

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Man who man would be must
rule the empire of himself."

—SHELLEY.

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Threepence

A "STRATEGIC RETREAT" IN HUNGARY

HUNGARY'S new Government, elected by the National Assembly last Saturday, comprises nineteen members, compared with the 26 of its predecessor. The Ministers include eleven members of the Hungarian Workers' party (Communist), two of the Peasant party, one member of the Smallholders' party, and five "Independents".

The fact that Mr. Matyas Rakosi, virtual dictator of Hungary during the past six years, is no longer in the Government, and that a week before, the post he held of Secretary General of the Communist Party, was abolished, have given rise to all kinds of speculations on this side of the Iron Curtain, and some of the Sunday papers have been publishing sensational accounts intending to show that the satellite countries are on the verge of a full-scale revolt against their Russian masters. In actual fact Mr. Rakosi is still a member of the Politburo which runs the government, and the change of régime and policies announced by the new Premier Mr. Imre Nagy indicates no change of heart. It is simply another example of the elasticity of Communist policy. Just as it suits their book to perform a somersault at this stage one will not be surprised to learn at some later date that policy has again been changed by a new government which will accuse its predecessors of being "all wrong"!

In Russia in the early years of the Bolshevik régime, "war commun-

ism" had reduced agriculture to a state of bankruptcy, and to remedy this state of affairs the Government introduced the N.E.P. (New Economic Policy) in 1921. To-day the Communist stooges are not as frank as their predecessors. The *Daily Worker* tries to show that the changes in Hungary are positive steps; they see no ideological retreat in them, no contradictions nor do they draw the conclusions that if the new policies are the right ones then the others were wrong. But in the bad old days of the N.E.P. Lenin admitted in a speech in October 1921 that:

"Our new economic policy consists essentially in this, that we in this respect have been thoroughly defeated and have started to undertake a strategic retreat; before we are completely defeated, let us retreat and DO EVERYTHING ALL OVER AGAIN, but more steadily. Communists cannot have the slightest doubt that we on the economic front have suffered an economic defeat, and a very serious defeat at that".

And Bukharin frankly admitted at the time that the N.E.P. was instituted by the Bolsheviks in order to maintain themselves in power: "the fact of the matter is that we are making economic concessions in order to avoid making political concessions."*

*Quoted in *Workers in Stalin's Russia* by M. L. Berneri (Freedom Press).

Read in conjunction with the above, the speech made by Mr. Nagy in formulating his government's new policy—and one can call it a New Economic Policy—was a "strategic retreat", and in Bukharin's words involves "economic concessions to avoid making political concessions". For there is no indication that the Communists have any intention of giving up the reins of power. Mr. Nagy's strictures on the previous government, so far as the freedom of the citizen was concerned, went only so far as to condemn the internment of "those who do not endanger the security of the State" and to promise that they "shall be released in a spirit of forgiveness". But we have nowhere read that he proposes to encourage a free press and free speech in the country. It is only in the economic field where substantial promises have been made.

According to the Associated Press report he made the following points:

Industry: The tempo of the development of heavy industry will be slowed down and the emphasis will be on consumer goods and the food industry. "Nothing justifies exaggerated industrialization, especially if we lack the necessary materials. We need essential changes."

Agriculture: Mr. Nagy said: "The government wants to liquidate the mistakes of the past. Agriculture has been a greatly neglected field. The country's economy is based on the individual farms. It is our primary task to promote them in every respect. The government wants to guarantee the peasant's crop and his prosperity."

There was serious anxiety among the peasants because of the agricultural co-operative movement, Mr. Nagy said. He added that because of measures against the kulaks (rich peasants) some of the fields remained uncultivated, and he promised that the list of kulaks would be abolished and the movement of co-operatives slowed down. Co-operative members who wanted to become individual farmers again will be allowed to do so.

against her the following speaks for itself:

"The allegations made against the United Kingdom and its territories have been dismissed by the committee. There was 'no evidence of a system of forced labour within the meaning of the committee's terms of reference either in the United Kingdom itself or in any of the twelve territories under its administration'. However, the Emergency Regulations in Malaya, 'if broadly interpreted and extensively applied (though there is no evidence that they have so been interpreted or applied), could lead to a system of forced labour as a means of political coercion'; similar dangers were inherent in the Unemployed Persons Ordinance in Kenya, which could be applied in such a way as to result in a system of forced labour of some importance to the economy of the territory."

Similarly, on Portugal and Belgium they have this to say (*Manchester Guardian*, June 24th):

"On other African territories the committee finds that while Portuguese legislation prohibits forced or compulsory labour in principle, there are 'certain restrictions and exceptions' which do permit it. The labour of workers in San Tomé, it is added, 'is of considerable economic importance to the territory and their situation appears to be similar to that of workers under a system of forced labour for economic purposes.' In territories administered by Belgium indigenous mineworkers were not forcibly recruited, but they were liable to penal sanctions for breach of contract, which might lead to a system of forced labour for economic purposes."

The committee's findings regarding Spain, Russia and South Africa merely confirmed what was public knowledge already. This in no way lessens the enormity of forced labour, and we hope at a later date to go more fully into the situation, and try and do something towards the Committee's recommendation "that forced labour should be abolished". R.M.

Forced Labour

UNTIL such a time as a complete report is available, we cannot fully assess the extent of forced labour existing in some of the countries investigated by a joint committee from the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation. Even their detailed information will be limited as the Committee is not publishing the camp locations or the extent of the labour force used.

It is obvious that the Committee's terms of reference specifically cover political sentences which carry a legal obligation to work, either in camps or colonies, and used in this narrow sense many countries which would also be considered by us to be using economic as well as political pressure to extract labour from its people, will not be condemned by this committee. What seems particularly limiting is the fact that the committee is primarily concerned with legislation existing in countries which can be used as a basis for forced labour so; "Although the committee agreed to hear the evidence of witnesses introduced by non-governmental organisations it confined its conclusions on the allegations made against twenty-four countries to such documentary evidence as could be found in laws and regulations which it was in a position to study."

This, on the face of it, seems very systematic, but we know that laws can be interpreted in many ways, and emergency ones introduced to cover any situations if Governments think they demand it. Therefore, in the countries where this committee's investigations led them to conclude forced labour existed, namely in Russia and the satellites, Spain and South Africa, they speak in terms of legal provisions being employed to enforce the system of punishment by forced labour. This law does not have to be on the Statute Book before it is enacted, and their own findings on some of the countries under British, Portuguese and Belgian rule show this. Although they go to some trouble to exonerate Britain from allegations made

MALAN RENEWS RACE DISCRIMINATION

IN the opening speech to the first session of South Africa's new parliament, the Governor General, Dr. Jansen, announced legislation to secure that the Cape Coloureds are deprived of the vote. Dr. Malan's party will require support from the Opposition United Party members if he is to secure the necessary two-thirds majority. The United Party have the same general views on separating the whites from the non-whites in South Africa, but they have a political interest in the Cape Coloured and therefore are opposed to their being disenfranchised.

U.N. Race Enquiry Banned

Dr. Malan has also taken a further stand against the United Nations. After the Arab-Asian bloc in the United Nations had charged the South African government with infringement of the U.N. Charter

because its *Apartheid* policies were based on doctrines of racial discrimination, Malan objected that the United Nations should not interfere in the domestic affairs of member nations. Although this plea was vigorously supported by the British delegate, it was rejected by the General Assembly.

Accordingly a special commission was set up to consider the question of race conflict in South Africa, and consisted of M. Henri Laugier of France, Mr. Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti, and Mr. Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile. However, Malan has now refused to admit the Commission. After preliminary study in Geneva the Commission is to invite "other governments and responsible people with special knowledge of South African affairs to give evidence before it next month."

Bombs Before Bread

FOURTEEN tons of wheat—about 27,000 loaves—are being churned into the ground at Welford, in the Lam-bourne Valley of Berkshire.

It is a rich crop due to be harvested in six weeks.

But the Air Ministry could not wait six weeks. Their air station adjoining the 70-acre wheat field needs a two-mile railway track to Welford Park station.

They want to build a bomb store and the railway will carry the bombs.

Half the crop has been destroyed by a mechanical scraper bulldozing its path across the 70 acres. This week the job of destruction may be completed.

Even before the scraper reached this growing wheat it ploughed through two fields of barley and one of oats.

The farmland is owned by Major Archer Houlton. His manager, Mr. John Boniface, said yesterday: "We have protested, but nothing can be done."

"Apart from the loss of an exceptionally good food crop, compensation will not cover the damage. We get only tillage cost."

That is £18 an acre against the £38 18s. 6d. an acre the wheat is worth. *Sunday Express*, 5/7/53.

COMMENTS

Shops Bulging with Goods and No Buyers

HALF the people of Britain can afford only a part of their bacon ration, or else cannot afford any bacon at all, according to Mr. Victor Feather, assistant secretary of the Trades Union Congress. At Maldon yesterday he told a county rally organised by the Essex Federation of Trades Councils: "Twelve million full rations are left in the shops every week."

The Conservative Government had raised the price of bacon to such a point that it had become a luxury. "The Government have priced it off the table. Now they'll take it off the ration." He forecast that before the end of the year bacon and meat would be off the ration,

and the price of the higher grade cuts would go up. Butter would go up in the winter, and eggs would go up to 8d. and 9d.

One is reminded of the bitter controversies that took place after the war had ended, in which we were told that whereas the shops in this country were empty, on the continent they were bulging with goods. They wouldn't believe that it was due to the fact that the majority of the people could not afford to pay the high prices. Now they will have an opportunity of seeing English shops cluttered with goods, and not because there is plenty for everybody but because there is plenty for the few.

False Teeth and False Values

In his anniversary message to the Chairmen of the various regional and local authorities connected with the National Health Service, the Minister of Health says: "Of what has been achieved we can all be proud." In the five years since the scheme was started 27 million pairs of spectacles have been supplied as well as 10½ million dentures, not to mention 1,062 million prescriptions. These figures are for England and Wales only. The corresponding figures for Scotland are 3 million, 2 million and 95 million respectively.

Far be it from us to wish to suggest that this is not a great achievement.

But with half the population wearing spectacles and about a fifth struggling with dentures one can only consider the achievement in its negative sense—that of patching up ill-health. It is significant of the attitude to health and disease that whereas millions of pounds are spent annually in dealing with ill-health, very little is spent in promoting good health. One such initiative, the Peckham Health Centre, found it impossible to carry on its pioneering work in this field because money was not forthcoming either from individual contributions or by a subsidy from public funds.

It seems to us that nothing will be done in a positive direction until as a nation we become *health conscious*; that we do not look upon dentures at 20 as part of the normal wear and tear of life; and bad sight as a hereditary cross we have to bear; and ulcers and tuberculosis as the inevitable concomitant of the rush and tear of daily life. But that requires a widespread revolutionary outlook, and a militancy no less demanding than the revolution advocated by anarchists in the social and political fields.

It is said by the critics of anarchism that it can never be achieved because the people as a whole do not want the anarchist society. But everyone wants to enjoy good health. One is always hearing people either consoling themselves that though they are not "well-off" or at least they enjoy "good health" or of others who are well-off but would willingly part with their money if only they could enjoy good health!

At present the chances of achieving anarchism (which people do not consciously want) are as remote as those for achieving good health (which everybody wants). What are the forces which operate not only to prevent people from wanting anarchism but also from achieving what they all want: good health? We think this is a question on which all our readers should ponder—and discuss among their friends and in the columns of FREEDOM and other journals.

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BOOK REVIEW

EUROPEAN COMMUNISM

EUROPEAN COMMUNISM by Franz Borkenau, (Faber and Faber, 42/-).

FOR one who has followed communist activities merely through the daily and weekly press this history of European Communism by the author of *Spanish Cockpit* will bring many a surprise, and force him to revise many conclusions he had previously accepted. However critically equipped and immune from propaganda snares he may have thought himself to be, he will sadly have to acknowledge that often propaganda deviously reached his judgment. He will in future be particularly suspicious of any strike, mass movement and insurrection based on real grievances on the part of the workers and justified by capitalist and government oppression because it is mainly such situations and movements which the Communists often support, sometimes precipitate and always exploit to forward their own ends. Tactical requirements make these ends appear extremely varied and occasionally contradictory, yet two of them can be considered fairly constant, namely the conquest of power and the elimination of all competitors in the ideological and trade-union control of the masses. Fairly constant I said, because it happens sometimes that they, too, have to be sacrificed. They are sacrificed whenever the Russian state reckons that its interests can better be advanced by a government of the Right than by a communist government, and also when a communist party in some particular country happens to grow too strong and to continue interpreting Communism on lines the Russian Politburo has thought fit to discard.

Conflicts between local communist parties and the Russian Politburo, conflicts within each local communist party and within the Russian Politburo itself, form the most interesting and revealing material to be found in this book by Borkenau. The tragic aspect of these conflicts is that imprisonments, executions, disappearances, risings and massacres are often carried out on an appalling scale ostentatiously for the workers' cause and for the communist faith, but in reality only to improve the position of somebody in the top-level circles of the Cominform and the Politburo, and to decide who is to control the decisive power of the M.V.D. and its sub-agencies.

The widest and most intricate of these conflicts is the one that led to Tito's break with Stalin, but Borkenau's careful analysis of the events that preceded and followed it shows that struggle was carried out in Russia itself, and that it was mainly between Zhdanov and Stalin. If for obvious reasons Borkenau's interpretation is not fully supported by documents, yet it is the most coherent and comprehensive that has been put forward to this day. It certainly affords plenty of evidence that the myth of the monolithic strength of Communism is meant to frighten its enemies. The reality is that Communist power gives most

blatantly lie to the Marxist theory that economic causes govern historical development. Economic causes and their translation into class struggle are but pawns in the hands of men moving in the most anti-economic and antisocial superstructure, and what moves these men seems more than a thirst for power the fear of being eliminated if power slips from their hands. Hand in hand with fear goes hate, and judging by what has been happening in Russia and in all European countries from 1927 and more markedly still from 1937, I think it is quite safe to assume that the person whom a communist hates most is another communist.

A list of prominent communist leaders who have been exterminated by their comrades in all sorts of ways, including denunciation to the Gestapo, would fill quite a few pages, and a book the size of the London telephone directory would probably be needed for all the N.C.O.'s and rank and file got rid of as expendables in battle or shot as actual or potential deviationists. Paradoxical as it may sound the surest way of escaping death at the hands of the communists seems that of being a Fascist or belonging to some Right-wing organisation, for in the so-called liberated countries the great majority of men killed by the communists as collaborators were the allies of communists, those who fell victims to their hoax of a national or workers' front. The only support the

communists will give to their allies is the rope to hang them, and, judging by the policy they have so successfully played year after year and in country after country, any organisation striving to survive in a political field where communists are active should consider as their most precious allies precisely those forces and men whom the communists point to as the worst enemies of that organisation. It is a terrible predicament for it means that the at least temporary defeat of the aims and ideals an organization is living and fighting for, it means for instance that the physical survival of anarchist movements in various countries is best guaranteed by American atom bombs.

Communist tactics thrive on the acceptance of such dilemmas they create, for once the dilemma is seen as inescapable one loses pluck and withdraws from the battle. As Borkenau shows it is pluck that saved Finland and Austria. In Poland and Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania there certainly was no lack of pluck, and yet these countries fell under the same fate as Roumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. There the dilemma obtained in all its horrid implications, and it is hard in some cases to blame a man or a party for coming to terms with the Nazis to be saved from destruction by the Communists, especially when the communists themselves were the first to come to terms with the Nazis when it suited their books.

Each European communist party being strictly subordinated, unless contacts are difficult or broken, to that of Russia as the instrument of an imperialist power, it is also sensitive to the constant internal troubles within the Russian hierarchy. There is consequently no limits to the acrobatics and contortions of their respective policies, and the main effort of Borkenau consists in stating this connection with as much evidence as is available. But because the various communist parties act as instruments of an imperialist power and Borkenau confines himself to the history of European communism there is the danger of gathering from his book the impression that Russia is solely responsible for all the evils that befell the countries exposed to communist influence. The failure of the Spanish revolution for example was as much the work of the signatories of the Gentlemen's agreement as of Stalin's determination to prevent a genuine popular movement from showing the workers of the world a path that neither came from nor led to Moscow.

Only occasionally does Borkenau refer to the Western Powers' responsibilities, and seldom with such force as in the following passage: "The whole debate about the merits or demerits of Mihailovic which by now fills many volumes, is at bottom perfectly irrelevant, because Mihailovic was not in fact abandoned owing to any specific misdemeanour of his—he certainly did not behave as he ought to have done—but because all anti-Communists of Eastern Europe were abandoned. It was the exact counterpart of the Munich policy adopted only a few years before towards Hitler".

Of the two conclusions of the book the first says that as at the time of the Berlin blockade there have been and will be occasions for the Western powers successfully to challenge the Russian threat of a third world war. Borkenau is sure that the threat was a bluff and that Russia was unprepared. But he himself has proved the existence of a faction in the Cominform bloc favouring the risk of war, and what if also the Western powers are bluffing? Wars do not always happen when countries are prepared, while on the other hand standing armies in every country are expensively fed and equipped on the assumption that they are ready for war whenever it starts.

The second conclusion is stated as follows: "I submit that the right course to take is to allow the democratic and severely to repress the clandestine acts of the communist parties, and to frame legislation for that purpose, legislation incidentally, which need not single out the communists, but should bring all political committees hidden from the public (such as the politburos), and all secret organizations (of which, in all communist parties, there are dozens) under the heading of conspiracy". There may be possible advantages in the suggestion, but how practicable it is is a matter of great doubt. To prevent secret meetings and secret organizations legislation is not sufficient. An efficient police force is needed to implement the legislation, and one fears that such a police force may be given means and encouragement to prove itself as efficient as the M.V.D.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

Anarchists and "Love"

AGAPE AND EROS, by Anders Nygren, (S.P.C.K., London, 35/- net.)

IT was in his essay on Dickens, I believe, that George Orwell, speaking of a change of heart and a change in economic conditions as the essentials and aims of revolutionary advance, put forward his feeling that the revolutionary pendulum had swung too long and too far in the direction of economic change and that it was time it swung back towards a change of heart. I share Orwell's feeling, but I doubt whether most anarchists do. I am not sure even that a change of heart is seriously considered as part of the revolutionary process, for the expression "a change of heart" has a distinct religious ring, and there are anarchists who cannot think of religion as meaning anything but reaction.

Nevertheless, pending the finding of a better, more vivid or more accurate expression, a change of heart can be considered as one of the ends-cum-means of anarchism. We may take as the two broadest basic principles of anarchism the ideal of a society free from enmity of any kind and the refusal to resort to compulsion to bring it about. These imply the stimulation, cultivation and

liberal sharing of feelings which but partially and scantily obtain under the present dispensation. Unless all those who don't feel against compulsion are to be compelled to change their feelings or else be eliminated, a change is to be effected at that core of individual autonomy which we call the heart, and solely through means based on and respectful of the same autonomy.

Owing to the rationalistic and critical bias of present-day anarchist thinking the word "love" will probably also be objected to when chosen to describe either the way an anarchist feels towards other anarchists and other human beings, or the way that would be necessary for everyone to feel if mutual aid and other anarchist relationships are to be reckoned as the distinctive features of a healthy, free, and peaceful society. Here again we can only wish for a better word to be found, but even more welcome would be an attempt to define the instances and modes, and clarify the concept of a love, a fellowship or comradeship which if not the substance of anarchist ethics could be recognized as the distinctive emotional and inspirational quality of anarchist behaviour among men.

Something of the kind has been done by Anders Nygren not for anarchist, but for christian love in a book entitled *Agape and Eros*. The concept of love in christian doctrine is there carefully and detailedly examined from its first statements in the Gospels and St. Paul, through St. Augustine, down to the Renaissance and Luther. The author distinguishes between a Platonic and Hellenistic motif (Eros) and an original and exclusively Christian motif (Agape), tracing the history of christian thought on love as alternating or contemporary efforts to combine the two or exalt the one to the detriment of the other. It is God's love to man and man's love to God that are most amply and documentedly discussed, but man's love to man is also given its share, and on this only we shall dwell.

Agape is given in its main features as spontaneous and unmotivated, indifferent to but creative of values, while Eros is presented as being acquisitive desire and longing, determined by want as well as by the quality and worth of its object. This contrast is generally valid for the part played by the two concepts in Neoplatonics and Christian thought, but I remember that on reading Plato my understanding of Eros was quite different.

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Eros seemed to me a kind of light by which it was possible to discover the beauty and goodness that is in others, and I saw how it could also act creatively, for if it is made clear that we love others for what goodness and beauty we see and wish in them, and if our love is desirable to them, they will endeavour to develop and enhance their beauty and goodness, and be in actuality as near as possible to that ideal image of them which is the object and inspiration of our love. Perhaps I misread Plato, and the Eros theory is as Anders Nygren presents it, but the practice of Eros as is revealed by the way the characters speak to one another in the "Symposium" and in some other dialogues by Plato bear out my contention that Eros is not simply an "ordo salutis" (way of salvation) to be worked out selfishly and individually, but a particularly bright, warm and ennobling relationship between man and woman or man and man.

Anders Nygren is right, however, when insisting on the exclusive character of christian Agape as love for sinners and love for one's enemies. Some wit remarked that love for one's enemies and love for one's neighbours are to be found side by side in the New Testament because neighbours and enemies are usually the same persons. It does not detract from the fact that love for one's enemies is unequivocally stated in both the Gospels and St. Paul, and that this

love is at the root of that transvaluation of values which Christianity effected and Nietzsche condemned. It is also the love that anarchism cannot make its own. The anarchist hates as much as he loves, and perhaps more. He hates the oppressor and the aggressor each time he feels for the victim of aggression and oppression. If there is an equivalent of sin in the anarchist Weltanschauung that is the infringement of a human freedom, and the anarchist hating him who is tainted with such sin seems nearer to the spirit of the Law in the Old Testament than to the Agape of the new. Ending with this provocative statement I wish some reader will deem it worthwhile to contribute some valuable and clarifying thought on the subject of anarchist love as distinguished from the christian or any other.

G.B.

MUTUAL AID

Dustmen have raised £150 to give the boys and girls of Paddington Green Children's Hospital a projection TV set.

Organiser was 49-year-old Henry McLaughlin, leader of the local dustman's brass band.

"Oh! That perpetual law and order; it is that which does all the mischief in the world."

—IBSEN.

COMMUNITY

Are there any readers of FREEDOM keen to experiment in applying anarchist ideas to a scheme for social living now? Most community ventures have a religious basis and carry many of the social customs and ideas inherited from present society which in our view accounts for their lack of significance and limited social value.

The approach to such a venture must be on a rational basis and we think have the following concrete aims, subject of course to experiment and experience.

(1) Establishment of economic stability of members and self-sufficiency in basic commodities.

(2) The ability of all members to have a full creative life through work and sex.

(3) The creation of a free and uninhibited atmosphere for the children.

(4) Provision of physical basis of high level health by rational methods of agriculture and dietetics.

While the difficulties the prevailing social order places on such a venture are realised, the success of even such a limited venture in terms of human happiness and technical success would not be without effect on surrounding society.

Possibly such a scheme in the first instance would be limited to mutual aid while capital is accumulated to launch the scheme on a satisfactory economic basis. If the unconscious emotional and material possessiveness that is part of us as a legacy from present society can be overcome we think that under present conditions such a scheme could be successful.

Colchester, July 1.

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UNREST IN POLAND?

AS is so often the case—for example in 1848—revolutionary situations seldom occur in isolation. FREEDOM reported the events in Eastern Germany and in Czechoslovakia, and remarked on the possibility of a spread of unrest to the other Soviet satellites. It now appears likely that similar unrest existed in Hungary and Roumania in view of sweeping government changes there.

But even more widespread revolts appear to have arisen in Poland. At the time of going to press, reports of these Polish uprisings have come only from refugees from Eastern Germany arriving at the western zone in Berlin, and published in the *Telegraf* and *Die Neue Zeitung*. According to these reports—as yet unconfirmed—martial law has been proclaimed in Warsaw and Cracow, while sit-down strikes have paralyzed production of industrial and mining goods throughout Silesia.

In Cracow itself crowds of workers are said to have stormed the gaol, releasing the prisoners and hanging some warders and Communist public prosecutors. Peasants are said to have stormed several collective farms.

It seems to be accepted that the main supply railway line between Brest Litovsk and Frankfurt-on-Oder has been cut. This was the line bearing reparations to East Germany and the Soviet Union. Such sabotage activities are the work of partisans, and show that the anti-Communist resistance has never died.

Clashes have occurred between workers and partisans and Russian tanks and sections of the Red Army sent to crush the revolt. At such clashes Polish militiamen have stood by and not gone to the help of the Soviet forces.

These reports are unconfirmed. Warsaw radio has denounced them as "absurdities" and "lies". Nevertheless it is thought that Russian tanks and troops have been withdrawn from East Berlin and Eastern Germany to cope with the Polish uprisings. Poland is still virtually occupied by the Russians and is plainly dominated by Russian armed force. The Poles are intensely nationalistic and such a situation is one in which unrest would be almost certain.

Poland, moreover, has no reason to love its Soviet victors. First, the long period of Polish subservience to the Russian Tsars, has now been replaced by Soviet domination, a situation which must whip Polish nationalistic patriotism to a frenzy. After the first World War Trotsky tried to subdue Poland by force, but without success. Then in 1939 came the Russian grab of that part of Poland which the Germans had failed to occupy. Final insult and treachery came when the Red Army refused to relieve the Warsaw Insurrection in 1944 under General Bor-Komowowski. On this occasion the Red Army having incited Warsaw to rebel failed to supply arms and waited for the German army to suppress the revolt with tanks and heavy artillery. The revolt smashed, the Red Army men marched in once again and installed a Communist government.

Apart therefore from their traditional patriotism, the Poles have no reason to love the Russians, and with their insurrectionary history, the present reported risings seem likely to be founded on facts.

It also seems likely that the Russians will be compelled to seek to save their domination by reforms and concessions, as in East Germany. Such a situation offers a parallel with 1905 when the Russian revolution broke out after the

BURMA TODAY

THIS columnist must confess to so much "authoritarianism" (vide a recent editorial) as to denounce those who sell out on the cause of freedom, whether it be those poor wretches who "hang on princes' favours" or those who have come to the "realist" position—which means accepting the rule of the world as it is. The latter number many of the anti-imperialists of yesterday, who for years have been staunch allies of the revolutionary minority in opposing what seemed an entrenched domination. Now the opportunity has come to many to enter governments and they have seized it, only to accept the "realism" of the position—which means support for American imperialism (politely known as "generosity"). There are several instances we have cited recently, and to them one can only add Burma.

At the Asian Socialist Conference it was made clear that "a closer alliance between the block of countries that render aid and those who receive it, was considered psychologically desirable and politically inevitable", which is a delightful way of saying that wheat must be paid for in blood. The conference was held at Rangoon because Burma is ruled by the Socialist Party, which considers itself an advanced Marxian body, and is indeed far clearer in its intellectual outlook than the British Labour Party though, like all large Marxian parties, its programme may well be in advance of its membership.

For many years the Burmese Socialists were in the forefront of the colonial struggle, and it is with a certain melancholy that one sees their decline. U Nu has tried recently to "clarify" the position in relation to present events. The policy of "non-involvement in foreign affairs" while accepting American aid and British military missions is "hypocrisy", he declares, and the Conference has "shown a new way". But by the standards of yesterday the new way is hypocrisy, too.

This is not only seen by the political alignment to the new imperialism, but by the religious set-up. Burma is taking the lead in uniting the Buddhist world. No doubt Rangoon hankers for some of the international political power of Rome, which Moscow also possesses not merely in the political Cominform but through the Orthodox Church. It is sheer cant, however, that the move should come from the Burmese Socialists who, like all their generation, were imbued with freethought.

Like "Socialist" Israel, they have created a special Ministry of Religious Affairs, and this has set out to popularise the Dharma of Buddhism. A fortune is being spent on preparations for a Buddhist Synod in 1956—and one must admire the versatility of Rangoon which can rise to such heights as Buddhist Synods and Socialist Conferences! In accordance with tradition, the assembly will be held in a basement (to symbolise

the sort of humility shown when the millionaire Pope goes down to a manger) but the pagoda around it will be an enormously expensive structure for which architects are coming from all parts of the Buddhist world. Missions are being sent to Ceylon and India to enlist support for this venture; the 120,000 lazy monks are being purged of their worst elements; and a continual boost for Buddhism is made by press and radio.

The writer, being unable to reach the level of some fellow-contributors, is not particularly versed in the deeper mysticism of Gautama Buddha. Many Western philosophers have never been quite the same again since they studied the Buddhist religion. It is only possible to deal here with the political motivation of the Buddhist resurgence, and that is as a force of unification.

The Stalinists and Trotskyists, both strong in Burma—as in Ceylon—succumbed to Buddhism rather than risk ignorant opposition to agnosticism. The so-called "White Flag" and "Red Flag" Communist rank-and-file are far from any Marxist "militant atheism" and the army of bonzes (monks) that move around the country begging their existence live as much off the peasants in the insurgent territory as they do in the Government-controlled territory. Throughout the Buddhist world, the rival doctrines of Buddha and Marx exist side-by-side, the one superstition grafted on the other. If Rangoon could become an "Eastern Rome" it would soon come to heel if they felt they were flouting a spiritual authority.

There is a strong possibility that, with this in mind, the Rangoon Government have persuaded India and Ceylon to give support to a measure which will strengthen the hand of all of them. It may trump Moscow's ace, of course, but at one time there was the hope that a freer socialism in Burma might be above such three-card tricks.

INTERNATIONALIST.

HAS THE SITUATION IMPROVED IN KENYA?

"The situation in Kenya has improved."
—COLONIAL SECRETARY.

THE Government announced in Nairobi that 125 terrorists were killed in Kenya during the week ended June 13—more than in any other week "since Mau Mau terrorists created a state of emergency in the colony." This was the result of a nine-day offensive started on Derby Day and "Operation Epsom," carried out in the Aberdare forests by British troops of the 39th Brigade, African troops of the 70th East African Brigade, and more than 2,000 Kikuyu Home Guards. One member of the security forces has been killed since the operation began and five Kikuyu.

The security forces are now in the third and final stage of their operation: the blockade of remaining Mau Mau hideouts in the dense Aberdare forests. Tracks leading into the forests are being closely guarded to prevent cattle being driven into the gang hideouts, and patrols are out to prevent cattle being stolen from neighbouring villages. All crops and trees in a strip of territory one mile wide and twenty-five miles long running down the eastern side of the forests are being razed.

Police-Inspector William Blackwell, aged 23, shot dead five members of a Mau Mau gang north-east of Thika last night after leading a patrol for two days in pursuit of the gang. Another member of the gang was captured. Two escaped.

A police patrol which raided the servants' quarters of a European house in Kilimani, a suburb of Nairobi, found one of the servants being forced to take the Mau Mau oath after being beaten. Twenty Africans have been arrested, of whom five have been charged with administering the oath—Reuter.

To this successful "Operation Epsom" (who can gainsay that the white man is always a sportsman whether in Nottingham or Nairobi) one must add the successes of the previous eight months of

the emergency. These are summarised in a Reuter report (10/6/53) as follows: Security forces in Kenya, it was officially disclosed to-night, have killed just over a thousand Mau Mau terrorists since the emergency was declared eight months ago. Latest official figures stated that 848 terrorists had been killed up to June 3. Since then at least 150 more have died in widespread clashes with security forces.

Troops, police, and Kikuyu guards have also wounded 404 terrorists up to June 3 and captured several hundred others, apart from thousands rounded up in purely police actions such as raids on African locations and markets. In the same period the Mau Mau have killed 41 Africans, seventeen Europeans, and four Asians, and wounded 210 Africans, fourteen Europeans, and five Asians.

One assumes that these figures do not include those Africans who have been hanged or imprisoned for alleged Mau Mau activities. Up to the end of May 39 Africans had been hanged in the Colony for these offences and 268 trials were pending and 399 prosecutions in hand for offences carrying the death penalty. And it might be added that in Kenya the death penalty, according to a Government announcement last month, can be imposed on anyone found guilty of "demanding, collecting and receiving supplies for terrorists". Meanwhile other penalties have been increased. That for "consorting with an armed terrorist" was increased from ten years to life imprisonment. Anyone "consorting with an armed person in circumstances which raise a reasonable presumption that he knew such a person was armed" will in future be sentenced on conviction to ten years imprisonment. The penalty was previously seven years. And to speed up "justice", which will be working overtime, now that not only Mau Mau but also the Kikuyu Central Association is proscribed, the Government has announced that in cases coming before the courts which involve membership of unlawful societies, the Criminal Procedure Code has been amended to enable one charge to be brought against persons accused of being members of Mau Mau and the proscribed Kikuyu Central Association, whether or not the offences are committed at the same time.

Comments Continued from p. 1

THE END OF UNESCO?

Of the initiatives of the United Nations, that of U.N.E.S.C.O. (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation), has undoubtedly proved to be the most socially useful, and independent. And for these reasons its existence is becoming always more precarious, the more so since a large part of its funds are provided by the United States.

A Reuter report from Paris (July 2) quoting "usually reliable sources" states that the United States is making "a special investigation and analysis of the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) to deter-

mine whether America should continue to support it.

American delegates to the Unesco conference here will stay on after Saturday and investigate such questions as:

What is the United States getting out of Unesco? Whether criticisms of Unesco are justified, whether, and how closely, the organisation is living up to its original aims; and are other countries, particularly under-developed nations, benefitting from its work?

European and Asian delegates to-day joined in denouncing an American proposal which would mean security controls on American employees of Unesco. The American resolution, asking, in effect, that Unesco staff members be submitted to the same security principles as employees of other United Nations organisations, was sent to a special drafting committee in an attempt to reach a 'common mind' on the proposal.

Unesco delegates of eleven countries either attacked the resolution or proposed amendments to it. No one spoke in favour of it. The chief United States delegate, Colonel Irving Salomon, said that in the light of the debate, he would agree to the resolution going to the committee in the hope that a unanimous decision would be reached. The committee will meet in secret to-night, and hopes to have a report ready by to-morrow.

Governments are not interested in Education and Culture *per se*. They want to know "what they are getting out of them." A thinking, intelligent people are not the material on which governments thrive. All the thinking the American McCarthys want among the "backward peoples" of the world is the ability to read and repeat the Americanised version of the Commandments on *Animal Farm* "The American way of life is good. Everything else is bad". And since U.N.E.S.C.O. does not function in this way it is now to be the target of those forces so ably denounced by Mr. Kennan (former American Ambassador to Russia) in his speech to American university students which was broadcast last week in the English Third Programme.

Perhaps the fate of U.N.E.S.C.O. will make more people realise that no cultural organisation can hope to flourish and retain its independence when it is dependent for its funds on the "goodwill" of governments. Goodwill does not exist in the vocabulary of government!

Sincerely,
AMMON HENNACY.

LIBERTARIAN.

An American Worker writes to the President

DEAR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER:

Your "don't burn the books" speech was fine. Keep it up.

I didn't vote for you or for anyone as I am an anarchist, although being a Christian anarchist I don't believe in killing Presidents, but as Tolstoy said "just refuse to obey them." My disobedience has consisted in refusing to register in both World Wars and doing time for it, and in openly refusing to pay any income tax these past ten years. Here is the leaflet I handed out in March. I will fast for 8 days from Aug. 6 to 13 and picket the income tax office here, as it is 8 years since they threw the atom bomb.

On the subject of freedom in education you may be interested in an experience of mine in 1924 when I taught history in the high school at Fairhope, Alabama. I told the students the story of the three blind men and the elephant and said history writers and history

teachers were blind. There were 3 sides to a question, your side, my side, and the right side. Being from the North I didn't know the side of the South and they did not know the side of the North. We couldn't be sure about past history but what was happening to-day would be history to-morrow, so I subscribed for the *Socialist Milwaukee Leader*, the *Daily Worker*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, an I.W.W. paper, *Freedom*, the anarchist paper, the *Nation*, a pacifist paper, the *Army and Navy Journal* and the *Wall Street Journal*, and *America*, the Catholic paper. On Friday's we had a discussion of current events. I told the students that no paper told all the truth, some told truth on one subject but never on others. So we had fine discussions. The head of the KKK, a local Christian preacher, said from the pulpit that I should be tarred and feathered and drowned in Mobile Bay and a cross was burned at my house. I went to the KKK preacher and invited him to come to my classes and explain the KKK. He promised, but did not come. Three weeks later he left town to go some place where people ran when he barked. If I had run I would have been running yet. Many students wanted to skip other classes and come to this interesting history class. Finally they asked for a meeting on Wednesday night from 8 to 11, no-credit, and they stocked up on all the history they wanted. Next year an ex-army captain taught history there so they had something to counteract the pacifist-anarchist.

Russo-Japanese War. The Tsarist government effected reforms and various lessening of tension. Such a convincing demonstration of working class strength has the effect of arousing fervour for the revolutionary cause and increasing workers' hopes and confidence. It is therefore possible that further even more widespread uprisings will occur perhaps with greater prospect of success.

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"Shut Yer Gob" Lawther to Retire

IF it were not for the fact that somebody just as bad is waiting to take his place, the news that Sir William Lawther is to retire from the Presidency of the National Union of Mineworkers would be good news indeed.

Lawther has been President for 13 years—an unlucky period for British miners from the point of view of the militancy of their organisation. True, in that time the miners have been nationalised, which was the traditional aim of the miners' union, and miners have risen from 84th to 1st in the table of industrial wage earners.

The latter is certainly a positive improvement, but nationalisation is not keeping the enthusiasm with which it was greeted in 1947. The improvement in miners' wages was inevitable when the war began and supplies of cheap coal from abroad were no longer available, so that British miners were called off the streets of British cities, where they had been singing for coppers, and put back at the work that had been withheld from them for years.

And when the war ended and Britain ran into one economic crisis after another, the miners became the most important section of the community.

It was these economic factors which lifted the miners out of their poverty and had little to do with Lawther, who in fact was a most servile supporter of the wage freezes introduced by both Labour's Sir Stafford Cripps and the present Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer, R. A. Butler.

It was Sir Will who bullied the miners into dropping the five-day week in favour of more production. It was he who led the N.U.M. negotiators who settled for a wage increase of 6/- a week in February this year, after the miners' conference had resolved on an extra 30/- a week.

It was Sir William Lawther who shouted "Shut yer Gob!" at a conference delegate last year who put forward a point of view he didn't agree with. Lawther was the democrat who the year before that had bellowed "You don't tell us what to do—we tell you" at a delegate conference.

Obviously a charming man, with the interests of those who paid his inflated salary very much at heart.

Britain's capitalists will miss him when he goes.

APATHY AND THE UNIONS

THERE are few workers to-day who will not admit that there is something wrong with British trade unionism.

Exactly what is wrong they may not be able to say. In fact many different faults are put forward and, depending on the viewpoint and experience of the speaker, one or the other is usually stressed. The Stalinist critic, for example, denounces the present "Right-Wing" leadership and would obviously be perfectly happy with a "left-Wing" leadership, even though the difference in effect upon the rank and file would be negligible.

For such groups as the Stalinists and the Catholics the present condition of the unions is fairly satisfactory. All the means are there for them to play their various little political games—their infiltrations, their passing of resolutions, their capturing of office—and certain of the leaders (Arthur Horner for the Stalinists, Tom O'Brien for the Catholics) meet with their approval.

The attitudes of these opportunist groups, however, are pretty transparent and since their arguments are usually coupled with others that give away their real allegiances, workers can be on their guard against them. More insidious, although much less motivated by conscious political ideas, are the arguments put forward that "the unions are all right, it's the apathy of the workers that's all wrong".

Apathy Has Its Causes

This attitude is a dangerous one because of the implications that the present structure of the trade unions leaves nothing to be desired and that if only the rank and file would show some enthusiasm for the present set-up everything would work perfectly.

What is overlooked here is that there are reasons for the apathy and the lack of interest in union affairs and that these reasons may be far more deep-rooted than to be cast aside as mere laziness.

There is no apathy among workers with regard to their working conditions, wages and standards of living. Confusion there certainly is, irresoluteness also, but when workers cease to look towards their union officials to do something for them and act themselves we see determination and clarity begin to emerge. Usually it gets smothered by the "flannel" laid on by the officials and the politicians—but there we begin to see the causes of apathy.

Leaders Don't Want Enthusiasm

The apathy of the rank and file towards the unions to-day is a direct result of union policy and practice. These have been conciliation towards the employers and a repression of direct action by the workers.

Unionists are beginning to expect, nowadays, that whenever there is a dispute in any place of work, the branch official, arriving on the spot, will go first to the management to hear their point of view—and will then come to the workers, repeating the management's arguments and telling the workers to go back to work immediately.

Now workers do not strike until all other methods of getting their demands have failed. Strikes are usually the culmination of months of negotiation and delaying tactics by employer and union official alike, and the rank and file are not so dumb as not to be able to see that when they take action to-day they have to fight both the boss and the union official too.

How can they be enthusiastic about the unions in this situation? The fact is that the T.U. leadership do not want enthusiasm among the rank and file. All they want are servile dues-payers, filling up the union coffers all the time and wanting nothing out of it.

A Minority Can Dominate

Neither, in fact, do the Stalinists or the Catholics, or all those who want to capture union office, want to see enthusiasm and interest in union affairs widespread among the workers. It would be far more difficult for pressure groups to get offices under their control if memberships turned up at branch meetings in full.

But while only a tiny minority attend, an even tinier minority can dominate them and speak in the name of the entire branch.

Once again then the question will arise—why are the rank and file so apathetic as to allow this to go on? And I think the answer is that the unions are becoming so divorced from the workers in aspiration and in sym-

BOUQUET

It is very seldom, as you point out, that you receive a letter expressing agreement with something you have published. I have never bothered writing such a letter before, but I must congratulate you on "Cussing and Swearing" (FREEDOM, June 20).

I have often wondered why the downtrodden should make every other word in a conversation "—" (why, for instance, a friend of mine in the army should gleefully exclaim: "I'm — well going on — com — passionate — leave; — well got a — tele-gram!"), and after reading the article I feel I now understand such an extraordinary waste of potentially expressive words.

G. has the knack of applying deep, serious thought to a social phenomenon and presenting his conclusions in a concise, light-hearted and thoroughly readable manner. Of course, most of your regular contributors have something of the same skill and G's articles are not always of the same high standard, but I think his words on Effing and Blinding deserve especial praise.

Bradford, June 20.

D.R.

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The Mines for the Miners

TOO MANY BOSSES—under that title Len Morgan, a working miner, lets loose in *Tribune* (3/7/53) an attack on miners' leaders that substantiates the whole Anarchist case on nationalisation. He writes: "The consultative machinery . . . has simply succeeded in making certain influential sections of branch leadership part and parcel of actual management, leaving the rank and file miners bewildered and confused by the very close co-operation of branch leaders with the various managements."

"In the event of any dispute at pit level the rank and file are now at a loss to decide who the dispute is with—the management or their branch leaders."

In effect the miners' representatives have lost contact with the workers on the job, place the interests of the State first and are used to discipline the miners by the management. I can remember having to appear before a disciplinary committee of Trade Union bosses soon after nationalisation for taking three days off work at the pit. The committee seemed to be a try-out and we all got off with cautions. The war-time legislation that made such a situation possible has since been repealed but it illustrates that there are always a few pompous asses ready to do the bosses' dirty work.

Production & Pay

Morgan writes: "Our leaders, openly flattered by the management, now invariably find themselves pledged to production at all costs," and the workers

suspect that their wage claims are 'sacrificed on the altar of more and still more production.' The recent 1/- per day award was a ludicrous reply to the demand for a 30/- increase.

He ends his article: "Formerly there was only the management to contend with, and one could at least expect the co-operation of the branch officials; but to-day the working miner finds himself faced by the double opposition of the management and his branch leaders!"

"As sure as the N.C.B. and N.U.M. become one body in a marriage of ideas, just as surely will they continue to produce problem children of distrust, suspicion and unrest."

His solution is "to debar branch officials from membership of consultative committees, at least below national level"—a very mild solution, considering that he realises how serious the situation is. But there is hope in the fact that miners have seen through the sham of nationalisation and are aware that State control benefits the State not the worker. Soon they will replace the parasitic class of trade union representatives by delegates from organisations springing up at the point of production to serve the immediate needs of the workers, whose ranks they should not leave.

Good luck to Len Morgan and his mates! The control of their industry lies in their own hands if they are prepared to grasp it and then nothing that Sir William and the other renegades can do will prevent the Mines for the Miners.

F.T.

YOUR CROSS

"A chiel's amang ye taakin' notes, An' here's a few concernin' votes."
—ROBERT BURNS (adapted).

IN Australia each non-voter is liable to a fine of £2. Compulsory voting has been the law since 1901. Voting lists are examined, names and addresses of non-voters noted, followed by a visit to a selected number of defaulters, by the police, who want to know the reason why. If the police meet with defiance or what they consider to be inadequate or flimsy excuses, the person is summoned to appear before the petty sessions.

Glasgow Weekly News, 14/1/50.

This almost leaves McCarthy limping home with the 'Also rans'.

Let us now have a trip to Africa, where we are told that "Rhodes had a great liking for the natives. 'They are like children' he said, 'and what children want is kindness.' He believed they were capable of being taught Civilised ways and that when they had acquired responsibility they should have votes. Under the constitution of 1872 they did have votes. It is only recently that this privilege has been taken from them."—Viscountess Milner in the *Radio Times*, 26/6/53.

The appropriate and operative word is "privilege".

"What the Government gives you, the Government can take away, and once it starts taking away it can take more than it gave."—Sam Gompers, U.S. Labour leader. (From Quotable Quotes, *Readers Digest*, October 1952).

★

THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S VOTES: "Here was a story of prisons, torture, legal corruption, press distortion and heroism. After reading Sylvia Pankhurst's book I delved into the subject, raking out anti-suffragette pamphlets. What strange reading they make to-day. Women should not be given the vote, it was said; it might lead to their becoming M.P.'s. Women were not strong enough

to fight in war, therefore they should have no control over foreign policy.

Women should exert their influence over men by appealing to their chivalry. These arguments were taken quite seriously. Women had few legal rights. The pay for practically all women's work was scandalously low, the hours fantastically long. Sweated labour was the order of the day and the worst sufferers were the women. Women had laboured peacefully for the vote for 50 years. There had been promises and promises but no action . . . At the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, a meeting was held in which Herbert Gladstone introduced the new Liberal candidate, Winston Churchill. It was here Christabel Pankhurst and the mill girl, Annie Kenney, got up and asked whether the new Candidate, if elected, would fight in the House for the women's vote. Immediately the meeting was in an uproar. The girls were flung out and landed in gaol. It was 'not done' for women to ask questions at political meetings. But they made the headlines. From then on the suffragettes made it their duty to keep themselves in the headlines. In 1914 they were still without the vote. But on the outbreak of war Lloyd George sent for Mrs. Pankhurst. He wanted women in vast numbers for war work of all kinds. She could mobilize her women. She had the organisation to do it. It was claimed that she acceded to L.G.'s request on condition that women were given the vote when hostilities ceased but there is no proof to substantiate this. Only the fear of a renewal of militant activities enabled the first Bill granting the vote to women over the age of 30 to be passed without a hitch.

—Jill Craigie in *Radio Times*, 9/3/1951.

★

In the hour of peril and imperative necessity the politicians actually discovered that women, in addition to the more or less spare-time vocation of appealing to the chivalry of men, and the

coupling of that to the number one function of assisting in the production of future supplies of cannon fodder, were at the same time urgently needed to feed the guns to be trained on and to decimate the offspring of their opposite numbers lined up and engaged in the same senseless business of mutual slaughter.

In the past, both men and women not of the pukka Sahibly circles have fought like hell to secure the vote. If the same insistent spirit of determination and enduring effort were exerted and applied to the pursuit of worthier and more beneficial aims, this wracked, twisted, bomb-battered and war-scarred earth might well be transformed and fashioned into something immeasurably better than the jungle habitation it now resembles. Pining our faith and anticipated hopes on a cross but takes us along the dismal, bitter road to Calvary. With faith, combined with active faith in ourselves we may then reasonably hope to reach another and happier destination.

★

One more dip into the bag before I leave you to browse elsewhere. This final exhibit is extracted from a pamphlet by Ramsay MacDonald, published long before his arrival at and subsequent promotion to Premiership in the Westminster Talk Shop, therein and thereout to give wings to intoxicating furlongs of platitudinous vapourings, leading his suffering dupes and supporters ever onward, upward and sideways to some ethereal Valhalla in Cloudland, the abode of utter desolation and emptiness. These be thy gods, O Israel! Hearken, ponder, and learn:

"Parliament has neither the knowledge nor the will to perform a task which labour thinks to be the only one of any importance. Parliament is removed from the urgent social pressure by which labour is surrounded. The problems and concerns of the House of Commons are quite different from those which are the daily thoughts of ninety per cent. of the people of the country."

Argyll.

H.T.D.

pathy that the rank and file no longer care greatly what happens to them. They know that the unions to-day do not operate in their interests, so—well, why should they worry?

When the workers really want anything badly enough they know how to act to get it, and it is becoming increasingly clear that the unions are not adequate vehicles for action.

The Structure Is Wrong

For it is not merely the present leadership which is wrong with the unions, it is the very fact of having full-time, highly-paid leaders at all which makes for corruption and consequent apathy. It is not only that, it is the very structure of unionism to-day, based as it is on craft sectarianism instead of industrial solidarity which obstructs the class struggle (which to-day—thanks to the unions—can hardly be said to exist in any conscious form) and so disrupts any direct action the workers may take.

It is, I believe, the growing but still dim realisation that the trades unions are becoming more and more a limb of the State, a disciplinary organ of assistance for the employers, which is leading to indifference and apathy on behalf of the rank and file.

To-day more criticism comes from militant workers than from employers. The latter know who are their true friends. The former are beginning to realise more and more what they are up against.

P.S.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

TOWER HILL
Tuesdays at 12.30 p.m.

INDOOR MEETINGS

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

JULY 14—DEBATE on
IS MARXISM A CURE?
A. Lyon (S.P.G.B.)
Tony O'Toole (ASDO).

NOTE.—This will be the last indoor meeting of the season. Watch this column for announcement of new meetings in September.

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

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN EAST HAM

Alternate Wednesdays
at 7.30 p.m.

JULY 15—General Discussion
THE GROUP & THE INDIVIDUAL

BRADFORD

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS

Broadway Car Park,
Sundays, 8.30 p.m.

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