"It is only by making the ruling few uneasy that the oppressed many can obtain a particle of relief."

—BENTHAM

(on government)

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Threepence

KRUPP TO THE RESCUE

THE attitude of the British Government and industrialists towards Germany is at the moment very intriguing to watch.

Faced with a fierce and expanding competitor in the world's markets, British industrialists have since 1950 taken the line that it is better to run the risk of re-arming the Germans than to leave them free to compete without the burden of re-armament which has been one of the fruits of victory for this country.

In this we see both conflict and agreement between the political and economic interests of the British. Politically they want to see a prosperous and militarily strong Germany; one where the blandishments of communism will find no response because the people are sufficiently well-off to be satisfied with things as they are. If prosperous and strong Germany presents the permanently desirable bulwark against the East.

At the same time Britain's economic interests are strongly affected by an expanding and prosperous Germany; one which is in a position to elbow British cars and other export products out of the European market. It was to try and restrict Germany's ability to do this that Britain was so keen to revive the Wehrmacht, to rearm the ex-Nazis, so that the full weight of the German economy could not be used in the export drive.

At the same time a strong military force must have a strong economy behind it, or else it becomes a liability for its allies, and in order to pay for re-armament German industry must export as much as pos-

THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE YOUR UNION

THE recent decision handed down in the Chancery Court of Liverpool in the case of Francis Spring vs. the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union has finally finished the Bridlington Agreement.

This action was a sequel to the great dock strike of last summer, when all the dockers of Merseyside and 10,000 in London, 2,000 in Hull, came out in defence of dockers' rights to leave the Transport and General Workers' Union and join N.A.S.D. if they so wished.

The strike collapsed, mainly through the defection of its leaders, and N.A.S.D. accepted the ruling of the TUC to expel all its new members in the Northern ports—because the Bridlington Agreement of 1939 laid down that no union should accept members from another union already organising in the same industry.

Francis Spring, a Liverpool docker, challenged the right of the NASD to expel him and his challenge has been upheld in the Chancery Court. His is the second test case to bring this result. A Truro ambulance driver last year won a similar case against the National Union of Public Employees after it had expelled him on instructions from the TUC) and it represents a slap in the face for the TGWU, which can now expect to lose a lot more dissatisfied dockers to NASD.

There were already 10,000 involved in the Northern ports, and the Spring decision makes it OK for them all to remain in the union of their choice.

It may seem odd to some that workers have to sue their union in order to be allowed to stay in it. It seems odder still to others that militant and experienced workers like the dockers should be so determined to stay in unions of the present type instead of moving forward to a better form of organisation altogether, which would not depend on courts of law for its decisions.

sible—to the detriment of British trade.

Britain, it seems, cannot win. If Germany is poor, she may turn Eastwards; if she is rich, she is so at the expense of Britain.

The War Criminal Prospers

Out of this situation a few men in Germany are in a unique position to prosper. And none more so than Herr Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halback, present owner of the infamous Krupp empire of industrial undertakings which have for nearly a century dominated German industry and assisted first the Kaiser and then Hitler in their attempts to dominate Europe.

Krupp assisted Hitler with such enthusiasm that he was included among
the war criminals tried by the lily-white
Allies after the war. He was sentenced
to 12 years' imprisonment in 1948, having been in custody for three years, for
the inhuman treatment of slave-labour—
men, women and children—who were
transported from all over occupied
Europe to be worked, starved or beaten
to death in his mines, mills and factories
in the service of the Third Reich.

But he served only three years of his twelve-year sentence before he was relased by the Allies in 1951 and shortly afterwards was awarded the whacking sum of £55 million in order to get his business back on its feet again. Not that he lost touch. All the time he was in jail he was holding business corferences in order that his many interests should not be neglected.

But things were not supposed to be the same for Herr Krupp. There were conditions to be observed on the road back, and most important among them were measures designed to break the virtual monopoly which the Krupp empire had over German industry. Some of his properties had been dismantled and carried off to Russia-the Essen-Borbeck steel mill for example-and, more important, the Allies, whilst in control of the German economy, had introduced anti-cartel legislation which they had compelled Chancellor Adenauer to take over when sovereignty was regained in 1954.

The Mehlem Agreement

That was one year after Krupp had signed an agreement with Britain, America and France promising to dispose of all his holdings in coal and steel within five years. Foreseeing possible difficulty in finding buyers for such colossal properties, it was agreed that the five years could be extended by one year if application was made through the Federal government.

And, of course, the foreseeable difficulties have arisen. Out of all his undertakings, Krupp has managed to sell only one medium-sized coal-mine. One might almost imagine he wasn't really trying.

The principal Krupp interests which should, in theory, be sold before March, 1958, come under three headings. There

Quotation Corner

A SOBERING THOUGHT

But if in Britain we abolish the death penalty for murder, what about the detective story then? It's a literary form almost confined to the three great death penalty countries—Britain, France and the U.S.A. Would the who-dun-it really flourish without the shadow of the gallows?

The Police Review, March 23.

THE THINGS SOME PEOPLE SAY!

Like Bulganin and Khrushchev, Serov started his life, not as a politician but as a terrorist. He received the Order of Lenin for transporting several million people from the Baltic States to Siberia. No doubt his advice will be freely at the disposal of Sir Anthony if he is planning any more deportations from Cyprus.

RANDOLPH CHURCHILL in the Evening Standard, March 22.

are a number of coalmines, of which the most important are Hannibal I and II and Konstantin der Grosse. There are the so far unexploited Rossenray coalfields which contain an estimated 500,000,000 tons of coal. Finally, there is the giant Rheinhausen steel plant, which produced 1,900,000 tons last year and should produce about 2,300,000 tons in 1956.

The agreement with the Allies (known as the 'Mehlem agreement') referred to the selling of coal and steel interests, but since the war Krupp's has immensely expanded its heavy engineering activities, and its directors believe that the pattern of the most successful type of future industrial combine will be the joint operation of steel-making and engineering. The Rheinhausen plant is modern and efficient, and is the biggest single steel-making unit in Federal Germany.

Somehow or other, therefore, Alfred Krupp wants to find a way out of his promise of three years ago. To this end he is enlisting the not unwilling aid of the Federal Government, which doesn't seem to be at all worried over the evil effects of Krupp monopoly. Although it seems that the Bonn Government's backing has until now been somewhat hesitant, this may not be so in the future. The Government does not want to see the Krupp's coal mines and huge unexploited coal reserves, or its Rheinhausen steel plant, sold to foreign consortiums. For this is what is likely to happen if these interests are disposed of by March,

The Government may point out that only one Krupp coalmine has been sold since the Mehlem agreement was signed in March, 1953, and that there have been no serious offers recently for other Krupp properties. It may add that considerable coal and steel interests have already had to be sold to French and Dutch consortiums, and that there is a strong, even violent, feeling in the Ruhr against any further such sales. The German political parties consider them a form of indirect reparations.

The Federal Government are in this matter behaving just as immorally as one expects governments to behave. It is now clear that in order not to hinder in any way its achievement of sovereignty in 1954, it agreed without demur with

Continued on p. 3

The Royal Commission Report on Divorce Reform

SINCE legal marriage is the only socially acceptable form of sexual union between men and women in our society, and most people (even some of those who do not believe in it) feel that they must marry to satisfy the social norms, it seems reasonable that if the continuation of a marriage becomes impossible, for whatever reason, easier means of divorce is a necessary reform.

The moralists have fought against divorce reform in this country for decades, and it is a sad reflection on their muddled thinking that a technical "offence" must be committed by either party before legal grounds for a divorce is possible.

It is forty-four years since a Royal Commission reported on divorce and matrimonial causes. The majority view of this Commission in favour of reform became the basis of Sir Alan Herbert's Bill in 1937.

Last week, another report of the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce was published, and as pointed out by Eirene White, (Observer, March 25th), herself an advocate of divorce reform, the Commission was so much divided on the matter of first importance that the public is given little guidance. 'The chairman, Lord Morton of Henryton, unlike his predecessor, Lord Gorell, was clearly not eager for change. His disposition, as shown in the voting and in his handling of witnesses, is to regard even the present law as regrettably liberal."

A new principle which has emerged from the report, and which has been accepted by ten out of the nineteen commissioners is that: the de facto breakdown of a marriage is in itself a possible, and in some cases a desirable, ground for legal dissolution of that marriage, even though no recognised matrimonial offence has been committed.

Individual members of the Law Society and the British Medical Association appeared before the Commission, and their views are worth considering. The Law Society members, including the president, advocated: "that separation for not less than five years within the six years preceding the petition, when there was no reasonable prospect of cohabitation being resumed, should be a possible ground for dissolution, though reserving discretion to the court.

"The doctors did not go into details, but favoured the principle of marriage breakdown as the basis for dissolution, at the suit of either party. Both doctors and lawyers thus abandoned the idea, which is the basis of our present law, but is repugnant to anyone with wide experience of human frailty, that there can be absolute guilt or absolute innocence in matrimonial affairs."

The idea that there must be a guilty and innocent party in the breakdown of a marriage, and that "guilt" has to be proved in law before a divorce is possible is offensive to intelligent men and women, who find that they are incompatible. The entire Commission however, agreed on the principle that the "injured" individual must have absolute discretion to choose between divorce and permanent judicial separation, even though the choice be founded in malice and regardless of the general interest".

Commenting on this, Eirene White makes a refreshing observation which stands out honestly against the pious views of those who would seek to impose their peculiar morality, when she writes: "two people trying to find an honourable and generous way out of an acknowledged mistake are damned outright by half the Commission if any element of mutual consent be discerned. To many, this seems a peculiar reversal of Christian values."

A Murderer in Our Midst

A VERY cheerful chappie arrived at London Airport last week, and modestly attempted to divert attention from himself to the splendid jet airliner in which he had landed.

He is Colonel-General Ivan Serov, present successor to Lavrenti Beria in the job of chief of Russia's secret police, and he has come to London to make sure that all is safe for Khrushchev and Bulganin to visit us next month.

Serov's job carries a very high occupational risk. None of his predecessors have managed to survive to retiring age. They have all fallen victim to exactly the same kind of treatment which they specialise in dishing out to others. However, things are different in Russian now. . . .

Who is Serov? And how did he get his exalted job? Well, little is known about how exactly a man gets into the security forces of the Russian state, or how, once in, he begins to merit promotion. One can only guess that from the ranks of the ordinary party members now and again individuals begin to stand out for their usefulness to the Party bosses. Perhaps they first become informers, reporting every thought-deviation on the part of their fellows.

The Kremlin Bodyguard

However it begins, people like Serov have obviously got what it takes to get to the top, and the first we know of Serov's climb to power was when he was commander of the Kremlin bodyguard. From that position he was promoted to Deputy Commissar of the People's Commissariat of Sate Security (N.K.G.B.) and it was in this post that he really made a name for himself.

Serov's opportunity to write his name in the annals of working-class emancipation came in 1941. It was then decided in the Kremlin that there were many people in the Baltic States of Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia (which had been forcibly annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940) who were 'unreliable' from the point of view of their Russian benefactors.

The Kremlin's solution to that sort of problem is of course, deportation to the remoter parts of the great hinterlands, and our hero was given the task of organising this massive excursion into bondage.

Of many such Soviet adventures we have no official documentation. The men in the Kremlin are careful not to make freely available their official directives in these matters—that makes it easier for the comrades

abroad to deny they ever happened. But documents relating to this episode in socialist history fell into the hands of the Gestapo during the German invasion of Russia, and they must have found much to admire in the Russian techniques for solving problems which the Nazis too had to face.

Serov's Directive

Eventually the documents fell into Allied hands, and one of them was Serov's own directive to his fellow-workers in the People's Commissariat of State Security on how they were to set about their task of liberating the Balts from their homes and loved ones.

First of all, let us see who were the 'unreliable elements' it was thought necessary to move so ruth-lessly. The categories were as follows:

1. Members of the dissolved bourgeois geois political parties and of bourgeois economic and cultural organisations:
Social Democrats, Syndicalists and Tretskyites.

2. Officials, judges, officers and police officials of the previous régime.

3. Participants in the war against the Bolsheviks in 1918-20.

4. Former members of the Communist Party, who had resigned from the Party or been expelled.

5. Refugees and immigrants.

Continued on p. 4

BOOK REVIEW

IN THE SOUTH

LOVE IN THE SOUTH SEAS. by Bengt Daniellson. Allen and Unwin. 16s.

HERE were no poor, unemployed or necessitous persons in Polynesia. To hoard for oneself is still regarded as a base vice" . . . "to counteract misfortunes [bad crops, unsuccessful fishing, illness, etc.], a system of gifts was practised" . . . 'there were no laws, judges, police or prisons". Also "to the Polynesian the sexual act is just as simple and natural as eating and drinking" . . . "Polynesians . . . considered that it was of the greatest importance for everyone to acquire as much sexual knowledge and skill as possible before marriage".

This begins to sound like a really free society, the visions of Rousseau and René Guyon (Sexual Freedom) come to life. And, in fact, this view was taken by many of the early travellers to Polynesia; disciples of Rousseau described it in lyrical terms-"where men live without vices, without prejudices, without

disputes".

But this society, like Christianity and the curate's egg, is by no means good (anarchically speaking) all through. Bengt Daniellson in this study of Polynesian sex customs has wisely included a description of the political and religious background, which is necessery to a full understanding of these customs-and this is where the rub comes. All the islands were (the past tense is used because conditions now, under European influence, are rather different) governed by an hereditary aristocracy; although in some islands "the rulers and their subjects were considered to be related so that all could claim a share in the government, but in practice power always resided in certain families which enjoyed special privileges".

The lowest class were almost in the position of slaves and were compelled to give a large proportion of their crops to the chiefs, who were also the only landowners. Polynesian etiquette was extremely strict in many matters and the penalties for infringement were severe: there was, for example, a special language to be used when addressing chiefs and if an unfortunate subject happened to use a wrong word he would have his head smashed in! Wars between the islands were common and seem mainly to have been conducted for the amusement of the nobility (it was not uncommon for the enemy to be supplied with food and water so they could carry on the fight). The Polynesians, then, cannot be described as pacific, or democratic, or tolerant, yet their sexual customs suggest that they should have had these characteristics. Before discussing this point further let us look at these customs as revealed by Daniellson's survey.

Sex Customs

Of primary importance was the fact that children were completely free to educate themselves in sexual matters;

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adults made no atempt to censor their words or actions in the presence of children. Needless to say, this early knowledge had no ill effect, but rather ensured that mental and physical health which our European custom of secrecy notably fails to provide.

Of course some might maintain that the widespread practice of masturbation showed that all was not well. In Polynesia, however, masturbation was indulged in with no associations of guilt but as a natural stage in the growth towards puberty. "Parents often urged their children to masturbate when they wanted peace and quiet, more or less as we give our children rubber teats". As they grow older the children learnt various sexual games, including playing at having babies (the girls would have a good knowledge of what a delivery involved, having almost certainly witnessed a number of births-which were regarded as public occasions). Erotic dances and traditional plays led to increased sexual experiments and sometimes to intercourse: this induced one nineteenthcentry traveller, a Russian, to write:-

"But what excited in me no less astonishment in a physical sense, than horror in a moral point of view, was

a child not more than eight years of age, who showed as little moderation in granting her favours as her sisters of eighteen and twenty. I considered this unfortunate object for some time with a mixture of pity and disgust. In every respect a perfect child, laughing and playing with the feelings so natural to that state, she appeared not to have the least sense of her melancholy situation"!

Puberty, not surprisingly in these circumstances, came early—that is at about eleven or twelve-and was the occasion for further instruction in sexual matters. The method used was for the boy or girl to have intercourse with an adult, usually a relative of the parents' generation. Although by European standards a Polynesian would by this time be highly skilled in the subject, he was not yet ready for marriage: during the period following puberty—a further step toward full maturity—the young Polynesians enjoyed almost complete freedom. They had few obligations to their elders and could spend their time how they wished, which meant singing, dancing, sport and sexual play, particularly the latter. In spite of a complete lack of knowledge of any form of contraception, the problem of an early pregnancy seldom arose; this at first appears surprising but in explanation Daniellson quotes Ford and Beach, who in their Patterns of Sexual Behaviour, maintain that following puberty adolescents tend to have a period of sterility lasting for several years.

When full maturity was reached the Polynesian was ready for marriage—and in spite of the atmosphere of sexual liberty-everyone did marry. One reason for this was the economic importance of the family: and this society was so arranged that each family was selfsupporting. Some of the rules governing marriage were strict, for instance those concerning incest, and the etiquette of the marriage ceremony; but on the question of extra-marital intercourse the rules allowed a fair measure of liberty. A large number of relatives were specified, male guests, and a free choice of partner was permitted when the husband or wife was absent for some reason.

A Problem I hope that this very brief and rather inadequate compression of Daniellson's description of Polynesian sex customs is sufficient to show that there is much of interest here to advocates of sexual freedom. There is little doubt that the effects of this freedom were preponderantly good—the Polynesians are famous for their happy and carefree disposition, they are physically healthy, and, an im-

portant point, childbirth is comparatively

free of pains and subsequent weakness

for the mother.

And yet these people were ruled by an hereditary aristocracy, who in certain matters, had absolete powers of life and

death and were by no means slow to use them; an aristocracy whose ideas on keeping the noble blood pure were as fantastic as the Nazi race theories. Why then did not this society develop into a rigid and repressive one, with the complete domination of the lower classes by

the aristocracy?

of sexuality.

An explanation would require rather more knowledge than the present writer has but I suggest at least part of the answer is to be found in the Polynesian belief in mana. This mana was a spiritual force which was possessed by the nobility: it was hereditary and doubled its power when passed from father to son. So the son had more mana than the father, his advice was sought on many matters, and, in name, he took his father's place from birth. The result of course was that parental authority was considerably undermined. Therefore the main support for an authoritarian society, the authoritarian family, was lacking.

Bengt Daniellson has gathered together much information that until now has been scattered among many books to give us a complete picture of 'love in the south seas'. He concludes with some refreshingly radical suggestions for making our Western sex life more satisfactory. Altogether a book to be read by all interested in the freer expression

M.G.W.

COMMENT

How to live among Barbarians - without Suffering too Much

MOST people accept the society they are born into without questioning it. This is due to the malleability and the conservatism of the human mind. It has survival value, and its disadvantages. The child can be conditioned to fit in with a certain pattern of behaviour, and once so conditioned its essential conservatism will preserve its character almost unchanged throughout life.

If this were not so no form of society could really exist. Habit makes it possible for people to live. One wakes in the morning and dresses, only in cartoons do absent-minded professors go out without their trousers! Habit prevents us from making such mistakes, and saves us the trouble of having to think out consciously everything we have to do throughout the day. Much of our action is automatic.

Thus many humane and even essentially freedom-loving men and women go through life without realising what an appalling society they live in, even if they suffer from the consequences of living in it. Even some of the survivors of the atomic attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki accepted it as a legitimate act of war on the part of the Americans.

(There is hope, even in this conservatism, for if an anarchist society ever does get established it will survive, not only on account of its intrinsic merits, but on account also of the sheer conservatism, or inertia if you like, of the human mind. After a few generations of people conditioned to anarchy it would be as hard to overthrow as authoritarianism is now).

Henry Salt, the famous humanitarian, entitled his autobiography "Seventy Years Among Savages". He meant the British Islanders. He describes how to the age of thirty he accepted the society he lived in as humane and cultured. He regarded the savage peoples of the world as inferiors. Then it began to dawn upon him that, technical devices apart, the people he lived among practised all the customs of savages, only they did not realise because they were used to them. In other words the horror of savages that some civilised people feel is not due to the barbarity but to the unusualness of their customs.*

We practise ritual murder, only we call it the "death penalty" because it has degenerated into a punishment for malefactors. Our wars are far more savage than any waged by head-hunters. Only cannibalism seems to have died out (Temporarily?).

With Henry Salt the awakening did not come till he was thirty. To the present writer it came much earlier, at the age of thirteen. Since then he has been trying to find a way in which a sensitive person may live among the head-hunters of Britain without too much antagonising these (in many ways charming) barbarians, and at the same time not being too much hurt by their savageries. He also wishes to do something to convert them to a more humane view of life, without suffering the fate of many missionaries in savage lands.

Since thirteen he has followed a set of rules, not perhaps entirely consist-

*One may in this connection compare the sexual attraction that exists between people of different races or nationalities. The exotic has great power of appeal, and also likewise of repulsion.

ently, but generally with happy results. They are as follows:-

(a) Never "go native". Do not go so far as to dress for dinner every night in the heart of the jungle, but remember that one is different, and, let's face it, superior to the savages we live among. Mix in their society to a certain extent, but keep yourself fundamentally apart from them, otherwise their values and ideology may absorb and swallow you in the end, and you become indistinguishable from them. Remember, there is more than one form of cannibalism, and quite a number of good rebels have been eaten alive. . . .

Personally, I do not care to read the newspapers, and I usually regret having opened a popular magazine. The literature of the savages is to a great extent about neurosis and cruelty of various sorts. It is hardly a good advertisement for their culture, and is not likely to convert the humanitarian to their point of view, but it is likely to hurt him and do him some psychological injury. The same applies to films and T.V.

(b) Avoid on the other hand intolerance and arrogance. But for a bit of luck you too would be a headhunter. The treachery so often attributed to savages is often due to the fact that the outsider has unwittingly offended against a taboo. Remember that savages are most amiable people apart from their cruel customs. Enjoy their amiable side but beware of tripping up on some taboo or other, taboos connected with sex or tribal security are the most dangerous. Fight their superstitions by all means, by undermining and direct assault, but not if you desire a peaceful life. Fight with your eyes open and realising what you may expect. When taboos are threatened the kindest savage becomes pitiless.

(Even their goodness of nature is usually half innate human goodness and half a superficial veneer caused by social conditioning. So be careful).

(c) Do not confuse technical progress and all the appurtenances to culture with a humaner attitude to life. One of the most prevalent superstitions among the tribes of Europe and America, and it is spreading elsewhere, is that technical development and increasing knowledge equals increasing kindness and gentleness. This would mean that the witch doctors who made the atomic bomb are kinder and gentler than those who restrict their activities to rain-making or the curing of warts by incantation. Some of the kindest people in the world are the most backward technically, for instance the Eskimoes before they were helped on the path of progress and extermination by the white savages of the South. Technical development is not a bad thing in itself, but in the hands of superstitious savages it can become very dangerous.

(d) Most savage societies possess a class structure. Do not make the mistake of imagining that one class in the community is superior, as a class, to any other. All are equally barbarous, and hold firmly to the basic beliefs of their society. The people to work on are those who are becoming dissatisfied with the society they live in, not because they wish to better themselves in it, but because they are genuinely coming to see the falseness and cruelty of it or parts

(e) Really a repetition of (a). Keep as much as possible to your kind. The danger of forming tight little cliques must be faced, nevertheless a tight little clique is better able to protect itself than are its members disunited and at odds with each other.

When with other people who agree mainly with you you feel some hope for the future, but when by yourself a feeling of immense isolation is liable to overcome you. Men who have gone into the jungle alone, or with only savages as companions, are, if they do not become savages themselves, liable to suffer from bizarre eccentricities if they persist. They tend to become harsh and embittered. Their sense of insecurity and loneliness makes them difficult to get on with. They are liable to become rather crusty old boys in their latter days, with bitter feelings about the savages they have lived among.

The present writer well remembers meeting quite a young man who had spent some years in almost total isolation in the Teddington and Purley regions. He was partly insane and suffered from delusions of persecution as a result. A very sad case, but not at all an uncommon one.

If the tone of this article sounds unduly pessimistic the author pleads his own isolation in the wilds of Subtopia.

"Ѕмод."

The Optimist

IN the letters to the Editor columns of the New York Times a reader suggests that:

Increased distribution, not reduction of production, is the basic economic, political and humanitarian answer to our present abundance of food and fibre. So much of the present discussion, in and out of Congress, it seems to me, is based on the false premise that we can and should reduce our production when half of the human race goes to bed every night hungry.

We should face the problem of distribution with the same boldness and imagination that we, as a nation, have brought to bear on so many other problems that have confronted us in the past hundred and sixty years. This is another problem to be solved, but it will never be solved within the standard limitations that come from an economy of scarcity rather than from an economy of abundance.

We must always keep in mind, in working for a solution, that we do not want to upset our normal agricultural exports nor the exports of friendly countries. We should enlist some of our best brains in finding the answer to the present situation, but we should never adopt the attitude that we are faced with a situation beyond our capacity to solve.

I simply cannot believe that a nation that has faced many more difficult problems does not have the imagination to find the answer to this one.

Poor man! He is trying to keep the capitalist system going and at the same time wanting it to satisfy the needs of mankind. How can one reconcile a system based on profit with human needs?

Contrasts-

General Serov & Danilo Dolci

The Press publishes photographs of a smiling Colonel General Serov on his arrival at London Airport, surrounded by his minions. In spite of the fact that a number of newspapers did not hesitate to give us blunt profiles of Khrushchev's bodyguard-in-chief, his mission has proceeded according to plan. He has inspected Claridges and visited Scotland Yard, and over the weekend has even sunned himself on the South Coast. Public opinion probably shares the views of the News Chronicle which blithely tries to combine principles with expediency, so that only expediency is left in the end:

However unpleasant the record of General Ivan Serov, he has a perfect right as head of the Soviet security forces to come here for discussions on the safeguarding of Messrs. Bulganin and Khrushchev. His vicious and ugly past does not have to be forgiven, but his presence on routine duty must be accepted.

COMPARE this picture of the smiling General Serov, this "Murderer in our Midst" (see page one) with that of the Italian writer Danilo Dolci whose trial opened in in Italy) protests. Palermo last Saturday. He was brought into court handcuffed. He was charged with no murder. Indeed, his crime is that of passive society's values or are we perhaps resistance. The Manchester Guar- right?

dian's correspondent writes of Dolci's evidence (26/3/56):

"[He] speke calmly, recalling briefly the story of his work in Partinico. How he had been affected by the sight of a child which had died of hunger, how he had discovered that the 350 outlaws in the district had received between them 650 years' schooling and seven centuries of prison sentences, how he had sought help from the Minister of Labour, the Prime Minister, the President of the Republic, and other personalities, how the decision to organise a "reverse strike" was taken, and how he had recounted the reasons for this decision during a broadcast on television.

'Finally, Dolci explained how he and the men (in all there were 150 labourers) went out to repair the mule track at Partinico, unarmed, and how when the police ordered him to follow them he lay down on the ground by way of passive resistance and had to be carried away by the police."

SEROV "The Executioner" precedes his masters wherever they travel in the world, free as the air (until they do a Beria or a Yagoda on him). Dolci, who loves his fellow men, appears before them in handcuffs. Only an "elite" (mainly

Is there something wrong with us when we protest as loudly as we can that there is something twisted in Vol. 17, No. 13. March 31, 1956

Reflections on a PHILOSOPHER'S SECOND THOUGHTS

IN another column we reprint a letter published in last Monday's Manchester Guardian from Bertrand Russell which we think many readers will find disturbingly interesting and, in view of the presence on our shores of the Russian F.B.I.'s representative, Colonel General Serov, unhealthily topical. One could even go further in the analogy by pointing out that just at a time when the "democratic" press of this country is having a whale of a time rubbing the Communists' noses in their own Stalinist mess, so eminent a person as Bertrand Russell is declaring that, having now decided to look into the evidence of the Rosenbergs' trial,

"I am almost certain that the Rosenbergs were innocent and quite certain that the evidence against them would not have been considered adequate if prejudice had not been involved."

How many Americans in the years to come will be saying, as does Bertrand Russell: "I am ashamed to say that at the time of the trial I did not look into the evidence", and will echo his courageous and honest, but terrible, conclusions. Then it will be the Communists' turn to gloat and seek to turn the situation to their political advantage.

But the real tragedy of our time is that radicals should allow themselves to be caught in the web of politics, to take sides in the struggles of governments which on the surface, perhaps, represent diametrically opposed values, but which rely for the implementation of their policies on instruments of suppression and coercion which, potentially, are the same. The people of the West have been lulled into the belief that the methods used in China, Russia and her satellites are contrary to the fundamental principles of the West and "could never happen here". We believe this to be an illusion based on myths: that "democratic government" is the symbol of civilisation and progress, that public opinion will prevent abuses by the authorities and is the guarantee that our civil liberties will not be trampled on. The secret vote, the party system and the Trade Unions are the symbols of our "freedom" . . . but, in fact, of our utter impotence!

Government is government whatever the adjective which qualifies it. The totalitarian nature of a government is the measure of the instability of a nation or of a system; stable government is "democratic", that is it pays lip service to certain forms and social concepts, because it is based on apparently secure foundations. Lenin, Hitler and Franco are (or were) the result (and not, we hasten to add, necessarily the inevitable result, for then we would cease to advocate the social revolution!) of a society in upheaval, shaken to its very foundations. But the rôle of government is always the same: that of establishing "law and order". To say that democratic governments are fundamentally different to totalitarian ones is to assume that their immediate problems are similar.

We think this concept can best be illustrated by reference to the actions of the British and French governments at the present time. An Englishman or Frenchman would be a fanatic or a lunatic if he saw no difference between the workings of his government and those of such countries as Russia, China or Spain. But if Western civilisation has left us enough imagination and intelligence to put ourselves in the boots of an African from Kenya, a Cyprus Greek, an Algerian, a

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

bring about a Negro boycott of the city's transport system, was last week tried in The Circuit Court of Montgomery, Alabama, under a law instituted in 1921 designed to break trade union action. Dr. King was found guilty and fined 500 dollars which, the judge said, was lenient because it had been proved that Dr. King advocated methods of nonviolence. However, as soon as Dr. King announced his intention to appeal against the fine, the judge altered the penalty to 386 days imprisonment, suspended pending the appeal. Which goes to show how quickly judges can change their minds when a prisoner appears to be ungrateful for a sentence imposed upon him because of his attempts to assert his rights.

bama transport system, is an inspir- ism, Socialism, Communist ideolo-

the rightness of their cause, and determined to do something about it without the use of violence. Their feelings can perhaps be summed up in the words of an old Negro woman who, when told that she would not be condemned if she decided to use the transport under boycott, said that she had nothing to lose but that her intransigence might help to determine the future of her grandchildren.

The Whites, in this part of the South, are determined to concede nothing which will give the Negro equal rights. The white citizens' councils, including a number of Southern Senators, are engaged 'in driving out of public life anyone who would even consider a change in the old relationship between white and black'. Their members sign a pledge: "to help defeat the This Negro boycott of the Ala- N.A.A.C.P., integration, mongreling example of people convinced of gies, F.E.C.P. and One World Gov-

ernment." They promise to preserve "The United States Constitution, the Bill of Rights, States' Rights, segregation and our own God-fearing American nation."

The Councils have circularised every candidate for office in the State, with such questions as, "Do you here and now deny the Negro vote?" "Do you here and now say that you do not want his vote?" Anyone who hesitates over the negative answer could not now be elected.

The political implications of the conflict between black and white presents a dilemma for the Democrats: "In New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois and other Northern states, at least 70% of the Negro vote in recent years has been Democratic and has been

necessary for Democratic victory. Northern Democrats cannot abandon their pro-civil rights position, nor do their leaders wish them to

While it is true that to some extent disunity within a party can be used by the opposition to encourage the voters to feel that the other party lacks stability, it is just as likely that the Northern Democrats, dependent upon a large Negro vote, will give the impression that they are in conflict with the Southern block in an attempt to retain the Negro voters, and if they succeed in getting into power the need for carrying out civil measures becomes less urgent. The fact that there has been no legislation on civil rights for the last seventy years in the American Senate indicates that neither side are in any hurry to establish equal rights for the Negro population in the South.

Krupp to the Rescue Continued

the Allied governments' anti-cartel legislation, but now that it is in a position to go back on its word it can be depended upon to do it. Likewise Krupp himself, whose lawyers are now bringing forward the argument that it was in any case unconstitutional for governments to make agreements of that kind with individuals.

New Activity

But Herr Krupp is not relying purely upon the good offices of the Bonn government or upon constitutional argument. He knows perfectly well that the Western Powers will be quite happy to let him keep his property if he can be used. So-Krupp is setting out to make himself useful to the West by submitting proposals for industrial development in the 'uncommitted' countries of Asia, the Middle East and Africa.

Krupp has already, off his own bat, taken up contracts for building industries in these countries. In India, for example, work is already beginning on a huge new steel works which will eventually have a capacity of 1 million tons

But Krupp's new proposals are that he should work in co-operation with the Western Powers. He calls his project 'Point Four and a Half', it being 'an extension with certain significant modifications of the United States' governmental technical assistance programme known generally as Point Four'.

The ostensible aim of Point Four and a Half is to provide a Western counterblast to the Soviet economic offensive in the neutral countries. The working paper, already peddled round Washington by Berthold Beitz, Krupp's managing director, suggests that:

"The Point Four and a Half project will be carried out-not by the United States Government or any other government—but by a syndicate of private firms, American, German, British, French and possibly others on a 'profit' and not on a give-away basis.

"Governmental assistance to Point Four and a Half will be limited to (a) extension of credits on somewhat liberal

Malayan or a Tunisian (and until recently an Indian, an Indo-Chinese or a Moroccan), we would be bound to recognise that for them there is little to choose between the variously adjectived governments; indeed, any other government might seem preferable to the one that was holding us down with bayonets, tommyguns, concentration camps, polltaxes and passes, whipping orders, the gallows, curfews and defence regulations. In other words the same governments which, so far as France and Britain were concerned, respect the secret vote, the party system and Trade Unionism, deny these "basic democratic rights" to those territories in ferment, in rebellion against the "accepted order of things", and seek to justify their actions!

What grounds are there for believing that, the moment the people of France and Britain started actively questioning the economic and social foundations of their society, the upholders of the status quo would not attempt to bring them to heel à la Russe?

terms and (b) psychological and moral support."

The authors of the Krupp project maintain that it is impossible for private industry to compete with the Soviet bloc for trade in the uncommitted countries. They cite conditions whereby the Soviet group offers credits to borrowers at 2 or 2½ per cent., while private German industry, for example, must pay 8 per cent. or more for money to finance trade

The Profit Will Help

Now we may be quite sure that Krupp sincerely wishes to play his part in combatting Soviet expansion. He probably grinds his teeth every time he thinks of his lovely Essen-Borbeck steel mill reerected in Russia, and he knows perfectly well that if West Germany ever fell under Soviet domination his industries would go for good. He is happy to play his part in saving the free world-after all, he owns so much of it.

We should not overlook the fact that Krupp's will not be undertaking these vast schemes purely for ideological reasons. He hopes to be able to use cheap-interest-rate money provided by the taxpayers of the western countries to build up more profits for himself.

And Krupp certainly knows how to build up profits. Last week the trading reports for 1955 were announced and they showed the number of workers on the payroll now tops 85,000, and from these has come an increased output in all the combine's undertakings and farranging extensions of engineering projects in under-developed countries, which have resulted in the staggering turnover of £230 million—an increase of 331 per cent. over 1954.

For an ex-convict trying to go straight and pull his business together after destruction and dismantling, Herr Krupp is not doing too badly. His are the kind of achievements which present convincing arguments to the leaders of the Western nations. They can feel confident their money will be safe with a man who knows his business as well as Krupp.

Patriotism Pays

News of Point Four and a Half has obviously filtered through the Iron Curtain, and it would appear that the Soviet authorities are interested in Alfred's activities.

At a press conference in the Villa Hügel, Krupp's modest £16,000 home outside Essen, last week, questions were asked as to whether there had been direct contact between Krupps and the newly established Soviet Embassy in Bonn. The only answer given to this was that the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Zorin, had not been to the Villa Hügel in person. It seems probable, therefore, that reports of attempts by the Soviet Embassy to establish relations with Krupps were true after all.

The whole point of Point Four and a Half will be lost, however, if Krupp does any kind of deal with the Soviets. But we may be sure that he is keeping the possibility in mind in case the Western Powers don't give their support on the scale he hopes. If that turned out to be the case, perhaps Herr Krupp would, in his zeal to help the backward peoples of the world, even accept tainted Communist capital.

But we do hope that doesn't happen. It is always a shame to see a patriot and a benefactor snubbed. And patriotism has always been so beneficial-for Alfred Krupp.

Bertrand Russell and the Rosenberg Trial

The following letter was printed in last Monday's issue of the Manchester Guardian:

Sir,-I am writing to enlist your support in the case of Morton Sobell, an innocent man condemned as a result of political hysteria to thirty years in gaol and at present incarcerated in Alcatraz, the worst prison in the United States. He was sentenced as an accomplice of the Rosenbergs in espionage. I am ashamed to say that at the time of the Rosenbergs' trial I did not look into the evidence. I have now done so. I am almost certain that the Rosenbergs were innocent and quite certain that the evidence against them would not have been considered adequate if prejudice had not been involved. But the Rosenbergs are dead and nothing can be done for them now except to hold up their official murderers to obloquy. Sobell, however, is alive and it is not too late for the United States Government to make some reparation to him.

The facts in his case are briefly as follows: - He had a friend named Elitcher, who had been his best man. Elitcher had stated on oath that he had never been a Communist. The F.B.I. discovered that in making this statement he had committed perjury. They let him know that he could escape punishment if he would denounce other people as accomplices in treasonable activities. He decided to save his own skin by denouncing his best friend, Sobell. While negotiations in this sense were going on between him and the F.B.I. Sobell and his wife went to Mexico. Sobell toyed with the idea of not returning to the United States, but rejected it. His decision to return became known to the F.B.I., which had determined to present him as a fugitive from justice. In order to be still able to present him in this light, they hired thugs, who beat him into unconsciousness, hustled him and his wife and their two children into fast cars, and drove them without stopping from Mexico City to the United States frontier. There they were handed over to an immigration officer, who falsely stamped their card of entry with the words "Deported from Mexico" although the Mexican Government had not been privy to the kidnapping and had expressed no intention of deporting them.

When Sobell was brought to trial these facts were not mentioned as his counsel considered that any criticism of the

F.B.I., however justified, would only increase the severity of his sentence, his condemnation being regarded by his counsel as certain in spite of lack of evidence. The judge instructed the jury that they could not find Sobell guilty unless they believed Elitcher. Elitcher, because he was useful in this trial, has never been indicted for his acknowledged perjury and, in spite of his being known to be a perjuror, every word that he said against Sobell was believed.

People express scepticism when it is said that most Germans did not know of Nazi atrocities, but I am sure that the immense majority of Americans are quite ignorant of the atrocities committed by the F.B.I. They do not know of the standard technique of these defenders of what, with cynical effrontery, they still call "The Free World." The technique is one with which we have been made familiar in other police States such as Nazi Germany and Stalin's Russia. The police find a man whom they can prove to be guilty of some offence and they promise him immunity if he will manufacture evidence against people who could not otherwise be indicted. Perjury is especially useful as a lever because many people who have been Communist in their student days rashly hope that this can be concealed and swear that they were never Communists. After a sufficient number of secret interviews the F.B.I. descends upon innocent people with a posse of terrified perjurors and in the general hysteria every word uttered by the perjurors is accepted as gospel

I do not suppose for a moment that President Eisenhower is aware of this well-established technique. If he knew of it, he would not only feel the revulsion which all decent people must feel, but would realise that every such case which becomes known outside the United States turns hundreds of thousands of people, if not into Communists, at least towards neutralism and away from the policy of N.A.T.O. For this large reason of public policy, as well as from motives of humanity and justice, it is to be hoped that something will be done to curb the F.B.I. A beginning might be made by the release of Morton Sobell or, at least, by ordering a new trial of his case.—Yours &c., BERTRAND RUSSELL.

41 Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.

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Royalty Before Culture

THE chairman of the Oxford Repertory Players announced last week that the Oxford Playhouse would be closing down in April owing to poor attendances and financial losses. In January last the Oxford City Council decided that its subsidies (totalling £3,500 in the last fifteen months) would be discontinued. The Arts Council however offered to renew its grant of £1,500 if an equal amount could be found by the end of this month. In fact about £1,200 was contributed by undergraduates, dons, and Oxford business men but all to no avail. Recent productions have been poorly attended and further losses incurred, and these made it impossible to meet the requirements of the Art Council's offer. So next month the theatre closes, and the future of the building is unknown.

X

IN the House of Commons a Member asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he would make arrangements for the British Museum Reading Room to remain open each week-day until 10 p.m. and what additional cost would be involved. The Treasury spokesman replied in the negative and pointed out that the extra cost would be £35,000 a year and would require 68 additional staff.

The questioner then asked whether the Chancellor did not agree that "the present closing hour of 5 p.m. makes it quite impossible for people in normal full-time employment to use the services of the museum? And in view of the fact that it is only £35,000 would you not use your influence to bring about this desirable change? (Lab. cheers).

Mr. Brooke: I cannot accept phrases like 'only £35,000' or 'only 68 additional staff'. The hours of opening were extended to seven o'clock as an experiment shortly before the last war and they were not a great success. And to extend to 10 p.m. would require this very considerable number of extra people."

What, we wonder did Mr. Brooke mean when he said that it was "not a great success" when the hours of opening were extended to 7 p.m. before the war? Was there not a "full house"?

*

THE arch-egocentric John Gordon offers some interesting figures of public expenditure for the Royal family's comforts, in last week's Sunday Express. We reproduce his piece in full because

it is so telling and because it reveals either Mr. Gordon's particular dislike of the Duke or if what he writes about him is fact and not just gossip, it shows the "democratic" Prince Consort in a quite different light to that in which the popular press have sought to portray him.

"Some of the Queen's advisers appear to be living in a cloud cuckoo dreamland of their own so far as money is con-

They don't seem to have heard that there is a painful shortage of the commodity.

Who could have advised the Queen that this was a suitable time to order a new dining-car for the royal train—the most luxurious railway car ever built? The cost of it will be at least £25,000, but more probably £40,000.

It is suggested that it was the Duke of Edinburgh's idea. And that his idea extends to two other equally expensive coaches which will follow.

The Duke is becoming quite a fellow for dazzling ideas. When he visited the new London Airport recently he didn't think the new royal waiting-room was grand enough. So another one is to be built.

The cost? Just a little matter of another £40,000.

Now, like the Duke, I am all for having the Queen superbly cushioned against the rough edges of life. For she does a magnificent job for us.

But I think she should be cautious about unnecessary extravagances at this

We have already had an example of what can happen when the spending tap is turned on, in the case of the royal yacht.

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 12

Deficit on Freedom £240
Contributions received £339
SURPLUS £99

March 16 to March 22

Falmouth: R.W. 1/-; Los Angeles: Noi Group. Dinner-Dance per T.D. £11/0/6; Chicago: T.B. 7/2; Denver: R.B. £1/15/0; London: N.B.T.* 1/9; Lendon: J.S.* 4/-; Westcott: M.W. £1.

Total ... 14 9 5
Previously acknowledged ... 324 13 5

1956 TOTAL TO DATE ... £339 2 10

GIFTS OF BOOKS: London: A.U.; London: B.J.; Moline: E.R.J.

*Indicates regular contributors.

It cost nearly two and a half million pounds to build. It has cost at least another £100,000 to renovate in its short life.

The Queen uses it hardly more than a month a year. Yet it costs £2,500 a day to run.

But the Duke, by inclination and profession a sailor, enjoys it. It seems to me, as a taxpayer who helps to foot the bill, rather expensive enjoyment.

From all the whispers the biggest financial shock of all may soon come, in the royal air travel set-up.

It is being suggested that the Queen's Flight, that section of the R.A.F. which was established to look after royal air j ourneys—and which incidentally is the largest and most expensive private air-plane fleet in the world—should be given new airplanes.

At present it consists of three Vikings. They do not carry the Queen very often. Indeed most of their work is carrying food, mail, and servants between the royal homes, for when the Queen makes a journey abroad she usually charters a civil plane.

It has been stated that every hour of the Queen's Flight flying costs £2,000.

Now it is suggested that for prestige reasons the not very old Vikings should be replaced by Viscounts at a cost of £400,000 each. Or even a Britannia, which would cost a million.

I don't think the idea will be widely popular.

BACK TO 1855 BY-GAD!

Mr. William Yates (C. The Wrekin) pointed out yesterday to the Home Secretary that if Burgess or Maclean claimed political asylum and returned to this country the most the law provides for their punishment is three months' imprisonment or a fine, and nothing else. 'Is this satisfactory in view of the cold war competition?" he said.

He asked for legislation to outlaw those who have committed a hostile act against the security of the State in addition to the Official Secrets Act, but Mr. Lloyd-George did not think a revival of the ancient procedure of outlawry would serve a useful purpose to-day. He pointed out that it was abolished in 1938, and that the last recorded case in which it was used before then was in 1855. The whole matter of what could be done, Mr. Lloyd-George said, was under consideration, but "it was not an easy matter."

(Parliamentary Report).

Then the Duke, for his personal use, has a Heron—in addition to the naval helicopter at his disposal when he needs it.

The Duke's Heron is probably the best equipped airplane of its size in the world. It has every gadget that can be fitted to a plane, and in addition to its normal crew carries a radio-navigator.

It cost approximately £100,000. Its maintenance costs at least £10,000 a year. Is that really necessary when the R.A.F. or the civil air lines can always supply him with excellent, comfortable and efficient planes?

On top of the train, yacht, and airplane bills, we have now been committed to a £250,000 scheme to improve the heating and lighting at Windsor Castle and another £150,000 bill to do the same at Buckingham Palace.

Both I am sure are very necessary and, indeed, some day inevitable expenditures.

The Results of Compromise

Looking back, it is now clear that the Civil War settled in the U.S. the questions of slavery and secession. But the underlying problem, that of absorbing the Negro into the U.S. body politic, was shirked. The Reconstruction, blundering and shameful as it sometimes was, included the last serious attempt to give Negroes full citizenship. In 1877 the weary North, in one of the fateful compromises of U.S. history, agreed to sweep the whole unpleasant issue under the carpet. Rather than accept Democrat Samuel Tilden as President of the U.S., the North traded withdrawal of Federal troops from the South for Southern acquiescence in the dubious election of Republican Rutherford Hayes. Thereafter, the South was free for decades to handle the race problem in its own way. Time, March 26th.

CORRECTION

Towards the end of my article on The Roots of Political Ideology (FREEDOM 24/3/56) there is a paragraph from which certain lines have been omitted. It reads as though the children whom Frenkel-Brunswik found to be unprejudiced, easygoing and on friendly terms with their parents were "of the nature which the worst kind of English prep school tries to foster". This is of course the contrary of what I meant. It was the group of children who were characterized by high prejudice, rigidity of personality and authoritarian-submissiveness who showed all the traits which the worst type of English prep school tries to

draw.

But when the nation is being ordered

There is a moral to these three news

items, which we leave our readers to

MEETINGS AND

ANNOUNCEMENTS

to "tighten its belt" is this quite the

moment to undertake them?

I think not."

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Every Sunday at 7.30 at

THE MALATESTA CLUB,

32 Percy Street,

Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

APRIL 1-No Meeting.

THE TRADITION OF WORKERS' CONTROL IN BRITAIN

APRIL 8-Norman Carr on CO-OPERATIVE CO-PARTNER-SHIPS

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

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

APRIL 29—Tony Gibson on SOME PROBLEMS OF COMMUNAL ORGANISATION

Every Thursday at 8.15.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS
Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.
MANETTE STREET

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

GLASGOW

At 200 BUCHANAN STREET, GLASGOW

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

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

Round-Table Youth Discussions
Friday Evenings at 8.30

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

Apr. 13. Fascist Trends in America

Apr. 20. To be announced.

Apr. 27. Lecture by Joseph Spivak—
The Social Health Plans of
Britain and the U.S. Compared.

SPECIAL NOTICE

A MAY DAY MEETING WILL BE
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TUESDAY, MAY FIRST,
AT THE LIBERTARIAN CENTRE,
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Malatesta Club

SWARAJ HOUSE,
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TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.1.
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ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

London Anarchist Group Meetings

(see Announcements Column)

Enery Wednesday at 8 p.m. Bonar Thompson Speaks.

APRIL 4—ANARCHISTS I HAVE KNOWN

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INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS will be arranged.

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A Murderer in Our Midst - Continued from p. 1

- 6. Former employees of foreign diplomatic missions and representatives of
- 7. People maintaining correspondence with foreign countries, e.g., Esperantists and philatelists.
- 8. Relatives of political fugitives.
 9. Clergymen and active members of
- religious organisations.

 10. Aristocrats, landowners, industrialists, business men, bankers and restaurant proprietors.

Writing in the Observer 25/3/56, Edward Crankshaw says:

'Serov was well aware of the magnitude of his first assignment, and he took great care with the preparations: "The removal of anti-Soviet elements from the Baltic Republics," he wrote in his directive, "is a political task of great importance. Its effective execution depends on the care with which the district troikas and operational staffs elaborate their plans."

'The troikas were groups of three, and their job was to direct the "brigades" of four, who did the actual work of "delivering the deportees to the railway tracks, where they are to be met by motor transport and brought to the railway station; to requisition in advance railway wagons on the scale of at least [my italics] 25 men per car." The operation was "to be carried out without noise or panic, avoiding all disorders and excesses whatsoever not only on the part of the deportees, but also on the part of certain sections of the neighbouring population which have assumed a hostile attitude towards the Soviet authorities"."

'ACCORDING TO PLAN'

'The operation started on June 6 and did not end until interrupted by the German invasion on June 21. It was, in fact, carried out quite peacefully, and more or less according to plan:—

"Operations shall begin at daybreak, Upon entering the house of the person to be deported, the senior member of the brigade shall assemble the entire family in one room, taking all necessary precautions against any possible trouble . . ."

'Great stress was laid on the avoidance

of noise or panic. Great care was taken to ensure that families did not realise they were about to be separated for ever:—

"The convoy of the entire family to the station shall be effected in one vehicle and only at the station of departure shall the head of the family be placed separately in a car especially designated for heads of families."

'Great pains were taken to preserve the illusion:—

"During the assembling of the family in the home of the deportee the head of the family shall be warned that personal male effects must be packed in a separate suitcase, as a sanitary inspection of the deported males will be made separate from the females and children."

'And so on.

'This was Serov's first action of the kind. It was a great success, except that often the police forgot to tell the head of the family to pack separately, so that he found himself with no luggage at all;

The Volga Germans

than 25 to a wagon.'

and the trains had to carry many more

With the invasion of the German armies the Kremlin decided that the colony of Germans who had established themselves for generations along the banks of the Volga became suspect. These Germans were not in 1941 refugees from Germany, they were Russian-born Soviet citizens who had quite happily embraced sovietization, and differed from the surrounding Russian peoples only in that they clung to their own language and national customs-as did and still do, most of the nationalities of the Soviet Union. But the fact that they were Ger-

man-speaking was enough to make the Kremlin fear them,* and Com-*In exactly the same way, Japanese-

In exactly the same way, Japanese-Americans were feared by the U.S. government after the outbreak of war, and some 300,000 were transported

rade Serov was again called in to shift them beyond the Urals.

Edward Crankshaw tells us:

'I saw nothing of the Baltic deportations, but in the autumn of 1941 I found

myself in the middle of the deportation of the Volga Germans, Serov's second major operation. In a railway siding at Syzran trainload after trainload stood waiting to move east. They had to wait while the endless trains bearing troops and tanks and guns moved west to the Moscow front.

'Through the iron gratings of the box-cars, which smelt to high heaven in spite of the cold, which was killing the deportees off each night, emaciated faces would glare horridly. Under the eyes of the N.K.V.D. guard, one of Beria's men, I managed to speak to one of these wretches. They had been en route for three weeks, he said. They had been in that siding for 10 days. They were starving and they were dying. It was like that with the Balts, too, we were told

'A lot of these people have now gone back home. But Moscow has made no announcement about them. We should think more highly of Lt.-General Serov, with his four Orders of Lenin, if he could make an announcement that all survivors had been sent home, and that he was sorry about the whole affair and wanted to make a clean start.'

Forgive?

We don't share Mr. Crankshaw's Christian attitude of forgiveness, but in any case the confession he asks for is unlikely to be forthcoming. So far the only reaction Serov has shown to the criticism to which he has been subjected in the British Press has been the usual Communist one of saying that 'you're another'.

In an interview with Independent

from the Californian coast (where they

from the Californian coast (where they worked mainly in the fruit industry) to the interior of the American continent in 1942.

Sunday, Serov is reported to have said: "I was doing no more than the British did to Sir Oswald Mosley and the Fascists during the war."

Which seems to us to be rather an understatement. After all Serov's victims totalled something like 2,000,000 people from nine countries, sent to slave camps which often became death camps. He is also accused of the actual killing of 10,000 people and of being responsible for the deaths by starvation or lack of adequate shelter of a further 150,000.

In Britain, Mosley was arrested in 1940 and taken to Brixton Jail, later moved to Holloway, where he remained in a comfortable "flat" till his release in 1943.

During the war 700 members of the British Union of Fascists were detained in the Isle of Man. Their release began in October, 1944.

Surely even hardened Communists can see some difference in treatment between that of a handful of known fascists—and thereby sympathisers with the enemy of 1939—and the multitudes of people in the categories quoted above. Some of them were certainly enemies of the Soviet State—but what of the philatelists and the restaurant owners?

Admittedly, in the Colonies Britain practises mass punishment and deportation in a style of which Serov could approve, but the point in all that kind of comparison is this: Russian society is supposed to be different from capitalist states. Russia is supposed to be a socialist country and therefore we have the right to expect something better, more humane, more ethical, than we get from capitalists and imperialists.

But we don't get it. Instead we get the Stalins and the Berias and the Serovs, with mass murder on their hands.

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