

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"I am not qualified to direct the opinions of others, but I am not prepared to accept injustice."

—PAU CASALS

A NEW ECONOMY FOR BRITAIN?

THROUGHOUT the last war anarchists insisted that the war for control over the world's markets would only be exacerbated by the peace. The insistent demand for exports—export or die—could not, they pointed out, be pressed for ever, since other countries were also industrialising themselves (and changing their oppressed peasants still more into oppressed wage slaves at the same time) and so making themselves economically independent of industrial Britain. Anarchists have been underlining these self-evident facts for decades.

It is amusing therefore to find the capitalist press are now finding it all for themselves. Here for example, is the editorial of the *Observer*.

The essential question is how Britain is going to survive, economically, in a world where many countries are coming to need her products less than she needs theirs. The pattern of trade, on which our prosperity was based, is disappearing, and we have hardly yet begun to reshape our economy to the new one. We shall have to become nearly self-sufficient and less vulnerable to trade and price changes elsewhere; this means, in the simplest

terms, that we shall have to restrict the range of our manufactured exports and concentrate on primary production, especially of fuel and food.

"The whole subject is much too large for immediate discussion here, but it overrides in importance all others, except defence, and neither party shows much sign of taking it seriously. Compared with it, the question of more or less nationalisation is almost trivial; as indeed are many of the topics which most readily arouse heated party debate." (8/6/52).

Even so, the *Observer* cannot get radically away from the old outlook. The total economic outlook for Britain "overrides in importance all others, except defence". Except defence—but defence is just an inevitable stage in the attempts of the old capitalist market economy to extricate itself from its own inherent difficulties. This little exception destroys the whole radicalisation of the *Observer's* viewpoint.

Britain needs to turn over to primary production, to grow her own food, to rescue agriculture from the doldrums of the past eighty years. But to turn over to such an economy in the present world seems, and is,

fantastic. Such a switch-over would disorganise the economy of many another nation, would cause all sorts of international pressures to be brought to bear on Britain.

But do such considerations make the main problems any the less pressing? Does the disorganisation of the capitalist economics matter overmuch, when seen from the broadest standpoint? How then is the dilemma to be resolved?

Clearly the men of the old régime whose thinking is conditioned by the old economy and the old social forms are impotent to make any such sweeping changes. Nor is the impetus likely to come from the new men, the intellectuals, or the idealists. Such basic ideas regarding a rational economy for Britain as self-sufficiency in staple food products, for example, will need to become more widely current among the population at large. And for their realization they will need the impetus of a movement of the people acting nearly as a whole—what Kropotkin termed the creative power of the people as a whole.

Such ideas—revolutionary ideas—have fired the hearts and brains of the people of Britain before. And they will no doubt do so again.

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

A Dangerous Situation

THE directors' report for the vast I.C.I. (Imperial Chemicals Industries) group shows that business in 1951 was very good. Sales reached a record figure of £263 millions, a 19% increase on the previous years turnover.

More important than the maze of figures contained in the report are, to our mind, the references the chairman made to German competition. Shortages of raw materials, he said, have limited the output of certain products and increasing competition in overseas markets particularly from Germany, was being felt by the end of the year, when demand for certain products showed signs of falling. Although according to the directors "the prevailing shortage of goods in Europe has meant that German competition has not affected the company as seriously as might have been expected," they point out that this state of affairs "may not continue." The Alkali Division reports increasing competition overseas and German pressure has been particularly felt in the dyestuffs trade in India and Indonesia.

WORLD markets for consumer goods are shrinking, while the amount of goods are increasing through increased productivity and the re-emergence of large industrial countries such as Japan, and Germany seeking an outlet for their goods in the world markets.

The textile slump is not limited to this country. All countries with large textile industries are feeling the effects of the present crisis, and but for the vast rearmament programmes, a situation would have been reached in most industries as bad as any pre-war economic slump.

A *Reuter* report from New York last month, quotes "Senior Government economic experts" as saying that nearly one-third of America's total business turnover comes from spending on defense compared with between 7 and 10 per cent. before the Korean War. An official of the Commerce Department, who asked not to be named, estimated that without the arms spending possibly three million people would be unemployed in the United States instead of the present 1,500,000. About six million of the nation's labour force of sixty million men and women are reported to be working on the defence programme.

An authority on the Federal Reserve Board, who also asked not to be named, said there were signs of a recession just before the Korean war and added his belief that defence spending was maintaining America's economy at its present level.

From the foregoing it is a little difficult to follow this official's conclusion that it

a much larger proportion of production were devoted to civil instead of military needs, though the total level of economy would fall, the standard of living of most Americans could be maintained and increased. From a logical point of view, it is obvious that since you can eat butter but not guns, to produce more of the former at the expense of the latter would be beneficial to the community. But capitalism doesn't work that way.

WHERE the present crisis is even more serious than the pre-war slump is that the latter took place at a time when the armaments industry was more or less just ticking over and the standing armies of the world were only a fraction of their present strength. (Admittedly, the army of unemployed was larger than it is at present.) To-day, we are heading for an even greater crisis with already a large part of the world's industrial potential engaged in war production, and with already an army of unemployed numbering several millions. We have suggested on other occasions in this column that perhaps capitalism's answer to the hot war, as the only way out in the struggle for shrinking markets, is the permanent cold war, and the creation of a "standby" economy in America (see "Permanent War Economy and Conformity"—*FREEDOM*, 9/2/52) to point clearly in this direction. Does the present economic crisis, in spite of the world bleeding itself of its labour and raw materials in the production of lethal weapons, and millions of men either engaged in "colonial" wars or policing activities, indicate that the cold war policy has not solved the contradictions of capitalism? If that is the case one can well expect a worsening in diplomatic relations (and there are indications that this is happening) as a prelude to a hot war.

But in case we are misunderstood, we state most emphatically that we do not think that a war situation will develop because Russia has suddenly become aggressive—or more aggressive. We think that the politicians will create an imaginary war-scare simply in order to divert even more production to armaments, and that in the last resort, if these tactics do not halt the crisis, they will not hesitate to plunge the world into war. These may sound old fashioned ideas in the ears of the ex-Communist led anti-Communist crusaders. But the older we grow, the easier we find it is to see through all the disguises of capitalism—and it has tried many during the present century. And we find it is always like the proverbial leopard.

LIBERTARIAN.

LIGHTNING STRIKE VICTORY FOR DUSTMEN

DIRECT action secured a victory for Camden Town dustmen last Monday, and proved once again the value of the lightning strike as an industrial weapon.

According to a correspondent, a squad of dustmen from St. Pancras Borough Council's cleansing department returned to their depot at Suffolk Wharf, Jamestown Street, Camden Town, twenty minutes early. The superintendent of the depot ruled that they must forego an hour's pay.

On Monday morning, 200 of the Borough Council's dustmen came out on strike. By 10.30 the officials had capitulated to their demands and the men were back at work. This lightning strike had succeeded in little more than an hour in righting an obviously unjust pay ruling on the part of the management, with a minimum of fuss, where long drawn-out negotiations—most probably ending in failure or inadequate compromise—would have provoked bitterness and bad feeling, the instant solidarity of the lightning strike brilliantly succeeded.

The necessary requirement for this kind of tactics are courage and willingness to act on one's sense of injustice, solidarity, and the readiness to act quickly and firmly.

SEX AND SECURITY

The latest security idiocy has just got out: the Institution of Electrical Engineers is organising a members' visit to Harwell Atomic Energy station. But there is an odd sexual barrier: "Members may bring ladies on the visit, but ladies cannot take part in the tour of the laboratories (unless they are members of the Institution.)"

Surely M.15 knows that the scientifically educated engineers are more likely to lack the "right" kind of loyalty than their bevy of housewives? V.M.

SYNDICALIST NOTEBOOK

N.U.R. Wields Big Stick at Euston

NOWADAYS it goes almost without saying that if a union supports or instigates any direct action it is because union interests—distinct from the interests of its members—are involved.

When only the interests of the dues-payers are concerned, the unions, as we know well, are the first to appeal for a return to work, while the protracted game of negotiations takes the place of direct action. But when it comes to a fight for a closed shop—fighting other workers instead of a boss—then, how militant the officials are!

The National Union of Railwaymen has now provided us with another example. True, this week's dispute at London terminal stations was touched off by the suspension of 21 workers, who refused to handle goods carted to St. Pancras and Whitecross St. goods stations by vanmen who belong to the Mutual Aid Society the Euston workers have formed for themselves. So it looked as if the NUR was defending 21 of its members, but in fact the dispute goes back about four years, when disciplinary action was taken by the NUR against a number of branch officials and members at Euston. As a result they formed a breakaway union known as the Mutual Aid Society. Vanmen who deliver parcels to St. Pancras and Whitecross Street goods stations are members of the society and since the end of last month NUR men at these stations have been refusing to handle the parcels.

An official of the Mutual Aid Society said: "Our organisation is an association of ex-members of the NUR, not formed as a breakaway organisation, but to protect themselves and to negotiate on a local departmental committee level. This would appear to be not a question of attempting to enforce a closed

shop, but an attempt to crush the society."

The NUR executive ordered strike action which affected 15,000 workers, following the Railway Executive's refusal to reinstate the 21 pending negotiations.

It has not yet been officially admitted, but it appears most likely that the order went out to regard the Mutual Aid Society as "black" and the dispute has been deliberately fostered by the NUR to bring the issue to a head.

So we get the intriguing spectacle of a large centralised union disciplining its members, then when those members decide to look after their own affairs rather than be dictated to from Head Office, the union bides its time until it feels it can crush the minority altogether.

What else does the NUR want? About 250 men at Euston belong to the Mutual Aid Society—an association of workers at the point of production. Is the vast NUR threatened by this tiny organisation? Does it want those workers back in its ranks?

The NUR has shown itself to be unsatisfactory for those 250. Although the ideal of 100% unionism, the basis of the closed shop is in itself a good one, when it has to be established by the use of the big stick by a union against workers, there must be something very much wrong with the union.

As we go to press, a complete victory for the NUR is reported. The 21 have been reinstated, and the Railway Executive has now issued notices at Euston that it recognises the NUR are the "appropriate trade

Hiccups

DOCKERS in Leghorn, demanding more pay, have introduced the "hiccups" strike—going to work when they are not expected and then walking out again.

union for conducting all negotiations in regard to rates of pay and conditions of service."

An enquiry into the whole position at Euston is being held.

THE D. C. THOMSON DISPUTE

WHAT a fiasco NATSOPAS's attempt to unionise the victorious anti-union firm of D. C. Thomson has so far turned out to be! It is now about six weeks since the lightning strike held up one edition of the *Glasgow Sunday Post* and we were told of the gathering strength of the boycott of transport workers, paper workers and others who were going to bring the firm to relax its non-union condition of employment.

Unfortunately, one of the most essential factors in the struggle was overlooked—the attitude of D. C. Thomson's workers themselves. For they have simply not supported the union!

NATSOPA has not been able to prove that conditions and wages are worse or below union rates—in fact in most large printing establishments to-day the workers can command higher rates than the unions have fixed for them.

For the rest, as *SYNDICALIST's* correspondent put it—"Here can be seen the might of the T.U. movement—a few blood and thunder speeches, a half-hearted boycott and a fervent prayer by the leaders that Monckton will save them from being completely exposed by the rank and file."

And in such a dispute, lawyer Monckton should feel quite at home, for instead of direct action by the workers, the Battle for Thomson's is being squabbled and nattered over by regiments of lawyers in the High Courts. P.S.

U.S. ARMY STOCKPILES GERM WEAPONS

THE U.S. Army has reached the production and stockpiling stage in development of germ warfare weapons, informed sources said to-day.

It is still the U.S. policy to use such weapons only in retaliation if an enemy should employ them first. The U.S. will not use them otherwise.

Defence-Secretary Lovett apparently had in mind the Army's progress in biological warfare when he recently said that Communist forces in Korea would "wish they had never been born" if they resort to germ weapons.

The exact nature of the germ weapons developed by the Army, as well as present and planned production, are top military secrets, but Maj.-Gen. E. T. Bullene, chief of the Army Chemical Corps, recently told Congress that it was "very urgent" that money be appropriated for production of germ weapons.

"We have been doing research for 10 years and we think it is time to catch up with some hardware (weapon)," he said.

He gave no hint of the type of weapons or germs they would carry.

Other biological warfare experts have said that giant aerosol bombs could be used to spray germ-laden mists over cities or massed troops.

Clouds of disease germs also could be laid down by specially-designed shells fired from ground artillery or warships. Submarines equipped with large "atomizers" could surface close offshore and lay down lethal mists over large areas.

—New York Times (26/5/52)

THE ARTIST AND SOCIETY

Pau Casals defines his attitude to Franco and his supporters

"I do protest in the name of conscience."
THE Artist and Society—well-known theme—has been the subject of several recent broadcasts. The French novelist, Jules Supervielle, in his talk last week spoke of the constant pressure put upon what we call "the artist"—the writer, painter or musician—to take sides in the Cold War and many other issues, and the week before, Thomas Mann, the German novelist and Nobel Prize winner, made some thoughtful remarks about the social and political rôle which has been fathered on to him—optimism, democracy, humanitarianism, belief in humanity, "world citizenship".
 For his was a mind, he said, "little fitted by nature for generous humanitarian gestures. To put it baldly: I have not much faith, nor even much faith in faith. I put more faith in goodness, which can exist without faith and may indeed be the product of doubt."
 Referring to the case of Ezra Pound, he said: "A bold artist and lyric avant-gardist, he embraced fascism, acted as its propagandist during the second world war, and lost out when victory fell to the democratic arms—this victory which seems now such a problematic one to democracy. The poet, condemned and confined as a traitor, received an important literary award, the Bollinger Prize, from a jury of distinguished Anglo-American writers. The award bore witness to the measure of independence from political bias which was evinced by the aesthetic judgment. Or was the political aspect perhaps not so remote as it appeared? I am surely not the only one wishful to know whether the distinguished jury would have awarded the Bollinger Prize to Ezra Pound if he had happened to be a communist instead of a fascist."
 "To-day," Mann continued, "even a remark like the one I have just made is enough to lay the speaker open to the suspicion of being a communist. Such a suspicion would wrong me—or, if you will, do me too much honour. I am badly furnished for impersonating a communist. My writings are full of all the vices abhorred by communism, such as formalism, psychologism, scepticism, decadent trends, what you will, not omitting a sense of humour and a certain weakness for the truth. For love of truth is a weakness, according to any absolutist partisanship. On the other hand, however, I have no intention of taking the shilling of militant anti-communism. It is fascism, and not communism which I, old fashioned as I know I am, keep regarding as the most repulsive offspring of political history. It was the victories of fascism, and its—at bottom—undesired defeat, which drove me further to the left in social philosophy; it was due to them that I have been turned at times into a hedge priest of democracy, a rôle whose comic side I could never ignore, even when I was most passionately longing for Hitler's downfall."
 "The political moralisings of an artist have undeniably something comic about

them. Moreover his propaganda for humanitarian ideals must inevitably bring him rather closer than close to the platitudinous. Such has been my experience."

BUT during the previous week we had heard a recorded interview with an artist whose political moralisings were by no means comic. The cellist and conductor Pau Casals fled from Barcelona in 1938 during the Spanish Civil War. Like many Spaniards, he had thought that an allied victory in the Second World War would mean the end of the Franco régime. (In his view, the English were defending "the very survival of civilisation in the old world".) In 1945, finding that it would not, he retired to the village of Prades on the French side of the Pyrenees and put aside his concert tours, playing only in his village where a music festival was held in his honour last year. Mr. Ronald Hambleton recorded an interview with him, and asked what the connection was between his position as a great musician and his self-imposed isolation. Casals replied that "The two things are quite separate... My music, you see, is a secondary thing in our sad days. It must take second place besides this other human question of my unhappy country... In music I have a gift, that is all; I can put it beside me. But as a man, I must act in the only way I can. The number of things I can do for my country is limited: all I have is my music, and when the time came all I could do was to put it aside as a protest."
 Asked if nothing had happened since 1945 to make him break his silence, he replied:

Far from it. Ever since then, and

even now, there is a campaign to flush up the truth and prevent the people seeing things in their true light. But the facts are the same. A dictatorship is still a dictatorship. In the United States especially, quite false statements are being made about Spain.

HAMBLETON: By some people only, surely not by all.

CASALS: Perhaps not, but their effect is great. They say that the Spanish are indifferent to the régime which is depraving them; that they are too proud to accept outside aid in regaining their liberties. Worst of all, some even say that the Spanish are the only European nation determined to fight in defence of western civilisation. How could they do so without enjoying liberty themselves? Where do these wild statements come from?

HAMBLETON: Surely they can be answered by the Spanish themselves?

CASALS: But how? Everyone knows that the only way to learn the real opinion of a nation is to give it freedom of speech. If our people were given back their freedom of speech, everyone would realise that there are very few supporters of dictatorship.

HAMBLETON: In Spain, or in exile, like yourself?

CASALS: Very few in Spain. In exile, none. But I must say now what I have always said; that I am not a politician. I am not qualified to direct the opinions of others, but I am not prepared to accept injustice. I do protest in the name of conscience.

HAMBLETON: I have been looking for a connection between your life as a musician and your attitude on this question. Perhaps this is it.

CASALS: If I have a philosophy which embraces both, it might be this: that for everyone, particularly in these unhappy times, the important thing is to arrive at an honest decision, and to act upon it

honestly. It would be a breach of duty for me not to speak against the state of affairs in my own country. The Spanish civil war was aggravated by foreign intervention; every honest man must admit that the totalitarian who triumphed, thanks to Hitler and Mussolini, are not the men to restore tolerance in our country.

HAMBLETON: But you are a Catalan. Are not the Catalans almost a nation apart?

CASALS: I love my native Catalonia deeply, but that does not exclude a feeling of brotherhood with the rest of Spain. Our native culture and language cannot develop, because the régime has closed down Catalan educational institutions, and prohibited Catalan newspapers. The United Nations condemn cultural genocide; what does the world think of this persecution of a centuries-old language and culture?

HAMBLETON: But you say that the overwhelming majority in Spain oppose the régime.

CASALS: So they do, but their opposition is thwarted because men, who claim to protect democratic freedom, support the Spanish dictatorship. I cannot think of anything more absurd: to see the western democracies flying to the rescue of a dictatorship by economic aid. They say it is to strengthen the strategic resources of the free world: it only strengthens the dictatorship.

HAMBLETON: But the situation exists now. Many people would say that since events have reached this stage, nothing can change them.

CASALS: That may be so, then so much the worse for all of us. But yet, in spite of everything, I shall continue to protest on moral grounds. The accomplished fact is no excuse for keeping quiet. In this tragic Spanish question, it is not a political régime at stake, but the idea of human dignity itself. I have met with much hardship in taking this stand against indifference and shame, but I have the satisfaction of having done my duty.

Yorkshire Miners

I WOULD like to clear up some of the misconceptions about Yorkshire miners, which seem to be accepted not only in Fleet Street, but also in Red Lion Street.

First, in South Yorkshire, the number of miners who are Communist is so few that it can be discounted. In fact, they are almost all Labour men, so that Don Valley, the constituency in which Bullcroft Colliery lies, is one of the safest seats in the country, as Tom Williams knows very well.

A second point is that not all mineworkers in this coalfield (South Yorkshire) are actually Yorkshiremen. This area was developed much later than other mining areas and after the first World War work was available there when pits in other parts of the country were going on short time or laying men. The result was that Welsh and "Geordies" came down, for work and settled with their families. More recently, Irishmen, Poles and various Eastern European workers have been taken on in South Yorkshire. I have worked along with them and drunk with them. I found them good comrades. During that time I never heard any definite anti-foreign feeling expressed, though there was the occasional fight after an evening's drinking.

The trouble at Bullcroft has done the difference in wages between doing the same job, always a point, and, so I am told by Brodsworth miner, the action of a man in stirring up nationalist feeling and playing on the emotions. Stressing that the Italians came from an ex-enemy country. When the dispute occurred, the union leaders and the N.C.B. were unwilling to force the issue and gave way to these hot-heads.

Bullcroft is a black spot on the English conscience and many miners are aware of it; but let us see the incident in perspective. The comment by P.S. (FREEDOM, 31/5/52) that "the most determined and stubborn action we have seen by any section of the miners since the war has been that against the Italians employed at Bullcroft in Yorkshire" is utter rubbish. No less determined was the recent strike action in support of a foreign worker at Brodsworth, a larger pit only a mile from Bullcroft. You may remember that the miners there were so militant on this issue that reporters and press-photographers on one occasion had their cameras smashed and were chased out of the village. Even more important was the Grimethorpe dispute, when an attempt by the management of that pit to increase the miners' stint (or amount of coal worked by each miner on the coal-face) brought most collieries in South Yorkshire to a standstill.

Yes, Bullcroft is a black spot and will not lightly be forgotten, either here or in Italy. Yet I cannot help thinking of a little miner, very drunk, on a bus near Doncaster, telling me that an Italian lived with him at his house and was the best friend he had, and of an old man who lives next to a house I often visit in South Yorkshire. He used to work as a haulage hand at Bullcroft until some months ago his head was crushed between two full tubs. He's out of the infirmary now and is getting about with a stick and has a patch over one eye. What his attitude to the Italians is I do not know, but this I do know, that human relationships transcend all frontiers and are too valuable to be subordinated to the follies of governments and political scheming. So the industrial workers, often in grim and dangerous jobs, should join hands in international brotherhood to overthrow their true enemies, the capitalists and militarists.

Leeds, June 3. FRANCIS TONKS.

Hunger in the Laboratory

SOME years ago, a certain tannery got a new foreman who marched about proudly, his pockets bulging with bottles of "Indicator".

One morning the puerman had topped up a pickle-dolly with two quarts of sulphuric acid. The foreman happened to walk past looking for something to do, climbed on to the stage, scooped some liquor into his hand and shook into it a few drops of Phenol Thallein. The liquor turned pink. He turned to the puerman and said, triumphantly, "Acid, Jack." Jack replied, "Ay," and walked away.

I was reminded of that (true) story by some headlines in to-day's *Manchester Guardian* (3/6/52):—

"Six Months on Famine Diet.

"Men become selfish, apathetic, and indifferent to patriotism."

The Ergonomics Research Society is concerned with investigations into the way we used our energies. Last year their first publication of results contained a spectacular discovery: that a man can carry two 20 lb. buckets of water easier than one 40 lb. bucket. No doubt all those people who were previously in ignorance—dockers, porters, loaders, warehousemen, and even suburban bank-keeper-gardeners, have profited by this discovery.

The Society's latest report is on a more serious subject. Under the direction of Dr. Ancel Keys of Minnesota (at present a visiting professor at Magdalen) an experiment in starvation has been carried out on 32 healthy young men. While giving a warning against "injurious generalisations", Dr. Keys says he thinks that "the evidence has im-

portant and practical relevance to the problems of work and life of underfed men and communities."

Reduced to a starvation level, the men become weak-willed and remarkably easily-led, they grow apathetic, selfish, and unwilling to talk; and they seemed to develop indifference to such things as patriotism and the ability to discriminate between right and wrong. They showed no loss in mental capacity but appeared unable to overcome the apathy into which they had sunk, and were in effect prisoners—consciously so—of their own wretched condition.

For six months these normal young Americans had been subsisting on a "typical European famine diet consisting mostly of coarse bread, cabbage, and potatoes, providing 1570 calories daily, which included 53 grams of protein. On this diet they lost an average of 36 lbs. each: nearly a quarter of their initial weight."

They lost three-quarters of their fat; yet this accounted only for 40 per cent. of the total loss of weight. It was the "active tissue"—the cell mass of the muscles—that suffered most. Bodily changes were comparable to those observed in similar cases of semi-starvation at Belsen, Dachau, and other German and Japanese prison camps.*

Dr. Keys notes that at their worst the men felt continually weak and cold and the sense of hunger dominated all their thoughts. They were unusually sensitive to loud noises, prone to accidents, inattentive, and given to day-dreaming.

*One might deduce from this that feeding standards in South Korean Prison Camps are very high. There appears to be little evidence of apathy or day-dreaming there!

The Other America

THE little (pop. 1,849) town of Fruita, in a valley of Colorado's Rocky Mountains, had always been an all-white town. Because no Negro had ever lived there, few townspeople even knew of their Jim Crow ordinance forbidding Negroes to remain in town after sundown. Then the Minters came to Fruita.

The Minters were Melvin Minter, a Negro lumber worker from Ansley, La., his wife and ten children (aged 2 to 17), heading for Yakima, Wash., where Minter had a new job waiting. One morning last month, as they approached Fruita in their pickup truck on Highway 6, a car nosed out of a side road. Braking to avoid a collision, the Minter truck skidded and overturned. Margaret, 14, was killed. Mrs. Minter was seriously injured. The other children were cut and bruised.

Fruita responded to the emergency. Townspeople sped to the scene in private cars to carry the Minters to a hospital. Mrs. Wilda Lahue offered them an unoccupied house she owned. "Here's the key," she said. "Use it as long as you wish." Other womenfolk brought furnishings and food to stock the house.

Cecil Schafer gave Minter a job as a labourer with his Schafer Construction Co. While Mrs. Minter was recovering, women took turns caring for the family. Fruita's citizens paid for repairing the Minters' truck, for their hospital bills, and for Margaret's funeral. City Judge I. L. Harris and Police Chief Herb Johnston were pallbearers.

Then someone remembered the town's Jim Crow ordinance. No-one seemed to know who had passed it, or when or why. Snorted Judge Harris: "We just won't enforce the bill. It's unconstitutional." But there it was on the law books. Finally, Mayor Lewis Moore called an emergency meeting of the city council, which voted unanimously to abolish the law.

Last week, with Mrs. Minter home from the hospital but still under the care of Dr. Robert Orr, Judge Harris ripped the old law from the ordinance book. The Minters thought they would stay in Fruita. "I never had such treatment in my life before," said Minter. "Why would a man leave a place like this?"

Time, 12/5/52.

Film Review

THIS IS WHERE WE CAME IN

ONCE upon a time, which is how all propaganda starts—we saw a film about the first Russian five-year plan. The peasants, after pulling ploughs by hand, worked up to a tractor and an enormously polyphiloprogenitive bull was obtained which sired enormous litters of milk-replete cows.

It seems now that Big Brother Stalin (or was it the sinister Goldstein?) was not liberal enough with tractors or bull, for last week at the Scala Theatre, we saw "Cavalier of the Gold Star," where a hero of the Red Army resplendent with fruit salad, drilled those same peasants in the virtues of electrification and canal digging to such a pitch that the Kuban landscape glowed like Piccadilly and a milkier could read a page of an improving book while the cow was electrically milked.

It also seems that the sinister Goldstein must have dropped tree-disease bearing insects or Fascist beavers, for the Commissar assured us that timber was a Russian shortage (Moscow economic experts, please note!)

Which is all very strange, for did we not see a Moscow rebuilding operation in supporting "shorts". True nobody said they were all flats; there were transport offices, a hotel, a university and many of the houses are unashamedly "prefabs".

We also saw how a Moscow Stakhanovite bricklayer works. All he has to do is to lay the mortar and put down the bricks, all the rest is done for him and there are at least three people involved in the job.

The "Cavalier of the Gold Star" was undistinguished as a film. Had it been a Hollywood product and its success values turned into those of the problems of any construction camp managed by a returning G.I., it would have been considered "corny".

As it was, the Anglo-Soviets lapped it up. J.R.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

- English Society in the Early Middle Ages D. M. Stenton 2/6
- One of England's foremost historians tells the story of England in the two and a half centuries after the Norman Conquest, its methods of government, the life of the rich and poor in town and country, its economy and its ecclesiastical affairs.
- The Orgone Energy Accumulator 16/-
- A publication of the Wilhelm Reich Foundation.
- The Freedom of Poetry 2/-
- Derek Stanford
- This book, offered at a reduced price, contains studies on the work of Sidney Keyes, David Gascoyne, Alex Comfort, Lawrence Durrell, Nicholas Moore, Norman Nicholson, Wrey Gardiner, Kathleen Raine, Ruthven Todd and Anne Ridley.
- The Works of Bertrand Russell
- History of Western Philosophy, 21/-
- New Hopes for a Changing World, 5/-
- Authority and the Individual, 6/-
- Unpopular Essays, 8/6
- Human Knowledge, 21/-
- An Inquiry into Meaning & Truth, 15/-
- Practice & Theory of Bolshevism, 7/6
- Analysis of Mind, 12/6
- Conquest of Happiness, 8/6
- Education & Social Order, 8/6
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SYNGMAN RHEE'S BARGAIN COUNTER

THE situation in Korea continues to provide revealing sidelights upon the methods of governments, diplomacy and war. The extraordinary spectacle of armistice negotiations dragging on for a year in a war of two years duration; the very prolonging of the "Korean incident" into a full-scale war shortly to enter into its third year; the business of the prisoners and the selection of those for repatriation. All this in Korea itself. Elsewhere this issue and in many former articles the impact and function of the Korean war on the economy of Western nations, and on Russia and China have been discussed.

Now, on top of all this, there is a crisis over Syngman Rhee's Korean administration. The Korean Government has activities which sort ill with democratic claims before—for example, in the killing and torture of prisoners, reported last year. Syngman Rhee's arbitrary defiance of the Assembly and the arrest of several of its members on the byword charge of a Communist plot have placed the United States in an embarrassing position.

There is something of dream-like sequence in the way this man has defied the great States who produce themselves the saviours and protectors of Korea and the United States: in the way he calmly demands to withdraw the South Korean Army from the front line at the moment when the Communist armies of the north are expected to launch an attack. There is indeed, more than an element of comedy in the way this apparently insignificant figure cocks a snook at the protectors!

One might perhaps think that if the United Nations wished to cut their losses in Korea, this crisis over Syngman Rhee's undemocratic behaviour would provide them with an excuse of some plausibility. But it seems more than likely that Rhee knows well enough the value which the war in Korea represents for the great powers of the west.

Before the war in Korea, as an article on page 1 of this issue points out, 7 to 10 per cent. of America's total business came from spending on defence (that is armaments or re-armaments or preparedness or whatever else it is called). Now armaments contribute one-third of America's total business turnover. Ten per cent. of the population are working on defence, and the trend towards unemployment would be catastrophic were it not for the defence programme.

What is true of America is true in lesser degree of Britain. The Korean war averted a depression two years ago: how it is built into western economy and the depression is once again looming up. Without Korea the rush towards slump would be catastrophic. Can one doubt in such circumstances that the war in Korea will be maintained for some time yet unless some unforeseen happening forces a changed situation on the combatant nations.

The danger is that now that Korea is inadequate to stave off depression, new openings for war will be sought. The drift towards world war may then become a steady and remorseless progress.

These factors are Syngman Rhee's bargaining instruments. With such economic pressures at their backs, how can the United Nations governments pay attention (supposing they ever did) to merely ethical considerations and the demands of justice. It is these unseen, un-commented upon aspects of the world situation and its special focus in Korea which are darkening the picture still further.

Banning Books—Coals to Newcastle—The Doukhobors

CANADIAN politicians are often fond of pointing a mocking hand across the border and declaring self-righteously that, unlike other countries, they don't indulge in political witchhunts. Indeed, it is true that there have been no sensational trials of Communists or other dissenters from orthodox politics during the past year or two, and Canadian opinion—outside Quebec—is undoubtedly a few shades less intolerant than it is in the States.

Still, the Canadian politicians are throwing stones perilously near some of their own windows, for, if the witch-hunts don't go on, the book burnings and bannings do. Nobody quite knows what books actually are banned in Canada, and the list is continually revised. At one time, for instance, it was impossible to get *The Naked and the Dead* for love or money, and then suddenly it began to appear on the bookstalls. But the other day an answer to questions in the Canadian parliament raised some interesting queries on just how and why and on what strange principle the banners actually get to work.

Two of the people whose works are banned in Canada, for instance, are Joe Stalin and Mae West. A copy of *Questions of Leninism* or of *Diamond Lil* found in your baggage as you cross the border will lead to sure trouble.

If the Canadian censors had any idea of books—if they ever read

books, which one doubts—it should have been evident to them that nobody yet has ever become a Communist by reading Stalin. Joe may be the Big Brother of all good Communists, but a man has to be pretty far gone down the party line to get more than boredom out of anything he wrote. As to Mae West, I am sure that, even if some books could corrupt the virtuous—which I personally doubt—hers are not among them.

But perhaps I am merely misjudging the Canadian censor. Perhaps he is just a kind old gentleman who doesn't want us to waste our time reading dull books.

Politicians and capitalists seem to have an incredible number of variations to play on the old theme of sending coals to Newcastle—particularly from places which haven't much coal anyway. Canada is a meat-growing country. It is also a meat-exporting country, sending large quantities of cattle down to the United States every year. And yet the other day, as I was walking around one of the supermarkets in Victoria, I came across some piles of tins of meat, bearing the familiar name of Maconochie. Sure enough, they came from Manchester, England. And there was another pile, beside them, from yet another English firm.

So next time you think your meat

ration is a little small, remember that you've just made a little sacrifice for the export drive, sending meat from England to the poor Canadians who have to export their own meat to the United States—and God only knows where the Americans send their meat!

Once again, for the nth time, a government-sponsored investigation board has produced a report on the Sons of Freedom (radical Doukhobors) which, when one reads between the lines, tells a great deal more about the respectable Canadian mentality than it does about the Doukhobors, and incidentally shows up the past actions of the government in a poor light.

One of the high points, naturally enough, is the question of nude demonstrations, which at the same time fascinate and antagonise the Canadian public. The commission reached the conclusion that the Doukhobors do this merely in order to annoy the respectable—a contention which wears a little thin when one realises that many of the demonstrations have in fact taken place in exclusively Doukhobor villages. The custom of removing garments, in fact, has two purposes. One is a rather obscure religious idea of returning to Adamite innocence and simplicity, coupled with a mystic idea of renunciation. The other is that of a protest against police interference and persecution. I think one can safely challenge the commission to produce a single instance in which Doukhobors took off their clothes to provide gratuitous annoyance to their neighbours.

But the Board also makes one interesting admission which shows up the total illegality of government action towards Doukhobors in recent years. It states that there is no element of "sex" involved in the demonstrations, and thereby points out the technical injustice of the prosecutions for "indecent exposure" in which Doukhobors have regularly been given sentences of three years' imprisonment for nude parades. Thus it is shown that, even within the limits of their own legal system, the Canadian authorities—both Federal and Provincial—have been so impelled by vindictiveness towards a dissentient minority that they have gone beyond the laws they themselves imposed.

Throughout the report one feels

a strain of tacit admission that the Doukhobor sense of persecution is not without justification. And the board does its best to suggest means by which this feeling can be dispelled. But failure to get away from their preconceptions of a legalistic, governmental society makes it impossible for its members to make any but reformist suggestions. They recommend, for instance, that the Doukhobors be given the vote—which no real state-hating Doukhobor will want to use. They suggest that the Doukhobor marriage ceremonies (a mere blessing of the union by the parents) be regarded as legal—as if the Doukhobors cared whether such matters are legal or not. But they completely fail to get away from the law-abiding respectable angle, and recommend that nude parades be still prosecuted—but under the legislation about "unlawful assemblies", just to make it legal. And the true quality of the "reforms" comes out when they suggest the building of a special prison for Doukhobors. Just how far the Sons of Freedom will lose their sense of persecution when they hear that a prison will be dedicated to their exclusive use one can fairly imagine.

There is only one real solution to the so-called "Doukhobor problem". And that is to realise it is no problem at all. It is merely a matter of realising that the Doukhobors want no truck with the state, of giving them land, and leaving them alone. But one cannot expect a government-appointed board to have that much imagination.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

More Arrests in South Africa

THE Natal Indian Congress has decided to hold a series of protest meetings against the arrest of Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, president of the South African Indian Congress, in Johannesburg.

Dr. Dadoo appeared in Johannesburg Magistrates' Court last week charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. He had been arrested after attending and addressing a gathering of non-Europeans in Johannesburg in defiance of an order by Mr. Swart banning him from attending or addressing public meetings.

The secretary of the Transvaal branch of the African National Congress, Mr. David Wilcox Bopape, who also spoke at the meeting and was arrested, also appeared in court to-day. No evidence was called in either case and an adjournment was ordered. Bail was allowed but both men refused to accept it and they were taken to the court cells.

A statement by the Natal Congress to-day said that the arrest of Dr. Dadoo and other non-European leaders under the Suppression of Communism Act "must give the entire country cause for grave alarm". Dr. Dadoo, it continued, was elected head of the Indian people of the country.

"He has committed no crime for which he has been brought before the law courts and tried. He has been gagged

by the arbitrary decision of one single person—the Minister of Justice (Mr. Charles Swart). It is humiliating to all South Africans of all colours and creeds who value the ideals of democracy that it is possible for an individual Minister to issue an autocratic decree of this type under the law of the land."

Poet's Son Refuses "Medical"

James Michael Trevelyn Grieve, aged 19, son of the Scots poet and writer C. M. Grieve (Hugh MacDiarmid) declined to pay a £5 fine imposed on him at Glasgow Sheriff Court when found guilty of failing to submit himself to medical examination under the National Service Act. The alternative to the fine was thirty days' imprisonment. Grieve was taken to the cells.

When Sheriff Frame found him guilty, Grieve said: "All the things I have done have been dictated by my conscience. I still maintain I am not guilty." He added: "I won't pay the fine."

Abortion Law Reform

FOR many years the Abortion Law Reform Association has been struggling to bring the law governing the termination of pregnancies into line with modern opinion. At present offences are still determined by Sections 58 and 59 of the Offences Against the Person Act of 1861. The only real progress made since that date was the judgment in the Bourne case in 1939, where the Court acquitted a highly distinguished gynaecologist of the charge of performing an illegal operation on an adolescent victim of rape; and in so doing established that "the preservation of the patient's life" could be widely interpreted within the law. But this judgment has proved entirely inadequate to deal with a very serious social evil. Reputable doctors who have not the mantle of a pre-eminent Harley Street reputation to protect them, uncertain of the limits of the law and fearful of the professional consequences of misjudging it, are understandably reluctant to take risks. As things are now, every year hundreds of innocent women bleed to death after back-street operations; hundreds more, suffering from septicaemia, are hustled into hospital, just in time to die, by panic-stricken practitioners, whose principal concern is not to have such an embarrassing death on their hands; and thousands of families are visited with tragedy as a result of hopeless pregnancies, which no civilised society should require its women to endure. At last there are signs that the Association's devoted work may bear fruit. A group of M.P.s of both parties are discussing the possibilities of introducing a Private Member's Bill in the next session of

Parliament. Their efforts seem likely to secure a high degree of professional support from both medicine and the law. No doubt they will not again attain the Association's full objective of legalising abortion, subject only to its being performed by a qualified medical practitioner. But it should be possible to find a compromise which would be widely acceptable to public opinion and would give the doctor and patient far more discretion to act in the patient's best interests than exists at present. Even if the new Bill in the end did no more than give statutory authority in unequivocal terms to the implications of the Bourne judgment, it would still be worth supporting."

The above extract appeared in the editorial columns of the *New Statesman and Nation*, and so will have had a wide circulation. It is extremely welcome, for "progressive" journals are very hesitant indeed to discuss the question of abortion, much less openly support the desirability of reform. It will be seen that even the *New Statesman*, almost automatically, meets opposition half-way and says in advance that they will be satisfied with only a small part of the demands of the Abortion Law Reform Association. The need today is for courageous insistence on the need for a humane and decent attitude towards the problem of undesired pregnancy. The progressive intellectuals have not shown much courage in this direction and it is a great pity that the *New Statesman*, having had the courage to take its own stand, should then itself offer loopholes to the weak, the vacillating and the frankly reactionary.

Not very "liberal"

The Liberal International has cancelled its annual congress, which was to have been held in Amsterdam on August 6th, because of Dutch objections to the use of the German language in official speeches.

A statement issued by the President of the Executive Committee, Don Salvador de Madariaga, said that the committee deeply regretted the decision which had been "forced upon it".

Acceptance of the Dutch demand, which was "deplorable by all other delegations", would have made it impossible for several leading German Liberals to attend. The statement stressed that the German delegates had offered to stay away, but it declared that such a conference would be "doomed to frustration without the participation of German Liberals."

Every effort would be made to arrange for some other meeting, smaller than the full conference but larger than the Council, to be held in Europe this summer.—*Reuter*.

Dam(n) Franco

Generalissimo Francisco Franco inaugurated two giant dams on the Turia and Jucar Rivers last month, according to an A.P. report. They cost 150,000,000 pesetas (about £1,500,000), and will generate light and power for homes and factories. One is called the Generalissimo.

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THE END OF FULL EMPLOYMENT?

2-DEPRESSION: What We Must Guard Against

IN discussing, last week, the background of the growing depression in this country, I presented the ways in which the capitalists—the owners and controllers of our economy—would, in my opinion, face up to it.

It must always, however, be borne in mind that in an economic system as irrational as capitalism, it is dangerous to try to prophecy very far in advance. Particularly dangerous when one is partisan, as I frankly admit to being, and is pleased to think of disaster overtaking the capitalist system.

Unfortunately, one cannot be indifferent to the fate of capitalism, because as long as it lasts, the lives and well-being of millions of more or less innocent people are bound up with it. I say "more or less" innocent because even those who suffer most from the system, workers who are pawns in the game, cannot escape a certain amount of responsibility for its continuance. They, after all, allow themselves to be the pawns and are too often content to be used against their own interests in defence of the system which oppresses them.

Although, therefore, one is tempted to welcome difficulties for the capitalists, we should never forget that they will be the last to suffer; workers will be the first. Employers will always condemn workers to unemployment long before they are reduced themselves to selling their cars, pawning their wives' jewellery or mortgaging their houses. By the time bosses are going bankrupt (after making their property over to their wives) plenty of workers are really up against it.

Of course, many revolutionaries argue that the worse the conditions are for the workers, the more likelihood for revolutionary action. I am not entirely convinced. A hungry man wants his belly filled here and now, and if he has hungry kids and a worried wife he will be too ready to support the first person to offer him bread here and now than to embark on what is the longer-term course of conscious revolutionary activity. The man with immediate problems solved and time to think, is more likely to become aware of the deep-rooted problems of capitalism and the proper alternatives than the poor devil who is the most abject sufferer from capitalism but who is concerned solely with ameliorating his position.

It can, in fact, be a very dangerous situation when a sudden worsening of conditions bewilders workers, making them angry and anxious to "do something" or at least have something done for them. Couple that sort of situation with the continual schooling and conditioning to obedience and "follow-your-leader" that every government provides for its subjects, and you have the perfect conditions for totalitarianism—fascist or communist.

Any oppressed and angry people can revolt against a government but only a people imbued with libertarian ideas, knowing what they want and how to get it, can make a social revolution and an anarchist society. It becomes, therefore, all the more essential that anarchists should present their case to the workers on all possible occasions—and that they should know that case themselves.

We should not attempt to hide the fact that we have made mistakes in the past. Indeed we should bring those mistakes out into the open, the better to learn from them. Never again should we make the error that the Russian anarchists made in collaborating with the Bolsheviks or that our Spanish comrades made in collaborating with the government.

Any collaboration with political groups can only weaken our position, while it strengthens theirs. If we allow it, our strength can be used by power-seeking groups, but they can never be used by the anarchists to abolish power. Since our aims and our methods are different from those of anyone else, it follows that there is no common ground for activity and it is most dangerous for us to compromise even though it may appear to offer temporary advantage.

In the struggle that is going to be forced on to the workers, many appeals will be heard for "unity". The Stalinists already have the slogan "Unite to Defeat the Tories", but there are few who will fall for the blandishments of the C.P. It will, however, be equally futile for anarchists to unite with any other groups. All the small working-class parties will tend to lean on each other, seeking the strength which none of them have singly, but experience has shown us how feeble and confused are the resulting policies—and how each constituent party tries to gain advantage for itself from the others.

There will also be attempts to present new political parties to the workers—"revolutionary" parties. Disillusioned

Stalinists, the remnants of the Trotskyist disintegration, impatient labourites, politicians of all descriptions will come forward with "the real Marxism", "a militant leadership", "on to a Workers' State", and all the rest of the clap-trap and jargon of "working-class politics".

Just as dangerous are the religious theoreticians. The Catholics have awakened to the power of the workers and now have their working-class policies, their *Catholic Worker* newspapers (most sinister of all are the "Catholic Anarchists"). Some of the other Christians have their Moral Re-armament organisation which, strangely enough, seems to have a certain success among the dockers.

All these saviours will gain their adherents—but to what end? To keep the workers looking outside of themselves for the solution. While we look to authority—temporal, the State, or divine, God—we are not relying on ourselves. And while we do not rely on ourselves we are easy meat for the leaders.

Anarchists, in not setting out to be leaders, seek to encourage self-confidence and self-reliance among the workers, we try to show them that they are the source of power in society and that if they keep their power to themselves they have no need for leaders or saviours.

But that is the point—to keep their power for themselves. This means conscious reflection of political action and the concentration of strength at the point of production. The crisis which is coming is an economic crisis. It can only be fought by the workers on the economic plane.

OUR Stockport reader, J.R.H., who takes me to task for daring to suggest that small communities do not prove anything one way or another about Anarchism, is as dogmatic as most pacifists—with as little reason.

In the first place, he is confusing the *communism* of Kropotkin and "such Freedom Press pamphleteers as George Woodcock, Herbert Read and John Hewetson" with the *community* idea. I agree with these writers that the social structure of an anarchist society is based upon the local commune, and in point of fact I never either talk or write about "a syndicalist society" since I have always maintained that syndicalism is a means not an end. A means to achieve a free society, and a means to organise and co-ordinate production and distribution in a free society, while all the communal and social needs and functions are reflected through local communes.

I concentrate on syndicalism because I think it is the most effective and likely method of achieving the anarchist society. J.R.H. is perfectly entitled to think differently, but it seems that in order to make his argument he has to misrepresent syndicalism, or at least to pretend that it is a contradiction to speak of anarcho-syndicalism. But I must ask him to quote anything I have written on syndicalism which conflicts with his own principles of self-governing autonomy, "federated regionally for specific purposes."

Anarcho-syndicalists apply these principles to industrial organisation, just as J.R.H. applies them to social living. But

unlike him, we don't think them mutually exclusive.

It is true there have been forms of syndicalism dominated by theories of centralisation. These are not anarcho-syndicalism, and we have always, in our own interests, pointed out the distinction. It is a pity that J.R.H. cannot see the equal distinction between the local commune, built up within the existing population, for the purpose of providing a framework for a future society—constructive and experimental by all means—and the artificial community withdrawn from existing society, consisting of a dozen or so comrades living together in a house, for the purpose of—what?

It is this which, I maintain, solves nothing but the personal problems of the comrades concerned. Which is perfectly all right but won't bring about an anarchist society in general.

But, of course, J.R.H. is a pacifist rather than an anarchist and typically prefers to remain passive rather than struggle towards the achievement of anarchism.

P.S.—I think J.R.H.'s last sentence was marred by a mis-print. It should read "the anarchist approach to the problem of society . . . should be pacifist, constructive and experimental, not violent, cataclysmic and millennial".

THE ROAD TO COMMUNIST POWER

IT is rather an unusual event for a leading Communist to explain in detail the steps by which his party has achieved power. Unusual, partly because the steps to power are so devious and fraught with deception, and partly because few Communist leaders nowadays survive very long in the states they have helped to build up.

Matyas Rákosi, the Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister and effective leader, is an exception. So far he has survived (despite the fact, be it noted, that he is western-trained), and he is cynical enough to publish the steps whereby his party secured power, in the shape of a lecture originally delivered to a party audience and then published in the *Hungarian Social Review*.

This lecture has been summarised by the *Times* (19/5/52), and it is clear that it is intended as a guide to Communist Party leaders, as to tactical lessons.

When the Germans were driven out of Hungary in 1945 the Communist Party, though supported by the Soviet Union and the Red Army, were not immediately able to seize power. To quote the *Times*: "It began, therefore, by organising a wide and heterogeneous coalition which seasoned comrades, faithful but untutored, regarded with astonishment and frequently with antipathy". In this the untutored comrades,

as their leader now tells them, were wrong."

This summary adds (what Mr. Rákosi conveniently omits) that in the Hungarian elections of 1947 the Communist Party only secured 21.6 per cent. of the votes. But Rákosi is completely frank about the disruption of "collaborating" political parties:

"To a simple observer the coalition might have appeared to be led by its numerically strongest member, the Smallholders' Party. In fact the Communists, energetically led and enjoying the Soviet protection which Mr. Rákosi now handsomely acknowledges, were able to seize and hold the initiative. Concessions from the Soviet Union, a popular (if perhaps short-lived) land reform, the reform of the currency, the nationalisation of the banks, were so stage-managed that the credit went to the Communists, who began to acquire a degree of popular backing.

The modest performance of the Communists in free elections—17 per cent. in 1945, 21.6 per cent. in 1947—makes it clearer than Mr. Rákosi would admit that the winning of popular support in an equal competition with other parties played a subordinate part in their eventual victory. The competition was necessary; upon this Mr. Rákosi sensibly insists, and foreign observers would be

deceiving themselves if they overlooked the Communist emphasis upon mastery of the demagogic arts. To a large extent, however, the decisive art was employed in dividing, disrupting, and discrediting the other parties in the Government coalition. As early as the land reform in the spring of 1945, Mr. Rákosi claims, his party used these tactics of division:

"Whenever it was possible we started by putting forward modest claims, thus preventing the enemy from joining and mobilising forces against us. Then we increased demands and used, whenever possible, temporary forms. For instance, first we demanded only Government control over the banks, later we demanded the nationalisation of the three largest banks.

"The truth is that the democratic State run by a progressive coalition was itself a 'temporary form', and the process by which first the Smallholders' Party and then the Social Democratic Party were first invited to collaborate, then confused, divided, and brought into discredit, and in the end suppressed when they had lost the strength to resist further, is a matter of history, now expounded with great lucidity by its principal engineer. Mr. Rákosi describes one stage in it as 'salami tactics', by which slices of the Smallholders' Party were cut away and its strength worn down, even while the Smallholders' leader was Prime Minister and Mr. Rákosi his deputy. The first great demagogic stroke, the redistribution of land into small family holdings, was a 'temporary form', for Mr. Rákosi relates how in 1948, having won the working people over, his party 'could raise the question of collective large-scale farming. Within four years the régime which set out on the road to power by distributing the land had gone so far along the road that it could safely broach the subject of bringing the land back into 'collective' hands. By that time the rivals for power had been removed and 'the People's Democracy, as a variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat,' established."

This procedure is thus seen as part of a general plan. To argue about the merits of particular steps in the progress, as liberal apologists for Communists (as well as the official party hacks) have so often done is simply irrelevant and confusing.

FREEDOM has consistently represented the policies of any given Communist Party as being comprehensible only with reference to the needs of Russian foreign policy. And just this succession of tactics which Rákosi now cynically admits to, was described in articles by Marie Louise Berneri in FREEDOM in November, 1947, and in March, 1948, on the same process in Czechoslovakia.

These articles are reprinted in *Neither East nor West* and amply repay study. It is all very well for the *Times* to remark of Rákosi's lecture that "there could be no clearer warning than this cynical confession to the countries that still keep their freedom," but the warning comes five to seven years too late. If a paper like FREEDOM can correctly examine the trend of political events, how much more easily is this possible to the daily press with the wealth and information at their disposal. Unfortunately, they are always more concerned with interpreting events to suit their own political policies, than they are with the cause of freedom and the release of peoples from oppression.

THIS SHOULD INTEREST YOU!

DURING the past fortnight, a number of Renewal Notices have been sent to FREEDOM subscribers, and already many have given this (to us, and to them, if they value the paper) important matter their immediate attention. The principal source of income for FREEDOM is from our postal subscribers, and one can almost say that the continued publication of the paper depends on the response we receive to these reminders which we send out every two or three months. Naturally, we expect a certain "wastage"—all periodicals do—but we always hope that it will be more than compensated by new subscribers. This year, however, the number of new subscribers has not been as large as last year, and we therefore appeal to our comrades and sympathetic readers to do all they can to introduce FREEDOM to their friends.

The "economic crisis" not only affects industry but publishing as well, and Freedom Press and our bookshop are not exempt from the effects of our shrinking purses. Add to this the press boycott of our publications, and the need for increased efforts on the part of all who are interested that our work should continue and expand, becomes obvious.

OUR two latest publications, *Mankind is One* and *Neither East nor West* have been "travelled" to booksellers in London and have met with a monotonous refusal. We are not surprised by this reaction nor by the fact that so far only two reviews to our knowledge have been published of *Mankind is One*.

The first review appeared in our contemporary the *Socialist Leader*, which describes it as "a most pleasant and stimulating book to dip through and remind oneself of the year's events and FREEDOM's comments on them. A selective year book reminding one of some of the critical views of the past twelve months' events is a useful addition to one's bookshelf." The other appeared in the *American weekly, Manas*, which writes of it: "The reader of this book will make an important discovery—that the anarchists are thinking the thoughts which all men ought to be thinking, in these perilous times. The anarchists are not afraid to call attention to what we are losing, have already lost, in terms of freedom, in terms of love and respect for other people, in terms of the elemental decencies of life—the decencies we so easily forget when it becomes time to plunge the world into fratricide for the sake of . . . all those things we say we go to war for."

It is not surprising therefore that the national press and general public will deliberately ignore such volumes as *Mankind is One* and *Neither East nor West*. But it is incumbent on our friends to make sure that these books are known among their circle of acquaintances; to ask for it in their local public libraries, where it will then be available to all those people who are curious to learn something about non-conformist ideas in a world rapidly losing all sense of independence in its thinking. This is a task which makes no calls on their pockets nor even on their time. And if you can afford to have copies of these books on your bookshelves, remember that for FREEDOM readers they are available at reduced prices: 5/- for the paper editions and 7/6 for the cloth edition of *Neither East nor West*.

London Anarchist Group SUMMER SCHOOL, 1952

THIS year's Summer School has been arranged for the August Bank Holiday weekend—August 2, 3, 4 (Sat., Sun., Mon.)

Comrades from the provinces who will require sleeping accommodation are requested to apply as soon as possible.

Full details will be available from: The Summer School Committee (L.A.G.), c/o Freedom Press, 27 Red Lion Street, W.C.1.

THE COMMUNITY IDEA

COMFORTING THOUGHT

It was on the terrace of the House of Commons, when Lloyd George and Bonar Law were entertaining Clement Lloyd George was praising Mr. Gladstone. "He was a splendid man," declared Lloyd George, "the Liberal was a public nuisance," said Bonar Law the Tory. Lloyd George flushed with anger. "Gladstone was a great man," said Bonar Law. "Clemenceau put an arm around Lloyd George's shoulder and in a comforting voice he declared, 'All great men are great frauds.'"

—LORD BEAVERBROOK, in a broadcast.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENT

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Every Sunday at 3.30 p.m.
MANETTE STREET
(by Foyle's, Charing Cross Road)
Every Saturday at 6.0 p.m.

INDOOR MEETINGS

at the
CLASSIC RESTAURANT,
Baker Street, W.1
(near Classic Cinema)
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

JUNE 15—R. E. Murray Edgill on
THE GREEK REVOLUTION
IN 1944

JUNE 22—Tony Gibson on
ANARCHIST SOLUTION TO THE
WORLD CRISIS

NORTH-EAST LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

IN EAST HAM
Alternate Wednesdays
at 7.30

WEST LONDON

Enquiries to—
C. Brasnett, 79 Warwick Ave., W.9

LIVERPOOL

DISCUSSION MEETINGS at
101 Upper Parliament Street,
Liverpool, 8
Every Sunday at 8 p.m.

GLASGOW

OUTDOOR MEETINGS
at
MAXWELL STREET
Every Sunday at 7 p.m.

With John Goffney, Frank Leech,
Jane Strachan, Eddie Shaw,
Frank Carlin

LEEDS

Anyone interested in forming a group
in Leeds, please contact Freedom Press
in first instance.

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