

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

I seriously believe that the Storm of Socialism will roar and pass, and leave our old oligarchy standing

G. K. CHESTERTON
(Daily News 1913)

CYPRUS: WANTED - QUISLINGS

IT is perfectly clear that the British Government just does not know how to solve the Cyprus crisis. And indeed within the framework of the needs of the British Empire, there does not seem to be a satisfactory solution.

The people of Cyprus—the Greek-speaking majority that is—want, rightly or wrongly, to be united with Greece. They have wanted this for a long long time but the struggle for *Enosis* did not reach any intensity until the British moved from the Suez Canal Zone and made Cyprus their main base in the Eastern Mediterranean.

This was a serious enough move to inflame the Cypriots. Now their island was an atomic bomber base and an atom-bomb target. Now, separation from British domination was not merely a matter of national pride, but of physical survival.

With their desire to be free from British domination we wholeheartedly sympathise. But we cannot see how passing under the domination of the government in Athens is going to alter their situation. The defence of Greece and the Greek islands will still be largely a British concern as it was during the war and the civil war that followed.

However, be that as it may, the Cypriots want the British out—or at least to have self-determination so that they can have a say in the terms on which the British remain.

Starting off by a blunt refusal to even consider the matter, the British

have now been persuaded, by stones and bombs, to make a vague offer of self-determination at some unspecified time in the future. Archbishop Makarios, spokesman for the *Enosis* movement, wanted something more definite, the British refused to yield further, deadlock ensued, and now the Governor, Sir John Harding, has had Makarios deported.

This stupid act has been greeted by the wild men of the Government back benches as a bold, strong move. Just what is needed, they say, to show the world that Britain will stand no nonsense.

They do not seem to realise that to make a martyr of Makarios is to give him added glory in the eyes of his followers and at the same time that the Government's action is an implied admission of defeat on their part except for the continued use of force.

In deporting the Archbishop the British have virtually admitted that they can now do nothing but bludgeon Cyprus into submission—unless they can find stooges among the Cypriots to deal with.

In the House of Commons last Monday, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, said that when law and order had been restored in Cyprus (by tank and bullet), the people would have freedom to think and speak for themselves! And that then, 'people who would hesitate to come forward as leaders when they might be branded as

traitors would be prepared to do so.'

In other words, British occupation of Cyprus can only be peacefully maintained by crushing the people by force, and by the use of such Cypriots as would be regarded by their fellows as traitors.

When occupied Europe threw up its Quislings and collaborators under the Nazis, the British Government approved of 'patriots' dealing with them without compunction. Now the jackboot is on the other foot. Britain wants the Quislings, the collaborators, the traitors, in occupied Cyprus.

Anarchists expect nothing more from governments but this disgusting hypocrisy. It is for those who support government to search their consciences and ask themselves whether what is done in their name meets with their approval. And if not—what do they expect from governments?

REFLECTIONS ON GLUBB, MAKARIOS AND DOUBLE-THINK

THE deportation of Archbishop Makarios, and the reactions in Government circles and the Press in this country to the dismissal of Glubb Pasha are to us less important politically than they are revealing of a bad attack of double-think, as well as of an attitude which persists even to this day in a country which once ruled the world but which, we are glad to say, shows every sign of taking its place in the not distant future as an equal with other nations.

In an interview with the special representative of the *Sunday Times*, King Hussein of Jordan claimed that his action had nothing to do with his friendly relations with Britain, and emphasised this by assuring them that he would continue to allow them to pour money into his country for maintaining his army,

and would certainly not seek financial assistance from any source "in replacement". In the game of power politics this is a very real proof of friendship! But Glubb had to go for personal reasons, and if we are to believe the king's reasons for his hasty departure—that it was done both in the national interest and from considerations for the general's safety—one concludes that Glubb was not serving the national interest (might he have been taking his orders from London instead of from Amman?) and that he was not particularly liked by a number of people in Jordan.

Archbishop Makarios also departed in a hurry. He was in fact about to board a plane for Athens, and hardly had he time to say "Harding" than he was whisked off in another plane in the opposite direction—destination the Seychelles Islands, where the Governor's country house, until now called *Sans Souci*, will be his place of detention. The Archbishop's crime is that by his seditious and pro-terrorist activities he has encouraged unrest in Cyprus and, in the Governor's words, his "example and influence is too detrimental to public safety and public order, and that his continued presence in the island can no longer be tolerated".

★
GLUBB has obviously been Britain's man for the past 25 years or so and was accepted by Jordan as such. A change of circumstances, new men at the top both in government and the army, has created the situation where his presence is considered contrary to the "national interest" and objected to

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Hanging Debate Disclosures of Secret Instructions

THE disclosures in the House of Lords last Thursday on confidential instructions issued to prison governors concerning their conduct at executions can only be described as a last ditch attempt to influence opinion on the eve of the second reading of Mr. Silverman's Death Penalty Bill. (As we go to press, the Commons has voted 286—262 in support of the Bill). The disclosures however, have boomeranged, and the Home Office will have a job explaining away why the full text of instructions to prison governors dated 10th January, 1925 has not been made public knowledge until now.

Viscount Waverley, drawing attention to the series of articles by Arthur Koestler, "Behind the Bulletins", in the *Observer*, asked in the House of Lords if the Government had any statement to make.

In reply Lord Mancroft, Under-Secretary, Home Office, replied that Mr. Koestler's quotations which had appeared in the *Observer* of March 4th had given an entirely misleading impression of the "sense and intention" of the instructions to prison governors, by omitting to quote the full text. It has since been disclosed that the full text has hitherto been on the secret list and in spite of requests from the *Observer* for the text of the instructions, since it had been the subject of attack, the Home Office refused to give it to them.

Koestler quoted from the available official documents the following:—

No details as to any execution should be given to anyone but the coroner. The reply to any inquiry at the inquest as to the manner in which an execution has been carried out should be confined to as few words as possible, e.g. "It was carried out expeditiously and there was no hitch".

Lord Mancroft then went in to say, in the full knowledge that the final sentences had never been divulged before his speech, that the passage should have read:—

"It was carried out expeditiously and there was no hitch", or as the case may be. *If there has been any hitch or unusual event the fact, must of course, be stated, and a full explanation given.*

Mr. Koestler's further quotation Lord Mancroft charged, 'omitted' the final sentence:—

No record should be taken as to the number of seconds, etc., and if pressed for details of this kind the Governor should say he is not able to give them, as he did not time the proceedings, but "a very short interval elapsed", or some general expression to the like effect may be used.

The Home Secretary states that the sentence which should have been added, and which again has never been disclosed, should read:—

If there has been any undue delay it must be so stated and an explanation given.

It seems clear to us that the reasons why the Home Office has never made public the above clauses is because it is in effect an admission that a 'hitch' or 'undue delay' in the hanging of a human being is possible, when the official arguments in favour of retention have always stressed the instantaneous technique of the rope.

Regarding the case of Edith Thompson which Koestler dealt

with in one of his articles, and in which he quoted the evidence of two prison warders as having made a statement to Beverley Baxter that she had 'disintegrated as a human creature on her way to the gallows', the Home Secretary denied the validity of this, and reminded Lord Waverley that the only two officers who had been present at the execution had written to him denying that anything unusual had taken place. It is pointed out by Koestler that there was never any official denial after Beverley Baxter had made his speech in the Commons in 1948 describing the horrors of the Thompson hanging.

It is further pointed out that Lord Mancroft gives the impression that the 'legend' rests on Baxter's statement only. But the evidence published by the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment in 1949 clearly states the profound effect on those who had witnessed the hanging. In the words of the Rev. S. R. Glanville Murray, the prison chaplain, who retired after the execution, "No-one can leave the slaughter-shed without a deep sense of humiliation, horror and shame". In his evidence before the Select Committee in 1930 he told of 'officers suffering in health and of the executioner breaking down when the thing was over'.

It seems to us that reasonable people will see through these attempts to discredit those in favour of abolishing the death penalty. It is yet another pointer to the contempt in which governments hold their 'subjects' that evidence for hanging, carried out in their name, can be held in secret until the authorities think fit to disclose it.

DESEGREGATION IN U.S.

A NEW move is afoot in Congress with powerful backing to "assert the constitutional power of a state legislature to defy the decisions of the Supreme Court" on desegregation in the Southern States. Eighteen Democratic senators and 77 members of the House of Representatives have united in the joint sponsorship of a statement defending the South's right to continue segregation and denouncing the Supreme Court in terms of "unmeasured and provocative severity". Max Freedman writing from Washington in the *Manchester Guardian* (Mar. 12th) says that:

"For weeks there have been meetings in Senator George's office, attended by Southern senators, to ponder the challenge to the South presented by the issue of segregation. They knew that several Southern states had invoked the ancient watchword Calhoun to assert the constitutional power of a state legislature to defy the decisions of the Supreme Court. With anxiety but without surprise they watched the advocates of "white supremacy" become steadily more audacious.

"At once, and perhaps beyond recall, this declaration has changed the terms of the debate. Hitherto it had been possible to hope that the racial extremists in the South would be isolated and would prove powerless to affect the ultimate decision. That hope has now been confounded instead of being drawn into the paths of moderation by the leaders of Congress, the extremists have captured the Congressional leaders and forced them to become their allies. That is the meaning of what has happened."

It is argued that the Negro leaders by seeking quick solutions to the problem, if carried too far, would drive "Southern moderates into reluctant yet inevitable partnership with the champions of segregation". It is doubtful whether it is the methods adopted by the Negroes to establish their rights which will influence the "moderates", but the growing realisation of the strength of the Negro organisations, and their threat to white supremacy. What has happened is that:

"fear spread in the South until it festered into a malignant certainty that the Negroes would try to force a decision by using their voting strength in this election year.

"After weeks of anxious assessment, the Southern leaders in Congress

finally decided that the forces of outraged protest against desegregation were too strong to resist. Instead they placed themselves at the head of the South's defiance."

As we pointed out last week political and economic considerations are far more important than the moral issues involved. The Republicans are using the civil rights issue to divide and discredit the Democrats who, mindful of the threat to their power must unite to defend their interests.

TUSCALOOSA IN OXFORD

IT is not only among the bushmen of Alabama that one finds prejudices and fears clouding the mental processes.

At Oxford a colour-bar row has been sparked off by the inability of one student to accept the full implications of integration.

Mr. Cedric Gunnery, 21-year-old Etonian and formerly an officer in the Scots Guards (at 20!), has resigned from the Oxford Union because a Jamaican, Mr. Roy Diskon, has been elected Union president. It appears that several South African students were also going to resign.

Mr. Gunnery, however, is likely to find himself without much support from the student bodies in general. Already he has had his nomination for office in the Blue Ribbon Club (a Conservative 'ginger' group) withdrawn by the club president, Mr. Michael Rich.

Mr. Rich said: "I asked him to stand down because I did not think it fitting that as a committee member of the Blue Ribbon Club he should be in a position to vet potential members."

But now Mr. Rich has been criticized on the grounds that he has met intolerance with intolerance, in *Isis*, the leading Oxford undergraduate magazine.

We, however, think that Mr. Rich was quite right. The only way in which real social harm can come from any individual's intolerance is if they can come into any position of authority or influence. With no power, intolerance is a pathetic thing.

We have pointed out that much colour

prejudice is motivated by sexual fears and jealousies, a view shared by many social psychologists.* In the case under discussion there can be no doubt that this is the most important factor in Mr. Gunnery's prejudice, for here is what he says:

"One has to be as tolerant as possible at Oxford, but the line must be drawn somewhere.

"My protest is not against the appointment of Mr. Dickson personally. I feel that where you have intermingling of races, sooner or later you have intermarrying, and that is what I am basically opposed to."

It is interesting to note this condescending attitude to tolerance—up to a point. We can just 'tolerate' people with different coloured skins as long as they don't come too close. As long as they stay in the ranks and recognise the innate superiority of old Etonians and Guards officers we can bear it—but when they begin to take office themselves in our institutions—that's going too far.

For when they do that, they come in contact with our womenfolk—might even meet our sisters, dammit! And women are such funny little things a chap just doesn't know how they are going to act—not even when they are of one's own class. Why they might even grow to like these coloured chaps and invite them to one's home.

One must protect the Mater and Pater, you know. One must draw the line somewhere.

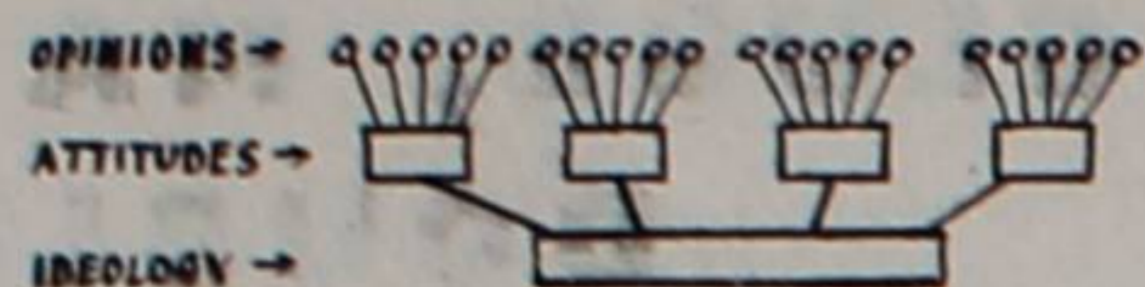
*SEE UNESCO booklets on Race—*The Roots of Prejudice*, etc.

THE ROOTS OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

THE Nazi revolution in Germany in the 1930's focussed the attention of psychologists on the question of the psychological basis of political ideologies, in a way that was different from all past studies of political attitudes. Here was a cultured and highly advanced nation adopting as norms of conduct the most remarkable barbaric and irrational practices. The ideology of Nazism itself seemed to spring from an advanced personality disorder, and yet it became the accepted code of "right thinking" people all over Germany. Pioneer studies such as those of Wilhelm Reich and Erich Fromm attempted to interpret the Nazi phenomenon in terms of psychoanalytic concept and their work was to have important repercussions on the future of the study of personality.

It is the purpose of this present study to review just what various psychological theories can contribute to an understanding of political ideologies. Why do certain individuals embrace political ideologies so strongly that they are ready to give up their whole lives to the furtherance of political aims and to sacrifice the more ordinary human values to the demands of these ideologies? Why does a man become a Socialist, a Fascist, an Anarchist, a Conservative, a Communist or a Liberal? One cannot strictly compare these politico-social ideologies with the different religious ideologies as far as origins are concerned, for a man's religion is almost always determined by what he was taught as a child in the family and at school. The religious convert is a comparatively rare bird, whereas the adoption of a politico-social orientation different from that of one's family background is by no means a rare occurrence. If therefore, we can begin to understand the reasons why people adopt the different ideologies they do, we will be on the way to understanding the true meaning of these ideologies in the forms of society which we know. It is, I suggest, one of the main, though unconscious, functions of all political parties to screen and render unintelligible to their supporters what functions their ideologies actually serve in the society in question.

It is important to get clear just what is meant by an ideology. By the interaction of our subjective emotional feelings with objectively-guided reasoning, we form opinions about all manner of things in the world we live in. These opinions do not exist in *vacuo* but are related to one another: a whole nexus of opinions which are more or less permanently held become structured into an attitude towards a certain subject. The various attitudes of a person are likewise inter-related and become structured into ideologies. We may regard the relationship thus:—



It was with some such conception that Adorno and associated psychologists began to investigate the phenomenon of Fascism in the United States towards the end of the war against Germany. The Adorno team were predominantly Jewish and were reacting to the shocking experience of the Nazi anti-Jewish terror. They suggested, not unreasonably, that the Fascist ideology might in certain circumstances flourish in the United States, with all the accompanying persecution of minorities and glorification of unreason and violence. Their investigation, therefore, was by no means of purely academic interest.

Adorno *et alia** started by investigating the attitude of anti-semitism as a thing in itself, in order to see how it was related to other attitudes of a politico-social nature. They constructed an "anti-semitic scale" as an instrument by which a person's degree of anti-semitism could be measured. It is worthwhile describing this instrument in some detail, as it forms the prototype of all such instruments for measuring attitudes of a wide variety. The subject who is being tested is presented with a long list of statements concerning, in this case, Jews. Statements of a hostile character such as "Jews have far too much power in the community", "It is wrong for Jews and Gentiles to intermarry", "Most hotels

*Adorno et alia. *The Authoritarian Personality*. Harper Bros., New York, 1950.

should deny admittance to Jews as a general rule", make up a battery of about fifty items and the subject is asked to indicate his degree of agreement or disagreement with them by putting against them numerals of the range +3, +2, +1, -1, -2, -3. The total plusses and minuses count against each other, and the subject can then be given a definite "score" on the Anti-semitism Scale. Similar scales were devised to measure *Ethnocentrism* (hostility towards what people conceive to be racial groups different from their own), and *Politico-Economic-Conservatism*. It was found that certain opinions which had no obvious logical connection tended to be held by the same people e.g. those who thought that Jews were all dangerous power-seekers, also thought, very often, that Negroes were by nature dirty and lazy, and that private property was sacrosanct and that war was inherent in human nature. These separate opinions, in fact, tend to cluster together in attitudes which are related, and the related attitudes are organized in people's personality makeup to form definite ideologies.

In applying the *Politico-Economic-Conservatism* scale Adorno opposed an extreme of Conservatism to an extreme of Liberalism. Here it must be remembered that 'Liberalism' in the U.S.A. does not mean what it does in Britain; it embraces Radical and Socialist thought too. Here a weakness in the method, and in the social and political assumptions of this team of psychologists, became apparent. They had constructed a simple Right-Left scale to measure politico-social attitudes; to some extent the Right (Conservative) scored more highly on anti-semitism and ethnocentrism than the Left (Liberal), but on making a more detailed analysis of the data obtained the relationship was seen to be more complex. Certain working-class groups on the Left scored quite highly on anti-semitism and ethnocentrism. Adorno then evolved the hypothesis that there were two sorts of Conservatism (and two sorts of Liberalism) in psychological terms: true Conservatism and pseudo-Conservatism. The true Conservative successfully identifies himself with traditional values and authority and has no strongly-marked fear of or wish to persecute minority

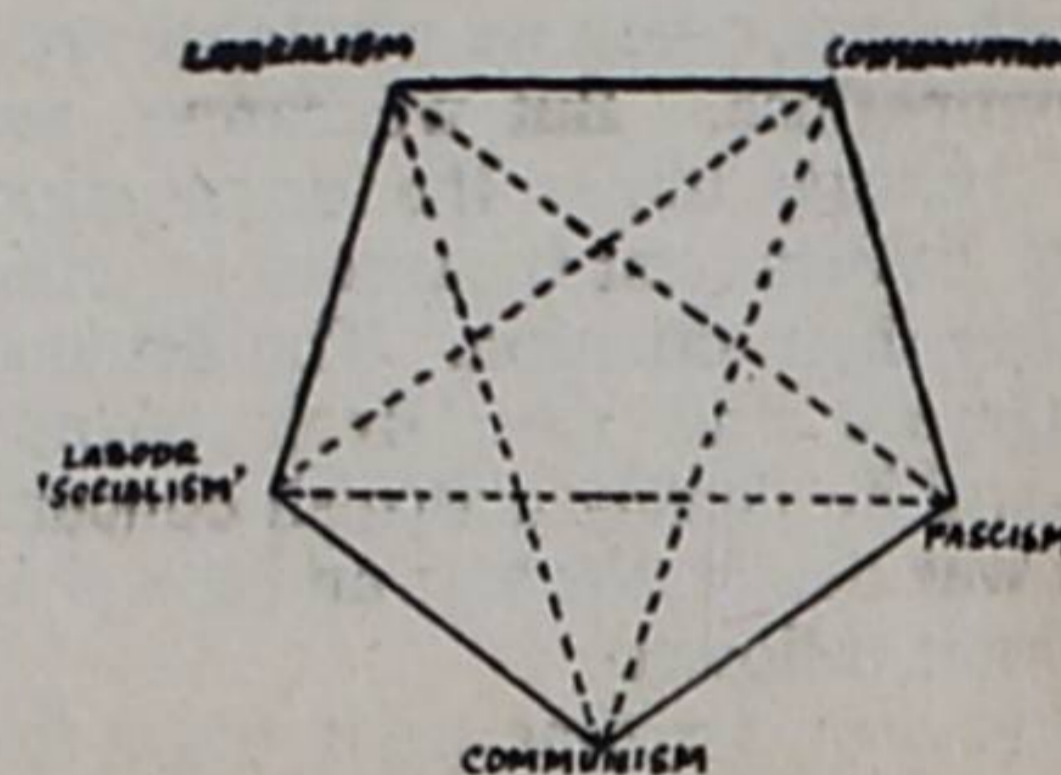
groups. He is self-satisfied and takes the *status quo* for granted. The pseudo-Conservative on the other hand, does not really support the Conservative tradition; he is in awe of authority yet at the same time in rebellion against it. He would use political power in an authoritarian manner to smash many of the Conservative traditions. It is the pseudo-Conservative who is strongly prejudiced against minority groups, and in his own estimation of these groups he projects on to them all the unpleasant and aggressive impulses which he has to bottle up to some degree in himself. We see therefore that political parties and groups draw their membership and allegiance from heterogeneous groups of people who do not in fact all want the same thing, and the assumption that they do because they all vote on the same ticket, is part of the fallacy underlying democratic representation.

Adorno later constructed a scale which was intended to measure this pseudo-Conservative ideology. He used a hypothesis that pseudo-Conservatism was in fact Fascism in all but name, but that in U.S.A. in the mid-forties people were hardly going to admit to being Fascists because of the public feeling against Germany. (Americans might be more frank now!) The scale therefore was devised on the basis of statements of opinion which did not actually mention any minority group by name or any specific political issue. It was designed to measure the actual Fascist potential of an individual's personality. It covers nine areas of the personality and comprises about 50 statements to which the subject is asked to respond by stating his degree of approval or disapproval as in the Anti-semitic Scale. Below is reproduced a sample of the nine areas which are held to characterise the Fascist personality:

1. *Conventionalism*. "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn."
2. *Authoritarian Submission*. "Nobody ever learnt anything really important except through suffering."
3. *Authoritarian Aggression*. "Most of our social problems could be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked and feeble-minded people."

4. *Anti-Intraception*. "Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private."
5. *Superstition and Stereotypy*. "Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things."
6. *Power and Toughness*. "An insult to our honour should always be punished."
7. *Destructiveness and Cynicism*. "Human nature being what it is there will always be war and conflict."
8. *Projectivity*. "Most people don't realise how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places."
9. *Sex*. "Sex crimes such as rape and attacks on children deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse."

Although this scale devised by Adorno is said to measure a person's degree of Fascism (the Fascist will respond to the statements largely by putting *plus* numerals and obtain a high score) he and his team were by no means clear as to what they mean by Fascism. The only definition which they gave was: "*Fascism represents the most extreme right-wing political and economic structure and ideology*." Such a definition can hardly be satisfactory for more sophisticated students of ideology, such as the readers of FREEDOM. Its weakness lies in the concept of ideology lying along a unidimensional scale from Left to Right. It would tentatively suggest that the relationship of ideologies to one another, at least in so far as they exist in Britain, can be better represented in a circular form than a linear form. As far as the parties have crystallized out in Britain the circle becomes something of the nature of a pentagon.



On this figure traditional ideas as to "right" and "left" are modified. The position of each ideology is determined by its relationship with the other ideologies.

Each ideology has two "opposites", thus Conservatism is opposed by both Labour "Socialism" and Communism, but has affinities with liberalism on the left and Fascism on the right. Communism is the antithesis of both Liberalism and Conservatism, yet has affinities with both Labour "Socialism" and Fascism, which lie either side of it. The dotted lines may be regarded as lines of antithesis.

Why Anarchism does not fit on to this figure at all will become plainer later on.

(To be continued)

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'The Freest Society on Earth'

(Continued from last issue)

IF a worker who is already serving a sentence for willful absence commits another offence of the same nature, the punishment is the same as for the first offence; up to 25 per cent. wage cut for up to six months. But if he commits a third while serving a sentence for the second, it counts as Willful Dereliction, and is punishable accordingly.¹⁰

The subject of Willful Dereliction brings us to another quotation from the BSFS booklet on *Soviet Trade Unions*:

In this connection it has been asserted that it is "virtually impossible" for a worker to leave his factory for another, without consent of the management. The basis of this falsehood (for it is one) is the regulations adopted in 1940 to prevent a small percentage—3 to 4 per cent.—of idlers and irresponsibles from taking advantage of a permanent shortage and constantly disorganising socially-owned industry, by flitting from job to job to the detriment of their fellow-workers.¹¹

Thanks are tendered to the BSFS for informing us, as Kulski does not, that the law of Willful Dereliction prevents as high a proportion of workers as one in thirty from doing what they would wish to do. In the words of a Ministry of Justice publication:

Willful dereliction of work by an official or a worker consists in the termination of one's work and in abandoning one's job without the permission of the management of the enterprise or office. It is immaterial whether the guilty person has informed the management in advance but not received the required permission or whether he has left his job willfully without informing the management at all. In other words, willful dereliction of work consists in a unilateral i.e. without the consent of the management, termination of labour contract by a worker or official.¹²

We have seen that Willful Dereliction can also be found in cases of persistent Willful Absence. It can also be found in the case of a person who systematically violates the Rules in an attempt to get dismissed, and in the cases of certain

people who are assigned to jobs and don't report to them.¹³

The penalty for Willful Dereliction, in the case of a standard worker, is two to four months imprisonment.¹⁴

And if the manager of an enterprise does not report a case of Willful Dereliction, or even of Willful Absence, within one day of the offence, he also is criminally responsible, and may under the Soviet criminal code get three years in gaol for abusing his official powers.¹⁵

One further point from the Edict of June 26th, 1940 before we leave it. The make-up of a Soviet People's Court consists of one professional judge and two "People's Assessor" or elected part-time judges, except only in the trial of Willful Absence and Willful Dereliction, where the elected judges are left out, and the professional judge works alone.¹⁶

(The BSFS booklet adds, immediately after the passage quoted from it above:

But the anti-Soviet propagandists never mention that (i) a number of cases are specified by law, covering all normal eventualities (particularly lack of a suitable job) when the management is obliged to give the worker his discharge if he requires it; and that (ii) he must be released in any case if the district committee of his union supports him.¹⁷

BSFS, please notice in any subsequent edition of the booklet that these facts are mentioned here).

It will have been observed that Rule 10 of the *Standard Rules* requires the worker, on pain of managerial punishment, "to fulfill the norms of output". Until 1930 these "norms" were based on the average achievements of workers in one place, somewhat as piece rates are decided elsewhere. But:

The new leadership of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions repudiated this reactionary attitude and recommended, in 1931, the establishment of norms on the basis of the results achieved by shock workers.¹⁸

However, the BSFS booklet assures us that workers do not regard Stakhanovites as pace makers.¹⁹ It does not go into whether the workers regard mana-

gers as hard drivers (except for quoting the report of a delegation in 1925)²⁰; but if the managers were a bit insistent on hard work, it would not be surprising, since:

The remuneration of the economic leaders and of the engineering-technical employees cannot be built up on a direct account of their personal activities, isolated from the activity of the whole complex. The general results of the work of a given entity (an

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Letter from Santiago

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strike and its success opened up revolutionary vistas: the parties and the government were caught napping; but there were no cadres of syndicalist militants strong enough and capable of initiative in a position to profit from the demonstration of strength by making a thorough reform of the social structure.

On January 9 of this year the CUT gave the order for a new general strike—a decision that this time was taken unanimously, whereas the decision for an unlimited general strike on July 7, 1955, had been taken only by the Popular Socialists and the Revolutionary Syndicalists. But the unanimous vote meant that the parties' representatives had their plan already prepared. Having gone over to the opposition, these political sects reckoned that the general strike would allow them to liquidate the government and that the CUT would give the *coup de grâce*. Ibanez realized the danger: he got one jump ahead of events, ordering the political police to make preventive arrests, and mobilizing 30,000 troops and posting them in strategic positions in the capital. The opposition parties recoiled, following the ostrich's policy, and their leaders sought refuge inside the precincts of Parliament. While as-

serting that the decision for the strike was solely the responsibility of the CUT, they announced that they would defend those persecuted and imprisoned. In fact they were counting on a new July 7, which would have allowed them to seize power. History did not repeat itself.

In spite of numerous arrests the strike was extensive in the province of Santiago, where 130,000 workers came out. Bearing in mind the show of military force and the Communist order not to sacrifice the cadres, we can be certain that only the syndicalist elements acted on the signal to strike.

The lesson to be drawn from this adventure is that the work of education and the effort of organization are indispensable if the syndicalists want to lead the labour movement into real fights. The MSR has declared that it wants to be more deeply rooted in the working class and create a revolutionary mystique. It is to be foreseen that the Communists will do their utmost to split up the movement and discourage it, for they are not at all anxious that the problems of Latin America should be solved. They want them to remain open so as to be able to intrigue unremittently for the greatest benefit to Soviet diplomacy.

FRANCISCO PAUNER SOSPEDRA.

GLUBB, MAKARIOS AND DOUBLE-THINK

Continued from p. 1

by the new military caste. The case of Makarios is not all that different. Governor Harding in his statement points out that the Archbishop's association "with the elements out of which E.O.K.A. [the terrorist organisation] has emerged dates back to 1951". But so long as the British thought they might use Makarios (the Governor does not, of course, put it so bluntly!) they closed an eye to his record (just as law-abiding governments released safe-breakers from jail in the last war to employ them to train their secret agents, and have since sent most of them back to prison for breaking the law). When the negotiations broke down recently and the British government declared that they would do no more door opening, Makarios did not respond in the way expected of him. As he appeared to have no intention of playing the game he, to quote the Governor,

"has finally removed any compunction the Governor may have felt against dealing with him, not as a responsible political leader . . . but in that character which he has himself chosen to prefer, the leader of a political campaign which relies on the use of ruthless violence and terrorism".

All other things being equal: Harding is to Makarios what Hussein is to Glubb. Either Harding and Hussein are right or Makarios and Glubb are victims. But the Government and a large section of the Press would have the public believe that Harding and Glubb are right and Hussein and Makarios are scalliwags.

★

BUT all things are not equal! Glubb was employed by Jordan in a military capacity. Britain subsidised Jordan's army, it is true, but not for the purpose of finding a job for Glubb and his fifteen fellow Britishers but to establish a military foothold in the Middle East which oozes oil from all its pores, which supplies a fifth of the world's present consumption—and most of Britain's—and has hidden stores estimated at two-thirds of the world's reserves. For this reason the sighs of relief in London at the news that Hussein would not join the "anti-West Arab States" and would keep his bank account open in Britain, have quickly silenced the hysteria and purple indignation with which the news of Glubb's dismissal was received in Whitehall and Fleet Street.

The government may even have regretted its hasty action in obtaining a knighthood by special licence for General Glubb (incidentally times are changing. Palmerston did much more for a much smaller offence to British pride and dignity) Knighthoods we are told were given for services rendered to one's country. But Glubb has been officially serving a sovereign State, a member of the United Nations: Jordan. He is simply a soldier of fortune. Is this a precedent for knighting British officers who may be serving in the French Foreign Legion or advising Haile Selassie in Abyssinia? Or is it just a first-class blunder, an admission that Hussein was right in sacking Glubb since he was serving the wrong master? Surely if he had been serving the right master it should have been for Hussein to shower the honours on Glubb. Instead of which he gave him his cards and an air ticket to Cyprus, where, it is to be regretted, he did not stay long enough to meet Makarios at least to recount his experience, and exchange notes, not

LETTER FROM SANTIAGO CHILE'S SOCIAL PANORAMA

SANTIAGO, February, 1956.
SINCE February, 1953, in Chile there has been only a single trade-union organization, bringing together the whole of the workers: the CUT (Central Unica de los Trabajadores de Chile). This confederation came into being through a decision of a constitutive congress held at Santiago. In the opinion of militant Chilean workers its sittings have assumed an importance never before attained in Latin America, through the number of delegates present, the influx of representatives of trade-union organizations in neighbouring countries, the importance of the declaration of principles that was adopted, and the scope of the programme of struggle that was unanimously approved. All sections of labour were revealed there, including the anarchists of the Chilean FAI and the anarcho-syndicalist nuclei, who developed such intense activity before and during the congress that they appeared to be a

force at least equal to that of the Communists and the various political parties.

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force at least equal to that of the Communists and the various political parties.

FOOTNOTE TO "MOTOR CAR TESTS" EDITORIAL

A thought-compelling revelation that, wasn't it, in the case of the man convicted at Birmingham of stealing from Austin's car spare parts the retail value of which was stated to be £800? It was agreed eventually that the real cost value was only £200. That the retail price was based on cost plus 300 per cent. profit.

If that is the general scale of profits, no wonder the car business is running into trouble.

(Sunday Express).

In my opinion this congress should be considered as the result of two phenomena:

(1) The Popular Front, which had triumphed in 1938 thanks to the efforts of the Stalinists, had two heads—one turned towards Moscow and the other towards Washington. When the internal struggles for power became more constricted the pro-American tendency prevailed, and the victors strove to crush their temporary allies. Repressive laws were passed, and a deportation camp was set up at Pisagua. The Communists were persecuted and isolated. But inflation and a rise in the cost of living provoked violent discontent among the population and gave the Stalinists the chance to get back on their feet—not under their own name but on committees set up to fight against speculative price increases. They used these organizations to spread their propaganda, recruit new cadres, and organise the opposition. Having financial means and being disciplined and active, they used the causes of discontent to manoeuvre the workers and small tradesmen. After five years of this work the opposition had become powerful, and it was responsible for the crushing victory of General Ibanez, a candidate for the presidency of the Republic, in 1952. This same general had governed Chile as a dictator until July 26, 1931. The

electoral campaign had brought together in support of Ibanez' candidature all that Chile had in the way of malcontents and opportunists—so much so that during the first months of the new presidency freedom was complete for all those who had lined up under the "Ibanist" banner. That is how the Communists were able to re-organize their cells, cadres, and propaganda and prepare new operation.

(2) The victory of the general gave a free boost to the Communist machine, which was restored to public life. The heterogeneous character of the Ibanists—who ranged from elements of the Nazi type to Stalinists (and even some anarchists)—was reflected in the composition of the new government. Socialists and fascists participated in it. It is easy to see what results such a policy was bound to lead to. Whereas governmental incoherence was the order of the day the Communists, in the hope of getting their hands on the labour movement, came out with the idea of a single trade-union organization open to all workers.

Their plan failed in part because some militant workers smelt the danger, but the Communists succeeded in camouflaging themselves inside the CUT, acting as members of the party only when circumstances favoured it, and speaking as rank-and-file trade unionists or workers on other occasions. The determination not to be unmasked and the fear of finding themselves

isolated once again made them direct all their energies and all their influence to the end that the constituent congress should be supported and recognized by all the trade-union forces of Latin America. By camouflaging their action ulterior manoeuvres were made easier and the non-Communist section were prevented from denouncing them.

The congress appointed a national council, which, until the national strike of July 7, 1955, was composed of 21 members: five Communists, four Popular Socialists, three Independents, two Social Christians, one Radical, and three Anarcho-syndicalists (who were about to organize a Revolutionary Syndicalist Movement, the MSR). Of the 21 councillors 15 were dependent on political parties, and it is noticeable that their behaviour, in the national council as well as in the controlling organizations of the craft and industrial federations, corresponded with the orders of their parties rather than with directives given by meetings of the rank and file. To that must be added the fact that the Chilean worker is generally legalist and politically minded. Social struggles are conducted in an atmosphere of respect for legality and the political game. The labour code circumscribes most trade-union activities, and direct action most often comes from parties where Russian, Masonic, or Church prompting is discernible.

The national strike of July 7 was general, leaving the government out of countenance and the CUT wavering. It was then that Cardinal Caro, the poet Neruda, and the Grand Master revealed themselves. The

Continued on p. 2

Comment on N.Y. Times Editorial on Kronstadt Anniversary

THOSE who say that anarchists are cynics, so far as anybody other than the workers are concerned, have got us wrong! But having for many years been assiduous readers of the press—and we cast our net wide for after-work journalists, with five dailies and dozens of weeklies and monthlies—if we are cynical at moments when some believe we should be praising, it is because our long experience of the press teaches us that when they do not run to form there must be some ulterior motive to explain their "deviation". As an example we quote an editorial from a recent issue of the *New York Times* which carried the title "Kronstadt Anniversary":

"In sorrow tinged with hope friends of freedom the world over to-day mark the thirty-fifth anniversary of the beginning of the Kronstadt Rebellion, which, though drowned in blood by Lenin and Trotsky, serves even to-day to remind us of the Russian people's love for liberty. Even now, just after the Communist oligarchs have partially admitted the falsehood of the history told to the Soviet people, it is too much to expect that they will tell the truth about Kronstadt, a flaming, if tragic, page in Russia's quest for freedom.

Kronstadt, the great naval fortress near what is now Leningrad and was formerly Petrograd, had originally been one of the early Bolshevik strongholds in 1917. In that year its sailors and workers had played a great rôle in making possible Lenin's triumph, but by 1921 deep disillusionment had set in. Starvation, resentment at the Bolsheviks' callous indifference to the workers' needs, these and similar factors had produced strikes and unrest in Petrograd. The Bolshevik answer was to put Petrograd under martial law and to lock out the strikers. Indignant at the Bolshevik oppression in Petrograd, the sailors and workers of Kronstadt demanded that the people's wants be satisfied.

The answer of Lenin and Trotsky was to declare Kronstadt a city of counter-revolution, buttressing the charge with falsehoods of the most fantastic sort. Trotsky and Kamenev ordered Kronstadt to surrender or be taken by force of arms. The rebels stood firm, the fortress was stormed, and in a sea of blood those who had fought for the Bolsheviks in 1917 were killed by the Bolsheviks. As Radio Liberation to-day reminds the Soviet people of these grim events, all of us can remember and honour the

slogan of revolutionary Kronstadt: 'Long live Free Russia of the Working People.'

We are naturally delighted by such an enlightened comment from so austere a source (which reminds us that some readers may have read the two articles on the minority movements in this country recently published in the *N.Y. Times'* London counterpart *The Times* in which a number of references are made to the anarchists).*

Now the *N.Y. Times'* piece on Kronstadt may do some good from our point of view, assuming that a number of readers will be sufficiently incited by it to probe a little more deeply into the Kronstadt revolt. But for the large majority of *N.Y. Times* readers this is a most misleading editorial. The impression they will get is that the Russian revolution was "Lenin's triumph", and that of the Bolsheviks, of which the workers of Kronstadt became disillusioned, the inference being that they had become *disillusioned with the Revolution*, and that *Free Russia* was the Russia of *Kerensky*, the Russia of the speakers on Radio Liberation. Whereas in fact Kronstadt was the voice of the authentic revolution, just as Barcelona in the "Tragic May Days" of 1937 was the authentic voice of the Spanish revolution, of workers by their gesture and sacrifice seeking to warn the workers of Russia and Spain respectively that the social revolution was being sacrificed to the politicians and to the Jacobins in their own ranks.

We have not been able to consult the files of the *N.Y. Times* for the period, but one cannot for a moment believe that it was then championing the cause of the Revolution against the dictatorship of the Bolsheviks! Why then to-day recall Kronstadt in its editorial when the remainder of its columns reek with governmentalism, authority and politics? Is it that any stick is good enough to beat the present rulers of Russia . . . even Revolution in its purest sense so long as it has failed? For obviously if Kronstadt and not Lenin and Trotsky had won the day,

*Referred to elsewhere in this issue.

America and the West would not be worrying about "Moscow agents" and "atomic secrets" but of social revolution on their doorsteps (assuming that it was not already in their bedrooms!)

NEMO.

Freedom Press and Kronstadt

We are pleased to announce that the second volume of Voline's study of the Russian revolution is now on sale with the title

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"The Unknown Revolution" is the real Russian Revolution which the professional historians ignore because it failed, and perhaps also because they themselves have an aversion for social revolutions, being much more at home with politics and the ins and outs of palace revolutions.

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'The Times' Looks Down

It is not often that the lordly *Times* appears in any way to be even aware of the existence of political or social groupings outside of the main parties.

Last week, however, two feature articles appeared in its columns ('True Red Socialists', 6th and 7th March) discussing the various organisations to the left of the Labour Party.

As was to be expected, there was a slight hint of condescension in the articles, but we are not, we feel, being conceited if we maintain that the paragraphs dealing with the anarchists showed a little more respect for our views and activities than those dealing with—for example—the Trotskyists.

The anarchists were the only ones to have the name of their paper and their address mentioned, and apart from the use of words like 'prophets', 'sects' and 'faith' (rarely heard in the Anarchist movement when discussing ourselves), and some inaccuracies in the section dealing with anarchism was an unbiased if fragmentary exposition of our views.

The *Times* Labour Correspondent writes:—

"Should the workers destroy political power or conquer it? Many of the sects are still fighting the battle that raged when Bakunin struggled with Marx for

the soul of the First International, nearly a century ago . . . The flame of Bakunin's faith, in its purest form, is guarded by the London Anarchist Group and similar small groups in Glasgow and Birmingham, Bradford and Manchester. They meet in London at the Malatesta Club (named after an Italian anarchist) in High Holborn and there is a little anarchist bookshop in Red Lion Street. Their weekly paper *FREEDOM*, is descended—with some interruptions—from the *Freedom* that Prince Kropotkin helped to found in 1886. Since they do not believe in bureaucracy or organization, they have no membership cards and no leaders, and wait patiently for the day when the workers will spontaneously arise and abolish the State. Anarchism merges into syndicalism, and there are anarcho-syndicalists in the London group (one of them published a paper called *The Syndicalist* for a time).

The articles then dealt with the various Marxist factions—ILP, SLP, SPGB, Common Wealth, World Socialist Movement, etc., saying:

"So the creation of new sects goes on and it is to be hoped that the time will never come when small groups of men will not set out to build a new society. Because they are few in numbers, opinionated, self-righteous, intellectually ruthless, and quarrelsome—as many of them are—it does not mean that they

have nothing to give the world. The socialist groups at the time of Marx and Engels were all those things. Their controversies did not prove meaningless in the end. The opposition of many of them to centralization and bureaucracy might well have a wide appeal now, if they were more united and less bigoted."

The articles concluded with another reference to the anarchists:

"In April, 1945, three anarchists were each sentenced to nine months' imprisonment for attempting to cause disaffection among members of the forces.

"Mr. Justice Birkett, passing sentence, said he was not concerned with their views, strange though they might seem to many people, but he was quite ready to believe that they were actuated by high motives in pursuing the ideals in which they believed. He expressed what is probably a fairly general attitude towards all these sects."

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THE I.W.W. & POLITICS

Comrades from Los Angeles have sent us a copy of a letter addressed to the Industrial Worker (organ of the I.W.W.) which has been ignored by that journal requesting us to publish it in *FREEDOM*. We do so, not only as a gesture of comradeship to our Los Angeles friends, but in order to associate ourselves with their dignified protest. (They will have noticed that the temporary editor, to whose editorial they object, is no longer editor). I.W.W. Executive Board, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR COMRADES,

No doubt, you still have in mind the following article by your editor C. E. Payne, article which you have approved: "What to Print":

"The Industrial Worker is in receipt of an article, or letter which I refuse to print. The article is sharply critical of religion, politics and governments. Those are matters with which the Industrial Workers of the World is in no way interested. The organization was formed, and is maintained, for the one purpose of organizing the workers of North America to take and administer the industries.

Outside that one purpose we have no reason for having an organization, and I refuse to take any other attitude. If this is not satisfactory the way is wide open to get another editor. I have been advertising for one all the time. The present General Executive Board approves that idea.

Some Communists, Anarchists and a bill-run of riff-raff, mountebanks and politicians have at times wormed their way to the I.W.W. and gummed the works, but they were uncovered and shoved aside.

C. E. PAYNE."

(10/3/1955)

Now, could it be true that the Industrial Workers of the World are "in no

way interested in religion, politics and governments?"

Could it be possible that they could not be interested in religion: in God, the Santa-Claus of the adult believers, the God whose phantom keeps millions of workers in ignorance and resignation in their wage-slavery?

Could we believe that they could not be interested in politics: the science of hypocrisy, particularly in the land where one of their humbug slogans is "In God we trust"?

It is unbelievable that they could not be interested in governments: the cunning and unscrupulous few men who make workers believe in the necessity of laws, judges, soldiers, police, jailers . . . under whose authority the I.W.W. have been the so numerous victims?

No! The criminal stupidity of men in their lust for wealth and power, in their breeding of hatred and war, could not be ignored by the best element in the labour movement of America.

Furthermore, the thinking I.W.W. could not mix the Anarchists with the riff-raffs and mountebanks; they know better than that.

Again, what about you, members of the General Executive Board, what was the matter with your brain when you supported your editor in his senile view of "What to Print"?

With you for a review of your attitude in this matter.

Los Angeles JULES SCARCEAUX.

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 ANARCHISM & LITERATURE

MAR. 25—Sam Fanaroff on
 THE DILEMMA OF THE LAYMAN

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MANKIND & PROPERTY

David Macconnell objects to my claim that primitive man lived in a "property-less, classless and warless society", but the facts are against him. If by "primitive" men we mean those not practising agriculture, but living by food-gathering or hunting, we find almost universal testimony to their peaceable and communistic nature.

The exceptions are those who have been subjected to attack or influence by Europeans or more "advanced" non-European peoples. The accounts of peaceful primitives are numerous. Here is just one of them.

"The Bakiri Indians still live in the Stone Age, without any weapons. They go practically naked. They lack brutal cannibalistic traits. A gentleness pervades their social relationships . . . And there is a sunny joyousness about their whole nature and art, sparkling with ornament and colour . . . ceilings and walls, straw mats and implements rise above the beautiful nakedness of their bodies in a veritable intoxication of art and applied arts. Festivals with dance and song extend through their lives like a chain of flowers."

("Love Life in Nature", p.643,
 WILHELM BOLSCHÉ.)

Archeological evidence suggests that the way of life of surviving primitive food-gatherers and hunters is the same as that lived by all our Stone Age ancestors. Comrade Macconnell may object to such a life as unprogressive, but he has no right to say that it never existed, which is what I understand is meant by his calling my proposition "preposterous".

I entirely agree with him in his attack on the futility of royalty-worship, but I do not see that it, or the collection of bright objects (which some birds do too), has to do with the origin of property. Savages and barbarians, usually considered to be primitives with flocks and domestic animals, are indeed brutal, but they are the hangers-on of civilisation, people who have either come originally from civilised centres or been influenced from them.

I also agree with him that we are all "sinners against nature", though I suspect his idea of what is "natural" and mine are not the same. The statement that man originally was "not even a half-wit" is utterly fantastic. Even apes and monkeys (whose social orders vary

from species to species, but are generally anarchic) are far from being half-witted. If man was a half-wit by nature he must have had less intelligence than they. In that case how could he have survived, let alone risen to the heights, or sunk to the depths, that he has?

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

London, Mar. 10.

The Freest Society on Earth

Continued
 from p. 2

enterprise, a shop, a sector) determine, therefore, their salaries.²¹

The legal position, then, of the standard worker in an ordinary Soviet enterprise, may be summarised as follows:

He is bound by law to work to the full extent of his capabilities for eight hours a day, six days a week. If his capabilities are not sufficient for him to fulfill norms set by shock workers, the manager, whose salary depends on the worker's output, may demote him to a lower-paid job. If he is more than twenty minutes late without a good excuse, his manager must prosecute, and he may get sentenced to work at his ordinary job for six months at twenty-five per cent. less wages. And if he leaves the job without the management's permission, he gets at least two months in gaol.

Of course, there are many exceptions to standard conditions. There are, for instance, the miners, who work shorter hours,²² the defence workers, who get five to eight years imprisonment, instead of two to four months, for Willful Dereliction,²³ and transport employees, for whom special provision is made in Article 59 of the Criminal Code:

An infraction of labour discipline by transport employees . . . if such infraction has entailed or might have entailed destruction of rolling stock, tracks or transport equipment (or unfortunate accidents for human beings, or unpunctual departure of trains or ships, or accumulation of empty tracks or transport equipment (or unsequences which would result in the non-execution of Governmental plans for transport . . . shall be punished with deprivation of freedom for a period of up to ten years.

In cases where such criminal acts are openly malicious, they shall be punished by the supreme measure of social defence and the confiscation of property.²⁴

(Since the reintroduction of capital punishment, "the supreme measure of social defence" means a death sentence.)

Passports and Labour Cards

In South Africa, we are told, a native living in a town is bound by law to produce on demand a number of documents such as passports and certificates of employment. The Communists, for the most part, agree with the anarchists that this constitutes a gross injustice, perpetrated by the régime against a particular class of citizen.

In the Soviet Union, there is no racial discrimination recognised by law, and every class of citizen living in a town has

to produce documents on demand.

Perhaps the most important of these documents is the passport, which has been obligatory in Moscow, Leningrad and Kharkov since 1933,²⁵ and in all other urban districts, but not, be it noted, rural districts, since 1940.²⁶

Everybody residing in a town, except children (whose names are in their parents' passports), armed forces, and people in hospital, has to have a passport. A citizen leaving one town to go to another must take his passport to the local militia in the first town to have his departure entered in it, and then to the local militia in the second town to have his arrival entered, within twenty-four hours.²⁷ One Soviet textbook makes the point that this only applies to people moving from one passport area to another, which means that the following are exempt:

those who change their address within the limits of the same locality (change of apartment) and those who have died.²⁸

When a Soviet worker takes a job, or leaves it, the dates of his employment or release are entered by the management in his passport. In essential industries, or work involving change of values, the management takes charge of the passport and issues him with a certificate which serves the same purpose.²⁹

When he is married or divorced, this is noted in his passport by the registrar.³⁰

If a person moves from a town, or some other passport area (such as a frontier region), to a rural area, he has to surrender his passport,³¹ because although no-one is allowed to remain in a town without a passport, a country-dweller is not allowed to have a passport.

Actually, there is an exception here to the general rule about passports. A peasant is allowed to stay in a town in his own region without a passport for up to five days, without being criminally responsible.³² But he cannot get a job, because managers and heads of enterprises are forbidden by law to hire a person without a passport; he cannot get lodgings, because house-owners and managers are forbidden to take in a tenant without a passport; and he can't stay in the street because militia commandants are forbidden to tolerate persons without passports in their localities. An official of whatever kind who breaks one of these prohibitions, is liable to the same penalty as the non-passport holder himself: one hundred roubles fine for the first offence³³ and six months correctional labour for the second.³⁴

There is a law permitting a person to take out a passport on payment of three

roubles to the local militia, but the documents that such a person must produce include a certificate of employment and a certificate of residence in a house!³⁵

What passports mean to town-dwellers is that their activities can be checked at will by the police. What they mean to country-dwellers is that they can't live in town or get a town job unless they sign a contract for not less than a year with the local recruiting officer for the Ministry of Labour reserves,³⁶ or are conscripted for training in a trade school.³⁷

The passport is the only document, apparently, which the Soviet citizen is required to carry with him at all times. But when he goes to get a new job he has to take his labour book and hand it into the management's keeping until he leaves.³⁸ In this respect, it is like a National Insurance card here, but only in this respect. The information it contains is:

holder's name, age, education, profession and qualifications, a record of all transfers from one enterprise or office to another with their reasons, and his rewards.³⁹

D.R.

(To be continued)

- Directive of the Supreme Court, July 7, 1941.
- B.S.F.S. *op cit.* p. 13 (the italics are their own).
- B. S. Utevsy *Ugolovnoe Pravo* 1950, pp. 231-232.
- N. G. Alexandrov, E. I. Astrakhan and others. *Zakonodatelstvo o Trude*, pp. 57-58.
- Edict of June 1940, Article 5:1.
- Soviet Criminal Code*, Article III.
- Utevsy, *op cit.* pp. 231-232.
- B.S.F.S. *op cit.* pp. 13-14.
- A. E. Pashertnik, *Pravovye Voprosy Voznagrazhdeniya za Trud Rabochikh i Sluzhashchikh*, p. 236.
- B.S.F.S. *op cit.* p. 12.
- ibid.* p. 24.
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- Edict of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet 26 Dec., 1941.
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- U. Evtikhiyev and A. V. Vlassov. *Administrativnoe Pravo SSSR* Ministry of Justice 1946 p. 218.
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