through the State, for the (fear, hope, etc.) play a very large part in a power. In the words of John immediate example. The authors prefer days of the agitator had gone, the day any previous government. In world has turned to Dead Sea ashes. compensation is often decisive for social more to be limited to paying his dues means a complete science—if indeed become, "Workers of the World,

A HANDBOOK OF SOCIOLOGY. the connections between the origins of prets nature not according to the law of the feared punishment; it is clearly a

He begins by asserting that: "the idea feriority" aroused in the avenger. How



causality . . . is entirely beyond the grasp of primitive man. One can speak 'causal thinking' only if the regularit perceived in any succession of events also considered necessary". Even, Mr. Kelson insists, "a tendency to causal primitive man". (My italics.) This seems, to put it mildly, an overstatement. One would have thought, from the author's a very close and acute sense of the 'necessary regularity' in events; no death takes place in primitive society without a cause being found; there is as much 'regularity' between cause and effect as there is in modern conditionism for instance, which recognises that all effects are also causes and are due to a multiplicity of factors so complex that an event can only be said to be 'conditioned' by other events, not 'caused' by them. It is true that the primitive's search for a cause is dominated by subjective considerations, which is why he finds causal Retribution may imply reward rather than

examples, let alone the evidence of

As for later history, it is clear that for the Greeks the concept of destiny had replaced that of retribution, a difference in kind, not degree. (It is curious that a book on causality should not mention determinism, fate, responsibility, redemption, or luck. True, free-will gets a contemptuous word: it is a fiction.) The pagan element in Greek religion, at least in the Eleusinian mysteries, places as much emphasis on reward as on punishment. As for Mr. Kelson's view that all myths have as their prime content the tortion of the facts as abundantly supplied by himself. The hero, for example, represents the breaker of taboos and exstriving; the tasks he undertakes are incidental to this end. Even Prometheus

The emergence of the civilised idea of causality was in fact due to a number of factors of which an increasing objectivity in human thought was the chief. Grudgingly giving his case away, Mr. Kelson admits this on the last page but one of his book: "Along with the generalisation of the notion of law goes a certain objectification . . ." It is a book carrying relationships that modern man would a wealth of anthropological material gathered from many sources, and these subjective considerations should be a suppose there are about 3,000 additional All Books Reviewed on this cumbersome in style. A boat so overloaded, so clumsy in rig, so tenacious between the reaction termed 'vengeance' of a one-sided course, will not surprise

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# TIME MARCHES ON

By MAT KAVANAGH.

give 13% and 11% respectively as the THE complete answer to the pessi-8/6 of cultures receive a rather shallow treat- changes that have taken place even ment. The question of the accom- in your own lifetime." Fifty years is is well known; more recent examples are realized. Years of strenuous effort and self-sacrifice put in by the old tion of West Africa by white culture in pioneers have built up a Labour Movement which was but a dream to All the inadequacies mentioned above them, deemed impossible of realizare almost inevitable in a book covering ation by the pessimistic and the faint-

your brains!" So fully have the SOCIETY AND NATURE. Hans leaders of the labour movement acted upon this motto that since attaining The title of this book is misleading, for full power they have done everything very thinly—have only a minor connection organizations completely. These

the workers paying up the coppers! colonies, soldiers in revolt against £abour £eading is now a flourishing enforced slavery of militarism. In profession, and vastly more remuner- the East End of London, the dockers ative than most! The Labour Move- in conference demand not nationalizment is now the happy hunting ground ation, but confiscation of the means for all sorts of needy adventurers— of work. On the Clyde and the journalistic and legal failures-for Mersey there are symptoms of revolt, what other profession offers such high mainly against the legal tying up of with a pension and perhaps even a laboration of the Trade Unions with seat in the House of Lords? The the State. class conscious worker can have little but contempt for such.

Union bosses turning the handle and unofficial—at home and in the incomes for so little work, together workers' activities through the col-

These truths are forcing themselves on the workers not from the effect of In taking over the machinery of Anarchist propaganda, but from the capitalism, the Labour leaders must, actions of the government of Labour of necessity, maintain capitalism. leaders, forced along totalitarian lines the emancipation of labour; only by For the only way it can move is withdefiance of the State can any radical in the capitalist economic system. change be achieved, for the State can Time marches on, and its lessons only be a conservative force. The are driven into the brains of the dis-Labour Government has given ample illusioned workers and soldiers. They evidence of this during their term of have seen the failure to achieve emanstrikes, and have employed soldiers Russian revolution which awoke the social change; the falling birthrate is an Burns, the first Labour M.P., "The as blacklegs on a bigger scale than sympathy of workers all over the

to note here that the population decrease is 'produced' by a knowledge of contra- of the legislator had begun!" The totalitarian plan they have gone totalitarian plan they have gone marches with longer and role of the worker came more and further than a Liberal or Torus more rapid strides since 1917. The further than a Liberal or Tory worker of to-day has been the change. These points are of fundamental to his Trade Union, and to vote for government has ever dared. In witness of the wonderful revolt of importance because they suggest, as this book confirms, that sociology is by no its candidate. The real slogan had a bloodstained imperialism they have a bloodstained imperialism they have truction with construction. For while shown no vestige of the "Solidarity destroying old and vile institutions of International Labour" that the they built new and true ones. The Second International once used to truth is gaining ground in spite of the speak of. In their treatment of our politicians and priests—the truth coloured comrades they have been that only by direct action of the mass, The title of this book is misleading, for society' and 'nature'—which are defined possible to emasculate the workers' fully as ruthless as the Blimps could as opposed to political and parliamentary action, can the worker be with its argument, like wafers clapped have ceased to be "organs" and have Time marches on, however, and freed. The emancipation of the round ice-cream. Anyone wishing to become mere appendages of the pessimist has his answer, for on working class must be the task of the profit from the book had best begin with the last chapter, where the theme is made political Labour Party—mere barrel every side there are signs that labour workers themselves. "He who would

CONTRIBUTION

Socialism and Authoritarianism

TO THE DEBATE footsteps of William Morris are as much

The Price of Freedom

for obscuring important issues with our I wholly endorse the import of the letter from "Rationalist" which you us realize that their methods are not ours

> nothing less than degrading. I do not believe there are any readers

are making a fuss about the prospective | published in Freedom, maybe some of us Prince Consort there is a situation arising | who are not so impecunious would take it that they want to obscure. In Victoria's time upon ourselves to adjust matters. there was a serious political crisis over the politics of the Ladies-of-the-Bedchamber Political Terrorism and which was quite sufficient to dwarf the famine in Ireland and the Chartist Anarchism agitation in the eyes of the politically minded minority. And most important of all, in our own day the British Press

failed to dislodge them. He concludes Funny, eh? his article with this sentence: "Yet when On the same day, 19th February, a Ball news we were told by some of our friends people. The King is attending this Ball, that revolutionaries must resort to armed elements registered. As last year, the surance against the time when the people | the power politicians and their too this funny? get tired of the tyrannical pyramid of numerous supporters; for however much People begin to talk glibly of racial

n print as well as living anarchist lives merely players. They have their exits and hundreds of thousands of parcels were and distory teaches us that all armed revolu- day, all this nonsense will be stopped, and delivered. with those who believe that the State will never wither away of its own accord State will never be destroyed unless it be by peaceful means. By that I mean,

(While feeling much sympathy for these cause for which Freedom stands, while the ful than rational. It is impossible to go maintenance of a Free Press Fund is into the question of violence here, but there is one point: we are often told that revolutions used armed force and they who are so impecunious as to be unable failed. This is often taken as proof that to afford 6d. per issue, but if there are, they failed because they used armed force. We may be sure, however, that if they and if an editorial note to that effect is But revolutions also express brotherly love -only pacifists don't attribute failure to that. The cause of revolutionary failure (and all revolutions have failed so far) requires rather deeper analysis than that.

(A reader on the Gold Coast, West Africa, sends us the following letter.) In the issue of Freedom dated March The B.B.C. came through with the 8th, 1947, your correspondent A.M. is announcement on the 19th February that interested in the military exploits of the U.N.O. had given China 200 tons of Stern Group and the Irgun Zvai Leumi goods to sell at Black Market prices to in Palestine, and points out how all the replenish their tottering financial situation. usual methods of State repression have Nations condoning Black Marketing.

the atomic bomb first exploded into the in South Africa is held for coloured that now there was no hope of any and the Queen too, and perhaps the upsurge of workers overpowering the Princesses. Unlike the Civic Ball on the nationality, colour, religion or anything capitalist class!" By this does A.M. mean 18th February where 15,000 white Heiress-Presumptive (and what a pre- force to carry out the social revolution? coloured Ball is not mentioned with sumptive it is). However, we ought to Surely not. It is not by following the numerical strength. It is just a Ball and say that our advice to all Royalty when example of right wing reactionary fanatics perhaps it is meant for Indians and marrying is to choose a husband for his that an anarchist way of life will bring Asiatics in South Africa and none of the ability to use his hands for the ignoble benefit to mankind. In fact, by these owners of the land. Those men that purpose of work, if need be, as an in- methods we should play into the hands of God really put there, the Africans. Isn't

government and the gilded ornaments we may condemn State tyranny let us discrimination, stoppage of Black Market, that so graciously and uselessly adorn the not, in our march forward, be guilty of and Intelligent Nations indulge in these. tyranny ourselves. It is by spreading the Life is a funny thing, and no wonder influence of anarchist ideas verbally and Shakespeare says the men and women are

Rumania Holds Up Relief

to us complaining about the exorbitant poverty among the peasants and workers prices of insulin, obtainable only in the the channels of private foreign relief meet black market. We decided to take upon such revolting obstruction us a financial burden and to supply her

to a pregnant woman, never arrived either. are still lying in Bucharest, waiting to be Official insolence is a thing beyond the grasp of human imagination. Whilst those

thousands of parcels with medicines, food and clothes from despairing men, women and children, sent to them by their

I refer to your article "Famine in We have known the corruption of pre-

### 3 A / I

Dear Comrades, Please find enclosed subscription for 6 months for an additional three copies of "Freedom" . . . I should

like to add a few words of thanks and praise for the way you manage t produce "Freedom" so regularly and well. And am inclined to agree with "Rationlist" in the current issue that readers would gladly continue to pay an increased subscription rate. think many of us are inclined to regard donations to the Press Fund as something we can make any old time and seldom get around to doing it, whereas when our subscription falls due we know it is something which must be attended to soon.

Dear Comrades, Could you please send me 6 extra copies of "Freedom" next time you send my copy. Lately, it seems to disappear with various people as soon as it arrives, and my turn to read it comes when it is in pieces . . . Mrs. P.H.

Nottingham.

CIRCULAR TOUR

them too well.

Dear Friends, After several weeks of persistent "bullying", I have succeeded in persuading [?-Editors] a socialist

General Election, are running away from

The Hon. William Astor has made a

Then, hearing that a candidate was

He made for the Wycombe division of

Fulham, he made for St. Albans, where he

workmate to subscribe to "Freedom". I herewith enclose his 3/-, his name and address is as follows . . . It seems to me that your suggestion of "two subscriptions per anarchist"

is quite a good idea, and so I am enclosing a second 3/- sub, for

Dear Editors, My full support for the suggestion that "Freedom's" price should be raised to 4d. or 6d. Readers who really want a paper produced to their taste will be willing to pay more for it, and I don't think it will hinder your chances of getting 2,000 more

Ashton-under-Lyne.

These are a few of the letters we have received in response to our appeal to readers to help us solve our financial and distribution problems. We shall welcome further comments on "Rationlist's" letters regarding the price of FREEDOM, but in any case will not contemplate any increase in the price of our paper until we have consulted our comrades, distributors, and subscribers, and obtained their opinions.—Editors.]

#### GERMANS PROTEST Three hundred and fifty Germans

carried out an orderly demonstration in Dusseldorf yesterday to protest against the requisitioning of their homes for B.A.O.R. Reynolds News, 23/3/47.

BY ANOTHER NAME

A new type of Army "glasshouse" is provided for in the Army and Air Force (Annual) Bill just presented to Parliament. It will be known as a "military" corrective establishment", and men serving sentences there "may be temporarily allowed out on parole."

It is not proposed to set up Air Force corrective establishments as alternatives to detention barracks, but under the new rules "a man in the Air Force may be sent to a military corrective establish-

Evening Standard, 21/3/47.

THE LEOPARD CAN'T CHANGE IT'S SPOTS

Seven thousand Russian deserters were rounded up recently in the Brandenburg who, having learned German and acquired the Rev. J. S. Clarke (37), ex-Navy padre.

the naval commander at Gustrov, where stains would be noticed on parade if the burglars were in fact Army men.

I can let you into a secret. Like their sisters in the WRNS and the WAAF, members of the ATS will in future be "the girls in blue."

have been considering new designs for PROFITS uniforms have agreed that whatever colour Throughout his investigation, Sir is adopted for walking-out uniform it must Valentine appeared in court practically

War Office phraseology to describe pre- in the country; his income is between said Mr. Mallalieu. sent ruling design is: "A compromise £30,000 and £40,000. After paying "Another type was to hand over to a flood relief stores as a gift from the U.S. collective farms near village of Kibiri. between a military cut and a woman's taxes on an extra £1,000 he would be man a job in which he, too, could dispense Army zone, was expected at Heathrow Kibiri slogan: "Down with the Fascist

The Star, 27/3/47.

THE ROYAL TOUR

Cost of alterations to the battleship Vanguard to take the Royal Family to South Africa was £170,000. disposal after an atomic bomb raid. After hearing about Hiroshima and early to-day by Mr. W. J. Edwards, Civil get them back. Nagasaki, one might think there would Lord of the Admiralty, replying to not be much scope for internments conducted with decorum, etc. But a mortician

last night when he told M.P.s about some protected by lead-lined clothing.

unwise because radio-active particles might escape through the crematorium chimney. Daily Worker, 11/3/47.

THE SPORTING PARSON

PLANNING FOR THE

Parishioners of St. Barnabas, a large working-class parish, have a parish maga-To-night some were studying his tips That some, however, are still in uniform for the Grand National. "Given heavy going, Jack Finlay should do well," he writes in his monthly letter, "and I fancy Bricett, who won at Cheltenham in He told Germans who complained to December over four miles, should have a good chance of at least a place."

He also mentions Lovely Cottage and Prince Regent. Most parishioners are going to "have a little go" on his fancies. "Over-the-sticks is darned good fun," the vicar commented when I asked him why tips were included in his parochial letter. "I used to hunt, but there is no

Evening Standard, 24/3/47.

This was disclosed in the Commons Daily Mirror, 19/3/47. some of them think their old voters know

Through the Press

Mortuary Science, trade organ of the NAVAL INITIATIVE Mr. J. P. W. Mallalieu, ex-naval rating who wrote "Very Ordinary Seaman

> very extraordinary ones who ran a series wanted at Aylesbury, which is a Tory seat, of rackets in naval barracks. Mallalieu - now Labour M.P. for Summers, former Secretary for Overseas Huddersfield-served, he came upon the Trade. So, like the dog in the fable, Mr.

strange case of "Compassionate Leave Astor then had no bone at all. sion," he said. "They ran their hut as a Bucks, where he now awaits formal strictly business concern."

H.M.S. Victory-Nelson's flagship at him to complete the circular tour back Trafalgar. One man conducted people on to East Fulham. "When he reached the point on the ship where Nelson died," said Mr. Mallalieu, "he told the visitors that it was the custom

"While the lights were out he dropped two half-crowns into his hat and said, THE BLACK 'Thank you, sir.' Immediately there was a fumbling among the visitors. When the INTERNATIONAL lights were turned on his hat was usually

Even ex-Scotland Yard men brought organ Reason and Faith has advanced a barracks staff. The ratings called them which goes far to show the situation in Some of these naval racketeers ran the while democracy may be the best form

some of the most skilful racketeers in the not even be a good form where Catholics WARFARE interests himself in all Service uniforms. For it all, Sir Valentine receives a com- service of the King." Working dress will continue to be khaki. paratively small fee; I have heard it They would ease themselves into key jobs where they could dispense patronage

to turn out the lights and for them to present occupied by the B.B.C.

are predominant.

he abandoned St. Albans.

But he did not give up hope.

Sunday Express, 23/3/47.

A recent issue of the Spanish Jesuit

Worldover Press, 14/2/47. In 20 minutes of sharp-shooting from a

from Germany to-day. Evening Standard, 27/3/47.

AMERICA AT PEACE

Thirty-six murders a day are being committed in the United States, and the crime wave has reached its peak, according to a report by J. Edgar Hoover, the

In the past twelve months a major crime has been committed every 81.7 seconds. Murder, manslaughter, rape, or murderous assault was committed every

their constituencies instead of fighting to 5.7 minutes. Reynolds News, 23/3/47.

#### This is a bad practice. They should stay where they are known . . . or perhaps 55 AIR ENGINES THROWN IN SEA

written Parliamentary reply.

Mr. J. Wilmot, Minister of Supply, tour of exploration. Defeated at East who had been asked how many R.A.F. aircraft engines had been dumped into the sea at Takoradi, Gold Coast, said in a

originally cost £3,280 each. were disposed But Aylesbury preferred Mr. Spencer of in this way. "They were surplus to R.A.F. require-

"Fifty-five aircraft engines, which

ments, and were dumped after unsuccessful efforts had been made to sell them, either as engines or as scrap."

Evening Standard, 21/3/47.

#### Then there was the racket aboard This should make it unnecessary for INCENTIVE

Mr. Aneurin Bevan, Minister of Health, plans to present medals to local Mr. Astor has recently bought authorities and their architects who de-Bletchington Park, Lord Valentia's sign attractive new houses. There will Oxfordshire estate, for £80,000. It is at be two types of Bevan Medals—one for town and one for rural housing. Daily Express, 25/3/47.

RATHER LOW

Sale of shellfish on the sea front at Hunstanton, Norfolk, has been banned by the urban council. One member said it

small, slow plane flying low, a Russian This will not worry him. Sir and exact toll. "One type of patronage Valentine is one of the highest-paid KCs was to dish out freedom from draft ships," FOOD FROM GERMANY? Tartar steppes. Aircraft aid was re-First of 30 aircraft flying 75 tons of quested when wolves attacked cattle of

News Chronicle, 27/3/47.

explicit. It is this: primitive man inter- "organ"-izations, with the Trade is awakening. Strikes—now always be free, himself must strike the blow." 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60