

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"What is demanded of a society, what gives it life, is the ability to inspire a greater measure of enthusiasm, a greater measure of freedom. It must inspire people to live, not to die, to create, not to destroy."

—HENRY MILLER

BEHIND THE CZECH TRIALS

POGROM IN PRAGUE

FOR many years now, Stalin has been trying out the art and craft of anti-Semitism in order to bolster up Bolshevism. He did not learn it from his former friend, Hitler. The anti-Semitism of Stalin is one that he inherits directly from the Tsars, together with many other similar Russian Imperialist techniques and particularly their attitude towards the various races and nationalities that make up what is only loosely referred to as "Russia" and is in reality the vast Slav Empire whose tentacles stretch from Finland to China and from the Arctic wastes to Mongolia.

It would be impossible to pursue a racial policy on Hitler's lines so far as Russia was concerned. When using the Jews as a scapegoat, the Tsarists did not make any attack on them on racial grounds and presented religious motives. Any Jew who was sufficiently rapacious to earn the opprobrium bestowed upon him could always adopt the Christian religion and even become a bishop, and this toleration of the convert had to be tolerated because of the close links between the Church and State (completely differ-

ent from Nazi Germany, where racial theories had been invented). The convenience of anti-Semitism was long since made known to Stalin, and even as far back as the days of Lenin a very large number of political prisoners (invariably made the scapegoats since economic ones, such as usurers, were no longer in existence as members of nationalised boards) were of Jewish origin. Conformity with the new orthodox ideology, however, was possible—just as in Tsarist Russia—and certain Jews became Communist leaders by renouncing any links with Judaism or Zionism. It is just because of this that it is absurd to pretend that such survivors of the old line have been Zionists all along, and what makes the Communist apologia for the Prague Trials a complete farce.

The Communists in the West have sought to whitewash the trials by pointing out that the use of terms such as "Jewish bourgeois nationalist" for "Zionist" was purely political, and not anti-Semitic, but only a simpleton could imagine that the accused in Prague had any connection whatsoever with Zionism.

The fact is that they face the new trend in Stalinist anti-Semitism, which is now switching from the used-up Tsarist attacks on the Jews to the Hitler technique which attacks them by race. The Prague Government has been ordered to purge itself of all remaining Jewish elements; these have been laid with the blame for all oppositional trends (both the fact that they were too "internationalistic", a fatal crime in the Soviet Union, as well as Titoism, i.e., Communist nationalism outside Russia); and only formal regard for past ideologies makes the indictment read in political terms, of Zionism, etc. Many Jewish opponents of Zionism for long maintained that this movement would give anti-Semitic governments the chance of pretending that all Jews were nationalistic as regards Palestine; this is at least true so far as the Stalin-ordered trials in Czechoslovakia is concerned, and it is significant of the world to-day that a similar, if less dramatic, technique exists only in American ruling class circles (above all as exemplified by McCarran and McCarthy).

Whatever the Stalin-worshippers

Political Divisions in the Unions

THE division of the Trade Union movement according to politics continues. It is some years now since the unions in what is humorously called "the Free World" broke away from the World Federation of Trades Unions, which had come pretty completely under Communist domination, and formed the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Neither organisation represented the workers any longer; each followed slavishly the political and economic line of the governments in the countries con-

cerned. The W.F.T.U. follows the Communist Party line and consists of unions from the Cominform countries. The I.C.F.T.U. follows the lines laid down by the Western governments and consists of unions from the western countries. There is, unfortunately, no effective workers' organisation which transcends the Iron Curtain nor, indeed, the ordinary frontiers between countries in the same bloc, with any genuine internationalism.

The split on the world scale finds a miniature reflection in the struggle for the Trades Councils in this country. The Communists have been most effectively infiltrating into the Trades Councils with the result that the TUC and all non-C.P.-dominated unions have now parted company from them, and have formed, in London, to combat the Communist influence in the London Trades Council, the London Federation of Trades Councils.

Out of the 49 local Trades Councils in the London area, however, 25 have not affiliated with the new Federation. They had been given time to reflect on the disadvantages of being disaffiliated from the TUC, that is, as much time as was feasible was allowed for the Labour members to try and get rid of the Commies, but when they could not manage it, the TUC just cut its losses and has now withdrawn recognition from the 25 intransigent trades councils. This means that this part of the Trade Union movement in London—and the same thing will be done throughout the country—has now on the official level, been broken in two. And it is the anarchists who are always accused, by both the Commies and the Labourites, of trying to split the working class!

But this is, of course, only on the official level. On the unofficial level, which is where it really matters, workers will still work and act together as the situation demands. It is a good thing in fact that workers have on the whole a good deal more sense than the politicians who try to lead them. In times of apathy and quietness, such as we have been going through, workers tend to sit back and let the professionals play politics, but when a serious situation arises, the rank and file will sweep these parasites aside with the contempt they deserve. One of the strengths of the anarchist case is that it represents something to which workers instinctively turn when thrown back on their own devices: their own strength at the point of production. The political racketeers may manoeuvre for office and for influence as much as they like, but when the workers really exert their influence where it matters, the office boys won't know what has hit them.

Governments' Hostility Provokes UNESCO Crisis

THE crisis in the Unesco General Assembly (see FREEDOM, 22/11/52) came to a head a fortnight ago, when the Assembly voted "at Britain's instigation and with American approval," says the *Observer*, to cut the budget for the coming two years from \$20 million to \$18 million. A few days earlier Spain had been elected to membership of Unesco to the accompaniment, in the words of the *Manchester Guardian*, of "noisy interruptions by Spanish anarchists".

The vote on the cuts in the budget was followed by the resignation of the Director General, Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet and of two other members of the executive council, after the Swiss educationist, M. Jean Piaget had pleaded with tears for a reconsideration of the budget.

Dr. Torres Bodet said: "In voting the budget, you had the choice between three possibilities—regression, stabilisation, and development. The executive council and myself chose development. You have chosen regression. The figures are as follows:— "Stabilisation would have corresponded to a budget of \$17,824,942 and you have adopted a budget of \$16,886,354, that is

a step backward of one million dollars over the two years (of the budget period). After long and painful efforts Unesco is thrust back to the situation in which it was at Florence two and a half years ago."

"You will tell me that the conference is only applying a general policy on economy. How are we to believe that when we have seen the budgets of other international institutions increase this year and when we compare ours with the huge military expenses?"

"What was in question yesterday, however, was Unesco itself. Unesco in action for peace. This debate has shown that several member-States do not want the development of Unesco."

The correspondent of the *Observer* writes that, "Those close to Dr. Torres Bodet believe that the unfavourable decision on the budget was only the climax to the Director-General's growing anxieties on Unesco's activities. He is known to share the Yugoslav view that the decision to suppress debate and vote on the admission of Spain without preliminary discussion was contrary to Unesco practice. He is believed also to have held the Americans responsible for a 'steam-roller' vote."

Discussing the present situation, an article in *Le Monde* recalls the Unesco crisis in 1950:

"... when the United States Government virtually asked for Unesco to become a propaganda agency for the United Nations policy as expressed in the military support of South Korea, is closely connected with the moral crisis through which Unesco is now passing. This United States proposal met with strong opposition both from Dr. Torres Bodet, and from a number of member-States, notably India."

Dr. Torres Bodet then refused to make Unesco "an instrument of ideological war". In fact, *Le Monde*, points out, he won that battle. "The organisation remained faithful to its original mission, namely to facilitate the development and diffusion of knowledge in the interest of international comprehension."

The *Manchester Guardian* sug-

gests that it was from that time that Unesco began, to the "have-not" nations, "to gain in significance as an assertion of the idea of the international co-operation which could no longer be achieved at the United Nations itself—co-operation for purely peaceful and in part non-government purposes." And it was since the crisis over the Korean war that the 'Anglo-Saxons' have been particularly insistent on the necessity of being 'practical'.

"At this particular general conference," says the *Guardian*,

"... the American delegation has tabled a proposal to make the members of the executive board State representatives, instead of being as hitherto chosen in their personal capacity and therefore without an obligation to make decisions in terms of Government instructions."

"Unesco was conceived as an international organisation which should exist at once on a Governmental and a non-Governmental basis and which therefore would have some chance of developing its own personality."

"Already the non-Government element in the shape of the national commissions seems in many cases to be coming under the control of the Government delegation, and the United States proposal would certainly accentuate this tendency."

"The bitterness of the opponents of budget cuts is given all the stronger ground by the remark of Dr. Torres Bodet in his resignation speech that the average supplementary charge per inhabitant per year of the full budget as proposed by him would have been one-third of a cent in the case of the United States, one-fifth of a penny in the case of the United Kingdom, and 68 centimes in the case of France."

Dr. Torres Bodet has always striven to steer his organisation away from vague "cultural" projects and in the direction of fundamental education in undeveloped countries, and this work (described in FREEDOM for 23/2/52) was given priority in the carefully planned budget which, as the *Guardian* said, has been ruined by these blind cuts.

Many people have emphasised

that this is the fundamental task in the world to-day. (See our account of the pamphlets "Let's Join the Human Race (3/11/51) and "War on Want" (21/6/52). The *Times* not long ago described Unesco's work as "to do what is directly in its power to introduce fundamental education schemes into the swarming areas of illiteracy and technical incompetence, and, since its power to assist directly is limited, to awaken the conscience or self-interest of the more prosperous nations until they, too, shall refuse to take evil for granted."

The British and American action at the conference indicates that our governments are unwilling to have their "conscience or self-interest" awakened to the plight of the three-quarters of the world's population who are ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed.

NEW STRIKE TACTICS IN JAPAN

A SERIES of electric power strikes has been staged by Japanese electricity workers which has, in the words of the *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent, been "probably the most skilfully planned wage battle ever mounted by trade unionists in Japan."

The strike has been operated in a series of "waves", blacking out different districts each day, or even different buildings in the same district. The Electricity Workers' Union, Densan, is making its struggle coincide with that of the coal miners, who are also resorting to direct action in support of the wage claims. But it is the electrical workers who are showing the world something new in strike technique.

In the "tenth wave" of shut-downs, for instance—which lasted four days—the strikers switched off power to 743 large factories throughout Japan, including 22 in Tokio, for four hours on the first day, followed by a more sweeping shut-down on the second. On the third and fourth days private homes, shops, theatres, cinemas and departmental stores—including the homes of foreigners for the first time—were deprived of light for some hours. The Parliament

buildings, Government offices, prisons, waterworks, fire brigades and newspaper plants were spared.

Mr. Minoru Takano, the chief secretary of the Japanese Council of Trade Unions, which is believed in some quarters to be directing the strikes, has announced that the present stoppages will be settled by compromise before the month ends. Some sections are already calling upon the Government to intervene to force a settlement.

Clearly such a situation cannot continue indefinitely without serious disruption. But what we are seeing in Japan is the efficiency of the organised workers. They are able to announce in advance that on a certain date all electric power will be cut off from so many factories, so many theatres, and so many districts, while arranging that other areas in the same cities, and even seeing that hospitals, for example, are supplied without interruption although the buildings next door may be blacked out.

The Japanese workers are showing initiative, skill and responsibility to the community while at the same time bringing the pressure of direct action to bear upon their employers—no mean task in a public service.

More Short Time in Birmingham Factories

MORE than three thousand men and four hundred women employed at the Birmingham factory of the Dunlop Rubber Co. have been put on short-time for "an indefinite period", starting last week-end. There are 9,000 workers employed at the factory, and those affected are understood to be on tyre production. Both night and day shift workers are involved, and miss one shift a week, with the result that they work the equivalent of a four-day week.

Representatives of the management declined to comment on the decision, but it is understood that the official reason given to trade union representatives was "trade recession".

At another Birmingham factory depending on the car trade—the motor-body building works of Mulliners Ltd.—over seventy vehicle builders were paid off during the day as redundant.

EDUCATION & WITCHCRAFT

THE proposed closing of the 320 schools run by the Kenya Independent Schools Association, and the present imprisonment without trial of their founder, Jomo Kenyatta, has an historical parallel which is quite striking, and which throws an interesting light on the nature of the modern British Government in its relations with colonial peoples. The historical parallel is to be found in the action of the Monarchist Spanish Government in 1906 in closing the Modern Schools, imprisoning their founder, Francesco Ferrer, and subsequently shooting him. Ferrer's Modern Schools arose in a social atmosphere which bears some comparison with that of Kenya to-day. The Spanish ruling class maintained their parasitism on the mass of the people by force and fraud, the latter means being largely in the hands of the Church which controlled such schools as there were, even as the missionary Churches in Kenya have sought to hold a monopoly of "education". The antagonism between rulers and ruled was as extreme in Spain as between the Kikuyu people and their white conquerors. (One need not bring the present sad condition of Spain into this comparison.) Against this background of poverty, of extreme social injustice, of the deliberate fostering of ignorance, Ferrer started schools which simply set out to give a rational education to children of all social classes. This venture aroused the violent hatred of both Church and State; the schools were closed down by law and Ferrer was eventually shot by a military tribunal which accused him of inciting people to revolution.

I know very little about the curriculum offered by the schools of the Kenya Independent Schools Association. The *Sunday Times* gives the following account:

"It has been known for some time that these schools have been used for training Mau Mau 'cell' leaders and for instilling anti-Christian and anti-European views into children and adults alike. The anti-religious training has taken the form of tracts which contain blasphemous parodies of hymns, psalms and prayers."

I am not impressed by this. At the time of the closing of Ferrer's Modern Schools, the British press carried eyewitness accounts of posters displayed in these schools urging the children to acts of lawless violence. It was alleged furthermore, that these schools besides preaching blasphemy and insurrection actually trained the children in the use of firearms—a thing which is respectable in a British Cadet Corps but infamous in schools organised by an anarchist. That these press reports were in actual fact plain lies, as it afterwards transpired, surprised nobody. After Ferrer had been executed, most of the British newspapers condemned the deed as a piece of Spanish barbarity. We will consider later on in what way Spanish barbarity differs from British barbarity.

I am prepared to believe that the news reports as to what goes on in the Kenya Independent Schools are about as accurate as were the reports of Ferrer's Modern Schools. But even so, let us consider just what the "anti-religious

training" and "blasphemy" mean in the context. By "anti-religious training" do the journalists perhaps mean "rationalist education", a thing which is permitted and respectable in Britain and a number of other civilised countries? And as for blasphemy, I suppose the mission schools may be said to blaspheme very grievously against the African deities who are of longer residence in the country.

Again, with Mau Mau, I am almost wholly ignorant of its real nature, an ignorance which is apparently shared by the whole of the British press. Some writers have made it out to be a sort of jungle witchcraft, associated with disembowelled cats and banana-leaf arches. Lord Tweedsmuir says that the cult is popular with ex-mission boys who have mis-read the Christian scriptures. If all this is in any way true, it seems more than doubtful that the schools which Mr. Kenyatta organised have been used for the training of witch-doctors. But whatever the factual reality of the Mau Mau organisation is, the use which the white administration is making of it is abundantly clear. They are using it in exactly the same way that the Monarchist Spanish Government used the insurrectionary workers' movement as a pretext to close down the Modern Schools and murder their founder.

If Europeans are unpopular in Kenya to-day, if white farmers and "Quisling" native chiefs are sometimes murdered, if Christian churches are burnt down and their ritual mocked at, there is but one explanation—that the white man is a parasite on the land and his religion is a fraud which the native people will no longer tolerate. We know very well that in the existing circumstances no organisation could run schools which preached rebellion; it would be no more possible to keep such schools open for a week in Kenya than it would have been in Monarchist Spain or in Spain to-day. The fault of the schools of the Kenya Independent Schools Association is perfectly clear; they set out to give native children education. Such schools are not wanted by the administration of a conquered country; they want schools that will give indoctrination. Apparently the mission schools have not been very successful ventures; the Kikuyu people seem obstinately deaf to the appeal of the Good Shepherd whose white apostles plunder them of their land. The Government is now coming forward with a big gesture; they suggest spending over £3 million pounds on government schools next year to replace the Independent Schools. It is perhaps unnecessary to enquire just what is expected to provide this large sum of money by taxation; it is well above the sum spent on health and all the other social services in Kenya put together. This is a typically modern counter-revolutionary gambit: had it been adopted in Spain they could have put Francesco Ferrer out of the business and never bothered to shoot him in Montjuich. The only snag is, where will the Kenya Government Schools find sufficient African teachers? Teachers of Kikuyu race will naturally be suspected of Mau Mau tendencies. It would never do to let secret witch-doctors get posts as science teachers and then begin to dissect a

suspicious number of cats for their biology classes and to lecture too much on the botany of banana leaves. It may be necessary to import Negro teachers from Harlem to preach the virtues of British rule in Africa.

But to return to the question of British barbarity as compared to the Spanish variety, execrated by the British press, let us consider the following news item about Kenya, published without comment in the *News Chronicle*:

"Starting at dawn, police and troops rounded up all livestock within eight square miles in the Thegenge location. More than 4,000 cattle and as many sheep and goats were led away.

"Only old folk, women and children were there to watch them go. All the young and able-bodied men fled to the bush when they saw the headlights of police lorries.

"Between 5,000 and 7,000 people live there. They grow maize and bananas and nobody suspected them of owning so many animals.

"The punitive expedition was to step up pressure on the tribesmen to hand over the killers of Senior Chief Nderi, who was hacked to death by his own people three weeks ago when he tried to break up a Mau Mau meeting.

"Those who now help the police will have their animals returned, otherwise

the beasts will be impounded and sold."

Many police chiefs and other hated functionaries have been assassinated in Spain, but never have I heard of the Spanish police stealing all the peasants' livestock throughout an entire district in order to solve one murder. Brutal enough reprisals have been taken against the Spanish people both under the Monarchy and Franco's dictatorship, but for sheer high-handed contempt for the most elementary justice this piece of police action has not been surpassed. When the Spanish State uses murder, torture and blackmail against the people it claims to represent, such police action is carried out with some sort of pretended justification in law. But in dealing with a colonial people the ruling power, Britain, acts without any reference whatever to "law" even of its own making. To rob up to 7,000 people of their cattle, is *not* a great atrocity in terms of human suffering, but it is an act that shows a complete indifference to all issues except that of exerting the will of the conqueror—one feels that if it were 7 million people who suffered the Government would be as little interested. Is this not the real essence of barbarity, which can only be measured in the spirit which promotes the deed and not in the actual amount of suffering caused.

The statesmen who rule us enter the realms of Cloud Cuckoo Land whenever they discuss the rights of self-determination, of freedom and democracy with the

statesmen of other countries. Whenever the State is concerned with its relations with peoples whose only fault is that they have no modern armaments at their disposal, then the forces of law and order act like bandits in enforcing their will. Unlike bandits, however, they expect to be regarded as a civilising influence. It is this split mind of the modern State that spells its doom; a robust and piratical conqueror can make his way in the full consciousness of what he is doing, but it seems that we have got past that stage and that the official mind is somehow convinced that we are doing Africans, Malays, Koreans, etc., a good turn when we interfere with their concerns, destroy their culture and reduce them to a dependent beggary.

If the moderate African leaders like Kenyatta are to be imprisoned and their schools proscribed, then it is the more violent forces of nationalism and racial hatred with which the white man will have to contend. If we repress the open aspirations towards education and national betterment that they have, then indeed we are inviting them to form secret societies and to murder from ambush. If we Europeans really mean to follow the lunatic policies at home that our rulers propose, then such will be our confusion at home that we will have no energy to spare for holding down the black man, and the African continent may become a very unhealthy place for anyone wearing a white skin. G.

CINEMA

Surrealism and Realism

"MIRACLE AT MILAN," directed by Vittorio de Sica. (New Gallery, London)

TOTO is found on a cabbage leaf in the garden of an old lady, outside Milan. She brings him up and teaches him to say "Good Morning," but soon she dies and he is the only mourner for following her coffin as it trundles through the wet streets of the city. He is taken to the orphanage and when he emerges he is still naive enough to mean "Good Morning" when he says it. He lends a helping hand to the men lifting the tram lines but they haven't a job for him and when he watches the society dames coming out of La Scala he is so overcome by the beauty of their dresses that he claps his hands and someone immediately walks off with his bag. He follows the thief to a rubbish dump outside the city where the down-and-outs live and the thief invites him to share his old-iron hutch. In a great gale the sheds and shacks are blown down and Toto's sense of community inspires the tramps to rebuild their colony on the best town-planning principles. But during their festivities they strike a gusher of oil and a battle develops with the land-owners. Now the old lady reappears as a fairy godmother who gives Toto and his girl-friend a magic wishing-dove. The most hilarious scenes ensue and finally the despised and rejected escape from the black-marias and take off into the clouds from the great cathedral square in Milan on the road-sweepers' broomsticks.

As might be expected from the maker of "Bicycle Thieves" and "Shoeshine", the film has its element of social criticism, in this case it takes the form of

savage satire. The principal weakness is the change of technique from realistic fantasy in the first part to hilarious surrealism after the arrival of the magic dove. Toto and his girl-friend are charmingly played by Francesco Golisano and Rena Bovo.

THE PICKWICK PAPERS (Gaumont, Haymarket).

NOTWITHSTANDING the difficulties of making a film of a Dickens novel and of the "Pickwick Papers" in particular, the producers of the current offering have succeeded in making an excellent rendering despite certain inevitable omissions. We miss the famous Eatanswill election, for instance, but the film faithfully reflects Dickens's contempt for the law and its administration—his scorn for lawyers and his humanity in the face of the Debtors' Prison in the Fleet. While the treatment of debtors has been greatly modified since his day, the administration of the law is unaltered, and Mr. Pickwick and Mrs. Bardell's unfortunate experience with crooked lawyers, thundering barristers and the whole legal machinery, out of which only the lawyers win, could easily be countered to-day. To some extent, Dickens mirrors contemporary liberal opinion in Mr. Pickwick's encountering the horror of the debtors' prison. We have seen him as a jolly, prosperous gentleman; suddenly he sees the squalor around him and is appalled to think that all this could possibly exist side-by-side with his world. Perhaps, too, there is a touch of middle-class complacency in imagining that by saving Mrs. Bardell and Mr. Alfred Jingle from the Fleet, he has squared his conscience with society.

These perhaps are reflections on Dickens rather than on the film. But there could be no greater praise for the film than to say it has reproduced Dickens on the screen so as to induce such reflections.

Nineteenth-century England was indeed, as Disraeli said, two nations, the rich and the poor. Among the prosperous middle-classes there was already the few who could look with compassion upon the sufferings of the poor. Dickens above all, was one of those reformers, the conscience of the middle-classes, and no matter how much humour he put into a tale, there was always the grim satire upon contemporary institutions—some abolished, some with us yet. There is to-day a different face upon matters. "The poor" are no longer with us in the sense of an inarticulate body of helpless sufferers, save as individuals. It is no fault of Dickens that he did not see how social change could be made, and hoped merely for a change in sentiment to effect reform. Even to-day there are still the liberal elements who think a change in sentiment can prevent war, and see no other solution than one touching the hearts of the ruling few.

It is also a sobering thought that no satirist to-day could attack society so fiercely as Dickens did in his great comic works of fiction. Publishers would not like to chance it, and film producers would undoubtedly fight shy. Only the name of Dickens got through the hit at the Courts of Law and even at that the film probably could not have made in Hollywood. Even as it was, the liberal *News Chronicle*—so proud as it is of Dickens, once editor of its predecessor the *Daily News*, with a bust of the maestro in the waiting-room—commented a little suspiciously on the film because the *Daily Worker* gave it a good write-up. M.

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Lessons of the Spanish Revolution—21

Conclusions: ANARCHISM & SYNDICALISM

IN organisations with a mass following, the small anarchist minority can only retain its identity and exert a revolutionary influence by maintaining a position of intransigence. By that we do not mean that they should oppose those actions the workers may take to improve their economic situation and working conditions. On the contrary, anarchists are the first to encourage such activity, recognising nevertheless that such activity is essentially reformist and cannot result in the social revolution which aims at the abolition of all classes and privileges.

Indeed, as we have seen in the Trades Unions, negotiations for wage increases, because of the complexities of the whole economic set-up, and the serious repercussions wage increases in one industry can have on other industries and on the cost of living generally, are in fact no longer struggles between workers and employers. They are matters determined at government level, by tribunals in which eminent legal minds interpret agreements in relation to cost-of-living indices and other statistics and whose decisions are binding on workers and employers alike. We have perhaps put the extreme case, but it represents a definite trend particularly in the highly industrialised countries. The mass organisation, instead of being a weapon of struggle against economic injustice and privilege becomes a vast prison in which the individual loses his identity, a helpless cog in the capitalist machine of production and cost-of-living statistics.

But it seems to us that such dangers are present even in a mass syndicalist organisation (and in spite of the revolutionary spirit that might have guided its founders both in framing its aims and principles and in the safeguards written into its constitution to prevent the growth

of an internal bureaucracy) the moment such an organisation opens its doors to all workers.⁴¹ Herein, surely lies the dilemma: For a workers' organisation to be successful in its immediate rôle of improving the conditions of its members, it must speak with one voice, that is, it must aim at having a mass membership. But by demanding that workers who join must first subscribe to the ideological objectives of the organisation means that they must be subjected to some political test. Such tests may ensure the political homogeneity of the organisation but will also condemn it to being without a mass following. In fact, such organisations as the C.N.T. though their declared objectives were *comunismo libertario*, admitted all workers, irrespective of their political sympathies, or their lack of any. Many workers joined the C.N.T. simply because it energetically championed their interests in the day to day struggle; others perhaps because in their particular locality the C.N.T. was numerically stronger than the U.G.T. And it must be added in this connection—and also because it helps to explain in part how the Committees succeeded in gaining more and more power to direct the policies of the C.N.T.—that during the war, membership of the two workers' organisations more than doubled as a result of all workers being obliged to join one or other of these organisations.

The creation of an ideologically pure revolutionary syndicalist organisation whose members are also mem-

⁴¹ In the struggle for leadership in the C.N.T. during the years immediately preceding the Rivera dictatorship, the Anarchists charged Seguí and his syndicalist friends with showing a general tendency to reformism and of being too ready to accept mediation by the State in labour disputes. Yet Seguí is rightly considered one of the outstanding personalities of the Spanish revolutionary movement.

bers of the mass organisations is the way out of this dilemma proposed by some revolutionaries. But such an organisation would be syndicalist in its structure but a revolutionary party in fact, and, as has been proved in practice, is doomed to failure.

Because of the views we have expressed, anarchists are frequently referred to as "individualists", by which term is meant that they are opposed to organisation and the discipline that membership of an organisation involves. To a certain extent anarchists are themselves responsible for this confusion. Within the anarchist movement there are comrades who believe that our activities should be concentrated on the creation of a revolutionary syndicalist—or more accurately, an *anarcho-syndicalist* organisation—to counteract the reformism of the trade unions. Others instead believe that our energies should be used in spreading anarchist ideas among our fellow workers and in every direction open to us, at the same time participating in the workers' struggle wherever we can, but without losing our identity as anarchists, since our objective is to infuse these workers with revolutionary ideas. Because these anarchists do not believe that the creation of an anarcho-syndicalist organisation is an essential first step in building up a conscious and militant revolutionary movement, the tendency among those who do, is to refer to them as "anti-organisers" and even "individualists".

We must assume, for space reasons, that the reader is familiar with the tenets of anarcho-syndicalism. They have been expounded clearly and succinctly in a recently published study by Philip Sansom.⁴² It is our opinion that very few anarchists would disagree with his criticisms of existing trade unions or with his exposé of the aims and principles of anarcho-syndicalism, for it is good, straightforward, undiluted anarchism! The

⁴² Philip Sansom: *Syndicalism—The Workers' Next Step* (London, 1951, Freedom Press) and the series of articles on "Anarcho-Syndicalism" by A.M. in *The Syndicalist* (Vol. 1, Nos. 1-8, 1952).

SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

AS in all the previous propaganda trials in the Soviet Union or its satellite States, the conclusion was foregone. All the accused confessed—to the most unlikely and wildly improbable crimes—and they asked for the “death they deserved—on the gallows”. The problem remains: what is the real purpose and meaning of these trials?

The provision of Jewish scapegoats is an obvious requirement in this particular trial. 11 of the 14 accused were Jewish and every possible attempt was made to tie up Zionist organisations—Jewish bourgeois internationalism—with America and imperialism. The result can only be suspicion and fear for all Jews in Czechoslovakia, and the implication that when things go wrong and times are hard or governmental promises are not kept, the Jews are at the back of it.

Communist propaganda in the West has always played up the Soviet freedom from anti-Semitism. But in actuality, Stalin's régime has in the past made use of its heritage of Tsarist anti-Jewish feeling. In the treason trials of the thirties, Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinovieff and Radek were all Jews, and in Eastern Europe it does not require lurid propaganda of the Nazi model to uncover latent anti-Semitism.

The Communist press in Western Europe has shown considerable embarrassment on the Jewish issue. During the first few days of the trial they mentioned Zionism only in a very unemphatic way, certainly never gave it the prominence accorded to it by Prague radio and the stream of communiques from Czechoslovakia. Only towards the end of the trial did they begin to mention it more openly. This happened in a similar way in the *Daily Worker*, the French Communist paper *Humanité* and the Italian *Unità*, so it looks to have been inspired from above.

Some of the difficulties of Communist editors is shown by the *Daily Worker's* report on Nov. 29th. “Is one to believe,” asked the *Daily Herald* yesterday, “that not one or two, but scores of high and trusted Communists have all the time been traitors and saboteurs?” The answer is that the trial proves it so.”

It is probably quite wide of the mark, however, to think they will be greatly embarrassed. To be a Communist at all one must have a face of brass and be well versed in double-think.

When the true issues are sought, it is necessary to look in a wider perspective. Such propaganda trials always take place in moments of increasing crisis, and there seems little doubt that part of their function is to divert attention from the economic conditions (said to be very severe in Czechoslovakia at the moment) and at the same time provide an explanation for them.

In this sense, the magnitude of the present trial in Czechoslovakia may be taken as indicating the extent of dissatisfaction with the régime. It is the first time that a trial of this nature has taken place in a country with as high an educational and technical standard as Czechoslovakia. But memories of what that country was like before the war should not obscure the fact that since 1938 it has lived under dictatorship, first that of the Nazis and then the no less oppressive Soviet domination. The ghastly farcical nature of the trial and the confessions may not therefore be as obvious on the spot as it is here in Britain. Nevertheless, the situa-

tion is clearly a critical one and the desperate nature of the battle the Communist government is fighting is shown by the fantastic weapons used.

The resort to anti-Semitism bears this out, and since there have been indications of this in other countries (the case of the Jewish Anna Pauker in Rumania, for example) including the Soviet Union itself, it may perhaps be assumed that the crisis in the Soviet Empire was deeper than appears on the surface.

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Industrialisation: A World Trend

IN an article in the last issue of *FREEDOM*, the trend towards industrialisation in all countries was discussed. Not only have heavily industrialised nations like Britain and America increased their industrial output enormously; Australia, South Africa and India, to mention only the Sterling Area, have done the same, while their agricultural output has lagged far behind. The same is true of Latin America, until recently a ready market for British manufactures and machines, and a supplier of food products.

During the Mussolini period, Italy also set out to increase industrial output. Franco is seeking to do the same in Spain. But perhaps the most striking example of this trend is Soviet Russia. There was some attempt to expand Russian industry during the last decades of Tsarist rule, but this was enormously increased by the Bolshevik régime. Such a programme was justified by Marxist phrases, about hastening through the capitalist period of economic development, or Lenin's slogan that “electricity plus soviets equals socialism”—the electricity being the means to bring power to new industrial areas. Stalin continued the process in the various five-year plans.

The result is that Russia has been changed from a food exporting country to one visited from time to time by famines. (Famines, it is true, were a feature of Tsarist Russia, but they were not on anything like the scale of those of 1932 and 1933. The famines of 1921 was due, in part, to the disorganisation of the period of “war communism”).

This extraordinary process—for in a world of hunger it is extraordinary to see men neglecting agriculture for industry—proceeds also in the Russian-dominated satellite countries just as it does in British dominions. Industrial expansion is the declared aim in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, East Germany, and, we may add, Jugoslavia. It is also, on a gigantic scale, being attempted in China.

Dehumanising Life

Such a process brings in its trail economic problems of an insoluble kind, besides leading ultimately to war industries as a means of achieving production without markets. As we saw last week, the Commonwealth Conference has been concerned with the enormous accumulated debt of two thousand million pounds which the Sterling Area has built up over the past seven years.

Does this industrialisation bring any obvious advantage in return for these problems? It brings down life, the black country, Glasgow, centralised administration and specialisation and subdivision of labour, and these constitute an increasing dehumanising of life. The misery and incompleteness of industrial urban life hardly needs stressing. In detail its disadvantages have been

analysed by such writers as Lewis Mumford, and in general his views have been accepted by contemporary sociologists. But it is one thing to see the flaws in an economically conditioned way of life and quite another to do anything effective about it. Artists, philosophers and sociologists—everyone who bases himself in life process—has for a century and more (Blake is an early and powerful protester) decried the industrial system. Marxists, on the other hand, basing themselves in economic processes have welcomed it as a necessary process. The older ones regarded it as a necessary evil and looked beyond it to a paradisaical socialist vision which did not include centralisation and extreme division of labour. But all that was in the future after the necessary capitalist stage of industrial development with its creation not merely of machines, but of machine-men, the proletariat. Marxists are the only people who welcome this process and consciously work for it. But the very ubiquitous nature of the process itself, may well turn many practical folk into Marxists as a means of making virtue out of a necessity.

Rôle of Banks

Marxist approval does not, however, alter the essentially perverse aspect of a world which is seeking to create more and more machine products for an increasingly hungry population. Nor does Marxism explain this extraordinary trend. Extraordinary it certainly is for it brings neither relief of hunger nor any other kind of prosperity. There may well be something in the idea that it is the banking system with its creation of debt and its power to finance enormous schemes but not to fill famished mouths, which lies behind it. But if one inculcates the banks then one must assume that bankers do not know what they are doing, but are themselves in the grip of a process which they don't understand. (This thesis has been worked out in detail by Robertson: *Human Ecology*, Glasgow, 1948.)

That finance may be a motive factor is also suggested by the fact that where there is an attempt to expand agriculture it is always an attempt also to industrialise agriculture. Credit facilities are extended to farmers or farming corporations and allow them to acquire agricultural machinery. This process is well exemplified by American and Soviet agriculture, and they exhibit the same trend as industrialisation in general.

The Exchange System

Whatever the precise rôle of the banking system in this strange and destructive process, there is one factor which is basic to it. This is the conception of commodity exchange according to some accepted system of value. Goods are only exchanged for goods of equivalent value. If there is no possibility of effecting such an exchange (i.e., such a market

transaction) then there is no point in producing the goods—even if they are of first class importance to human needs. This is the logic behind the dumping and burning of food during periods of price slump, even though starvation is also abroad. Unbalanced production, on the exchange system, can only result in debt, and in the complicated system of financing industry by investment, such results then have all kinds of further adverse effects.

The purposes of this cursory survey has been to get world economic processes in some kind of perspective. One sees desperate attempts being made to achieve plans which themselves can only be destructive and, from a human point of view, pernicious. One sees this process affecting alike the ideologically “opposed” groups of capitalism and socialism or Russia and America or however else one likes to characterise the protagonists of the cold war. And one sees running through it the fixed idea of value exchange.

Such an economic process may possibly once have been viewed with complacency: but that is not possible now. If one looks at the world with open eyes the revolutionary conception of basing production on human needs becomes less unpractical. But it also becomes clear that production for need is quite impossible if the conception of equivalent exchange is retained.

How to replace the present system with the practical though revolutionary one of production for need is a tremendous problem. But the first essential is that men and women should recognise that it is the crucial problem of our time. The desire to solve it must be established before practical steps can be taken. But before that desire exists, the nature of the present world trend must be grasped.

FOOD PRODUCTION AND POPULATION

“It is now the fashion to write books and article prophesying doom for the human race because our planet lacks the possible agricultural resources to feed the increasing population. I am no prophet and cannot foretell whether this hungry doom will befall my species, but if it does in will not be for the reasons propounded by the enthusiastic Jeremiahs.”

These were the opening words of the articles on “Food Production and Population” by Tony Gibson, which appeared in *FREEDOM* last year. They have now been reprinted with a foreword as a threepenny pamphlet (4½d. by post from Freedom Press).

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution—21

differences existing between anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists then, are not ideological ones but rather of appreciation.

To be consistent, the anarcho-syndicalist must, we believe, hold the view that the workers are not revolutionary because the trade unions are reformist and reactionary; because their structure prevents control from below and openly encourages the emergence of a bureaucracy which takes over all initiative into its own hands, etc. This seems to us a mistaken view. It assumes that the worker, by definition, must be revolutionary instead of recognising that he is as much the product (and the victim) of the society he lives in as we all are more or less. And trade unions, just like other self-contained concentrations of human beings, such as prisons, armies, hospitals, etc., are small-scale copies of existing society with its qualities as well as its faults. In other words, the trade unions are what they are because the workers are what they are, and not vice versa. And for this reason, we anarchists who are less interested in the revolutionary workers' organisation, consider the problem of the organisation is secondary to that of the individual; that there is no shortage of people able to absorb themselves with the day to day negotiations between worker and employer, but that there are only too few to point out the futility of such action as an end in itself. And we have no fears that when sufficient workers have become revolutionaries they will, if they think it necessary, build up their own organisations. This is quite different from creating the revolutionary organisation first and then looking for the revolutionaries (in the reformist trade unions in which most workers are to be found) afterwards!

We have introduced this long parenthesis on the relation between anarchists and syndicalists because it has such an important bearing on the rôle of the revolutionaries—and in particular the anarchist—movement in Spain, both before and during the struggle against Franco.

From its foundation in 1910 the C.N.T. was rarely free from internal struggles between the reformist or revisionist elements and the anarchists whose specific task was to maintain the anarchist spirit with which the organisation had been infused by its founders. These struggles were in part reflections of world events (such as the war of 1914-18, in which some were pro-Allies

others neutral, or the Russian Revolution which resulted in defections among prominent members, including Nin and Maurin who were to become the founders of the Spanish Communist Party—and later its victims). But they were also exacerbated by the fact that so often they were also clashes of personalities, between would-be leaders of the organisation. Men such as Seguí, Pestaña, Peiró played dominating parts—one might even say personal rôles in the development of the C.N.T. and though eventually the revolutionary position predominated in the manifestoes and resolutions of the organisation, in action the reformist, revisionist tendency continually manifested itself either by the actions of individuals who then presented the organisation with the *fait accompli* (Seguí, by his pact with the U.G.T., carried out behind the backs of the members of the C.N.T.; Nin, by taking upon himself to affiliate the C.N.T. to the Third International) or by behind-the-scenes negotiations with the politicians: “I have asked to speak—said Juan Peiró at the C.N.T. Congress held after the proclamation of the Republic in 1931—in order to affirm that from the year 1923 not a single National Committee nor a single Regional Committee has ceased to be in contact with the political elements, not in order to establish the Republic [but to end with the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera].” And during the period 1936-39 this political activity reached its climax with actual participation of the C.N.T. in the government with all its consequences. And there are no signs that the revisionism of the C.N.T. ended with the defeat. The position of the M.L.E. (the Spanish Libertarian Movement) in Spain to-day is not clear; in exile, it is divided into two camps, with a majority calling for a return to the revolutionary principles of the C.N.T. and a minority in favour of a continuation, even an extension, of the collaborationist policy.

What has been the rôle of the anarchists in these internal struggles of the C.N.T.? At a National Anarchist Conference, held in Barcelona in the winter of 1918, with the specific purpose of discussing what should be the relation of the anarchists to the syndicalist organisation, it was agreed that though a mass movement of workers such as the C.N.T. could not be described as anarchist, “it must be impregnated as much as possible with the libertarian or anarchist spirit and be led and directed by them.”† In 1922, at a Congress of

Anarchist Groups held in Madrid, it was resolved “that all anarchists should enrol in the C.N.T. and treat it as their special field of action. Up to that time many had held aloof from the syndicalist organisation which seemed to them to represent a narrowing conception of anarchism as a philosophy for all men; it was now urgent that they should bring their full influence to bear upon it if they did not wish to see it captured by the Bolsheviks, who were practising their usual infiltration tactics . . .” (our italics)†

Such a policy, of making the C.N.T. “their specific field of action” could only result in the F.A.I. (the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, founded in 1927) losing its anarchist identity and independence, the more so when so many of the leaders of the C.N.T. were also leading members of the F.A.I. The outcome of this dual rôle was that by the end of 1936 the F.A.I. had ceased to function as a specifically anarchist organisation, having thrown overboard all its principles if only by the participation of some of its members in the Governments of Catalonia and Madrid as representatives of the C.N.T. (Santillan, Herrera, Oliver, Montseny, etc.), and finally the fusion of the F.A.I. with the F.I.L.L. (Libertarian Youth Federation) and the C.N.T. into one organisation, the M.L.E. (*Movimiento Libertario Español*—the Spanish Libertarian Movement).‡

Thirty years earlier, Malatesta, with that profound understanding of his fellow-men which inspired all his writings, had clearly seen the effects of the fusion of the anarchist movement with the syndicalist organisation when he wrote:

“Every fusion or confusion of the anarchist and revolutionary movements with the syndicalist movement ends either by reducing the syndicates to impotence, so far as their specific tasks are concerned, or by diminishing, diverting or destroying the anarchist spirit.”

Perhaps it can now be added that Malatesta did not foresee that the result might in fact be the mutual destruction of these organisations.

(To be continued)

V.R.

† In a National Plenum of Regional Committees of the C.N.T. held in Barcelona on May 23, 1937, we find for the first time proposals put to the Plenum bearing not only the signatures of the Regional Committees of the C.N.T. but also that of the Peninsular Committee of the F.A.I. “It was the point of departure—writes Peiró—for the constitution of what was to be called later the Spanish Libertarian Movement (M.L.E.), a kind of fusion of the syndical, specific and youth branches, which was to outlive the final action of the war and continue in the clandestine movement and in exile.”

† Brennan: *The Spanish Labyrinth*.

Bolshevik Methods in Kenya

THE military adventure in Kenya degenerates daily into an iniquitous scandal. We have been told by its apologists of the "Communist" danger, and now Bolshevik methods have been introduced wholesale—but by the Government. The classical Bolshevik methods are being carried out vigorously, and the wholesale confiscation of cattle is a symptom: one that belongs both to the Boer tradition of seizing and destroying cattle so as to displace the tribesman who must seek work in the mines or farms, and to the Bolshevik tradition of collective punishment upon a recalcitrant peasantry.

*"Nay, take my life and all; pardon not that,
You take my house, when you do take the prop
That doth sustain my house; you take my life
When you do take the means whereby I live."*

There is nothing which has enraged the peasants more against Bolshevism than such forcible collectivism and collective punishment, one aimed directly at their whole way of life. In Russia an excuse was the "Whites", then the "Trotskyists", and then the "Fascists" and "Imperialists" who were the ostensible cause of peasant unwillingness to be dragooned into someone else's way of life; in Africa now it is the "Mau Mau". No doubt the Mau Mau has done much that could scarcely be condoned—but I do not know what my own reaction would be were I in the place of the Kikuyu tribesman, who has seen the white ruling-class occupy the highlands, proclaim itself master and then proceed to apply these Bolshevik methods of collective punishment.

Such "punishment" attacks the timorous as well as the valiant (or, in Africo-European language, the "innocent" as well as the "guilty"); even the followers of the dead Quisling chieftains are not spared in its application. But what is even worse is the closure of the schools. Nothing can forgive that, and one can well understand the attitude of the tribesmen when he sees that the schools he has laboured to build are shut down. It may be that cattle seizure is really a "punishment" and not just a means of dispossessing the peasant as the Scottish crofter was dispossessed, to try to drive him to work for others. It may be that the closure of the schools is not yet one more round in the intrigues of the Christian Churches in Africa, whose mission schools will get the monopoly. All things are possible at question time in the House of Commons, but they may be seen otherwise in Kenya. Nothing could more enrage the African than that his efforts at self-education are thus thwarted and prevented. The great philosopher, Moses Mendelssohn, pointed out some two hundred years ago the fallacy of the arguments against the emancipation of German Jewry: "They close the doors of the schools and universities to us, and then reproach us for our lack of culture." How much this applies to the African. He is denied the right of education altogether, and his own schools are closed. He is then told that emancipation is not possible because of his illiteracy and backwardness. The only permissible step is through the mission school, and it is then explained that obviously advancement can only come through the European Christian.

Previously in FREEDOM, the writer pointed out the farce and tragedy of this situation in Kenya, whereby those who went out to East Africa because they were dissatisfied with post-war conditions in England, and invested their money in farms in the pleasant highlands of Kenya (needless to say, not the Gold Coast, nor West Africa) were not the people who were called upon to take responsibility for this situation. On the contrary, it was just those of whom they were complaining, then known as "lazy British workers" but now "heroic Tommies" who were called upon to face killing or being killed by the Kikuyu tribesmen with whom they had no real quarrel whatsoever. Let us point to another vicious aspect of this matter, namely the fact that there is a "Holy War" in-

volved, a Crusade in which few Christians are involved. It is popular humbug to pretend that England is to-day a Christian country, and if the Army were to consist of Church-goers it would somewhat resemble those volunteer Territorial and Home Guard units with all officers and no men. How then can the Government use such an Army for a Crusade against anti-Christianity?

But such is the case. The desecration of churches is punished—though nothing is said of the desecration of African shrines, and one Spirit is much the same as another. The Kikuyu schools were closed because they taught the fallacy of Christianity, but the mission schools may teach the fallacy of Paganism, although English opinion is at least as much one way as the other. There is absolutely no right what-

soever for the myths now discredited in Europe to be upheld forcibly in Africa. We have at long last recognised that "We have a very miscellaneous collection of Mumbo Jumbos and not one that we can honestly recommend to you," let alone force down their throats.

In due course, Kenya will have to be evacuated, just as has happened everywhere else. The financial investments will ultimately be forfeit, as in some countries, or adapted to new conditions, as in others. The Church must follow suit. Its only hope for existence in Africa is by persuading them to allow it to continue as a harmless minority. They will not do this by virtue of military strength, and if they take heed now they will forgo their privileges while the time is opportune. There is a similarity between the closing of schools run by Africans for Africans and the halcyon days of the early Church when it burned and plundered the priceless heritage of mankind's learning and wisdom. If this infamy can be prevented there is little fear of Africa's future, for eventually the financiers will have to go one of two ways—Indian or Persian.

INTERNATIONALIST.

Have you renewed your
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SYNDICALISM & WORKING CLASS EXPERIENCE

THE trouble with most theories is that they have so little relationship with the facts. One can of course get over that by saying that if the facts do not coincide with your theory—so much the worse for the facts.

In reality this is just what all authoritarians do—whether they are religious or political or economic, whether Marxist or Christian. If you are in a position to over-rule opposition by force, you don't have to worry about facts. You simply steam-roller your theory into operation whether it has any real basis to it or not.

And if, on the other hand, you are not in a position to put your theories into operation, well, still less need you worry about facts. Work out an argument that is watertight within itself, logically following from an accepted premise and you are all right. That is until somebody applies your argument to facts outside of it; or does not accept your original premise.

The ideas of Christianity are logical if you accept the existence of God, and the divinity of Christ; Marxism is logical enough if you accept the theory of dialectical materialism—but challenge these basic premises and they fall to the ground.

Now, inasmuch as there is no conscious anarchist society anywhere in the world; that nowhere is industry controlled by the workers in a syndicalist fashion, it can be said that both anarchism and syndicalism are only theories. We who associate ourselves with FREEDOM are sometimes criticised by "practical" people who maintain that we only deal with abstractions—sex and education are the favourite subjects to be so described. But—to be logical—is not workers' control an abstraction also?

Sex and Education are most certainly often discussed in FREEDOM on a very high level. High enough to deserve that term of abuse "intellectual", anyway. But since it can hardly be denied that sex exists and is even practised "among the workers" (prime criterion of reality!)—it can hardly be dismissed as an abstraction. Similarly with education. State education most certainly exists in fact, and so does progressive education. There are plenty of progressive schools in the country giving reality to the abstractions of education on free lines.

And so it is with sex. If we are honest—and this is the most difficult thing for people with bees in their bonnets—we have to admit (or proudly proclaim, according to your viewpoint) that there is more freedom practised in the fields of

education and sexual activity than there is workers' control practised in the workshop.

In other words, free educationists and sexual reformers have clothed the abstractions of their ideas with the reality of practice before the advocates of workers' control. And while workers' control exists only as an aim, an idea, but not in reality, it can only be rightly described as an abstraction.

Of course we have to recognise the difficulties facing its practice. Any individual—or, to be accurate, any two individuals—can practice sexual freedom. Any couple can form a free union, or be promiscuous, or have any form of relationship that is based upon love but not upon any legal or moral bond. Any small group of individuals if they so desire and are properly qualified to do so (not necessarily academically) can found a free school (or, if the recent Education Act prevents it, they could until recently), providing they can find the pupils.

But workers' control of industry must be carried out on a larger scale. And in challenging the employing class for the control of industry, the workers are tampering directly with the very means of domination by the ruling, owning class, over the rest of society. Although

Letter

On Zapata

IN the corner of the world where I live, the film "Viva Zapata" has arrived. Having read the account in FREEDOM of this film a few months ago, I lost no time in seeing it.

The landscapes, the dresses and the behaviour of the Mexican people are true to life, so are also the arms they carry; it is the American thirty-thirty rifle, which was used by the revolutionaries in Mexico. The music to this film is an old revolutionary Mexican song, it did me real good to hear this inspiring tune again.

But the scenes with the main persons: Zapata, Pancho Villa, Madero, the supposed wife of Zapata, the General Huerta, and where the peons found the boundary stone of their land, the form of the assassination of Zapata, etc., are either untrue or nonsensical.

WILLY FULANO.

(Willy Fulano is the author of the series of articles Reminiscences of Mexico, which appeared in our issues of May 24, May 31 and June 7 this year.—EDITORS.)

Pogrom in Prague

Continued from p. 1

stuff for Outer Mongolia but the Party has yet to learn that it doesn't go down so well in more sophisticated circles) is to divert the rising tide of discontent from the Party to "the Jews" as a solid entity, mysterious to the superstitious peasant as bearing a mythical curse or identifiable only as an occasional city slicker.

The Communist Party abroad may well have to peddle a different line. For instance, they can go round the East End protesting against Nazi crimes and hope to cash in on proletarian Jewish resentment to the fact that the Nazis are again on the bandwagon. They can help to revive the defunct British variety of Fascism by their assiduous advertisement of the meetings held by Mosley's remnants. They are fish that get hooked with such meagre bait. In such places as the East End a particularly effective answer can be made to Stalin's developing crimes against humanity. The barricades that kept Mosley from marching through the proletarian Jewish quarter in his heyday can be erected to keep out the Stalinists, and it is high and ripe time that the Stalinists were driven away from insulting the East End with their New Look Fascism.

It will be revealing to see what the reactions to the Prague Trials are of the many organisations, Zionist and otherwise, who have set themselves up in Jewish circles in order to counteract anti-Semitism

and defamation. Either they take the lead in sweeping away Stalinist intrusions or they reveal themselves as capable only of following the Governmental piper—for assuredly in time of war they would know all the facts outlined in this article.

What is important is not the fate of the accused in Prague, and one of the few redeeming traits of Stalin is the manner in which he sooner or later liquidates all Communist dictators but one. What is important is the language used by the prosecution and the illuminating revelation it gives into Stalinist anti-Semitism. Ever since the end of the war, the thousands of Jews trekking away from the Stalin-occupied countries have been escaping from racial intolerance (not of Hitler, who was dead, but of Stalin) as well as from the "New Democracy" from which everyone else would have escaped if there had been somewhere to escape to. Now we see in Prague the Cossack's face unmasked.

INTERNATIONALIST.

NO CENSORSHIP OF U.S. MAILS?

Inquiries showed yesterday that the Post Office Department has been allowing Soviet bloc periodicals to go through . . . to some universities and some researchers, while destroying materials addressed to others without notice to the addressees. Enforcement has been stepped up since the summer of 1951.

A letter, dated Oct. 31, came from Louis J. Doyle, acting solicitor (for the Post Office), who wrote that "the Post Office Department does not, as you suggest, act as a censor", but rather it administers the laws affecting matter in the mails.

—New York Times, 12/11/52.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

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