

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The liberty of the individual is a necessary postulate of human progress."
 —ERNEST RENAN.

FRANCO'S

TENSIONS INSIDE SPAIN

GENERAL FRANCO in recent weeks has been preparing a series of incidents and diplomatic gestures calculated to direct attention to areas outside Spain. Thus the impending visit of the Queen of England to Gibraltar has been the occasion of diplomatic "warnings" by the Spanish Ambassador in London to the Foreign Office. The Foreign Office replied that the British government could entertain no protests from foreign governments regarding visits made by the Queen to her own territories: a perfectly orthodox reply for which the Conservatives sought and received the support of Her Majesty's Labour Opposition.

It seems plain that such would be inevitably the reply given to Franco's ambassador. Hence it follows that the "protest" was a perfectly formal one put forward purely for propaganda purposes.

In addition Franco has been wooing the Arab League, and is perhaps anxious to step into Mussolini's shoes as "Defender of Islam". In particular, no doubt, his eyes are turned to Spanish Morocco and the desire to rally nationalist opinions there. It was reported that he was to make a tour of the Arab States, but this appears to have been cancelled. Meanwhile the Spanish government has refused recognition to the puppet Sultan of French Morocco, but has instead recognised the authority of the Sultan whom the French Administration summarily deposed last year.

It is a safe rule in politics that whenever a government makes much of this kind of propaganda, there is some internal reason for concern. Gibraltar and the Moroccan affairs occupy the headlines in order to divert attention from problems nearer home, and it does not seem necessary to look further than the recent pact with the United States and the Concordat with the Vatican.

Morocco

But before looking further at these, the question of Morocco may well be considered further. Although for the

That's Beria-That Was!

The publishers of the "Large Soviet Encyclopaedia" seem to have solved the problem of finding a substitute for the entry headed "Beria, Lavrenti P." It will have been obvious to all students of "1984", as well as to students of Soviet politics, that the entry had to come out. The Encyclopaedia's editors, the State Scientific Publishing House of Moscow, has acted with decision, "recommending" all subscribers to "detach from Volume V to the Large Soviet Encyclopaedia pages 21, 22, 23 and 24 and the portrait inserted between pages 22 and 23, in place of which you are being sent pages with a new text." Their choice of substitute matter was, of course, limited to subjects beginning with the letter "B". They now seem to have overcome alphabetical limitations with a picture of the Bering Straits, an article about a village in Siberia, and another about a German by the name of Bergholtz, who was born in 1693 and died in 1765.

The State Scientific Publishing House insists that the old pages "should be cut out with scissors or a razor blade, keeping a margin next to the spine of the book to which the new pages can be attached". The old pages bore Mr. Beria's biography and a short article on a village near Erivan which bore his name. The history of the village, like that of its unfortunate patron, have now gone down the memory hole, with "the portrait inserted between pages 22 and 23". It was Beria's.

(Manchester Guardian).

May we suggest to the publishers of the "Large Soviet Encyclopaedia" that future editions should be sold in a loose leaf binding so that offending pages may be removed without leaving any trace of bad workmanship such as will often be the case with razor blades or scissors.

peninsular Spaniard Morocco may be colonial, external affairs, for Franco himself it is a serious home base. Franco began his military career there and was in charge there when the military rebellion of 1936 started. It was indeed his base of operations and the source of much of his army. Spanish Morocco to-day is agitated by the same forces as are shaking North Africa generally and giving headaches to the French Colonial administration. Franco's apparent support for the anti-French sections of North African opinion is no doubt an attempt to gain sympathy in his own Moroccan territories. One may reasonably infer that his own administration across the straits of Gibraltar is none too firm.

Mainland Spain

The pacts which Franco has concluded with the United States on the one hand and the Vatican on the other indicate that both these powers are interested in the maintenance and strengthening of his régime. To a realistic foreign government there is indeed very little in the way of alternatives to Franco that are acceptable. For the extinction of political opposition must have the effects of polarizing still further the extremes in Spanish politics—the extreme right wing based on army and church and landowners, and the powerful and anarchist traditions of the Spanish workers and peasants. The various "governments" in exile or the Royalists make a very unconvincing show.

The Spanish government has ceded to America naval and air bases which give her control over the Western Mediterranean. In return America has promised financial and military aid and the building and reconditioning of certain ports and airfields. In brief, America has taken over the task of making Spain an effective military base in return for underwriting the Franco régime.

But Franco has received almost as thoroughgoing support from the Pope. Some months ago he was decorated with a high Papal order for his services to Christendom and obviously the Vatican is banking on maintaining his régime. In return for this Papal support, the Church has been restored to a position of almost unprecedented power, which seems more like the Middle Ages and sixteenth century than the twentieth.

The Church takes over education completely, Church inspectors having the right to inspect all forms of private or public education. It now possesses full power of censorship and can order the withdrawal of any book deemed to be contradictory to Catholic dogma or morality. Church properties are freed from all taxation and if priests break the law, they are to be tried in secret and serve any prison sentences imposed on

A Politician Keeps This Promise

"The War Office announced last month that a company of the 1st Battalion, the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, is to be sent to Bermuda.

A report from Hamilton, Bermuda, said four hundred British troops would arrive there next month to make good Sir Winston Churchill's recent promise to revive the Bermuda Garrison."—*Reuter*.

It's always useful to have a few troops on the other side of the Atlantic, and Bermuda is sufficiently far from the West Indies for such action not to be misunderstood by the natives, as an unfriendly act . . . but sufficiently close if reinforcements should be needed in a hurry as was the case last year in British Guiana!

them in "ecclesiastical or religious houses".

Thus the Catholic Church now is in a position to influence Spanish youth as never before and no doubt hopes to eradicate all opposition in this way. It has secured formidable strength and disposes of enormous wealth, but the anti-clerical traditions in Spain have also been very high for centuries, and are involved in the class struggles of the Spanish people as the Church is so very much involved in the preservation of private property and its rights, and therefore also in all its wrongs.

One may infer that there is considerable opposition—as one would expect—to this extension of ecclesiastical power, and it may well be that the Gibraltar propaganda is intended to divert attention from this.

But it is also true that these agreements with America and the Pope constitute a very considerable strengthening of Franco's material position, not the least significant aspect of them being the evidence they give that both the State Department and the Pope's advisers consider Franco an investment safe enough to support.

Against this it is pointed out that the traditional dislike of Spaniards for foreign commitments and foreigners generally must be flouted by the American Pact. Much of the argumentation employed in the daily press on this issue strikes one as mere verbiage, however—"Spaniards think this and feel that" is all too vague. Nevertheless the *Observer's* comment seems reasonable:

"The United States has signed an alliance with a régime that remains in power by dictatorial means. Disorganised and powerless as the opposition is, it must represent at least 51 per cent. of the Spanish population; otherwise General Franco would long ago have called for free elections. Any dealings with the dictator are bound to be interpreted by his opponents as directed against themselves. And if to that is added a third factor, the traditional Spanish hatred of all forms of foreign intervention, the stage seems set for an eventual outburst of anti-American feeling on an unprecedented scale."

All in all therefore the fact that Franco has put himself into American and Vatican hands may also be taken as a measure of the internal weakness of his régime.

Why no "Freedom" in the Libraries?

THE refusal of the library committee to allow a free copy of FREEDOM to be placed in the reading room of Slough public library is reported in last week's *Slough, Eton & Windsor Observer* (Jan. 29) in the following terms:

LIBRARY BAN ANARCHIST PAPER IN READING ROOM

No Freedom for "Freedom"
 The library committee have refused to allow a free copy of "Freedom," the Anarchist weekly, to be placed in the reading room of Slough Public Library. Most of the members declined to comment on the ban, but one, Cllr. J. T. Ireland, of Eton, said he thought it was because it was considered to be "not in the best of taste".

It appears, however, that most of those present at the meeting did not have time to read the copies of "Freedom" which were submitted by Mr. Douglas MacTaggart, of Water Oakley, Windsor, 20-year-old doctor's son, who is trying to form a local Anarchist group.

In a letter to the "Observer", he says he offered to present the library with a copy each week. On Monday he received a letter from the librarian, Miss G. P. P. Knowles, telling him that the committee had turned down the offer.

Mr. MacTaggart says that "Freedom" is opposed to all forms of "tyranny and government," and regards the Communist régime in Russia as "one of the most horrible tyrannies that the world has ever known."

He also points to the fact that the library stocks the Communist "Daily Worker" and another political magazine called "Freedom", issued by Windsor Conservatives.

"Evidently," he says, "the committee believes in free speech for Tories and Communists but not for Anarchists."

Other free periodicals accepted by the library include "The Social Creditor", organ of the Social Credit party, the vegetarian magazine, "World Forum", and "The White Ribbon", journal of the National British Women's Total Abstinence Union.

The library buys such political weeklies as the left wing "New Statesman" and "Tribune" and the right wing "Spectator" and "Economist".

"NO PREJUDICE"

A reporter asked several members of the committee for an explanation of the ban but they refused to comment on it. But Cllr. Ireland admitted that he had never read the magazine, and said he thought most of the other members had not had time to read the copies of "Freedom" at the meeting.

He said they got offers of lots of publications, and they could not accept them all unless a good case was made out. After making his comment that most of

the members felt that "Freedom" was not in the best taste, he said there was no political prejudice.

He added that the door had not been finally closed on "Freedom", and Mr. MacTaggart could always ask for reconsideration of the decision.

Mr. R. A. Stone, headmaster of William Penn School, said the matter was "fully discussed". Cllr. F. S. G. Room said that a vote was taken and he was in the minority.

"Freedom" is a four-page sheet. Main articles in the last three issues have dealt with the purge in Yugoslavia, Labour and Conservative policy in the colonies, and the engineers' pay claims.

The *Slough Observer* adds this comment in its leader column:

LET THEM ALL COME

The library committee may make themselves look rather silly in banning the Anarchist paper, "Freedom", from the Public Library reading room. While we are sure that it would appeal to only a microscopic percentage of the library's customers, we see no reason why it should not have a place among the journals of the total abstainers, vegetarians and social creditors.

Socialists, Conservatives, Communists, Liberals, Scottish Nationalists, Trotskyites, home-rulers . . . let them all come. Including the Anarchists, who are "agin the lot."

We are obliged to the Editor of the *Slough Observer* for the trouble he has taken in investigating this case so fully, even to the extent of ascertaining that the Committee, with one notable exception, opposed FREEDOM on the grounds that it was "not in the best of taste" though not one of them had read the paper! We even thank him for his light-hearted comment, though, is he not a little unfair to want to place such a spirited journal as FREEDOM in company with "the total abstainers"?

It is to be hoped that comrades and sympathisers having read the foregoing will be encouraged by the initiative of our comrade MacTaggart who started it all by offering the free copy each week to the local library and followed up their refusal by getting in touch with the local paper. Why not try doing the same with your local libraries, and let us know what results attend your efforts?

And are there readers in Slough who are willing to write to the library committee to put them right about FREEDOM "not being in the best of taste", whatever that means. The matter should not be dropped at this stage.

NOTEBOOK

Our Policemen are not Wonderful!

WE read somewhere, quite recently, that foreign tourists to our shores have a number of complaints about our hotel rooms and the dirty plates in our restaurants, but they think our police are wonderful. Of course if you come from France, Italy or Spain your views about policemen are so strong that perhaps the British bobby appears as a public benefactor; especially when your only dealings with him are through sign-language and bits of paper with the address of the hotel you are trying to find in the sprawling metropolis.

But in the past weeks publicity has been given in a number of cases involving the police which show them in a somewhat different light. Of course we are not very interested in converting the foreign tourist. But we are interested that in this country people should not be lulled into feeling, as a result of these glowing, unsolicited, foreign testimonials that the policeman, like our dog, is our best friend!

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Three Policemen on Assault Charges

A CASE came before Glamorgan Quarter Sessions at Cardiff last week involving three police constables (Stephenson, Rees and Newton) on charges of assaulting civilians.

The case for the prosecution was that at a disturbance at Heolyeyw last Sep-

tember Rees and Newton arrived at the scene with truncheons "at the ready." Jones, he said, happened to be the first person to get in the way, and Police-Constable Newton hit him on the head with his truncheon, causing a cut of two and a half inches.

"It is all very well for policemen to use their truncheons if necessity demands it," Mr. Evans said, "but the law and practice is that truncheons should only be used as a last resort."

The assault on Chant, Mr. Evans said, was a far more serious matter; Chant was arrested at Heolyeyw and was at that time unmarked and unarmed. He was transferred to Bridgend Police Station in a car, sitting in the back with Rees and Stephenson. Mr. Evans said that on his release he was found to be suffering from a black eye, loosened teeth and cut and bruised mouth and lips; he had to have four teeth taken out and was laid up for fourteen days. Chant would say that as soon as they left the village Police-constable Rees gave him "a bash over the eye" and then "a bash in the mouth" with his fist.

Police-Constable Stephenson, Mr. Evans alleged, asked Chant if his teeth were false, and on being told they were not,

Much Ado About Nothing

It is officially estimated that about 1,200 correspondents and photographers from Western nations are in Berlin to cover the Big Four Ministers Conference.

hit him across the mouth. Mr. Evans said that Police-Constable Stephenson, who had started the disturbance in the village, had received some blows during the course of it, and had been told by his wife that Chant had hit her. "The motive was there, and the opportunity was there; Chant was powerless in their hands," Mr. Evans said.

Witnesses were called: Olwen Mary Chant said yesterday that her husband was arrested and placed in a police car. She asked him if he was all right, and he said he was.

Mr. David Rowland (prosecuting): Did you see any signs of injuries on his face?—He never had a mark on him.

What was he like when he came back from Bridgend next morning?—He was almost too weak to walk into the house; he was unrecognisable. I was shocked.

Can you describe his face?—I can't say what it looked like. His lips were meeting his nose, and his eyes were swollen and blackened.

Thomas Jones told the Court he was standing with others at the gate of the police station when reinforcements arrived. Police-Constable Newton, he said, caught him by the coat pocket and hit him on top of the head with a truncheon, causing a 2 1/2 in. cut. He was doing nothing at all to justify the blow.

Dr. John Fitzgerald, of Aberkenfig, said that he saw Chant at the Heolyeyw police-station after a disturbance at the village, and Chant told him he was "feeling fine". Next day, Chant had a black eye, his lips were swollen, bruised and cut, and he had four teeth loose.

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The Russian Revolution seen by a Social Revolutionary

IN THE WORKSHOP OF THE REVOLUTION, by I. N. Steinberg. Rinehart and Co. Inc., 1953. 306 pp. \$4.

THE Russian Social Revolutionary Party was organized at the beginning of the present century and was the successor of the Narodnaya Volya ('Peoples' Will') Party which had successfully accomplished the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881. Like their precursors, the social revolutionaries were socialists, but their socialism was of a 'populist' (i.e. ethical) character and drew its inspiration more from the communal traditions and practices of the Russian peasantry than from the Marxist socialism of Western Europe. Just as the Narodnaya Volya had used the tactic of individual terror as a means of protest against czarist tyranny, so also did the social revolutionaries, for they did not see how socialism could be established until the institutions of czarism and all they stood for had been abolished. During the first two decades of this century they waged a vigorous and costly terrorist campaign against the representatives of the czarist state and gave to the annals of revolutionary history the deeds and courage of such men as: Gregory Gershuni, Yegor Sazonov and Ivan Kalayev; such women as Maria Spiridonova, Irina Kakhovskaya and Yevstolia Ragozinikova. It was their acts and sacrifices along with those of many others that helped to pave the way for the 1917 Revolution.

During the historic revolutionary days of February 1917, the social revolutionaries played a leading part in the overthrow of czarism. On the question of the continuation of the war and the rôle of the Party, however, a split began to develop in their ranks and a distinct left and right wing made their appearance. The right wing regarded the overthrow of the czarist régime as the means of clearing the way for the application of a policy of social reforms and the continuation of the war, whilst the left wing saw it as merely the prelude to funda-

mental social changes and the establishment of peace. In December 1917, the left wing made the final break with their former comrades and constituted themselves as the Left Social Revolutionary Party. They also decided to enter into a coalition with the bolsheviks and seven of their members became commissars in the Soviet Government. As a result of their refusal to sanction the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty with Germany, they withdrew from the coalition in March 1918. The bolsheviks responded by outlawing their party and its members were murdered, imprisoned or exiled by their former allies.

One of the left social revolutionary commissars was I. N. Steinberg (who was the Commissar for Justice) and his latest book, *In The Workshop Of The Revolution*, is an account of the 1917 Revolution from the viewpoint of the left social revolutionaries. It is more a personal record than a definite history but its value is not decreased because of this, and its publication at almost the same time as the English language edition of Voline's anarchist history of the Revolution gives us the unique opportunity of studying side by side the activities and attitudes of the two most historically neglected elements of the Russian revolutionary movement. Many of its twenty-one chapters are of absorbing interest, particularly those concerning the differences between the terror of the populists and that of the bolsheviks and the author's ideas on the characteristics of the 'five types of Russian revolutionist'. But perhaps the most important chapter, from the point of view of the general student of the constructive achievements of the Revolution, is undoubtedly that describing the rôle and aspirations of the peasantry.



THE author points out that the Marxist fetish of the industrial proletariat as the saviour of society blinded them to the revolutionary potential of the Russian peasantry, with its tradition of the communalistic *obshtchina* or *mir* (i.e. land

commune) within whose framework up to four-fifths of them worked the land. This tradition was not confined to working the land—it was also carried on when the peasant became an artisan and formed an *artel* or labour association. The Revolution gave the peasant the possibility of realizing his age-old dream of 'land and liberty', and he proceeded to carry out a social transformation which, had it not been destroyed by the bolsheviks, might have led to a form of society which did away with the evil of feudalism yet avoided the degradation and injustice of capitalist industrialism. Steinberg cites an article written by a former Russian landowner, who had been expropriated by the peasants, as proof, from anti-revolutionary sources, of the just and bloodless manner in which the peasants reclaimed their common heritage—the land. Two passages of this article are worth quoting for their interest to anarchists. The former landowner wrote:

"The whole land problem was settled in the period between October 1917 and May 1918, before the central Soviet authorities had penetrated the village. It was in the full sense of the word a spontaneous process, guided by deepest revolutionary passion . . ."

"The prediction that civil war would break out among the peasants and that they would be incapable of effecting the distribution of land without central authority was proven false. Left to themselves they accomplished this complicated process within a few days, peacefully, independently, without land surveyors—and immediately returned to the job of ploughing and sowing. Thus ended a tremendous social transformation, carried out by the people themselves without technical assistance, but with the social and moral experience of life lived in the *Obshtchina*". [our italics].

Thus did the spontaneous impulses of the people in revolt confirm the truth of Kropotkin's insistence on the need for the "conquest of bread" in a revolutionary situation. And it is very interesting to note that the events described above began in October 1917, that is to say, three months before the ratification of

the land socialization law. Had the peasants not backed up with direct action their desire for land and liberty, the law would have in all probability remained a dead letter—unless the bolsheviks had enforced it at the point of a gun as they did their later collectivization decrees.



THE left social revolutionaries did their best according to the author, to mitigate the brutalities and inhumanity of their bolshevik colleagues during their period of coalition with them. They further appear to have had—ideologically—distinct libertarian inclinations (Spiridonova, in her famous 'Open Letter' to the bolsheviks, wrote of socialism as meaning brotherhood and the abolition of force). In practice, however, they were prepared to accept governmentalism as their acceptance of commissariats demonstrated, and, (in spite of their undoubted integrity, there is no doubt that had they continued in power the inevitable corruption inherent in government would have followed. Voline, the Russian anarchist, records in his history of the Revolution† a conversation he had with the spiritual head of the left social revolutionaries, Maria Spiridonova. He wrote:

"During our discussion, Maria Spiridonova told me that the Left Social Revolutionaries believed in power in a very restricted form; a power reduced to a minimum, accordingly very weak, very humane, and especially very provisional. "Just the bare minimum, permitting it, as quickly as possible, to weaken, to crumble and to disappear!"

"Don't fool yourself," I advised her, "Power is never a ball of sand, which, when it is rolled, disintegrates. It is, on the contrary, a snowball, which, when rolled, increases in size. Once in power, you would do like the others."

I. N. Steinberg's work is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the 1917 Revolution in Russia. It is valuable because it described the rôle of the left social revolutionaries during the 1917-21 period, and it is valuable because it helps once again to emphasize the truth that there is no half-way house between liberty and authority. I hope the author, and any of his comrades who may read this review, will understand me when I state that I consider that the glorious failure of the social revolutionaries contributed more to the struggle for justice and liberty than any success they might have had in seizing the reins of government. It may seem, to some, a hard, even a terrible attitude to adopt in view of the sufferings and sacrifices which the social revolutionaries endured for their ideal, but the tragic truth of Balzac's words: "Popular revolutions have no more implacable enemies than the men they raise to power", has been borne out in all its starkness by every social revolution known to history. The nobility and moral integrity displayed by the social revolutionaries in their struggle against the tyrannies of czarism and bolshevism provide us with a constant source of inspiration and spiritual strength in our fight against the foundation of all tyranny and injustice—the principle of authority. In that lies their greatest contribution.

S. E. PARKER.

*In fact, it was only their awareness of the strength of the peasants' demands that made the bolsheviks accept the left social revolutionaries' policy of land socialization in place of their own policy of land nationalisation.

†Vol. I, English edition—1917—*The Russian Revolution Betrayed*, p.83; shortly to be published in this country by Freedom Press.

The Social Contract

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is one of the most monstrous books ever written; only a man of appalling narrowness of mind, stupidity and morbid mistrust could have conceived such ideas as the so-called "common will" and the sovereignty of the State. According to Jean Jacques Rousseau, natural society is based on a contract in which the individual surrenders his freedom for the liberty of citizenship, which is limited to the general will—the *volonté générale*, or the moral will of the people. Sovereignty lies with the people; the general will is the highest law. Government executes the commands of the people, who can limit or recall the power delegated by them to the government.

"As nature gives each man absolute power over all his members, the social contract gives the body politic absolute power over all its members also; and it is this power which, under the direction of the general will, bears, as I have said, the name of Sovereignty."—*The Social Contract*.

What Rousseau calls freedom is the freedom to do that which the State, the guardian of the common will, prescribes for the citizen. How much mischievous sophistication and hypocrisy is concealed in the words: "In order that the social contract may be no empty formula, it tacitly includes the undertaking, which can alone give force to the rest, that whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be compelled to obey by the whole body. This means nothing less than that he will be forced to be free; for this is the condition which, by giving each citizen to his country, secures him against all personal dependence."

This is simply an example of out of the frying-pan into the fire. If the State were abolished, the individual could secure himself against all personal dependence. The State insists that every man shall give up all his rights and his freedom unreservedly into its custody, and then holds it wholly irresponsible for any disposal it may make of them. And it gives him no alternative but death. If by putting a bayonet to a man's breast, and giving him his choice, to die, or be "protected in his rights", it secures his consent to the latter alternative, it then proclaims itself a free government—a government resting on consent The State says that a man must give up all his rights in order that it may protect him. It might just as well be said that a man must consent to be bound hand and foot, in order to enable a government, or his friends, to protect him against an enemy. Leave him in full possession of his limbs, and of all his powers, and he will do more for his own protection than he otherwise could, and will have no need of protection from a government, or any other source.

The history of governments, the history of law and politics, has been a record of wars abroad and oppression, exploitation and intrigue at home, and of constant interference with the rights of other communities, and the enslavement of their own "citizens". The State does not protect our lives, for, not only is it unable to prevent wars, it causes them, and it causes the violent death of a horribly large number of citizens. But to Rousseau the State is everything, the individual is nothing.

"The citizen of a State is therefore no longer the judge concerning the danger to which he must expose himself at the demand of the law, and when the prince (state) says to him, 'Thy death is necessary for the State', he must die, since it is only upon this condition that he has thus far lived in security, and his life is no longer merely a gift of nature, but is a conditional grant from the State."

By reason of governments the trail of blood is across every page of human history. Rulers set up barriers to intercourse, keep men ignorant of their neighbours, excite distrust, provoke hatreds, and foment strife and war. Patriotism is not the last refuge of a scoundrel: it is the first. A cause of war is inconceivable between free peoples. Man is not the enemy of man, and only becomes such through the meddling of governments. The State does not promote the welfare or the security of the peoples at home or abroad; it is a constant source of embroilment, exciting and inciting wars, invasions and desolations, destroying and preventing civilization, instead of promoting it. The cannon is the instrument employed in the rectification of national boundaries.

The individual cannot barter or resign his freedom, his sovereignty; it is impossible for any government to derive its authority from an original contract. The pretext that the liberty of one is only restricted out of regard for the rights of others is a poor jest; this pretended regard does not prevent the oppression of the individual, and deprives all of the larger part of their natural liberty of action. Liberty defined and limited by others is slavery. Liberty is the sovereignty of the individual; the sovereignty of the State means the slavery of the individual. A society is not free unless the sovereignty of every individual is at all times held inviolable.

"The rules by which my action shall be directed are matters of a consideration entirely personal, and no man can transfer to another the keeping of his conscience and the judging of his duties," wrote William Godwin. Society can only be equitably established on the conditions of voluntary co-operation, and

How to be a Good Communist

HOW TO BE A GOOD COMMUNIST, by Liu Shao-chi. English Translation. Peking Foreign Language Press. Price 1/6d.

THIS book does not really deserve a place on your bookshelf alongside Thurber, Stephen Potter and Ronald Searle, but its place should not be far from them. It has so many gems of humour that one is almost inclined to suspect that it is comical in intent; it has also stretches of dreary repetitive platitudes which are too long to be amusing.

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Obtainable from 27, RED LION STREET, LONDON, W.C.1

We are accustomed to the pompousness of Russian Stalinist phraseology, which is aped by the Communist writers of Britain and America. Here is something subtly different. The Russian influence is there all right, and the Communist translator is obviously steeped in the jargon, but something fresh and originally Chinese comes through, a naive slyness and unconscious humour. It is difficult to refrain from quoting long passages in praise of this book. I particularly like the following version of Chinese Communist "criticism and self-criticism".

"For example, many of our comrades keep a diary in order to have a daily check on their work and thoughts or they write down on small posters their personal defects and what they want to achieve and paste them up where they work or live, together with photographs of persons they look up to, and ask comrades for criticism and supervision."

This is truly reminiscent of the story of the Chinese magistrate who, perturbed at the local plague of pick-pockets, summoned the Pick-pockets' Guild to a friendly meeting. He announced that he had decided to recognize the trade of pick-pocket as a legitimate calling, providing that they would each pay a small fee and receive a license. To this the Pick-pockets' Guild joyfully assented—even to the essential condition that any member caught working without carrying his license should be subject to the penalty of immediate execution. The agreement solemnly concluded, the magistrate then produced the licenses—boards about two feet square bearing the legend *Licensed Pick-Pocket* in huge characters. The trade was effectively killed. So with the Chinese Communists, their "little posters" will serve a similar function. When arrested in party purges the confessed evidence of their deviationism will be already displayed.

"How to be a Good Communist" might have been written as a rather heavy satire on Stalinism, and we must be grateful to the British Communist Party that they have so little

sense of humour that they distribute it in this country. The more modern Chinese writers have criticised the element of slavish admiration and uncritical repetition of classical writings as a substitute for original thinking in China. This book is no exception to all that is hide-bound in the Chinese tradition. The Communist revolution in thought has amounted to reducing references to Confucius and Mencius, and substituting the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In eight pages there are the following number of references to the new 'sages': Lenin, 63; Marx, 66; Stalin, 26; Engels, 21. It seems that a talking parrot, primed with these four names and a small selection of approved platitudes could be a philosopher in Communist China. Lin Yutang, has written thus of the sterile tradition of his people:

"The fact that so many people persist of talking of moral reforms as a solution for political evils is a sign of the puerility of their thinking and their inability to grasp political problems as political problems. They should see that we have been talking moral platitudes continuously for the last two thousand years without improving the country morally or giving it cleaner or better government. They should see that if moralizations would do any good, China should be a paradise of saints and angels to-day . . ."

"The Chinese people can always govern themselves, and have always governed themselves. If the thing called 'government' can leave them alone, they are always willing to let the government alone. Give the people ten years of anarchy, when the word 'government' will never be heard, and they will live peacefully together, they will prosper, they will cultivate deserts and turn them into orchards."

The Chinese Communists appear to be steeped in this sterile tradition of moralizing and dependence on the words of 'sages'. Behind this endless repetition of Stalinist platitudes and downright lies, there is the age-old corruption of war-lords, politicians and place-seekers battenning on a hard-working people and mouthing moral phrases to justify their parasitism. G.

QUESTIONS OF EAST AND WEST

QUESTIONS OF EAST AND WEST, by G. F. Hudson. (Odhams, London).

MEASURING MISERY

IN the past the movements for social reform have had fairly concrete conditions to fight against: gross poverty, gross illiteracy, high mortality from disease and child-bearing—All of them easy to demonstrate and relatively easy to measure. The Welfare State can therefore point to considerable triumphs in the reduction of these ills, and all too often social reformers look at the figures and express a satisfaction that is smug in that it does not look for fresh fields to conquer.

But if one looks at life to-day one cannot but sense the unhappiness and frustration which welfare measures simply do not touch. Human happiness and contentment involve so much more than improved material conditions, housing, educational facilities and the like stock in trade of the reformer. To say this is not to decry the importance of material alleviations, only to insist that they do not by themselves produce the good life.

But these very phrases—unhappiness, frustration, contentment, the good life—all illustrate the difficulties of those who want more than family allowances and council flats—the difficulty of measuring such concepts. A similar difficulty existed in the thirties when the campaign against malnutrition began in earnest. What constituted malnutrition? While the argument centred round failure or success in achieving such and such a diet, little progress was made. But when Sir John Boyd Orr (now Lord Boyd Orr) insisted that starvation was to be measured not against *minimum* diets but against an *optimum* one progress began to be made very rapidly indeed. Orr urged that the only proper standard of measurement was a diet such that no additions to it could effect an improvement in health. And he found that such a diet was enjoyed by only about 20 per cent. of the population. This realization gave more impetus to the improvement of nutrition than it had ever received before and many manifestations of malnutrition common in the thirties are now scarcely ever seen.

The problem of human unhappiness remains a much more difficult one to measure and therefore to bring home to the statistics-loving reformers of our time. But an investigation by a group of family doctors widely reported in the popular press this week does make a start in this direction. Doctors engaged in urban, suburban and rural practices came together to provide an answer to the question: how much of the illness they treat is due to stress and distress as against organic disease? The account of their investigations (published on Feb. 1st in the *Practitioner*) opens with the unemphatic remark: "That much illness in Britain in the present day reflects mental unrest no one can doubt." Their conclusion is stated equally soberly, "By and large these figures show that about one fifth of the patients seen (for the first time) on any one day in an urban practice suffer from stress disorders; in the country, the proportion will be 10 to 15 per cent. . . . The figures for the town and suburban practices in spring and summer show that almost half of those patients who return for further treatment and advice have an illness associated with emotional tension."

These percentages reveal at a stroke the enormous amount of unhappiness and strain to which people are subjected in one of the most advanced and stable countries in the world. For it must be remembered that these doctors were measuring the proportion of patients whose

IF I interpret G. F. Hudson's thought correctly, the main reason why the East hates the West is not any specific resentment against Western colonial rule or economic penetration, but the same that made Hitler, Mussolini or Franco stir their subjects to hate the great demoplutocratic countries. That is a condition and a complex of inferiority in the process of being conquered, the reason, if it is a reason, of all hate among men: hate of the poor against the rich, of the weak against the strong, of the sick against the healthy, and of the just against the unjust. The Asians are dissatisfied with their "backwardness", and they blame the West for it with arguments that are often irrational and evidence that is often false, and yet confident self-righteousness is on their side, and sense of guilt with the West. The plain fact is that they would never have dreamt that they could be backward in any way had not Europeans and Americans impinged upon them and forced them to deduce superiority of values from superiority of power. Western technology, especially in the means of warfare, confronted Asia with the dilemma of abject submission to foreign imperialism or independence by adoption of foreign ways. Both alternatives meant withering of faith in her indigenous gods and rituals, the breaking up of social ties, and radical or sly disloyalty to an immense, deeply revered cultural and spiritual past. Shaken and maimed in her manifold personality, and constrained to find herself, as it were, a new soul, Asia is bound to rely on what under the circumstances is most effective in keeping people purposeful and together, that is hate, and such beliefs, precepts and ceremonies that keep the torch of hate burning and lively.

Most prominent in and leading the anti-West crusade is Communist China, a country which certainly has most means but not most reasons to complain about Western interference, and a régime that owes not little of its success to American policy during and after the war. That this policy was influenced and to a certain extent controlled by un-American elements does not alter the facts, which G. F. Hudson records and links up with the "Amerasia" affair, a story of communist espionage intrigue

and propaganda that succeeded in making good use even of President Truman. So among the facts contributing to the defeat of Chang Kai-shek not the least in importance although not generally recognized was the Marshall mediation which allowed the Communists to occupy positions, gather strength, gain new adherents and time to launch their final offensive.

Ironically enough the Chinese hatred of the West leaves the Russians untouched. Other European powers have renounced all rights and claims on Chinese territory, while Russia has absorbed Outer Mongolia and reclaimed the original Tsarist acquisitions in Manchuria, including control in various forms of the naval base of Port Arthur, the Port of Dairen, and the Manchurian trunk railways. It was on the strength of the secret agreement of the Big Three at Yalta, however, that Russia extorted such concessions from a not yet Communist China, so that when the time comes for accusing and complaining blame will not fail to fall on Great Britain and America who in that February 1945, out of foolishness or cowardice, did more than any other nations in history morally and materially to weaken their most natural allies and build up the power of their future enemy.

G. F. Hudson gives the impression that Moscow and Peking are and have been constantly working hand in glove. Two or three times he quotes with bitter relish the gullibility met by Molotov's remark to Hurlley that those Chinese who "called themselves Communists were related to communism in no way at all". Molotov may have been quite sincere, and maybe he still holds the same opinion, though he would not care to express it now. It would not be the first time that sincerity turned out to be the most cunning of devices. The evidence is rather that up to 1949 Mao Tse-tung never received much support from the Russians and that he was not always in their good books. The Moscow-Peking Comaxis far from being the result of shrewd foresight, intrigue, control and planning on the part of the Kremlin will be better understood as a piece in the jig-saw puzzle of power politics following upon a Chinese achievement of courage, astuteness and perseverance.

G. F. Hudson writes as an American fully awake to the Communist menace and fully convinced that to stave it off clear-sighted statesmanship and determin-

ation are just as necessary as superiority in morale, strategy, and armaments. This does not prevent him, however, from dealing at times with problems of international politics from a point of view an anarchist could share. Thus he states that "if the Nuremberg Tribunal had not been a court of the victorious Allies, it could hardly have failed to take notice of the complicity of certain Allied nations in acts for which the Nazi leaders were charged with criminal responsibility", and after briefly reviewing what happened at Munich he adds: "It is beyond dispute that Britain and France, for whatever political reasons, neither helped Czechoslovakia to resist aggression nor remained strictly neutral, but joined Germany in dictating to the Czechs the cession of the Sudetenland which Hitler was threatening to take by force. This was certainly by the Nuremberg standard complicity in aggression." As a far more serious case of such complicity he further gives the settlement of the "Polish question" achieved at Yalta. There, although fully informed of the fact that an undeclared war was being waged by Russia against Poland on Polish soil, President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill agreed to withdraw their *de jure* recognition from the Polish government in London and to transfer it to the Lublin Committee as Stalin demanded.

One chapter in the book deals with "Forced labour in Soviet Russia", another with "The Red Army purge in

1937", and a third with the "Death of Maxim Gorki". The only one not strictly connected with Communism, either Russian or Chinese, is on "Some aspects of Gaullisme" where quotation is given of a directive issued to units of the 'maquis' in October 1943 giving the 'maquisards' a blank cheque to kill whom they pleased so that it appears that "for the frightfulness which followed the liberation General de Gaulle must bear the ultimate responsibility".

In discussing "The Conveyor", that is the system by which the M.V.D. and its predecessors obtained "confessions" from thousands of innocent people, the author endorses the admiration that Alex Weissberg manifested in his "Conspiracy of silence" for an obscure Jewish tailor named Eisenberg, an anarchist and disciple of Kropotkin who endured the worst that the "conveyor" could do to him and never signed anything. After thirty-one days and nights of the "conveyor" Eisenberg had his torturers beat, and was sent to Moscow, apparently to a lunatic asylum. "As long as the earth produces lunatics of such a kind," Mr. G. F. Hudson concludes, "there is no need to follow George Orwell in despairing of the human race."

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

Georgian Leader Purged

MOSCOW, JANUARY 20.

I. Zodelava, a first Vice-Premier of the Georgian Soviet Republic, has been dismissed. His successor is Mitrofan Kuchava.—British United Press.

An American Libertarian Organisation?

AT a gathering of about 60 persons of libertarian thought, in a restaurant in University Place, New York, the foundation was laid for what is hoped will become a strong movement for education and the spreading of libertarian thought in America.

The occasion was a dinner tendered by the Libertarian Book Club, Inc., on Friday, January 8th, to celebrate the publication of Voline's book *Nineteen Seventeen—The Russian Revolution Betrayed*. The group consisted of intimate individuals, of the same ideology. This factor gave the evening a character of unity and enthusiasm.

The speakers, members of the Book Club, described the importance of Voline's book, and the hardships the group had suffered to bring about its publication.

It was also at this evening that a start was made to create and build a strong organization of at least 1,000 members. It was decided that with such a membership it will be possible to establish a Libertarian Book Shop, and in due time to open a centre where all libertarian activities, such as lectures, symposiums and public meetings may be held.

Of course, this is a long range plan, but a start had to be made, and we made that start at this dinner.

Annual membership in the Libertarian Book Club is two (\$2) dollars. A number of those present subscribed that evening. The organization will soon mail out an appeal for membership. Those who wish to join this organization may do so by sending dues for one year to the

LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB, INC.,

Box 842, General Post Office,
New York 1, N.Y.

New York, Jan. 11. JOSEPH SPIVAK.

[Publication of this announcement does not in any way imply that the Freedom Group has committed itself to support the projected "strong organization". We would of course first need to see a copy of the "Aims and Principles" of such an organization before expressing ourselves.

But our experience in publishing full-scale works has made it quite clear to us that there is a need for a Libertarian Book Club which guarantees that a certain number of copies of a book have been ordered before publication. The present high costs of production coupled with the conspiracy of silence among the professional reviewers so far as our literature is concerned, making the task of reaching the interested public a slow one, involves the publishing group in a financial risk which they are rarely in a position to face alone. To use as an example the Voline volume, in which the Freedom Press' financial commitment has been considerably reduced by the fact

that the Libertarian Book Club has sustained the initial outlay. Yet our financial risk is in the region of £200 and so far the advance orders received from our readers at the reduced price of 10/6 are for less than TEN copies! Such a response from those who should be most interested is, to put it mildly, disappointing. But it must also have the effect of discouraging us from attempting to publish any major works in the future unless we have some guarantee of greater interest from the not inconsiderable circle of our readers—EDITORS].

The Social Contract

Continued from p. 2

not, as we see to-day, on the tyranny and usurpation of the State, on conditions of class antagonism, exploitation and political supremacy. Anarchy, therefore, is the condition of the social contract, which implies the utter negation of all assumed and usurped authority, all political government, all man-made, that is to say tyrant or class-made laws.

"To be governed is to have every deed of ours noted, registered, reviewed, docketed, measured, filed, assessed, guaranteed, licensed, authorised, recommended, prohibited, checked, reformed, redressed, corrected; under pretence of public policy, to be taxed, dragooned, imprisoned, exploited, cajoled, forced, cheated, robbed; at the least sign of resistance or complaint to be repressed, convicted, garrotted, imprisoned, shot, slaughtered, judged, condemned, deported, sacrificed, sold, betrayed, and finally mocked, flout-

stress and distress caused them to seek medical relief: there must be many more whose unhappiness did not reflect itself in functional illness, or whose own awareness told them the nature of their trouble without their going to the doctor.

The stress illnesses are the result of life situations which do not make for happiness and their study reveals a thousand ways in which present day life frustrates human beings. To recognize the extent of this daily defeat of happiness should be the starting point of an attempt to make the human environment in line with life aspirations. But to set one's hand to this task requires the willingness to see the human situation whole and to range oneself wholeheartedly on the side of life-enhancing forces. Such concepts require to be perceived and felt. Ultimately they require the abandonment of the niggling methods of statistics and percentages and measurement, in favour of warmth and sympathy, solidarity and wisdom.

ed, outraged and dishonoured."—Pierre Jean Proudhon.

★
TO-DAY men sacrifice liberty and life to the phantom of the State with the same devotion as once to the fallen gods of a vanished time. Rudolf Rocker* maintains that "Rousseau was one of the inventors of that new abstract State idea arising in Europe after the fetish worship of the State which found its expression in the personal and absolute monarch had reached its end." It is a natural impossibility for any man to make a binding contract, that shall invest others with any right of arbitrary, irresponsible dominion over him. "Equal rights under the law", is a misnomer, since the only function of the statute law is the creation of privileges and inequalities. The State smothers every feeling of independence at its birth. According to Rousseau, whatever of private freedom the individual possesses he has, so to speak, as a loan from the State, which can at any time be renounced as void and withdrawn. It would be no less insane to praise Hitler or Stalin as apostles of freedom than to praise Jean Jacques Rousseau as one. His conception of freedom was the freedom of the State-power's strait-jacket. "An 'ideal State', however, such as Rousseau strove to achieve, would never make men free, even if they enjoyed the largest possible degree of equality of economic conditions. One creates no freedom by seeking to take from man his natural characteristics and to replace these by foreign ones in order that he may function as the automaton of the common will."—Rudolf Rocker.*

Government, resting ultimately on the right of the majority to rule, is consequently, both in theory and practice the denial of the rights of the individual. Anarchy restores to man a consciousness of his value. Rousseau desired to take this from him forever; *The Social Contract* is one of the most loathsome productions of the bourgeois mind.

DOUGLAS MUIR MACTAGGART.

*In *Nationalism & Culture* (Freedom Press).

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