

"Leadership is more likely to be assumed by the aggressive than by the able, and those who scramble to the top are more often motivated by their own inner torments than by any demand for their guidance." -BERGEN EVANS.

Vol. 17, No. 50

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December 15th, 1956

Threepence

HUNGARY

A TRIAL OF STRENGTH

SHOOTINGS, deportations, starvation - all are availing Janos Kadar nothing in his attempts to crush the spirit of the Hungarian people. Conscious now of their own strength, demonstrating that they can survive by organising their own social life, the Hungarians have refused to knuckle under in spite of everything Kadar has been able to throw at them. As we go to press the country is locked in another general strikethe workers' answer to Kadar's attempts to crush the workers' councils. These councils are the only effective social institutions in Hungary to-day, and the only organisations claiming the loyalty of the people. And rightly so-for they are the people. Over the last fortnight the councils have emerged—as always when the people take action for themselves-and now stand facing Kadar in a trial of strength. At his disposal are some policemen, and the Soviet occupying forces. That's all. None of his orders are obeyed, none of his pronouncements worth the paper they are written on. He is a discredited quisling blustering like an impotent wind at a brick wall. Recognising that every day that passes brings more strength and perstige to the workers' councils, Kadar has ordered their dissolution and has arrested many membersparticularly of the central workers' council in Budapest. Many arrests have been prevented, however, by the workers facing the police and the Soviet tanks and refusing to allow their comrades to be taken away. By announcing a state of siege throughout the whole country, Kadar has declared that anyone found with arms in his or her possession will be taken before a summary court-martial, and under military law the sentence for the offence is death. The Russians have long since given up any pretence of acting with any kind of decency in Hungary. Their blatant kidnapping of Imre Nagy, after agreeing with the Yugo-

slavs to give him safe conduct if he came out of the Yugoslav Embassy, showed that they have no concern with what the world thinks of them-or of their new-found friendly relations with Tito. They are concerned with one thing only: to clamp down their tyranny again upon the Hungarian people.

The Western governments are not given to encouraging workers' revolutions, even against 'enemy' governments. For all governments have one principle in common: the workers must be kept down. The British and American authorities would far rather deal with Khrushchev or Kadar than with workers' councils whose very existence could be an encouragement to the creation of similar councils here. And British bourgeois sympathy for the Hungarians would quickly wane if workers here began to take revolutionary action to aid them. Similarly the Russian leaders are scared stiff of the possibilities of revolt spreading throughout their empire. And it could, as reports of unrest there show. With international support, the Hungarians can win. Without it, they can still win -but at what a ghastly cost, as the Russian courts martial go into action.

SPARKS from the fires of Hungary are flying in the Eastern European satellites of the Soviet Empire -and they are falling on dry, inflammable material. From Bulgaria and Rumania, from East Germany and Esthonia, come reports and rumours of student demonstrations, workers' protests or military disaffection.

Seething Satellites

chev is taking steps in an attempt to ensure that there will be no second Hungary in any other satellite state. How successful he is will depend to a large extent on how well he can keep his grip on the Russian people themselves.

Mr. Khrushchev is a very worried man. He is likely to get more and more worried as time goes on.

But they have backed a loser this time. And the longer the struggle goes on, the more dangerous does it become for the Kremlin, for the more likelihood is there of solidarity being expressed in the satellite countries.

For the first time, last Monday, the call went out from the Hungarian workers' councils for general strikes in other countries as protests against the 'anti-worker activities' of the Kadar régime. We are ashamed to say that the call fell on deaf ears in the West, but such a call could be answered by the workers of Poland, and then, why not, by workers in East Germany and Rumania. The Hungarians have clearly seen that their true allies are not the governments of the West, in spite of the hostility towards Russia, but the workers.

Still the Hungarians have the strength. As long as they keep the economy of the country in their hands they cannot be defeated. They may be shot, but they can't be made to work.

Even from Russia itself there filters out reports of a discontent coming ever more to the surface, as students begin to demand some of the 'democratisation' they have been hearing about, and unsubstantiated rumours reach us of miners striking in the Donbas coalfields.

There is necessarily, under the prevailing circumstances of strict censorship, much speculation in these reports, but best possible confirmation of some of them comes through the condemnation of the rebellious spirits published in the official press or uttered over the official radio. The examples of Poland and Hungary are providing the men in the Kremlin with some revolutionary lessons they had long forgotten, but now they are remembering how contagious rebellion can be when conditions are right for it.

And conditions in Bulgaria and Rumania are not so different from those in Hungary. So Mr. Khrush-

RUMANIA

A CCORDING to what The Observer calls 'a circumstantial report reaching London from a highly-placed source in Bucharest', it had been the Russian leaders' intention to use Rumanian troops in Hungary. This would have been a grim repetition of history and a particularly cynical tactic on the part of the Russians, for Rumanian troops had taken a prominent part in crushing the Hungarian Communist revolution in 1919.

It is an indication of the utter corruption of the Russian leaders that they thought-if indeed they did-of using Rumanian troops against the Hungarian people. Unfortunately for Khrushchev and company, however, the Rumanians have believed all the propaganda about the friendship of the peoples of the Socialist Bloc, and they weren't kidded by the stories of the fascist counterrevolution in Hungary. In fact they were ready to have a go themselves against Russian domination.

According to the 'highly-placed source in Bucharest' Mr. Khrushchev flew to Bucharest just before the Russians began their all-out attack on Hungary on November 4th, and called on the Rumanian Government to give its troops for this sinister purpose. But Mr. Gheorghiu-Dej, Rumanian Communist Party's secretary, and his colleagues in the Rumanian puppet government who have taken up an unswervingly pro-Soviet position throughout the crisis, had reluctantly to tell Mr. Khrushchev that their Army could not be relied upon for such an operation, both because of the large Hungarian minority within its ranks and because of the general appeal of the Hungarian movement. There would be serious danger that the trouble, far from being extinguished, might spread to Rumania if the use of Rumanian troops were attempted. Khrushchev took the hint, and not only flew back to Moscow in a temper, but gave orders for the Rumanian army to be disarmed. Even before the Khrushchev visit, Soviet forces in Rumania had been increased considerably beyond the normal garrison of two divisions. Now further

German Rearmament: Profits for Britain

THERE is good news for the British armament manufacturers this week from Western Germany. Herr Franz Josef Strauss, the Federal Minister of Defence has announced that: "there would be no slackening in the West German rearmament effort and that present plans would be pushed ahead without any regards to the coming Federal election and the unpopularity of conscription among young people . . some orders (for equipment) were under close consideration and (the Minister) believed that important orders would be placed with British firms. He did not envisage German production of much heavy equipment . . . for a long time to come." Herr Strauss, like Eden, who said some time ago that Germany must take her share of military commitments so as not to be in a position to compete unfairly in the markets of the world with Britain, is unconcerned with the fact that there are thousands of young people in Germany who have actively opposed conscription. There will be plenty of support however, from former members of the Waffen S.S., and a decision has been taken by the Federal Government that all members-up to the previous rank of full Colonel, are eligible for enlistment as regulars. Who better to whip recruits into submission than the "ex"-Nazis?

NASSER BUT STRYDOM NOT **Hitler of the African Continent**

T seems that tyranny has to be on a large scale and carried out by political opponents before the public conscience is roused into protest or sympathy. Newspapers in this country are loudly outspoken in their condemnation of events in Hungary and funds are being raised on a nation-wide scale for famine relief and aid generally for the Hungarian people.

Middle class ladies, students and a number of unlikely organisations are suddenly on the side of a revolutionary people without, we suggest, understanding very much about it, but because they have been told the uprising in Hungary is against "communism".

It is right that refugees from a tyrannical Government should be selves to the falseness of the motives given aid but do not let us blind our. of a large number of people in this country. We wonder what the reaction would be if the workers' councils in Hungary developed into a national movement with the aim of abolishing all Governments and not just the Kremlin stooges. We are sure that the present supporters of all religious and political persuasions would be in favour of restoring "law and order". In the meantime pious speeches will continue to belch from Parliament and other places in defence of freedom, while we, who are concerned with the freedom of all people, wait in vain for an equally vigorous attack on the recent behaviour of the South African Government. One hundred and forty people have been arrested throughout South Africa and thrown into jail to await trial on a charge of

Little information has reached this country about the charges or the people arrested except that over half are of Indian origin and that a number of well known people are among the accused including Mr. Lee Warden, Native Member of Parilament for Cape Western; Professor Mathews, Acting Principal of the African University of Fort Hare and Rev. D. C. Thompson, who was associated with Torch Commando.

The Crime of Opposition

Few informed people will accept the validity of the charges (with the possible exception of the South African Whites who have to justify their own position) made by the psychopathic Strydom and his followers. Already, to his credit, Canon Collins has issude a public statement on behalf of Christian Action:

'Let no one be deceived by the sweeping charges of treason against these men and women, whose only crime is that of opposition to racial intolerance.' Information given to us by South Africans resident in this country endorses this view. Freedom of speech is not only suppressed, but Africans are not even permitted elementary freedom of movement. Passes are necessary before the

African is allowed to move from

one part of a city to another; "tens

of thousands are jailed for not having the right papers in their pockets". Even some of the whites are not free from the tyranny. The editorial, in the new publication Africa South (published in South Africa) states that:

Under the Group Areas Act, even White South Africans are to be ordered to leave their homes and uproot their communities and live where the Government instructs them to.

Not that the Whites would have objected to the act had it only been applicable to Africans. A spokesman of the Whites in Paarl is quoted as saying, when commenting on the Act:

When the Minister of the Interior explained the Group Areas Act to us, he did not tell us that we would be the ones to have to move.

Continued on p. 4

'treason, sedition and offences under the Suppression of Communism Act and the Riotous Assemblies Act.'

STRYDOM EXPELS **JEWISH LEADER**

A Jewish critic of the Strydom racial policies has been told to get out of South Africa by January 15. He is Dr. Andre Ungar, rabbi at Port Elizabeth. In Johannesburg yesterday, 3,000 people attended a meeting to protest against the arrest of 40 treason suspects. Detective mixed with the crowd, taking photographs.

News Chronicle, 10/12/56.

Maybe in their own self interest, the Whites who are subject to Government legislation, might make a protest. But the price of opposition is high in South Africa, and few people have been willing to pay it so far. Racialism dies hard, and it will only be those who are convinced of the immorality of the Nationalists' policies, and willing to take the consequences of saying so, who will find the courage to stand out against South African totalitarianism.

But the Government is strong and can legislate against any measure which might threaten its power. Africans and Coloured are, for all practical purposes, disfranchised although 'allowed' to vote on a separate electoral roll for white representatives. It is obvious that since these representatives are in the minority their voices can carry little weight in Parliament even if they are willing to jeopardize their poli-Continued on p. 4

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ARE YOU ? STUPID HOW A Study of Social Bias in Presumed Intelligence

DURING this century the idea of "intelligence" as a measurable attribute to the individual (like height, weight and pigmentation), has steadily grown. Binet's early work on the testing of children's intelligence, as distinct from their level of school attainment, was a sensible and productive field of investigation. Undoubtedly it is of some use in education and in vocational guidance to have some measure of an individual's abilities as distinct from the previous use to which such abilities may have been put. Economic and social inequalities have always meant that the intelligent children of the poor have had less opportunity to get the education and the occupations which their abilities merit, than those children of the rich and socially well-connected who may be fundamentally stupid. To some extent, therefore, the concept of a measurable intelligence has assisted in a move towards greater equality of opportunity in education and in occupation. It has also been of great help in clinical and social medicine in identifying and caring for the not inconsiderable portion of the population who are born with various degrees of mental defect. In the rural village of pre-industrial Britain, the "village idiot" was a member of the community with his recognized rights to proper maintenance and care; but in the later urban jungle the individual whose only crime was a low natural endowment of mental ability, more often was lumped into the workhouse or prison to rot there along with the insane, diseased, criminal, and other types of "social derelicts". What is now of interest, however, is how the technique of measuring

intelligence has acquired a social bias. This is more easily demonstrated than explained. Let us consider first the Weckster Bellvue test, which was designed to test the intelligence of adolescents and adults. It is an American test, but has been modified for use in Britain and is widely used here. Let us see how intelligent the reader is.

Question: "Why should we keep from bad company?"

Specimen answers:

(a) [We] usually follow in their footsteps.

(b) [They] will get you into trouble. (c) So we wouldn't be picked up. And which alternative would you give? Which do you think is the most intelligent reason for avoiding "bad company"? (a) Scores 2 credits, (b) scores 1 credit, (c) scores zero! So if you think yourself such a weak-minded fool that you must necessarily follow in the footsteps of your associates you are rated most highly in intelligence-but if you take a more realistic view of the world you may score zero. Try another:

course "Who is the Prime Minister?" next comes "Who was Prime Minister before him?" The present writer was present at a certain University department when the doctor in charge rebuked a student for scoring question 2 as correct when the subject answered "Winston Churchill" on the grounds that it should have been "Attlee". A little discussion of recent political history ensued before the doctor realized that she would have scored zero on the most elementary question of the test! It just happened that she, like many other highly intelligent people, really did not care much about who followed who in Downing Street. This test is not entirely biassed

weighted on the side of middle-class social conformity and academic education. The Binet test which is commonly given to children, is a somewhat fairer measure of intelligence, since it does not penalize deviations from orthodoxy so heavily, but it too is biassed in favour of the child who is familiar with the language and the concepts of an educated middle-class home. If then you are at any time submitted to the ordeal of a Weckster

Bellvue, or similar intelligence test, whether for job-selection, or magistrate's order for medical report, or otherwise, remember the golden rule. Imagine that you have the social orientation of a policeman and the vocabulary of a schoolmaster (a public school one-not those drill sergeants in charge of the Secondary Moderns). Answer accordingly and you will get a high I.Q. Above all-remember not to be too clever. G.

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Question: "Why should people pay taxes?"

Specimen Answers:

(a) To support government.

(b) For upkeep of institutions of all kinds.

(c) So that other people can make more money.

Here of course the cynical but somewhat realistic answer scores zero, concern for the upkeep of social services scores only 1, but support for the government scores 2. At this rate anarchists can never hope to be rated well on intelligence.

Question: "Why are laws neces-

by its social orientation; it contains many items such as arithmetical reasoning and logical deduction from pictures which, taken all together, are a fair test of general mental ability; but such is the selection of the verbal material that it is highly

work is an activity dictated by need and

satisfying it directly. It can then be

described as a biological activity, and

can be assumed to be psychologically

healthy, because there is a clear and un-

broken link between motive and fulfil-

ment, and because any peril and effort it

involves is accepted as the will of spirits

and gods which are for the primitive

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sophisticated, work still retains its

healthy character when its object is no

the natural order of things.

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and his habitat, but operates from an IN the most primitive societies, and in alien human will. what may be called a state of nature,

> Because this will is accidental and gratuitous, with no necessity for its exercise, it is felt and resented as an attaint to freedom. Submission to another person's will makes work unethical and indistinguishable from slavery. Work is unnatural when not wanted by the worker himself, but performed by him under threat of imprisonment, physical pain or death. Under the capitalist dispensation this threat is disguised but not abolished, since no natural resources can be acceded to without submission to an alien will.

The few references to slavery and the exercise of the mechanical arts which we find in the writings of Western antiquity (Republic, VI, 495E; Gorgias, IX, 512 B, C, Ecclesiasticus, chapter 39) clearly testify to the degrading character attached to work in societies so organized as to allow some of their members not to do any work and thereby live better than the others. The thoughtful accepted degradation (for others) without gualms as the natural and rightful consequence of inferior birth or capture through war. The same causes of the same degradation are still operative to-day, although work, as submission to an alien will, is no longer openly despised., Three main reasons account for this change, namely: that the alien will acts in a most indirect, intricate and impersonal way; that feelings of nobility and freedom are no longer clear nor much cared for; and that submission has been found to work more smoothly and effectively by not being presented for what it really is. Yet practically everybody still looks on work as something to be avoided if possible, looks for jobs in which he will tell others rather than be told himself what to do, and accepts a ruling and leisure

from complete defencelessness against uninhibited rape to legalized prostitution.

The comparison between salaried work and prostitution looks now oldfashioned and in bad taste; nor has it ever been very popular, in spite of its aptness, because practically every male, even if class-conscious and of revolutionary ideas, irrationally holds that his rôle in the sexual operation is superior to the female's, and sees himself in this rôle, and not in that of the female, whenever he is confronted with rape, prostitution, or any situation which may be likened to these. To be persuaded of I this one has only to listen to the intonations, and to reflect on the implications, which accompany on each and every

Try another.

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sary?"

Specimen Answers:

- (a) Life is so complex that laws are necessary to live amicably.
- (b) To govern people-keep them in control.
- (c) To make people obey-they make me obey.

Here I leave it to the reader to add the appropriate scoring as he will now have seen what kind of social orientation is implied in the Weckster Bellvue idea of "intelligence".

It is instructive to consider the question of general knowledge considered as a measure of intelligence. The first question on the list is of

longer exclusively, or even principally, the satisfaction of primary needs, but the pleasure of giving and of eliciting friendliness, gratitude and admiration. It is still healthy, from a psychological, though perhaps not from an ethical point of view, when the product of one's work is exchanged for a service of another product according to the will of the two persons concerned, with no pressure of urgency or competition.

When, however, what is exchanged or sold, is not the product of one's work, but work itself, one's physical and mental energies, one's time and availability; the conditions which make work a healthy and natural activity are no longer there. An element of compulsion enters which does violence to the individual's physiological make-up, and is not inherent in the connection between him

THE PLEASURES OF TRAVEL

A FRIEND of mine who recently made those things which he himself considered a trip to New York returned to this to be important.

country in a state of considerable excitement. He said that throughout his stay There can certainly be no question that in America he had not met anyone who travel is the best way to cultivate one's approved of McCarthy, nor had he found knowledge of the opinions and attitudes of the peoples of other countries. Everyone has their own point of view, and the best way to reach an understanding of it is to go and find out what it is-at first hand. No longer can it be said that the trouble with going abroad is that there are so many awful foreigners when you get there; a new approach is now being adopted. A general feeling of friendliness towards those of other nations is the order of the day. This can be observed throughout the world almost anywhere one goes. The warm-hearted acceptance of British nationals in the far-flung corners of the earth: the universal acceptance of the American with his dollars; the overwhelming pleasure at the presence of the Russian with his splendid new ideas.

dom from compulsion. Selling one's labour is in a sense more degrading than working under threat of blows, torture and death, because these constitute a negation of freedom in terms of the body rather than of the spirit. With the removal of the threat, the slave would be a free man, and would do his best not to fall under the same threat again. But he who sells his labour, according to all appearances, renounces his freedom out of his own free will; he goes and looks himself for a master when he has none. Appearances do not correspond to the real state of affairs, but to the extent that they are upheld and acted upon as if they did correspond, the worker disqualifies himself for the dignity of freedom. The feeling that he has renounced it voluntarily is very real, and he takes pains to appreciate it again with a clear conscience.

class fundamentally because he hopes

to be a member of it himself or vicar-

iously enjoys in imagination their free-

occasion the word metaphorically most used in the English spoken language.

One thing is certain, that on no consistent moral set of principles can prostitution be condemned and the selling of one's labour approved. Both practices are due more or less to the same causes and circumstances; and when regular prostitutes refer to their activities as "work", they are in no wise misusing the word. Under certain circumstances this kind of work may be easier and less unpleasant than the other kind, and if certain women prefer it, they are no more to be blamed than men who choose a cushy job in preference to a rough one. Yet our feelings towards prostitution are stronger than towards salaried work. We can bear the thought of our father being a salaried worker less painfully than that of our mother being a prostitute. There are more salaried workers than there are prostitutes, and we are salaried workers ourselves. Salaried work is general and successful, and that explains its being openly approved and encouraged; but the same applies to prostitution in those quarters and circles where it is common and remunerative.

Let us continue to consider prostitution dishonourable, but let us be aware that salaried work is dishonourable, too, and for very similar, if not exactly the same, reasons. However firmly established, and whatever the size, multiplicity and power of the institutions resting upon it; however profitable and deemed irreplaceable by all but a few endowed with faith and imagination; salaried work is not compatible for long with either happiness or dignity. It dishonours the civilization which rests on it for its existence, and it dishonours the individual who, having no choice but to submit to it, accepts it as right. It pays such a civilization as ours to insist that ideas of dignity and honour are wholly contingent and temporal; but it is possible for the mind to free itself from some of its civilizational trappings, and to conceive of a natural and a rational man by whose standard we can judge of the various civilizational types. By trusting instinct in its reactions to direct or indirect compulsion, and by using reason to elaborate the ideal, instead of limiting it to explain the real, a conception of nobility arises which fits neither the salaried worker nor his manager or employer, and by reference to which a better social system can be envisaged and hoped for.

a single person who was in favour of Capitalism for its own sake. This was not all; he proclaimed at some length that all the Americans he had met were essentially liberal-minded, fond of children, enjoyed their work, read copiously, bathed at least every other day, hated tinned foods, seldom went to the cinema, tolerated their neighbours, considered culture of the utmost value, distrusted all politicians and were one hundred per cent. in favour of those things which he himself thought important. "

Curiously enough another friend of mine happened to visit Russia a short while ago, and was tremendously enthusiastic about the people he had met. He stated with genuine fervour that he had been unable to find so much as a single trace of Stalinism anywhere. He also mentioned that none of the Russians he had met (he speaks the language fluently), were really convinced that the Soviet method was the real answer; all of them were socially-minded, fond of children, enjoyed their work, read copiously, bathed at least every other day, enjoyed tinned foods, occasionally went to the cinema, liked their neighbours, considered art to be of great value, distrusted most politicians and were in favour of

What a wealth of exciting experiences lie in store for the would-be traveller. Wherever he cares to go he can usually be sure of a warm welcome. In Cyprus or Hungary, Algeria or Egypt, Malaya or Iraq, Kenya or Syria,

For those of a more nervous disposition one can recommend a visit to Patagonia or Lapland-or the South Pole. S.B.

WORKERS' conditions under a slave or a capitalist system are equally appalling when at their worst. On the whole, however, a progress has been achieved by replacing one system by the other-the same kind of progress, at least, by which the condition of women could be said to be blessed if changed

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.



Vol. 17, No. 50. December 15, 1956.

The Truth versus the Party

IF we return again and again to the discussion of the role of the intellectual in the social and economic development of society it would be wrong to conclude from our insistence that we pin our hopes for the future on an intellectual elite. The Social revolution, anarchist, socialist or in whatever way it manifests itself, must be made by the people. But it seems to us that the intellectual climate, in which such movements for revolutionary change are born, must be provided by the writer, the poet, the philosopher, the artist-in a word, by all those members of the community who are today called the "intellectuals". Just as the land workers provide the food to sustain human life, so the intellectuals provide food for the mind. We may criticise the former for the poor quality of the crops they produce, but are realistic enough to refrain from suggesting that they should stop growing them! So with the intellectuals. We are the first to attack them for the quality of the "spiritual" food they provide but the last to criticize their function, their place in the development of society. The bitter criticism of our intellectuals, which we regularly express in these columns. is a measure of our awareness of both the harm they do as well as the contribution they could make, to the free society to which everyone, everywhere in the world to-day, is paying lip-service.

Snapshot of a Trade Union Congress

FOR four days, from October 24 to 28, the CGT Force Ouvrière held its congress, the fourth since the split of 1948. There were some 1,200 delegates assembled, that is to say a relatively direct and exact representation of the "base". And as speakers of every leaning were able to explain themselves freely it is possible to study this congress as a valid sample of a sector of the working-class movement. To place this sector we must point out that French wage-earners are affiliated in the proportion of 10 per cent. to the Communistcontrolled CGT, comprising about 11 million workers, the CFTC (a Christian trade-union body) 900,000, and the CGT-FO 800,000. There figures are approximate because each body has a tendency to exaggerate its total strength. And let us add that there are in addition two "independent" bodies (one controlled by "Gaullists", the other in the hands of former "Vichy" elements, but both weak in numbers and without fighting spirit), a confederation of staffs and technicians, without counting various autonomous federations of which the most important is that of education, which comprises the powerful teachers' union of nearly 100.000 members. "Force Ouvrière" has a strong influence among the civil servants and numerous bastions in the public services (the post office, for example) but has not been able up to the present to gain a firm footing in private industry. It is weak among the miners, the metal workers. and in building, textiles, chemical products, ports, and transport. This first conclusion largely explains its general orientation and spirit. The civil servants

are not inclined to throw themselves into strikes and prefer negotiations, pressure, proceedings. And the weight of their votes in confederal decisions traditionally comes down on the side of moderation. The wage-earners of the public services are more active and readier for a fight. That is why in the Paris region the transport workers—bus and underground have frequently had recourse to action. It is the same with the postmen and railwaymen, the first having been in at the start of the general strike of August, 1953.

Among the unions in private industry tendencies vary with each corporation and region, but also according to the proportion affiliated. For example, the textile industry, powerful enough in the north of the country and influenced by socialist tradition, is reformist and collaborationist, whereas the metal industry, where militants are less numerous and have a daily struggle to assert themselves in the face of the management and the CGT members, shows a fighting spirit, a will to organize, and a desire to intervene that are quite remarkable. In spite of its reduced numbers, its relative youth, and the poverty of its means, the Fédération des Metaux FO is beyond doubt one of the live French union organizations whose staffs are not atrophied. In the summer of 1955 it was the branches at Nantes and Saint-Nazaire who set going an energetic strike with excellent results, not only for the shipyard workers who led it but for the whole of the rudely awakened industry. These few indications enable us to understand the atmosphere of a "Force Ouvrière" congress. To complete them, however, it is necessary to point out that between congresses, which are held every two years, the confederation is controlled by an executive elected by congress and by a confederal bureau of nine members, appointed by the National Confederal Committee composed of representatives of each federation and departmental union. It is in the CCN that the different tendencies confront each other on every present problem. The Bureau, whose secretary-general is Robert Bothereau-a pupil of Jouhaux and a pale enough disciple of him, even in the field of political appearancescomprises several undistinguished union officials (Ventejol, Rose Etienne, Tribié, Veillon) and three rather curious personages: Lafond, Lebourre, and Richard. The first two, Lafond and Lebourre, were elected thanks to the support of opposition elements, formerly autonomous and libertarian. But they very quickly ceased to be controlled by those they represent (who have no other organiza-

tion available in a position to keep a grip on their representatives) and have become simple adventurers skilled in carrying out politico-social trapeze acts. Lafond and Lebourre, after having been pro-American, wildly enthusiastic "Europeanists", and supporters of direct action, are to-day embroiled in "operations" the plainest of which amount to support of Lacoste's policy in North Africa. As for Richard, who was co-opted on to the Confederal Bureau because he was secretary of the Federation of Engineers and Technicians, he is a specialist in liaisons outside the unions, the latest being that made in favour of "Labourism",

The secretary's report presented by Robert Bothereau established a definite balance sheet: increased wages, the obtaining of three weeks' annual holiday, and the success of FO in the Social Security elections. This same report advocated that the French body should remain inside the CISL, although the latter came in for lively criticism for having, against the advice of FO, recognized the UGTA (an illegal Algerian body) and admitted it as a member of the Trade Union International. Finally the secretary's report reaffirmed the impossibility of any alliance, under whatever form, with the CGT of Benoit-Frachon or with any of its subsidiaries. The discussion of the secretary's report traditionally provides an opportunity for delegates to allay their consciences and to criticize the "federal line" in whole or in part. The debate was dull -and of a lower standard than those of previous congresses. The impression emerged again and again that the heart of the problems was being deliberately ignored. This was the case, on all the evidence, in the Algerian question. Of course, different opinions were expressed to the platform, but they were only reflexions of what could be read in the daily or weekly press, without drawing on social facts, working-class positions, or social prospects. In reality there was not a study in common of an international crisis from the trade-union angle but a clash between citizens of different opinions on the occasion of a

their best to talk objectively and examine issues sensibly, had rallied the colonialist group through a reaction of fear or under the influence of threats bandied about in Algeria itself.

The solidarity of the civil servants, the lack of courage of the secretary-general, the appeal to patriotic feeling, and the delegates' being badly informed ensured that the motion put to the national confederal committee of Amiens last summer was abandoned in favour of a resolution demanding "pacification" first, "negotiation" afterwards—and by a majority of 9,500 to 2,200.

But while a policy of force was thus laid down, the motions on Tunisia and Morocco (where the French government's actions resulted in a wave of xenophobia, the massacre of settlers, and anti-French demonstrations) asked-after the pathetic interventions of the threatened civil servants-that the authority of Paris should protect French agents working in the two former protectorates. To put it bluntly, although one applauded the gesture of the French pilots of Air Atlas for their part in abducting the five leaders of the Algerian National Liberation Front, one was indignant at the consequences of this police action on the fate of the "comrades" of Rabat and Tunis. Work that out if you can! Another example of the superficial nature of the attitudes taken: there was, several times, the question of the danger of the Poujadist movement; and many were the speakers who congratulated themselves on seeing the movement disintegrated or stopped. But few were the contributions recalling that the problem was of the order of society and that the political aspect of Poujadism corresponds to a question that remains unanswered: how to clean out commercial channels choked by 300,000 or 400,000 superfluous middlemen? The only debate of any value-even though the question was left open-was the one that developed around what working-class tactics were to be useddirect action or negotiation. The majority of the working delegates recalled that in Aug. 1953, is in Oct. 1955, it was the strikes that had put an end to management stubbornness and government paralysis in the matter of wages. Robert Bothereau contented himself with saying that there was no conflict between the two methods. In theory the reply is valid. But it would not be so in practice if the choice of means depended on a calm analysis of what could be gained, since too often it results in a tendency to somnolence and a refusal to face responsibilities.

perhaps even hundreds of thousands of lives from the fury of fascist terror."

(Among the signatories of this letter is the writer M. Cholokhov who Silone, according to France Observateur, "holds in high esteem by reason of the 'great literary and human value of his writings and for his courageous participation in the

THAT the word "freedom" is on the lips of every politician, every reactionary and every tyrant; that we use the word when our children are conscripted and the independence of peoples is trampled on by the armed Forces from both sides of the Iron Curtain—such a distortion of man's most treasured commodity has been facilitated and even assisted, or connived at, by the overwhelming majority of intellectuals who in return for a privileged place in society have surrendered their independence and their integrity.

No one in the West, apart from the Communists, has any doubts as to the subservience of Russian intellectuals to the dictates of the régime. But because the written word in the West is not controlled by the State and writers and artists are not organised in Trade Unions and there is no official ban on the flow of ideas between nations, it is assumed that our intellectuals are independent. But this is far from the truth. In the "democracies" conformity is achieved by the unofficial agencies of the States in the form of economic and social pressures, and the occasionally permitted "heretical" outbursts are invariably counter-balanced by the solid voice of orthodoxy. And in general terms the intelligentsia of the West are as committed to the black and white struggle of "communism versus democracy" as are their counterparts in Russia. That they believe in the "line" they put forward is not enough. After all, the same can be said of the Russian writers who in an open letter recently published in the Literatournaia Gazeta with the title "See all the Truth" were asking their French critics to believe that the Red Army were the saviours of the Hungarian people!

20th Congress of the C.P. of the Soviet Union'.")

The views as expressed by the Russian writers may sound incredible to the writers of the West. But one must also recognise that their views appear equally incredible to their Russian colleagues! Yet they both base their appeal on the "truth": the French writers call for the "triumph of truth" the Russians want them to "See all the Truth". Can either of them see the truth in the circumstances?

ON this subject the Italian writer Ignazio Silone has recently made what amounts to a confession in a long article in the Paris weekly Express (Dec. 7): Invitation a un Examen de Conscience. He writes:

Another serious question which I want to raise and see debated, concerns intellectuals particularly. Can we still assosiate the cause of human truth, which should in spite of everything remain our principal concern, with that of a Party, of a State, of a class, and have full confidence in them on principle, as if they could not, by their very nature, fail in their "mission"? Can we still attach more weight to considerations of tactics, strategy, patriotism, organisations, than to the deep, impulse which forces us to recognise factual truth before all else? If I use the plural in asking this question, I can assure you that it is not for rhetorical effect. The question concerns me too, and even most intimately, as well as all my friends who have not drawn a line between their work as writers and a constant feeling of social responsibility. What should one do? Perhaps it is known that due to a number of unfortunate circumstances of life, I have already been obliged to change my residence several times, but I have never tried to find lodgings in the Ivory Tower, though I have heard it said that it is mild and pleasant there. No, I do not feel at all gifted to sing on my own. But the ways of committing oneself (l'engagement), and above all the spirit in which one does so need to be reexamined. And in his concluding remarks he declares: It is time we dispensed with intermediaries in our contacts with truth and with the people. Perhaps this is our greatest duty now, after the Hungarian lesson. We must learn from the people their truths and let them know ours.

trade-union congress. Feelings and passions, propaganda and reactions, contradicted each other regardless of all preliminary working-class documentation.

So one saw the Algiers delegation (32 members), who came by air, representing unions to whom subscriptions had been paid three days before the congress was held, indulging in chauvinist and colonialist demonstrations. And one could conclude that the various North African union militants, who at other times did

S. PARANE.

EAST GERMANY Ulbricht's Party Depressed

OPPOSITE number of the Daily Worker for German communists is Neues Deutschland or New Germany. It has just published to the Party membership the report issued by the Political Bureau. The statement is a fortnight overdue: just the usual Party inefficiency. Chief points in this apology for the East German Communist Party are as follows. There is abject recognition of the leading rôle of the Soviet Party among all other communist Parties and workers' parties. The "workers' parties" referred to are the communist parties in the satellite States where the communists are still too ashamed to call their parties by the same name as the mother party of the conquering nation. In East Germany the communists have labelled their organization the "Socialist Unity Party". Whom this title deceives it would be impossible to say.

Polish forms and methods might be advantageously introduced into the East Zone of Germany to secure the construction of socialism.

More Self-criticism

None the less, he counselled the comrades to begin a searching criticism along creative lines of specific developments in other countries and to extract therefrom whatever could be usefully taken over and what ideas ought to be thrown out.

the politbureau for its having been unable to provide information on everything that had been happening in Poland and Hungary. Nevertheless, he ambiguously added, they had been quick to sense the threatening aspect of the manner in which the errors had been corrected. ... Which is another way of saying that they deplored the wholesale massacre of working men in Budapest and the destruction to the amount of one hundred million pounds sterling of housing and other property. Geographically speaking, the communist comrades in East Germany are in a spot. Should the workers still controlled by them rise in revolt a second time escape is cut off for the "leaders". (Exactly as FREEDOM forecast some time ago, Rakosi made his get-away to Moscow. He dare not show his face in Hungary). Satellite Stalinists can slip across the Soviet border into humiliating safety. Not so Ulbricht and his fellows. They'd have to signal a Soviet naval vessel to take them away.

"It seems to us that in these difficult moments, you have believed the calumenies, the lies and the ill-disposed reports which have been circulated in France on the friends of our country. It was just at the time when you published your statement against us, calling for the 'triumph of truth', that Soviet soldiers, sacrificing their lives, saved tens and

Comrade Schirdewan Speaks

Delivering the report in his capacity of chief of cadres, Comrade Schirdewan gave the assurance that imperialism would never succeed in using the principle of the national independence of the peoples against the German Communist Party in the way it had done in Hungary's case. (All the evidence to the contrary, the official "line" is that Western Imperialism alone has caused the present blood-letting in that unhappy land. Eastern Imperialism is not even conceived of—except secretly—as being almost the sole cause of the revolt).

Schirdewan thanked his Party's "Polish friends" for their interest in the matter, but rejected as false the assumption that

Ideological shocks suffered in the ranks of the East German communists were dealt with in great detail. Members are overwhelmed, beaten off-course, by various "depressional phenomena". There has been a "flaring up of hostile discussions". So the call goes forth to close the ranks. "We may not permit any struggle of views to be misused so as to lay open our ranks to an onrush of reactionary, bourgeois influences." It was admitted that-to use the Party jargonthe clear ideological front between Marxist-Leninist ideology and bourgeois ideology was being blurred by opportunistic outlooks, liberalistic distortions, and by the denial of Leninistic standards in the conduct of Party affairs.

Deviations Creeping In

Deviations of this kind were creeping in on tip-toe. One could now read scores of articles by Polish and Hungarian intellectuals which aimed at imposing upon the Kremlin-loyal Socialist Unity Party of East Germany a new representation of world affairs based on the foundation of an ideological coexistence with bourgeois ideologies. The speaker apologized on behalf of

Cult of Individuals Still Alive

Frankfurther Allgemeine Zeitung of 29 November gave a fair account of this report, heading it "Depression in Ulbricht's Party". In France the communists call their party Thorez's Party, doing so officially—especially on recruiting forms. In England Gollan's Goons and Pollitt's Poppets are still unofficial titles for the C.P.G.B.

Professor of Marxism in Jail

Since the above-mentioned Politbureau meeting the communists have arrested certain of their own number. The Daily

Students Arrested in E. Germany

EVENTS and attitudes in East Germany are dealt with more fully elsewhere in FREEDOM, but it should be noticed that arrests of students are taking place there too.

4

It was reported last week that at least 86 university students and lecturers are being held in East German prisons for political reasons. On the missing list are 141 others.

These figures were admitted by Herr Johannes Dieckmann, president of the East German People's Chamber, in reply to an inquiry from the German Students' Association, which had compiled a list of 350 names of academic prisoners. But Herr Dieckmann said 122 of these had been released. He could not find the names of 141 "on any register." One had died in prison.

Among a group of Communist intellec-

Continued from p. 3

tuals arrested last week in East Berlin, was Wolfgang Harich, professor at Berlin University. He has had a long-standing professional friendship with the Hungarian Communist philosopher Georg Lukacs, who was appointed Minister of Education in the short-lived Nagy Government in Budapest. (He had held a similar position during the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919).

Lukacs had sought asylum, like Nagy, in the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest, but had disappeared since leaving it a few days before Nagy was abducted. His friend Harich, in East Berlin, has been openly approving of the lines taken by Gomulka in Poland and Nagy in Hungary. All this is sufficient for the East German Government to denounce him as conspiring with the 'counterrevolutionary Petoefi circle' in Hungary.

AND IN RUSSIA

IN the workers' fatherland itself, outspoken opposition to the government has reached such proportions among the students in Moscow that the university authorities have had to call for assistance from the 'special section'-i.e. the university secret police. These gentlemen have gone to work and an unknown number of students have been arrested on suspicion of forming an underground political organisation.

In one recent case, a lecturer on international affairs received a large number of written questions, all dealing with Poland and Hungary. When he tried to evade the questions and to reply with a general statement on the "cult of the individual" on official lines, the students at first interrupted, clamouring for straight answers, and when he persisted, walked out in a body.

At other meetings, too, complaints that they were not allowed to know the full text of Gomulka's speech and the concrete measures taken in Poland to improve "control from below" played a big rôle, and Polish and Hungarian students in Moscow were frequently called upon to give "the true facts" as distinct from the official Soviet version.

It is said that some student discussiongroups have gone so far as to deliberate on the rôle and function of the Supreme Soviet and have suggested its replacement by a more democratic parliament, chosen in free elections. It may be that these are the sort of groups which have now been arrested.

FREEDOM The Pope's Appeal for Peace

FROM time to time the Pope gives utterance to special pleas for peace and goodwill among the nations. Without fail, these pleas are given advertisement by our national press. Never, repeat never, is any doubt or criticism of the value of these Vatican appeals allowed.

This in spite of Vatican history, both distant and recent, which leaves very little to the imagination.

When one considers the collaboration between the Vatican and the dictatorships of the 'thirties the value of to-day's pleading depends solely upon whether the policy of Rome has changed since the days of Mussolini and Abyssinia.

That the answer is in the negative is clearly demonstrated by (a) present conditions in Columbia and Spain, where religious persecution is rife and (b) the continued Catholic assertions that the human liberties are subject to the rules of the Catholic Church.

To mention a recent episode which occurred within my own small sphere, there is the local R.C. priest who said, Slough.

publicly, "I believe that all R.C.s throughout the Country will support the resolution calling for the expulsion of Russia and her satellites from U.N.O.". Though I wrote several times in protest to the local press they failed to publish my letters and my Labour M.P., whilst deploring the priest's statement, did not deem it necessary to take any action. Since the Labour candidate for the Council, in the same Ward as the priest, is a Roman Catholic one might be excused for suspecting a spot of jiggerypokery.

Meanwhile an appeal to Anarchists and Freethinkers. To Anarchists I say do not let your disinterest or ignorance, whichever it may be, cause you to ignore the danger of State religions. To Freethinkers, do not ignore the politicians who, generally, rely upon the support of the churches. One is the prop of the other. Better still, close your ranks. To blazes with the idea that it would cause disunity-how can disunity exist in Anarchism and Freethought? E.F.C.

Telegraph of December 3 speaks of serious rifts between the East German communists. Quite so. The more they protest to Moscow that all is well and that they are united the less faith must be put in their protestations.

Professor Wolfgang Harich, their most prominent Marxist and a kind of towering Palme Dutt in Germany, has been put under lock and key. Into prison with him go three of his closer comrades. They have been declared enemies of the State. This does not mean, however, that they have become anti-Statists; only the State must be run as they would have it run.

Who would be a communist these days?

IWAN POPOWITSCH. Albania Next?

Small as Albania is she is important to the Soviet Imperialists. Need arising she could be used as a naval base to hold Yugoslavia in awe at least; at worst to launch military attacks on that country from the rear.

FREEDOM hopes next week to carry some information regarding Albania and its so-called Party of Labour. This information will be drawn entirely from Communist sources inaccessible to The Daily Worker called in Italian Communist circles "The Daily Menace". I.P.

It is unlikely that there has in fact been anything in the nature of an organised body, but certainly informal discussion groups have grown considerably in number since last Spring, when the furore began after Khrushchev's anti-Stalin speech at the 20th Congress.

The students' discussions of the repressive policies of Stalin and Zhdanov led naturally enough to discussions of the Government, and to criticism of the present leadership for delaying "Genuine democratisation." When criticism began to extend from the misdeeds of the past to the shortcomings of the present, the authorities decided things had gone far enough. A certain amount of more or less uncontrolled discussion has been encouraged by the Party as a safety valve, to give the appearance of more liberal official attitudes and to encourage the elimination of those bureaucratic inefficiencies which they want eliminated.

But on a number of occasions discussion meetings officially called by the faculties have been "taken over" by the students and turned into demonstrations for greater "democratisation", with professors and Party officials unable to retain control.

The indefatigable Khrushchev spoke to a Moscow youth meeting last month (how that man gets around!) and apparently thought the students' unrest important enough to warrant a few serious words from his lofty pinnacle. He said :

"The enemies of socialism gamble particularly on the young people, trying to deceive them with false slogans, to divert them from the correct path. Therefore we must continually increase our vigilance, and devote more attention to the correct training of youth."

Making his warning more pointed, Mr. Khrushchev went on to speak of the need to "repulse unhealthy phenomena" and warned university students that, unless they toed the party line, they would be expelled. He added that "we must improve our system of admission to the universities" by making sure that only "people devoted to the cause of Lenin" get in.

But the students have not been intimidated. Meetings have continued to criticise the 'bureaucratic degeneration' of Soviet society, but far from being anxious to return to capitalism, the students staunchly maintain that they are the true socialists.

They recite classical revolutionary poetry to justify their criticism of the ruling Party bureaucracy, and rouse tremendous applause when they attack the prevailing atmosphere of lies, sterile propaganda slogans and bureaucratic inertia.

PMG Bans Scottish Nationalist Broadcast

A LETTER to Dr. Charles Hill, Postmaster General, from the Scottish Nationalist Party telling him that "pirate" broadcasts are likely to continue unless "reasonable arrangements are made for political broadcasting by legitimate political parties". We are not too concerned with the legitimate rights of political parties or the, sometimes, absurd antics of the Scottish Nationalists, but the fact that the Postmaster General can issue directives as to the contents of broadcasting is a more serious matter. Further contents of the letter contains the following:

"The B.B.C. in Scotland are prepared to broadcast discussion on Scottish affairs, including party political broadcasts by the Scottish National Party, as their Charter entitled them to do. You issued a directive forbidding any such broadcasts, a dictatorial exercise of Government power for party ends which has no moral justification whatever."

Strydom

MALATESTA CLUB SOCIAL

The Malatesta Club will hold a Social Evening on Friday, 21st December, to raise funds for Freedom Press and for the Club, which is also in need of money. Admission (including Buffet) will be by ticket, price 2/6, obtainable in advance from the Secretary, Malatesta Club, 32 Percy Street, W.1.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS LONDON ANARCHIST

GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

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BULGARIA TOO? Continued Seething Satellites from p. 1

Soviet units were sent in and any troops passing through to Hungary were fully replaced until the total Russion force in the country approached that of 1945.

The Hungarian and Yugoslav borders were completely sealed off by Soviet forces, and smaller units were distributed all over the country ready to intervene in case of trouble.

Measures to take modern, heavy armaments away from the Rumanian regular forces followed almost at once. Wholesale disarmament was begun on November 12, a week after the Russian reoccupation of Budapest, when the Russians considered that the major military problem had been solved in Hungary. During the same period, stringent measures were taken to prevent any news out of Rumania from reaching the West. The Rumanian leaders' warning of the unwillingness of their Army to fight against Hungary, which prompted this decision, appears to have been all the more effective because it was voiced to Mr. Khrushchev by first Vice-Premier Emil Bodnaras, who was for many years trained in the Soviet Army and was responsible both for security and for building up the Rumanian forces in the post-war years. The warning was based on reports of growing popular unrest in Transylvania and the Banat, the provinces bordering Hungary, and of students' protest meetings all over the country, as far away as Bucharest and Jassy. Following that have come reports of the round-up and expulsion from university of a number of alleged "ringleaders" among Rumanian students, following a series of student meetings urging a reduction in compulsory lectures on "Marxism-Leninism" and the Russian language.

opposition. It is taking measures to ensure that it does not suffer the same fate as the Hungarian Government by organising widespread arrests and deportations of any 'unreliable' elements.

Security police are patrolling Bulgarian towns day and night. Families whose members are considered "politically unreliable" have been served with expulsion orders, giving them between twelve hours and three days to quit the towns. In Sofia some two hundred students are reported to have been arrested.

As in the other satellites, it is the youth in general and the students in particular who are giving the government most anxiety. Last week the Bulgarian Premier, Mr. Yugov, addressed a youth meeting in Sofia and began by praising the young people for their great efforts in the past-adding, however, that "we must regretfully point out that such wonderful deeds by our youth are no longer being performed." With even more regret he mentioned some other deeds, not so wonderful, that were still being performed by young people. Students, for instance, had been heard "raising their voices" against the study of Marxism-Leninism, demanding that the hours given over to it should be reduced, or altogether eliminated, in "all" educational establishments. (This was one of the demands made by the Hungarian students). Such demands, Mr. Yugov declared, must be opposed with the greatest determination. In Mr. Yugov's eyes, such demands amount to 'hooliganism', and he called for an increase in 'revolutionary vigilance' and a strengthening of the secret police. He said: "It is necessary to oppose decisively any attempt to undermine the ideological training of our cadres. Our society has the right to be justifiably indignant at the hooligan behaviour among our young men . . . who have been temporarily influenced by enemy ideology and propaganda."

Continued from p.]

tical careers by truly speaking for the non-whites who vote for them. **Economic Interests**

The White South African who actively or passively supports the Government must take responsibility. for the actions of Strydom, and for the bloody uprising of Africans which may result from years of suppression. Let Kenya be a warning to them, and if they don't want events repeated in South Africa let them relinquish their superior economic and racial power before it is taken from them by force.

What can we hope for from 'our own' Government, so concerned with the lack of democracy in the satellite countries? Will there be an indignant protest forthcoming either against the latest arrests in South Africa or against the general policy of Strydom? We think not, because the usual sordid economic considerations will be put first.

Readers will remember the speeches made by Strydom in the City of London when he came to this country as a guest of the British Government. Oblique warnings to keep out of South African affairs accompanied rumblings of whisky sodden 'hear, hear's' from interested British Investors. We were given some idea that night how closely Britain is bound economically to South Africa, and this is the reason why there will be no widespread newspaper or Government protest in opposition to the Hitler of the African Continent. M.

DEC. 23-D. Shillan on KROPOTKIN. Questions, Discussion and Admission all free.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS Weather Permitting HYDE PARK Sundays at 3.30 p.m. MANETTE STREET (Charing X Road) Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

Malatesta Club

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

ACTIVITIES

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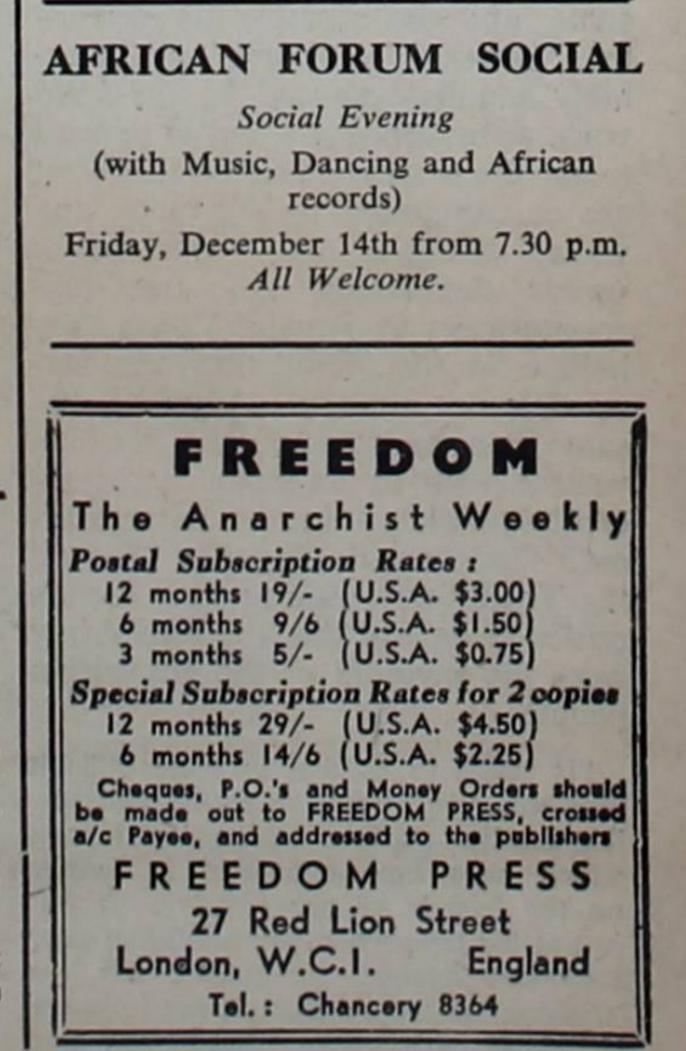
BULGARIA

THE Bulgarian Government has shown itself by its bloody repression of the Bulgarian Anarchists to be ready at any time to go to any length to suppress

And he finished off by protesting the

strength of the bonds between the Bulgarian and Soviet states. It seems, however, that there may be different views on that within the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party itself, for during the second half of October there occurred in Sofia the arrest of a group of Communist students apparently suspected of links with an "anti-Stalinist" radio station which supported the views of a minority in the Bulgarian Central Committee.

Bulgaria hasn't had a De-Stalinist purge. That is to come, and perhaps it won't be very long.



Published by Freedom Press, 27 Red Lion Street, London, W.C.J.