

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The only human relations that have value are those that are rooted in mutual freedom."
—BERTRAND RUSSELL.

WALTER AT YALTA

TITO ON THE TIGHTROPE

WHEN Khrushchev launched his denunciation of Stalin at the famous 20th Congress of the Russian C.P., one man in Europe heaved a bigger sigh of relief than everybody else's—Marshal Tito, President of Yugoslavia.

Ever since Tito parted company with Stalin in 1948, this erstwhile hero of the workers' struggle was denounced by the faithful party members in every other country in a choice collection of zoological terms, usually of the carrion-eating varieties. The man who had nobly supported the anti fascist struggle in Spain, and organised partisans in his own country to fight the Nazis (after 1941 of course) and led his Communist Party to power in 1945 was suddenly discovered (like so many erstwhile heroes) to have been an agent of disruption and reaction.

Then when it was announced that after all the man doing all the damage was Stalin himself, the comrades' estimate of Tito was admitted to have been all a terrible mistake, and the breach in the Communist world began to heal. All the faithful party comrades in every other country recognised Tito for a good chap after all.

Tito, however, who knows the game from the inside, wants something more than protestations of friendship, and during all the time he has been in the Marxist wilderness he has been doing all right for himself in the capitalist jungle. Spurned by the East, he soon chummed up with the West, and found considerable economic advantages to be gained through friendly co-existence with capitalist America and royalist Britain. Gracefully accepting tea and cakes from the Queen and dollars from Dulles, Tito found that being a renegade from the Iron Curtain had its compensations after all.

But it did have its dangers too. And while it was comforting to have the latest American armaments and machinery, Tito knew full well that in the event of a show-down between East and West, he wouldn't last very long. What he wanted was to be friendly with both sides—and Khrushchev's anti-Stalin ace turned out to be the trump card for Tito too.

But just what is going on between the Kremlin and Tito now seems to be anybody's guess. Unannounced and with

no fuss or bother, Khrushchev has been having secret talks with Tito in Belgrade and Yalta—being joined at the latter place by Bulganin and by some choice old friends, including police boss Serov and Hungary's Erno Gero, known to Tito in the old days as 'Pedro'.

Tito certainly remembered them. They had all been working for Stalin during the Spanish civil war 20 years before. That was when Tito was a Comintern agent travelling under the name of Walter, and Pedro and Serov were top Russian secret police operators. In that office, Serov, Pedro and Walter (and other Communist notables, including France's André Marty and Italy's Palmiro Togliatti) shared a common assignment: the liquidation of all Left elements in the Spanish anti-Franco forces that were not completely subservient to Stalin.

When, in 1948, it became Tito's turn to reject subservience to Stalin (for totally different reasons from the Spanish Left), his old comrades Pedro (now known as Erno Gero) and Serov (with much experience in liquidation behind him), were among the organisers of the eight-years-long barrage of vilification which was aimed at destroying him from behind the Iron Curtain.

Now, however, the twists and turns of Fate, as codified in the Party Line, have led to a reunion of these old friends, all so well equipped to work for a better future for the world's workers.

What brought them together? They want to use each other. Khrushchev badly needs a triumph to impress the comrades at home, and to bring Tito back to the fold and heal the breach in the Communist world would increase his

prestige immensely. To achieve this he is reported to have offered Tito backing for an important position in an association of satellite states, through which the new line of 'liberalisation' and decentralisation could be effectively guided by Moscow without appearing to be.

But all is not plain sailing. While the secret talks were going on, a confidential letter was being circulated among the satellite governments by the Soviet central committee attacking Tito! This has obviously stemmed from the stubborn Stalinists who fear the weakening of Moscow's grip on the satellites. At the same time, it is said, Tito is bringing to trial and jailing hundreds of pro-Stalin Yugoslavs who have been repatriated since the line changed. Plenty of comradeship all round, obviously.

As an apparent concession to Tito, Stalin-trained Matyas Rakosi has been deposed as boss of the Hungarian C.P., only to be replaced by Stalin-tainted Erno Gero! By now Tito is probably aware that Holy Joe's holy ghost is still haunting the secret committee rooms of the Kremlin.

Tito himself is Moscow-trained. He won't be easily outwitted by his comrades. When they are all Moscow-trained, the odds are fairly even! Just to give him an additional headache, however, the news comes that Eisenhower has held up delivery to Yugoslavia of some of the latest instalment of American arms equipment, until 'the situation can be more accurately appraised'. 200 jets aircraft are being held back, although light arms and economic aid are going through.

If Tito wants the best of both sides, he must sit on the fence bolt upright.

A 'Goodwill' Visit

GOVERNMENTS are skilled in the art of 'forgiving' their enemies and differ from anarchists who have long memories and are disinclined to put their trust in people who have consistently shown that they are untrustworthy. Government is one of the institutions for which we have a wholehearted contempt because in every country in the world at varying stages it has proved to be an instrument of repression, allowing freedoms here and there depending on its stability; waging war and devastating countries in the interests of the national state; working up hatred against the enemy who miraculously becomes a friend whenever economic and political changes make it necessary. But Government could not exist without men who are prepared to govern and the majority of people who acquiesce in their own exploitation. Institutions will therefore collapse only when people are sufficiently enlightened to refuse to give them their support.

How many people reflected long when the old enemy—Germany—was embraced by Britain as a brother-in-arms against the potentially new enemy—Soviet Russia—and how many will wonder for more than a brief moment at the sneaking visit of Lord Selkirk to Japan on a 'good-will' tour? The purpose of the visit is described in such a way as not to offend all the interested parties, and it is explained that Lord Selkirk's visit was not to 'undertake anything in the way of formal talks

on matters of mutual interest to London and Tokio but to foster an atmosphere of understanding in which such matters can be approached by others with frankness and candour'. Lord Selkirk underlined the generous spirit of the British Government in the matter of the Lancashire cotton mills, many of which had been forced to close down, but the Government had not taken tariff action against Japanese textile imports.

Japan is a traditional competitor of Britain's in the markets of the world, and the reason for her not taking tariff action against textile imports cannot be explained in terms of British generosity. Apart from the possibility that Japanese goods would have found their way into the Commonwealth countries in the event of the British market being closed to them, there are political considerations why Japan should be treated with considerable care. Already overtures have been made to the Soviet Union by Japan, and China represents a lucrative market for Japanese goods. All these things have to be considered by the British Government as it stretches out the hand of friendship to its ex-enemies.

We are not suggesting that countries should for ever remain in isolation because they have been to war, but smiling diplomacy is no guarantee of peace while individual Governments remain interested only in patching up old hates for the sake of a temporary economic and political expedient.

IF WE ARE TO CONTINUE PUBLICATION

WE NEED

- MORE READERS
- MORE CONTRIBUTIONS TO DEFICIT FUND

ARE YOU HELPING?

COMMENTS

A Toy for the Field-Marshal

WHILE Field-Marshal Montgomery speculates about the next war (with an eye no doubt on one of the top military jobs), and appeals for "a master global plan for the fight against world communism", he must be feeling gratified by the news that Britain and Australia are developing an intercontinental weapon which will be able to travel from London to Moscow, and beyond.

Mr. Howard Beale, the Australian Minister of Supply, said that this weapon "will make World War III an almost impossible war", but he did not say for whom it would be impossible.

Working on the justification for the arms race between the big nations—that the more weapons "we" have the less likely the enemy is to launch into a war—he no doubt means that the Soviet Union will be checked in her military ambitions now that Britain is again ahead with modern armaments. But we are never told what is likely to happen when Russia has developed her war potential to the same extent as Britain and the United States (if she has not done so already). Surely the logical conclusion is, that greater and more efficient weapons must then be developed until such a time as the arsenals are packed to overflowing and weapons either must be used in a war or become obsolete. Assuming that there is no war, is it not a lunatic system which gears its economy to the manufacture of weapons on a vast scale which might never be used?

Of course there is always another way of getting rid of weapons, that is to export them to the troubled spots of the world. In *FREEDOM*, October 6th, an article *Ammunition in Demand*, points to the armaments industry which has been very successful in the export market. The British Productivity Council reports that:

"Ammunition is a dollar-earning export, since most foreign sales have been to N.A.T.O. countries under the United States 'off-shore' procurement programme. It may be said here, in parenthesis, that the success of Gt. Britain in this field is a further indication of the increases in productivity which have been secured."

Can it not therefore be concluded that in the interests of the armament manufacturers and the 'national economy' the more crises there are the better off these interested parties will be?

The cost in human suffering is rarely counted; large sections of the world's population may not be able to eat but at least there will always be guns to fire and guided missiles available to destroy them.

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Expedient Sacraments

WE do not think it necessary to the eventual happiness of a marriage union that the two people concerned should be given a blessing by the Church, but for people who are anxious for such a sacrament and are prevented from receiving this by the presumption of the Bishops of the Church of England, a 'concession' has now been granted on the plea of the Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. H. Montgomery Campbell. He has won the bench over to his view that a six months 'spiritual quarantine' for divorced people who have remarried is against 'some of the most striking commands of our Lord'. Thus, it is now proposed that as soon as a diocesan bishop is satisfied that divorced people who have remarried are in 'good faith', he may approve their receiving the sacraments. It is difficult to know what special qualifications a bishop has for deciding how people should conduct their lives, but they will continue to think of themselves as representatives of Almighty God as long as people are naive enough to grant them powers not possessed by ordinary men.

We may ask why the bishops have now reversed their position in this matter of marrying divorced persons. Is it because they have suddenly seen the light and are convinced that excommunication is against 'some of the most striking commands of our Lord?' Or is it really that the Church is losing ground and can no longer afford to impose its archaic laws on the people? In the competitive struggle for adherents the souls of a few divorced persons can be better than no souls at all.

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Another Almighty God

ANOTHER man who would set himself up as supreme arbiter in human affairs is Lord President Clyde who, in Edinburgh Court of Sessions, granted to a declared communist and atheist the custody of his child on condition that he allows her to have a Christian upbringing.

This silly old man who has the power to decide the course of some lives said that:

"Atheism and a child's welfare were almost mutually exclusive according to our standards of civilized society, and it would be almost impossible for a Scottish court to give custody of a child to an atheist with the prospect of a child being brought up without a religious teaching."

The father accepted the court's decision in order to keep his child and will no doubt counteract the Christian training in his own way. As a communist he ought to recognise the similarity between the authoritarianism of the Christian and Communist Churches.

VIEWPOINT

The Reason Behind Seretse's Return

THE Labour Party and the Conservative Party have been anxious to convey to the world their anxiety over the exiled Seretse Khama, and when it was announced a few weeks ago that he was to be 'allowed' to return to his territory both parties crowded about the part they had played in the decision.

Now anarchists invariably refer to an unwritten law in their assessment of political 'concessions', and that is always to look for the base movements behind what may be considered by most people a human and decent gesture on the part of the Government.

For years Seretse Khama has been forced to live in this country—a step which has been supported by both sides of the house, and then suddenly conscience takes over and Will Griffiths holds his bloated heart at the Labour Party conference and joyously cheers for the re-

turn of Seretse. As we suspected, however, the wet front diverted attention from the real reasons behind the return; it has now been revealed that copper, coal and possibly uranium have been discovered in Bechuanaland and "peaceful and profitable exploitation of the territory's mineral wealth is only possible if tribal affairs are running smoothly."

George Vine writing in the *News Chronicle* (16/10/56) says:—

"Mining companies are as tight as oysters about their finds but it is known here that the giant Oppenheimer group is seeking a concession to put money into Bechuanaland."

Large-scale prospecting backed by the Colonial Development Corporation and latterly by Oppenheimers has been going on for eight years."

Who better to have on the right side than a cultivated European-educated man like Seretse when investing money in a profitable venture?

