

'We too aspire to communism as the most perfect achievement of social solidarity, but it must be anarchist communism, that is freely desired and accepted, the means for safeguarding and increasing the freedom of all; but we look upon statist, authoritarian, compulsive communism as the most disgusting tyranny to have ever afflicted, tormented and shackled humanity.'

ERRICO MALATESTA

JUDGES' RULES  
SACCHARINE REFLECTIONS  
A CHILD'S GUIDE TO ECONOMICS  
HARD CASES

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

## RUSSIA FREE?

### BUT WHO WILL DECIDE?

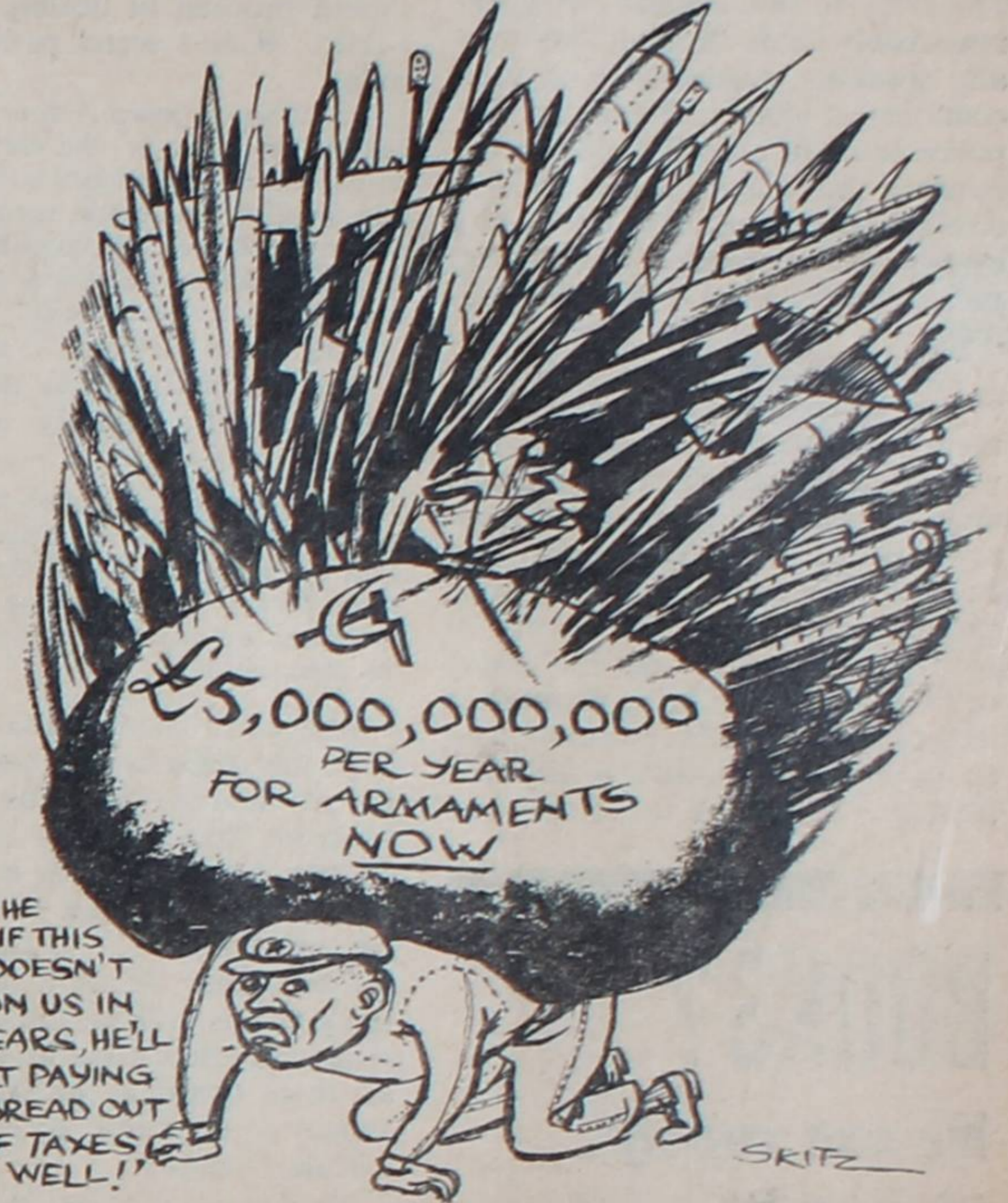
Russian science having successfully launched first dog, and now Man, into outer space, it was the turn of Russian politicians to aim a rocket at the vitals of capitalist society which would at the same time establish, once for all, Russian ideological leadership of the so called "Communist" nations. From a purely political point of view the timing of this rocket was perfect. With European industry and Finance at Sixes and Sevens; with unemployment in America still exceeding the 5 million mark in spite of the "affluent society", with racialism raising its ugly head in spite of racial integration on paper, and with Cuba, round the corner, begging the Kennedy claim to new-look policies; with Africa in nationalist ferment and racial torment; with the Middle East at last aware that the weakest link in Oil politics is the oil pipe-line; with East-West relations over Berlin, ostensibly critical

the publication of the Soviet Communist Party's 50,000 word statement at this moment, with its emphasis on the need for peace and co-existence with the capitalist countries on the one hand, and pie-in-the- (Communist Party) sky-in-twenty-years (before you die\*), on the other, cannot but create a mixture of hope, doubt, illusions and confusion in the minds of millions of humble folk whose main concern in life is where their next meal will come from. The nations of the Western bloc will have to meet the Russian challenge with two arguments: (a) that capitalism can offer higher standards of living than Russian "communism" and (b) by

\*The Statement promises that "the present generation of Soviet people shall live under Communism!". Communism in their life-time.

methods which not only result in higher productivity (which means shorter working hours for the same standards) but also guarantee certain basic rights and freedoms to the individual.

To our minds the obvious positive gains for the people in the "West" (and to a lesser degree in the underdeveloped countries) from the Russian Statement will be that in defending the privileges and injustices of the capitalist society from the challenge of the "free food, free rent, free everything" (*Sunday Times* headline) Russian programme, the rulers of the West will have to appear to give more status as well as a larger slice of the cake of production to those who actually produce it. As down-to-earth anarchists we have no objection to accepting a larger slice of the cake when offered



## Jumping-off-Ground to nowhere

ACCORDING to many political commentators we were wrong when we said a few weeks ago in FREEDOM that Berlin is just "another crisis" without substance, used by both sides for political reasons without either intending that it should develop into war. Maybe we were wrong but we can't be right all the time! Nevertheless we are still doubtful whether either East or West are ready to go to war over the "freedom" of two million West Berliners; the crisis is really about something else.

For years the Soviet Government has made periodic threats to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany, which the West feels endangers its own military position in Germany.

We would not deny that the danger of war is ever present (on the contrary the "balance of power" argument as a means of preventing war used by militarists, has never

been accepted by us). Soviet tanks in East Germany are not there to provide joy rides for the people, and it cannot be denied that Germany, united under Western supervision, or divided, with the Western powers still remaining in Germany, would constitute a military threat to the Soviet Union.

It is therefore a source of surprise that America is now "in a state of alert" when the latest Soviet pronouncements on Berlin contain no more than did the previous ones. The *Guardian* points out (July 27th) that:

Mr. Krushchev has not said that he intends to seize West Berlin by force. What he has said is that he intends to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany handing over Soviet responsibilities for supervising Western access to Berlin to the East German government. The greatest weakness in President Kennedy's speech is that he made no positive suggestions for dealing with that limited threat.

The Americans may have information about Soviet intentions which is not available to us, but with a Communist Government in East Germany it seems to us that if "Mr. Krushchev does not intend to seize West Berlin by force" Soviet withdrawal on paper would not alter the situation very much, except that the Russian government would be rid of the responsibility of the critical economic state of East Germany.

On the other hand a Russian withdrawal may well spark off an uprising in East Berlin which would topple the Ulbricht Government, a possibility of which the Soviet Government must be aware. Is this what it wants? It would seem unlikely since the Soviet position in Western Europe would be weakened. Therefore as we have suggested, the "Berlin crisis" is but a stage in the cold war providing a jumping off ground to nowhere

Britain's attitude to Berlin is reported to be "firm but calm". The Foreign Office in an official state-

ment said that: "The British Government fully agree with the U.S. Government that we must make such preparations as are required to face the critical situation which may arise."

Calm but non-committal!

Much more decisive are the views attributed to the Defence Minister: that Britain is *not* prepared to go to war if Krushchev signs a separate peace treaty with Germany. When the American Defence Secretary arrived in London last week to assess British reaction to the idea that:

"Britain should be prepared to go to war—with nuclear weapons if necessary—if Krushchev signs a peace treaty with East Germany."—(*Daily Express*, July 25th).

he was told that:

... it makes no difference whether the East Germans or the Russians stamp the allied passes for Berlin as long as the traffic gets through.

If the Communists blockade Berlin and the Americans respond with the threat of war Britain would only be involved in a "skirmish" confined within Berlin. The recent economic deal between Britain and the Soviet Union make it clear that it is not in the interests of either to go to war with each other.

But since America is militarily capable of waging war on a large scale there is always the possibility that she might be prepared to risk this by "going it alone on Berlin" on the grounds that since a show-down is inevitable with Russia, America should get in first before the Soviet Government is fully prepared.

At the beginning we said that Berlin was just "another crisis", a weapon in the cold war. But we are only too aware that it is only a question of time before one of these crises will topple East and West over the "brink" into war.

R.M.

unconditionally. What we also realise, however, is that the "cake" is always getting larger, so the larger slice may, relatively speaking, be no bigger than it was before, and that

for socially conscious workers, who wish to free themselves from the bondage of employment, it is not the size of the slice of cake that

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## A PEACE DIRECTORY

IT is truly extraordinary that man has succeeded in achieving so much control over his physical environment, with so little over the development of his own society, which remains in a horrible barbaric muddle. Knowledge has been accumulated and brought into order in the field of the natural sciences, but although a great deal of knowledge exists in the field of human behaviour, it has not been brought into the same order, and in the realm of war and social injustice there is great confusion.

This is partly due to the isolation of the individual peace-worker. He feels himself isolated and cut off in the midst of a hostile environment. The scientific worker can contact others working in the same field as himself by means of one of the various specialist publications which circulate widely. Contacts are possible even across the Iron Curtain. But in the field of social reform it is very different.

If an inventor writes an article in a Scandinavian professional publication he may well, in a short time, receive a communication from New Zealand or Czechoslovakia, with information or suggestions enabling him to make rapid strides in his work, or which even place it in an entirely new light. While if a peace-worker succeeds in getting an article published, concerning a particular aspect of the problem of war and peace, it seldom reaches all the people who would be interested or inspired by it.

Light has been shed on the causes of conflict between nations and peoples in numerous scattered articles, books, lectures, films and plays, in works of fiction and non-fiction, but no one has yet made a general survey of these studies. Progress is delayed because there is insufficient exchange of knowledge. Individuals work in isolation, and the waste of energy is enormous.

The idea has been put forward of constructing a Peace Directory, and a large number of names, addresses and particulars of individuals who are working against war has been collected. The aim is to bring the peace-makers to-

gether by making it possible for them to get in touch with one another.

Of course, nobody can expect an invariably prompt answer from whoever he may write to. The person may be too busy to reply. But even so he may be delighted to receive something from someone of a like mind, and he may be able to make a good thing of what one sends out, and not use the Directory as a means of finding addresses for sending out common propaganda. It is intended for the exchange of information and ideas. The intention of the Directory may be spoiled if it is misused.

The first edition of the Directory is planned to cover Scandinavia in particular, but it will be international in outlook, and will include references throughout the world. The text and the titles will be in the English and the Scandinavian languages. The extent of the model edition will be limited by the financial resources available—or not available! It is not expected that it will be able to cover everything. It will be a cross-section, designed to show what is happening in the world at present. If this first edition is successful, later and more extensive editions will be produced. At the moment however the aim is to test the value of a Peace Directory, and produce a prototype for possible successors.

The causes of war are numerous, and they interlock with each other in a confusing way. No one will surely claim that there is one basic cause. In the Directory eighteen main divisions are made in attacking the problem of war. Really there exist no such dividing lines, but some system of classification is necessary. The Second World War was caused by factors of education, economics, psychology, sex, politics and geography. Clearly all these aspects need to be studied.

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## ANARCHY 6

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# FREEDOM

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## FREE EVERYTHING by 1984?

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matters as much as *who* disposes of the cake they have produced! This, neither the governments of the capitalist world nor the socialist-nations-on-the-brink-of-communism will ever concede, whatever they may promise in their Statements!

The Moscow statement declares:

Having brought about a complete and final victory of Socialism—the first phase of Communism—and the transition of society to the full scale construction of Communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historic mission and has ceased to be indispensable in the USSR from the point of view of internal development.

The State, which arose as a State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has become a State of the entire people, an organ expressing the interests and will of the people as a whole.†

Apart from the interesting distinction which is made between the "proletariat" and the "people" it is difficult to reconcile this "dictatorship of the proletariat" with the description of the Communist Party as "the brain, the honour and the conscience of Soviet society" or the concluding paragraphs of the Statement that

Under the tried and tested leadership of the Communist Party, under the banner of Marxist-Leninism, the Soviet people have built Socialism.

Under the leadership of the Party, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet people will build Communist society.

The Party solemnly proclaims: the present generation of Soviet people shall live under Communism. (Our italics).

As everyone knows—if they don't, they should look up Lenin on the subject—the dictatorship in Russia was, and still is, a dictatorship of the Communist Party (to be more exact one should say, of a caucus within the Party), and there is nothing in the *Daily Worker* summary which leads us to believe that the 20-year programme will do more than perhaps vest power in more (Party) hands than at present.

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FOR years the C.P. lickspittles have been telling us that the dictatorship of the Party was necessary in the Socialist stage of revolution; that the "withering away of the State" would come about in the Communist-phrase of this government-controlled revolution. Well, here we are, on the threshold of Communism. After more than forty years of the most ruthless, the bloodiest dictatorship of all time; after more than forty years of brainwashing, censorship and isolation we are asked to believe that the Russian people are about to enjoy the first fruits of communism!

In 1919 the second programme outlined the task of building Socialism. Now Socialism has triumphed in the Soviet Union completely and finally. So the second programme has also been carried out.

Now the third programme is being put forward—a programme for the building of a Communist society. Communism, which had once seemed a mere spectre, has become the greatest force of modern times.

Part two of the programme begins with a description of what the Russian leaders mean when they talk of communism, and to avoid any misunderstandings we quote it in full.

"Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full

social equality of all members of society; under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology; all sources of public wealth will gush forth abundantly, and the great principle from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs will be implemented.

"Communism is a highly organized society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established, in which labour for the good of society will become the prime vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognized by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people."

How many of our readers share the cold chill that went down our spines as we read this definition of communism? In spite of paying lip service to that "great principle", to "equality" and a "classless social system", the definition stinks of authoritarianism, of planning which may well provide all the calories and fill the belly but which forgets that man is a human being whose heart is more than a pump and whose brain is less efficient but much more imaginative than an adding machine.

For these worshippers of norms and five-year plans, communism is "a highly organised" society in which everybody is organised to work for the "good of society" and whose abilities will be "employed to the greatest benefit of the people". Their obsession with production and productivity—"the C.P. sets the task" of achieving in the Soviet Union a living standard higher than that of any of the capitalist countries"—leads them, on the one hand, to advocate shorter working hours, the elimination (where technically possible) of "hard physical labour", especially for women

The Soviet Union will thus have the world's shortest and, concurrently, the most productive and highest paid working day. Working people will have much more leisure time, and this will add to their opportunities of improving their cultural and technical level.

while, on the other hand, in their "Moral Code of the Builder of Communism" these advocates of "the great principle from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" lay down that in the "communist" era there shall be "CONSCIENTIOUS labour for the good of society—he who does not work, neither shall he eat".

Is it not curious that in a country where "Socialism has triumphed" where socialist emulation has been the order of the day for no less than 43 years, one should be so concerned with the work-shy, that when one reaches the communist, the easier, more affluent, stage in this social revolution-by-orders, one has to make provision to deal with them. "He who does not work neither shall he eat". Who will decide what is *work*? The Statement says that in the next decade Soviet society will "come close to a stage where it can introduce the principle of distribution according to needs".

If so, then our question is all the more pertinent. For even the anti-social as well as the poets and the Boxers of the communist revolution are members of the human race, and unless we are prepared to stand by and watch them die from hunger in the midst of communist productivity and affluence, *they must eat*. (Why, in capitalist Europe or the U.S. it is doubtful whether anybody would be *allowed* to starve!)

It may be argued that we have

laboured what is, after all, a mere detail in a vast social programme. But for us it is not a detail but fundamental to the success or failure of the social revolution. It vividly illustrates the chasm which divides us from the authoritarian communists.

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WE anarchists, unlike the authoritarian Left, maintain that the ends *do not* justify the means; that just as it is said that you cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, neither can you build the free society so long as people are accustomed to obey and to follow. The Russian Communists—echoed by their miserable and despicable fifth columns—are trying to put across to the workers of the world that the Russian people, after 43 years of a dictatorship without parallel for its ruthlessness and inhumanity, have achieved Socialism which, to quote the Statement, "has granted the working people the broadest guaranteed rights and freedoms".

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WHAT a poor advertisement for Socialism these Marxist-Leninists are! After 43 years preaching the infallibility of ghosts, with a dogmatic fanaticism matched only by the Catholics, not only have they not achieved the productive capacity of the United States, but neither have they achieved the productivity or the standard of living of the

†In an editorial headlined "1984", the *Daily Worker*, comatosed by the avalanche of words and promises from Moscow, cannot but declare that "Miracles have been achieved in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party. Still greater miracles will be accomplished in the next 20 years". We overlook the "miracles"—undoubtedly the Dean of Canterbury has explained how these can be reconciled with "militant atheism"—but we cannot resist a reference to the blind faith King Street has in the next 20 years. Have they not learnt that in the Communist world you cannot foretell what you may have to say in two years, let alone 20 years! Think of what they were saying, the poems they were publishing, about Stalin twenty years ago. Yet when the orders came from the new bosses in the Kremlin they had to lick their own spittle.

American people. And, to our minds, as important, is the fact that in "Socialist" Russia there is less freedom of expression, less freedom of movement than in capitalist America. It is no use blaming the "imperialists". After all, whatever may be the *external* threat, the rulers of Russia have succeeded in sealing off their people from "contagion" by the plague-ridden people unfortunate enough to live under the whip of capitalism. Yet in spite of this policy of political eugenics, we read in the Statement that the builders of Communism will show "an uncompromising attitude to injustice, parasitism, dishonesty and careerism".

We are also told that there should be no room for law breakers and criminals in a society building Communism. But as long as there are criminal offences it is necessary to punish severely those who commit crimes dangerous to society.

We are also told that the Party proposes to enforce strict observance of Socialist legality, to eradicate all violations of law and order, abolish crime and remove all the causes of crime.

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AT this stage some heckler should come up with the suggestion that we are an American stooge and not an anarchist. (Judging by the small number of letters we receive accusing us of this crime we assume, with regret, that the party-faithful dare not read us for fear of contamination.) The answer is that we are no-one's stooge. Indeed, this writer confesses that, given a choice between living in the United States or Russia he would choose Spain, which goes to show how stupid such questions are! For what we have been arguing in these columns is that neither the capitalist system nor Authoritarian Socialism lead to the free society as understood by anarchists and libertarian socialists and communists. Though their ends are different *in theory* both capitalists and authoritarian communists and socialists use the same means. In the opinion of anarchists, such means must inevitably lead to similar ends.

The capitalist, *laissez-faire* soci-

ety based on production for profit finds itself more and more obliged to give to the workers a larger slice of the cake, even, in some cases, without a corresponding increase in production. The authoritarian socialists and Communists if one is really charitable, can be said to aim at the removal of the profit motive from production, but they retain nevertheless, because they distrust their fellow beings, all the sordid economic weapons of capitalism, such as incentives and differentials, to stimulate production and productivity. In the Tass summary of the Moscow Statement one reads that the higher standard of living aimed at will be achieved, in part, by "raising the individual payment of employees according to the quantity and quality of their work".§

The fact that reduction of retail prices and abolition of taxes are among the other measures, is clear evidence, surely, that the money system even at the "communist" stage of this revolution-by-installments not only will *not* be abolished but will be used both as a means of exchange and a stimulant to increased production. The worshippers of capitalism swear by the same God!

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WILL there be communism, as we understand it, in Russia before 1984? We cannot say though we hope so and not only in Russia. But what we can say for certain is that the Statement issued by the Communist Party in Moscow last week telling the Russian people what they are expected to do in the next 20 years has nothing to do with communism or social revolution. A palace (kremlin) revolution, perhaps.

But there will only be "free bread, free rent, free everything" when there will be a free society! And the free society is not a question of legislation from above; enough people must desire it at least as much as the bread that sustains life in their veins. This is not wishful thinking—we have not said that the revolution is round the corner—but the hard "facts of life".

§The Times 24/7/61. Omitted in the *Daily Worker* report.

# A Child's Guide to Economics

CHILD: Mother, what is dis-in-fla-tion?  
MOTHER: It's letting things down, like a balloon.  
C: Has Mr. Lloyd let the ec-on-omy down then?  
M: No, he's propped it up.  
C: What is ec-on-comics mummy?  
M: Not economics—economics. It's running the country's housekeeping. Like mother does.  
C: Does your budget balance?  
M: Of course.  
C: Then why doesn't Mr. Lloyd balance his?  
M: It's far more difficult.  
C: Is it more difficult than the seal we saw at the circus balancing a fish on his nose?  
M: Perhaps Mr. Lloyd doesn't concentrate as much.  
C: What happens if Mr. Lloyd doesn't get the money to pay for his house-keeping?  
M: Don't be silly. He always gets it.  
C: Doesn't he ever get in debt?  
M: Don't be silly. The country's always in debt.  
C: Then what does he do with the money?  
M: He spends it.  
C: Does he spend it on good things?  
M: Yes of course like schools, and teachers and houses and doctors.  
C: It says here (points to newspaper) he can't spend any more on schools and teachers and houses and doctors. Does he spend it on silly things?  
M: Of course not... Like what?  
C: Like the time I spent my pocket money on soldiers and fireworks.  
M: Of course not... I don't know.  
C: Why must we pay more for every-thing?  
M: To stop us buying them.

C: Will it?  
M: Of course it will.  
C: Why does Mr Lloyd want to stop us buying things?  
M: So that we can sell them abroad.  
C: Why can't we make enough to do both?  
M: Because it would disrupt our economy?  
C: Why?  
M: Because our manufacturers won't sell abroad without an incentive.  
C: What's an in-cent-ive?  
M: Money.  
C: But if they get money here for selling things why must they sell them abroad?  
M: How do you think they're going to pay people for making things?  
C: By giving them food, clothes, teachers, houses and doctors.  
M: Don't be silly!  
C: Mother what is wage restraint?  
M: Taking less money for more work.  
C: Why is this un-pop-ular step necessary to balance our ec-on-omy?  
M: So that we can compete in world markets.  
C: Like pushing to the front in the super-market?  
M: No. So that we can sell cheaper.  
C: You mean get less money.  
M: No we make more money by selling more goods that we pay less to produce.  
C: You mean we cheat!  
M: No... we don't. The manufacturers do.  
C: Why don't they give the people who work for them enough money to buy the goods to save having to sell them abroad.  
M: How would the manufacturers live?  
C: Must they? Why must we have money mother?

M: To buy things.  
C: Why don't I give you money for food and all I get?  
M: Because you're one of the family and you don't work yet.  
C: Do the unemployed pay taxes on things?  
M: Yes, but they get it back.  
C: Does grannie pay taxes.  
M: Yes, but she gets it back.  
C: Seems silly to me. Do you pay daddy for what he buys?  
M: No, I help him by running the house.  
C: Don't we help Mr. Lloyd by running the country. Why must we pay him too?  
M: We don't pay him. He's looking after our money.  
C: He doesn't look after it very well, does he? Does he get paid for doing it?  
M: Yes, of course.  
C: Is he going to practise wage restraint?  
M: Yes.  
C: Mother what are dividends?  
M: Money that people get for lending money.  
C: Does money grow?  
M: No... don't be silly.  
C: It helps people to work.  
C: Can't they work without it?  
M: Of course they can't.  
C: Do you work for money?  
M: Of course not!  
C: Why do people get money for lending money?  
M: Because... why don't you ask your teacher all these questions, that's what she gets paid for.  
C: She's on strike!

JUVENAL

†To avoid any accusations of quoting from the capitalist press we use the *Daily Worker* (31/7/61) version of the Statement. Students of our Free Press are recommended to compare this with the *Times* summary!

