

Economic Recovery

IN EX-ENEMY COUNTRIES

AFTER the First World War, naive observers of contemporary history were disillusioned by the spectacle of the victors extending economic aid to the vanquished, whose recovery re-established the keen competition for markets which had precipitated the outbreak of the war. The recovery of Germany made a new war inevitable, while the competition of Japan in the world markets, made an eventual clash with this former ally unavoidable also.

Nothing illustrates so clearly the blind mechanisms of the capitalist economy (production for profit) than the repetition of this process which is now revealing

itself in the political field, the cold war necessitates an integration of European defence, and in the process German production and the German Army are central necessities. But the strengthening of the German economy re-creates all the old problems of France both in the sphere of competitive army strength and national security, etc. All the conditions of control of the industrial and mining areas of the continent and the Saar once more arise. All the chaos in French international politics, the NATO negotiations, delays, problems of kind and another which fill the newspaper headlines.

Economic Recovery

On the economic field, the repetition of capitalist historical patterns maintains the same fatalistic sense of inevitability and futility.

The Temporary Council Committee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, consisting of Mr. Averill Harriman (U.S.A.), Sir Edwin Plowden (U.K.) and M. Monnet (France), recently issued a report on the German Federal Government's capacity to pay for German participation in European defence. This report contains startling evidence of the extent to which the German economy has revived and recovered. Since 1948, gross national production has increased at the rate of 16 per cent. a year, and industrial production in 1951 was more than double that of 1948.

The Federal Government of Germany has estimated a gross national increase of 11.4 per cent. for 1952-53, but the committee regarded this as conservative. "Although the exceptionally high rates of increase of the past few years cannot be anticipated," they write in their report, "it must be recognised that Germany is still in the stage

A MILLION UNEMPLOYED?

MR. Alfred Robens, M.P., ex-Minister of Labour, declared in the House of Commons last Monday that there would be a million unemployed in Britain before the end of the year.

Obviously rather alarmed at the increase in unemployment, the authorities are now claiming that it is not a deliberate policy to get workers for arms factories, although that was the declared policy of the last government.

It is getting plainer that this country is heading for a slump. This, of course, will make a war even more necessary—for capitalism.

vides a recrudescence of the causes of two wars.

Japan and British Markets

The renewed competition of Japanese industry shows the same pattern even more clearly. The Japanese Finance Minister, Hayato Ikeda, has attempted to mitigate the clash of interests by announcing that Japan will restrict her exports to the sterling area (that is, her competition in British markets) in view of the large sterling balances, totalling £85,000,000, now in Japanese hands. Economic observers, however, regard Mr. Ikeda's policy as no more than a temporary respite in Japanese competition with British exports. The *Observer*, for example, wrote: "The competition has begun to impinge ominously, not only in such large staples as textiles and pottery, but in many other directions, such as sewing machines, veneers, plywood, ball-point pens, pearl buttons, plastic products, pocket knives, toys, vacuum flasks, and cameras. It is an axiom that Japan must export to live, and the sterling area provides the largest field for her activities. Already American manu-

Continued on p. 4

If only it were Barcelona!

London Can Take It

LONDON has now had its first taste of going to work at the new fares. Monday was a day of long faces and resentful mutterings in the buses and tubes and it was clear that Londoners were only just beginning to know what had hit them.

Although the proposal to raise the fares was made months ago, like many other things it was not taken seriously until it actually happened. Of course, proper provision had been made for all the responsible bodies to put forward their objections. The London Trades Council, representing most of the trade unionists in the London area; local authorities; tenants' associations and the like were all able to put their points of view at the tribunal which, in our democratic society, impartially decides the justice of proposed increases in charges by the transport monopoly.

It was all a waste of time. Backed up by the magic of statistics, the London Passenger Transport Board did not budge an inch. It was granted the right to increase fares all round by 20 per cent.

But it is a queer 20 per cent. in most cases. The minimum fare has gone up from 1½d. to 2d.—an increase of 33½ per cent. The 3d. fare stays at 3d., but the 4d. is now 5d. (25 per cent. up), 6d. becomes 8d., 7d. becomes 9d., 8d. becomes 11d. Among the medium priced fares, only the 5d. which is now 6d. has advanced by no more than 20 per cent. For the longer journeys the increase is much more—a 2s. 5d. return fare on one line, for example, goes up to 3s. 4d., an advance of about 40 per cent.

The general feeling is one of resentment and helplessness. "What can you do?" is the common question. The L.P.T.B. is a monopoly in a vast sprawling city. One can live inside the London area and have

ten miles to go to work. Suburbanites can have more than that to travel, and all those thousands who come streaming in on the main line railways from what have become almost dormitory towns for London, can have to cover anything up to 60 miles each way.

The long travelling time is the price they pay—and in most cases are willing to pay—for living in the country or at the seaside. But what a price in cash they will have to pay now! The main line railways serving London from outside the London area are to put their charges up on May 1st to bring them in line with inner London rates.

Shift Workers Suffer

There are many aspects of the recent changes which, like everything else, discriminate against the poor. If he had £10 or more that he did not know what to do with, the London worker could have bought a season ticket at the old rate a day before the increases started. He could have saved himself £10 over the next year by laying out £20 in advance. But what worker can do that?

Shift workers, too, have been badly hit. Workers on the afternoon and night shifts were able to travel at the same rate as early morning workers. Now that is stopped and these workers are doubly hit. Not only do they now have to pay the regular fare, which is about twice the cost of a "Workman's" but they now have to pay at the new rate. This means an increase of about 150 per cent.!

What protests will there be? The answer, alas, will be "none". The London Trades Council held an intellectual march to demonstrate at Trafalgar Square, but the Council is so contaminated by the Communists who dominate it, that it has lost the support of the rank and file. Apart from that,

Continued on p. 4

Petrol Bombs in Korea

BISHOP SHUTS AN EYE

THE horror of jellied petrol bombs is only just beginning to seep into the consciousness of the intellectuals in Britain, partly as a result of recent revelations of correspondents in Korea. The burns effected by these weapons are completely ghastly and the permanent war wrecks due to them must by now outnumber those produced in either of the two world wars.

The High Command, however, is satisfied that a new type of jellied petrol bomb which can be accurately directed by aeroplane is an advance on the napalm bomb used mostly in mopping-up operations. FREEDOM has in the past drawn attention to the ghastliness of flame-throwers, and the extensions of such weapons in these appalling bombs shows just how far civilising influences affect contemporary warfare.

(The fact that the newsreels show the effect of these weapons, not in practices, but in real operations—the writer has seen "enemy personnel" running blazing across the screens of local cinemas for every adult and child to witness—lends point to the remarks which FREEDOM makes from time to time about the unconscious psychological sadism which war satisfies. It is plain that audiences are not impelled to denounce war as horrible and outrageous after these film orgies. Instead, they return not even shamefaced to their families. These things—the acceptance—should give us pause no less than the dreadful nature of war itself.)

Bishop Barnes Shuts An Eye

There are no words strong enough to condemn these bombs, but one is grateful for any expression of condemnation such as Bishop Barnes, alone among the Church hierarchy, recently made.

But what is to be said of the twist

which Dr. Barnes gave to his remarks? By that curious distorted logic which seems to afflict intellectuals, the crimes of "one's own" side seem to exonerate the enemy. Dr. Barnes said that he found it difficult to feel that the Communism which had so successfully swept across China should be regarded from our point of view as aggressive. "I wonder, he said, 'if it is not more rightly to be regarded as the beginning of a new social development, a transformation which, in the end, will give to China, with its great and ancient civilisation, the leadership of human progress.'

"Dr. Barnes said he deplored the use by the Americans in Korea of jellied petrol weapons, which were becoming standard United States weapons for air bombing. 'It seems to be even more dreadful than the forms of atomic energy which were used in Japan,' he said. 'If accounts that one reads to-day are true, it is something that is an even greater disgrace to mankind.'

—The Times, 3/3/52.

Indict the methods used by the United Nations by all means, but why whitewash the Communists? Does Dr. Barnes approve the mass trials of "traitors" and landlords, the mass executions, the broadcasting of such things and the compulsory listening-in to them? Are these evidence of the progress of an ancient civilisation?

What is evident is the softness, the sentimentality and the intellectual spinelessness which afflicts intellectuals up against the realities of the modern world.

Should We Forgive?

UNTIL we finally arrive at the situation prophesied by George Orwell in 1984, where history will be continually re-written and the evidence destroyed, it looks as though the truth will, even if belatedly, prevail. Providing, of course, there is someone willing to make it public, and there are no military or political reasons for its suppression.

Ten years after the First World War, in 1928 there appeared that remarkable book *Falsehood in Wartime*, by Arthur Ponsonby (Lord Ponsonby, (M.P.) in which he exposed countless propaganda lies put out by both sides. Hundreds of atrocity stories and photographs with which the British were whipped into righteous fury against the Hun, were shown in this book to be complete and deliberate lies.

The tales of mass rape, of Germans marching with Belgian babies in paled on their bayonets—even the Kaiser's famous order about the "contemptible" little British Army—were shown to be inventions for propaganda purposes. Ponsonby's book went through eleven

SPAIN — EXECUTIONS DENIED

A REUTER message from Madrid last weekend, states that the nine revolutionary syndicalists condemned to death by a Military Tribunal on February 7th, are still alive. The death sentences still await confirmation by the Captain-General of Catalonia. Readers may recall that FREEDOM last week strongly doubted the authenticity of the report published in a number of daily papers the previous week that the men had been executed by the firing squad.

impressions between 1928 and 1942. If it is still available, it is well worth many times its modest price.

A similar book of the 1939-45 war is yet to appear. But since we are now in the "forgive-our-enemies" phase, it will probably not be long before such a study is available.

Ponsonby, however, was a pacifist and had no axe to grind in producing his book other than the presentation of the truth and the exposure of the filthy tactics to which the press and politicians descend to gather support for their blood-baths.

To-day the situation is somewhat different from that following World War I. It is now a definite policy to whitewash the German Army, because of its military usefulness in the new line-up for the next war. Hence the "Rommel" film, the tolerance of the many ex-servicemen's organisations in Germany, and the references to the honour of the German Army and the distinction between it and the Nazis, which is all being put forward now in absolute contradiction to the wartime attitude of "the guilty Germans", "the only good German is a dead one", and the hatred which was whipped up against the whole German nation.

In small ways, little bits of information are creeping through, giving the lie to some of the propaganda of the war. In one of the volumes of Mr. Churchill's *War Memoirs*, he just casually lets fall the fact that, on that triumphant day of climax in the Battle of Britain, when we were told in all the papers that 183 Nazi planes had been brought down for the loss of less than 30 of "ours", in fact losses on both sides were about equal, in the fifties!

That sort of falsification of figures, however, falls into the category of "morale-lifting". Much more vicious, to my mind, was the hysterical outburst of hate which followed the bombing of schools and churches. Most of

Continued on p. 4

The Authoritarian Personality - an Investigation

IN 1944, the American Jewish Committee called a conference on religious and racial prejudice. Out of this meeting of psychologists, psychiatrists, anthropologists and social workers came several research programmes. One of these set out to discover if there is a "type" of individual more prone to prejudice than most other people. The result of this monumental investigation by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford, are contained in a 1,000 page tome entitled *The Authoritarian Personality*. Companion volumes produced by other research teams engaged in parallel projects in this intellectual onslaught against prejudice are *Studies in Prejudice* by Horkheimer and Flowerman, *Dynamics of Prejudice*, a study of war veterans by Bettelheim and Janowitz, *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder*, a psycho-analytic interpretation by Ackerman and Jahoda, *Rehearsals for Destruction*, an analysis of political anti-semitism in Nazi Germany by Musing, and *Prophecy of Deceit*, a study of the techniques of the American agitator by Lowenthal and Guterman.

In the preface to *The Authoritarian Personality* we are told, "The central scheme of the work is a relatively new concept—the rise of an anthropological species we call the authoritarian type of man. In contrast to the bigot of the older style, he seems to combine the ideas and skills which are typical of a highly industrialised society with irrational or anti-rational beliefs. He is at the same time enlightened and superstitious, proud to be an individualist and in constant fear of not being like all the others, jealous of his independence and inclined to submit blindly to power and authority."

It is the implicit hope of the authors that the knowledge gained by scientific method will eventually lead to a growth of a saner society. A society built on reason, in which irrational prejudice will be unable to take root because the society is designed to allow each individual full creative self-expression.

ETHNO-CENTRISM

Early in the research project, when the main line of attack was on the causes of anti-semitism, it became clear that this form of prejudice is not an isolated phenomenon. A person who dislikes Jews is also likely to dislike Negroes and other "outsiders". This general attitude emerged as a definite dimension of personality which the team called *ethnocentrism* (and a special "instrument"—the *E* scale—was devised for measuring this trait). Ethnocentrism does not merely imply that the individual identifies himself with a certain ethnic group. Not only does the highly ethnocentric individual feel antagonistic towards other racial groups, but religion, nationality, politics, economic status, and any other criterion besides "gene-endowment", is used as an excuse for discrimination. Where no readily observable criterion is available, one is invented. (The classical example of this was the yellow Star of David awarded by the Nazis to anyone who had a Jewish grandparent.)

As the scope of the investigation broadened, further instruments had to be devised to measure the strength of

various other emotional factors. There arose the *politico-economic-conservatism* (*PEC*) scale and then the *facism* (*F*) scale, besides the original *anti-semitism* (*A-S*) scale. The crux of the whole investigation lies in the discovery of significant degrees of correlation between scores on the four scales. In other words, the individual who is anti-semitic is likely also to be ethnocentric, conservative, and potentially fascist. This is not just an opinion based on casual observation, but a scientifically derived fact.

Other less vital correlations emerged incidentally. Those who profess adherence to organised religious sects score higher on ethnocentrism than those who recognise no such allegiance. Higher intelligence and educational level is related to lower ethnocentricity. Early patterns of adjustment learnt in the family hierarchy are carried over into adult life. Those who experienced harsh discipline at home tend to have an ambivalent submissive-aggressive attitude and score high on ethnocentricity. The child brought up in a family atmosphere of tolerance, love and mutual respect is generally sociable in later personal relations outside the family. The high scorer on *E* is inclined to exploit the opposite sex whilst regarding sexual relations as a necessary evil. On the other hand, the low scorer has more insight into problems of personal adjustment in sexual relations. Because of this insight the unprejudiced person is on better terms with himself than is the prejudiced individual who suffers anxiety from concealed conflicts.

IMPORTANT FOR ANARCHISTS

There is no hope of condensing adequately the results of five years' work by this energetic team into a short article, but no anarchist can afford to pass over the startling conclusions arrived at by this group of professional scientists with no ideological axe to grind. As the work progressed it became clear that the investigation of prejudiced irrationality was leading to the discovery of a prevalent psychological type—the authoritarian personality.

"The most crucial result . . . is the demonstration of close correspondence in the type of approach and outlook a subject is likely to have in a great variety of areas, ranging from the most

intimate features of family and sex adjustment . . . to religion and to social and political philosophy. Thus a basically hierarchical, authoritarian, exploitatively parent-child relationship is apt to carry over into a power-oriented, exploitatively dependent attitude toward one's sex partner and one's God . . . Conventionality, rigidity, repressive denial, and the ensuing breakthrough of one's weaknesses, fear and dependency are but other aspects of the same fundamental personality pattern. . . . On the other hand, there is a pattern characterised chiefly by affectionate, basically equalitarian, and permissive inter-personal relationships . . . Greater flexibility and the potentiality for more genuine satisfactions appear as results of this basic attitude.

"It follows directly from our major findings that countermeasures should take into account the whole structure of the prejudiced outlook . . . Rational arguments cannot be expected to have deep and lasting effects upon a phenomenon that is irrational in its essential nature . . . and if we should succeed in diverting hostility from one minority group we should be prevented from taking satisfaction by the knowledge that the hostility will now very probably be directed against some other group.

"Confronted with the rigidity of the adult ethnocentrist, one turns naturally to the question of whether the prospects for healthy personality structure would not be greater if the proper influences were brought to bear earlier in the individual's life, and since the earlier the influence the more profound it will be, attention becomes focused upon child training. It would not be difficult, on the basis of the clinical and genetic studies reported in this volume, to propose a programme which even in the present cultural pattern, could produce non-ethnocentric personalities. All that is really essential is that children be genuinely loved and treated as individual humans. But all the features of such a programme would have the aspect of being more easily said than done . . . Few parents can be expected to persist for long in educating their children for a society that does not exist.

"The task is comparable to that of eliminating neurosis, or delinquency, or

nationalism from the world. The problem is one which requires the efforts of all social scientists. All that we would insist upon is that in the councils or round tables where the problem is considered, and action planned, the psychologist should have a voice . . . For the fascist potential to be changed . . . there must be an increase in people's capacity to see themselves and to be themselves. This cannot be achieved by the manipulation of people . . . it is a judgment which finds support in the present study that the man who is first to seize power will be the last to give it up. It is safe to assume, however, that fascism is imposed on the people, that it actually goes against their basic interests, and that when they can be made fully aware of themselves and their situation they are capable of behaving realistically . . . Techniques for overcoming resistance (ie self-insight), developed mainly in the field of individual psycho-therapy, can be improved and adopted for use with groups and even for use on a mass scale.

"Although there is reason to believe that the prejudiced are the better rewarded in our society as far as external values are concerned it is when they take short-cuts to these rewards that they land in prison, we need not suppose that the tolerant have to wait and receive their rewards in heaven, as it were. Actually, there is good reason to believe that the tolerant receive more gratification of basic needs. . . . Thus we need not suppose that appeal to emotion belongs to those who strive in the direction of fascism, while democratic propaganda must limit itself to reason and restraint. If fear destructiveness are the major emotional sources of fascism; eros (creative love) belongs mainly to democracy."

Professor Sanford, the leader of the team—if such a team could be said to have a leader—is now at the Tavistock clinic in London, having been dismissed from his Chair at the University of California, along with several of his colleagues, for refusing to take the "loyalty" oath. Anyone who has attended one of his lectures in this country will know that the loss is America's.

BOB GREEN.

Chained to the Stars

THE Astronomer Royal, Sir Harold Spencer Jones, writing in the *British Medical Journal's* monthly magazine, *Family Doctor*, stresses the people who follow astrological predictions, and the stars rule their lives.

"Those who follow these directions through life in chains," he says, "place the responsibility for all their actions on the stars instead of relying on their own efforts and judgment by reason and experience."

What an anarchistic assertion! For there are thousands whose activities directed by what the stars foretell are million who attribute institutions which actually govern with the same celestial infallibility. When the anarchist suggests that we should throw off these chains of superstition and rely on their own efforts and judgment guided by reason and experience, he is met by cries of, "But we must govern, someone must govern our affairs for us." And when the one turns out to be a fraud, the system is retained—a change of management, a different astrological trick. Get a new horoscope, a new government and everything will be right.

During the eclipse of the week, some African villages went into panic. The world had ended. Allah was taking vengeance on mankind. People had tried to get through to the villages that would be all right, it was only a change of natural phenomena. It didn't get there in time, there was enough of them. In India, an eclipse coincided with a religious crowd's rush down to bathe in a sacred river. The sanitary inspectors managed to pour in thousands of gallons of chlorine to prevent the cholera. Unhappily we have chlorine to guard against the "emotional plague" from the stars; we can prophylactic precautions to mitigate the effect of the superstitious faith.

All we can do is to point out that a much better life is when people rely on their own efforts and judgment by reason and experience, and put trust, not in their stars but in their

Is Communism Necessary?

by

ERRICO MALATESTA

THE question is frequently asked: Is it necessary to discuss communism? If we call ourselves anarchists, is not that sufficient? Let us insist that every individual has the right to freedom; and that once gained, the economic problems will solve themselves.

To us it seems that the question cannot be disposed of quite so simply. We must not rest content with preaching freedom alone, not because we do not care enough for it, but rather because it is so vital a part of our ideal that we cannot leave to chance whether it shall be built on rock or on sand—it must be built on rock, it must be secure; and even when secure, it must be guarded by that "eternal vigilance" which, as we are truly told, is the price of its existence.

This being so, we cannot evade the question as to whether we shall advocate communism or individualism when preaching anarchism; a definite position must be taken up, because these two sides of the great problem of the future of society cannot be divorced. We are anarchists and stand for individual freedom, but we do not intend that this precious thing shall remain a mere abstraction, as it has been with the poets and philosophers of the past. We want to make it a reality, bring it down from the stars to *terra firma*, so that man shall grasp it and make it his own.

How can this be done? In the first place, there can be no solidarity in social life without equality. It is natural and it is good in itself that men should object to find fallible mortals assuming superior positions, whether by right of moral, mental or physical strength. For the beginning of social and economic inequality is the beginning of exploitation in some shape or form. And we have here at least one argument in favour of communism as securing to all that equality of conditions which will do most to ensure the harmonious co-operation of free groups of individuals working for the advancement of the community and not for mere personal ascendancy.

After a century of unbridled capitalism, during which the people have been saturated with all the anti-social influences of competition with its heaven-sent message of "devil take the hindmost"—after such an orgy of rapacious individualism (so-called), it may sound utopian to talk of "working for the advancement of the community". But this leads to a question that some day will have full and fair treatment, but which at present is not at all understood in its real significance. It may be put affirmatively by stating that mankind

never has lived without communism. All modern research goes to prove that from the earliest days of tribal communism to the present time the recognition of communal rights in various ways has never ceased to exist. Some of these habits have, C. L. Gomme states in his *Village Community*, kept in check "even the forces of political economy which we have been taught to look upon as so irresistible, and it is worth bearing in mind that some of the traditional features of the village community are not very far removed from the socialism of to-day."

It seems almost too obvious to point out that even to-day, with all the outrages upon human equality, everyone from the weakest to the strongest, can freely use the public library, the museum, the picture gallery, or the park. This is what may be called the communism of everyday life, and is so much taken for granted that the unimaginative Britisher does not even pause to consider the principle from which it springs. We should just as surely have "free bread", were it not that such would be a deadly blow at capitalist exploitation, and would be the beginning of the end of the present system. So we come round to the point from which we started: that communism protects all from the danger of having to sell his or her labour-force for a wage-existence, which means also the sacrifice of one's personal liberty, and is therefore a bar to anarchism.

There are in reality two reasons why communism is regarded with suspicion by many who have a sincere desire to revolutionise our social life. The first is because communism has been used (and abused) by authoritarians. The second is that it has never been universal enough to bring home to mankind the immense and really endless advantages it affords in the development of individual and social life.

The advocacy of communism by authoritarians, and their various experiments in that direction, have done much to prejudice popular feeling against that method of social organisation. And in this we anarchists have always seen a healthy and promising sign. It is good that the people should prefer the hardships of capitalistic competition, which gives them at least the liberty to choose their associates, rather than they should sacrifice all freedom for the mess of pottage the compulsory communism may afford. It is the same spirit that induces

the poor to suffer starvation rather than accept the indignity of the workhouse.

At the same time, people generally, at least in England, and individualist anarchists everywhere, have too readily confused the real issue as to communism with the evils necessarily arising from compulsory, authoritarian organisation. There is no reason why this should be. For us, communism is only real communism when it is free; to enforce it is to destroy it. So the "individualist" can have his existence outside the commune if he chooses; but we suspect that, after all, like the comets, he will only succeed in rotating round it in an ellipse of extreme eccentricity.

As to the objection of communism being the means for the weak to exploit the strong—this has arisen, as it seems to us, simply because communism has never had a full and free extension. Even Proudhon, in one of his analyses of property, falls into this error. And that it is an error seems beyond all question. For it can be seen at once that the division of mankind into the "strong" and the "weak" puts us in a false relation at the very beginning, since there are all degrees as well as all kinds of "weakness". And the same with

strength. So we may well ask if we desire to have such a mathematical division in apportionment of rewards and effort, how do you propose to adjust? Do you not see for one thing that to meet the never-ending gradations that will arise you must expend more time and trouble than the results will justify. And at the end of it all justice will not be done, because it is not to be attained in that direction. If the "weak" man is free—and he must be free in an anarchist commune—he may find his strength in a direction where the "strong" man has failed. On the other hand, if an individual is weak in every sense—morally, physically and intellectually—are we to inflict on this unfortunate the additional hardship of a more restricted satisfaction of his needs? We then fall below the standard of sporting men, who at least have the fairness to "handicap" the strong and not the weak. So finally we find ourselves accepting the formula which so far has never been improved upon: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

FREEDOM—September 1909.

(N.B.—Needless to say, the communism advocated above is not to be confused with the alleged communism of the Bolsheviks, which is at the best, authoritarian, and at the worst, state capitalism.—S.E.P.)

MOSCOW TRIALS

BOOKS on the Soviet system of terror trials are very much in vogue in Britain and America to-day, just as they were very unfashionable a few years ago. A newly-published book, *Conspiracy of Silence*, by Alex Weissberg (Hamish Hamilton, 21/-) goes back to the great purge of 1936-1939 and is written by one of its victims. Mr. Weissberg is evidently an extraordinary man, he is described by Mr. R. H. S. Crossman as "a tubby *bon viveur* by physique and an argumentative extrovert by temperament" who "was rolled, for nine years, through the GPU and Gestapo machines, only to bounce up after the war in Sweden—a human rubber ball, without a puncture."

He discusses particularly the phenomenon which Western observers have found most puzzling—the manner in which the accused admit the palpably absurd and impossible crimes. His experience coincides with that of Mr. Z. Stypulkowski which was described in the book *Invitation to Moscow* and with the view of Mr. Arthur Koestler in his novel, *Darkness at Noon*.

Mr. Crossman sums up this explanation thus: "But how is it possible to ex-

tract millions of confessions without discovering a trace of guilt? Part of the explanation seems to be that the few surviving oppositional elements—White Russians and religious sectarians, for instance, who really were guilty of opposing Communism—were not touched. The Purge concentrated on the Communist elite, the most ardent supporters of the régime; and their philosophy explicitly repudiates the individual's right to free speech and fair trial as a bourgeois superstition. Even Weissberg himself, as a loyal supporter of the régime, did not feel that he was morally entitled to oppose the Purge as such, and this gave the GPU examiner an immense advantage in extracting his confessions. So too each of the convinced Communists who was arrested believed that Stalin had the right to liquidate him or to extort a fictitious confession if it was in the public interest to do so. In the whole of his three years' experience of Russian prisons, Weissberg only met one conscientious objector, an old anarchist. He was able to silence his examiner by argument because he denied that any State had any authority over him. Since a Communist could not take this fundamentalist stand, he could not feel that his personal innocence really mattered."

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

Chiaroscuro Augustus John 30/-

The painter's "fragments of autobiography".

Animal Farm George Orwell 1/6

Introducing last week's broadcast of this parable, Stephen Spender described it as "a work of genius" and one of the "extremely few works written in our day which one can be sure will have a public in a hundred years' time."

The English Village Victor Bonham-Carter 3/-

This new Penguin includes photographs and drawings and has a foreword by Dr. C. S. Lewis. It discusses the village in a practical and unromantic way, as an organ of human society and not a picturesque museum-piece.

An Outline of Philosophy Bertrand Russell 15/-

The sixth edition of this celebrated book.

Journal of Sex Education, February—March, 1952 2/6

Includes articles on Food Production and Population (from *Parade*); "How Do You Know Which Life Is More Valuable?"; *Alister Crowley*; and the usual Questions and Answers.

Obtainable from

27, RED LION STREET,
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FARMER JONES AND THE PIGS

IN *Mein Kampf*, Hitler put forward the view that a government can make the people believe any lie—provided it is big enough. Contemporary governmental practice shows that (the “successful war against Fascism” notwithstanding) rulers, far from repudiating this modern Machiavellianism, have taken it to their hearts with a vengeance. In the dictatorships, in particular, the deliberate, open, dishonest for truth has been treated by the party in power not as a regrettable weakness to be glossed over and covered up, but as a source of strength. For the use of fantastic and unreal prosecutions, deliberate blinding of prosperity where poverty and poverty prevail, and all the rest, has been used to create an insecure, unreal, 1984-ish atmosphere which has silenced opposition and hope.

The rulers of the West have not found it expedient to try such tricks on their own peoples, it is because it has not yet been necessary. (In fairness to contemporary Western rulers, one should not say that most of them are capable of it also, for it seems to require a thorough grounding in the dialectics of political Marxism—which is rather foreign to the Anglo-American muddling-through method which still prevails on both sides of the Atlantic). Nevertheless, the deliberate, open untruth is normal practice to-day in the diplomatic exchanges between governments. Listening to George Orwell's *Animal Farm* on the wireless this week many reminders of topical diplomatic practice were forcefully evident—a tribute to the edge, and depth, of the satire.

For weeks now, the U.N. and Communist negotiators have been wrangling over whether Russia is acceptable or not as a “neutral” power. At *Animal Farm*, one of the seven commandments written on the wall of the barn was “No animal shall ever kill another animal.” But after the triumph of the Bolshevik pigs, this was found to read, “No animal shall ever kill another animal without cause.” The Communist negotiators at Panmunjom have now agreed that Russia might be agreed to be unacceptable “if good reasons are given.” If diplomatic exchanges are seldom as transparent as this, it is still more rare for them to be free from such sophistry.

In fact, the whole “armistice” is a gigantic lie. For the full the negotiations have brought is now openly conceded to have allowed the Chinese to rest and reorganize and rest their forces and dig in their defenses. Mainly the same is true of the United Nations’ latest. The result is that the stage is now potentially set for a almost indefinite prolongation of the war. The armistice negotiations far from bringing the war to an early close may well have provided the means for its extension.

Not is it fantastic to speculate on the aims of the main protagonists. If the Americans are to retain a hold on the Chinese mainland, they may well prefer to have some kind of North Korean buffer state between themselves and China itself. Indeed a partition of Korea may be more satisfactory to them than a “successful” termination of the war with the enemy driven back to the Chinese border. Publicists are now

Banning and Burning the Books

CENSORSHIP strikes thinking people as an insult to their intelligence and adulthood. The idea that books must first pass through the hands of a group of one's fellow beings who decide whether these books are good for one's soul and for morals, is a repulsive one. Yet this is happening in many countries to-day, especially in the Catholic countries where there is the double censorship of the State and the Catholic Index.

A very Irish story is reported in the *Bookseller*. Apparently the Irish Censorship Board was criticised in strong terms when its supplementary estimate was considered by the Dail recently. A former Minister, Mr. James Dillon, said that some time ago a book had been banned on the grounds that it was indecent. On the same day it was acclaimed by the U.S. Catholic Book Club as the book of the month.

Mr. Dillon is reported to have said that the latest book by Graham Greene “was condemned in Ireland and put in the dustbin, but when it was pointed out that Mr. Greene was a well-known Catholic writer it was taken out of the dustbin again”. Such things, he said, were bringing the censorship of books into ridicule, and some means should be found of ensuring that they did not happen.

The Minister of Justice, Mr. Gerald Boland, said that he did not see any alternative to the present Board or its appeal system.

Presumably Irish people have ways and means of getting round this kind of censorship which is on distribution.

Much more dangerous is when restrictions are placed on the kind of books that can be published. A case is before the Courts in New York at present, which, if it ends in a victory for the State, will be yet another tangible piece of evidence of the introduction of fascism in America ostensibly for the purpose of fighting totalitarianism.

Mr. Trachtenberg, managing director of International Publishers (which, judging by its authors is a Communist, or sympathetic, publishing outfit) is charged with violating the Smith Act by “conspiring to publish and circulate books, articles, magazines and newspapers, advocating the principles of Marxism—Leninism”. This is a very dangerous prosecution, but one doubts whether many good Americans will rally to support the defendants in this case, or at least to denounce the concepts on which the charges are based. And yet suppression of speech and a free Press

always starts in this way. It ends up with book-burning.

And even that Nazi method of showing contempt for the “wrong” ideas is not unknown in America. We were only the other day reading a United Press report with comments by our New York contemporary, *l'Adunata dei Refrattari*, of how in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, a small town of 13,031 inhabitants, the local Board of Education nominated a board of twelve ladies to go through all the books in the High School library, and remove those they thought unsuitable for adolescents (the ages of children attending the school range from nine to eighteen). The twelve good ladies found only about half-a-dozen books for the pyre. One was a history book which “gave the impression that it approved of socialism”; the others were novels which referred to sex problems too openly. Socialism and Sex were then committed to the purifying flames. God save America!

Forgotten Men

THE salutary effect of the Press—which, unfortunately, does not offset its dangerous rôle—is shown by the case of a Negro, 28-year-old David Reese who, a local newspaper revealed, had been held in prison for nineteen months after he had been proved innocent of murdering a white man. The State Attorney ordered his immediate release within a few hours of the publication of the report.

David Reese had been held without charge during that period on what the Sheriff, Mr. Lowman, said were the verbal orders of Judge Hocker, of the Circuit Court, as “an accessory and witness” in the case of another Negro charged with murder. The *Tampa Tribune* alleged that the Judge said when interviewed following the allegations, that he did not recall the circumstances of the case.

That such things do not happen in American alone is shown by a much worse case, reported only a few days before the David Reese case, from Strasbourg, where Litim Mohamed, 26-year-old Algerian soldier accused of deserting his regiment in Germany and

having shot his sergeant in a brawl, has been acquitted after spending seven years in jail.

He had appeared before several military and civil courts during the seven years, but all had decided they were incompetent to judge his case. The Court that has now released him decided he had acted in legitimate self-defence.

For seven long years this youth, who also had the misfortune to belong to the “inferior races”, has been dragged before Courts only to be locked up again when the Courts, afraid of their own shadows, would not assume the responsibility of taking a decision.

Who, one is tempted to ask, arrested this man in the first place? And who is responsible for taking seven years to find out which was the competent Court to try this man?

But the most terrible reflection that one cannot avoid making in these two cases is how are such things possible in the second half of the 20th century—and on the right side of the Iron Curtain!

LIBERTARIAN.

A Terrified Magistrate

Mr. Basil Henriques, chairman of East London Juvenile Court, said at Caxton Hall, Westminster, yesterday, that he was “terrified” of the results that would come from “that so-called progressive free activity schools” where there were no repressions and no rewards. He said at a lunch-hour forum arranged by Christian Action that those things were contrary to human nature.

—Manchester Guardian, 27/2/52.

Death of a Conscript

An 18-year-old National Service soldier who told his mother, “I hate the Army,” fell 25 feet through a skylight yesterday while police chased him on a London factory roof. He died within a few minutes.

He was conscripted into the Royal Army Ordnance Corps three months ago. Four times he absented himself. “I’ll never go back,” he told his mother. But four times he was taken back to barracks.

—Daily Express, 29/2/52.

Africans Tried Under “Suppression of Communism” Act

THE first Supreme Court trial under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, began in Pretoria on Feb. 21, when two natives appeared before Justice Koper. The two men are charged with contravening Section 11(vi) of the Act as amended. The allegation was that during the period January 1, 1951 to August 17, 1951, at or near Pretoria the accused men unlawfully advocated, advised, defended or encouraged the achievement of any of the objects of Communism or any act or omission which was calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of Communism. Before the two men had pleaded, the advocate for the defence took exception to the indictment on the ground that it disclosed no offence. Alternatively he asked that the Crown be required to supply further particulars, failing which the indictment be quashed on the ground that it was calculated to prejudice and embarrass the defence.

Application for the setting aside of the indictment was allowed. The Judge said the indictment was defective in disclosing no offence.

(taking of the advantages of a buffer state in French Indo-China and similar creature) may well be devised in Korea.

Such a termination, far from creating anything new, would simply have perpetuated the original partition of Korea. Two years of war would have devastated a country, one thousandth of lives, created many more concentration camps. Farmer Jones would have come to terms with the pigs.

The following article appeared in the *News Chronicle* on February 16th, under the title “The Hypnotic Rhythm”:

THE thing that struck me most forcibly about the procession yesterday was the hypnotic power of the slow rhythm of the march.

The way in which that mighty rhythm was sustained along the route was uncanny. It caught up all the diverse elements that composed the procession—Europeans, Africans, Asiatics, men from the North and South American Continents, men from every corner of the Commonwealth seemed suddenly to become fused.

Hours afterwards, I can still hear in my head the pulse of that march. It was like the steady throb of a giant's heart. It had great majesty. Its rhythm never faltered. Strangest of all was the manner in which it appeared to subdue every constituent of the procession to its purpose.

The march was a magical demonstration of a unity that transcended the purely national unity elsewhere so strongly manifested yesterday. One saw the procession itself as almost a living thing, with an identity of its own in which its parts were submerged. It was not hard to imagine that, under the spell of the music and that mesmeric slow rhythm, there was a rare communion of sympathy among all those taking part.

This was one of those inspired moments lifted out of the stream of time when everything suddenly becomes different. There was no need for the marshalls to shepherd the procession. The visiting Princes, the foreign Ambassadors, the soldiers and civilians from abroad were all caught up by that haunting rhythm as surely as were our own perfectly-disciplined Guardsmen.

Much of the power of this strange enchantment was due, of course, to the pulse of the bands. I have never known the two traditional funeral marches, Handel's and Chopin's, create so profound an emotional effect. A distinguished man of affairs, who has been present at all such State ceremonies since the funeral of Queen Victoria, told me he had not before experienced anything like the poignant thrust of emotion or such a mysterious sense of unity.

SYMPTOM

The extraordinary cult or manifestation of fan-worship (call it what you will) is a symptom of the modern outlook on entertainment. It is something the successful performer—singer, actor, comedian alike—must accept, suffer, and even encourage.

I remember the woman who had the autograph of a Hollywood idol stencilled on the brass nameplate of her coffin. Sick children have been brought to an actor so that he might take their hand, and touch them, as it were, for the King's Evil. —Radio Times, 29/2/52.

Letter from Germany

FREEDOM recently published a series of articles on Communities, but alas it seems that almost every one of them failed after a certain lapse of time. Almost all of them were agricultural communities, and they failed, in my estimation, in the first place because the people who started them and worked in them had a more or less naive conception of agricultural work and rural life, and also they lacked the necessary knowledge of the obstacles they were liable to encounter.

May I be allowed to give my experiences of agricultural “Neighbourhoods” in North-West Germany amongst which I grew up. These neighbourhoods consist of four or five neighbouring farms, and the families in these farms are bound together by mutual agreement to take part in each others' misfortunes and enjoyments. This agreement is based on old customs and nobody knows when they were started. No state or public authority interferes with it, or is ever asked to interfere with it, and no contract exists between the members of such a neighbourhood about their obligations towards the other members: no member could bring in a law-suit if another member neglected his obligations towards him, but in spite of that, these obligations are invariably honoured. Even if personal antipathy exists between

Neighbourhoods

two members of such a neighbourhood, they never let that interfere with the ethics of neighbourhood. These people are generally avaricious, they would split a penny if they could, but I know of cases where they voluntarily suffered heavy monetary losses for the sake of the neighbourhood. If a neighbour should fail in his obligations, though I know of no such case, contempt for many years would be his fate.

The obligations of the members of such a neighbourhood consist in mutual aid to a member who is struck by some sort of misfortune, no matter what it is, and include such minor objects as to help him in his work if he cannot do it himself. When a child is born, the women of the neighbourhood take care of the household and the mother, and when somebody dies, the neighbours take care of the body.

But when there is also mutual enjoyment—when a wedding or some other feast takes place, all the neighbours are invited and are considered as near relatives of the family.

In former times, when insurance against fire and loss of cattle and crops did not exist, the neighbours all helped. If the house or any other building were burnt down, they all rebuilt it and if cattle or crops were lost by some misfortune, they helped out the owner.

PLEA FOR GREEK RELIEF

A GROUP of well-known personalities have cabled General Plastiras, the Greek Prime Minister, asking for a reprieve for the seven men and one woman condemned to death for spying. The signatories include Compton Mackenzie, Patricia Burke, Dowager Lady Wedgwood, Lady Lily Montagu, Beatrix Lehmann, Benjamin Britten, Labour M.P. Dr. Sorell Hastings, and many trade unionists, doctors and clergymen.

Here again one finds the intellectual weakness of the intellectuals. This list includes at least one known Communist name, and it is apparent that the petition is Communist inspired. This fact alone makes it virtually certain that the Greek Government will disregard it. A petition from which Communists were rigidly excluded and which was organised completely outside the C.P. and its “innocent” clubs would have far greater effect. Such petition could have been organised by the Freedom Defence Committee, had intellectual liberal opinion not allowed it to die for lack of support.

It is surely time that the intellectual world realised that the aims of Russia and the Communist Parties have nothing whatever to do with justice or rights or mercy or anything except their own advancement, and that they poison every organisation they take part in. If for no other reason than to make liberal appeals effective, Communist influence should be rigidly excluded, their overtures flatly repelled.

MANKIND IS ONE

Selections from FREEDOM, Volume 1, 1951

This 240-page volume contains 120 articles which were published in FREEDOM during 1951, and is the first of similar volumes to be published annually.

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BUILD IT FOR YOURSELF

It has always given us pleasure to report in FREEDOM the efforts of homeless families to club together and build houses for themselves. This is not merely because of the romantic appeal of the idea to our 'pioneering spirit' or because we regard it as a solution of the housing problem which is inseparable from a profit-based economy, but because we admire the spirit of people with enough initiative to solve their housing problem and because it at once takes them out of the ignoble category of people to whom things happen, into that unfortunately smaller category of people who do things. It is bound to increase their confidence in their own capacity for managing their lives, it gives them a functional bond with their neighbours far stronger than any that links the anonymous residents of a municipal housing estate. Miss Elizabeth Denby, writing of the successfully established "build-it-yourself" movement in Sweden in *Europe Re-housed* remarked: "It is safe to say that spirits are not damped by the inconveniences suffered during the first period of occupation; to most home-builders, the reminiscences of these early troubles will stand out as dear memories of the time when we built the cottage".

The first of the post-war self-building groups in this country was the Brighton Ex-Servicemen's Housing Society which grew from the "Brighton Vigilantes" whose activity in seizing empty property for the homeless was one of the sparks which set alight the "Squatters' Movement", quite the most outstanding example of spontaneous popular direct action in Britain for many years.

The Brighton society's twenty three-bedroom houses at Lower Bevendean, are complete and occupied, and there are now literally thousands of people, working singly or in groups, building or planning to build their own houses, in their spare time and holidays.

The Central Housing Association, in Birmingham, claimed 100 affiliated groups at the National Federation of Housing Societies included 14 self-build groups last November. At that time in the Birmingham area alone there were 28 groups, totalling 1,000 members, and planning to build 500 houses by their own labour.

According to the *News Chronicle* (19/11/51): "The most workable number of members in each house-building group has been found to be between 20 and 30, since each man working on the scheme is a potential tenant and under-

London Can Take It

Continued from p. 1

there will be plenty of mumbles and grumbles, but, as always, Londoners will grin and bear it. Herbert Morrison's famous wartime phrase, coined during the blitz—"London Can Take It"—will no doubt apply to this blitz on our pockets.

The L.P.T.B. workers themselves are embarrassed at the charges. They, of course, being the scapegoats on the spot, have had to put up with all the comments and resentment. One conductor I spoke to told me that the officials from head office were actually travelling on the buses themselves last Sunday to gauge the reaction of the public. He said they did not introduce themselves as L.P.T.B. officials but bought a ticket as ordinary passengers, so I asked him how he knew who they were. "I smelt 'em," he replied.

Too Many Officials

Bus conductors, of course, are continually snoopied on by the Board's narks in plain clothes who report any misdeeds or oversights on the worker's part. And that gives a clue to one of the answers to the continually rising prices. Without here going into the Anarchist opposition to the wage and money system, which occupies such a large proportion of public transport employees (300 million new bus tickets went into circulation last week!), it is obvious that a top-heavy organisation of officials has been built up which could be drastically pruned without affecting the efficiency of London Transport one bit.

Before the Tories were in power they were calling for an independent expert enquiry into the possibilities of increased efficiency and economy in the passenger transport services. Will they set up an inquiry now they have the power—or are they too busy preparing the war effort?

In the meantime, we might regale ourselves with the memory of last year's general strike in Barcelona, when in answer to the tramway company's increase of 40 per cent. on the fares every-one in Barcelona walked to work for a week and the company had to go back to the old rates.

But London is not Barcelona. There is no revolutionary working class influence big enough to deal with the situation. Individually, we shall no doubt find ways and means. Collectively and respectfully, Londoners will take it. And "It" will certainly be dishd out.

LONDONER

takes to continue working until all have finished. The groups qualify for a subsidy by registering as Friendly Societies under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act."

The Fort Dunlop workers building their first 30 houses at Solihull, claim that they are more spacious and more well-fitted than the average municipal houses and because of their closer contact with their architect, better planned and designed.

★

Mr. Cyril Dunn, in an article in *The Observer* (24/2/52), says that the London and National Self-Build Housing Association now has 30 groups in the London area, and reports that the groups in the Association in London and the Central Association in Birmingham have completed 91 houses in Birmingham, Brighton and Leeds, and have almost 600 under construction in Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester and Glasgow.

He says: "Each group has about 50 members and exists to build one house for each member. The central organisation supplies technical help and archi-

tect's drawings. A building fund is started, £20 to £30 from each member, paid either as a lump sum or in weekly instalments. The main finance is raised either from the local authority or from building societies.

"The groups form themselves into housing associations under the 1936 Housing Act, which gives them official status. Each has a trust deed, approved by the Ministry, binding each member to his share of the work and responsibilities. Usually each member is bound to work, on his own house and those of his neighbours, for about two years, at weekends and during holidays.

"As the houses are completed they are let to the members at a rent lower than is normally paid for a council house, and are allotted, as they are completed, on a points system.

"The houses are not built under licence as private houses are, but qualify for a subsidy, as council houses do. Opposition to the amateur builders has come in the past from local authorities, who rejected them as "foreigners", as people not on the council's own waiting list."

Economic Recovery

Continued from p. 1

facturers are complaining loudly of the many articles in which Japan is underselling them in America." (17/2/52.)

Lancashire textiles have already been elbowed out, for example, in East Africa where their price for certain articles of £4 12s. 6d. a score is undersold by the Japanese price of £3 15s. 0d. British pottery firms are disturbed because the Australian Government has relaxed the prohibition on Japanese imports. "On the average a Japanese tea or dinner service costs about one-third of the British price."

"Japanese sewing-machines of good quality now appearing in increasing numbers cost £7 10s. f.o.b. Japan; the cheapest Singer model at present is priced £19 for export.

"Japan is also exporting large quantities of bicycles to the Far East, but the demand is so great that British-made cycles are holding their own. Japanese plywood is delivered abroad at 66s. and 80s. per 100 ft. according to thickness, while British plywoods, according to quality, cannot be sold for less than

126s. to 240s. Allowing for costs of material and labour, 115s. would probably be the lowest British price for oak veneers sold by Japan at 80s."

The Turn of the Wheel

It is apparent from all this that FREEDOM's frequent comments on the nightmarish quality of our world are not overstated. The mechanisms of capitalism, which fights wars to eliminate competition, only to build it up again, appear not simply mad, but actually imbecile. To maintain that such an economy is controlled is to make the controllers sheer lunatics. Rather is it apparent that they (and we) are in the grip of a mechanism which they do not even understand, let alone direct. To appeal to governments to "do something" or "to undergo a change of heart" is simply delusive. Such a compulsive mechanism can only be broken by a more or less conscious rejection of it on the part of the peoples who are the pawns and the sufferers from its appalling patterns.

ROYALISM AND STALINISM

To show an unfelt sorrow is an office Which the false man does easy.

SHAKESPEARE.

THE Royal funeral having passed over very well, with only the barest possible noisy Royalist hooliganism inseparable from such occasions, and, after all, what are the few mob incidents concerning the man who walked down Fleet Street during the two minutes silence, or the boy who refused to doff his cap to the proclamation, against the enormous number of instances where nobody said a word to those who went about their business in their usual fashion? It might be interesting to take a look at the attitude of Stalin and his followers, who style themselves the Communist International with as much aplomb as the sovereign of England cheerfully holds on to the title of "Defender of the Faith" bestowed by the Pope.

The *News Chronicle* has apparently received letters on the subject since their columnist Mr. A. J. Cummings protested that the Iron Curtain countries had sent no regrets. It would seem to us a highly commendable thing if—since he obviously believes they had no regrets—they had refrained from sending any, and even the noisiest Royalist must secretly despise the sovereign who passes on the messages of joy and regrets automatically, at the proper seasons, without really meaning them.

However, such restraint was not that of the Iron Curtain countries. Some of the *News Chronicle's* readers wrote reproaching them for not publishing "the official Soviet expressions of condolence on the death of King George" and Mr. Cummings for not noticing the presence of Mr. Zharubin and satellites in the procession.

"It must be pointed out as firmly as possible that the punctiliously proper Soviet communications had no other significance whatsoever—not to have done so might have been tantamount to breaking off official relations."

—*News Chronicle*, 22/2/52.

How hard for the Soviet diplomats! If they misbehave, they are in the wrong;

and if they behave "properly", they are still in the wrong! But let us see if they did really mean it. How can you tell? Shakespeare made the Earl of Westmorland remark:

If that you will France win Then with Scotland first begin

and no doubt he would have had him say to-day,

If you Stalin's mind would learn First the C.P.'s line discern.

The Communist Party here could quite easily, without causing any crisis, have refrained from uttering any comment. It might be suggested that they would follow the crowd. Since, however, their condolences on the King's death would not be taken very seriously, and the simplest course for them to adopt would be silence, what they did do is of great interest. In East London the C.P. had to make up its mind. Represented as it is on several local councils, they either had to boycott the whole business, or make a positive stand for or against. They made a positive stand for (borne out by their indignation with Mr. Cummings).

Through its representation on the Stepney and Hackney Borough Councils, the Communists were faced with motions expressing condolence with the Royal Family. "Not only did the Communist councillors associate themselves with the expressions of sorrow and sympathy, but they supported the greeting to Queen Elizabeth on her accession to the throne—an action which may be interpreted as something of a *volte face* in view of the bitter things Communists have said until recently about all matters monarchist."—*Hackney Gazette*.

This cannot be dismissed as parish-pump politics. The Communist Party does not work that way, and its councillors in the East End are not in a world apart from its representatives at headquarters here and abroad. Were they represented still in Parliament, there is no doubt whatsoever that they would have been taking the same line there. And consider this in connection with the

Should We Forgive?

Continued from p. 1

us can probably remember the sick anger we felt at the bombing of schools with teachers and children in them.

But in a small caption under a photograph in the *London Evening Standard* last week (28/2/52), of children at the re-opening of a school in Hammersmith, London, the following words appeared:

"Because of a mistake made by a German bomber pilot in February, 1944, the old Westville School was destroyed.

"The pilot's target should have been St. Paul's School, Hammersmith, where Viscount Montgomery had his Second Front headquarters." (My italics.)

I cannot remember any writer in the press at the time suggesting that this school was bombed by mistake. Oh no, it was a deliberate and cold-blooded attack on innocent women and children by a barbaric and fanatical Nazi criminal. Nor do I remember the *Evening Standard* giving its readers the information that Montgomery's headquarters was in a neighbouring school, which probably looked very similar from the air. The Germans obviously knew, but we didn't.

The Anarchists, we are proud to point out, did not fall for, or take part in, the atrocity propaganda on behalf of the State at war. We pointed out all through the war that atrocities were being committed on both sides; that war itself is the biggest atrocity of all and that it can only be waged by terror and by lies.

We are now being asked by Christian gentlemen to "forgive our enemies". Those same patriots who rejoiced at the obliteration of Hamburg, Cologne, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but who screamed in righteous indignation at the Luftwaffe, are now saying that we must show the Christian virtue of forgiveness, and release the Nazi War criminals, so that Germany can once more take its rightful place among the nations.

But (and I am open to correction for scriptural knowledge is not a strong point of mine!) I fancy that Christ himself asked, "Forgive them, Lord, for they know not what they do." What about those who did know what they were doing?

The British Anarchists never blamed the whole German people, all the Italians or the Japanese, for the doings of their leaders, any more than we accepted responsibility for the policies of the British Government. But should we forgive those various governments, who knew very well what they were doing, knew perfectly the falsehood and deceit necessary for the waging of war, the stirring up of hate between the peoples?

We think not. We shall neither forgive nor forget the hypocrisy and the brutality, the fine phrases and the tawdry reality of the war-mongering governments. They are asking us now to forgive the Germans only because they

want to use the Germans as well as us.

The Anarchist message comes from every country to every country, not to the governments who exploit us all, but to the common people everywhere.

We cannot forgive the Nazis for their treatment of the Jews, the American State for the atom bomb on a Japan already asking for peace, the Japanese militarists for their imperialist campaigns, the Russian Army for its betrayal of Warsaw, or the British Air Force for its bombing of Turin and Milan when the Italians were in revolt.

We cannot forgive them—we can only forestall them in their attempts to do it all over again. We can only try to establish a union of the people of Germany, Britain, Russia, Japan, America and of every country on the basis of recognition of the common interest of all the peoples against all the governments.

P.S.

Special Appeal

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(by Foyle's, Charing Cross Road)
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INDOOR MEETINGS

at the
PORCUPINE, Charing Cross Rd.
(next Leicester Sq. Underground Station)
Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
MARCH 9—John Beresford on GOEBBELS AND CALCULATING MACHINERY
MARCH 16—E. V. Swart on SOUTH AFRICA'S TREK FROM PROGRESS

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS
IN EAST HAM
Alternate Wednesdays
at 7.30
MAR. 19—S. Corio on MY VIEWPOINT
Enquiries c/o Freedom Press

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

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