

Freedom

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Threepence

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL!

Russia's Grip Tightens

THE Communist Party purge in Hungary has attracted considerable interest in the capitalist press without much in the way of explanation or understanding. The news interest in this, and other, intra-party struggles arises for the sensational press in the fact that the latest purges involve the highest leaders, like the Röhm-Heines purge which Hitler carried through in June, 1934. But this very fact deprives these affairs of immediate interest for revolutionary workers, for our sympathies are not engaged by the victims; all of them prominent as were Röhm and Heines—in securing the counter-revolutionary coup of a party dictatorship. We cannot shed tears over these butchers when they feel the same whip that they have themselves forged and ruthlessly applied to workers and revolutionaries as well as other oppositional forces.

There is, however, another aspect of the arrest of the Hungarian leaders, Rajk and Szonyi; it follows a whole series of similar purges in which not merely erring rank and files are weeded out, but which involve the top line Communist leaders who have often been most active in bringing their party to power. Hungary is not alone in conforming to a pattern.

The leading Polish Communist, Gomulka, was purged some months ago. He confessed in the best Bolshevik recantation manner, and does not seem to have been extinguished. Kostov, in Bulgaria, has been deprived of all official positions. Less lucky than these, General Koci, of the Albanian Communist Party, has been shot. And then there is Tito. Communist leaders in Rumania and Czechoslovakia are restive and anxious. That some

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RANK-AND-FILE RESPONSIBILITY WOULD END FRUSTRATION

THE results—and causes—of the recent strike-wave in the mines and railways have provided the workers in nationalised industry with yet further proof of the failure of nationalisation to effectively improve their lot. And although the men have gone back to work, the distrust with which they have done so shows that the lessons learnt in bitterness and frustration will not be lightly forgotten.

In the recent dock strikes at Bristol and Avonmouth, spreading to Liverpool, with repercussions in London, the issues were vague and inter-union, if not political, and while our natural sense of solidarity might lead us to feel sympathy for the strikers, we can hardly feel that the action—

in this country at any rate—was well organised or even in the real interests of the workers.

But the railway strikes have been different. They have been the result of deep-seated economic grievances long felt by the railmen, of arbitrary decision by the Railway Executive, of

slowness in negotiation, and frustration among the rank and file at the degree of irresponsibility they work under. The rôles played by the unions—and railmen are organised in three unions—have been the usual ones of conciliation and appeals for discipline—except for the rather peculiar part played by J. B. Figgins, leader of the N.U.R.

The railmen were in fact acting on two disputes. One, their refusal to accept an extension of "lodging-out" turns, which means their being away from home some nights, and the other was their boiling over on the issue of the wage increase they had been demanding for some time, which was abruptly turned down by the Rail Board.

Trivial Issues?

Now, both these issues, from the point of view of the general public, may have seemed insufficient to warrant the large-scale hold-up and inconvenience caused by the Sunday strikes. The Press, of course, played its usual game of belittling the strikers and their motives, and nowhere did one find any serious attempt to look at things from the railway workers' point of view.

Few indeed of the bourgeois journalists and music-hall comedians who seized upon the lodging-out turns for comment ever have to stay away from home in anything but a comfortable hotel. But we would do well to remember that nationalisation on the railways was heralded with great promises of the provisions of comfortable hostels for lodging-out. Then it was admitted that existing conditions in hostels left much to be desired; now we might ask—have any of the improvements materialised? Has the promised palace at Euston, for instance, yet been provided? It is easy for the middle-class to speak lightly of the discomfort of others—but read of their petty grievances in the *Evening Standard*, of the "servant problem" and of how difficult it is to manage on £1,200 a year, and we see a different side of their smug natures.

An Insulting Offer

As to the wage-claim, there is nothing to be said. Everybody knows that railwaymen are underpaid, and the 10/- per week they are now claiming will do no more than bring their wages near to a subsistence level. The offer made by the Railway Executive of giving only the lower-paid workers increases of 6d. to 2/6 per week is so fantastically mean as to be almost unbelievable—until we remember the Treasury's offer of 2d. per hour increase to Whitehall cleaners. The State, it seems, has no hesitation in insulting its productive workers in a manner a private employer would hardly dare to use.

It is small wonder that the railmen have contemptuously turned down this cheese-paring offer, but the unions must have grabbed at it as a talking-point with a gasp of relief—for the situation was getting a little difficult for them. J. B. Figgins, in particular, found himself in an odd position. He could almost be said to have precipitated the Sunday strikes by sending out an order to his members not to work the extra lodging turns insisted on by the Rail Board, and he has probably gained prestige among the men for his criticism of the executive during the strike.

How much of Figgins' efforts, however, has been motivated by the perpetual rivalry between his union, the National Union of Railwaymen, and the foot-plate men's union, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (A.S.L.E.F.)? The officials of the latter were conciliatory throughout, and Figgins' "militancy" was not so strong that, at the right moment, he could not support the reversal of the union policy against extended lodging turns—the very cause of the strike! The decision was, of course, taken at a delegate meeting, but Figgins has nevertheless played a very canny game of see-saw between the rank and file and the Rail Board. And after all, what more can one ask of a union leader?

Some of the Press has seen fit to bandy about the words "Workers' Control," "Syndicalism" and "Anarchy," with more

(Continued on page 4)

Ora Pro Nobis (AS THEY SAY)

"Freedom's" Vatican correspondent writes:—

MONSIGNOR Eduardo Cippico, one of the 'key' men in the Vatican's Secretariat of Finance is in trouble. His official work was to obtain foreign currency for the Vatican, especially hard currency, by trading lire for such useful tokens as dollars and Swiss gold francs—an utterly illegal activity, of course, but that is by the way. He was caught and has confessed to having appropriated (unofficially) some 2,000,000 lire, but refused to say why he wanted the money, apart from his liking for high-powered Americans cars and high-powered Italian film actresses, which everybody knew about. The 'Monsignor of the Billions' as he is called locally faces trial. The presiding

judge says: "It appears from the evidence that everybody at the Vatican not only knew about your Black Market dealings but participated in them. Is that so?" Cippico replied: "Not quite, Your Honour! Of course everybody knew about it but only a few of us really speculated in the Black Market." It seems that Cippico has 'disappointed' some friendly Italian bankers and industrialists who had given him millions and millions of lire to exchange for dollars which the Vatican would acquire for its transactions with the Faithful all over Christendom. These lire vanished and the industrialists demanded an investigation. The scandal simply could not be hushed up, and hence the trial. Cippico is a mild blond priest in the forties, but not so mild that he did not immediately put responsibility for

the 'international financial operations' on his chief, Monsignor Guidetti, a septuagenarian and Financial Secretary to the Vatican. The Holy Father acted quickly—he packed Guidetti off to a monastery and allowed Cippico to take the rap for his superior. Guidetti, a man with years of experience of Vatican finance, delighted the tribunal when he said: "I'm weak on financial technicalities." On that even the judge caught his breath and the courtroom exploded into mirth. They are saying their prayers at the Vatican these days . . . The trial is not finished and more fun is expected.

O.D.

N.B.—The British and American Press have completely ignored this most interesting trial.

THE LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT IN SWEDEN

IF you look upon the modern history of Sweden you will find that the Labour movement has had a very considerable importance and that the movements of the people, such as the temperist, the free-church, and so on, have played a great rôle during the last century. The industrial development began in the middle of the 19th century and since that time the industrialisation has been going strong. Before 1850, there were very few factories here and almost all the people were farmers. Now most of the people are working in industry, which has a very great importance for the country. It was around 1870 the workers began to organise themselves in trade unions and in socialist parties. In the socialist party of this time there was a wide anarchist influence, e.g., among the young socialists. The anarchists were excluded at the beginning of this century and they formed then the young-socialist organisation. The best-known name from this time is Hinkel Bergegren, who also was a propagandist for malthusianism. The trades unions formed in 1898 a central organisation for all the country, named LO. LO was getting more and more reformist and after the general strike in 1909, which strike was lost because of LO, the opposition formed an anarcho-syndicalist trade union in 1910, which got the name of SAC (socialist workers' central organisation). In this organisation you could find almost all the young-socialists and also lots of other workers. SAC is still a lively

organisation and corresponds to the glorious CNT in Spain, and is associated in the International Working Men's Association.

To-day, the libertarian movement consists of the following organisations: SAC, with 22,000 members all over the country; SUF, the libertarian youth with 3,000 members; SKF, the libertarian women and APF, the anarchist propaganda society, with 1,000 members. The movement has a good press with two dailies: *Arbetaren* in Stockholm and *Norrslandsfolket* in Kiruna. *Arbetaren* has a very good reputation in Sweden because it had and has still a constant line against all fascism, communism and every kind of totalitarian ideas. SAC has also a very fine review, *Syndikalismen*, and some other publications such as *Trävaruindustriarbetaren* for the workers in the wood industry and so on. The libertarian youth has a monthly organ, *Storm*, and the anarchists their well-known paper, *Brand*, which is now more than 50 years of age.

After this introduction, I will tell you a little about the ideas in all these organisations and a little about the men in the centre. But first I must tell you that the movement has a greater influence than corresponds to its size. LO, the reformist trade unions, have now 1,200,000 members and our SAC only 22,000, but still they talk a lot about the anarcho-syndicalism in Sweden. In the co-operative movement you also can find libertarian influence, and so on.

It is very difficult to say which are the ideas behind the libertarian movement in Sweden. Of course, there is a lot of Kropotkin, Bakunin, and so on in it but I think that I can say that there is a mixture of different libertarian "brands" behind it. Now the ideological discussion is very lively and we discuss Proudhon, Bakunin, Landauer, etc., and in the magazines, *Brand*, *Syndikalismen* and *Storm* you can find theoretical articles in every number. Lately there is a lot of discussion over producer-cooperation which is seen as a possibility to create a collective and free society.

The great name for Swedish anarcho-syndicalism is Albert Jensen, the editor of *Arbetaren*. He is now 70 years of age but still going strong. He has written a lot of books and pamphlets and the latest one is *Vad vill syndikalismen?* (What does anarcho-syndicalism want?) He has written many things about Bolshevism and already in 1922 he wrote a very interesting book about Syndicalism against Bolshevism, where he saw the totalitarian tendencies in the Soviet very clearly.

The secretary of SAC and of IWMA, John Andersson, is also well-known. He has also written many pamphlets on unionism and so on.

Among the younger generation you can find three very well-known comrades, Helmut Rüdiger, Folke Fridell and Evert Arvidsson. Rüdiger is known both from Germany and Spain and he has done very much for the movement also in Sweden. He is writing on international problems, producer-cooperation and federalism. His ideas on federalism are collected in a book with the title *Federalism*, published in 1948. This book is considered to be one of the best on this subject in Swedish. Folke Fridell is the best-known of all comrades just now. He has written five great novels on worker-problems and his ideas are very much discussed everywhere in Sweden, also in the broadcasting service. He says that the worker will be

more satisfied in a society where he gets his part of the profit. In the form of a novel, he makes a lot of propaganda for anarcho-syndicalism and he is considered to be one of the most important authors in Sweden to-day. (Well, there are several authors in our movements, also the greatest dramatist of to-day in Sweden, Stig Dagerman.) The third of these great names, Evert Arvidsson, is working as a journalist on *Arbetaren*, but he has also written some books. He wrote some years ago, a little book *Gruvorna at folket* (The mines to the people), and this book is very important for the discussion of ideas to-day. We must find new ways for our work for the libertarian society, and in the Swedish movement of to-day you can find many tendencies and ideas of a new kind, but still with the libertarian background and still with the great issue, contribution to the creating of a libertarian society.

Just now, the libertarian ideas are very much discussed in Sweden and we hope that we also shall get more members. In 1950, there will be held two great congresses in Stockholm. SAC reaches its 40th birthday and SUF its 20th, and for this occasion there will be great propaganda. These two congresses are considered to be very important for the movement as a whole.

As an example of the new activity I can mention the libertarian book-guild with the aim of publishing libertarian books at a low price. The members in the guild pay every month their contribution and get four books per year. If they want, they can of course also buy other books through the guild at the same low price. This year they get, for instance, *Nationalism and Culture* by Rudolf Rocker.

Well, this introduction of the libertarian movement in Sweden tells you only a little of what this movement is; but it is perhaps enough as a beginning.

B. JANSON.

BAKUNIN AND MARX

MICHAEL BAKUNIN AND KARL MARX, by K. J. Kenafick. (Distributed by Freedom Press, 6/-)

WHILE in France, Germany and Italy there has been an abundance of works on Bakunin, in England we have had to be content for many years with only one full-length study, E. H. Carr's *Life*, which, while giving abundant biographical facts, is written from a fundamentally unsympathetic point of view, and fails to give really adequate attention to Bakunin's ideas and his significance in the revolutionary tradition. K. J. Kenafick's study, *Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx*, is therefore to be welcomed; it is a most valuable source book for those who wish to study Bakunin's ideas at length, and I should say at the outset that, though there is much in it which can be criticised, it makes a definite contribution to anarchist scholarship in the English-speaking world.

The conflict between Bakunin and Marx, expressing in terms of personalities the deeper struggle between libertarian and authoritarian ideas of social organisation, retains its importance to-day, and has perhaps taken on even more significance than it had during the nineteenth century, owing to the practical realisation of Marx's ideas in many countries of the world. And it is this conflict which Mr. Kenafick makes the basis of his study.

But it is by no means the whole of the subject of his book, for he in fact gives us both an introduction to the main outline of Bakunin's career, and also a comprehensive survey of his works, supported by massive quotations from writings which are here for the first time available in English.

Biographically, the book contains no new material, for Mr. Kenafick has used only sources which are readily available to any scholar—E. H. Carr's books on Bakunin, Marx and Herzen, the French edition of the collected works of Bakunin, Guillaume's work on the International and his *Karl Marx, Pangermaniste*, and the various

standard biographies of Marx. Insufficient attention seems, to my mind, to be given to Bakunin's early intellectual development, particularly in Russia, and here and there occur factual inexactitudes. For instance, the author inaccurately asserts that Bakunin's father was a Count, which he could have found to be wrong from several of the books he used in his research. He asserts that the term "Anarchist Communist" was adopted at the instance of Kropotkin in 1877; in fact, Kropotkin did not press the matter at a congress of the Jura Federation until 1880, and the concept of Anarchist Communism itself seems, as far as I can trace, to have been first broached by the Genevan working man François Dumatheray in 1876, while Reclus, Cafiero and Malatesta also had at least as great a part in its development as Kropotkin; it was first adopted generally by the Italian anarchists in 1877, but Kropotkin did not even know about this at the time.

He also refers to Nechaev as a "Nihilist in excelsis", whereas in fact Nechaev was nothing of the kind, but an authoritarian revolutionary and a believer in Jesuit tactics who was one of the lineal ancestors of the Bolsheviks. To associate him with the Nihilists is a great injustice to the latter, who, through such thinkers as Pisarev, put forward a libertarian doctrine which is little different from anarchism.

There are also a number of more general criticisms to be made of Mr. Kenafick's contentions. He starts from what seems to me the fundamentally wrong premises that Anarchism is really a revolutionary type of Socialism, and that Bakunin was an anti-individualist who believed in the collective above all. It is true that Bakunin was very careful to dissociate himself from the extreme individualism of Stirner and similar philosophers, by pointing out that man is by nature a collective being, but he did not elevate the collective into something superior to the individual; it was for him only a means

through which the individual reached fulfilment, and in his aim, if not in his methods, he was as great an individualist as the rest.

In fact, to my mind the whole of Mr. Kenafick's thesis is distorted by this failure to realise that Anarchism and Socialism, while having certain common ideas, are poles apart in their ultimate aim. Socialism, as it has developed from Marx, with its emphasis on the economic man, sees the development of the collective as an end in itself. Anarchism, viewing man as much more than economic, sees

collective activity as only a means to the liberation and enrichment of the individual.

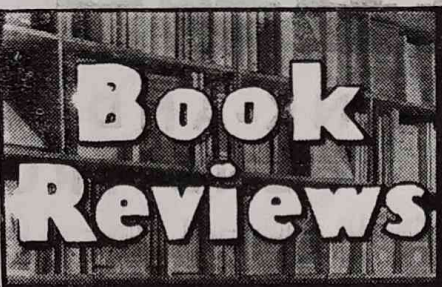
Because of his outlook, Mr. Kenafick naturally emphasises those aspects which Bakunin has in common with Marx, and which, to modern anarchists, seem the least important of the Bakunist contentions, belonging as they do to the common but outdated background of the nineteenth century working class movement. Historical Materialism, with its determinist attitude, has lost much of its charm, while the class struggle, in the narrow Marxist sense, with its elevation of the factory workers into a kind of élite, was never, in spite of Mr. Kenafick, accepted uncritically by Bakunin, who was always convinced of the revolutionary potentialities of the peasants.

Bakunin certainly needs defending against the Marxists; but not by

exaggerating the points he may have in common with them, or in depreciating, as the author also does, Marx's responsibility for the later tendencies of the Social-democratic and Communist movements, which, incidentally, Bakunin prophesied with a remarkable accuracy.

Nevertheless, although it is possible to disagree with some of the attitudes expressed in this book and to dispute some of the incidental facts, its author has translated ably a great mass of Bakunin's own writings and does the English-speaking anarchists a great service by making them available for the first time as lengthy quotations and illustrations to this book, nor should we minimise the fact that a writer, whose own view clearly differs from ours on some important points, should have found so much of importance in Bakunin's work.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.



Herbert Read on Wordsworth

WORDSWORTH, by Herbert Read. (Faber and Faber, 15/-)

IN writing this book, now reprinted with a fresh preface and appendix, Herbert Read had two purposes in mind. The first was biographical, and was directed to the treatment of Wordsworth's emotional, not singly his intellectual, development; the second was to correlate the non-poetic factors in Wordsworth's life with the nature of his verse—correlate, but not thereby to trap the verse within these factors, reducing it to something not poetry at all. Wordsworth was to be considered as a typical example of certain processes in the poetic mind.

Read deals with his subject thoroughly, drawing into focus Wordsworth's rural childhood, his "racial" inheritance, his morals, travels and retirements, his relationships with Dorothy, Mary Hutchinson and others, his philosophical background: centring all these upon the work and placing that work with a tradition of philosophical poetry, with special reference to that theory of diction which was his most revolutionary contribution to English verse. Read has, perhaps, a tendency to belittle the influence of Coleridge in this matter of diction. Cer-

tainly his point to the effect that Wordsworth's prior use of the new diction could be inferred from the contents of the *Lyrical Ballads* seems hardly fair. It may be contended plausibly that "apart from the *Ancient Mariner*, Coleridge is represented by three poems of very indifferent merit" having "no real vitality", but *Lewti* had been published before the *Lyrical Ballads*, and other poems of which it could scarcely be argued that they lacked real vitality, had been written. Nor can one accept Read's dismissal of the *Ancient Mariner* without unease. But these points do not weaken Read's main argument, which is based not on Wordsworth's relationship with Coleridge but on his love affair with Annette Vallon, the girl he met in France in 1792 and who bore his illegitimate daughter. It was from Wordsworth's passion, followed by his suppression of that passion during the long years of hypocritical secrecy about the affair, that his intense feeling for Nature, and hence the distinction of his poetry, was developed.

Read's case is that Wordsworth, previous to his meeting with Annette, had not fully realised the significance of his early mode of life with its closeness to Nature, and that the intensity of feeling did not arise until after his return from France, when, on the basis of the sensual ecstasy there generated, he found in Nature the fitting correlative to his feelings. His mind be-

came married to Nature; the memories of childhood were reborn. Annette was thus the effective cause of that emotional attachment from which Wordsworth's philosophy was derived. But the process was self-destructive. For Annette became identified with Nature and with those revolutionary doctrines for which Wordsworth had so much sympathy, and as his memory of Annette was suppressed, his contingent attitudes underwent a distortion. The guilt and hatred Wordsworth felt in connection with Annette was displaced, becoming a hatred for the political principles he had previously endorsed; and as this sickness overcame him, chilling and congealing the springs of passion, his relationship to Nature became a dead and ineffective thing, and thus the poetry was deprived of life. The poetic decline was due to a denial of the inspiration originally released by Annette Vallon.

Read's argument is well documented and gives rise to a brilliant discussion of philosophical poetry and the theory of diction. He does not claim that his theory is complete; within this cautionary boundary, it is satisfying enough. He certainly seems to over-simplify Wordsworth's position in some ways, but this does not reduce the value of his main line of thought. It is a fascinating essay, with implications still alive for the alert reader. L.A.

Max Nettlau on Ideas and Activities

WHENEVER a clever, generous idea is taken from its proper sphere of realisation within right proportions and becomes a "movement", it is safe to say that it will degenerate, that the real initiators will fall away, and another routine organism be created, to the satisfaction of a secretary and a few busybodies, but not to much other good. On the contrary, the limited room is taken up by all these stereotyped organisations, and fresh and free initiative is much more hampered than helped by them. Socialism put in practice in this wholesale, indiscriminate way would be an equal disappointment; it is already proclaimed by Fabians to be a mere matter of certain legislative measures, and no doubt within "socialism" of this kind, room would be found for kings and priests and bureaucracy for ever.

Must we not, as Anarchists, be extremely sceptical of general solutions, just as we reject laws because they are general solutions misapplied to individual cases? Why should we ourselves wish to generalise what reasoning and experience may

This article by Max Nettlau appeared in *Freedom*, August, 1911. Nettlau, friend and biographer of Bakunin, lived and worked in many countries, as well as his native Austria. A distinguished scholar, he has always been the outstanding archivist and historian of anarchism. When over 80, he contributed a series of articles on the development of anarchist ideas to *Spain and the World*. He died in Amsterdam towards the end of the recent war. The present article illustrates his refreshing clarity of thought.

have shown us to be the best for us and our friends? Do we not in our turn decline to be taught by others who offer advice which our ideas make us reject? Just what I most fondly believe in is not likely to attract others who are different from me.

Numbers

I conclude that every idea, each social, political, and other system, can only be in full agreement with the feelings of a limited number of people who accept them more or less spontaneously, roused and instructed by propaganda, example and experience. There is no rule to show which are the proper limits except unfettered spontaneity and the self-restraint

of propagandists. Take it or leave it would be, in my opinion, much better guiding lines for the propagandist than the possession of the most persuasive oratory. Of course, everybody may be considered to possess possibilities for development in all directions—towards selfishness or the reverse, towards authority or freedom, etc.; but he alone by his general disposition is able to decide what work or sacrifice development in one of these directions is worth to him, and that settles his attitude towards ideas and systems.

Is my way of looking at things that of despair or resignation? Not to my belief. I want to see things as they are, and not as optimism or persuasion make them look. Anarchism is equally dear to me whether held by five thousand people or by five hundred millions, or by a few individuals. Is a scarce flower inferior to a common one? It is wonderful perhaps, that after so many dark centuries, so many rebellious spirits should exist already; and it is no wonder at all that the dumb, exploited masses, those victims of all ages, should better care for a little immediate amelioration, which State socialism promises to them by an elaborate system of demagoguery, than for unfettered personal freedom which to Anarchism is an essential condition of all personal well-being. They go their way and we go ours.

But they will and do hinder us from living in our own way. Yes, they, the State, the capitalists, fight us as we fight them... State interference has become so disgusting to many that our cry for total personal separation of Anarchists from the State will appear less eccentric as time goes by. Once free from the idea, which falls little short of megalomania, that each idea which we happen to hold must needs be generalised by unceasing propaganda, which takes up all

our time; free also from the sentimental belief that all our efforts must be concentrated on the Labour movement (which is worthy of our personal support, but not the merging of our ideas into it); free also, I admit, from such personal indignation and horror of the present system, which prefers coming to blows with it rather than going away from it (I respect both methods)—those who feel like this and are Anarchists would find in what I propose or discuss no occasion for quietness and lazy retirement, but on the contrary, for work which some might prefer to the many opportunities for talk, the few for action, which the usual movement offers to them.

Limitations

It is not I who seek to lessen the dimensions of the Anarchist movement; I see only that it is based on such a high conception of freedom that few can come up to it. Better recognise this fact, which takes nothing away from the value and importance of our ideas, than run after the vain illusion that all others must feel as we do. If land and the supply of necessities were unlimited, we might expect that freedom would finally predominate in economic and political matters, as it does or is about to do in science, morals, etc. But over-population and scarcity of necessities may bring about a rally of the great majority round the State and authoritarian organisations; therefore it becomes our task to cease to dream of becoming the saviours of all and everybody, and to realise here and now, out of the smallest beginnings, what freedom and unselfishness can do, beside and in spite of all others. A sympathetic milieu for the free development of organisms of right proportions, which would not interfere with others and claim the same freedom for themselves—to bring this about, not in one or two isolated places, but

everywhere, in the midst of ordinary life, this seems to me a task for Anarchists at least as worth trying as anything that is being done now.

Proportion

The question of proportion, only slightly touched upon in the previous remarks is, in my opinion, of the greatest importance for any future realisation of Socialism and Anarchism. The dimensions and the composition of co-operative groups will depend upon it, for a construction on too large or too small a scale would mean waste of energy, failure. Questions of federation and centralisation will be automatically decided by the same criterion as experience may teach us in each case. Fourier had all this in his mind when he carefully calculated the exact composition of a working unit, a phalanstery. State socialism looks quite absurd when viewed under this aspect; it is conceivable only as the continuation of present-day wasteful and incompetent State monopoly, which is supported by arbitrary prices and deficits paid out of taxation; when these extraordinary sources of income fail, the impracticability of working on an overlarge scale will become patent. A business man calculates the workable dimensions of an enterprise, as an architect bases his plans on the size and quality of building materials, etc. Socialism, to replace these methods of working, will have to do better, and this can never be done when production is regulated from above by official decrees. Any practical man might further work out what I intend to say; he would arrive at an exact proof, comprehensible to practical people, that Socialism and Anarchism must begin by small workable groups, which must first, by experience, acquire stability and vitality; then they may enter into relations of various kinds with other groups as the position of affairs may require. I think that the questions of Communism, Collectivism, and Mutualism will also be decided on this practical basis in each case, never by theory—except by amateurs who mean to be such and prefer working harder to a more practical solution, which is their own matter.

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RE-EMERGENCE OF FRENCH BOURGEOISIE

THE policy pursued by the Queuille government leaves no doubt about the recovery of the French bourgeoisie since the "Liberation" when it seemed to be totally eclipsed. Most of its budgetary measures have put a brake on nationalised industry and halted social legislation. The social security programme has been put off. Wages remain pegged. In most of the public services one finds a reduction of staff partly through retirements and partly through the policy of recruiting no new personnel.

Yielding to capitalist pressure, the authorities are progressively relaxing governmental controls. The rationing system is moribund. Amnesties are granted for financial and tax frauds. After the liquidation of the spirit of the Resistance comes the liquidation of the

class in abandoning some of its hardest won conquests, notably the 40-hour week and the abolition of piece-work. Now, the wage-earners have not tasted much of the alleged benefits of the purely legal changes in their situation. The black market has cancelled out the theoretical equality of rationing. The productive effort has brought French industry back to its pre-war output, it remains to pay for the consequences of five years of war and occupation. The wage-slaves are still wage-slaves and they find that their actual earnings are worse than they were during the period of avowed capitalism. The methodical offensive of the bourgeoisie, supported by the liberal theories of the American pawn-broker, have not met with the decided and decisive opposition of an unenthusiastic working-class.

Moreover, the bureaucratic methods of big corporations, artificially swollen by the need to justify electoral promises, has nowhere proved the superiority of state control over private enterprise. The fraud of the advisory councils composed of Communist agents, professional socialists and Christian-democrat confidence tricksters is exposed in broad daylight. Scandals have appeared everywhere and recently published reports have exposed the chaos, incompetence and prevarication in the industries and services described as the "property of the Nation".

In reality, it is the administration of public services "for the Nation" and not by the producers which has greatly facilitated the classic bourgeoisie counter-attack. Whatever the opinions or the political or trade-union affiliations of the workers, the immense majority of them do not feel affected by the theoretical changes which have taken place.

It remains to be seen whether this period—the epoch of the gigantic swindle—will end the confusion between socialist doctrine and state-capitalist practice. It remains to be seen whether this experience will be turned to good account in a total reorientation of the proletariat. The left parties, for various reasons but with the same conclusion and the trade unions, having tasted power, are busy defending the measures they took in 1945 and 1946 and are riding the anti-capitalist horse, without mentioning the lessons of recent events. A serious analysis of the experience would obviously oblige them to expose themselves in the eyes of the workers and from any really socialist point of view, as ignorant and incapable.

It is time to turn our eyes towards the workers and to look for indications of an awakening and tentative movement towards Workers' Control.

In spite of the opposition of political organisations, unions and the "united front" of the communists; in spite of the

The Lay-off in America

FOR nine weeks after I came here I was out of a job; and in this connection I would say that I don't think it is widely known in Britain, just how extensive is the unemployment in the U.S. at the present time. The lay-offs started around Nov.-Dec. '48, and the current month's figures show the seventh consecutive monthly increase. Press says "this reflected a post-war high in lay-offs and a new post-war low in hiring".

I have talked to several people here about this "recession" and all agree it is the worst since the grim 'thirties. I have tried really hard to get an idea just how many people are out of work all over the country, but this is not so easy as in Britain; the U.S. is too large. But you can take this as straight: no-one

Many of our Scottish comrades will remember Denis McGlynn, who was active in Glasgow during the war and has since gone to America. We are very pleased to have heard from him, and that, as readers can see from his letter, he is still plugging away the case for Anarchism whenever the opportunity arises.

At the moment, like 6,000,000 others in the land of opportunity, he is out of a job. We wish him better luck, knowing full well that Anarchists can usually manage to get along anywhere.

would dispute that there is around 6,000,000 (six million jobsless).

The "Missionaries of Moscow" say there are 9,000,000 out, counting part-time workers, of whom there are very many here. Another feature of the economic illness is, that jobs now tend to be of short duration. I myself am laid-off temporarily, and there is very little hiring being done.

Recently the figures were published showing an increase in the number of people in both States, New York and New Jersey, who were on relief; that is, they were more than six months idle and had exhausted their standard benefit (in America: social security checks). So, you see, how similar to Britain is the U.S. in its social insurance set-up. When you've been employed about six months you qualify for Unemployment Insurance under Roosevelt's Social Security Scheme. Also, next year, Truman is readying a full-scale Health Bill à la Britain. Income tax is high, and Federal tax is an imposition which approximates to your purchase-tax in character.

Although there is great splendour here—clothes are much cheaper than in Britain—and food is in limitless supply, there is a great tightness with money and working men are not spending; very many guys can't buy a full meal, getting by on a bowl of soup, a cup of coffee and a piece of pie. To let you understand, the U.S. has a labour force of 60,000,000 (60 million) and finding work for so many in "peace"-time is too much for capitalism.

The West Coast (Calif.) is particularly hard hit (I see where Broadway shows folded up on the Coast after only one week), as also are the Great Lake cities and Boston, Baltimore, Connecticut, Philadelphia; the government keeps talking about "re-adjustment" and guys like Gabriel Heatter on the radio keep playing down the extent and trend of the "recession". The top economists are afraid that in the cold war America will "Knock herself out in the gymnasium".

In New York here we managed to

secure copies of Stirner's book *The Ego and His Own* for Eddie Shaw. I know Manhattan very well and have made some contact with some comrades, though failed to find the *Adunata* meeting place open. My comrade and I met some "Resistance" group members and are invited along to hear a Russian comrade. We also called on the I.W.W. (one of their halls is quite near to Wall Street) and had a pleasant talk with the young guy who is secretary. In New York they work in close contact with the libertarians.

There are two centres in New York for open-air speaking, Union Square in down-town Manhattan, and Columbus Circle, uptown. Moscow's Missionaries hang-out in strength at Union Square, and have things very much their own way; like everywhere else they are a vicious crowd, intolerant, claiming freedom of speech and denying it to opponents. Also, now are very "peace-loving". On a couple of occasions we clashed with them in the Square and had them licked, but it is no use, because they counter you with counter-assertions and ridicule; they always ask "Where did you read that?" We often felt that if we had the issue of the *Daily Worker* containing the actual terms of the Nazi-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression, etc., we could have put them on the spot. However, we were becoming so well-known there, that they used to tie-tac one another and bring along some of their best "brain-batteries" from their centre nearby, the Jefferson School of Social Science. Up at Columbus Circle, we had a very forceful reminder of just how much freedom of speech exists in U.S., when my buddy and I were discussing with the Russian and a couple of other comrades, and of course we were gathering a meeting, when along comes a cop swinging his nightstick, broke us up, told us to get a flag and a box or listen to the other flagged meetings. Even the Salvation Army has a flag. Lack of space here has me licked.

My best salute to all.

DENIS.

LETTER FROM FRANCE

reforms it demanded. The phenomenon is worth watching for it signals the end of the illusions to which the labour movements have adhered, ideologically or tactically for many years.

The nationalisations and social reforms, the accession of workers' representatives to administrative posts in State enterprises, the creation of works committees with certain powers in the field of welfare, the increased authority of administrative departments, had all been represented as victories of socialism.

And the belief that these measures of statism were actually socialist progress made it possible to trick the working-

THROUGH THE PRESS

SQUATTERS JAILED

Frederick Smith and Julian Hurdman, two squatters who failed to obey a Court order to quit huts on War Department property at Kestral Grove, Bushey Heath, Hertfordshire, were taken to Brixton prison yesterday for contempt of court. Bailiffs who took them from their huts on Thursday night said they would remain in prison until their families had left the property.

Smith's wife said: "All Harrow Council have offered us is the workhouse and institutions, and with a six-month-old baby I'm definitely not taking that."

Manchester Guardian, 4/6/49.

A NEW PURGE

Russia is in the throes of yet another political purge, according to the *New York Times* to-day.

In a dispatch from its Paris correspondent, quoted by the Associated Press, the newspaper said that at least 300,000 members had been expelled from the Communist Party, and a number of important party leaders—including Yuri Zhdanov, son of the late Politburo chief—had "quietly disappeared".

Oxford Mail, 6/6/49.

SAUSAGE MACHINE

We are horrified by the number of women around us who have not yet outgrown the team-spirit and sausage-machine tactics of their schools. Conventional and retiring, they converse in political clichés and still conform to rules of conduct which they have never questioned.

We are even more horrified by the fact that since most of them will become teachers, a vicious circle will be established and a new generation of "patterned" girls, stripped of all originality, will grow up to carry on the tradition.

Letter in *Leader Magazine*, 4/6/49.

CO-OPTIMISTS

Recent industrial history shows that there are differing opinions about the virtues of co-ownership and co-partnership, and the way in which the principle has been applied varies considerably in detail.

Co-partnership has become a political issue as the result of a Blackpool resolution committing the Liberal Party to legal compulsion in extending such schemes throughout industry.

A qualified acceptance of the principle was accepted in the Conservative Industrial Charter, but many trade unions have been cautious in their approach.

Oxford Mail, 6/6/49.

In fact, as Tolstoy said, these people will do anything for the workers, except get off their backs.

NOISES OFF

Barcelona was shaken by a series of eight loud explosions early this morning from the direction of the Pedraibes Palace, where General Franco is staying.

No explanation has so far been given. The authorities deny the explosions were caused by bombs.

Observer, 5/6/49.

Maybe they were just letting off fireworks to welcome Franco.

undeclared hostility of the socialist party, a practical step has been taken in many localities and in big industrial units by the creation, in the field of retail distribution of consumer goods, a network of autonomous co-operatives, neither of state nor private enterprise, to raise the standard of living by lowering prices and cutting out middlemen. In the sphere of production, the idea and practise of the "stay-in" strike has made progress; postal workers and public service employees have already applied it with success, and through it have envisaged the methods of replacing capitalist society by the class-less society of producers.

Turning to the problem of war, the most immediate problem of all, since the conflict in Indo-China continues, swallowing up men and money, and causing the continuous budget deficit. A campaign is in progress at the moment in those unions which have escaped being colonised by either the government or the stalinists, in particular among teachers and among the metal and chemical industries. This campaign aims at organising a boycott on consignments of supplies, arms and men for the Far East.

Here again, we find that the Communists, like the reformists prefer words to actions and make the problem a governmental matter instead of advocating the direct action of the working masses.

For these three essential efforts which can make the workers conscious of their own strength and capacity, the libertarian movement is active. Its militant influence is felt in the unions—whatever their official orientation—in the C.N.T. and in the minorities of the C.G.T. and the *Force Ouvrière*, and in apolitical movements which have grown up to gain the support formerly given to the discredited political parties, for example the Youth Hostels (more socially significant than in Britain), and the Garry Davis Committees.

S. PARANE.

FOREIGN COMMENTARY

THE 'DEMOCRATIC WAY'

THE "democratic way" appears to be among the many commodities on America's list of exports. We read for instance that there exists in Germany such institutions as "Military Government democratisation Missions", whose function it is to "obtain a survey of a particular problem and at the same time to acquaint German trade union leaders, educators, etc., how similar problems are handled in the United States". Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union was recently given "a civil liberties mission" in Germany but at the last moment was banned by the military authorities and placed on their black list as "unemployable". Of course, no explanation has to be given by the military; that is part of the "democratic way".

But to fill the gap for the benefit of our German readers who have been deprived of the American missionaries on civil liberties, we are including in this column a few examples from the American front on the way the "problem" is handled in the U.S. Of course, our English and American readers are also invited!

Banning a Magazine on Religious grounds

Superintendent of Schools William Jansen announced at a Board of Education meeting that the Board of Superintendents' renewal of the ban of *The Nation* magazine from high-school libraries for the coming year was based upon the publication of advertisements for atheistic and anti-Catholic books in the magazine.

N. York Herald Tribune, 8/6/49.

20 U.S. Educators Urge Ban on "Red" Teachers

Twenty leading American educators, including General Dwight D. Eisenhower, president of Columbia University, urged to-day that Communists be barred from the teaching profession.

They made a plea in a fifty-four page report "American Education and International Tensions". They agreed that the principles of Communism should be taught, but not advocated, in American schools.

"Communist doctrine," they asserted,

"renders the individual unfit to discharge the duties of teacher."

Associated Press, 8/6/49.

Hooded Gangs in Alabama

Three white people have been attacked by hooded gangs in the Birmingham district within a week.

Last night a group of men were reported to have flogged an ex-Serviceman after dragging him from his home. The ex-Serviceman who is 31 years of age, said he was lashed twenty times by a band of white-sheeted and hooded men, who arrived at his home in three motor-cars. His is the third case.

On Friday night a woman, Mrs. Hugh McDaniel, said she was dragged from her house and made to witness a cross burning—a Ku Klux Klan custom. The same night a cross was burned at a small restaurant.

No explanation is given of these outrages.

—Reuter.

The Un-American Activities Committee gets its way

The United States Court of Appeals upheld today the contempt of congress convictions of screen writers John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo.

They were among ten Hollywood figures cited for contempt for refusing to answer questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee during its Communism-in-Hollywood investigation last year.

Both men declined to state in answering questions of the committee whether they were "or ever had been a member of the Communist party or whether or not either was a member of the Screen Writers' Guild".

Each was sentenced to one year's imprisonment and a \$1,000 fine.

—United Press.

Obtaining "Evidence" with a Stomach Pump

August Guzzardi, of New Orleans, a Federal prisoner, filed a writ of *habeas corpus* charging that he was illegally convicted by a New Orleans Federal Court on charges of possession of narcotics.

In his petition, Guzzardi said that he

was "manhandled" by a New Orleans detective without notice of arrest. He said that he was carried to the New Orleans charity hospital, where doctors forcibly pumped out his stomach.

Guzzardi said that he fainted during the treatment and upon regaining consciousness, the police notified him that they had removed several grains of heroin, an opium derivative, from his stomach.

After being turned over to Federal narcotic agents "without a legal arrest warrant," Guzzardi said he was taken before a Federal judge on March 30 where he pleaded guilty and was sentenced to two years in prison.

Guzzardi said he was illegally seized and subjected to treatment, thus being deprived of his constitutional rights; that any evidence obtained by use of a stomach pump was illegal and could not be used against him, and that he had not been advised of his right to have a lawyer plead his case before the court that convicted him.

—United Press.

Teaching him the advantages of American citizenship

Daniel F. McCarthy, of Brooklyn, former American soldier who said he wanted to renounce his citizenship and become a German, was sentenced to-day to eight months' in jail, to be served in the United States.

The twenty-two-year-old son of a late Wall Street broker had pleaded guilty in a United States Military Government court to a charge of illegally entering the American Zone of Germany.

The sentence, to be served at the Fort Hancock, N.J., disciplinary barracks, apparently blocked any chance McCarthy might have of renouncing his citizenship in the next eight months.

—N.Y. Herald Tribune.

One is tempted to suggest that the U.S. might well import a little democracy, though of course it is difficult to know which country in the world to-day could spare such an export! Perhaps, after all, it's a commodity which can be produced at home when there are enough people who feel strongly the cause of justice and freedom.

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Police Interference with Glasgow Meetings

ONCE again, the police are attempting to interfere with our Glasgow comrades' Sunday evening meetings in Maxwell St. On June 5th an Inspector and Sergeant ordered the Anarchist speakers to stop using their loudspeaker, saying they had received a complaint from a nearby tenant.

Our comrades, however, ignored the police orders and carried on, so they were told that they had been warned and that the police would be back to charge them if they did not stop. So our comrades told both the police and the audience that the Anarchist meeting would take place as usual the following Sunday—plus loudspeaker.

Our Glasgow comrades write: "Our meetings are well attended. All religious and political ideas and the

individuals attached to them are ruthlessly exposed. The Anarchist case is thoroughly dealt with and question time covers a wide field, but the A.B.C. of Anarchy is the most prominent subject.

"It's the success of these meetings which is troubling the authorities. Two years ago they tried to move us from this street, but not us! They charged two of our comrades with obstruction, so about sixty of the audience gave their names as witnesses. Then the charges were dropped."

Our Glasgow comrades can put a fine team of speakers on the platform. Their propaganda work over the last ten years or more has made the workers of Glasgow aware of the Anarchist case. It will take more than police interference to stop that!"

Freedom and Human Happiness

IN a new book just published in America, which we shall review shortly, Rudolf Rocker writes:

"Of all the older socialists, Proudhon was the one who rejected the belief in a universal remedy for all social wrongs most emphatically. He knew the problem which socialism had to solve was no Gordian knot which one could cut with a slash of a sword. It was this very reason which made him thoroughly discount all so-called universal means which, as many believed, would achieve a general transformation with one stroke."

Now, as anarchists we put forward certain quite definite proposals which, followed to their conclusions would have a profound and revolutionary effect upon human society. We assert that the individual is more important than the society of which he forms a part, and consequently that his loyalties and his responsibilities are primarily to himself and not to any state or institution. We therefore propose the replacement of the governmental apparatus by free associations of individuals set up for specific social purposes, the replacement of arbitrary property rights by universal rights of use and access, and the replacement of private or public control of industry by control by the people working in that industry.

But it would be foolish for us to suppose that any abolition of central government, or of the legal system or of the capitalist or state-capitalist forms of industry would inaugurate a new era of human happiness and well-being. It would merely provide the negative basis upon which the positive assets of human creative energy, sociability and instinct for freedom might hope to build a society which would not of itself inevitably bring about conflict, misery and frustration.

Many earnest and well-meaning people are drawn towards reformist and revolutionary movements in the hope of alleviating the human misery and suffering around them. They are attracted by the universal remedies and panaceas which Proudhon so mistrusted, and hope thereby to end the unbearable sadness and tragedy of life. We can offer none of these facile and cruelly deceptive solutions. Life can be rich and satisfying to-day for those who can themselves defeat coercive institutions. We can attempt to make that defeat universal. But we cannot hope to universalise the enjoyment of life. We can only destroy those of its adversaries which society itself has created.

W.

Letters to the Editors

on 'CHILDHOOD AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION'

THE article on "Childhood and Social Revolution" contained some ideas which the "earnest social moralists" in education would do well to consider. One or two points I would like to discuss, while agreeing with most of the contributor's views. Firstly, the cruelty of children. Is it not more likely that their bullying arises as a reaction to adult suppression? In any case, I am not sure that the timid child is only bullied when 'pro-adult'—I believe that any manifest weakness in another child is at once apparent to its fellows who concentrate all their venom upon this unfortunate weakling (mental or physical) regardless of its attitude to adults. An argument that this is an innate characteristic of children may be reinforced by observation among domestic poultry. Among these exceptionally brainless birds a weak or ailing fellow creature is at once marked down for persecution and extermination—here cannibalism sometimes follows! However, I would not like to decide on the origin of the child's cruelty—no doubt there are many views besides these two.

The second point arises from the general thesis that moral education of children has results different from that intended. This is demonstrably true, I believe, and I would like here to defend physical violence against the no-coercion school, since the avoidance of all physical force is so repugnant to most progressives. Yet I believe children being at a violent stage themselves appreciate its use, and resent it far less than continual sermonising and lectures on the social virtues. I do not want to be misunderstood to be advocating a system of correction based on violence, I merely wish to suggest that an educational theory which bases itself on some peculiar premise, i.e., in this case "that violence is inadmissible", is out of touch with the world of people with whom education professes to deal. It is written, that "there is a time for gathering stones and a time for casting stones away" and further on the same lines. So there is a time for violence and a time for non-violence, but only those who have a natural sympathy and love for children will know when to use either. Those who base their education theories and practice upon reason, build upon sand; pure emotionalism is, I believe the only guide to conduct, a surrender to the subconscious, instinctive responses, which a situation provokes. So if your contributor has cleared away some lingering rationalist cobwebs he has done a useful piece of work; reason has produced our present chaos; what we need is less debates and more natural behaviour, unless we all want to fall into the ditch together as blind leaders of the blind.

J.P.H.

PERHAPS you would be interested in a Canadian reader's view upon the question of Anarchist action to-day. I do not propose to offer any solution to the questions arising from the readers of *Freedom and Resistance*, on Anarchist action and thought, however, I do hope that my humble suggestions meet with some approval, and criticism is readily accepted.

I am of the firm opinion that Anarchist society is still a long way in the future. Socialism and communism will likely hold complete sway before humans form a true Brotherhood of Man or the ideal society of Anarchism. I do not believe that any amount of revolution could bring about a complete and true change to Anarchism at present! The change will be gradual, after the evils of socialism and communism are fully discovered by the masses.

In the meantime, the question remains—what must anarchists do at present? It is my opinion that our activity should be directed entirely toward spreading anarchist truths, not revolutionary thoughts, but the true concepts of what an anarchist society will hold for the persons who make up that society. These truths may be circulated in different ways, and will have to be circulated in many ways, as all persons do not accept facts alike. I would like to see a programme drawn up by the votes and letters of all our readers, which would give a definite line of action for every type of anarchist to follow so that we may all work together to bring about the great anarchist brotherhood.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA— "MERCHANT OF DEATH"

HAVING long shipped arms to Israel forces for use against the Arabs, Czechoslovakia has more recently been selling armaments to Moslem Pakistan. Exact figures on total shipments are difficult to obtain, but it is believed that Pakistan wants at least 100,000 rifles and some heavier field equipment. Czechoslovakia hopes to build up its market in Pakistan, and is considering the establishment of a small arms factory and repair shop in the country.

British insurance companies refused to issue policies to cover one recent substantial shipment. Major Western powers cannot openly criticise the Czechs, however, for many countries roam the world seeking arms markets, and some sell indiscriminately also. In the case of Czechoslovakia, nevertheless, European critics point out that owing to rigorous state controls, the salesman in this sort of transaction is actually the Prague government, which has been condemning the West for "war-mongering".

—Worldover Press.

Our programme would have to be varied, as letters to *Freedom and Resistance* have clearly shown that anarchism to-day holds many, many types of character, and lines of thought. For instance, we have atheistic, and non-atheistic anarchists, we have revolutionary, and non-violent anarchists. There must be some way of formulating a programme whereby all these types of men and women could really work together towards the eventual anarchist society. Our individual line of thought may differ, but our action must be toward the same goal. And the path toward this goal must not be marred by our own actions or inactivity.

Ontario, Canada.

ROBERT BROOKS.

CORRECTION. In our last issue the headline at the bottom of p. 3, "American School Teaches World Government" should, of course, read "American School Teaches World Citizenship".

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL

(Continued from page 1)

vigour than accuracy. Naturally. Nevertheless, there is a considerable and growing demand among railwaymen for at least an increased share in control of their industry.

Work on the railways is among the most dangerous of occupations. It is always at the top of the industrial casualties list, with mining and seafaring, and, with road transport, entails greater responsibility for the safety of the general public than either. Miners and seamen have their own lives and those of their fellow workers in their hands while they do their arduous jobs. Railwaymen and passenger transport workers in general have not only their own lives, but those of thousands of the general public, men, women and children, at their mercy all the time they are on the job.

It is natural and logical, then, that this responsibility should be extended. The more technical a job is, the more actual control, at the point of work, does the worker have. It is superficial and false to suggest that workers upon whose care and skill our lives depend, have not the ability to control, not only the equipment under their hands, but the whole of the industry in which they collectively work.

There is only one answer to the frustration and grievances of the railway—and other—workers. It is that the control of the railways at all levels shall pass into the hands of the workers at all levels. Let them take the responsibility for running the railways and it will never be necessary to stress that they are a public service. The railmen know that. Their patience under poor conditions; their reluctance to bring the trains to a standstill, are ample proof that they are fully aware of their trust.

Working men do not crumble under responsibility. The achievements of the Spanish railmen in 1936 showed that. What was done in Spain could be done here—and everywhere!

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The Cominform Purges

(Continued from page 1)

changes are brewing up in Czechoslovakia is shown by the desertion of several members of Czech diplomatic corps abroad.

The capitalist press interprets these desertions as indicating recognition of the "superiority" of the Western way of life, but it is quite clear that it is personal fear which inspires them; the deserters have been quite happy when the heat has been turned on someone not themselves. Revolutionary circles are apt to fall into another error—that of regarding these party purges as indicating opposition to the party, and therefore as evidence of weakness or at least of weakening. Such explanations take too much at their face value the charges of Trotskyism, treachery, etc., which are levelled at the fallen, and which are, in reality, no more than Leninist-Marxist terms of abuse, mere name calling.

Not Weakness, but Strengthening of Reaction

One sees going on the liquidation of high-up party leaders in all the Iron Curtain countries, over which the Communist parties have imposed most brutal dictatorships, more efficient and more thorough than that of the Nazis. One's knowledge of the situation of the workers and of the opposition elements under the Cominform regime (and under Tito) makes it tempting to treat all this purging as signs of cracking up, of weakening, of the existence of opposition with which the authorities have to make a serious reckoning.

It is necessary to take into account other less obvious features, however. First, all these countries behind the Iron Curtain are better regarded as what they really are—satellite states of Russia. Second, the simultaneous character of the purges suggests that they are made necessary not by the existence of opposition but by directives from the centre—from Russia. All these party leaders who are now victims of the purging process are activists who have taken a very prominent part in the successful bringing to power of their parties. Mostly they are not Moscow trained, but owe their positions of prominence to their own participation in the underground struggles of the war years. They do not conform to the type at which Tito directed his sneer that they arrived from Russia in passenger planes, smoking pipes. All of them are charged with nationalist deviationism. In short, it is apparent that by their personal achievements and their national successes they were unsuitable tools for the imposition of control from Moscow. Their crime, like Tito's, consists in unwillingness to make their countries completely subservient to Russia. That they are all being eliminated can only point to one explanation; that the imperialist hold of Russia on the satellite states is being ruthlessly tightened.

This is the fact to keep firmly in mind. Sympathy with the purged leaders is quite out of place. The capitalist press, anxious to discredit Russian Communism from a merely capitalist angle, takes these opportunities to represent the purged in as sympathetic a light as possible. But it is important to distinguish clearly between them and the revolutionaries who were the first victims of the new Communist states. All these ex-party leaders have the blood of workers on their hands; all of them have been not merely consenting parties to the methods of the Communist dictatorship, but its chief architects.

What we are witnessing in these

intra-party struggles is not internal weakness and potential opposition, but the tightening of central authority not simply of the Communist government in the countries themselves, but the central control by the Russian government.

Imperialist Consolidation

This process is not one which can be disregarded. In the past, the spectacle of revolts of colonial peoples against British Imperialism being crushed by British Army units has brought home to revolutionists the power of imperialism. What we see to-day in Eastern Europe is the consolidation of Russian imperialist power, and in effect the incorporation of the Cominform countries within the structure of the Soviet Union.

The importance of such a process lies in its effects on the potential internal opposition to the regime; it inevitably weakens it. What we are seeing is the strengthening of dictatorship, the grim tightening up of the most oppressive regime whose success means despair for the workers.

Duty of the Revolution in the West

It is useless and presumptuous to call on the workers under the Communist heel to revolt—and to wait for them to do so. It is true that their emancipation can only come from themselves, but it is unreal and unfair, to expect them to initiate the process. The way to undermine the totalitarianism of Eastern Europe is to make the Social Revolution in the West. Progressive reformism, even if successful, has here little effect against the totalitarian regime; but the tendency of the revolution to spread which has been noted in all past revolutions and against which reactionary regimes take elaborate precautions testifying to their fear of it—this tendency holds out hope to the oppressed millions of Russian Imperialism as well as to the millions under British rule.

Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

OPEN AIR meetings will be held in Hyde Park on alternate Sundays, coinciding with the publication fortnight of *FREEDOM*. From 3 p.m. to 6. Speakers, support for the platform and literature sellers will be equally welcome.

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
At 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.
JUNE 26th John Hewitson
World Food Supplies

JULY 3rd Discussion on Population and Freedom
led by Margery Mitchell
JULY 10th Pat McMillan
"The I.W.W. and Industrial Unionism in U.S.A."

HAMPSTEAD
Weekly discussion meetings are held every Wednesday at:
5, Villas-on-the-Heath,
Vale of Health, Hampstead, N.W.3.
Evenings at 7.30 All welcome

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP
On and after April 24th:
Outdoor Meetings
MAXWELL STREET.
every Sunday at 7 p.m.,
Frank Leech, John Gaffney, Eddie Shaw.

INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE BUREAU, U.A.G.

c/o 27, Red Lion St., London, W.C.1.
A circular has been received from the C.R.I.A. (International Committee for Anarchist Relations) in Paris. Comments are invited from all groups in order to formulate a response and the proposals to be taken by our delegation to the coming Conference.

Copies available for groups and individual militants. Apply as above.