

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"In five years it may be as dangerous to praise Stalin as it was to attack him two years ago. But I should not regard this as an advance. Nothing is gained by teaching a parrot a new word."
—GEORGE ORWELL,
(in "Polemic", Sept. 1946).

The British C.P. and the New Moscow Line

STEADY ON, HARRY!

HARRY POLLITT, Secretary of the British Communist Party, has at last begun to declare himself—and thereby the party line—on the 'Down with Stalin' policy of the Kremlin's.

But it would seem that Harry is taking his time about falling completely into line. And we don't think that this is because Pollitt is loyal to the memory of his dead master. It is, most likely, because the Party here is so uninfluential and so weak that it cannot blast its way through with a new line—it has to do things more gradually.

So Harry Pollitt will now admit that Stalin made mistakes ('... the only people who do not make them are the ones who never do anything at all') but that he had tremendous achievements to his credit.

Speaking at Birmingham Town Hall last Sunday Pollitt said:

"Despite mistakes in relation to collective leadership and to the agricultural situation, I think that Stalin's contribution in developing industry, to the building of Socialism and the defeat of Hitler, will always be remembered."

Some Contribution!

Oh, they'll be remembered all right, Harry. Stalin's contribution to the defeat of Hitler, as expressed first in the German Communists' line in 1933, when they urged the German workers to support the Nazis rather than the Social Democrats ('After Hitler Our Turn'—remember, Harry?), then in Stalin's massacre in 1937 of 5,000 officers of the Red Army, then in the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 1939, then (according to reports of Khrushchev's private speech to the Party Congress) in his assessment of the German invasion of 1941 as 'indiscipline' on the part of German soldiers, because of his faith in Hitler's word—yes, Stalin's part in Hitler's downfall will certainly be remembered, but not the way you think!

In defence of Stalin's war record,

Pollitt denied that Khrushchev had said that Stalin fled when the Germans neared Moscow. He went on: "... in fact, when Hitlerite armies were only 14 miles from Moscow Stalin addressed demonstrations in the Red Square and made a speech which echoed throughout the world.

"It is being said that Stalin did not understand military matters, but both Churchill and Roosevelt went on record about his military strategy and Churchill said in the House of Commons that Stalin leading the Red Army was tearing the guts out of Hitler."

Jolly Old Pals

Of course Churchill said that. At the time Churchill and Roosevelt (both capitalist imperialist war-mongering enemies of the people) were allied with Stalin. They were all helping each other get out of the mess which their appeasement and support for the Nazis had got them in—at the cost of the lives of millions of workers in all the countries involved. In 1939 Churchill was sneering at the Russian armies who were making such a mess of things in Finland (and no wonder, since they had lost 60 per cent. of their officers two years previously!), but by 1941 they were buddies.

It would seem from his Birmingham speech that Harry Pollitt is more prepared to believe capitalist politicians than his own comrades in the international. For at the same time that he was making a half-hearted defence of his dead leader, his counterpart in East Germany was going a step further in tearing Stalin down.

Walter Ulbricht, leader of the East German Communists, has already (FREEDOM, 10/3/56) said that Stalin's writings were not among the classics of Marxism. In Berlin last week he bravely followed in Khrushchev's footsteps and published an out-and-out attack in Stalin.

What Ulbrecht Said

On Stalin's part in the war, Ulbricht is reported to have said:

'Marching Through Georgia'

Some delegates to the 20th Party Congress fainted during Khrushchev's speech attacking Stalin—

The Soviet News Agency, Tass, has announced that 15,000 Party agitators have been sent to Georgia (where Stalin was born).

BRING out the new true gospel, boys, we'll sing another song. Sing it with a spirit that will prove J. Stalin wrong.

Sing aloud with Tass: we are fifteen thousand strong, While we are marching through Georgia.

Comrades! Comrades! we bring the Jubilee! Comrades! Comrades! it's Khrushchev makes you free!

Let us sing the chorus from Tiflis to the sea, While we are marching through Georgia.

How the comrades cheered when they heard the joyful news, The delegates were fainting in the Party Congress pews, Khrushchev now has spoken: from he we take our cues

As we are marching through Georgia. Comrades! Comrades! we bring the Jubilee!

Comrades! Comrades! the Collective makes you free!

Let us sing the chorus from Tiflis to the sea, While we are marching through Georgia.

Yes and there were Party men who wept with joyful tears When they heard such blasphemy as they had not heard for years, Stalin was deconsecrated: they broke forth into cheers,

Now we are marching through Georgia. Comrades! Comrades! we bring the Jubilee!

Comrades! Comrades! The Party makes you free! Let us sing the chorus from Tiflis to the sea,

While we are marching through Georgia. Khrushchev's dashing agitprops—we'll agit to the coast

We'll spread our brand new line boys, and that's no idle boast, For the Party's right behind us in laying Stalin's ghost,

As we are marching through Georgia. Comrades! Comrades! what's Stalin mean to you?

The Party! The Party! provides the gospel true! Let us sing the chorus from Tiflis to the sea,

While we are marching through Georgia. M.G.W.

"Some comrades say that Stalin is known as the man who crushed Hitler Fascism... Hitler Fascism was defeated by the Soviet Army and the Soviet people.

"In Stalin's biography it is stated that he alone led the nation to victory. Stalin wrote that himself into his biography. "Stalin did not prepare the nation for war, although Hitler's aggression was foreseen. Stalin was warned of it from three different sources."

The last, he said, was the warning of a German deserter who crossed to the Russian lines on the night before the German offensive began.

According to Ulbricht, this German soldier—he was just an ordinary worker—told Soviet officers that the attack would begin at four o'clock the next morning. Yet this warning was disregarded, claimed Ulbricht, because Stalin chose to disbelieve it and place too much reliance in his Nazi allies."

Harry Pollitt had better be careful. If he stubbornly sticks to his defence of Stalin he may find the Trotskyists will become the official Communist Party, allied to the Cominform, while his outfit are cast into the wilderness.

Though seriously, we cannot see that happening. Pollitt and the Daily Worker are slowly moving into line. On Monday, 19/3/56, a Worker said:

"The political commentators of the capitalist Press do not seem to be able to understand that a political leader

could pursue a correct policy, promoting industrialisation at one time, and embark on a personal policy which hampered industrialisation and national defence at a later time," it says.

"These negative features developed when Stalin began to neglect collective work and to take decisions on his own—a practice which he himself had frequently condemned on previous occasions.

"It is therefore necessary to ensure that the glorification of the individual and the exercise of personal power will never again impede the healthy development of a Socialist society."

Give them time. We may be sure that all will be straightened out in time for their leaders' visit to Britain next month.

The Under-Secretary Who Didn't Know

AS we suggested last week, the shoddy attempts on the part of the Lords to influence opinion on the eve of the second reading of Mr. Silverman's Death Penalty Bill have not had the desired results. The noble Lords are now falling over themselves in apologising to the author, Mr. Arthur Koestler, who was subject to a dishonest attack, and the Observer for publishing his articles.

Lord Mancroft, Under Secretary, Home Office, had last week given the impression in the Lords that Koestler had deliberately misquoted from a Home Office instruction to prison governors. In his capacity as Under Secretary, Lord Mancroft must have known that neither Koester nor anyone else outside official circles had access to all the documents. This point was made by Lord Wilmot, who said that everyone who was present (when Mancroft made his accusations), was under the impression that Koestler had deliberately selected

passages from the Home Office instruction which best suited his case, and that Lord Mancroft, in his capacity as Under-Secretary was guilty of misleading the House as well as doing a grave injustice to the author. Lord Mancroft denied that he was aware of the fact that Mr. Koestler could not be acquainted with the full text of the Home Office document. Assuming that he is telling the truth, it seems extraordinary that the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department is unaware of the facts concerning a vital issue like capital punishment.

We pointed out last week, that in our view, the reason why the Home Office had never published the full text of instructions to prison governors was that it contained an implied admission that hangings were not all carried out with the speed and accuracy that official arguments have claimed in backing up the case for retention. We now have the observations of Lord Faringdon to support our views! In questioning Lord Mancroft, he suggested that there was now everything to be said for a complete publication of the instructions, otherwise the public would have the impression that in fact, prison governors "have been instructed not to allow the public to know that execution by hanging is not, as a rule, or, at any rate, not always, an instantaneous death". Lord Mancroft replied: "I do not accept that for one moment. Enough of this instruction was already made public by myself last week to cover the whole of the matter now under discussion." We doubt if his Lordship understands the full implications of his remarks.

Face the Facts on the Motor Industry 'Troubles'

THE true reasons for the "troubles" in the car industry are being obscured by a great deal of nonsense from all sides of the industry and by the politicians.

In Parliament Labour members put questions to the President of the Board of Trade as to what practical steps he would take to increase exports, but in fact were simply playing party politics. To say that the fall of car exports from 73 per cent. in the last year of the Labour government to 43 per cent. last year was a reflection on the present administration's "futile policy of exhortation and laissez faire" or due to "the inertia and complacency of the government" is simply party cliché-mongering.

To Mr. Jay (Labour) who said that the rise in export percentages in the early years after the war was due to "stimulus and encouragement from the Labour government", Mr. Thorneycroft's reply that the rise was "due to world markets at the time" was an important admission. Later, however, he said that "one of the necessary steps in all fields of exports is to moderate home demand not only in this [car] but other industries. This government has shown that it has the courage to take the necessary steps in that direction". The fact is that in the car industry home demand was not affecting exports. The proof of the pudding is that exports have been decreasing in spite of increased production and a piling up of new cars and no buyers. The "squeeze" is not a measure to encourage or promote exports; if anything it is a measure to offset the decrease in exports.

Swedish and Swiss sales of British cars have declined because of poor design and—in some cases—workmanship, according to the agents on the spot. All this may be true, but the basic reasons are much simpler: The world market for cars is shrinking. The actual demand for cars will go on increasing but demand is being outstripped by the productive capacity of the industry. Not only are the existing factories increasing their output, and in many cases are taking steps to extend their productive potential, but more countries (which formerly imported all their cars), are now developing their own industries. The "success"

of the Labour government in the car export "drive" can be explained by the fact that German industry was only just resuming production and it is only in the past few years that that country has been in a position to enter the international markets and make itself felt!

Only a fortnight ago it was announced that a Japanese version of the German Volkswagen car was to be launched on world markets and in last Sunday's Observer a dispatch from its Motoring Correspondent from Sydney, Australia, points out that

"Even before this week's Budget increases of the sales tax on motor-vehicles was announced it was obvious that the rapid development of Australia's own car industry is bringing nearer the day when the British motor industry's biggest export market will be lost completely."

IS there a solution to the problem? One Richard Clements in last week's Tribune screams for a public enquiry into the whole motor industry. And how is that going to affect the problem of markets, exports, etc? These half-baked "Socialists" are obviously more concerned with party politics than with Socialism. The car crisis has nothing to do with nationalisation or private enterprise but a lot to do with capitalism. For, assuming that Britain were to regain its lead in the car export industry how will it be achieved except at the expense of some other car-exporting country (probably Germany)? Then Germany would be in the same position as this country is at present and among the first financial measures to be taken would be to cut Germany's imports. And since Britain has increased her exports to Germany very considerably as a result of that country's increased share of the export trade it is clear that the cut in Germany's import programme would affect other exporters in this country.

Thus in solving the problems of the car industry a new problem would be created for some other industry. A vicious circle which the "Socialist" manipulators of the capitalist system conveniently do not discuss when they are in opposition, and are as impotent as the Conservatives to solve when in power.

"WHEN DID YOU LAST SEE YOUR FATHER?"

Speaking in the Commons debate on the Army Estimates Mr. S. T. Swinger (Lab. Newcastle-under-Lyme) said he was disturbed by evidence of the "introduction of political bias in the selection of officers in the Army." He had the permission of Mr. J. Baird (Lab. Wolverhampton N.E.) to mention the case of his son, who is at present serving in the Marines and a short time ago was recommended to go to a War Office Selection Board.

When he was confronted for interview he was cross-examined as follows: "Is your father a Labour member of Parliament?"

"Is your father a Bevanite?" "What are your politics?" Brigadier O. Prior-Palmer (C. Worthing) intervening: "I am horrified to hear that, if it was true. Can you prove it? Is it on paper?"

Mr. Swinger: "This is the evidence of Marine J. K. Baird. It has not been denied and it has been taken up with the Under-Secretary of State for War and not denied that these questions were put to him in this form. And, indeed, in a letter from the Under-Secretary of State for War an attempt was made to justify them. He said in his letter 'It is not unusual to discuss controversial subjects with a view to eliciting the candidate's independence of thought, range of ideas, personal convictions, and ability to express himself.' The letter added 'I am not denying that these questions were put to him.'"

'The Freest Society on Earth'—(Continued from last week)

To Each According....

It is not intended here to discuss average and minimum standards of living in the USSR, partly because they have been discussed elsewhere so frequently that the whole matter is utterly confused, partly because a régime cannot be held entirely responsible for the living standards of its subjects, as it can be held responsible for its laws.

However, since the actual amounts which a person can receive by way of salary are regulated by law, and can be ascertained from legal documents, the differences between different incomes may be discussed with accuracy and justice.*

Until the early '30's, the Central Council of Trade Unions, which is the body principally responsible for fixing wages, was following a policy of gradually making wages equal,³⁹ but in 1931,

After purging the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of its rightist re-builders of capitalism, the tariff policy of that organ was changed... according to the objective of eliminating egalitarianism and of strengthening the socialist principle of remuneration for work.⁴⁰

This was in response to "the historic speech of comrade Stalin, which he pronounced on June 23, 1931, to the conference of economists." In this he

inflicted a mortal blow on the concept of equal wages in theory and practice, and unmasked with full clarity its un-Marxist content and practical harmfulness.⁴¹

Since then, the policy of enlarging the differences in income between the different classes has been pursued. In 1941 The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, responding favourably to a resolution of the Party conference,⁴²

imposed on all trade union organisations the obligation to struggle for the complete elimination of the rotten practice of equal wages.⁴³

And in 1943 Reg Bishop, in the Russia To-day Society pamphlet *Soviet Millionaires*, was able to announce:

The Soviet Union has produced a handful of rouble millionaires. Some of them famous writers, or inventors, engineers and industrial organisers, others, simple peasants.⁴⁴

*Since this article was written, it has been announced that the wages of lower paid workers have been increased. However, the basic position does not appear to have altered.

It will be useful to examine briefly the method by which some of these millionaires earn their incomes, and how they compare with those of their fellows. First, the "simple peasant".

The earnings of a collective farmer are calculated in "labour days", which does not mean actual days worked, but is a complicated "computation of the quantity and quality of work",⁴⁵ or, in other words, an attempt to apply something akin to piece rates for farm work. However, it:

does not represent a value established in advance and equal for all collective farms; its actual value depends on the size of the income of each collective farm.⁴⁶

In effect, it consists of a few roubles cash and an amount of farm produce. On one prosperous model farm in one year, for instance,

The collective farmers there received 2.3 kilograms of grain, 7 kilograms of potatoes, 2 kilograms of vegetables and 4.5 roubles in cash for each labour-day.⁴⁷

The official Party magazine *Bolshevik* for December 1951, gives us a good idea of how many labour-days a year a collective farmer might earn:

In 1940 the average number of labour-days earned by an able-bodied Soviet collective farmer was 252... The average number of labour-days earned by an able-bodied collective farmer in the Berezov district, Odessa region, was 279 in 1949; the same average in the Vozhgal district, Kirov region, was equal to 360 labour-days...

However, there are not a few collective farmers whose earnings have represented, all told, only some 100 to 150 or even fewer labour-days.⁴⁸

In contrast the "100 to 150 or even fewer" labour-days per year earned by the poorest peasants, the chairman of the management board of a collective farm gets, according to the size of the farm, a wage fixed by statute at 45 to 90 labour-days a month,⁴⁹ plus a cash salary of 24 to 400 roubles a month,⁵⁰ plus a 15 per cent. increment of labour-days if he's been there five years, plus a tidy percentage bonus if the peasants under him overfulfill the production plan for any given year.⁵¹

Soviet Millionaires tells us that Comrade Berdybekov, "the first millionaire", came from a very prosperous collective farm in the Kazakstan Soviet Republic.⁵² It does not say what his particular job was, but obviously a farm manager has much more chance of becoming a millionaire than any other kind of farmer.

Similarly, the "industrial organisers" mentioned by Mr. Bishop have more chance of becoming millionaires than other people in industry.

The highest personal salary which may be earned in the USSR (other than the few which are granted separately by the Council of Ministers) is 3,000 roubles a month, but for heads of offices and enterprises of only republic or local significance, the top basic rate is fixed at 2,200 roubles a month.⁵³

About the lowest rate for unskilled workers is about 1.10 roubles an hour, or 228 roubles a month on time-work, and 1.30 roubles an hour, or 270 a month on piecework to the minimum norm, about one tenth of what the manager might get. But this excludes bonuses.⁵⁴

If a particular worker fails to fulfil the norm, he is liable to disciplinary penalties.⁵⁵ If the workers under a particular manager succeed in fulfilling the production plan, the manager gets a percentage bonus. The precise percentage varies according to the rank of the manager and the industry he's engaged in, but in the first category of managers ("foremen of leading sectors" and upwards) in the first category of industries, get a 37 per cent. bonus merely for fulfilling the plan, plus a four per cent. bonus for every one per cent. of overfulfillment; until his bonuses are worth 150 per cent. of his basic salary, which is the legal maximum.⁵⁶

If a manager in the first category of industries, earning 2,000 roubles a month, can persuade the workers under him to overfulfill the plan by 35 per cent., he gets 5,000 roubles a month, while some of the unskilled workers under him are still getting 228.

(Of course highly skilled workers get much higher rates than unskilled ones, and some Stakhanovites might get more than 5,000 roubles during their active months. For instance, Doroshenko, a worker at the Annen coalmine of the Donbass, received for the month of

January, 1948, 6,302 roubles, for February, 6,517 roubles, and for March, 7,712 roubles, but to do this he had to overfulfill the norm by 420 per cent!)⁵⁷

The above notes are not, of course, a complete summary of Russian law. Nor are they by any means exhaustive concerning the law in relation to those aspects of life which are discussed. All the provisions, exceptions and fine judgments, which give legal systems their peculiar fascination, are omitted.

Nothing has been said of the armed forces, of the higher education by which the Soviet upper-class can be recognised, and the fees which must be paid for such education, of the conditions of domestic servants and peasants indentured into industry. And most other aspects of life, which are governed by law and discussed by Kulski more or less fully, are not even mentioned here.

It cannot be said that Russia is a slave state, since there are even uncollected peasants, freelance dressmakers, and droshky drivers still in existence (even though, according to Bishop, they pay a higher rate of income tax than anybody else.⁵⁸) It cannot even be said that government in Russia is different in kind from any other government, since every restriction on life in the USSR can be found, in greater or less degree, elsewhere.

Documents are not impossible to

obtain through unofficial channels, and, as those who were on the run during the late war know, documents are normally accepted by the police as proof of identity, and may become the means of individual freedom, rather than a brake on it. Indeed, things like identity documents, unwieldy police forces and copious minute laws governing every aspect of life may be taken to indicate an unstable government without complete popular backing.

But it can most definitely be asserted that, if the Russian laws are followed, Soviet Russia is *not* the freest society in the world to-day. D.R.

40. A. E. Pashernik *Pravo na Trud*, p. 219.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
42. N. G. Alexandrov and G. K. Mosalenko *Sovetskoe Pravo* p. 173.
43. Pashernik *op. cit.*, p. 210.
44. Reg Bishop *Soviet Millionaires* Russia To-day Society, revised edition 1945 p. 12.
45. V. K. Grigoriev *et al. op. cit.*, p. 265.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
48. *Bolshevik* No. 24, December 1951. Article by I. Glotov, p. 44.
49. Decree of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, 2 April, 1940.
50. Decree of the Central Committee of the Party, 19 April, 1948.
51. Decree of 2 April, 1940.
52. R. Bishop *op. cit.*, p. 4.
53. N. G. Alexandrov, E. I. Astrakhan and others *Zakonodatel'stvo o Trude* pp. 72-73.
54. L. E. Gurin *Voprosy organizatsii sverobnoy platy na mashinotroitelnykh predpriyatiakh* State Scientific-Technical Publication of Mechanical Engineering literature, 1950, p. 210.
55. *Standard Rules* Rules 10 and 20.
56. Gurin *op. cit.*, p. 152.
57. N. G. Alexandrov and E. I. Astrakhan *Sovetskoe Trudovoe Pravo* p. 210.
58. R. Bishop *op. cit.*, p. 10.

The Roots of Political Ideology

(Continued from last issue)

ADORNO'S Fascism scale certainly measures some definite feature of the personality even if it is not a pure measure of Fascist political ideology. In Britain, Coulter did a study in which she administered this Fascism scale to three groups of men. The first was a group of avowed Fascists, the second a group of members of the Communist Party, the third a group of soldiers who were neither Fascists nor Communists. The Fascists obtained the highest score, the 'neutral' soldier group the lowest score, and the Communist group scored intermediately. The conclusion to be drawn from this study is that the Communists were more "Fascist minded" than "normal"—a conclusion which accords well with the generally observed characteristics of the Communist Party with which the man-in-the-street is familiar. But is the term "Fascist-minded" entirely helpful? Can we not progress to a clearer concept the whole phenomenon of political ideology?

Eysenk* has sought to explain such phenomena as the Adorno team studied by using two scales at right-angles to one another. The scale of Radicalism—Conservatism, roughly corresponds to Adorno's measurement on the *Politico-Economic Conservatism* scale. At right-angles to this Eysenk puts a scale of Tendermindedness—Toughmindedness measure. The latter concept should not be difficult for anyone to grasp. Below I reproduce a few of Eysenk's statement items to which a toughminded person would generally respond in positive agreement.

*H. J. Eysenk, *The Psychology of Politics*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954.

"Divorce laws should be altered to make divorce easier."

"Conscientious objectors are traitors to their country and should be treated accordingly."

"Crimes of violence should be punished by flogging."

"Women are not the equals of men in intelligence, organizing ability, etc."

"Scientists should take no part in politics."

"The Japanese are by nature a cruel people."

and here are some to which a toughminded person would generally respond in a negative direction.

"In the interests of peace we must give up part of our national sovereignty."

"Only by going back to religion can civilization hope to survive."

"Experiments on living animals should be forbidden."

"Our treatment of criminals is too harsh; we should try to cure, not to punish them."

The battery of statements to which subjects are submitted comprises 40 items, and of course individual subjects have their personal idiosyncracies and will not respond completely according to type on each item. It is the total score which counts in determining an individual's position in the Tenderminded—Toughminded scale.

The combination of the Radical—Conservative and the Tenderminded—Toughminded scales gives us a two dimensional figure as follows:

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SOME AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

GLEN GARDNER CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITY

Box A, Glen Gardner, New Jersey

The group operates a printing and publishing business, the Libertarian Press. Housing is provided by the group and work-day lunches are eaten together. Other group activities are gardening, taking care of two cows and 65 chickens, and caring for pre-school children. In February, 1955, there were 18 in the group, 5 men, 4 women, and 9 children. New members are desired as housing facilities can be developed. The requirements for membership is an anarcho-pacifist orientation.

GOULD FARM

Great Barrington, Massachusetts

The purpose of Gould Farm is stated as the development of wholesome community life. The permanent residents welcome a changing group of guests, most of whom come for rest and recuperation after illness. Guests participate in the work of the group in accordance with their ability. Housing and common meals are provided for members and guests. Recreational and religious activities are organized by the group. The farm activities include gardening, poultry raising, pasteurization of milk, work in the woods, and shopwork. In March, 1954, there were 39 permanent residents, including 16 men, 21 women, and 2 children. New members are desired. The requirements for membership are understanding of the basic purposes of the farm, suitability for group living, and wish to co-operate and help to meet some definite practical need.

MACEDONIA CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITY

Clarksville, Georgia

Like Koinonia and Woodcrest, Macedonia is an attempt to develop a life of brotherhood, involving full sharing, but does not have a specific religious basis. The group's main sources of income are manufacture of educational play equipment (sold largely by direct mail order in co-operation with Woodcrest), the operation of a dairy, and the selective harvesting of a timber stand. The group raises a garden, chickens, and bees for

its own use. A nursery school and kindergarten is operated for the children of the community and neighbours and help is extended to the neighbouring elementary school. Families live in individual houses built by and belonging to the group. Lunches and suppers are eaten together five days a week. The community has a hilly, wooded site of approximately 650 acres. In January, 1955, the community had three member families, consisting of three men, three women, and five children. There were also six helpers contemplating membership in the community and eight guests. New members are desired. The requirements for membership are visiting the community, spending a probationary period there, having a commitment to a life of brotherhood arising from a strong inner conviction, and turning in all one's assets when accepted.

RED BANKS MUTUAL ASSOCIATION

Route 3, Maxton, North Carolina

Red Banks is a co-operative farm which was set up by the Farm Security Administration in 1938 and is the only one which survived government liquidation efforts in 1943. The members are Indians whose families have been tenant farmers in this area for generations. In April, 1955, there were 70 people in the families of members, 15 men, 15 women, and 40 children.

TUOLUMNE CO-OPERATIVE FARM, INC.

Route 8, Box 1059, Modesto, California

The farm is operated on a co-operative basis, with an underlying religious motivation. Work policy and schedules are decided at group meetings. One breakfast a week is eaten together. Families live in separate dwellings which are close together. In February, 1954, there were 19 people in the group, including 5 men, 5 women, and 9 children. Single people often come as guests for short periods. New members are desired but housing facilities are limited. The membership requirements are serving a six months' probationary period and buying a \$100 membership share.

Our Los Angeles contemporary *Manas* (Feb. 29) publishes the following from a correspondent:

"Many years ago, Sir Albert Howard [founder of the organic gardening movement] took over a home or an orphanage (I think it was) in which most of the children were under par or actually ill. He cured them all by using an organically grown diet—no medicine. Howard's record both in England and in India in raising livestock as well as crops is famous. What he did is being done by Friend Sykes and Lady Eve Balfour in England and by Louis Bromfield in the United States, as well as by many less prominent people. They use no medicines, sprays, insecticides, or chemical fertilisers. Their crops are higher in protein and greater in quantity per acre than the crops obtainable by the routine farmer, whose products are declining. It is reported, for instance, that in New York state, tests have shown that cereals now show 8 per cent. protein, whereas the minimum was once 9 per cent. The same goes for the Canadian prairies, and in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia (the "Garden of Canada"), where both cattle growers and orchardists find that their crops show alarming deficiencies, and this reacts on their livestock and fruit.

This is apropos the alarmist cries of the modern Malthusians who fear that

the world is doomed to starve by overpopulation. But so long as sixty or seventy years, Peter Kropotkin showed how the population of Great Britain could be well fed without importing foodstuffs, and that actually the population could safely double and still feel well. (Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories, and Workshops* also has excellent chapters on education.) Followers of Howard, Sykes and others are proving the same thing to-day, without accepting Kropotkin's limitations. They are growing cattle for milk and flesh, while Kropotkin was a vegetarian who pointed out that five human beings could be adequately supported on an area that would feed only one cow.

Perhaps it is pertinent to remark that health cannot be put into food stuffs by spray pumps and synthetic chemicals, nor can health be shoved into human bodies by pills, syringes, injections, or "miracle" drugs.

I suggest, therefore, that since food is basic and physical health is built (essentially) on what is taken into the body, some attention should be paid to what "science" and chemistry (and greed) are doing to the foundation of physical life. Add to this, that the methods of Bromfield and others are the cure for dust bowls, run-down soils, and erosion, etc. It is of vital importance that the living earth receive attention in any philosophy."

Youth & Sex

AT the Old Bailey last month, a youth of twenty-one and two boys of sixteen and fifteen years of age respectively, were found guilty of "criminally assaulting a fourteen-year-old girl". According to the evidence "their victim was in a dreadful state. She had bruises all over her body and was hysterical . . ."

Judge Aarvold gave them a little lecture about the "natural virtues" of girls and young women: "innocence, clean living and honour" and hoped that their experience in the dock would have taught them a lesson. He went on:

"All three of you are in need of strong discipline. It may be that the proper way of dealing with you is to order you a good whipping with the promise that if you lapse again you will receive another, but I cannot order that."

So as an alternative to a whipping the judge sentenced the youth to five years imprisonment and the two boys each received prison sentences of three years.

What an admission of defeat! First the judge suggests that a whipping might do the trick though he obviously hasn't a great deal of faith in the method since he attaches a condition that if it doesn't then they will have another whipping. And if that doesn't do the trick, what then? But since it was some time ago curiously decided that whipping was only effective for rebellious prisoners and natives, the judge could offer no other solution to the problem than to send boys of fifteen and sixteen to prison for three years. Does he really believe that their attitude will be more chivalrous towards the other sex when they will have served their sentence? Only a judge can believe such a thing to salve his conscience; we doubt whether anybody else does.

CASES such as the one reported above would appear to be increasing in number. We do not underestimate the gravity of such assaults but we suggest that the present methods for dealing with the problem do nothing to solve it. It is significant for instance that the law views in the same light cases in which the "assault" was only such because the girl was under sixteen and not because she was "unwilling". Is it not time that the assumptions (converted into absolute truths) upon which the Law is based, and with which the public is fed by Press and pulpit, were questioned not from the point of view of Victorian morality but from that of the needs and problems of our young people to-day? "Innocence, clean living and honour" which the Judge described as the "natural virtues" of "girls and young women" were in fact the "virtues" of Victorian mothers who looked upon sex as a male vice from which their young daughters should be protected, but which they should humbly accept as a duty, not as a pleasure, when married. These guardians of virgin "honour" however, thought nothing of marrying off their "innocent" daughters to wealthy old men!

We have made some progress in the past fifty years. Except in royal and aristocratic circles, mothers play a less important rôle in choosing their daughters' husbands, and girls, we are told (by Kinsey and others) have become aware of the fact that sex is not a male vice but a pleasurable love-game in which they are not the passive instrument but the participating partners. And in those countries in which neither the Church nor the State have intruded even into the bedroom, there are a

THE KHRUSHCHEV SPEECH

THE speech delivered by Khrushchev at the open session of the 20th Party Congress in Moscow criticised Stalin's practices of arbitrary personal rule.

He was followed by Mikoyan who made a much stronger attack on the dead dictator, but both of these speeches, it seems, were mere mild preludes to the real business of the Congress—the speech delivered by Khrushchev to a secret session, after all the public business was over.

A full report of this speech has yet to be published, and the first news of its delivery came from a Reuter despatch from Bonn, quoting 'reports from reliable Communist sources'. Since then other reports have trickled through from inside Russia, of '10,000 party agitators' despatched throughout the country to explain the new line on Stalin to party branches.

And last Monday an oblique reference to it was made in *Pravda*, which said in an editorial that these party meetings were enthusiastically welcoming the recent steps taken by the Central Committee to reintroduce 'the Leninist principles of internal party life and above all the principle of collective leadership . . . and on the need to do away with the cult of the individual . . .'

It is said that a shortened version of Khrushchev's secret session speech is being prepared for publication. Meanwhile the only source of news about it remains the Reuter report, some details of which have already been shown to be inaccurate.

The main disclosures by Khrushchev were of the reign of terror which Stalin maintained within the party and government circles. Here are some of them:

Khrushchev is reported to have said there was suspicion that Stalin was implicated in the assassination of Sergei Kiryq, the Leningrad party chief in 1934.

Sergo Ordponikidze, a fellow Georgian and close friend of Stalin, was given the choice of being murdered or committing suicide, said Khrushchev. He committed suicide and was given a State funeral.

According to Communist sources, Nikolai Voznesensky, the economic planner, was also shot without trial—and without even the knowledge of his colleagues of the Politburo.

number of simple ways of preventing the undesired consequences of love-making, the bane of our grandmothers, the skeleton-in-the-cupboard of middle-class respectability.

IN the circumstances attitudes must change—at least for young people if not for their parents. But the trouble arises where these two attitudes are in conflict. An attitude still prevalent among too many parents is that while kissing and cooing among young people is permissible, *sex is sacred!* How often one reads in "assault" cases of the girl who admits that she *allowed* the boy to kiss her and engage in other love-play but resisted when he reached the point of wanting to "criminally assault" her (as the *News of the World* so poetically describes the consummation of a kiss!). If that girl had been taught by her mother less about "innocence" and more about birth control methods, there would be less cases of violent assault, less frustration (for boys as well as girls), and more happiness, more frankness, more sociability and more freedom.

It seems to us that the problem of "criminal assault" of girls will never be solved by punishment. Just as the black-market was not cured by fines and prison sentences but by the ending of shortages and rationing, so sex will only be spontaneous, pleasurable and mutual when it is freed from the constrictions of prejudice, taboos, fears, and their offspring, "petting" (the everything-but of Western civilisation).

When the kiss on the mouth will become less an apeing of Hollywood and more a symbol, a mutual recognition of a mutual desire, there will be less kissing, less "assaults", but more love-making, more of the deep satisfaction and contentment that comes from a mutual consummation of that kiss.

About three quarters of the delegates to the 17th party congress, many of whom spoke against Stalin, were shot afterwards.

After Lenin's death Stalin insulted and threatened his widow, Krupskaya. He told her that if she continued to speak against him (Stalin) in public he would issue a declaration that she had never been Lenin's wife and put someone else in her place.

In later life an atmosphere of "fear and terror" prevailed even among the Politburo members. On one occasion Marshal Bulganin, called to Stalin's dacha (country house) said he did not know whether he would end up at a reception or in prison.

Stalin would shout at subordinates: "Why don't you look me in the eyes? Are you afraid?"

He considered Marshal Voroshilov a British spy and refused to let him take part in the work of the Politburo.

In the same period Molotov was placed under house arrest and replaced as Foreign Minister by the late Andre Vishinsky. It had been planned to get rid of Molotov and Khrushchev.

According to Khrushchev, Stalin was behind the "plot" by doctors to murder highly-placed army leaders. (The doctors were exonerated after Stalin's death.)

Khrushchev told of a war-time reception at which foreigners were present when Stalin shouted a derogatory Ukrainian nickname at him and ordered: Dance the gopak. "So I danced it."

Delegates were told that Stalin was ruled by a mixture of persecution mania and gross conceit. The garden of his dacha was full of busts of himself and he used to walk about admiring them.

He liked to watch a film called "Unforgettable 1919," in which he was shown riding in an armoured car brandishing a sword amid bullets.

Khrushchev is reported to have described Stalin's "biography" as an "odious book", and told how he inserted phrases like "The workers' genius-leader", and "A shy and modest person", before publication.

At this some of the delegates shouted: "How did you stand it? Why didn't you kill him?"

Khrushchev is said to have replied: "What could we do? There was a reign of terror. You just had to look at him wrongly and the next day you lost your head."

During the session, 30 of the 1,600 delegates are said to have collapsed.

It is reported that the decision to reveal all these secrets was reached because it was felt to be the only way of breaking the magic of the "Stalin cult" which has gripped the Soviet people for 30 years.

It will be seen from these extracts that Khrushchev is complaining almost exclusively about Stalin's terrorisation of his own comrades and those in government circles. This, of course, is what Khrushchev felt most.

Of the effect of Stalin's rule upon the people, upon the development of the revolution and the economic and social structure of the Soviet Union—upon these points criticism seems much lighter. Indeed it seems as though the new attitude is going to be that although Stalin was a megalomaniac and a murderer of his own comrades, yet his policies for the rest of the country—for the rest of the world's Communist Parties—were correct.

According to a *Manchester Guardian* report on dispatches sent from Moscow by correspondents of Western Communist newspapers (the French *L'Humanité* for example), Khrushchev's stark condemnation of Stalin was relieved by the tributes he paid to the dead leader's rôle up to 1934, when the seventeenth party congress took place. After that all discussion of policy in the party was subordinated to the dictator's whims.

But within this framework, Khrushchev is said to have emphasised Stalin's part in the civil war, in the fight against Trotsky's policies, and in the industrialisation of the Soviet Union and the collectivisation of its agriculture. His part

in these remains unquestioned, and the sacrifices borne by the Soviet people, in terms of the loss of human lives and the misery attendant upon the forced pace of industrialisation and collectivisation, are still recognised as having been necessary and justified.

This will explain the passage from the *London Daily Worker* quoted elsewhere in this issue, and will once again underline the power-political attitudes of thought of the Communists and their supreme contempt for the ordinary people.

The Tiflis Riots

UNCONFIRMED reports have been seeping through to the West for over a week, of riots in Stalin's home town of Tiflis, in Georgia.

The reports are based upon rumour and circumstantial evidence, simply because the official Russian Press has so far declined to either affirm or deny the reports.

The *Daily Worker* however has been bolder—it has denounced the stories as deliberate lies spread by capitalist propagandists.

The reports have been of riots and demonstrations by crowds of students and workers carrying pictures of Stalin, who descended on the Party headquarters in Tiflis demanding the sacking of Khrushchev. It was said that troops were brought out to restore order.

If this is so we must admit to a sneaking sympathy for the Georgians. We think they are completely wrong, but at least they have shown guts in maintaining their allegiance to the man who for so many years was held up before them as a god-like genius.

People who are prepared to riot in the face of the Russian State for what they believe in deserve our sympathy and respect far more than the sycophants and hangers-on, the servile party members who follow the zig-zags of the Party line without a protest.

COMMENT

The American Political Circus

IN a letter "About Political Support" signed by three members of the faculty at the University of Chicago" published recently in the *New York Times*, a case is put forward for providing, out of income tax, the funds necessary for fighting presidential and other elections in America. The point made by the signatories is that "free elections are essential to our form of government" and that in the United States "the only apparent way" to make elections work is through political parties. "And this is expensive". How expensive is revealed by quoting various authoritative estimates. After November of 1952 the *New York Times* estimated a "rock bottom figure" of \$32 million (£11 million) for the contest between Eisenhower and Stevenson. This apparently did not include "expenditure in races for Congress or for the many state and local offices that were filled simultaneously". On the other hand a Republican Congressman of Ohio declared of the Eisenhower-Stevenson contest:

"I would hate to have to pay all the expenditures out of my own pocket over \$80 million [£28 million] that were made in the last campaign".

The Presidential elections, then, cost anything from 11 to 28 million pounds sterling to stage. Far from agreeing with the learned professors that these astronomical sums should be raised by taxation in the interests of democracy, we would suggest that the very fact that the presidential elections cost such vast sums indicates that far from being democratic, they are just one more American racket. If the choice of president were a question of simply choosing between two ideologies, or even of two programmes, it seems to us that it would only be necessary to print leaflets enumerating what each candidate stood for and the electorate could choose (assuming that they were gullible enough to believe that there was any connection between electoral programmes and government policies).

But of course that's not how the

racket is operated. In the United States a presidential candidate is "put over" by the same methods as a can of so-and-so's salted peanuts or a Cadillac are foisted on a peanut- and car-saturated public. And a president no less than a can of peanuts can be sold by a sexy starlet!

In a report from its Washington correspondent the *Sunday Express* recently introduced us to a rival to Marilyn Munroe, a Miss Mansfield, who has captured the American imagination by reason of the visible expression of the magic symbols 40-21-35½. As a result of her prominent position

Miss Mansfield is invited to all sorts of formal functions which are also attended by the wives of Governors and Senators.

The other day Miss Mansfield attended a tea-party given by Adlai Stevenson as part of the Presidential campaign. It is considered perfectly normal for a man like Stevenson to meet a girl like Miss Mansfield in the interests of mutual publicity.

Actually, Miss Mansfield regretted the meeting more than Mr. Stevenson.

She is afraid that as a result of the wide publicity given to this meeting she will be considered a Democrat and, therefore, will not be invited to the Republican parties.

"That would be a pity, because Eisenhower gives such good parties," she says sadly.

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 11

Deficit on Freedom £220
Contributions received £324
SURPLUS £104

March 9 to March 15

Graz: G.A. £1; London: N.B.T.* 1/9; London: J.S.* 4/-; Shepton Mallet: E.H.S. 7/-; Los Angeles: R.C. 7/-; Chelsea, Man.: J.M. £1/4/0; Preston: W.A.L.M. 14/2; Hyde Park: Sympathisers 2/10; Dekalb: A.L.K. 3/-; San Francisco: per D.L. L'Incaricato £70; San Francisco: per L. £1/15/0; Los Angeles Group: per A.S. £5/5/0.

Total ... 80 13 9
Previously acknowledged ... 243 19 8
1956 TOTAL TO DATE ... £324 13 5

GIFTS OF BOOKS: Stroud: L.G.W. London: A.U.

*Indicates regular contributors.

Obviously Miss Mansfield is more intelligent than the American electorate. But what, one is inclined to ask, have Miss Mansfield's generous breasts to do with democracy and the presidential election?

£11-28 millions are actually subscribed by individuals and business interests to sway the American public, by every technique known to advertisers and showmen, one way or the other. Those individuals and groups who seek simply to propagate ideas of freedom, who seek to stimulate individual thinking encounter every kind of financial difficulty in realising their intention even on the most modest scale.

Those who question the validity of an idea on the grounds that it reaches only a small number of people should pause to reflect on the methods used by, and the resources available to, the upholders of the existing class-divided, money value-ridden society to perpetuate the system. And to those of our readers who cast a sympathetic glance at our "Progress of a Deficit" item but are shocked into apathy by the £100 odd surplus recorded this week, we would ask them to compare the £3,000 budget on which FREEDOM PRESS seeks to put over ideas to stimulate thought, with the millions spent by the political parties to obscure it.

Some Success with the Garden Pea

Calcutta's Dr. Sudhir Nath Sanyal reports a high degree of success in cutting down the birth rate by using metoxyhydroquinone, an extract derived originally from the common Indian garden pea (*Pisum sativum*), now synthesized in the laboratory. Taken by mouth, it cut the birth rate among 232 women by about two-thirds over a 15-month period, he reports. Some U.S. researchers scoffed at Dr. Sanyal's methods and results; others listened with interest because they consider him a careful, conscientious worker. The Indian government rated his findings worth a full-scale trial.

'English Reserve' or Prejudice

IT must be very difficult for a coloured man coming to this country for the first time to distinguish between "English reserve" and prejudice, but the uncommunicative nature of the Englishman was put forward at a conference organised by the Nottingham Consultative Committee for the Welfare of Coloured People, as one of the reasons why the coloured man arriving in this country had a sense of loneliness when he interpreted what may often be shyness as discrimination. Certainly, the English are not famed for their expressiveness, and in some cases genuine reserve may appear to a coloured group to be prejudice. It is, however, our own experience generally, that although there appears to be no strong anti-coloured feeling among the British people, nevertheless there is a deep-rooted conviction that "they are different". If the differences were recognised as merely habit, custom and colour, this would be healthy and reasonable. But the reasons go deeper, usually springing from irrational fear, which is rationalised in economic terms. That is, if there is an influx of coloured workers into this country, it is argued, there may be difficulties in assimilating them into the economy, thus they may take available jobs which would otherwise be held by white men. Apart from the facts which appear to indicate that there are plenty of jobs which could be filled by coloured workers, it seems hardly in keeping with British Democracy that a man should have more privileges because he has a white face than the dark-skinned man, the bulk of whom are British subjects anyway.

Quite a number of small attempts are being made by social workers to tackle the problem of welfare. But it is quite obvious that lack of funds and little support make the task almost impossible. The Nottingham Council of Social Service are being given a grant of £750 a year by the Pilgrim Trust for three years to enable a research worker to prepare a report on the welfare of coloured people in the city. Social facilities however, appear to be sadly inadequate. For instance, it was pointed out at the conference that the Colonial Social and Sports

Club with a membership of sixty was failing for lack of proper accommodation. The Methodists, who are reported to be as active as any group in promoting the welfare of coloured people in Nottingham, had refused the offer of the Methodist Albert Hall because no singing and dancing was allowed.

The need for proper social facilities where singing and dancing and talking in an easy atmosphere is possible, is even more important to people who have a sense of being unwanted in their jobs

Prejudice is the Same Everywhere

LAST week we published a short comment on the action of a certain Oxford undergraduate who objected to a Jamaican becoming president of the Oxford Union. ("Tuscaloosa in Oxford" 17/3/56).

In this short piece we put forward in a satirical way what we thought might be the train of thought of an upper-crust Briton on the subject of the social mingling of coloured and white. Striking confirmation that this is in fact just how prejudiced whites think came in *Picture Post* of last week (17.3.56), which printed the text of a leaflet being circulated in Alabama.

It reads:

"This following is dedicated to maintain and extend the dignity, heritage, and the rights of the White Race of America.

"WHAT WILL OUR DESCENDANTS BE? — ANGLO-SAXON OR MULATTO???"

"... At the rate we are now moving, in another hundred years the Ethiopian or mulatto will be the rulers of our Anglo-Saxon nation ...

"You can never have social or political equality with the Negro without asking him to your home sooner or later. If you ask him to your house, he will break bread with you at last. And if you eat

and in everyday lives. In the words of a Trinidad student:

"Because the coloured man in lodgings was still something of an outsider," he said, "he looked forward for all his fellowship and pleasures. It is easy to look outwards when you can fit in from the start. Once you start turning towards yourself, you never stop."

Bigger and better clubs is not the complete answer to a complex problem like colour prejudice, but decent social facilities and help to create an atmosphere where it is at least possible for men and women to feel a part of a community.

him at your table, he takes the right to ask your daughter's hand in marriage.

"The men or women of negro ancestry, though a century removed, will suddenly breed back to a pure Negro child—kinky-haired, flat-nosed, thick-lipped, black-skinned. One DROP of Negro blood in your family could push it backward three thousand years in history ...

"DON'T DESTROY—pass it along—Enclose in your letters—Give to your pastor, your politician, your school teacher ...

"DO YOUR PART TO KEEP AMERICA WHITE."

Prejudice and ignorance are the same the whole world over.

FREEDOM PRESS

VOLINE :

Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12s. 6d.
The Unknown Revolution cloth 12/6 (Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21)

JOHN HEWETSON :

Sexual Freedom for the Young 6d.
Ill-Health, Poverty and the State cloth 2s. 6d., paper 1s.

M. BAKUNIN :

Marxism, Freedom and the State. cloth 5s.

GEORGE WOODCOCK :

Anarchy or Chaos 2s. 6d.
New Life to the Land 6d.
Homes or Hovels? 6d.
Railways and Society 3d.
What is Anarchism? 1d.
The Basis of Communal Living 1s.

27, Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

The Truth About the Geneva Spirit

AT a reception given at the Danish Embassy in Moscow, at which at least two dozen toasts were drunk, Premier Bulganin toasted President Eisenhower and the American Martini and expressed the hope that "the spirit of the Geneva Big Four conference would continue". Who, we asked ourselves is "American Martini". Is he some figure like Davy Crockett of whom we hear so many references by the young generation and yet ignore? Not only did Premier Bulganin refer to American Martini but to the fact that President Eisenhower had "opened the Martini road". But just as the mystery of A.M.'s identity deepened, Marshal Bulganin explained that they had drunk Martinis to friendship and peace in the world! "We cannot forget these moments—he said—and we hope it will always be like that."

"No comment" was the White House comment to Marshal Bulganin's Martini toast. One man close to the President even said that he had never heard of General Eisenhower drinking or serving a Martini. And it has even been published that the President likes "Scotch whisky and soda, usually one such high-ball a day, but sometimes two".

Now what is the truth about the Geneva spirit? Was it in fact only a Martini or was Marshal Bulganin a little confused after twenty toasts and the White House right that the President only drinks White Horse? It's bad

enough that nobody seems to remember what the Geneva "spirit" was about. But that there should even be doubts as to the spirits consumed there, just shows how difficult it is to establish the major facts of that historic meeting! R.

P.S.—We are told on good authority that Marshal Bulganin's reference to "Martinis" has no political significance nor that it foreshadows a State visit to Italy in the near future.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS
Every Sunday at 7.30 at

THE MALATESTA CLUB,
32 Percy Street,
Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

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

APRIL 1—No Meeting.
APRIL 8—Norman Carr on
CO-OPERATIVE CO-PARTNERSHIPS

APRIL 15—Geoffrey Ostergaard on
THE SYNDICALIST TRADITION
IN BRITAIN.

APRIL 22—Speaker to be announced
on The Community in Farmer & Son.

INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

Every Thursday at 8.15.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

MANETTE STREET
(Charing X Road)
Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

GLASGOW

At 200 BUCHANAN STREET,
GLASGOW

Friday, March 23, 1956, at 7.30 p.m.

Speaker: JOHN FARQUHAR

Subject: To be announced.

Friday, March 30, 1956, at 7.30 p.m.

Speaker: MARK WILLIAM KRAMRISCH

Subject: SEX & RELIGION

OUTDOOR meetings at Maxwell Street,
every Sunday commencing April 1st at
7.30 p.m.

LIBERTARIAN FORUM

813 BROADWAY,
(Bet. 11 & 12 Sts.)
NEW YORK CITY

Round-Table Youth Discussions Friday Evenings at 8.30

Mar. 30. Civil Liberties in the U.S. and
in Russia.

Apr. 6. The Political and Social Significance
of Science Fiction.

Apr. 13. Fascist Trends in America

SOCIAL-SUPPERS ARRANGED BY "CULTURA PROLETARIA" GROUP

SATURDAY NIGHTS AT 7.30
February 25th and March 24th.

Malatesta Club

SWARAJ HOUSE,
32 PERCY STREET,
TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.1.
(Tel.: MUSEUM 7277).

ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
London Anarchist Group Meetings
(see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
BONAR THOMPSON Speaks.

Every Thursday at 8 p.m.
INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS will be
arranged.

Every Saturday:
SOCIAL EVENING.

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WORKERS' CONTROL IN PRACTICE

A Series of Lectures

LONDON's anarchists, so few of whom have practical experience of workers' control, will be pleased to hear they will soon be able to meet people who know some of the problems of workers' control from the inside. London Anarchist Group announce that their Sunday evening lectures during April and part of May will be a related series, on the general theme *Workers' Control in Practice*. Arrangements are not yet complete, but it is fairly safe to announce the first three lectures, which will form a pointer to the rest.

April 8: CO-OPERATIVE CO-PARTNERSHIPS, by Norman Carr. The Co-operative Production Federation is an alliance of thirty-six factories and enterprises (several of them intimately known to Mr. Carr) which are owned and controlled by those who work in them. These 'Co-operative Co-partnerships' are connected, as their name suggests, with the Co-operative movement, and most of their produce is sold through local co-ops; but their principles are totally opposed to those of the CWS, which is an employing body and believes in Consumer Control.

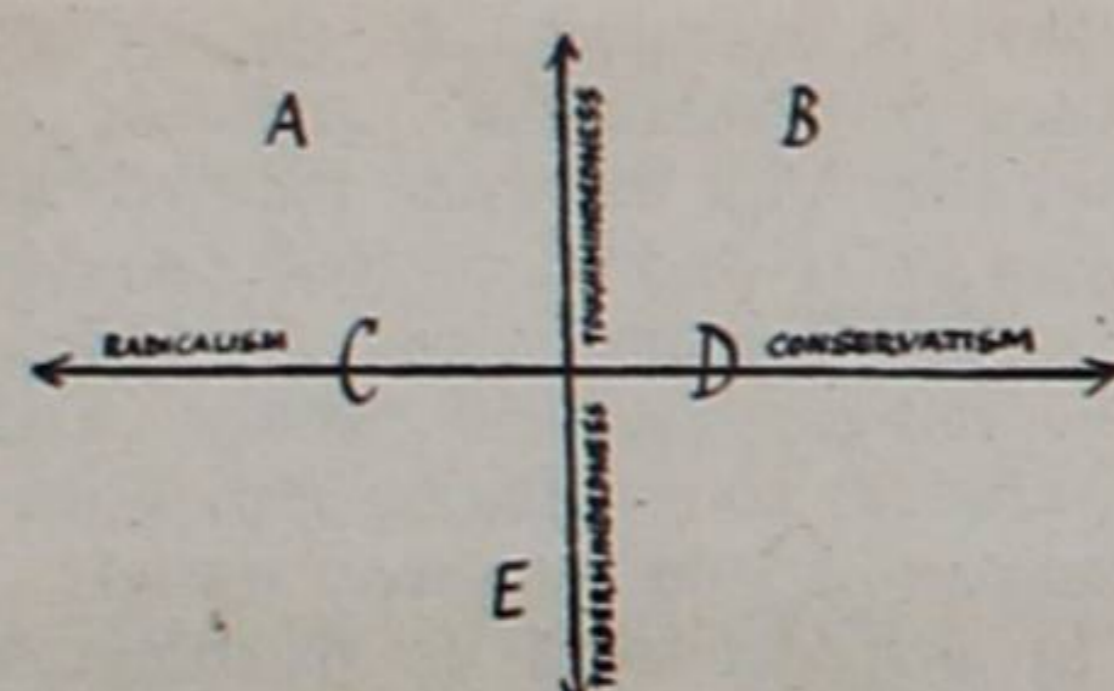
April 15: THE SYNDICALIST TRADITION IN BRITAIN, by Geoffrey Ostergaard, M.A., D.Phil. Comrade Ostergaard, an eminent historian whose lively lecturing style is already known to anarchist audiences, probably knows more of workers' control in practice than any other man in the world.

April 22: THE COMMUNITY IN FARMER AND SON, by one of its members. Everyone who works at Farmer and Son Ltd., a London printing house, has an equal share in Farmer-service Ltd., the holding company which owns the printing firm. Activities are controlled entirely by the workers, through their elected committees.

Workers' control is not the prerogative of large or wealthy organisations, and it is very probable that good examples of it have been overlooked by the textbooks, and therefore by those who are preparing this series. Groups or individuals, with experience or special knowledge of workers' control, are earnestly requested to contact the LAG, so that they can be included.

The Roots of Political Ideology

Continued from p. 2



Somewhat tentatively I have put in letters representing the approximate positions of the five political ideologies mentioned earlier: A Communism, B Fascism, C Labour "Socialism", D Conservatism, E Liberalism. This disposition is of course subject to overlap, as there are some Labourites more toughminded than some Communists, some Conservatives more tenderminded than some Liberals, etc., etc. One thing to be seen, however, is that the Communists and Fascists, although at opposite ends of the Radical-Conservative scale, are about equal on the score of toughmindedness as concerns their groups as a whole. This partly explains the results which Dr. Coulter got when testing them with Adorno's Fascism scale. Is the Fascism scale simply identical with the Tenderminded-Toughminded scale then? Alas, no such simple identity exists; the two scales were designed to measure rather different aspects of personality.

It may now be asked, where would anarchists as a body be placed in this scheme? They are radical in their views certainly, but their position with regard to the other dimension of the scale is less certain. Anarchists vary a good deal with regard to their tendermindedness and toughmindedness. Again, the instrument devised by Eysenk was designed to measure the attitudes of people with conventional beliefs about the rôle of government and legislation in society. For instance, the positive agreement which anarchists would have with the statement "Divorce laws should be altered to make divorce easier" would have little relation with their degree of toughmindedness. Again, the anarchists' positive response to the statement "In the interests of peace we must give up part of our national sovereignty" would have little to do with their degree of tendermindedness. Melvin has constructed a rather superior statement inventory (1954) in which both the Radical-Conservative and Tenderminded-Toughminded scales are included. It leaves out most references to the desirability of legislative measures, and at the end of it is a questionnaire regarding personal

details which includes a question as to whether the subject belongs to an Anarchist group. Such an instrument might well be illuminating as to the nature of Anarchist ideology compared with other ideologies.

Much of the work mentioned above envisages the concept of people having a definite "personality structure", that is that each individual has the different components of his personality so structured that the politico-social ideology to which he adheres is an integral part of his total make-up. (Eysenk rather dissents from this view, but his alternative hypotheses need not be discussed here). Wilhelm Reich has written a good deal on the concept of character structure and the relation of rigidity to authoritarianism, but he has not produced details of experimental work which are considered of much value by other workers in the same field. A study which is useful in illuminating the relation between the emotional determinants of character structure and politico-social ideology is that of Frenkel-Brunswick (1948). By applying various attitude tests to a population of 1,500 boys and girls, she was able to select 120 cases who showed a high degree of prejudice and compared them with 120 cases who rated low on tests of prejudice. These schoolchildren of the "prejudiced" group could hardly be called "Fascist", but their prejudice took the form of hostility to foreigners, to all groups other than their own and to the opposite sex. They were intolerant of weakness, of ambiguity and non-conformity; they set great store by standards of cleanliness, moralism and strictness. Enquiry into the attitude of these prejudiced children to their parents and other adults in authority, showed that they had an authoritarian-submissive attitude; that is, they expected to be dominated and coerced. They showed respect for adults who were powerful and strict, yet their latent sense of grievance and rebellion made them contemptuous of any adult who did not force them to obey. They had no sense of mutual co-operation with adults; all their relations with adults were coloured by their preoccupation with power-relations.

The other group of children who were characterised by "lack of prejudice", appeared to have much more easygoing and friendly relations with their parents and other adults, but resented an arbitrary assumption of authority by adults. These children were, in fact, of the nature which the worse kind of English Prep school tries to foster.

In parenthesis I would like to point

out the dilemma of many would-be progressive schoolteachers, nurtured on the all-too-rosy works of A. S. Neill. When they come upon children in the flesh they find that many of them want strictness, uniforms, arbitrary discipline and bullying from Teacher; they despise his efforts to be tolerant and considerate of their wishes. These are the "prejudiced" children who suffer from the authoritarian-submissive attitude. Fortunately the personality make-up of children is not absolutely fixed; over a number of years the environment of a properly run progressive school can effect a considerable change in a child's personality.

If we consider that the child is father to the man, we can gain some insight into how these two opposite types of personality structure may affect the formation of politico-social ideologies. We see, for instance, that "the rebel" is not a single type; really there are two types of rebel, the authoritarian rebel (Communist or Fascist) who would replace contemporary institutions of authoritarian domination by others, different but even more oppressive, and the libertarian rebel who would replace institutions of domination by institutions of co-operation.

In referring to two types of children I have not touched upon what factors produce this difference in children. We are apt nowadays to attribute personality to environmental factors, and therefore to see in the upbringing of the child the cause for its personality make-up. It is possible that this modern tendency may be overstressed; Eysenk gives a salutary warning when he points out that personality factors such as tendermindedness and toughmindedness are related to temperament, and it would be surprising if temperament were not subject to genetic inheritance just as much as is eye-colour or the tendency to contract gout. The extraverted, toughminded parents may pass on their own personal qualities to some if not all of their children by genetic inheritance as well as inculcating such characteristics by their methods of child-rearing. To what degree and in what proportion genetic and environmental factors operate in the formation of personality structure, we simply do not know. Lack of knowledge, however, is a stimulus to further research, and we who have in view the purpose of understanding personality make-up, its roots and its influence on politico-social ideologies, in order to foster rational social ends, should have a keen interest in such research. G.