

# Freedom

ANARCHIST FOR NIGHTLY

"Can tyrants but by tyrants  
conquer'd be,  
And Freedom find no  
champion and no child?"  
BYRON

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Threepence

## CAN PEACE BE ENFORCED?

### The "Progressives" Provide the Justification

EVEN before the tide of events turned in favour of America and the "United" Nations, the question was being asked "Is Korea a new Spain?" It is a question which serves as a focussing point for left-wingers and progressives to discuss their attitude towards the post-war power rivalries. Since left-wingers and progressives are now the most important intellectual current which provides justification for wars, this discussion has an importance far beyond immediate appearances.

In 1914 it was the H. G. Wells who provided rallying cries sufficiently cogent to bring in those who might otherwise have followed the instinct which intuitively recognizes that wars between major powers have nothing to do with ethical considerations. The post-1918 No-More-Wars feeling was more effectively swept away by the anti-fascists of the Left Book Club, literary figures like Spenser and Auden—and we must not except Orwell and Koestler—than by frank warmongers. It was these rather than reactionaries who provided the arguments which enabled the anti-fascist left to line up behind (of all people) Chamberlain and Churchill.

#### DO WARS ACHIEVE PROGRESS?

H. G. Wells was personally disillusioned after 1918 about the part he played in the manufacture of propaganda during

the preceding four years. But however much revolutionists may have seen that the post-war world differed but slightly from pre-1914, the League of Nations provided a seeming achievement for the progressives and gave justification of their support for the war. H. G. Wells could not undo his war work. It was, of course, impossible to argue whether the price of so many million dead was "worth" the apparent gains in progress at that time; it only became a dead loss with the development of the new war. But here the feeling of a new crusade again had the effect of stilling doubts.

From an objective standpoint it seems clear that the world of to-day is more totalitarian than the world of 1939. Yet the fascist régimes of Italy and Germany were terminated, and this seems a sufficient gain to many; especially if they can persuade themselves that the

Russian system is somehow less bad than those overthrown. The point which emerges is that for progressives and left-wingers the last war can still be represented as having been "worth while". Hence they approach the question "Is Korea a new Spain?" without really having learned anything from the past.

#### APPEASEMENT OR FIRM STAND?

Anarchists have to adjust their minds somewhat in considering the question. For those who ask it, Spain represented principally a trial of strength between the Fascist countries against the democracies. The Spanish people were just one more among those sacrifices to Fascist aggression which began with Abyssinia and ended with Austria and Czechoslovakia and Albania.

Anarchists (and a very few other revolutionary thinkers) see Spain rather differently; the Spanish revolution has a special and enormous significance to them. That George Orwell saw this aspect of Spain is clear from his *Homage to Catalonia*, and he was by far the most perceptive and sensitive thinker on the pro-war left. But even for Orwell the main significance of Spain lay in the conflict which he imagined existed between the Fascist and the democratic systems. For more humdrum anti-fascists the issue was the simple one of "standing up to aggression", or of failing to do so.

The Left have for years blamed the last war on to the policy of appeasement culminating in Munich. They are joined by Churchill, and they say that the 1939 war would not have been "necessary" if the democracies had shown strength instead of weakness. The same argument obtains to-day. "Russia will not dare to go to war if

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### Tito's Phoney Syndicalism

(from our Balkan Correspondent)

A STUDENT of Soviet affairs once wrote that the great success of Marxists, in spite of all their boasts about the continuously rising standard of living and culture in the Socialist fatherlands, lies in the field of mass-propaganda, where they can safely teach a number of tricks to their less imaginative bourgeois rivals (or partners, as the case may be). Thus what is known among the sane as a prison becomes a "camp for re-education", forced labour turns "voluntary" when working in a "Socialist" State, inhuman productions drives are labelled "Socialist Competitions" when occurring between Trieste and Shanghai, while the most pervasive dictatorship in the world to-day is provided with a constitution proclaiming all sorts of freedoms. To this long and steadily increasing list of 1984 "double-think" words and schemes we can now add that of "workers' control" and "decentralisation" introduced by Marshal Tito, who, in his twenty-years career as a Stalinist, has learned and, to the great sorrow of his former master, perfected the art of Marxist politics to suit his own ends.

At a meeting of his servile Parliament in June, Tito introduced a Bill which, like so many other blueprints all over the world, seemed perfect. Each factory was to elect by secret ballot and for a short period a workers' council with an executive committee which would meet regularly with the director to plan the general activities of the factory. While the director would be appointed by the State, the executive of the workers' council could ask for his removal. This was done in several cases because the régime had to find scapegoats for the worsening labour conditions and the appalling shortage and low quality of consumer goods. At the same time a number of the 114 ministries were closed and their less reliable officials from the Communist point of view, sent to the factories or mines amid a great deal

of talk about the dangers of bureaucracy in the U.S.S.R., the eventual "withering away of the State" and why Tito and not Stalin, is the true heir of Marx and Lenin.

In view of the cold and hot war with its need for allies however disreputable they are and the growing disillusionment with the policies of both the Social Democratic and Communist parties in the West, it is not surprising that a steady stream of visitors (mostly guests of various Titoist authoritarian organisations) returned from Yugoslavia stating that Tito is on the way to solving problems which had baffled social reformers during the past 150 years. None of them, out of gullibility or complacency, bothered to examine the scheme more closely before giving their verdict. It took, for example, Mr. Morgan Phillips, the secretary of the Labour Party, only a few days' stay in Titoland to proclaim that "the people of Yugoslavia are building new forms of democracy", and is would probably take

★ PAGE THREE

## THE GAS STRIKE

WE have pointed out before that when the Labour Government repealed the Trades Disputes Act of 1927, it was a mere shop-window gesture depriving itself of none of the powers that that Act gave to the Tory Government which introduced it.

There still remain Emergency regulations, war-time Orders like the Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order, 1940, and, as we were reminded last week, the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875.

And the Labour Government has not hesitated to use any of them. A State of Emergency has been declared three times during the last three years to deal with dock strikes, and last week in order to pick out and prosecute a representative handful of gas-workers from the 1,430 on strike, the 1875 Act was brought out, dusted and used.

#### Inconvenience

Only a half-hearted attempt was made to smear this strike with the "Communist" slur, for the good reason that it could have stuck even less to the patient gas-workers than to the dockers or busmen. The gas-mens' claims for wage increases were first put forward in 1948, through all the "proper" channels, and even the union leaders did not have the face to deny the ponderous delay in dealing with the claims.

The public, of course, are inconvenienced by a stoppage in a public utility, but it should never be forgotten that it is very inconvenient for workers to be faced over a period of years with rising prices in nearly all necessities with a very inelastic pay packet.

In all the confusion and 'eyewash' trotted out in connection with this strike, however, it has been left to the staid *Observer* to bring a little impartial examination of the legal aspects of the prosecution brought against 10 of the strikers. Pointing out how unsatisfactory it was to pick out ten men only when, as all the strikers agreed, they should all have been prosecuted, if any, the *Observer* goes on to say:

"The intention of the 1875 Act, it must appear, was to treat workers in essential public services on the same sort of basis as soldiers or police, who are not allowed to strike but are given some compensatory benefits, including security of employment and pension rights. This might be a desirable reform, but in spite of the 1873 Act it has not been put into practice, and it would be a step so far-reaching that it could scarcely be undertaken without being made an election issue.

"As things are, it seems wrong to keep on the Statute Book this ancient Act, which has never been enforced. It cannot fairly be used to prosecute strikers who are not, in fact, employed on the national service terms which the Act implies."

And the *Observer* goes on to show how unfair and illogical it is for the Government to steadfastly refuse, as they have done, to institute a national wages policy, while taking legal measures against strikers. In effect they are leaving the workers free to do their own bargaining, but punishing them when they use the only weapons they have when their unions do not do the job for them.

#### Government's Way

This is a typical social-democratic government's way of doing things. Trying to make the best of both worlds, free enterprise and planned economy, the best is maintained for employers and office holders, but the workers get the worst of both worlds.

Without a regular wages policy, without any brake upon rising prices, the workers are also, because of union loyalty to the Labour Party, without the protection their own organisations are supposed to give them.

The Attorney-General has called on the trade union movement for "voluntary discipline and loyalty to the elected leaders." To allow discipline to be voluntary, and a little loyalty from the union leaders might not be a bad idea. P.S.

## Form D.406: Sorry Not Interested

IN the recent issue of *Freedom*, I wrote on "Class Z Impudence". This was written purely unprejudiced and unbiased, and without the least knowledge that the Ministry of Labour & National Service and the War Office were going to make a personal matter of it. Shortly after it appeared, however, these worthy gentlemen were undeterred by their scrutiny of an interesting crime-sheet which it is hoped to include in the official records of the British Army to show posterity the sort of thing the combined wits of the Service chiefs (as preserved for history in a match-box) were up against. They made a personal matter of it, and sent me a questionnaire wanting to know my employer and, more or less, how important he is to a wartime economy. Naturally, the Ministry of Languor and the Snore Office do not realise how unimportant an employer is to any economy.

This Army Form D.406 was sent under what was quaintly known as the Armed Forces (Conditions of Service) Act, 1939. Had one known in 1939 that there were actually conditions of service, it is doubtful if so many would have entered into it. It rather sounds as if the conditions were laid down so that we should not be dazzled by the attractions of the Armed Forces.

It made four points. The first said, "You are hereby requested as an Officer on the Unemployed List or as a Reservist of Class "Z" . . . to complete Parts I and II of this form." If I considered myself an unemployed officer or a reluctant reservist I might have done so. As a free and independent human being, I saw no reason.

This, however, they endeavoured to explain in Point 2. "The object of asking you to supply this information is to enable the Ministry of Labour and National Service to consider the question of your

availability for recall should the need ever arise." In the first World War, Kitchener pointed an accusing finger at the passer-by from every hoarding, and said, "Your King and Country Need YOU!" In the second, there was a slight emphasis on trade unions and internationalism wanting a bit of support, but we have slid into the position where it is just a question of the Ministry of Labour & National Service wanting you. The sheer impudence of one's availability for recall is one that is purely centred on our time and life. In feudal Europe, the press gang of the robber baron certainly sat back and thought about who they should grab hold of; these armed brigands then went round and swooped on the defenceless peasantry, who thought perhaps with quiet consolation how different things would be in 200 years' time say, in a free country like England. The difference is that to-day, Mr. Wetnose of the Min. of Lab. studies his register in one of the former luxury flats or newly-built office blocks his department has grabbed, and phones up an officer on the re-employed list at the War Office to see if there's any objection to the defenceless peasant he's picked out. Having considered the availability for recall, you've had it.

This clause goes on to remind you to "fill the form in correctly and return it promptly; failure to do so may mean that you will be regarded as available for recall whatever your occupation may be." Such advice would certainly not be lost on anyone who had recently joined the works of a munitions factory, but the majority of people will obviously be available for recall the minute they know what their occupation now is. One is tempted to the reflection that Whitehall would have made Hitler a different man. Before

people were sent to the gas-chambers they would have had to fill out forms stating their life history and antecedents, and those with the appropriate answers would have been taken off. As proof of the English love of liberty, nobody would have dreamed of giving incorrect answers and the results would have been exactly the same.

Point 3 emphasises that the form is a purely routine measure to bring their records up to date. It "does not necessarily mean that you would be recalled in the event of an emergency". In the time-honoured Cockney phrase, "The band played, 'Believe it if you like'."

Point 4 merely tells you to fold up the form and show the stamped address of the Records office. To show how generous they are, they put "stamped" in capitals to show they don't begrudge a stamp. Alas, one knows fools enough who would even put a stamp on themselves for fear they might not be called up in order. Give me the good old press gang. They came round in the old days grabbing men from the docksides forcing them on to the ships, but they had to face a fight for their money and might well have been thrown in the Thames or the Severn. Mr. Wetnose, however, has no dangers. He is surprised when an occasional "trouble-maker" wangles his way through the doors of his comfortable hide-out and finds out the striped-pants-man who is "considering his availability". I recall what he actually said to me on that occasion: "If everybody made as much as you do about doing his duty, where should we be?" The press gang knew where they would be. What a commentary on our age and civilisation that after ten years of conscription people are not even prepared to throw Army Form D.406 into the river.

INTERNATIONALIST.

**AUTUMN  
★ BOOK ★  
REVIEWS**

**A FLOATING  
STATE**

**THE DEATH SHIP** by B. Traven. (Pan Books, 2s.)

IN a copy of *New Road*, Fred Marnau has written, "A man discarding his identity in order to walk across Europe, not heeding teeth, terror, and zones, is a hero. He is a lonely European dream of true liberty. He is a poet." Though the hero of *The Death Ship* is destined to do this, more from necessity than idealism, one cannot help feeling that the author had in mind a similar purpose.

Much of this book concerns a sailor stranded in Europe, without papers or money, and who is ejected from one country to another by frontier police who find nothing more embarrassing than a man without his number. Eventually he finds the escape route of taking a ship which is only too eager to sign on a "man without identity". The second part of the book deals with his adventures on this "death ship" with a crew of social outcasts like himself, and a cargo of contraband.

It is not difficult to believe, and the 'blurb' seems to support this, that much of this book is autobiographical. The author's knowledge of the way in which the police handle men without papers, the brilliant manner in which he conveys his indignation, the debunking of hypocritical consuls... one knows it is the truth.

The State comes to life as one of the leading characters in his story, as when, for instance, the consul turns down his request for a duplicate passport. "Perhaps he's right. Perhaps he's not such a brute after all. Why should men be brutes, anyway? The State is the brute, I fancy. The State that takes sons from their mothers and flings them to idols. This man is the servant of the Beast, just as the executioner is the servant of the Beast. Everything the man said was learnt by heart. He had to soak it all up, of course, when he took his consul's exam. It just slipped off his tongue. For everything I said he had the right answer to stop my mouth. But when he asked me if I was hungry, if I had had anything to eat, then he suddenly became a man, and was no longer a servant of the Beast... The Beast can't use men; they make too much work. It's easier to drill dummy figures and put them into uniform, to make life more comfortable for the servants of the Beast. Yes, sir. Yes, sir."

The second part of the book may be seen as a parallel. A floating State with an Authority of its own, in which everything is subordinated to the ship and its contraband cargo. And the men are still slaves, without rights, without voices. The descriptive passages dealing with a trimmer's life are outstanding, and the meaning of "Death Ship" is brought home with intensity. The one freely expendable commodity is man. And if he is without identity papers, and therefore without a right to exist, his disappearance can never be proved.

From the hero's experiences, we can learn such valuable lessons as that of never trusting Authority, of never expecting sympathy. If the Law has been broken, the Keepers of Law have only one answer. And it isn't their hearts that speak. To all of us who have the honour of being law-breakers or potential law-breakers, this novel will convey a wider meaning.

C.H.

# Psychopaths in Power

EUGEN KOGON, born in Munich in 1903, is an economist and sociologist who served several years' imprisonment in the worst Nazi camps. In this book he gives a documented account of the concentration camp system.

When the initial reports of conditions in these places were published in England, many readers, including this reviewer, were inclined to treat the worst excesses with incredulity. A good many of the reported activities of the SS were of a kind which had already figured largely in belligerent propaganda of both wars. Reported atrocities are commonly recognisable as psychopathic fantasy—our error in doubting them lay chiefly in a failure to recognise how far the Nazi régime was, in fact, a psychopathic manifestation. The psychopath who invents atrocities is undoubtedly liable, in certain circumstances, to enact them, and this, under Nazism, was precisely what happened. Documentation of these horrors had an important function in removing our scepticism about the limits to which group-delinquency could go: the facts being established, the reports and documents have a secondary function in preventive medicine.

If I seem to be taking Kogon's testimony calmly (and it is harrowing enough in all conscience) it is because the most important feature of all this beastliness to-day is the need to ensure that it does not recur. Almost everything which took place in the camps, and which reached the limit of human cruelty, is a commonplace in psychiatry as fantasy. In our own society it may break into reality as individual action, but no individual possesses the opportunity to enact it undisguised on a larger scale. The peculiar danger which concerns social medicine (and anarchism) is the tendency of societies to provide such opportunity through the structure of government, at a time when, by their pattern of life, they encourage the growth of large numbers of individuals abnormal enough to avail themselves of it.

What Kogon's testimony does show, to a remarkable degree, is that there is a distinction between most current examples of sadistic behaviour within civilised societies and the sadistic behaviour of Nazism. Brutality in prisons and by executive authorities recurs in all contemporary cultures to a greater or lesser degree, but Nazi Germany has been the

**THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF HELL** by Eugen Kogon. (Secker & Warburg, 18/-)

first large culture to be deranged bodily to the point at which the sadistic pattern is primary and over-rides all practical and political considerations. It has been stated that Soviet Russia has an even larger number of political prisoners than Hitler had, but an examination of their evidence, where it is available, shows definite points of difference between the Nazi and the Communist attitude. In this respect, the Communist treatment of prisoners is an exaggeration of our own, or, more accurately, it represents the type of attitude which is apt to develop in any culture which has a repressive and power-centred form of government unrestrained by public opinion or by any contrary stream of tradition. The mental forces at work may be the same as in Germany, but in no other culture within recent record has the process of coincidence between individual sadistic fantasy and social acceptance gone so far as in Nazism.

The German camps originally served clear-cut purposes of intimidation and repression, but it is clear from Kogon's

evidence that the élite created to man them very soon got wholly out of control. The final picture is a particularly terrifying one, of a repressive and militaristic government relying for the maintenance of its power, not upon a limited number of executioners, as in many previous and present tyrannies, but upon an executioner-élite, serving no function but the refinement of punishment, and numbering over 940,000 men out of a population of about 73,000,000. We can look at it in two ways—on one hand, it may be true that the peculiar set of circumstances which brought this about in Germany are unlikely to recur. On the other, it is unquestionable that the growing reliance of coercive societies on enforcement executives makes for a repetition of the pattern which the SS exemplified.

It is precisely upon the individual character-structure of the SS that we need information. Kogon's section on their psychology is unfortunately not helpful about this. Some at least were normal personalities gradually acclimatised to brutality—their delinquent behaviour came from a culturally-determined obedience to orders. Others were drawn from all the known psychopathies. Particularly informative on the mental state of the policy-makers is the section on scientific research in the camps. In hundreds of

human experiments, not one single fact worth mentioning was obtained. Huge energy was devoted to the search for a quick means of sterilisation—even a research on exposure to cold, which would have been within the bounds of reasonable utility to men who treated their subjects with far less humanity than experimental animals, ended by assessing the results of sexual intercourse in reviving the frozen.

The obverse and equally important study, that of the psychology of the imprisoned, is matter for a longer review than can be written here. Kogon provides new facts from his own experience. Seen as a whole, the book is an important and probably a reliable contribution to the literature of concentration camps: it lacks the immediacy and economy of Ella Lingens-Reiner's classic,<sup>9</sup> but it has its own value. If we wonder whether our own society contains some or any of the seeds which germinated in the SS, we may perhaps reflect that this book, like any description of sexually-determined cruelty, will be bound to have a definite audience as pornography. Buchenwald undoubtedly exists, potentially, in the unconscious of a great many individuals who would pass muster as normal. Given certain social conditions, it can re-emerge as cold fact, whether as the open sexual violence of the SS, or as the censored equivalent which produced the atomic bomb and unlimited warfare.

ALEX COMFORT.

\* *Prisoners of Fear.*

## Creating Delinquents

**AUTHORITY AND DELINQUENCY IN THE MODERN STATE** by Alex Comfort. (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 8/6)

*Delinquency in the Modern State*, Alex Comfort has sought to give psychological and sociological support to this point of view by demonstrating the motives which induce certain types of individuals to accept executive and legislative positions, and by tracing the pattern of anti-social delinquency which often inspires their behaviour. There has perhaps been too great a tendency in recent years to seek the explanations for conduct in psychological disorders, and to find in

the criminal an inner morbidity when the explanation of his conduct is more readily to be discovered in a natural and healthy reaction against adverse circumstances. Similarly, while there is nothing natural or healthy about the way in which the policeman or the politician takes advantage of his office, it can also be contended with a great deal of reason that in most cases it is the corrupting nature of power which creates the delinquent attitude. Nevertheless, it is true that among criminals and politicians alike there does exist a higher proportion of psychological abnormality than among the population as a whole, and Dr. Comfort's essay, with its emphasis on the criminal potentialities of the state itself, understanding *criminal and anti-social*, is a stimulating sketch of a neglected field of sociology; it will be useful to the student and interesting to the general reader.

It is, however, hardly more than a sketch, either in proportions or depth. It contains scanty background information, and the author has made little attempt to illustrate his thesis with concrete examples, though the past quarter of a century has been rich in instances which might very profitably have been used without any need to fear the laws of libel. Nevertheless, even without drawing on any large mass of evidence, Comfort does make a convincing case for his thesis of the mutual independence of criminality and an abnormal, authoritarian society.

Equally important is the positive side of his book, in which he rejects those parts of anarchist doctrine which have reference to a past situation, and brings forward a conception of the revolutionary process as "experimental and tentative rather than dogmatic and Messianic". He envisages an attitude which retains all the fundamental aims of classic anarchism, but which rejects the Marxist and Blanquist excrescences of the past century—in other words a revolution which "is not a single act of redress or vengeance followed by a golden age, but a continuous human activity whose objectives recede as it progresses".

To those who do not accept unreservedly some of Comfort's favourite ideas, such as the beneficial nature of the family, the proposals he make may nevertheless seem to represent an intelligent and sound summary of what can be done in present circumstances. Briefly, they are as follows:

1. Measures to increase public awareness of the state of society and of the result of research into social psychology.
2. Experiments in communal living and the control of resources, which have a demonstration value.
3. Pressure for decentralisation and workers' control.
4. Propaganda to introduce sociality into the family and the school.
5. Individual psychiatry, in which Comfort includes "the building of a morale based on negative resistance to bad institutions and positive determination to experiment in social living so that they can be superseded"; this in its turn he considers may involve propaganda and specific revolutionary activity.

Comfort's book is very largely a call to sociologists and other related scientists to realise in the full their social responsibilities, and, while we may not always share his respect for the expert, there is no doubt that in this, as in other respects, his plea is fulfilling a necessary function.

GERMINAL.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

## STALIN ON ANARCHISM

**DURING** the years of 1905-8, the anarchists of Georgia, in Czarist Russia, published a series of articles criticising the theories of the Social Democrats (Marxists) in their papers *Nobati* (The Call), *Musha* (The Worker), *Khima* (The Voice) and other journals. These criticisms provoked a reply in the contemporary Bolshevik papers of that area, which took the form of a counter series of articles written by a little-known political revolutionist known by the name of Koba, better-known to the modern world as Joseph Stalin. The first English translation of this reply has now been published with the title *Anarchism or Socialism*.

In this pamphlet, Stalin set out to:—  
"... compare Marxism with Anarchism, and thereby throw light on their respective virtues and defects" and "... explain the dialectical method, the Anarchists' view of this method, and our criticism; the materialist theory, the Anarchists' views and our criticism; the philosophy of the Anarchists' and our criticism; the Socialism of the Anarchists and our criticism; Anarchists' tactics and organisation."

**ANARCHISM OR SOCIALISM** by J. Stalin. (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 6d.)

Unfortunately, Stalin only deals with the Georgian Anarchists' criticisms of the Marxian dialectic, historical materialism, and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The sections which would be of the greatest interest to Anarchists, i.e., those dealing with the socialism, philosophy and tactics of Anarchism having been lost when the Czarist police raided his quarters in 1907. All we are left with is an unoriginal restatement of classical Marxist theories and a somewhat ham-handed "refutation" of a few isolated quotations from the Anarchist journals mentioned above. Not being in a position to obtain or, for that matter, if they were obtainable, to understand the articles in question, the present reviewer must pass over whether or not Stalin's "refutation" possesses any validity—except to remark that Stalin, with that usual myopia characteristic of the vulgar Marxist, ignores the fact that it is impossible to pin Anarchists down to one particular philosophical or sociological interpretation of events, since very often the sole "common denominator" we possess is our conviction that a really free society can exist in the absence of government of any kind.

One interesting feature about this fragment, however, is the way in which it illustrates the bankruptcy of the Bolshevik conception of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as a way of attaining a free and equitable society. In reply to the Georgian Anarchists' criticism that:

"Collectivism, or more correctly, state capitalism, is based on the following principle: each must work as much as he likes, or as much as the state determines, and receives the value of his labour in the shape of goods" and that, consequently, "... there is needed an executive power, i.e., ministers, all sorts of administrators, gendarmes and spies, and, perhaps, also, troops, if there are too many discontented"

Mikhaiko Tsereteli (Baton), *Nobati*, No. 5.)

Stalin states:

"... socialist society is a society in which there will be room for the so-called state, political power, with its

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