

Looking Deeper into the Causes of POLICE VIOLENCE

THE Devlin Report on the Nyasaland "Emergency",* the Podola black-eye, the beating up of a Jamaican by police in this country these, and a number of not so recent examples of violence and perjury by the British police, here and in territories under British rule, have undoubtedly come as a shock to a public which unthinkingly and smugly repeated to itself the foreign visitors' summing-up of our police, that they are "wonderful". In a tourist-minded age all policemen are wonderful to tourists. After all, don't the well-armed French and Italian police salute and smile at the tourist enquiring as to the whereabouts of the Eiffel Tower or the Colosseum. Why, at one of our London cinemas even the Commissioner is dressed-up as a French "bobby", so fond are we of all that reminds us of Gay Paree! But whereas most tourists to our shores love to be photographed with a British bobby, but have no illusions about their naive products, the British do the same as all tourists when abroad but also have (until recently, at any rate) illusions about their own police!

orders; they are trained to believe in force—how else indeed can a minority impose its will on a majority or protect itself from angry demonstrators outnumbering it by a hundred to one?

THE *New Statesman* suggests in the paragraph we have quoted above that if police violence, shootings and torture in the colonies are allowed to take place without check by the metropolitan authority then eventually by contagion, similar violence will occur on our own doorsteps, and instances the case of France and Algeria. This is only partly true. In the first place one must distinguish between criminal and political violence. The myth of our "wonderful" British policemen has arisen because of our tradition of political stability (or apathy—according to the way you view the situation). The traditional brutality of most continental police forces is the direct result of the much more

marked class and political antagonisms of everyday life in these countries compared with Britain. To suggest as does the *New Statesman* that police violence in France is the result of torture and terror in Algeria by the police and the commandos, is to overlook one devastating fact: that in France the police have always been a law unto themselves, and that it is only in recent years that some publicity has been given to cases in which Frenchmen in France, not Algeria, have died as a result of the beatings they have received at the hands of the police. The *passage à tabac*, the thrashings with truncheons (the same truncheons these same policemen use to urge on the traffic along the Paris boulevards) are an old French police custom, an accepted "professional" risk taken by all French militant workers and revolutionists fifty years ago, long before Algeria, Madagascar and Indo-China boiled over. Everybody knew about it but apparently "nothing could be done to

Continued on p. 3

Confusion at Geneva, or 'Diplomacy' at Work?

THE Four Foreign Ministers have re-assembled at Geneva after a three week recess. At the end of the last session Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said that: (FREEDOM, July 4th)

"The time has come for East and West to pause and consider not only what each had really been saying—but, even more important, what they had been meaning".

Even after a fairly careful reading of the reports from Geneva one has to conclude that whatever else was done in the three week's pause, East and West are no nearer to an understanding of what "each had been meaning". If they are nearer to an understanding of meaning they are, if possible, further away from agreement.

The best summing up of the *tragi-comédie* which we have read comes from James Cameron in the *News Chronicle* who writes:

"The Western Powers are agreed that they are agreeable to discuss proposals for a method of discussion, the Western position being a lowest common denominator modification of the position previously held before proposals contained in the Bonn memorandum modified it in the light of subsequent concessions

It is understood that a semi-permanent conference should discuss the formation of a conference with special reference to the problems of—something, I forget what for the moment.

What is clear is that the Western Powers have reached accord at last, so the whole shenanigan is all over bar the shouting: all they have to do is convince Mr. Gromyko."

The problem referred to is "the question of machinery for continuing" discussions on Germany which:

"As a result of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's dinner for Herr von Brentano on Friday, and the meeting of the four Western Ministers yesterday morning, differences among the Western delegations on this question have been ironed out.

But it is clear that the common Western position which has now been reached is the lowest common denominator of Western views. It is a position which the three Western Ministers will outline to Mr. Gromyko over lunch tomorrow, and then develop for the record in the plenary session to-morrow afternoon. It is a position which Mr. Gromyko will almost certainly reject out of hand."

It may seem silly to put forward proposals which are almost certainly going to be rejected, but only to those who cannot understand the necessary complications involved in diplomatic negotiations!

Some indication of the complexities can be read in the headlines which vary from day to day. For instance, on July 21st we read: "Gloom over Geneva", "Talks may end soon", "Soviet 'wrecking' at Geneva", "Mr. Eisenhower fears the worst". A day later: "Summit hopes rise as Mr. Nixon flies off", "Hopes of Berlin agreement" "We

Continued on p. 4

Kerala COMMUNISTS ON THE WAY OUT

THE struggle against the Communists in the Indian State of Kerala seems to be coming to a head. As we showed in FREEDOM of June 27, the organised resistance began as a conscious decision by political groups which had been defeated, through their own divisions, at the election of two years ago.

Since the campaign began, however, the behaviour of the Communist Government and its police force has caused so much resentment that resistance to it has gained much popular support. Even outside Kerala, in the rest of India, where the democratic press was lukewarm about the campaign (not wishing to give support to methods of direct action) public opinion is building up against the Kerala Government.

The position now is that the central Government has been sending in troops for the maintenance of order (without any success) and this is taken to be the prelude to direct Presidential intervention and the promulgation of Presidential rule—i.e., the taking over of government by the Governor on behalf of the President.

In Kerala the campaign has continued unabated and has resulted in some amazing scenes. A deputation of lawyers has asked the Governor to use his good offices with the Government of India in view of the "complete breakdown of law and order in the state". The lawyers' memorandum includes eye-witness description of the eruption of the police into the chambers of the High Court and their beating of clients, throwing of stones at peaceful pickets, and their use of brute force against women.

Many reports have appeared of police firing on demonstrators, wounding students and injuring more during baton charges. In other words the behaviour of the police in this Indian Communist state is the same as in any other, when faced with public demonstrations.

In the main these demonstrations have been peaceful, consisting of unarmed picketing of schools, government buildings and transport, but crowds have been provoked to violence by the actions of the police. For instance in Kottayam, students were attempting to stop the buses, but a police van driving ahead of the buses drove straight through the crowd. This enraged the demon-

strators, who stoned the police who then opened fire, wounding at least two students.

Outside Kerala, too, the behaviour of Communists has turned public opinion against them. In the *Manchester Guardian* for July 28, Taya Zinkin reports from Bombay that

"Kerala Day" was marked there by two large meetings, in spite of pouring rain. The report continues:

"The conduct of the Communists at these meetings will go a long way towards hardening Indian opinion, which has been leaning backwards to be fair to the Communists. At both meetings Communist demonstrators attacked the audience with stones: in all twelve people were injured and one person was stabbed; moreover, the Communists raided the Congress party office, breaking its windows."

And Taya Zinkin concludes:

"It looks as if the wait-and-see tactics adopted by Mr. Nehru are beginning to pay. He gave the Communists a very long rope and they are hanging themselves. For the past month news from Kerala has filled the Indian papers, photographs of police high-handedness and shootings are having an effect, as can be seen from trends in cartoons. If the Central Government steps in there will be many fewer people to say a non-Congress Ministry is being victimised."

Meanwhile plans are being laid for a national march on Kerala.

On August 9, a day chosen in memory of Gandhi's "Quit India" movement, volunteers from all over the state will start a "Quit-Kerala" march on Trivandrum (the capital), which they will reach on August 15. On that day, the anniversary of the day the British left India, the demonstrators will try peacefully to occupy the secretariat in Kerala, but on their record so far, the Communist government will have no hesitation in using as much violence as the British did in their day to protect their centre of power.

It seems unlikely, however, that things will get as far as that. Having sat back long enough to have allowed the campaign to have reached nation-wide proportions and the Communists to have demonstrated their readiness to resort to violence, Nehru can now step in and take over. And, with the example of Tibet just over the border, the cause of Communism in India will have taken a blow from which it may never recover.

IS it only recently that the police in this country have been acquiring the habit of beating up unpopular prisoners and suspects, of increasingly obtaining evidence by illegal methods as well as of "manufacturing" it to secure convictions? The *New Statesman* in its editorial last week (*The Contagion of Violence*) puts forward such a view and attempts to explain it by relating its incidence in this country to the much more serious police violence in the colonies (Cyprus, Kenya and Nyasaland).

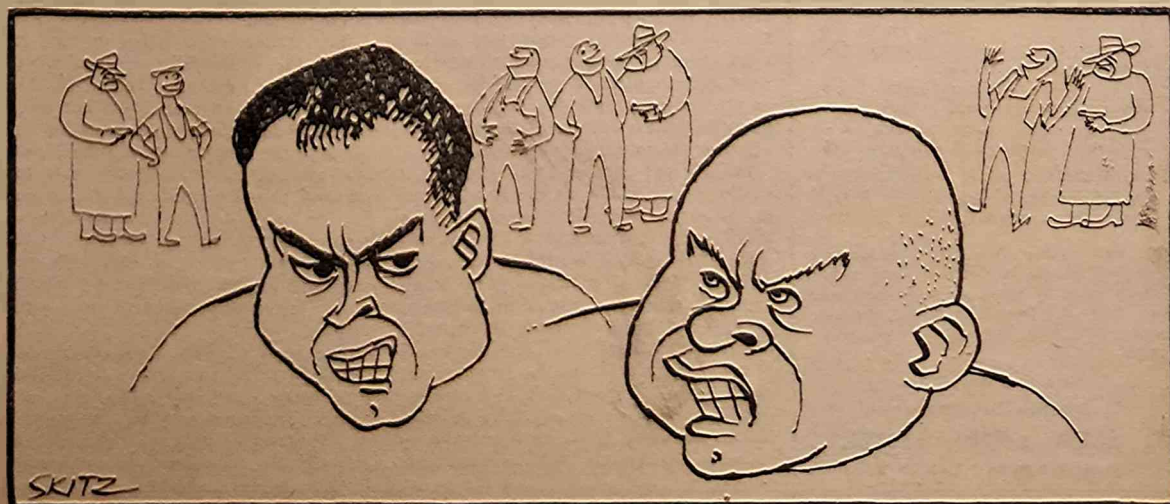
Some of our present policemen formerly served in Palestine and other trouble spots; some were paratroopers and commandos. Inspector Vibart, who is one of the officers engaged in the Podola case, was sent to Cyprus to advise the security forces on British police methods.

And in the opinion of the *Statesman*.

the House of Commons has begun to realise that if brutality is permitted in the case of Africans, the contagion will inevitably spread to this country. This process has already happened in France, where steps are taken to harass the few newspapers and individuals who have the courage to protest against the officially admitted and regular use of torture.

This, to our minds, is a typical example of the kind of muddled thinking one can expect from these politicians in socialist's clothing. Policemen are policemen the world over; when they deal with tourists they are all smiles as they reach for the street guides in their breast pocket; when they deal with demonstrators they are snarling beasts wielding truncheons and often much more lethal weapons. The former is the same person as the latter; Himmler was fond of children, but he also had the "wrong" kind of children destroyed in the gas chambers. Policemen are trained to obey

*A most interesting document which we shall discuss next week, in conjunction with last Tuesday's Commons debate which took place after we had gone to press.



Both: "... and what about the Negroes in the salt mines?"

Workers' Councils in E. Germany and Hungary

THE discussion on the Yugoslav 'Workers' Councils' in FREEDOM (18/7/59) leaves one wondering about their future evolution. They are dominated by the party, but they are popular; they cannot really be claimed to amount to 'workers' control', but there are plenty of people in Yugoslavia who would like to push them that way; they are, since Yugoslavia is still a Communist dictatorship, at the mercy of a 'switch' in the Party Line, but such a switch becomes increasingly difficult to make. Reporting the Congress of Workers' Councils held in Belgrade two years ago, Royden Harrison (*New Reasoner*, Autumn 1957) observed that

"At their congress the workers made it plain that they wanted no return to earlier methods and delegate after delegate demanded greater autonomy for the Councils and a reduction in their liabilities to the central and local authorities. It is a much more difficult matter to determine how far the workers' councils are instruments of democratic control."

And Anthony Crosland, summarising the discussion at the 'international seminar' of Workers' Participation in Management held in Vienna last September, concluded that

"The results in practice of the Yugoslav experiment cannot be finally assessed, for we still lack sufficient evidence. On the credit side, the Workers' Councils appear definitely to increase the influence of the rank-and-file workers on day-to-day personnel questions inside the plant. They are, moreover, popular for other reasons. They symbolise the split with Russian Communism. Indeed, this was a main motive behind their inception. They were not spontaneously generated from below, by the mass action of the workers, but deliberately introduced 'from above' as an ideological weapon in the struggle against Stalinism. This does not, however, make them any less popular. This is especially so inasmuch as they both reflect and contribute to the general process of political and economic liberalisation of the last few years: the (somewhat) greater freedom of expression, the relaxation of austerity, and the decentralisation of economic life... Nevertheless, one may

doubt whether they represent any real measure of workers' control...."

The interesting thing about Yugoslav economic policy is how faithfully in theory, it mirrors the programme of the underground opposition in Russia, both in the early days of the revolution and today. Back in the early nineteenth-century, the 'Workers' Opposition' of Shlyapnikov and the so-called 'Young Syndicalists' in the *Komsomol* agitated

"against the progressive centralisation of the economy and the apparatus of Government and against the appointment by the State of directors to control nationalised enterprises; they demanded autonomy for the workers. The control of nationalised enterprises on this plan was to be exercised by elected councils of workers, their activity being co-ordinated at a higher level by elected councils of producers." (This description is taken from Wolfgang Leonhard's *Child of the Revolution* whose author was groomed for years in Party academies in Russia for his eventual role in the East German puppet government, and subsequently fled to Yugoslavia where, in his opinion, these policies were being realised. Today, after an ideological evolution from 100% Stalinism, like that of Djilas and Dedijer, his position is that of "democratic libertarian socialism"). For the disillusioned Party members of Stalin's empire the forbidden fruit of the Titoist heresy had enormous attraction (just as, for that matter, it had for fellow-travellers in the West, who shifted their 'transferred patriotism' from Russia to Yugoslavia). The influence of the theory of the Yugoslav Communists has been traced in Poland, Hungary and West Germany, but the reality of the events of 1956 brought the spectacle of Tito's hostility to Titoist tendencies abroad. As Djilas has observed, "Yugoslavia supported this discontent as long as it was conducted by the Communist leaders but turned against it—as in Hungary—as soon as it went further."

Echoes of the East German Rising

The first great internal challenge to Soviet autocracy since the Kronstadt Revolt of 1921 was the East German rising of June 17th, 1953, which began as a strike of building workers against the introduction of higher 'norms' and in three days had undergone "a rapid and irresistible transformation into a revolutionary uprising of the broadest political significance". Crushed by Russian intervention, the uprising had nevertheless a profound effect in the east. "June 17," writes Joseph Schlomer in his book *Vorkuta*, "had exactly the same sort of response among the proletariat of the Soviet Union which the Soviet Union is always trying to produce among the proletariat of the West," and he goes on, in describing the great strikes of 1953 in the Soviet labour camps, to say that, "Before June 17 the possibility of a mass strike had not been considered by the prisoners, nor had the leaders of the resistance groups laid any plans for one. All their preparations were for the eventuality of war. June 17 revolutionised the situation. The prisoners sud-

denly saw that there was something they could do."

In the following years the young philosophers of German Marxism, particularly Wolfgang Harich who was influenced by George Lukacs and by other members of the 'Petofi Circle' in Hungary, developed an economic programme which was published as a leaflet on the day of Harich's arrest (followed by a ten year prison sentence) after the Hungarian Revolution. The leaflet's demands (*New Leader*, U.S.A., 1/4/57) were that:

"Production must be redirected toward raising the standard of living of the masses of the people; the speedup system completely done away with; profit-sharing introduced in socialist factories and socialist trade; old-age pensions legally enacted for workers just as for the intelligentsia; bonuses for top functionaries abolished; workers' councils introduced in the factories on the Yugoslav model; small private businesses promoted and given equal status with nationalised industry; forced collectivisation ended; agricultural producers' co-operatives dissolved in order to avert economic catastrophe; a sound small and medium peasantry developed."

Ulbricht's Workers' Committees

In December 1956, the Deputy Prime Minister Ulbricht met representatives of 870 East German industrial firms and told them that they could proceed with the organisation of "workers' committees" in the factories and that the Socialist Unity party would consider their recommendations for the powers which these committees should exercise. They were told that they would now have a real chance of voicing their opinions in face of functionaries who might have got out of touch with their problems. As organs of self-administration, the committees would have the additional objectives of stimulating industrial production and preventing the infiltration of 'counter-revolutionary elements'. Nothing that we have since learned of these committees contradicts

the *Manchester Guardian's* conclusion (11/12/56) that

"Herr Ulbricht made it quite clear that he will not allow these Workers' Committees to assume the same powers as in Poland and Yugoslavia. Their duties are to be restricted to internal matters in their firms such as the division of duties and the splitting up of bonus payments. It is obviously Herr Ulbricht's purpose to make some sort of concessions to the East German workers which seem superficially important but which, in fact, have little real substance. Even so, he may in time regret the institution of these workers' committees. It has been easy enough to 'stage' the preparatory conference. It will be possible to insert loyal Socialist Unity Party members into the new committees in order to steer them, but it will not be possible to pack them with convinced Communists. There are not enough of them to go round."

The classical Communist tactics which Bukharin at the time of the N.E.P. in Russia described as "making economic concessions in order to avoid making political concessions" has been applied in East Germany. Recent visitors report a great improvement in the supply of consumer goods, but that "the State and the Party are interfering more and more in personal life, the 'social' demands made on the individual are greater—for as the economic position of its citizens improves, the total State is making its totalitarian claims more emphatic" (F. R. Allemann, *Encounter*, June 59). Mr. Allemann also says that

"Employees in 'People's Factories' whom I have been meeting for years on my brief excursions into the zone, and whose fair and unemotional judgment I have come to value, assured me that in the last year there has been a striking increase in espionage by the *Staatssicherheit* (SSD); more and more frequently, workers, housewives, pensioners have been arrested and brought before the courts for 'critical remarks', they are to serve the rest of the population as examples of the risks of expressing discontent."

And on the prospect of another rising he observes that people rebel when they

think that rebellion makes sense, and that the majority of people in East Germany appear to have lost this belief.

"They came out onto the streets when they felt that the oppressor had become weak and unsure of himself. Today he seems to them stronger than ever. The Leipzig worker who with growing eyes spoke to me about the demonstrations of June 17th, 1953—to my astonishment he himself brought the conversation round to this subject—looked at me uncomprehendingly when I asked him, 'Could there be another 17th June?' I shall not easily forget the tone in which he replied, 'But we're not that stupid!'"

The Hungarian Revolution

In the Hungarian revolution of 1956 the role of the Workers' Councils is well known. Francois Fejto interprets them as aiming seriously at the theoretical role of the Yugoslav workers' councils.

"Did not the idea of workers' councils reach the proletariat by means of intellectuals who had taken notice of a Yugoslavian experiment which, incidentally, they had not always rightly understood?" (*U. & L. Review*, Winter 50) and he goes on to say that

"The Hungarian revolution was characterised by clearly anti-state and anarcho-syndicalist tendencies; it set up various nuclei of power (revolutionary committees, workers' councils, etc.) as a substitute to the failing power of the State...."

"Another workers' aspiration concerning the active participation in the management of enterprises. The workers' councils formed during the insurrection not only substituted themselves for the crumbled unions as representative of the workers' interests; they also claimed the right to name and to revoke the directors and to fulfil the functions of an administrative council."

Andrew Revai, writing in *The Listener* (10/1/57) of the period, from October 23 to 29, observed that the Hungarian revolution

"repudiated the total authority of both state and party, replacing it by local governing bodies in every factory, mun-

Continued on p. 4

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP OPEN DAILY

(Open 10 a.m.—6.30 p.m., 5 p.m. Sat.)

New Books . . .

The Russian People
(Ed.) V. T. Bill 30/-
The American Science of Politics
B. Crick 28/-
Plato Today R. H. S. Crossman 20/-
An Unhurried View of Erotica
R. Ginzburg 30/-
The Sociological Imagination
C. Wright Mills 36/-
Let No Man Write My Epitaph
Willard Motley 18/-

Reprints and

Cheap Editions . . .

Living Thoughts of Confucius
(ed.) A. Doblin 4/-
Living Thoughts of Macchiavelli
(ed.) C. Sforza 4/-
Five Plays Maxim Gorki 7/6
Literary Portraits Maxim Gorki 4/-
Selected Short Stories
Maxim Gorki 6/-

The London Years Rudolf Rocker 15/-

Second-Hand . . .

Alexanderplatz Alfred Doblin 5/6
The Pattern of Soviet Domination
Stanislaw Mikolajczak 8/-
The First Easter Dawn
C. T. Gorham 5/6
The Grapes of Wrath
John Steinbeck 5/-

The Natural Order

Blunden, Massingham, &c. 3/-
Russia and the Struggle for Peace
(1918) Michael S. Farbman 7/6
The Dance of Life Havelock Ellis 3/6
Abide with Me Cedric Belfrage 3/6
All in a Maze

(Ed.) Daniel George and

Erno Macaulay 3/-

The Post-War History of the

British Working-Class (1937)

Allen Hutt 3/6

Insurrection Liam O'Flaherty 4/-

The Valley of the Moon

Jack London 4/6

The League Experiment (1939)

E. E. Reynolds 2/-

Blackout in Grotley J. B. Priestley 2/6

Periodicals . . .

The Humanist, August 1/-

University Libertarian, No. 9 1/-

We can supply ANY book required, including text-books. Please supply publisher's name if possible, but if not, we can find it. Scarce and out-of-print books searched for—and frequently found!

Postage free on all items

Obtainable from

27, RED LION STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1

Collective Bargaining

The End of a Fairy Tale

ONCE upon a time, about a hundred years ago (or so we are told) there existed a class of men whom we shall epitomise in the name of Jasper Graball. Jasper's twin pleasures in life were the accumulation of wealth by means of his factories, and the grinding of the faces of the poor. Naturally enough the poor became tired of having their faces ground and, organising themselves in trade unions, succeeded, by means of bitter struggles, in extorting from him higher wages and better conditions of work.

Time passed. Jasper, beset by the difficulties of competition with his fellows, sought more capital by becoming a limited company with shareholders and a board of directors whose interest in the firm was no less strong than his own. The trade unions also became organised

and accumulated healthy strike funds which put more power into their hearts. They also gained legal recognition.

The struggle between the two antagonists became less personal, and the legend of a collective bargaining was born. The phrase conjures up a picture something like that of an Arab market. On the one side were the representatives of the Company swearing that they were not going to give away a penny; on the other, the representatives of the Union, whose demands, judged even by their own standards, were excessive. After some preliminary sparring, the two sides settled down to negotiate and eventually reached a compromise.

The Legend

This compromise is essential to the vitality of the legend. On the basis of it the Company's representatives can go back to their shareholders and report, with justifiable pride, that, while they have given something, they have successfully resisted the full demands of the men. Conversely, the Union representatives can claim that, while their full demands have not been met, they have, backed up by the stern resolution of their members, wrung some concessions from the tight-listed company. The smallest shareholder, the humblest trade union member, can feel a glow of pride in the fact that, merely by being, he has helped in the struggle.

But time does not stand still. Jasper Graball & Co. Ltd., late Jasper Graball, manufacturer, has now become the Graball Corporation, sometimes nationalised, sometimes not. With its shares spread widely among a mass of shareholders who regard it in the same light as a savings bank, and a board of directors, the majority of whom adorn the boards of other corporations, it has become an amorphous entity which has no real existence except in law. You will look in vain for someone with real authority. All, from the highest to the lowest are servants of the Corporation. In such a situation the man with the figures is king. The accountant makes up his books, decides what can be afforded in the way of wage increases, and from the logic of his arithmetic there can be no appeal.

The situation extends beyond industry, nationalised or not, to the public services. Look at the recent happenings in the

teachers' salary negotiations. Here, on the authorities' side we had the redoubtable Dr. Alexander, who, in the best Joseph Graball style, said that the teachers had had all they were going to get, and that if they wanted more money they should go out and earn it in the spare time which they had from teaching. For the teachers, the gentle Sir Ronald Gould pointed out that teaching was a calling of the highest nature, whose acolytes would suffer severe spiritual damage if they were to be constantly troubled by such base matters as a shortage of money in their pockets. Then the committee got down to the business of negotiation.

Geoffrey Lloyd Steps In

At this juncture the demon king, in the person of the Minister of Education arrived and brought a distant whiff of brimstone into the proceedings by roundly declaring the sum of money which he was prepared to authorise. Momentarily Dr. Alexander and Sir Ronald found themselves ranged on the same side—for both recognised a threat: the good doctor to his right to give and the gentle knight to his right to ask. For once the illusion was dispelled. Instead of a give-and-take there was to be a mere discussion on how to share out the money that the Minister was prepared to authorise.

It may be objected that, since education is in some sense a government concern, the argument is not necessarily valid for other situations. Ask the miners, who have long had doubts. Ask the railmen, whose doubts have been fully confirmed. Beyond the nationalised industries, ask any trade union negotiator who has had to argue against the 'experts'. Above all, ask the Foreign Ministers at the Geneva conference who, meeting to do a little collective bargaining among themselves, find that they are bound by the rigidity of their 'experts'.

Business and government nowadays are so intertwined as to be almost indistinguishable. The same methods, the same ethos, prevade both. After all, is not government merely a more polite form of the brutal business term 'management'? Collective bargaining is a mere legacy, useful as an illusion to make the task of those who rule easier. We should therefore be grateful to Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd for his help in dispelling this illusion.

Telly Review HUNGARY

SHADOW OF HEROES by Robert Ardrey is a play which, until recently, was running at the Piccadilly Theatre; on July 19, it was given a television production by the B.B.C. It is a fascinating account of the political history of Hungary from 1944 to 1956, with the leading politicians of the day as the main characters. In such dramatisations of the history of the recent past the author must, if his play is to be effective, select what he considers to be the important events; and by selecting he inevitably imposes, even if only to a limited degree, his own interpretation on them.

Mr. Ardrey chooses Janos Kadar and Laszlo Rajk's widow as the focal points of his documentary; it is largely through their lives that he interprets the troubled story of Hungary. We follow the career of Kadar from a dedicated Party member and leader (as second in command to Rajk) of the Resistance; through his betrayal of Rajk (a tape recording exists of his conversation with his former commander which tricked Rajk into confessing his guilt); the uneasy alliance with Rakosi and Erno Gero; his extraordinary outburst (in October 1956), as a member of Nagy's cabinet, in front of the Soviet ambassador, that he would personally fire on Soviet tanks if they entered

Budapest; to his broadcast of a few days later in which he called upon the Hungarians to regard the Soviet troops as their brothers. Kadar has a remarkable ability to hang on to power—readers may remember how for months following the Hungarian Revolution his fall from power was constantly forecast but never realised.

The author suggests that the first real spark that eventually resulted in the blaze of the Revolution came from Mrs. Rajk. He claims that it was her speech at the Petofi club (at the meeting previous to the famous one of June 27) that was the spark. Dramatically it is very effective to use a disillusioned Communist, an ex-leader of the Resistance—tortured by the Gestapo and by the Communists, and widow of Hungary's post-war hero as the storm centre. Whether it is historically accurate is another matter.

The parts of Mrs. Rajk (Peggy Ashcroft), Erno Gero and Janos Kadar were excellently performed. The play is a brilliant reconstruction of the activities of Hungary's political leaders, and, although the unpolitical were noticeable by their absence, serves to remind us of Hungary's condition—and of the Revolution. M.G.W.

Police Violence

Continued from p. 1
it—that was the attitude. And course there is a lot of truth in it as tension exists between the and the people. The police are despised and shunned in those countries because they are so clearly instruments of the oppressor. As individuals they are hated because they are looked upon as members of the oppressed class who have sold themselves to the oppressor.

HERE is no means of curbing police violence under a dictatorship in a police-state, except, perhaps, by counter-violence, counter-terrorism—a dangerous weapon which in the long run may only result in a general increase in violence. If violence open or latent is expressed by the machinery of force and force with which the ruling class protects itself is the basis of why we cannot seek redress for indignities and the violence to which we are subjected by the paid agents of the government in power. It is true that the Law in some countries does provide certain safeguards for the citizen, by limiting the powers of the police in the matter of procedure and where the citizen is knowledgeable of the Law and determined, he can, generally speaking, oblige the police to act within the limits. He may make them think twice before beating him up, talking him into making a statement. But where the government has itself "exceptional" powers—the case when an Emergency is declared—what rules can be devised to limit the powers of the police, and instructions can be given to them not to "abuse their powers" when the government itself has arrogated to itself unlimited powers?

In Nyasaland, for instance, the Devlin Commission recognises that the overwhelming majority of the population were opposed to Federation and though the Governor in his reply to the Report declares that the African Congress leaders "were perfectly free to express their disagreement".

they had no right to carry their disagreement to the length of breaking the law, intimidation and encouraging the use of violence.

The law is obviously more important than the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the population and since there is no machinery through which the people's wishes may be supplemented what alternative have they than that of breaking the law?

The Devlin Commission suggested that in the circumstances of March the government had the choice of acting or abdicating. The fact that it concludes that the government was right in declaring a state of Emergency largely neutralises its righteous indignation over the "unnecessary" and "illegal force" that was used in making some arrests. This is to our minds not only a small but also secondary matter compared with that of a "democratic" government which pursues policies opposed by the overwhelming majority of the population. Obviously it is not possible to implement the law in such circumstances without a show of strength to compensate for the lack of co-operation from the people. Indeed as the Report points out, today, Nyasaland is "a police state". And in a police state the Government gives the orders and the police have carte blanche to oblige the unwilling citizens to carry them out.

IF the *New Statesman* is worried about the powers exercised by the

EDUCATION FOR REALITY

ONE of the ideas which has been foremost in the minds of educational reformers during the past fifty years has been to make the content of teaching material more closely related to real life. These ideas have by no means been confined to the radical wing of the progressive education movement, but have influenced the whole educational system, including state-controlled and private schools.

The field in which the realists have been most successful has been that of text book and syllabus reform. A perusal of say, mathematical text books of fifty years ago sends shudders down the spine, which would no doubt be shared by most mathematics teachers who have studied education during the post-war period. There are various sets of books offered on the market which set out to arouse the interest of the pupils by relating every step to some actual problem, whereas those current at the beginning of the century were content to plough through from rule to rule by a series of patently meaningless exercises. The modern efforts are not always successful. At least one set intended for use in Secondary Modern Schools, and generally designed for a non-examination course beginning at eleven presents a series of real, practical problems; but the solution of each of these seems to require such a thorough knowledge of the elements of the subject, that the whole force of the authors' intention is lost. Nevertheless, improvements will be made, and the concept of making every subject taught relevant to the interests of most children has the support of Ministries, authorities, and quite a large part of public opinion.

A parallel movement, also most strongly felt in non-examination schools, is the emphasis placed on woodwork and similar crafts, which are coming in some schools to be regarded as important subjects in themselves, and not just time-filling pastimes, for the ungifted.

However, it is difficult to assess the nature of reforms such as these. They make life more pleasant for pupils and teachers, and take some of the fear and drudgery out of school and learning. They involve no essential revolution in the ideology of education, nor do they undermine its function of producing conformist citizens. Just as the development of state welfare services makes life less hard for people who suffer misfortunes or ill-health, but at the same time binds them more tightly to their positions of subservience in society, so do the reforms in the educational system bolster it up in its character moulding role, and skim off a certain layer of its opponents.

However, some schools try to go beyond the limits placed on those within the state system. One school, in Scotland is well known for having a farm closely linked with its activities, and insists that the farm is an integral part of the school in which everyone participates and not just something tagged on as an extra. The headmaster, speaking at a recent meeting in London, emphasised the idea that one of the benefits of the farm lay in the easy pace of activities which it encouraged, in contrast to the inhuman rush of modern life, and that he was particularly interested in its being a real farm, and not one of the "factories in the country" which are springing up nowadays. The value of such an environment to a child who might otherwise be living in a city is clear, and the

problems which arise will be far more real than those devised, however cleverly, by writers of text books and teachers far removed from the natural atmosphere. An obvious benefit lies in growing up in close contact with the production of food, and with work being expended towards an easily appreciated productive goal.

At the same time, these ideas provoke the problem of education for reality in yet another form. The even-paced, natural farming methods, situated in the countryside are valuable and desirable, but can they be described as reality? It might be argued that the "reality" of today is to be found precisely in chemical fertilizers, broiler chickens, and factory methods on the farm. This problem can be seen in terms of a mere verbal quibble, which is more or less how it arose, but it also has some relevance to various ways of approaching education. It is the reality of today which demands technologists by the thousand, which keeps the most acute brains produced by the universities at work on

H-bombs and guided missiles, and which offers adjustment as the most readily available way to contentment. The schools which offer natural, useful and productive occupations are looking for something better than the reality of life today. They are looking for health; for people who are going to be able to face a neurotic society and to reject it and choose a healthy alternative.

The form of the argument can be turned inside out and used again. Many of the aspects of a child's development which are encouraged by modern life and the education geared to it are positively harmful and unhealthy. To give a couple of examples: a high proportion both of boys leaving school and graduates finishing at university think of future jobs mainly in terms of financial reward, an attitude which is encouraged tacitly by the respective staffs; most schools, and certainly all grammar schools encourage studiousness and devotion to academic work to an unhealthy level. How can these factors be assessed by an appeal to the "realities" of the

matter? It could be argued that the task of a school is to give every child the best possible chance to make its way in society as it is. The alternative choice involves recognizing that as it is, we are living in a society of widespread misery, and that to pursue the goals which that society sets before its children and youth will in most cases involve repressing many of the healthy aspects of their development. If happiness and development are really the objects which people value most highly they must be prepared to look for a more revolutionary concept of reality than the solid majority are at present likely to accept. Every deep movement towards individual sovereignty, and every attempt to force the issue that social organization should be made only to suit the individual, and never should people be moulded into the social organization, represents a challenge to the stability of authority and the state.

The reality which anarchists are asking people to accept is that the more strongly we can strike against authority, and deny the ideology on which it is based, the more free will people be to develop their personal lives in happiness. P.H.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

School Teachers

To the Editors, FREEDOM. DEAR COMRADES,

Recently there has been some correspondence in FREEDOM concerning school-teachers, and the various correspondents appear to feel strongly on the subject. Perhaps it is unfortunate that the controversy started about *people* (school-teachers) rather than about the *organization* (the school system). However, the organization in this case does mould people to a very definite type, and reproduces this type through the highly selective processes whereby people are attracted to become teachers. One could say the same, for instance, of policemen, professional soldiers and a few other occupational categories. Although there is a good deal of variance among school-teachers, there is still a clearly recognizable type.

I do not think that Ian Lesley's insistence on the variability among teachers clarifies the issue. Cresswell makes a series of valid points about school-teachers, and the fact that he expressed himself with some force and personal feeling does not make these points less true nor less important for consideration in a paper such as FREEDOM. I assume he writes as a parent; it is refreshing to find parents as outspoken about the general nature of school-teachers.

It is a sad fact that the schoolteacher type is easily recognized and is not very well liked at any level. Theirs is an unfortunate position. They are supposed to be "professional" people, yet they are more or less despised and ridiculed by other sectors of the community who claim "professional" status. A former Minister of Education was brutal enough to point this out to the schoolteachers *a propos* of their demand for increased pay. He rubbed in the fact that they would get no moral solidarity from *real* "professional" people.

Behind this lies the fact that school-teachers are not recruited in the ordinary way by the usual attractions of good pay, interesting work, rosy prospects, etc. The recruitment of school-teachers is based on some rather curious attractions.

(a) School-teaching has been traditionally a means by which working class children have achieved clean hands and a little better social status.

(b) It is a highly "respectable" job and gives lifelong security, both economic and moral.

(c) It makes its appeal to the type of person for whom the wielding of authority, however petty, is an end in itself.

(d) It provides long holidays.

(e) It provides an emotional outlet, a socially approved "sublimation", for a minority whose erotic lives are somewhat unusual.

Although the pupil-teacher system has long been outmoded in England, some such mechanism is still at work. Many school-teachers never leave school from nursery to grave. From being pupils themselves they transfer to a Training College for two years, and then back to school again for the rest of their lives. The world of school and training college stands rather isolated from the larger

world: schoolteacherish values in morality, religion and "education" are accepted with amazing certitude. Half-baked half-truths about the nature of children are swallowed as established facts, and are never put to any test. The teacher who is a little more progressive than his fellows tends to regard himself as a hell of a rebel, and can speak patronizingly of Neill, Curry, Aitkenhead and others who saw that the only thing to do about the orthodox school machine was to get right out of it.

In condemning the smugness and hypocrisy of the average schoolteacher, I am conscious of the fact that he is the victim of the machine which first moulds him as a child, then attracts him, then finally moulds him as an adult. It is with mature consideration that I apply the terms smugness and hypocrisy. Many fine young people go into school-teaching with a determination to make changes for the better. They may make some contribution of value, but in general it is they who are changed by the system, more than the other way round. A greater contribution has been made by the few "cranks" who have stayed outside the established machine.

To the Editors of FREEDOM.

Sarcasm, I think, is pardonable only when it is used in small doses to enliven real discussion. I am sorry—but not shocked—that it seems to be Ernie Crosswell's whole burden and refrain. It may relieve his feelings but it gets your readers nowhere.

He asks me how to send many kids to a progressive private school on a small income. Of course I can't tell him how to do the impossible. Myself, I'd be careful to avoid the predicament, but I am certainly not going to start telling other people how to run their lives.

To any parent who really is in this situation I can only say: look around very carefully at the county primary schools in your area. There are "state" schools where a quite outstanding love and sympathy for children exists, with little humbug and as much freedom as the majority of parents would put up with (little Johnny must (a) come home with clean hands, (b) "pass" the 11-plus). If your child is reasonably happy and secure at five, he is likely to remain so in a school like this—with luck there is one in reach of you.

On what does this atmosphere depend? On the teachers, of course! So if you are personally dependent on the "state" schools, it is all the more in your direct interests to get at teachers, explain our point of view, try to bring them to it. Will this aim be furthered by denigrating them?

Then I'm afraid Ernie has got a rather too credulous approach to economics. If it is a fact at all that others are poor because teachers are a little above the poverty-line, then it is only a secondary and minor fact. The basic fact is that the policies of a small hierarchy of ex-

The recent letter in FREEDOM signed V.B. is hardly worthy of comment. How often does the average schoolteacher really have to perform the menial offices described? And if some schoolteachers like to spend their leisure time taking out small parties of children, surely they do so because they enjoy it. A few have a special sort of emotional yen for children which makes such outings a real treat for teacher. If it were a tiresome chore they would not do it.

The current agitation by school-teachers for more pay reveals their essential weakness as a body. They will not strike like engineers or busmen for a variety of reasons—not least that it would lower the front of dignity which they try to keep up before the children. Their services would be dispensed with only too enthusiastically by too many of their direct customers. ("You coming out for 'n extra tanner an hour, sir? Coo, smashing—no blooming school next week!") And when they try to touch the heart-strings of the public by publishing sob stories of school-teachers acting as part-time barmen to raise the money to keep up with the Joneses—nobody cares. The world is too full of cynical ex-pupils, and many give a cruel chuckle.

Yours, etc., TONY GIBSON.

and Schools

tremely powerful financier-capitalists ensure that we are *all* much poorer than we need be; basically, we are all in the same boat together. And for everyone to direct his aggression at those comrades who happen to be just that little bit less unfortunate is the best possible way to ensure the continuance of the present system.

IAN LESLIE.

FREEDOM PRESS

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

Vol. 1, 1951, *Mankind is One*
Vol. 2, 1952, *Postscript to Posterity*
Vol. 3, 1953, *Colonialism on Trial*
Vol. 4, 1954, *Living on a Volcano*
Vol. 5, 1955, *The Immoral Moralists*
Vol. 6, 1956, *Oil and Troubled Waters*
Vol. 7, 1957, *Year One—Sputnik Era*
Vol. 8, 1958, *Socialism in a Wheelchair*

each volume paper 7s. 6d. cloth 10s. 6d.

The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of FREEDOM at 5/- a copy

V. RICHARDS : *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* 6s.
JOHN HEWETSON : *Ill-Health, Poverty and the State* cloth 2s. 6d., paper 1s.
ERRICO MALATESTA : *Anarchy* 9d.
MARIE-LOUISE BERNERI : *Neither East nor West* paper 7s. 6d.; cloth 10s. 6d.

27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

Industrial Co-operation

P.G.F. is quite right. He did state in his original letter that he could not give "a brief and comprehensive answer" to his "newcomer". In the next paragraph to this statement, however, he announced his intention of "describing how an anarchist society would work". It was this that led me to remark on the difficulty of outlining anarchism. Perhaps it would have been better if I had written "anarchist society" instead of "anarchism", though, in the particular context of our discussion, I think that this would have been a distinction without a difference. Indeed, P.G.F. himself, in his attempt to show how "anarchism is possible in our modern world" ends up by giving an outline of the principles upon which his "syndicalist society" would be based.

Anarcho-syndicalism is not the only "anarchist theory of industrial co-operation". If P.G.F. would read *What is Mutualism*, by C. L. Swartz, he would find a theory derived from the Proudhonian and American individualist (Tucker, Warren, et. al.) schools of thought. Another theory was hinted in a book review appearing in *Resistance* a few years ago, in which reference was made to certain proposals in *Volonta* regarding the possibility of direct co-operation between autonomous industrial groups as an alternative to anarcho-syndicalism. No doubt the French individualist school have also put forward their views on this subject, not to mention those anarchist-communists who did not agree with syndicalism.

I would like to know by what right a majority can compel a minority to "conform or get out" of a co-operative enterprise they have presumably both helped to build up. If it is not a belief in the validity of "counting noses", then what else is it? The fact that the minority may be 50+1, whereas the majority is only 50-1? Surely the best solution for any group whose members develop

irreconcilable disagreements is for the group to be dissolved and new groupings formed in accordance with their tastes and inclinations? Majority control is, in effect, majority rule and is, therefore, not capable of being squared with the no-rule principles we hold.

To my way of thinking, if the sovereignty of the individual is not complete, then he must of necessity be subjected to the sovereignty of another individual, or of a group of individuals. In other words, his relation to his fellows is one of archy, not anarchy. If this is to be the case in Comrade P.G.F.'s "group activity" I cannot see what difference there is between his conception of anarchism and the conceptions of the various schools of authoritarianism. After all, most forms of government allow a partial autonomy in some areas of our lives—so long as it suits their purpose, of course.

P.G.F.'s view that we need to find "some form of organisation that will permit" individual sovereignty puts the cart before the horse. As I see it, the only kind of organisation compatible with anarchism is that which arises from the free co-operation of sovereign individuals and is hence expressive of individual sovereignty, not permissive of it.

As for drunks and delinquents—individual sovereignty does not exclude defence against aggression. I do not consider, however, that this problem is relevant to the question of majority control. (After all, the drunks or delinquents might well be in a majority!). To stop two drunks hurting themselves (or the machinery?) in a factory would be much more likely to be an act of impulsiveness rather than of deliberation, and I cannot imagine free people going through the motions of taking a majority decision before tackling a dangerous psychopath.

I am grateful to F.B. for his agreement with my criticism of majority control,

but I do not see eye to eye with him when he argues that the development of maximum production for the minimum of effort will make the human mind more receptive to libertarian ideas. It is not those countries in which industrialism is furthest 'advanced' which have the largest anarchist movements. This would seem to indicate that the growth of anarchism is not so much a matter of the application of scientific discoveries to technology as it is of such things as thought, feeling and will.

No, Comrade McKean, I do not know how "to make the silent majority into sovereign individuals". If they want to become sovereign individuals they must become so themselves, since no-one else can do it for them. It is only by our words and deeds that we can show them what it means to have sovereignty over ourselves, but it is up to them as to whether or not they follow our example. London, July 26. S. E. PARKER.

The Deficit £100 in the Red

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 30

Deficit on Freedom £600
Contributions received £503
DEFICIT £97

July 17 to July 23

Sheffield: P.L. 9/9; Hong Kong: M.S. 2/6;
Doncaster: B.S. 3/4; London: J.W. £1/1/0;
Swansea: R.R. £4/1/0; Glasgow: J.A.S. 10/6;
Leeds: D.B. £1/1/0; London: Anon.* 2/3;
London: J.S.* 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.* 2/6;
Glasgow: L.B. 6/6; Skegness: R.W.M. 2/6;
Stevenage: V.M. 2/6; Hong Kong: M.S. 13/6;
Leeds: H.N. 6/-

Total ... 9 7 10
Previously acknowledged ... 493 17 0
1959 TOTAL TO DATE ... £503 4 10

VIEWPOINT

What is an Anarchist?

IN the 10 years of association with the Anarchist Movement I have as yet never come across a real definition of what an Anarchist is. There appears to be ample comment on what an Anarchist isn't, or what he doesn't do, but these are the negative aspects that distinguish him from the rest of the political herd.

It is often said that there is no tangible movement structure and that at best it is an association of individuals who don't even share a common world viewpoint. This may be healthy individualism but may also be lack of clarity. There appear to be no Committees or directives, yet an apparent Anarchist policy or Anarchist point of view or case, as it is often referred to, does exist.

What central set of ideas, if any, draw people to identify themselves with Anarchism? Sometimes Anarchism has been defined as an attitude of protest against Society as a whole. This concept in itself has two inherent dangers, one is that because we tend to protest against Society *in toto*, we may be in danger of sending the baby as well as the dirty water down the plug-hole.

My experience has been that Anarchists have failed to acknowledge the hundreds of positive aspects of Society which are worth keeping even in a free society. The protest attitude is irrational because it doesn't use checks and balances and an attitude is often held with the fervour of a dogma.

The second danger is that because it is a protest attitude it must offer infinite attraction to those who have carried their infantile protest attitudes into their adult lives. If we should have beaten our fathers, but couldn't, and are still perturbed about it (unconsciously in adult life), we can always beat the government (verbally, that is). This opens a venue for some curious protests.

Respect for the individual is a very oft-quoted phrase of the Anarchist. This attitude is shared by millions who would at the same time vehemently deny any association with Anarchism. To champion the underprivileged in their fight for a better life is even part of the programme of the Conservatives. Anti-war, another strong platform of Anarchism, brings together groups, cliques, factions, churches and just about every kind of "ist" material or spiritual. What then does mark the Anarchist as an animal apart? Is he then a man dedicated towards producing a better man and better Society? Anarchists, in my opinion, are no better or worse than any other person on the average outside the

fold. True he may be governed by some valuable ethics (sanctity of Life, respect for the Individual, etc.), but these are not strictly Anarchist ethics only. A method of achieving a healthier Society is another strong platform point, but this, one must admit, has always been the weakest link in Anarchist ideology.

To name but a few methods, Syndicalism, Communalism, Personal Individual Revolution, even mass revolution, Education and "Work Democracy". Apart from Syndicalism, all the other methods we share with many others including the Communists.

The Anarchist abhors regimentation; physically because of its degrading aspect and spiritually because he is proud of his own critical faculties and likes to use them . . . on occasions . . . but this abhorrence of regimentation and irrational authority is held by millions of all shades of opinion. As yet one cannot see what exactly an Anarchist is, assuming we abandon the bomb-thrower, cloak and dagger beard-wearing prototype, what sort of individual joins the Anarchist parade?

One factor noticed in England is that most Anarchists are of humble origin, "working class" so to speak. Though professionally they range from doctors and scientists to tramps and nobodies, they are generally a happy crowd with a prevalent tendency towards irresponsibility and easy prey for all sort of unorthodox ideas which go to enforce their general protest against Society.

What makes a man or woman attach a label to themselves? Perhaps loneliness or the desire to be somebody instead of just part of a nameless mass. The Anarchist hates the government believing that to be the root of all evil, yet "government" in many ways is necessary in any group of people. Only the hermit needs no government. Even amongst animals where "War" as such is unknown, there is a form of "Government". Primitives who are not imperialist or nationalistic still have forms of social government to facilitate survival.

If the Anarchist is against certain practices of the governments then surely many, many people share that view but carry no Anarchist torch. What distinguishes a duck from a swan is its shape and habits, what distinguishes the Anarchist from anyone else appears to be nothing. Perhaps we should only put labels on medicine bottles, or am I being too chemical?

S.F.

Confusion at Geneva

can bridge the gap, says Mr. Lloyd".

The reason for Mr. Lloyd's optimism seems to arise from the Soviet Foreign Minister's categorical statement that no unilateral action will be taken by the Soviet Union while an interim agreement on Berlin is in force or during the course of the negotiations. Nevertheless the Western proposal to discuss the German problem at "any mutually agreeable level" was quite unacceptable to the Soviet Union. It appears that no agreement is possible and no action will be taken, but Mr. Macmillan told the Commons a few days ago that it would be unwise to set a time limit for the Geneva talks!

We are not opposed to lengthy discussion if it means that, on practical issues, a solution will be arrived at. However, we suspect that neither East nor West are all that anxious to "solve the German problem" for the reasons that as long as each have a hold on Germany she will be subject to a convenient measure of control by both sides. For the West the more obvious reason given, and the one on which they are continually harping, is that a Western withdrawal from Germany would weaken defences against possible Soviet aggression. For the East, the fear of a united re-armed Germany backed by the United States and Britain.

It is generally accepted by the West that the Soviet Union does not want a major war and "is as fearful as any other major Power about the consequences of major hostilities" but President Eisenhower, "in assessing the consequences of a total failure of the Geneva talks" is

"deeply concerned" that the S. Union:

"might miscalculate, by estimating its own strength or by over-estimating United States strength will to resist, and thus set off a dangerous military crisis."

Either side is likely to do this, it is difficult to see how futile discussions on the future of Germany on the basis of which cannot even be agreed on, can prevent it.

On the face of it the Soviet proposal for Germany which is that "German people", that is to say East and West Germany, should decide their future, seems reasonable, except that the Federal German public in this event would be negotiating Soviet policy.

The Western proposal suggests

"semi-permanent conference composed of the representatives of four Great Powers [to] discuss the German problem, with special reference to the question of German unification. Expert advisers of East and West Germany would take part."

Whatever happened, West Germany is likely to support Western proposals which means that if the future of Germany is given to East and West Germany to decide, the same problems are going to pre-empt agreement.

After all this has been said it is still the possibility for some of "acceptance of the East German régime" (W. Averell Harriman, U.S. In this event it might be argued, Britain that she could no longer carry the burden of her German commitments.

If all this sounds confused it is only because it is, but this is anarchy it is political democracy work.

Workers' Councils

Continued from p. 2

city and county. The factories were taken over by the workers' councils. The administration was taken over by the revolutionary councils, consisting of delegates of workers, peasants, soldiers, and the young people. Each council worked out a programme defining political, economic, and administrative aims. They were all variations of the demands first promulgated by the intellectuals, differing only in emphasis and gaining in sharpness as the days went by."

In the third stage of the revolution, that of renewed Russian aggression, the puppet government of Kadar "recognised the revolutionary and workers' councils in order to appropriate these institutions and thus bring the fighting to an end. His efforts failed. The factories became the focal points of resistance." In the final stage, beginning on November 11,

"the industrial workers, though abandoning the use of arms, retained the real power vested in their councils. For weeks Kadar tried to win these over by negotiation, by promises, and by threats. But whenever threats were followed by punitive action, the councils replied by calling strikes. Neither concessions nor punitive action have succeeded in abolishing the councils' authority. They have shown a remarkable elasticity in swinging between assent and resistance according to the respective needs of the people and the state; they have agreed to production if it serves the needs of the people, but have stopped it when it could help the reconstruction of the state."

Kadar, Tito and Lenin

By October 1957, Mr. Revai was reporting that

"parallel with coercive measures, the industrial workers were at first bribed into starting production by substantial wage increases, abolition of the piece-work system, and promises to recognise the autonomy of the workers' councils and trade unions. The main concessions, however, were already withdrawn last June by reintroduction of the piece-work system based on working norms. At first it was claimed that industrial society would be reconstructed with the dual participation of the workers' councils and the unions. But the right of the workers' councils to appoint their managers was soon revoked and they were maintained solely as advisory bodies; next, the scope of their advice was reduced; finally they were found altogether redundant."

And by the beginning of the following year the execution of seven workers' councillors had been announced, while the president of the Budapest Workers'

Council, Sándor Rác was among those awaiting trial.

Faced with the spectacle of a genuine revolution, Tito was forced to show what he thought of workers' councils, when these were outside the control of the Party. So he declared that 'counter-revolutionaries' had taken over the revolution, justified the second Soviet intervention, and said that the puppet Kadar government represented "that which is most honest in Hungary".

Both in the policies of the East German and the Hungarian governments can be heard echoes of Lenin's New Economic Policy of 1921, when concessions were made to the peasants, to a market economy and increase in consumer goods. Lenin himself said on October 17, 1921 that

"Our new economic policy consists essentially in this, that we in this respect have been thoroughly defeated and have started to undertake a strategic retreat; before we are completely defeated, let us retreat and do everything all over again, but more steadily. . . ."

The pattern of events in Hungary and East Germany fits this formula all too well.

(The Polish Workers' Councils will be discussed in next week's FREEDOM). C.W.

DAVID BELL FUND

At the Appeal Committee at London Sessions on Tuesday, July 19th, the appeal against David Bell's sentence of nine months' imprisonment was dismissed but the fund still goes on.

LIST No. 5

L.J.K.L. 3/-; Spanish Comrades in Exile 5/-; E.C. 4/2; M.W.K. 10/-; 'From the Argentine Comrades' 10/-; M.W.K. 10/-; R.W.D. 10/-; C.C. (U.S.A.) 7/-; Mr. W. 2/-; H.H.J. £2. 2. 0; J. & D.G. 10/-.

Total ... 5 3 2
Brought forward ... 26 14 2

TOTAL TO DATE ... £31 17 4

Comrades of the Pacifist Youth Action Group are contemplating a picket in sympathy with David Bell during the second week in August either at the prison or the Home Office. Will those interested get in touch with P.Y.A.G. at 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Regular Sunday meetings now held at "Marquis of Granby" Public House, Rathbone Street (corner of Percy Street, Rathbone Place and Charlotte Street), 7.30 p.m.

AUG. 2.—No meeting (Summer School). Further meetings to be arranged.

NEW YORK LIBERTARIAN FORUM MEETINGS

Held every Friday night at 86 East 10th Street, N.Y.C., 8.30 p.m.

AUG. 7—Paul Krassner (Editor of *The Realist*) on SUMMER CAMPS AND REGIMENTATION.

AUG. 14—Ruth Reynolds on PRESENT STATUS OF THE MOVEMENT FOR PUERTO-RICAN INDEPENDENCE.

AUG. 21—Russell Blackwell on HUMAN NATURE AND CULTURAL PATTERNS.

FREEDOM

The Anarchist Weekly

Postal Subscription Rates:
12 months 19/- (U.S.A. \$3.00)
6 months 9/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50)
3 months 5/- (U.S.A. \$0.75)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies:
12 months 29/- (U.S.A. \$4.50)
6 months 14/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25)

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

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