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# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Ours is an age which is proud of machines that think, and suspicious of any man that tries to."

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

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Threepence

## KADAR'S TERROR

THE return to Stalinism is going on apace in Hungary. The puppet Janos Kadar, having once accepted—or had thrust upon him—the unenviable position of Quisling, seems now to set no limit to the repressive measures he will institute against the Hungarian people.

From the day when he felt he had enough Russian troops behind him to deal with the workers, and abolished on paper the Workers' Councils, Kadar has gone step by step to the re-establishment of the terrorist dictatorship which had existed in Stalin's day under Matyas Rakosi. In this, the recent change of line in Moscow with regard to Stalin, who is now once again 'a good Communist', gives confidence to what remains of Rakosi's state forces.

One of the factors that gave the Hungarian revolution its first success was the low morale of the hated AVH, the state security police. All the Kremlin talk of coexistence, and Russia's downgrading of Stalinist police methods, had made the AVH feel that they might be sold out at any time by their Moscow bosses. Now a new Hungarian security-police force, composed of old AVH stalwarts, diehard Communists and trade-union toughs, to the number of 10,000, has been formed, and every effort is being made to make them feel that not only do they have the backing of Moscow, but of the whole Communist world. This was the main reason last week for the visit to Budapest of Red China's Chou En-lai and the announcement of huge loans from both Red China and the Soviet Union.

The results of the elections in Poland will also strengthen the hand of the Kadar government, since Gomulka (like Tito) has announced long ago his support of this régime. **Death for Striking**

The new AVH are being backed by sweeping state powers. On January 12th, the death penalty was introduced in Hungary for anyone calling a strike, damaging factory

machinery, or committing "any kind of offence directed against the State." The death sentence could be ordered for distributing leaflets or for entering a Government factory without permission, according to the new regulations, which were announced in a supplementary paragraph to the martial law declared in December.

Prior to December, the death penalty existed in Hungary, for civil offences, only for murder and manslaughter. Then, the death penalty was introduced for the illegal possession of arms. Its extension to industrial action clearly shows the fact that Kadar still has to break the spirit of the industrial workers, and is prepared to go to any lengths to do so.

An announcement by the Presidential Council said that special tribunals would be set up in provincial capitals composed of one Judge and a jury of two. The moves were believed to be an attempt to avert a new call for a general strike by the workers' councils. In special cases the death penalty could be changed to life imprisonment or prison terms ranging from five to fifteen years. All sentences will be subject to appeal before the supreme court, but the situation in Hungary is very different from that in Poland following the Poznan riots. The trials that arose from those were turned into public indictments of the régime. No such extravagances are likely in Hungary, where the new AVH will be in charge.

Already the death penalties are being laddled out by the courts—and carried out by the hangmen. Two leading revolutionaries, Josef Dundas, once a Communist youth leader, who led an attack on the Hungarian Foreign Ministry in October, and Janos Szabo, who led a stand against superior Soviet forces in the battle of Budapest's Moscow Square, were found guilty after a six-day secret trial of "trying to overthrow the Hungarian People's

Democracy," and executed. While Colonel Pal Meleter, who led the insurgent army at Gyoer, has been tried and sentenced to death. Meleter has an interesting background. He deserted from the Hungarian army and joined the Russians during the war, coming back with the 'liberation' forces which drove out the Nazis. He was raised to a high position in the post-war Hungarian army—only to be one of the prime movers in the disaffection of the army against the Russians in October and of the initial armed resistance in Budapest.

### Attacks on the Writers

Proceeding from the banning of the workers' councils, Kadar has now also dissolved (on paper) the Hungarian Writers' Union and the National Association for Journalists.

The Writers' Union was in the forefront of the agitation which first sparked the revolt, and were considered the 'brains trust' of the Nagy group during his brief spell of office. They were prepared to come to terms with Kadar—but it seems that now the Soviet Government have given instructions for the writers to be crushed.

The usual accusations will no doubt be levelled at the Writers' Union, but it is as well to recall the statement they issued at the end of December:

"We have to state with a depressed heart that the Soviet Government made a historical mistake when it stained the revolution with blood.

"We predict that the time will come when the Great Power that erred will repent. We warn everyone away from the erroneous judgment that revolution in Hungary would have annihilated the achievements of Socialism without the interference of Soviet arms. We

know that that is not true."

Like all the groups which inspired the revolts in Hungary and in Poland (and in Russia itself), the Writers' Union was not anti-socialist. It was more socialist than the government.

### No Coalition

So Kadar and his new AVH men are methodically restoring the structure of the police state. Martial law applied to the factories has enabled them to curb strikes and send troublesome workers to the coal mines. Lightning strikes are being punished by fines, and January pay envelopes are lean. ("Anyone who was on strike in December, even for

two days, will see the difference in his pay.")

But still the disgusting government can find nobody to collaborate with it. Negotiations with all the opposition groupings have broken down, and all attempts to form a coalition with other parties on Moscow's terms have failed. Leaders of the democratic parties resigned one after another during January, declaring they have retired to private life. Neither intimidation nor promises of freer life "when law and order are restored in Hungary" have succeeded in persuading them to give support to the Kremlin's nominees.

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### Kashmir Crisis

## NEHRU THE POLITICIAN

HOW many times have we read in the editorial columns of the more enlightened newspapers, of the internationalism and breadth of vision of Pandit Nehru? And now it turns out, to everyone's surprise but our own, that Nehru also lives in a glass-house—despite the fact that he has recently thrown more stones than almost any other political leader.

The integration of Kashmir into India in defiance of the United Nations resolution, and the refusal to accept a plebiscite—amidst celebrations in New Delhi (complete with Marshal Zhukov in attendance), and demonstrations in Karachi and Hyderabad—these events indicate quite clearly how much of an internationalist Nehru actually is when it becomes a question of ordering what he considers to be his own domestic affairs. His breadth of vision extends precisely as far as is convenient.

The parallels which may be drawn to India's action are only too ob-

vious. There is not much to choose in principle between Kashmir, Cyprus and Hungary. In each case the people of the country concerned have not been consulted as to their wishes, and the government of a big power has imposed its will upon them—the difference is one of degree only.

The fact that Nehru has for so long been regarded by so many as the last remaining statesman of integrity, makes his offence all the more disruptive in a world which already reeks of disruption and ever-increasing despair. It is no consolation that the anarchist analysis of politicians in power is proved again—for we know in advance that the lesson will not be learned by those who are most in need of it—on the contrary, it will merely be used as an excuse for others to continue their own similar policies, on the principle that what is all right for Nehru must be all right for them too.

### B.B.C. Threatens "Third" in Programme Reshuffle

## Freedom of the Air Now!

IT is understandable that Commercial Television should be publicising the findings of the latest audience Survey, which states that "the ten largest programme audiences were all held by Granada T.V. Network". Such publicity is the bread and butter of Commercial Television; for the larger their audiences the more advertising "spots" they can hope to secure, and at ever higher rates. That the B.B.C. should be alarmed by its position of "inferiority", and be in the process of reorganising all its services to meet the Commercial "challenge" is on the surface more surprising since its financing is not dependent on the subsidies of the detergent kings, or the industrial tycoons. From the point of view of the discriminating public, at least, the outlook is pretty grim, and the sooner the situation and its implications for the future are understood, the greater are the chances of doing something to halt a trend which must inevitably lead to a degeneration in this particular field more marked even than in that of journalism and the Press in general.

★  
ACCORDING to last Sunday's *Pictorial* the B.B.C. is reviewing its sound-radio policies with the intention of effecting large-scale economies and at the same time re-

capturing audiences from T.V. We quote the *Pictorial's* inimitably vulgar jargonalese:

Plans now being thrashed out include: ROCKING the highbrows by abolishing, as a separate show, the 6 p.m. to midnight Third Programme.

ROLLING the Third Programme into a combined Home and Third from 6 p.m. onwards. The Light would continue separately in the evenings.

TELESCOPING the Home and Light into a combined programme from early morning until the six o'clock news.

All three items would save money. Only half the present number of shows would need to be produced.

If the *Pictorial* is to be believed "Listeners would get far less of the Third flavour, and proportionately far more of the Light flavour". And savings on the Third programme would be squandered in "give-away" shows that have made Commercial Television "such a huge success". "How soon can this shake-up start?"—asks the *Pictorial*. And the answer apparently is that

The working committee, headed by the Director of Sound Broadcasting, Mr. Lindsay Wellington, should report by March. Then it is up to Sir Ian Jacob. He is expected to work fast.

★  
THE Third Programme with all its defects—and any initiative subjected to centralised control by administrators who, one imagines, must

feel themselves to be civil servants, answerable to angry parliamentarians and the witch-hunting section of the National Press, rather than the public who in fact pay their salaries, must err on the side of caution and conformity—in spite of its defects, the Third Programme is to Radio what newspapers such as the *Manchester Guardian* are to journalism. It treats its listeners as thinking human beings rather than indiscriminating, sub-human morons. We are made to feel that whether we have the possibility or not of influencing those who address us, at least the manner of presenting their arguments presupposes that we have the mental capacity to weigh their arguments and agree or disagree. In a world in which ideas are predigested for us and presented as absolutes this is indeed a step forward! Hence our concern when even such minor concessions to our intelligence are threatened. For it is clear that if the *Sunday Pictorial* is right then B.B.C. policy will be directed to a lowering rather than a raising of standards. The emphasis will be on the Light programme, which will become a sound version of Commercial T.V. and will function "from early morning" in a combined programme with the Home Service until 6 p.m. and thereafter "separately in

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### Moscow & Madrid Shake Hands?

SO far as political line-ups are concerned nothing that could happen would surprise us. It is part of the politician's job to steer a crooked path and to justify it in the name of national interest. Thus the news that diplomatic exchanges are taking place between representatives of Russia and Franco's Spain over the 510 tons of gold sent to Russia for safe-keeping (?) by the Caballero government in 1936 is more than probable and in spite of the strong denial from the Press Attaché in the Soviet Embassy in London.

The *New York Times* (Jan. 21) even gives the names of the two diplomats discussing the question in Paris; one a Spanish grandee, José Rojas y Moreno, Count of Casa Rojas, the other a Communist Professor, Sergei Alexandrovitch Vinogradov. One can hardly believe that the talks are taking place because at last the Spanish government has the receipt for the gold. One suspects that Negrin's death-bed request that the receipt be removed from the safe in America and handed to the Spanish government is largely the invention of newspapermen. In fact according to the *N.Y. Times* (Jan. 10) Madrid correspondent the documents "were obtained after a year's confidential negotiations in Paris with Señor Negrin . . . He had agreed before his death to return them to the Spanish state, officials here say . . ."

It appears also that unofficial negotia-

tions have been going on between Russia and Spain since the end of 1955, when arrangements were made for the repatriation of Spanish prisoners in Russia.

What nobody seems to have mentioned is that Khrushchev also has a few receipts and I.O.U.'s in his safe: to cover the cost of supplying arms and the Russian secret police to Spain during 1936-1938. According to one source, "When the war came to a close in 1939, the Loyalists owned the Soviet government \$120 million which was never paid".\* What that would be worth today with the general devaluation of all currencies will undoubtedly be decided on by the diplomats, more or less, according to how anxious the Russians are to establish diplomatic relations with Spain. Obviously so far as Franco is concerned his willingness is tied to Russia's willingness, to hand over the much-needed gold. And it is possible that for political and economic reasons Russia will comply at least by handing over a part of it.

When that happens how many Spaniards in exile will reflect that the gold which was sent to Russia in 1936 to prevent it from falling into Franco's hands, not only was not used to further the fight against Franco, but is in fact to be used to bolster Franco's régime 20 years after!

\*Louis Fischer, quoted by Cattell in *Communism and the Spanish Civil War* (Los Angeles, 1955).



# Freedom

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## Freedom of the Air Now!

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the evenings". After 6 p.m. the Home Service and Third will combine. Presumably from these five hours must be deducted at least two (politically) safe news bulletins presented by the traditionally impersonal "voice", plus a "to-night in parliament" with its bias in favour of what the government has to say. This, the news summary at 11 p.m. and the most essential five minutes on "market trends" at 11.03 p.m. will reduce those five hours to four. And since one cannot believe that certain features of the Home Service will be dropped (including the Party political broadcasts—or will they be considered suitable for the Light Programme?), the Third Programme's remaining four hours will be whittled down to dimensions which will make it hardly worth while. Indeed, one can foresee that by 1960 there will be no Third Programme.

WE anarchists are neither snobs nor dictators. To the public's "demand" for the *Daily Mirror*, *Express* or *Sketch* or the *Weekly Reville*, *Mail* or *Women's Own* we do not counter-attack with demands for legislation to ban them on the grounds that they operate against the common good (though we strongly believe this to be true!). We can only counteract by combining with people of a like mind to produce or to support, journals which more closely represent what, to our minds, honest, objective and clean journalism should be. We have grounds for protest, in every form at our disposal, when government- or monopolistic- forces deny us the unfettered use of a particular medium of expression. We can only blame ourselves if, granted equal rights for all to express themselves, only a very small minority of the public are interested in our particular ideas.

So far as the written word is concerned, it must be recognised that at the present time there is, theoretically, no governmental or monopolistic barrier to prevent the equal dissemination of anarchist, communist, fascist, liberal, socialist and Tory ideas by the printed word. What is lacking is a strong dissatisfaction with the muck which Fleet Street serves up daily, and a feeling that there is no alternative to the present Press monopoly. It is not yet realised that what the Press millionaire can seek to impose by his monopoly of wealth, his potential victims can reject by combining their poverty. Organised Labour to-day command numbers and funds which permit them, if they so wished, not only to publish their own daily papers but to put a large number of the "popular" newspapers out of business without calling on printing workers to refuse to print them. (As we have seen with the *Glasgow Evening News* even a circulation of 180,000 did not prevent it from losing money at the rate of £3,000 a day. In the case of the Fleet Street giants the minimum circulation required for solvency is very much higher. If only half of Labour's eight or million organised members withdrew their daily twopences from Fleet Street the effect would be dramatic to say the least!)

That such action is not even put forward is not so much a reflection on the Trade Union leadership as on the conditioning to which the mass public has been subjected and against which it is too apathetic or too intellectually stupified to react. For even if one were to blame the Trade Union leadership for not taking any action (we cannot take

the *Daily Herald* into account) the fact remains that the public has, even now, an alternative to the gutter press which it just does not take. But the fact remains that there are nearly 300,000 people who pay a penny extra a day to buy the *Manchester Guardian* rather than the *Daily Express*, and half a million who prefer the *Sunday Observer* to the *Sunday Dispatch*. That these two minority newspapers survive on a circulation which would drive the millionaire press into bankruptcy should effectively dispel the myth that all forms of communication to-day necessarily need the backing of millionaires or the blessing of the State.

WE have digressed for an obvious reason. The threat to public taste and intelligence symbolised by the gutter press can be met: either by boycotting that press and supporting the existing minority press, or by a sufficient number of people combining to produce a newspaper that satisfies in broad terms their tastes and needs. To the threats, as represented by the proposed developments in sound radio and television, no such action is at present possible by a minority of the community which feels that it will not be served by the existing programmes. The "ether" is a monopoly of the State, which has so far only condescended to lease a bit of it to Big Business, for no other reason, so far as we can see, than that these interests were powerful enough to force their demands onto the present government. To argue that as a result the B.B.C. monopoly has been broken is sheer cant and humbug, for in its place we now have a new monopoly of bad taste (for is not the B.B.C. now vying with Commercial T.V. to capture its audience, and to this end is proposing to lower its standards?).

The B.B.C.'s Third Programme was never intended to attract a mass public. And so far as sound radio is concerned it is, we suggest, the programme which has lost the least number of listeners to the new joys of T.V. Obviously the mass recruitment to T.V. comes from the Light Programme, which the B.B.C. is now proposing to make more "popular" than ever (perish the thought!) in order to attract back to sound radio those who recently deserted it for T.V. To this end they propose to antagonise the only section of the community which had not been tempted away from radio by the new medium! This is as crazy as a Marx Brothers comedy, and it makes one put the question as to how disinterested are the officials of the B.B.C. in all this. Is the proposed reorganisation of programmes an attempt to solve the problem of staff redundancy created by the public's wholesale swing away from sound radio to Television? What grounds are there for assuming that the public which has taken to viewing can reasonably be induced to switch over to a similar programme limited to sound only? Yet this, according to the *Sunday Pictorial* is what they hope to do: "There's a plan to build-up the Light programme with give-away shows of the kind that have made ITV such a huge success". And assuming they did, it would only be at the expense of the Television programme audiences. In which case presumably the Television directors would have to reorganise their programmes to attract back the audiences lost to sound radio! It is all such a lot of nonsense that, as we said earlier, one comes to suspect the motives of those engaged in the reorganisation.

HAS the minority public any means of protecting its interests? We think it has if it is prepared to be more than a spectator at all these developments. In the first place there is a question of establishing the rights of minorities to the "ether" on a par with the rights that have been won to express one's views by the spoken and written word. By far the most effective

# Through the Russian Press

## SOVIET CREATES UNEMPLOYMENT

IN its issue of 12th January *The Daily Worker* carries a two-inch paragraph on Hungarian refugee mill hands at Rochdale who are earning a miserable £28 a month. The half-inch heading assures us that "we earned much more in Hungary." Yet an inch higher up in the same column this stooge paper contradicts itself when it admits that in Budapest at "a large wagon factory in the south-east of the city... some classes of workers who received £25 wages last month would receive only £19 this month".

**Can the Boneheads Count?**

Though set plainly in front of them in cold print, *Daily Worker* readers can not, apparently, see the differences between the three sets of wages cited. Under Kadar the wage of £25 drops by £6 to £19, whereas in England for the Hungarian refugees concerned they stand at £28 or £9 more. This is 45 shilling a week more in Rochdale under free capitalism than in Hungary where the Red Army is trying to impose Russian State capitalism.

An additional advantage enjoyed by the Hungarian weavers working in Rochdale is that they are in no danger of being shot dead if they do protest at their low wages.

Two Hungarian workers were shot dead as they marched in a working-class demonstration against this crippling cut in wages. This *The Daily Worker* admits likewise, citing *Reuter* as its source of information. Professing Marxianity as their creed and lacking a knowledge of Marxism, the editors of Khrushchev's English daily are unable to draw the inescapable conclusion that a clique claiming to be a working-class government which shoots down peaceful, unarmed workers is certainly no friend of the workers.

**Magyar Miners Give More Coal**

Since humans don't count, these lackeys of the Russian Communist Party set their emphasis on coal output and its upward movement as the Hungarians ex-

tract more day by day. Not love of Kadar, but love of their land and the people in it, recognition of the crying need for fuel to heat hospitals and the like the homes of the common folk, makes the miners go back into pits that are more dangerous to-day than they were, say, six months ago. They have a certain liking for their work in spite of all its risks, a pride in what they give to their people in the way of warmth and comfort in the depth of winter.

Before the Magyar working class rose to its feet to spit on Sovietism and all its manifestations 80,000 tons of coal were being brought up to the surface daily. Output is now slowly increasing and is at present about 44,000 tons a day. This — to the D.W. hacks — is a great victory. But it is a victory for Russian State capitalism, not for the Hungarian working class.

**Kadar's "Tasks"**

Kadar's "Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government" is allotted two pages of *Pravda* (7/14036) to broadcast to the world its most important tasks. The statement is in ten numbered parts preceded by a preamble which is a shambles of generalities speaking of dollar imperialism (but failing to

mention Soviet imperialism); the dictatorship of the proletariat (which has suddenly been declared by the Chinese Communist Party to be of outstanding importance as a fundamental tenet of Communist orthodoxy); and the enormous help accorded by the Red Army (though nothing is said of the incredible destruction caused by its tanks and their guns fired at point-blank range in the streets of what was once one of the beautiful cities of Europe). Control of the press is, of course, complete in all three countries. All thought has been silenced. Only doctrine remains.

**Our Shrinking World**

One may telephone from Communist-held East Berlin direct to Los Angeles on the other side of America. Besides being essential for the commercial needs of a huge capitalist State like the Soviet, it is held up by the Party as a great Communist achievement. This is the Party in action on the technical field.

But it is impossible to telephone to West Berlin half a mile away. Indeed, one must telegraph through Frankfurt at great expense.

Bureaucracy, censorship, and Beria's secret police will have it so. I.P.

## Letter from Bulgaria

OUR youth, both in the country and in the towns, cannot satisfy their cultural needs, and it is the university students in particular who suffer from this. One way or another some echo reaches us of the cultural progress of other nations, but we have no access to their new acquisitions. Only very recently has the censorship allowed films, plays and works of art of Western origin (all works contributing in some way to communist propaganda). Soviet "culture" floods the market, and Russian films repeat *ad nauseam* the same propaganda slogans, so that one does not ask any more whether a film is good or bad, but whether it is Russian or good.

One by one, the young people join in the struggle, and that by the only means at their disposal of an enslaved country trying to stand up against terror: passive resistance. In this silent fight, the inertia of the young masses is such that the most able communist agitators and organisers are powerlessly marking time. Passive resistance started a long time ago, from the very beginning of terror. It has developed slowly, but it is now so strong that it paralyzes all the organizational life of the country. "Popular manifestations" have for several years looked like so many funerals. The last of them, which took place on November 7th, 1956, was the somberest of them all, in spite of communist agitation and a recrudescence of terror, or perhaps because of them. The youth meeting which took place in Sofia on December 1st, 1956, was a total failure, always because of passive resistance.

The young people (the names of

those absent were taken down) not only did not listen to the speakers, but left the meeting before it was finished. They should have chanted the party slogans, and they remained silent; they should have been singing, and they did not utter a sound. They had been ordered to spread through the streets singing the youth hymn, but it was the loud-speakers which broadcast the music played by a military orchestra stationed on the square called September 4th.

This life with no opening, with no hope in the future, does not satisfy the young. No wonder, then, that in this dark night they are looking for some light in ever increasing numbers. Some already confide to their best friends that their life is unbearable, that they are not living, but only vegetating, and that it is imperative to find a way out of this situation. The Bulgarian youth are asking themselves the question whether they should follow the Hungarian example and do something. The hold of terror is still great. "They will crush us like flies," say some of them; "It is foolish and dangerous at the present moment," say others, and maybe they are right.

But nobody can foresee the development of future events; and who knows whether, in this country brought to the last of its endurance, a spark might not rekindle the torch of freedom, and fire the hearts into a struggle in which our University, working-class and peasant youth will doubtlessly be in the forefront...

(Signed X.X.X., and translated from the January number of "Le Monde Libertaire".)

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