

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

## POSSIBILITIES OF PEACE IN KOREA

AT the time of going to press the United Nations and the Communist delegations at Panmunjon are reported to have signed an agreement on the repatriation of prisoners of war. Hopes are entertained that a full armistice agreement is in sight. Such hopes have been raised before, however, and it is too early yet to assume that peace is imminent. Meanwhile the general picture is complicated by the declaration of the South Korean President, Syngman Rhee, that his government will never accept a peace which does not include a unification of Korea.

### Exchange of Prisoners

The agreement regarding the exchange of prisoners apparently (we use the word advisedly since all recent armistice negotiations have been conducted in deep secrecy) will permit those who do not wish to return to China or North Korea being granted some kind of political asylum. But before that happens Communist agents will be allowed a chance to "persuade" them to return. What exactly this will involve is not yet clear. FREEDOM already noted a tendency on the part of liberals and others to regard the principle of no forced repatriation—that is, the handing back of certain prisoners to almost certain punishment or death—as academic, when it became the apparent stumbling block to successful truce negotiations. The present arrangement has face-saving aspects for both sides, and this makes it likely that the United Nations may turn a blind eye to the future of some of the prisoners-of-war, unless a most determined and vigilant attitude is maintained by those in this country and America who still care about individuals and their freedom of choice.

At the moment bargaining is in progress as to the exact number of Communist agents who are to be permitted persuasive access to the prisoners. The United Nations recommended one per thousand, the

Communists demanded nine. It is thought that a compromise in the region of five may be accepted.

### Face-Saving

Throughout the prolonged two years of negotiations at Panmunjon, there has been open preoccupation with, and newspaper discussion of, the problem of face-saving. How can either side (really China on the one hand and the United States on the other) get out without seeming to have lost the war, and without being able to represent to their own subjects that the other side has had to make concessions. This has been one of the most openly shameful aspects of the whole affair, which started as a show of strength between the contestants in the cold war and has continued with a loss of over a million lives and the destruction of even more homes ever since.

Such politics is repellent and dirty, and is quite incompatible with any idealism. And that this is not merely an expression of biased anarchist opinion is indicated by the following quotation from Patrick O'Donovan, the *Observer's* correspondent at Panmunjon:

"One strange result of the approach of an armistice never before expected with such confidence," he writes, "is the change in the attitude of foreigners whose business it is to watch and comment on the truce talks. *It is as if it were realized that something squalid—though necessary—were being done, as if Korea were again being sold as part of a deal between great Powers...*" (our italics).

It is worth pointing out that from the outset FREEDOM has stressed the obvious fact that whatever the ideological gloss given to the conflict, the welfare of Korea was hardly considered, for the war has physically obliterated huge numbers of the population, destroyed industry and agriculture, and been absolutely disastrous as a whole.

### What of Results?

Latterly it has become apparent that Korea is no more than a sterile graveyard for the United Nations and Chinese troops who have been poured into the struggle during the last two and a half years. Once again let us rely not on our own opinions but on the admissions of the *Observer*, this time from their editorial comment (7/6/53.):

"Hopes are high that this time the deadlock in the Korean armistice negotiations may really have been broken, and that in a few days' time the three years' war will come to an end. If one considers that for nearly two years the military stalemate has been complete and yet that every day during these two years, while the armistice negotiators played their marathon poker game at Panmunjon, men have been killed and maimed in stationary routine fighting conducted to no recognisable military or political purposes, everyone will heave a sigh of profound and weary relief at the end of this slow atrocity.

"Beyond this relief, there will be little elation. The results of the Korean war cannot satisfy anybody. True, aggression has been stopped, and both sides of the 'cold war' have been chastened and sobered into a better awareness of the limitations of their physical power. *But what a price has been paid in order merely, at the end, to arrive at the same division of Korea which existed before the war.* Something like a

million dead; uncounted millions homeless and displaced; the cities and industries of Korea in ruin. *And no problem solved, no bitterness assuaged, all the original causes of war still present and virulent as before.* It is a tragedy without a catharsis." (Our italics).

There is little point in adding any comment to this really damning summary, except perhaps to point out that no recent war has achieved the ideological goals it set out for, and that therefore warfare should be completely suspect as a method of achieving desirable ends.

### Economics and Korea

There is however, the sinister and concealed aspect to this as to any other recent war. With all the destruction of lives and social wealth, war remains a boon to present-day capitalist economy. FREEDOM has sought to keep this hidden aspect of the war in Korea constantly in front of its readers because it is far more important as a cause—both initial and maintaining—of modern war than any ideological considerations of any kind.

Throughout the recent months when the termination of the war has been on everyone's mind, the stock exchanges have shown how closely economy is dependant upon war. City editors have come to speak of "fears of peace" quite openly and without shame, for ceasing hostilities means withdrawing a mechanism which keeps contemporary economy going.

For this reason it seems almost certain that when the war ends in Korea, the United States and possibly this country also will increase aid to the Viet Nam in Indo-China. There will be a flourish of ideological trumpets but economic counsels will be the effectively operative ones.

## Czech Currency Reforms

THE Czechoslovak government has recently carried out a currency reform which has caused widespread discontent among the population. On May 31 the government repudiated about 90 per cent. of the money in private hands and about half of the savings in State Banks.

Hostile opposition has been very bitter and Czech newspapers have reported that workers in Pilsen went on strike for a week following the reform. It is clear that the effect is to destroy any private security which workers may have built up, and make them completely dependant on government organisations and wages. On the other hand, the government has been forced to admit that in such circumstances workers become less interested in working overtime.

Even local Communist parties have been critical of this new move, and have been attacked by the government—"Instead of thinking of the welfare of the workers as they should", official articles have declared "they have thought only of themselves as private individuals." Workers who have lost savings are "reproved for not putting them in the banks, though it does not appear that they would have been much safer there.

The opposition shows that this decree has been mainly directed at the workers, and it looks as if the government have, in effect, confiscated their savings. The impression is strengthened by the line of the government, which stigmatizes opposition as bourgeois and anti-working-class, thereby hoping to terrify criticism into silence. There seems little doubt that the Communist government, already hated by the Czechs, will have deepened the resentment of the population by this new move.

## CASUALTY FIGURES IN KOREAN WAR

CASUALTIES in the Korean war have reached 2,303,542 for both sides according to an Associated Press survey of official and estimated figures. Casualty figures for the United States, British, South Korean and the other 14 allied armies with troops in Korea now total 406,542, including 320,117 killed and wounded. The total Communist casualties are estimated at 1,897,000, including 1,347,000 dead and wounded and another 406,000 non-battle casualties.

The latest totals represent an increase of 174,542 for both sides since that previous Associated Press survey in December. This figure includes an increase of 36,538 in United Nations killed and wounded and an estimated increase of 111,100 in Communist killed and wounded—a ratio of over three to one. Prisoners and missing in the action figures account for the balance.

A breakdown of the figures by countries is given below:

### UNITED NATIONS

United States: 24,119 dead and 100,665 wounded, according to latest figures from the Defence Department.

Britain: Total casualties up to March 4 were 3,763, including 585 dead, 1,921 wounded, and 1,257 missing or captured.

South Korea: The heaviest United Nations casualties, with an estimated total of 183,727 killed and wounded.

Other countries: The casualties of fourteen other countries with combat units total 9,749, including 1,956 killed, 7,135 wounded, and 649 missing or captured.

### COMMUNISTS

China: 835,000 estimated dead and wounded in battle, 239,000 non-battle casualties, 21,000 prisoners—total 1,095,000.

North Korea: 512,000 estimated dead and wounded in battle, 167,000 non-battle casualties, 123,000 prisoners—total 802,000.—Associated Press.

## How Governments Deal With Opposition

WE publish below a selection made from recent Press of the unending list of arrests, executions, detentions and banishments that are taking place in all countries, always in the name of "law and order", or of democracy—"people's democracy" or just plain "democracy".

### EGYPTIAN POLICE ARREST "SUSPICIOUS CHARACTERS"

ISMAILIA, MAY 29.

The Sub-Governor of Ismailia announced to-night that Egyptian police had arrested 13 "suspicious characters considered to be a public menace" in their homes here at 4 a.m. to-day.

He said that the operation was completed by 5 a.m. and all thirteen Egyptians had been sent to Cairo soon afterwards. The arrests had been made on instructions from Cairo.—Reuter.

### NINE HELD IN ECUADOR

GUAYAQUIL, ECUADOR, MAY 28.

Nine opposition politicians were arrested last night and police charged they were "plotting again to subvert public order." Authorities are said to be searching for additional "public agitators."—(U.P.).

### TUNIS POLICE ARREST 60 ALLEGED CONSPIRATORS

TUNIS, MAY 29.

Police claimed to-day to have arrested sixty members of an association called "Millers of God," held responsible for the assassination of Chadly Kastalli.

vice-president of Tunis Municipal Council, and for two attempted murders. The police said the association had listed thirty men who were to be "eliminated" as part of the struggle for national independence.—Reuter.

### RUSSIA SHOTS FOUR "U.S. AGENTS"

MOSCOW, MAY 27.

A statement issued by the Russian Ministry of Internal Security announces the execution by shooting of four United States agents allegedly dropped by parachute from a plane in Ukrainian territory on April 26.

The statement said two of those shot were saboteurs named Vasili Vasilchenko and Leonide Mackovsky.—British United Press.

### SLANSKY'S BROTHER NOW IMPRISONED

Prague Radio has announced the first spy trial in a Communist country since Stalin's death in March and within two weeks of the announcement of a limited amnesty in Czechoslovakia.

The trial (Reuter reports) opened and

closed in a single day. All four defendants were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment—but none was sentenced to death. One of them was Richard Slansky, brother of the executed Rudolf Slansky, former secretary-general of the Czechoslovak Communist party. He was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of treason and espionage.

### "PROMOTING RACIAL HOSTILITY" IN SOUTH AFRICA

PORT ELIZABETH, MAY 20.

Four members of the African National Congress and another African have been banned from certain magisterial districts for a year. An order from the Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart, said that the Africans were promoting hostility between Whites and non-Whites in South Africa. Two members of the South African Indian Congress were served with similar notices on Monday.

All the men are not banned from the same set of districts; but in most cases all the larger urban areas, besides the one in which each man resides, were mentioned.—Reuter.

### AFRICAN CHIEF DEPORTED

Sir Geoffrey Colby, Governor of Nyasaland, has ceased to recognise Chief Gomani as Native Authority, and since the chief has refused to obey an order

to leave Ncheu District, Sir Geoffrey has authorised his deportation from the district. This was disclosed in a telegram to the Colonial Office which was released for publication yesterday. The telegram added that the deportation order "Gave rise to a disturbance to-day in district of Lizulu, where a number of the chief's followers have gathered round him with intention to resist order. Chief has left Lizulu. Police engaged in executing order. Situation in Ncheu district now quiet."

### DEATH SENTENCE IN PAKISTAN

The Pakistani public is by now fairly inured to sensations (our Karachi Correspondent continues) but it would be hard to exaggerate the surprise and dismay caused by the news that Maulana Abul Ala Maududi, leader of the Jamaat-I-Islami (the Islamic Association), had been sentenced to death by a military court in Lahore. This is, in the classic phrase, "martial law and no demned nonsense" with a vengeance. Another prominent Muddah, Maulvi Abdus Sattar Niazi, who was a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, had already received the same sentence. The chief administrator of martial law has, indeed, commuted the sentences to fourteen years rigorous imprisonment, but even that is an extremely stiff punishment. There have been demonstrations at Karachi, and nine persons have been arrested.

History is written by those who survive, philosophy by the well-to-do; those who go under have the experience.

—W. R. LETHABY.

# THE GLASS

THE GLASS, No. 8, edited by Antony Borrow and Madge Hales. 2/-.

"THE GLASS" is described as 'a literary magazine devoted to imaginative and introspective writing'. Commencing as a hand-printed and quite literal 'little magazine' it has now become a well designed and printed production. The latest issue contains an excellent portrayal by T. H. Jones of a child's awakening to the unreal 'realities' of life entitled "Holy Deceptions"; the same writer also contributes a poem, "The Pride Of The Morning", which, whether the author intended it to or not, provides an attractive rival to the cowboy song "As I Walked Out In The Streets Of Sacedo". Amongst other contributions worth mentioning are a pleasant trifle of a poem by Paul Potts called "To A Girl" and an essay by Ithell Colquhoun on "The Might Of Nature" the terminology of which makes one wish once more that a certain Viennese by the name of Sigmund Freud had never been heard of or read.

To anarchists, however, (who on the whole are concerned more with the objective struggle for social justice than with subjective probings into the nature of the myth or examining the question as to whether the same 'forces impelling the depths of the human psyche operate also to shape certain phenomena of external nature'), perhaps the most interesting part of the magazine will be the noble passage in Antony Borrow's editorial which runs:

"The true humanist is now recognized as the man who says NO! Today Communism and Democracy both use the same oppressive techniques, so that the policeman in one half of the world is the criminal of the other. The humanist is the man in the middle, whose protest goes out equally against the political conviction of Slansky and the Rosenbergs; who deplores the oppression of Christianity in the East, and the oppression done in the name of Christian morality in the West . . . He is always apparently on the side of the victim, not because he approves of the man's doctrines, but because he disapproves of the way he is silenced.

His tolerance does not allow exceptions; and he asserts once more the right of every man to go unaccused on grounds of race, colour, creed, party, or sexual peculiarity; he demands not only the coldness of mere tolerance (although that would do to go on with) but also something nearer to love for all men. And, having said it, there is nothing for him to argue about. That is where he starts from. The rest of the world will just have to catch up. Such ideas are so basic that he is prepared to die, but not to kill, in order to assert them."

With the spirit of such a statement we can wholeheartedly agree; with its letter almost wholly so (there are some, amongst them the present writer, who consider the policeman as anti-social, if not more so, as the criminal). For it alone this issue of "The Glass" is worth acquiring, since such truths as these cannot be said too often.

S. E. PARKER.

# Communist Strategy in Britain

Communist Strategy in Great Britain, by Bob Darke. (Collins, 5s.)

BOB DARKE, who served the Communist Party for eighteen years, gives us a vivid and factual account of Communist proceedings behind the scenes, showing especially their contempt for the workers and their Trade Unions. The book is addressed mainly to workers, and its style is that of a worker with a good experience in public speaking. The reasons why he finally left the Party are given as bodily and mental fatigue, the claims of family life, and a moral conscience, all human and individual factors which it is comforting to see can still win their battle against the totalitarian hold of a party.

We shall not discuss the facts, which are meant for those who had never had an opportunity of seeing the Communists as they are and not as they want to appear; nor are we impressed and

scared by Darke's picture of all that Communism has achieved in Great Britain in spite of its paucity of men and means. On the contrary, it seems to us a matter of greater wonder that it has achieved so little in spite of all the cleverness and thoroughness of its campaigns.

Among the causes of its failure to win even a hundredth of all the power it coveted we must list first the power of the bigger parties which stand in relation to the Communists not as white to black, but of a lighter to a darker shade of grey. What they lack in military and conspiratorial organization they make up for in numbers, money, indigeness and tradition. Secondly, the British worker likes to believe that he thinks for himself, even if he doesn't; and it is to wound his self-respect cynically to deprive him of this illusion which the Communists tend to do. Thirdly, Marxism, Leninism and Stalinism have become incomprehensible and irrelevant except to the initiated, while the initiated themselves can never safely rely on them either for tactics or dogmas. Finally, without the assistance of the Bob Darke, the Communists gave the game away when they sold their soul. Cryptic and hypocritical as they may be, it does not take much intelligence to see that their policies emanate from Moscow, and that they aim, first and foremost, at winning the approval of their masters in Moscow. The British worker may be insular and dull in his perception of the real conflicts torturing the world but he is still too well aware of the masters he has to cope with at home to let his struggle against them be fanned or smothered at the beck and call of the agents of a foreign power who label themselves the Workers' Party.

There are, however, some conclusions—or at least, perplexities—which one is bound to reach after a reflective reading of this book, and one of them is that the democratic system of elections, committees and meetings' procedure is not a guarantee of democratic liberties, but a ready-made machine for their suppression. To prevent it every citizen and Union member should attend all meetings likely to affect him in any of his social capacities, and work himself to death as, according to Bob Darke's testimony, every Communist does. He should renounce all life's amenities and that very freedom of his time and thoughts which we are taught it is the purpose of democratic institutions to preserve. Democracy in this context appears to be an extension of government to cover all human activities and to transform every individual into a bureaucrat of some sort. It is a system of controls of which totalitarianism is a more economical application, but which itself, if efficiently

applied, would leave the individual no option other than becoming a wheel in a machine or have his life entirely regulated by all and sundry.

One could understand how in a country like Italy many people, reared in Fascist principles and methods, can set their highest ambition in achieving that desire to be the favoured slave which Paul Louis Courier so keenly analysed and which is, after all, their highest psychological motive force behind the man who sticks to the Communist Party once he knows what it is. But in Britain one would not expect to find so many specimens of the psychological type who, too cowardly to become a shepherd but not meek enough to be a sheep, chooses the rôle of the dog fawning to his master and biting or barking at the sheep. After the death of God, as proclaimed by Nietzsche, we live in an age of dereliction and freedom. The existentialist philosophy reflects it most transparently while Communism is there to exploit to the full each social and individual case of inadaptation to this new and tragic situation. To the individual afraid of freedom Communism offers a master even more watchful and exacting than the Christian God, and to his feeling of absurdity and futility it offers a community of the faithful which gives meaning and purpose to his life. It offers a hierarchy that takes cognizance of all his acts and thoughts and is itself the sole depository of rewards the sole dispenser of punishments. So, if Communism is to be fought or arrested, it is at a deeper level, by men becoming brave enough to bear their freedom, and healthy enough to overcome their feeling of dereliction, with love for their brethren, for their equals, and not for their masters. Although strategically important it is not enough, as Bob Darke seems to suggest, to persuade workers to take a more active and vigilant part in the affairs of their Trade Unions.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

## BUT IT DIDN'T TAKE LONG

IN 1924, after the fall of the Conservatives under Stanley Baldwin, my father had to send for the Socialist leader Ramsay MacDonald and invite him to form the first Labour Government.

My father and Lord Stamfordham later supplied me with some of the details of that remarkable encounter between the King and his new Labour Ministers.

They included, besides Ramsay MacDonald, who had begun his career as a low-paid clerk, three trade unionists—the colourful J. H. Thomas, who had been an engine-driver, Arthur Henderson, who had been a foundry labourer, and J. R. Clynes, who had been a mill-hand.

My father had been shocked by a report that his new Prime Minister had presided over a public meeting at the Albert Hall only shortly before at which the Bolshevik anthem, "The Internationale", had been enthusiastically sung.

Fixing Ramsay MacDonald with a cold eye to show his concern and dis-

approval, the King asked squarely whether the newspaper accounts of this incident were true.

The Prime Minister admitted with some embarrassment that the song had indeed been sung that evening.

"But that is a dreadful thing to do," said the King. Ramsay MacDonald agreed but added, to my father's consternation, that his followers would in fact have sung it again in the House of Commons in jubilation over the defeat of the Conservatives but for his restraining influence and that of his moderate colleagues.

"Good lord," exclaimed the King, "they'll sing it outside this palace next!"

Shamefacedly the Prime Minister explained. "The trouble is, your Majesty, that they have lately got used to singing that song and it may take a little time to break them of this habit."

From "My Coronation Thoughts", by the Duke of Windsor. *Sunday Express*, 7/6/53.

## Anarchism and Mysticism *Continued*

NOT being a philosophical modist, I am quite unconcerned with whether a philosophy is fashionable at the moment or not, nor am I interested in championing the cause of logical positivism. My criticism of Giovanni Baldelli's article was directed more from the semanticist's standpoint, a position that on occasions gives the best view. I agree wholeheartedly with Max Muller, who, far from being shortsighted, was one of the most perspicacious of linguists.

As a metaphor about "peopling the universe with spurious entities" seems to have occasioned Giovanni Baldelli some difficulty, and as it concerns the crux of our disagreement, perhaps you will allow me to return to it. He quite rightly observes that "entities that are not genuine are not entities at all". The point that eludes him is that those who "people the universe" with them can do so only in

their imaginations. What they consider to be entities are merely phantoms that their naive handling of language has conjured up to haunt them. The words they use to symbolize a reference to these imaginary entities have no discoverable REFERENTS (and I hope that on this occasion the printer will not correct what he perhaps regards as my barbarous spelling) because you cannot (unless you are a mystic, of course) refer to something that is not there to be referred to.

There are two ways of getting into such a state. One is to hypostatize abstractions (and by "hypostatize" I mean, of course, "to make into or treat as a substance", the only definition given by the Oxford English Dictionary). Not all substantives denote substances. In the case of "hunger", mentioned by Giovanni Baldelli, the referents vary according to the nature and extent of the abstraction involved: in the everyday use of the word the referents are certain organs of the body at certain times. Few people, I imagine, would ever suppose that hunger was something that has real existence. But when someone writes about a "Mind inclusive of all minds" (including itself?) it is obvious that "mind" has been reified or personified.

The other method is to ignore William of Occam's advice, "Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem". This depends for its success on the primitive confusion of a word with what it stands for, which leads some persons to suppose that if they are comforted with a word then there "must be" something named by that word. I once spent an amusing half-hour assuring a Christian that the "goulack" is more important than the "soul", and if I did not quite convince him I am sure it was only because I did not have the authority of a powerful church to back me up.

Perhaps a more serious example will make this process of manufacturing "entities" *ad lib.* quite clear. When Clerk Maxwell derived the set of partial differential equations that bear his name he showed the equivalence of light and transverse electromagnetic waves. Some of his contemporaries concluded that for these waves to travel through space there "must be" some medium for them to travel in. They named this medium the "luminiferous ether" and wrote books and papers about it, explaining that it

was a jelly-like substance pervading all space. Some carping sceptics, however, felt that the whole business smelt of metaphysics and were so unkind as to point out that the ether hypothesis had never been experimentally verified. The question was settled once and for all when Michelson and Morley carried out their famous experiment, which demonstrated that where the ether should have been there was nothing at all. So the "ether" went into the junk-box along with "God", "the soul", "the Absolute", and the other metaphysical rubbish that men have discarded.

The example of the ether also disposes very effectively of the "principle of sufficient reason", though I had always supposed that Voltaire had so thoroughly ridiculed this quaint fancy of Leibniz's that it would never be necessary to do so in our times.

Giovanni Baldelli's criticism of scientific measurement seems to me to be particularly obtuse, since the act of measuring is the operation that gives meaning to the scientific concepts concerned, just as the act of hitting a ball with a racket in a certain way is one of the operations that give "tennis" its meaning. Any normal person can make measurements or hit a ball with a racket, but when we come to "spiritual forces" it seems that there are no operations we can perform to enable us to understand what (if anything) the words denote. If some of us conclude that the words have no meaning who will blame us?

Perhaps one reason for the modern craze for mysticism, which owes its present popularity in part to the senilities of Aldous Huxley and Christopher Isherwood, is that it fits in so well with the prevailing irrational, antiscientific temper. And it is not hard to be a mystic. All you need to do is to rationalize your introspective fancies in terms of some handy system of theology or metaphysics. No doubt some mystics do have remarkable personal experiences. So do opium-eaters, madmen, and the victims of delirium tremens. But no-one has yet put forward schizophrenia or manic depression as a philosophy of life, nor has anyone yet formulated a theory of anarcho-alcoholism, though I suppose that will come in due season.

Yours fraternally,  
EDWIN PEEKE.

## DEATH OF THE FOUNDER OF PECKHAM HEALTH CENTRE

READERS of FREEDOM will be sad at the death of Dr. Scott Williamson at the age of 69 on June 4th. He was the founder of the Pioneer Health Centre at Peckham but he exerted a far wider influence on his contemporaries' attitude towards health. He lectured on a number of occasions to the London Anarchist Group's audiences and always kindled a most warm response in his hearers.

With Dr. James Pearse he founded the Pioneer Health Centre in 1928 but after 5 years set about using the experience gained to set on foot a much more ambitious project. This he had realized by 1938 with the new building—now famous—in Peckham. His object was to investigate health and to define this elusive concept. Health as he conceived it meant no mere absence of disease: he wished to study human behaviour in human beings who were free, not only from disease but from all sorts of other pressures arbitrarily imposed by urbanism. The family club which constituted the Health Centre at Peckham therefore set out to free its members to follow their own bent, while Scott Williamson and his team of biologists observed what happened.

"There is only one rule at Peckham," he used to say, "and that is that there should be no rules!" He set out to free the initiative of members and he succeeded to an astonishing degree. To our comrades

who declared that his principles were basically anarchist, he would raise deprecating protests for he disliked to be so labelled. "Call me a Community man," he would say and that was as far as he would go. But he recognized that the principles of Peckham were in fact anarchist, and it was only a certain practical shrewdness that insisted on keeping clear of polemical labels, and which incidentally enabled him to secure support for his projects often from the most unexpected quarters, which determined this cautiousness.

His interest in bringing individuals to terms with their environment led him to add a farm to the amenities of the family club. Originally so that his pregnant mothers could have fresh milk and fresh greenstuffs. This was a typical endeavour of Peckham—to start from the individual, to try and supply his wants and needs, and to remove the obstacles thereto. No doubt it was this faith which gave him his interest in the problem of fertility, and made him also a co-founder of the Soil Association.

The Pioneer Health Centre has received wide acclaim, but the implications of its teaching have not yet begun to be fully grasped. Scott Williamson's work will increase in importance for he was a pioneer in new concepts of human progress.

J.H.

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# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 14, No. 24 June 13, 1953

## LITTLE AUTHORITARIANS UNDER THE SKIN

NOTHING since the *Manchester Guardian* exposed the Horse-meat racket has so shaken the readers of this voice of British liberalism than the cartoon by David Low published on the morrow of the glorious coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. But whereas in the case of the horse-meat racket the correspondence that resulted was of praise for the courage and public-spirit of the Editor, the opposite is the reaction to Low's cartoon which has brought down on his head and the editor's more abuse than even the most pessimistic observer of humanity-as-it-is could ever have dreamed possible.

Low's cartoon, which has the title *Morning After* depicts in the right hand corner a tottering television set from the screen of which a determined looking woman, crowned with the word REALITY is addressing a public consisting of a drunk happy dowager and a well made-up floozy, two babies who, like ostriches burying their heads in the sands reveal only their posteriors, and a third lying on his back, wearing a paper crown and a necklace while waving a small Union Jack. Finally a bleary-faced little man dressed in a paper coronet and a pair of trousers made out of a Union Jack, a toy trumpet stuck in his mouth, and who from his undignified position on all-fours is the only member of the audience attempting to even look in the direction of the television screen. The floor is littered with champagne bottles, toy soldiers on their backs, a drum, crumpled coronation decorations and triumphal arches, and open books with the titles "Fairy Princess Tales" and "Snow White". Written across the floor between the television set and this drunk happy group are the words "£100,000,000 SPREE".

This was too much for some readers, just as the wholesale abandonment of the rest of that issue of the *Manchester Guardian* to gushing reports and pages of photographs of the coronation must have been to others. But the former were unable to stomach Low's douche of cold water and in their hundreds addressed vitriolic communications and ex-communications to the Editor. All the goodwill of honest journalism, factual reporting, defence of the freedom of the Press and the Rights of Horses built up over so many years were, for some readers destroyed by that one cartoon of Low's and the Editor's connivance in its publication! We do not propose to summarise the many letters published in the *Manchester Guardian* (5/6/53 and 8/6/53) though the reading of them is an interesting, if disheartening, experience. But the conclusion we cannot help coming to (a conclusion we had already reached before the present "incident") is that so many ordinary people who talk and write about Freedom of the Press and of speech; of emancipation of women; of the right to live one's own life, are only fine-sounding "clichés" and that underneath lurks the little authoritarian.

Freedom is more than a word; it is a state of mind and an attitude towards those who do not share one's views. It can only be really experienced and tested in situations where there is not unanimity of opinion. The correspondence provoked by Low's cartoon (and readers may make a comparison with similar outbursts occasioned by some Editorials in FREEDOM in the past months) is understandable, and the Editor did the right thing in giving considerable space to its publication. What we complain about

# Albania: The Forgotten Satellite

(from our Balkan correspondent)

OF all the Soviet satellites in Europe Albania is the least known. It seldom reaches the headlines though any intensification of the Cold War is bound to bring it into the news just as it will serve as a useful bargaining point at an eventual meeting of the Big Three.

The population of Albania numbers over a million inhabitants who speak a language dissimilar to both their neighbours, the Greeks and the Serbs, from whom they are separated by high mountain ranges which run parallel to the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea. The plain along the Albanian coast is small, covered with malaria-ridden marshes and contains a few towns none of which has more than eighty thousand inhabitants. The latter were always the first object of the numerous conquerors of Albania of whom the most important were the Turks in the 15th century.

### THE TURKISH OCCUPATION

The Turkish occupation which lasted up to 1912 left an undeniable imprint on Albania. The majority of Albanians who up to then belonged either to the Catholic church and owed allegiance to Rome or to the Eastern Orthodox with its centre in Constantinople, joined the Moslem faith. As such they received preferential treatment from the Turks and the highest posts in the Ottoman Empire were open to them. Many made use of this privilege limited to Moslems only, and reached very high in the Turkish hierarchy as in the case of the notorious Mehemed Ali who carved for himself a kingdom in Egypt. Those remaining at home paid few or no taxes, were allowed to wear arms and given an almost free hand in persecuting and plundering their fellow-countrymen who had remained Catholics in the North and Orthodox in the South. Often they were also used in fighting Serb and Greek insurgents who not being Moslems had no civil rights and wanted to break away from the Turks. This Turkish policy later to be adopted by Mussolini and Hitler, left a powerful legacy of distrust among the Balkan peoples and largely explains the great difficulties in establishing a real feeling of inter-Balkan solidarity.

On the other hand the Turkish success in maintaining their hold over Albania was not due entirely to the skilful manipulation of Machiavelli's dictum "divide and rule". As elsewhere in the Balkans the Turkish conquest did not at first imply the destruction of local self-government provided it did not conflict with the needs of the Ottoman empire which were

then confined to the maintenance of order, the repair of roads, the supply of auxiliary troops in wartime and the collecting of taxes often paid in kind. In most of Albania self-government was centred in the clan which owned the fields, meadows and forests in common and in the early days elected its own leaders who also acted as judges. The clans varied in size and importance just as their privileges vis-à-vis the Turkish authorities were not alike.

On the whole the clan system served a useful purpose. It gave added security to its members and at the same time allowed the Turks to dispense with a cumbersome and expensive bureaucracy in Albania. The fact that the clans were often composed of Moslems and were needed in the struggle against other nationalities in the course of which plunder could be obtained strengthened even further the bonds between Constantinople and most Albanians.

The decline of the Ottoman Empire brought however new problems to the surface. Corruption spread while many would-be reformers of the Empire thought that its only way of survival lay in more centralization and the running of the State along European lines. Since their knowledge of Europe was largely derived from what they knew about their northern neighbours and potential successors in the Balkans, Austria and Russia, many attempts were made to adopt the methods of the benevolent despots then fashionable in Europe.

This quest for efficiency called for a more numerous State apparatus and for higher State revenue which could only be collected by force. Rebellions took place and since the clans were centres of resistance they were broken up in Southern Albania. The land came into the poss-

ession of landlords for whom the peasants had to work as tenants under very difficult conditions.

In the North however the topography of the country and the help the Turks needed against the Serbs preserved the clan system almost to our days.

### THE ALBANIAN STATE

The final expulsion of Turkey from Europe occurred only in 1912 and led to the creation of the Albanian State. It lacked stability both at home and in the international field throughout its chequered life for the building of a modern State machine from scratch could only be carried out at a heavy cost which Mussolini alone was prepared to meet. The price was the subjugation of Albania a few months before the Second World War.

### 1939-1944

For more than five years Albania was ruled by the Italians and then the Germans through their Albanian supporters who also provided armed units in the struggle against guerillas in Yugoslavia. The successive quisling governments at Tirana were appointed by the Occupying Power and since the former were unable to satisfy their superiors at Rome or Berlin the turnover of Ministers was very rapid. This farce reached its climax when just before their departure the Germans chose as Prime Minister an Albanian whose chief qualification for the post was that he played ping-pong every morning with the local German envoy and as such was considered entirely trustworthy!

### THE RESISTENCE

Not for the first time in Balkan history the centre of gravity was not in the towns dominated by a foreign invader

## PAKISTAN POLITICS-I

FOLLOWING the split with the other part of the natural entity of the Indian sub-continent, Pakistan has been in somewhat of a political vacuum. Mr. Jinnah created the Muslim League in order to divide India into two sections. In this he was completely successful, but in order to be so, thousands of lives were lost, thousands were uprooted and moved from their homes, thousands are still wandering aimlessly about. The politicians have, however, been satisfied: India and Pakistan fit into their separate compartments, and Mr. Jinnah's Muslim League is in power.

The circumstances of the manner of

gaining independence won the Muslim League (like the Congress Party in India), a certain popularity, and when Liaquat Ali Kahn took over from Jinnah on his death, he ran party and parliament without fear or challenge. But now the mantle of succession has passed to Mr. Khwaja Nazimuddin, the glamour is already beginning to fade a little. One-party rule wears a little thin. It becomes apparent that class is ruling the Muslim League, and the Muslim League rules everything. No opposition parties existed, but Pakistan by its very nature has created certain local separatist tendencies which are almost all that is now afforded in the nature of an opposition.

While in recent months there have been signs of such opposition parties being formed, these are patently out for a share of the spoils. The tight Tammany grip of the machinery by the Muslim League makes it very hard for those aspiring to the joys of parliamentarism. In order to cash in on the parliamentary racket, rival candidates to the Pakistan Muslim League are running—in the form of small rival Muslim Leagues—and on local issues, such as the Sind League.

The nature of such opposition can be adduced from a recent agency message which told of a certain Mr. Syed Khair Shah who was evidently determined to be elected to the Sind Legislature, and stood for two different parties in two different constituencies. He was elected as the Sind League candidate in one, but failed as the Muslim League candidate in the other. His defeat was sweetened a little by the fact that his brother got in as an independent.

The *Times of India* (20/4/53) states that reports indicate that "candidates for Wednesday's election to the Karachi Municipal Corporation and to the Sind Legislative Assembly (elections of May 4-10) are withdrawing their names for considerations ranging from a few hundred rupees to some thousands". It appears that when local candidates were refused Muslim League tickets they stood as independent candidates, which is a direct result of the former methods by which Muslim League approval was all that was required in order to get a seat. Thus the American practice of "horse-trading" has obviously arisen.

We need not be too concerned with the state of affairs shown so openly in Pakistan, which has adopted the Western way of doing business with a vengeance. It is better to have matters as open as this, instead of disguising it in the English way with "honours" and jobs instead of open bribery. Sooner or later certain thinking people in Pakistan will draw very obvious conclusions, and recognise that by political action and governmental intrigue one will get merely the old slavery in new bottles.

INTERNATIONALIST.

is the ease with which people are provoked into the use of abuse when they disagree with a particular point of view; the way they reveal their contempt for free expression where it is not in accord with their own ideas. This attitude results in a double-think such as contained in the following two specimen letters:

Mr. Low was magnificent in the debates of the thirties and above all in the fight against totalitarianism. In recent years, however, he has begun to date and has at times shown uncertainty in his judgment. His cartoon of June 3 is a very deplorable example, and if I may say so, I consider it an error of judgment in your part to have published it. Not 1 per cent. of your readers (or, for that matter, of the country) take the Bevanite view of the Coronation, and even in terms of money, an institution which can bring together Mr. Nehru, Mohammed Ali, and Dr. Majan may well be cheap at £100 millions. I think the time has come to say good-bye to Mr. Low before he dissipates entirely the affection we have for him by reason of his great work in the age of Colonel Blimp.—NEVILLE BROWN (London, W.I.)

I must express my disappointment that your paper should print such a cartoon as "Morning After". I appreciate that the sentiments portrayed by the cartoonist are not necessarily those of the paper and hope sincerely that in this case they are not. I realise that a paper with the traditions of the *Manchester Guardian* would not wish to employ a cartoonist to slavishly follow a dictated path, but it is my opinion that the cartoonist's art should be used to portray public opinion. I regret to say that I find your present cartoonist consistently incapable of doing this; his opinions and sentiments appear to belong to a public state of mind which disappeared fifteen years ago.—A. W. SYMINGTON (Barrow in Furness).

We live in a world in which differences are solved at governmental level either by outvoting the opposition (parliamentary democracy) or by eliminating the opposition (totalitarianism). With the growing disregard for the individual and the wor-

ship of the party which speaks with a single voice, the solution of problems by discussion and agreement has more or less disappeared. Elsewhere in this issue we have given a far from complete list of the methods adopted during the past few weeks by governments, including so-called democratic ones, for solving the knotty problem of dealing with those who disagree with their policies (see page 1 *How Governments Deal with Opposition*). It is significant that the *Manchester Guardian's* columns are not filled with protesting letters at these high-handed actions. Indeed, it is a sign of the times; the individual is losing his identity. One is no longer expected to express one's considered opinion ("The cartoonists art should be used to portray public opinion"). It is a sign of eccentricity to be a Republican in Britain; and to be anything but a patriotic American in American is an indication that one needs psychiatric treatment. To write music or paint pictures in Russia which cannot be appreciated by everyone is to be labelled a bourgeois-degenerate, and to refuse to die of starvation in Spain is to be labelled a dangerous revolutionary. And so on.

Mass thinking, mass action, mass desires, mass definitions (that is, when manipulated, controlled and created from above) are death to Free thinking, and respect for divergent opinions. These can only flourish in a society composed of individuals, free to reach their full stature in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance and respect. The creation of such an atmosphere is a problem to which we can all give our attention, beginning with ourselves and in our personal relations.

but in the mountainous countryside where in 1942 three distinct guerilla movements existed.\* In the North the clans supported on the whole the followers of the exiled king Zogu who ruled Albania during most of the interwar period. They provided the first armed resistance against the Italians but their military value was limited by the fact that each clan was not inclined to fight outside its own territory except after lengthy negotiations.

The Communists had almost no supporters in the closely knit clan society and depended for their rank and file on the tenant farmers in the South to whom they promised land reform. The C.P. was formed only in November 1941, had little wartime contact with the U.S.S.R. but received help and advice from Tito's emissaries who played an important rôle behind the scenes. C.P. membership was recruited mostly among the young intellectuals who joined it for the same reasons as their counterparts in Western Europe. There was a sprinkling of workers too though it must be remembered that the number of industrial workers did not reach four figures since factories were very few and railways non-existent.

The third resistance movement, Bali Kombetar, also had its centre in Southern Albania and consisted of those elements who were opposed to both ex-king Zogu and the Communists. Its delegates belonged to-day to the American-sponsored Green International composed of Peasant parties.

The conquest of power was the main Communist object in Albania during the war while the tactics used were similar to those employed by the C.P.'s in Yugoslavia and Greece. Small partisan groups masquerading as the "National Liberation Army" would set an ambush near a village and kill or wound a few Italians.

\* The best account of the impact of the war on Albania and the extent British official circles contributed to the Communist capture of power and the destruction of pro-Western elements there may be found in *Sons of the Eagle* by Julian Amery who spent some time in the Albanian mountains as a liaison officer.

Continued on p. 4

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# Anarchism and Industry-2

THE Anarchist aim in industry is to decentralise control right down to the individual. But under capitalism, centralised control has tended to lead to a centralised environment.

Our great cities are the physical expression of centralised administration, and anarchists hope that in a society in which concentrated power has been superseded by local autonomy, the immense areas of bricks and mortar in which a large proportion of the population of the Western world live to-day will break up and disappear.

Similarly, the growth of concentrated industrial power has led to vast industrial plants where the workers in their thousands are reduced to the level of mere parts of the machine. They clock on and are stood off on the dictates of remote managements which operate great industrial empires like States in miniature.

Last week, I pointed out that until quite recently the economy of Britain was not centralised as it is to-day. But of course the trend towards centralisation was there. The great monopolies with their international cartels were developing (and still are) and it is an inevitable trend in any authoritarian set-up for control to become more and more centralised.

## Unrealistic Liberals

This latter point, incidentally, is what makes the Liberal case so unrealistic. They want to return to a free enterprise capitalism without monopolies—to freeze capitalism at a certain stage of its development and prevent it by legislation from following its natural course.

The driving motive in capitalism is profit. The bigger the scale of your operations, the bigger your profits—therefore the drive is always there towards larger and larger working units. But the bigger your profits, the bigger also your potential loss if your competitors get the better of you. Hence monopoly—the sensible thing for large scale capitalism. Co-operation is always more sensible than competition.

But bosses at all levels prefer to see competition among their workers. So they divide them by differential wage rates, they keep them competing for jobs and the last thing that monopolists want to see is the working class co-operating in the manner they do themselves.

## Decentralisation

Anarchists realise, however, that co-operation is the first step towards the

establishment of the workers' control that we wish to see. Only through that can be brought about the decentralisation of control—right down to every worker at the desk or the bench—which is the only guarantee against domination.

Now if centralised control leads to a centralised environment—as it does—will not decentralised control lead to a decentralised environment? It seems reasonable to suppose that it will. Workers' control of the means of production and distribution, therefore, will tend to lead to a breakdown of the massive industrial concerns of to-day and lead to a more human scale of working—one in which individuals are not swamped by the collective.

Thus we find anarchists who are opposed to mass-production and who advocate a return to non-mechanised modes of production. And it is a conception with which I have a good deal of sympathy. The existing systems of mass-production are obviously de-humanising, reducing the human being to insignificance, reducing his creative abilities to mechanical actions, depriving him of responsibility and even, in many cases, ignorance of his actual product.

## The Vicious Circle

But here we come up against a common anarchist dilemma—that of relating our eventual aims with immediate possibilities. Before industry can be decentralised as far as anarchists would wish, workers' control will have to be established in industry as it is now. While it remains in the hands of the capitalists and the bureaucrats it will remain centralised and the only real resistance to further de-humanisation can only come through pressure from below.

We are, of course, up against the usual vicious circle. The existing industrial order, which goes on producing more of their kind. How is the circle to be broken?

Well, clearly, we cannot, and don't want to, break it for them. Neither the anarchists nor the anarcho-syndicalists are messiahs; we are not an élite which will lead the apathetic masses into the free society. Somehow or other we have to persuade them to do it for themselves.

I don't think we can do this by putting forward ideas which seem to have no relationship to an existing environment. To talk in terms of returning to the spinning wheel, the hand-press or the horse, in the face of the existence of present-day machinery in textiles, print-

ing and transport, is to ask for ridicule—and, in my opinion, to deserve it.

## Useful Machinery

There is plenty of machinery whose use has been too beneficial for us to scrap it. Even Gandhi approved of the sewing machine! But he no doubt forgot—or chose to ignore—the fact that sewing machines have to be made by industrial processes, and those processes lend themselves to mass production methods.

Every complicated piece of machinery—a sewing machine, a type-setting machine, a radio, refrigerator, camera or motor-car—necessitates mass production processes. And I think that anarchists should inveigh not so much against these processes themselves as against the purposes for which they are used in capitalist society and the human, or rather inhuman, relationships that they create under the present economy.

Let us, therefore, aim at encouraging workers in industry here and now to create such organisations as can be effective for achieving workers' control of industry as at present constituted. I think that anarcho-syndicalism is the most likely channel for this. When that has been achieved—and that's a big enough job in all conscience—when the workers have control of the means of production and distribution, it is up to them to decide how they develop them.

## Up to the Future

The very fact of having responsibility for their own environment will in itself be a humanising influence. Instead of being dominated by their machines as well as by their bosses, the workers will have abolished the latter and come into control of the former.

This will itself lead to quality, not quantity, being the guiding factor in production. More pleasure will be found in the production of better goods, and if it will lead to a return to slower but surer methods of production—well that is up to the future.

Our task is to get control of our present.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### KROPOTKIN, MARX & DEWEY

I AM sure most of your readers must have been, with me, "bewitched, bothered and bewildered"—not to mention befogged, bemuddled and bemused—over the series of articles on "Kropotkin, Marx and Dewey".

Faced with an optical assault of such magnitude—stunned by the impact of ontologism, teleology, ethology and eschatology, stupefied at the revelation of anecdotal and semi-anthropomorphic methods, methodological Deweyans, rigid monism and Bergsonian dualism—one's first instinct was to throw in the towel and have done with it. But a professed anarchist should be made of sterner stuff, and conscience came to deliver me from cowardice. Returning to the field of battle, slowly, step by step—or rather, word by word—I advanced, if not through rivers of blood, then through streams of tortuous verbiage, until I at last reached two words whose import I understood—The End.

Now I am quite prepared to believe that there are, within the confines of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, several thousand citizens who could grasp the issues argued by Richard De Haan without batting an eyelid—and without referring once to the Oxford English Dictionary or the Encyclopedia Britannica. But I do not believe that they are all readers of FREEDOM, or, conversely, that all readers of FREEDOM, bar myself, are included amongst them. So therefore, on behalf of all the semi-illiterates who are unaware that eschatology is the doctrine of the last or final things, or even that quantification is no more than the explicit rendering of the logical quantity of a term, may I make a heartfelt plea for certain of your contributors to invest themselves with that good old-fashioned virtue—clarity of thought and expression. *A. J. BROWN.*

[We are all for "clarity of thought and expression", and we assume that the fact of our correspondent singling out Richard de Haan's contribution indicates that in general even he, as self appointed representative of the "semi-illiterates", can understand most of the articles that are published in FREEDOM. We make no apology for occasionally publishing articles that are "difficult", or require to be read two or three times before one can understand what they are getting at, or indeed, that they demand the use of a dictionary. It is surely not an indication that a sentence is not clear

## PRESS NOTICES FOR ANARCHISTS

IT is not often that the national Press designs to notice the existence of the Anarchist movement in Britain, but recently two papers have devoted space to Anarchist activity.

In the *Observer* for May 17, this was done rather indirectly, for it reproduced a photograph, from a new book of photographs of London, of the London Anarchist Group's platform in Hyde Park. It was a beautifully composed photograph, showing our comrade S. E. Parker (also—as always—beautifully composed) speaking to two workers. The caption told us "The lofty anarchist and detached spectators are, after all, as characterful a London sight as Big Ben or the Life Guards" and "Nowhere in the world could one find such placid alteration . . ."

This is, to our knowledge, the first time that any anarchist has been compared with Big Ben, but the London Anarchist Group hasten to assure FREEDOM's provincial readers that our audiences always number more than two. Comrade Parker always prefers to open the Hyde Park meetings and clearly the photographer had happened along just as he had begun to speak. Nor are the alterations around our platform always so placid!

Our second press notice occurred in the *Daily Mirror* for May 28. (From the *Observer* to the *Daily Mirror* is a bit

of a come-down, but there it is). There must be somebody on the *Mirror* who reads FREEDOM, for they commented on the L.A.G. deep-laid plot to escape from London on Coronation Day. Thus:

"If the fifteen Special Branch detectives disguised as guests in the Abbey on Coronation Day are looking for anarchists with home-made bombs, I doubt of they'll find any."

"Because the Anarchist's Association—baffled by the bitter fact that everyone is happily waving flags and nobody is taking a blind bit of notice of their anti-monarchy campaign—are going down to Epping Forest for a picnic on Coronation Day."

"Comrades are asked to bring their own food."

"Have a good time, chums. Keep sober. And you lady comrades—watch your step in the forest."

We don't quite know where the reporter got the "Anarchist's Association", nor were we aware that we were carrying on an anti-monarchy campaign—any more than usual, that is.

These two appearances in the press, however, have one thing in common—the amused sarcasm with which Anarchists are regarded. It's a good thing that Anarchists can still laugh at themselves, too, which is more than can be said for some organisations we could mention.

The *Daily Mirror* have followed up their word of advice to our "lady" (?) comrades with a questionnaire about the Anarchist movement and its attitude to various things. Some of the questions seemed serious, others flippant. They have been answered as they deserved. Readers are warned to stand by for a broadside from the *Mirror*.

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TOWER HILL  
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#### INDOOR MEETINGS

At 9, Fitzroy Square, Warren Street, London, W.1.

JUNE 16—Discussion on  
THE RELATIVE THREATS OF  
CATHOLICISM & COMMUNISM  
Opened by  
Rita Milton and Philip Sansom  
JUNE 23—Jack Robinson on  
THE HOMOSEXUAL AND  
SOCIETY

The meetings will be held on TUESDAYS at 7.30 p.m.

### NORTH-EAST LONDON

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### LIVERPOOL

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## ALBANIA

Continued from p. 3

The next day the partisans would withdraw before an Italian punitive expedition which would set the entire village on fire, shoot a number of innocent peasants and carry others into captivity. The rest of the villagers would try to find safety by escaping into the hills where they joined wily-nilly the partisan detachments.

The second stage was reached when the Communist leadership felt sufficiently strong to attack the other two resistance movements to the delight of the occupation authorities whose task was thereby eased. Using automatic weapons generously supplied by Mr. Churchill to anyone who claimed to be killing Germans the Communists did not find it too difficult in view of their ruthlessness and centralized command to destroy piecemeal the loosely connected non-Communist resistance groups. All the more if one remembers that the number of combatants on both sides rarely exceeded 2-3,000 men and that under such conditions a dozen machine-guns dropped from a single R.A.F. transport could play a vital rôle.

## THE SATELLITE

Following the retreat of German troops in 1944 and the destruction of the non-Communist resistance movements after the Teheran Conference settled the fate of Eastern Europe, the C.P. became the master of Albania and was free to carry out policies familiar by now to those who live East of the line Trieste-Berlin. The difficulties which the régime had to face were increased by the Cominform dispute with Tito on whom Albania had until then largely depended for supplies, experts and even food. The breaking off of trade relations between the two countries made it impossible for the Communists to fulfil the ambitious Economic Plan and caused more suffering among the peasants. The Soviet Union displayed no marked eagerness to alleviate the existing distress apart from supplying its satellite with some weapons, secret police specialists

and second-hand lorries, the qualities of which even the Stalinist Minister of Transport dared to criticise before getting expelled from the party and liquidated. In return for this help which the Tirana press unflinchingly links with the adjective "brotherly", the U.S.S.R. received by sea, mainly via Trieste, small quantities of oil, chrome, bitumen and other minerals which Italy used to exploit before the war.

The political consequences of the Tito-Cominform dispute were however and are even to-day of great importance to the Albanian C.P. which as mentioned earlier in the article was much under Titoist influence during the war. A thorough party purge was the only way to shake off this reputation and reached such proportions that of its first central committee picked just over ten years ago only one member has survived all the expulsions, liquidations and 'suicides'. His name is Enver Hoxa, a former diplomat of king Zogu, and now C.O. of the Albanian army, secretary-general of the C.P., Prime Minister and wearer of several resplendent uniforms worthy of Marshal Tito's London outfit.

His continued hold over Albania depends on the amount of support Moscow is prepared to bestow and on his ability to defeat the attempts by the West and Tito to establish in Tirana a government sympathetic to them. The lack of clear agreement between Washington and Tito as to who should succeed Hoxa has enabled the present Moscow nominee to remain in power. (Up to now his opponents limited their activities to broadcasts by Belgrade and "Free Europe Radio", the sending of secret agents and providing shelter for refugees from Albania whom hunger and persecution forced to flee).

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the fate of Albania does not lie in the hands of its people and that bloodshed and poverty are more likely than peace and prosperity in the near future.