

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

More Refugees in Indo-China

THE cease fire in Indo-China has engendered problems of a kind which are by now all too familiar. There seems little point in discussing what on the surface are the major aspects of the cease fire: such questions as to whether a military defeat was partly redeemed by a diplomatic victory, or what was the reason for the Communists' complaisance at Geneva. Nor does it seem worthwhile to consider whether the whole Geneva business represents a proof that methods of negotiation can be as effective as methods of war. All these questions have been asked and answered to the full in the daily and weekly press, the prominence given to this or that aspect naturally reflecting the attitude of the journal concerned. We do not discuss these issues partly because they are stale, sterile questions which presuppose the continuance of politicians and power diplomacy, a vista which has an utterly sterile effect for those who have lived through all this sort of thing in different guises ever since the end of the first World War.

Another Population Shift
 The matters which emerge as important to an anarchist way of thinking are even more painful because they are to be measured in further human misery and further futility. The treaty has drawn a line of partition across Indo-China corresponding roughly to the 17th parallel. Among the clauses is the one which

allows a period of 300 days for the evacuation of those who wish to leave the Red River delta and go south to Viet nam territory. The ending of this war therefore has created its new population of refugees. In Germany, in Korea, there are many thousands of people living in settlement camps because conditions have uprooted them from their homes and it has not been possible to absorb them into areas nominally "sympathetic" to them.

It may be observed parenthetically that wars are not the only creators of refugees. In Nairobi to-day massive evacuations of Kikuyu city dwellers to concentration camps is going on. In South Africa, beginning in Johannesburg, the same "re-settlement" uprooting of populations is going on.

People in such situations have no hopes, no future. They live in misery from day to day with no point to their lives. The bitterness and frustrations that such a situation engenders can only be fraught with the direst possible consequences for the future. From such populations will spring the pathological politicians of the future. Hitlers great and small.

The number of northern Viet Namese likely to demand evacuation has been variously estimated. The mayor of Hanoi, Mr. Do Quang Giã, gave it as two to three million. The official French estimate is said to be several hundred thousand,

while a New York paper puts the figure at a quarter to half a million.

In resettlement camps any of these figures represents a huge problem almost inevitably fertile in human misery, unless the southern territory has capacities for absorbing huge numbers of immigrants beyond those shown in other parts of the world. But the figures are significant from another point of view. It is estimated that 12½ million people will be under Viet Minh rule and just under 9½ million under Viet Nam. A quarter to half a million refugees is only a small proportion of 12 millions, and it illustrates another feature of these ideological wars in Asia—that for probably a considerable majority it is a matter of indifference who rules them. For these people the wars which ravage their lands are simply incomprehensible. But whether they understand the issues or not they remain always at the receiving end.

ANOTHER WRONG SPEECH

First it was the Solicitor General who read the wrong speech in the debate on the Finance Bill in the House of Commons. Then the Lord Chancellor did the same thing in the Lords. And now, only last week, in the Commons the Transport Parliamentary Secretary was called to speak on an amendment to the Transport Charges Bill and instead spoke on a different one.

Is it too much to expect that even if they do not know what they are saying that at least arrangements should be made by the back-room-boys to ensure that the right speeches are read by the Ministers? What will the "backward" people of the world who are not fit to govern themselves think of this kind of performance in the mother of parliaments?

Cohn Goes - McCarthyism Stays

SO one of Senator McCarthy's blood-hounds having seen the red light has resigned from his post of legal adviser to the Senator, rather than waiting to be sacked. Roy M. Cohn, who some say has been McCarthy's evil genius, was however given a glowing report by his chief who in a statement enumerated his achievements thus:

"He has rendered perhaps unrivaled service in the conviction and exposure of Communists and spies in this nation. He prosecuted Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the executed atom spies; William Remington, and the top leaders of the Communist party. He exposed Communist infiltration in the United Nations. With this subcommittee he guided the exposure of Communist infiltration in the Government Printing Office, the Voice of America, Fort Monmouth, defense plants and other key places."

No wonder then, with such a fine record, that Senator McCarthy should add:

"The resignation of Roy Cohn must bring great satisfaction to the Communists and fellow travellers. The smears and pressures to which he has been subjected make it clear that an effective anti-Communist cannot long survive on the Washington scene."

This we assume will be considered in many American circles as the second funniest saying of the year, the first being when McCarthy, at one of his witch-hunt hearings, accused a witness of bullying him (McCarthy)!

The resignation of Mr. Cohn was provoked by a revolt within the 7-man Senatorial Investigation committee in which one of the Republicans decided to vote with the three Democratic Senators for a reduction in the size of the staff of the Committee. Among those who were due to be axed was McCarthy's protégé Cohn.

But the revolt extends outside the Committee. Senator Flanders, the 74-year-old Republican from Vermont tabled a resolution in the Senate which states that "the conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, as chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, is unbecoming a member of the United States Senate, is contrary to Senatorial traditions, and tends to bring the Senate into dis-

'The cardinal distinction between rival politicians is that one wishes to retain all the evils that already exist, while the other wishes to present us with a set of entirely new ones.'

—CHAPMAN COHEN.

repute, and such conduct is hereby condemned". In his speech the Senator described McCarthy as a minor Hitler, and pointed out that significantly the correspondence he had received from those opposing his action to censure McCarthy were mostly anonymous letters "fantastically anti-semitic in content".

The T.V. performances of McCarthy and Cohn were thus described by Senator Flanders:

"We see the bright lights of the television blot out that fair picture [of the election of Eisenhower two years ago]. It superimposes another figure and obliterates all else. The obliterating picture, known to millions of those who have followed the hearings in the Caucus Room, is that of the junior Senator from Wisconsin sitting at the table with his assistant, whose lips are glued to his ear whispering—whispering—whispering."

But in spite of his criticisms the Senator did not declare any opposition to political investigations as such, and he even had a few words of mild praise for McCarthy's achievements.

"The junior Senator from Wisconsin has rendered a not inconsiderable service to his country in alerting his fellow citizens to one part of the Communist danger—that of internal subversion. But his greatest service is in giving us the opportunity to appraise our national political morality in this year of Our Lord 1954. For this opportunity we must ever be grateful."

"The question raised is indeed greater than the personal issue. It concerns the spirit in which we approach our serious domestic problems. It concerns the national character which we display to the world in carrying out our fateful responsibilities in the world at large. We face then, in the words of Lincoln, 'in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere'."

Voting on the resolution will have taken place by the time these words are in print. Political observers were convinced that the resolution would be defeated, and this is not surprising, since the real problem in America to-day is not so much McCarthy as McCarthyism.

In spite of a growing resentment of McCarthy there appears to be no slowing down in the measures being taken by the government to impose a political conformity in the United States.

The latest of these is a Bill to oblige all "subversive organisations" to provide the government with a list of their printing machinery.

Under this bill which President Eisenhower is expected to sign, the organizations now required by law to register with the Attorney General will also have to list their printing equipment even down to duplicating machines.

Thus, step by step, and without openly banning political parties and organizations, the American government is achieving the same results by slow strangulation. And all this is done to protect freedom of this and of that from the Reds!

McCARTHYISM SPREADS TO CUBA

HAVANA, July 19 (A.P.)—The Ministry of Education to-day ordered the suspension of eleven teachers for professing communist ideas. Seven were women. It was the first such move by President Fulgenico Batista's Government to remove pro-Communist teachers from the public school system.

public support, could it have been canalised, for the first line of argument.

The Government's answer has been to send three officials up to Coventry to take over the C.D. organisation and run it on behalf of the Home Office—but at Coventry's expense, since they are to be paid out of the rates. This certainly will not save Coventry's money, but will save the Council's time and will at least leave the Council in a strong position to criticise the men from Whitehall.

One cannot help feeling that there are political motives behind Coventry's action. We wonder if they would have taken the same action if there had been a Labour Government in Westminster?

Continued on p. 4

Dr. JOHN AND NAZISM

It is too early to comment with any certainty on the disappearance of Dr. Otto John into the Soviet zone. Dr. John was appointed president of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution because of his known opposition to Nazism and his part in the 1944 bomb plot of the generals. His brother was one of those executed in the purge which followed this unsuccessful attempt. Dr. John succeeded in escaping through Spain to England.

Whatever the motives behind his disappearance, there can be no doubt that any sincere anti-Nazi must have been profoundly affected by the indifference of the allied governments and High Commands to attempts to overthrow Hitler from within. Right up to the beginning of the war international police connexions were maintained with the German police and revolutionary

opponents of the Nazi régime were cold-shouldered in other countries. Opponents of Mussolini's régime were treated in a similar way over an even longer period.

On the other hand Dr. John cannot have been ignorant of the attitude of the Soviet government towards Hitler. Superficially anti-fascist its actual policy was one of even closer liaison, culminating in the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 1939. Nor did this attitude change even after hostilities. The betrayal of the resistance forces in Warsaw by the Soviet High Command is common knowledge. Public men however often show an ease in forgetting these things and allowing themselves to accept uncritically the current Soviet propaganda line which would not make impossible a switch to East Germany.

The rôle of Dr. Wohlgemuth raises other problems. He was apparently known to have open Communist sympathies, and he was free to practice in Berlin. If it is proved that he played an important part in getting Dr. John to consent to enter the Soviet sector, there will be many "realists" who will ask why this man was allowed to practice when he was an open adherent to the Communist régime. For them this episode will justify the most totalitarian methods of opposing Communist sympathies.

However, a régime which permits its citizens to hold and express unacceptable political opinions gains the advantages of freedom at the price of just such episodes. It must be held to the credit of Western Germany that Dr. Wohlgemuth was allowed so much freedom of action when no such freedom for opponents is permitted in the Eastern zone. Such credit is immediately lost, however, if the "realistic", McCarthyite partisans have their way.

Boycott Civil Defence!

THE spectacle of a unit of Local Government virtually rebelling against the National Government is so unheard-of in England that when it occurs nobody quite seems to know what to do about it.

Coventry City Council, a few weeks ago, announced its decision to disband its Civil Defence unit because, it said, the probable use of the hydrogen bomb made Civil Defence, as at present organised, a waste of public time and money. Whitehall was clearly taken aback by this affront, although those guardians of our civil liberties—the national Press—did not hesitate to denounce Coventry's decision with resounding platitudes and emotional superficiality.

Nobody could argue against the Coventry Council's main point: that the tremendous devastation an H-Bomb would cause would render rescue and defence work completely impossible—at least in the central area. The emotional pleas of our tender-hearted Press Lords, however, concentrated on the plight of those on the perimeter of a bomb blast, and how necessary it was to help those—tacitly admitting that the hundreds of thousands covered by the central area of devastation had to be written off anyway.

Tomato Sauce Demonstration

To back up these arguments, the Home Office—the Government department responsible (if that is the word) for Civil Defence—sent a contingent of enthusiasts from neighbouring towns to Coventry, to stage a mock air-raid and to demonstrate how efficiently the wounded could be coped with. This demonstration appeared to consist of a number of screaming women, covered with tomato sauce, rolling in the gutters while a running commentary came over a loud-speaker pointing out to the citizens of

Coventry that their own Council was prepared to let them die in agony rather than organise help for them.

This was counteracted by the Council bringing up their own loudspeaker van, and Councillor Stringer, the leading member of Coventry's anti-C.D. faction on the Council, blasted away, putting the Council's case. It must have been quite an edifying spectacle: two loudspeaker vans blaring away at each other, while bloody-looking, hysterical matrons threw themselves about in simulated agony, while embarrassed but earnest good neighbours did their best to get them on to stretchers, into ambulances, and out of sight round the corner.

Coventry Knows

It seems that the citizens of Coventry were not impressed by the tomato sauce. Which is not surprising, for, of all places in the country, Coventry knows what real air-raids are like—or, rather, were like. This busy, industrial Midland city was one of the first to taste the concentrated fury of the Luftwaffe during 1940's night-raids—in fact 'Coventrate' became a new word for the blitz.

It is all the more significant, then, that this revolt should have come from Coventry. The Council (which is Labour-controlled) maintained originally that it was taking its action in order to stress the impossibility of defence against the H-Bomb and to put pressure on the 'statesmen' to ban the bomb.

Unfortunately this original aim has been rather pushed to the background in the subsequent arguments. Now, the Council is stressing instead the inadequacy of the present C.D. set-up, and demands its re-organisation on national lines with adequate shelters and the rest.

This shifting of its ground has, in our opinion, rather weakened the Council's case, for there would have been more

WARMONGER SYNGMAN RHEE

PRESIDENT RHEE'S visit to the United States "to press for more military and economic aid, and for new moves on unifying Korea" was preceded by a press campaign in the *Korean Republic* (which is generally accepted as the unofficial mouthpiece of Syngman Rhee's administration) openly calling for a resumption of hostilities in Korea.

"The armistice agreement has been avoided by the complete failure of the Geneva conference to achieve any settlement—writes the *Korean Republic*—and it is our opinion that the armistice no longer exists. Technically, there simply is no armistice in Korea. The situation is exactly the same as before the armistice talks began. What happens next?"

The editorial re-emphasized the wish of the Rhee Administration that the United Nations throw unrestricted military might and logistic support behind the new South Korean Army in one last concentrated drive to rid North Korea permanently of Red forces.

PRIVATE SLOVIK

THE EXECUTION OF PRIVATE SLOVIK, by William Bradford Huie. Signet Books.

MILITARY men, at least professionals, usually seem to me to live in a kind of permanent daydream, or phantasy world of their own devising. The trouble is that the civilians support them in this, and rarely protest against the prevalence of military values, beliefs, and customs in our society. When a normal person comes up against the military he usually finds things go hard with him. A man who is primarily concerned with everyday problems, with his home and his work, with the woman that he loves, and their children if they have any, and has no place in his life for mystical things like Duty and Patriotism, is anathema to the military.

Private Slovik was a simple soul, who loved his wife, the home they were making together, the new furniture that they had just acquired, and their car. He had been born in poverty, and had ended up as a delinquent, accused of stealing petty cash, buns, and cakes. Nothing serious. He served two sentences in a reformatory, fortunately coming into contact with a kindly supervisor who helped him, and took an interest in his case. Under this man's influence he had quite a good record, and when he went out into the world again for the second time he soon got a good job, conditions were in any case infinitely better than before the war, and settled down to a useful and happy existence.

He was an exceedingly nervous character, but he undoubtedly had a sensible and rational philosophy of life. Having been a child during the years of the depression, he was determined to enjoy the good things of life, and have, above all, an atmosphere of security. The fact that there was a war going on meant virtually nothing to him. In any case he was partly crippled, and it was exceedingly unlikely that he would be called up. The United States meant nothing to him at all. He was simply living in a country the authorities of which had seen fit to arrest and "reform" him. A country, in which his early years had been lived in want and distress, and in which he had not been really happy till his marriage, commanded no loyalty in his mind. Why should it? He bore no malice. He just wasn't interested.

Despite everything, he was called up. He hated military life bitterly from start to finish. He couldn't see the sense of it all. He wrote, on the average, a letter a day to his wife, telling her what he thought about it. Meanwhile she was struggling to make ends meet, and keep the home together. She suffered from epilepsy, but the Red Cross and the Social Welfare gave her no help, be-

cause she was the wife of an ex-convict. Ironically Slovik was still on probation, and could have been sent back to prison for six months had he committed some small offence, like getting drunk and creating some disturbance. This would have been the end of his army career.

Eventually he was sent abroad. But modern war was a bit too much for him, and he deserted, and stated categorically that he would do so again and again until he was taken out of the firing line. He was perfectly prepared to do any sort of job they might give him, but not to fight.

This was defiance. He was actually standing up to the State and telling them that he was not going to obey. He had no axe to grind, no social theory, no pacifism or internationalism to back him up. He was in fact nominally a Catholic. He just felt that he had a right to happiness, and that the vast forces of our society had no right to interfere with his life. He did not understand what it was all about, but he felt that he had a right to go on his own way.

Plenty of American servicemen deserted, were court-martialled, sentenced to death, automatically reprieved, imprisoned for a short time after hostilities, and dishonourably discharged. None had been executed for desertion since 1864. Why was it then that Slovik was killed?

At the time he deserted the Americans were meeting stiff resistance, and the Germans had launched a counter offensive. American officers seem to have been suffering a sort of inferiority complex on account of the large number of American soldiers who ran away, or proved unfit for service for psychological reasons. They felt that the average American soldier was getting things too soft. No doubt they would have preferred to treat them as the German or Russian soldiers were treated. Such a situation explains the behaviour of such men as Patton, who struck a shell-shocked man in a hospital ward, and who wanted to fight the British when he'd finished with the Germans. These men wished to make an example of someone, and undoubtedly Slovik was the ideal victim, the absolute antithesis of all that the mystic cruel military mind admires.

Moreover he had taken such a deliberate stand. He had openly defied the State. He had not crawled off the field surreptitiously and got "lost", he had not come to a psychiatrist saying "I can't stand any more of it, I'm sorry." He simply stated that he was not going to fight any more. This is the attitude that infuriates the authoritarian most, because it seems as if the man who adopts it has a basically different philosophy of life to that of the authoritarian. Such a thing is incomprehensible to the latter, and, since narrow-minded people are apt to get furious with something they cannot understand, the authoritarian usually feels intense hatred for such a person.

Moreover, Slovik's attitude was a living blasphemy against the gods of the soldier, Duty, Honour, Patriotism. These meant nothing to him. Of course if all soldiers adopted this line there would soon be no wars, because there would be no soldiers to fight them. The few fanatics, and the officers, would find their occupation gone. Soldiering, which is at once their life and their religion, in which they have been in many cases reared, so many professional soldiers come from military families, would cease to exist, and their world would collapse.

And then of course Slovik was an ex-convict. He faced death with great courage. His last words deserve to be remembered. "I'm okay. They're not shooting me for deserting the United States Army. Thousands of guys have done that. They just need to make an example out of somebody and I'm it because I'm an ex-con. I used to steal things when I was a kid, and that's what

IN all political movements whose purpose it is to improve social conditions because some sections or the great majority of the people in a country suffer disadvantages and vexations, a conflict is constantly brewing, and comes to a crisis sooner or later, between the partisans of rapid and violent means and the advocates of patience and moderation. It is a conflict decided on matters of theory and policy, but is at bottom one of different psychological types and different upbringing. The basic attitude towards

they are shooting me for. They're shooting me for bread and chewing gum I stole when I was twelve years old." This was probably largely true.

Undoubtedly we owe a debt of gratitude to the labours of the author of this book, since after the war everything was done to forget the affair. It is a pity that the author found it necessary, in order to get his story a hearing, to fill the book with a lot of patriotic claptrap of the most nauseating kind imaginable. Although he sympathises with Slovik, and with his wife, he clearly does not understand Slovik's mentality. Much is made of his timidity and "weakness". The possibility that Slovik may have been right and the United States wrong is not considered for a moment. (Incidentally the United States is spoken of as if it were a real person throughout the book. The service of this abstraction seems rather like the concept of man's duty to serve God).

The author clearly hopes that his book will prevent the thing happening again. But he wants future young men to understand the fact that they have a duty to the United States (i.e. God, or Goddess?) that they must not shirk. He hopes that future soldiers will learn from this case a truer appreciation of their rights and duties, and will not behave like the simple-minded Slovik, who actually thought that a society and a State that had done nothing for him did not deserve his loyalty.

I would not go so far as to claim that Slovik was an anarchist without knowing it, though he certainly behaved anarchistically in refusing to fight, and walking off, but he certainly comes out of the affair better than anyone else. He is practically the only sane character in the book.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Hate, Love and Moderation

the existing social system being to a large extent the fruit of critical experiences, further critical experiences may affect it deeply enough and so may a radical change in the social system itself. The utopian and the discontented being social animals like other men, and most of them shallow and imitative like most men, the prevailing mood of the time and the fashion of the 'milieu' will often decide their allegiance to either a progressive or a radical policy, and of its expression in either words or deeds. The mood of the time if not the fashion of the 'milieu' is due to factors essential to the right assessment of each particular situation, but the following general considerations will not, I hope, lose any validity by not taking these factors explicitly into account.

The tough and realist rebels see themselves preaching idealism and moderation, submission and conformism, as soon as revolution or any other accident develops in them that social responsibility which they most heartily detested when the society they lived in was not of their liking or their making. This change is normal, and not the less operative and impressive when habits of violence, fraud, and summary action of pre-revolutionary and revolutionary days are not abandoned with the seizure of power but are all the more intensified and more firmly institutionalized the longer its tenure. The crucial question, therefore, is not whether one ought to be a well-wisher and respecter of the human person or a hater and unscrupulous getter. The question is when to be one or the other. The answer, really coming before the question, is that a man will be the one or the other according to whether or not he has been given sufficient opportunity to think much of human life and to value the fruits of refinement. In the long historical run both attitudes seem to be equally effective and ineffective because each is the seed of the other. The passage in frustration and defeat from lofty principles to ruthlessness of methods is just as frequent and normal as that typically represented by the growth of bandit Stalin into the author of the articles on linguistics.

Theoretically, however, and whenever choice is possible, the bias of reason would be for persuasion of minds and hearts, for moderation and reforms. The revolutionary path, breaking wills and piling up corpses, leads back eventually

to the path of moderation and reforms, and if by any chance it does not it is thereby damnable and the worst of tyrannies, because the last thing that men desire is to have their will broken and themselves turned into corpses. By this I don't mean that revolutions are necessarily stupid and futile. To be a dispenser of violence and an administrator of oppression instead of a victim of both makes a tremendous difference to the revolutionary. It does to the reactionary, too. But to the masses who are the instrument and prize of the struggle between reactionaries and revolutionaries I daresay it does not. Although too easy a prey to the delusion that with unity and dash the time may come any time for them to be on top and rule, the masses cannot soberly and realistically aspire to domination. If they have any intelligence and use it, they know that as long as there is violence and exploitation as there is bound to be as long as there are leaders, they will be their natural victims. Of course, conditions may be such that the masses will readily and rightly seize or create a revolutionary opportunity, but they will then make history for the sake of achieving healthier, happier and securer conditions while revolutionaries as a rule will achieve these conditions only instrumentally for the sake of making history.

It is to be hoped that the present trend of some European thought to be existentially inspired will not receive severe checks and deviations so that history, existentially weighed and affected, may no longer be the bloody affair it is. Sartre's attempt to marry existentialism to marxism was a failure, and should be taken as a warning against the possibility of existentialism being turned against existential truths in the same way as, say, christianity has been turned against christian aspirations or the dictatorship of the proletariat against the proletarians. It is Kierkegaard's supremacy of passion, the way in which a man feels about a thing being what really matters about that that thing, that should never be lost sight of in the study of happenings and causes one calls historical.

Now, in the problem at hand, existential analysis would show that the natural reaction to an abuse of superiority is anger towards the abuser and compassion towards the abused. If for any reason and circumstance this natural reaction is not allowed to express itself fully in

Continued on p. 3

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THE GREEN BAY TREE

"THE Green Bay Tree", Mordaunt Shairp's brilliant homosexual drama is the story of a middle-aged man, Mr. Dulcimer, rich, skilful and utterly selfish, and the young Julian whom he adopts at the age of eight. Since that time the two have shared a life of exquisite luxury. When Julian falls in love with a clear-headed young woman, Mr. Dulcimer jealously enraged, cuts off Julian's allowance. The young man attempts to break from the luxury to which he has been accustomed. Julian's father kills Dulcimer, but his hold extends even after death, and the young man returns to live as Dulcimer did. Dulcimer seemed to me to represent the falsity of the lives of the bourgeoisie. Their virtues are no virtues at all, but are only vices, seen in reverse.

"Keep up appearances; there lies the test; The world will give thee credit for the rest.

Outward be fair, however foul within; Sin if thou wilt, but in secret sin."

How can a sincere person call the present greed and tyranny of capitalism and the State a civilized society, when there is no longer any social idea or genuine brotherhood extant? When each is isolated, regardless of his neighbour, turned against his neighbour clutching what he can steal legally and hold, crying "Mine!" and calls it peace and law and order, because in the cut-throat scramble and competition, vice is no longer vice unless it is known; no steel knives, but only a far more cunning sort can be employed. Friendship, co-operation, mutual aid have become an incredible tradition in a world in which for generations millions of people have been sucked into the great towns, and we have seen grow up a vast machine of industry that has made slaves of us, shut out the light of the fields and the freedom of wholesome happiness from our lives, left the children to grow like weeds in the material slums of the poor and the spiritual slums of the rich, rootless and water-

THE GREEN BAY TREE at the Q Theatre

they are crushed and oppressed by outworn beliefs and traditions, by the dead weight of the past, the way in which people become identified with the rôles imposed upon them by society and authority and lose or forget their personalities in playing a mechanical part, or the various ways in which, having failed to become ourselves, to create our own reality, truth and illusions within ourselves, we become an impersonal third party, or the phantom which flits in the opinions others have of us, and live under the rule of an abstraction we have invented called "Man", especially as I cannot know another save as an object which is not he). If only our theatre would forget the artificiality of men's lives which are based on violence, and the contemporary, smart-crack, caricature, quick-repartee play containing childish content and trite stale themes (e.g. *Reluctant Heroes*, *The Mousetrap* (Ambassadors Theatre), feeble plots, and would move towards the rapidly developing and maturer audience that is alive to-day, the theatre would progress with leaps and bounds. True literature and true drama are at once the reflex and the inspiration of mankind in its eternal seeking for things higher and better, to arouse the people of the world to make them realise the hypocrisy and cruelty of capitalism, the State and obedience, to make the intelligent thinkers among the wealthier classes realise their relation to the people, and the social unrest permeating the atmosphere.

If men will revolt against all authority, their natural talents will no longer be tortured to death on the Procrustean bed of political unity, as every creative idea is crippled by the rigid framework of the bureaucratic and State machine. Freedom, wealth and happiness will be within the reach of all, and authority will cease to smother at its birth every impulse toward spontaneous, independent activity and individual happiness. Tyranny, want and crime will vanish like nightmares of the night, and men will no longer be bartered for the fame of power, which destroys all self-reliance and internal impulses, making human will an article of trade. The germs of misery will be uprooted from the human heart.

D.M.M.

OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS

In support of the article *Obscene Publications* (FREEDOM, 17 July) in which the writer says "The world . . . finds nothing wrong with violence and brutality in literature but is profoundly hostile to an eroticism of joyful sex acceptance," please note the adaptations made in the film *The Wages of Fear*.

Showing now to "A" audiences in the provinces, the driver of a huge explosives lorry deliberately runs over his mate, waist deep in a pool of oil, because he cannot clear himself from the debris he is trying to pull out of the way. His leg is broken, we see him all but drowned and die shortly afterwards in the lorry.

This is suitable entertainment for children in the company of a grown up. What has been drastically cut from the "X" version is the scene of a woman taking a shower in the open air.

ANTHONY WEAVER,

High Wycombe, July 20.

FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

HOW many readers of FREEDOM, we wonder, listened to a feature programme on the B.B.C. recently which dealt with the problem of oil pollution of the sea? In the space of less than an hour we learned how the sea comes to be polluted and why, the problems involved in any attempt to keep the seas, at least around our coasts, free from floating oil, and some account of what has been done both by the shipping companies and in the research laboratories. We were presented with the viewpoints of many of the interests concerned, from the holiday-makers whose clothes are ruined by the tar that invades our beaches to the shipowner who resists any measures which may cost him money. The overall picture of the problem was that pollution both of the seas and rivers is a very serious threat which demands very radical measures. Incidentally it was interesting to learn that agitation was started not by some official body but by a group of citizens, among them, of course, some who had a direct interest in seeing that the problem should be tackled.

In a small way this radio programme illustrated how even complex problems can be explained quite simply and in a manner to hold our attention and gain our interest; it also illustrated that where a problem is a real one, a human one (as against the artificial problems of high finance and all the jargon that goes with it) it could to advantage be explained to the people as a whole for obviously rules which are made by the people themselves for their own benefit will always be more willingly observed than those imposed from above without any explanation as to why they are made.

It is interesting to note, in passing, that governments use this sound principle only when powerful minority interests threaten to make a law unworkable. We saw an example of this in the debate on the question of the production of clean food. According to the opposition the measures proposed by the government hardly touched the problem of cleaning up the catering trade. But the government argued that to do more would involve prohibitive expenditure in equipment and a vast system of inspection apart from being unworkable. But for the wrong reasons they put forward the right solutions: namely that the cleaning-up of the catering trade could only come about by widespread education on the subject and direct action by the public who should refuse to eat in dirty cafés, from dirty or broken crockery and so on.

By extension we come to the anarchist argument of *control from below*, and not from some centralised all-powerful, all-knowing, agency as at present. So long as the people continue to allow their affairs to be concentrated in the hands of governments, who in turn are in the hands of the managers and financiers of industry, so long will our rivers and beaches be polluted, our skies heavy with harmful smoke, and our very lives regulated and dreary.

Where is Their Sense of Humour?

ONE noticeable characteristic of Communists is that they take themselves terribly seriously, and lack a sense of humour. When to criticise the leader is a crime punishable even by death, it is perhaps understandable that Communist reflexes are very carefully controlled.

Who, among normal humans has not, for instance, been tempted at some time in his life to black-out a tooth of the smiling girl in the tooth-

OPERATION BRAINWASH

NEARLY everybody is waiting for the opportunity to inflict their autobiography on a public presumed breathlessly eager to hear the epic. As a consequence when Aunt Mildred happens to catch a glimpse of an elephant as her bus rushes from the depths of St. John's Wood to the wilds of Pimlico we may expect to find the incident etched in deathless prose sandwiched between a chapter devoted to the time she inadvertently blew her nose on the Duke's hankie at the local garden party and a final chapter on Future Hopes and Prospects.

This is not to say that all autobiography is badly written and dull; only that we are entitled to examine both the motives and talent of those who undertake to bare their soul to us. In this case we find a highly competent journalist, the liberal editor of the *New York Post*, being set off on safari not by an elephant, but by that blue-bottomed baboon, Senator McCarthy.

The first section of the book deals with his youthful extravagances as a college radical in the depressed Thirties, culminating in the inevitable flirtation with the Communist Party. The most remarkable thing about this description is that it would so readily fit the present day college political, who is just as in-

**The Age of Suspicion, by James A. Wechsler. Published by Andre Deutsch at 16/-.*

Hate, Love & Moderation

Continued from p. 2

action or words at the time it arises, then it ferments in the psyche, and if consciously stirred and reproduced, it undergoes momentous transformations. Anger is turned into hate, and compassion into love. These feelings are assumed as abiding and motivating elements of personality, as projections of behaviour into the future, masters of destiny and no longer products of chance. But as we are urged by anger to hit and hurt the bully and by comparison in a contrary direction to shield and soothe the bully's victim, so love and hate cannot live peacefully together, and one is of necessity sacrificed to the other for the purpose both of inner peace and efficiency of action. With the definite dominance of one or the other the causal and teleological elements of the original reaction are pushed into the background and often to the extent of leaving the hate or love behaviour pursued for its own sake. It does not matter, then, to the hater whether the person he hurts is or is not a bully, and the lover would be very sad if bullies should mend their ways and leave him no more victims to console.

Both hate and love are aimed at the abolition of evil, but hate sees evil in the person of the evil-doer while love sees it in the person to whom evil is done to. To the hater each evil-doer that is punished or suppressed is a victory in the war against evil, which war can conceivably be brought to a successful conclusion with the disposing of all evil-doers down to the last. He who relies on love, on the contrary, however many he may give solace and relief to, will only be dealing with evil done and leave the doing of evil practically unaffected. His actions will be so directed as to clear the way for the voice of God to speak to the evil-doer, but the result may just as likely be that the evil-doer will find the way clear to taking himself as God. So the balance seems to be in favour of hate. Both love and hate moreover, spring

paste advertisement, or has sought to enhance the natural charms in a photograph of a Marilyn Monroe, or has observed the effect of adding a top hat to a picture of a man in shorts? Very few we are sure! Why, even our respectable journals occasionally publish photographs of our politicians skilfully retouched to show us what they would look like if they wore beards. One could almost say it was an international sport... except that in the Satellite countries you have to be careful whom you beard. A *Reuter* report from Berlin last week states that an East German court has jailed 17-year-old Guenther Henneberg for 12 months for the crime of having pencilled a beard on a poster of East German Communist President Wilhelm Pieck. How silly and serious these people can be!

dignant at the prospect of war and feels just as helpless in the face of a Big Business government. From the sound of it, too, the Left suffered from almost as many splinter groups then as it does now. All that seem to be missing are the various brands of Trotskyite, hard, soft, and medium rare, that now adorn the campus drug-stores along with umpteen species of socialists.

Then follows the familiar tale of heart-searching that culminates in resignation from the C.P. We have read it all before in *The God That Failed*. George Orwell and El Campasino have examined the Machiavellian contortions of the Soviet machine and exposed double-think, crime-think, and all the other niceties of Stalinist dialectics and *realpolitik*. Koestler has long since taken us on a much more detailed and revealing tour of the tortured soul of the true believer faced with indigestible reality. Where Wechsler scores is in his descriptions of Henry Wallace, the pitiful stooge of the United Front, and of Walter Winchell, that poisonous retailer of largely fictitious cocktail party tittle-tattle.

Undoubtedly, the most interesting part of the whole book is the final encounter with the power-hungry Senator out for a kill. Political scalp-hunters have evolved the technique of the brainwash. This is a far more elegant style of crucifixion than the crude hammer and nail show. Trial by Ordeal has adopted a New Look. No longer does the Inquisition

waste time and effort on the messy business of breaking on the wheel or pouring molten lead down dissentient throats. Both the Fascists and Communists have discovered that a victim who can be made to condemn himself provides a far more effective propaganda tool for silencing opposition than a popular martyr.

In essence it works like this. Whatever the victim says is damning evidence against himself. Say he has been associated with the losing faction of the Russian State apparatus. Then in the ensuing purge it turns out that he was a crypto-fascist all along and by that very fact everything he ever did was espionage, sabotage or self-aggrandizement. If he is hauled before McCarthy as an ex-Communist and is yet critical of the Wisconsin Torquemada, then in reality he is still an undercover Red who is all the more deadly for his assumed disguise. If he attacks and is attacked by the C.P. then this is because he instigated these quarrels as a screen for his true motives. Since guilt is axiomatic all the evidence can only point in this direction. After hours of this double-talk the victim himself is not sure of the difference between a chicken and a chopper and is quite ready to affirm that he is Sweeny Todd the Demon Barber if this obvious fact is suggested to him.

What is the remedy for this Kafkaesque form of political assassination? Suppose that you or I one day find ourselves stuck at the receiving end of this latest piece of authoritarian artillery. How do we defend ourselves?

Not every victim ends by pulling the trigger to blow his own head off. The first notable corpse to refuse to lie down was Dimitrov during the Reichstag Fire trial. Then they were Stypulkowski, the Polish Prime Minister, who successfully resisted all attempts of the Moscow Magicians to turn him into a Nazi agent. And now we find McCarthy coming up against the odd bod who demurs when invited to commit hara-kiri. Note that all these reluctant heroes were men of proven courage and resolve. They were not used to being pushed around and had a consistent system of beliefs which could withstand a lot of punishment. The crucial point seems to be that they refused to panic and fought back, sometimes fiercely, sometimes patiently, as the occasion demanded. They were sure of their facts and firm in their convictions.

Another point to bear in mind is that the more we know about this latest turn

OUR GLORIOUS AGE

OURS is not the first age of discovery, but it is a finer, nobler age of discovery than any that has gone. For whereas the discoveries and inventions of former ages have, for the most part, merely increased man's physical well-being and material prosperity, the discoveries and inventions of our time can only result in the spiritual uplift of our generation, and the improvement of the human race itself. The statesmen of the world, and under their guidance, the men of science, are working together (despite a superficial appearance of conflict), with a wonderful new unity of purpose. Unless they are wilfully and maliciously obstructed, they will shortly bring to all mankind such opportunities for heroism, and nobility, and self-sacrifice, as the world has never before experienced, and probably never will again.

If, in so happy an era, there is one small cause or grief, it is the possibility that the greater power yet produced by human science may never emerge from the laboratory stage; since many astute observers opine that it is "too expensive and wasteful" to be released for public use. We may hope that these astute observers are for once wrong, or that their astuteness consists only in that they give the opinion most pleasing to the ignorant. For, though admittedly the inventions of science must always be applied with the wisdom of statesmanship, it would be sad indeed if so great a power, produced with so much effort, so much thought, so much loving patience (I refer, of course, to the hydrogen bomb), should not have full expression, not only under laboratory conditions, but in those free, natural surroundings for which it is intended.

Even, however, should this great device prove unusable, the same work can be accomplished by more conventional means. The uranium bomb, while it can never achieve the power and splendour of its big sister, has already achieved a startling degree of controllability, predictability and economy. It is now available in a comprehensive range of strength, from a few square yards to several tens of square miles of total ruin; and mass production techniques have

of the screw the less likely are we to succumb. Beria could hardly be described as a man of high principles. Nevertheless he was evidently too recalcitrant to put on a public performance. We can only assume that he knew too much about the inside of the machine he managed, to emerge from the process as the standard product.

Meanwhile we can reflect that it seems only a matter of time before McCarthy is behind bars. The American political scenery is littered with the skeletons of ex-senators who were finally nailed by the F.B.I. Tax evasion is the usual wire used to trip up these unsavoury characters, and significantly enough our Junior Senator has been desperately sidestepping an enquiry by a Senate Committee into his financial intrigues for quite a while. Rest assured; when the eagle swoops there will be plenty of vultures on the sidelines only too ready to pick the bones clean. R.T.G.

Pakistan C.P. Banned

WITH the banning of the Communist party in West Pakistan last week following that of the Party in East Bengal Province earlier this month, the outlawing of the Communists in all Pakistan is now complete. This latest step has been taken because the government is "convinced that the C.P. had for its object interference with the administration and maintenance of law and order and constituted a danger to public peace."

The *New York Times* correspondent reports that:

"Arrests of alleged Communists in West Pakistan began in May. More than 100 persons, including our prominent newspaper men, members of trade unions and students, have been arrested."

Since early May, local governments have forbidden assemblages of five or more persons.

While the total membership of the Communist party, which has its national headquarters in Lahore, is unknown, the police criminal investigation department has estimated it to be 'more than 5,000.' The department also said that many so-called progressive groups were known to be Communist-dominated."

One wonders to what extent the present action against the Communists in Pakistan has been taken as part of the conditions imposed by the United States for dollar-aid.

Generous Bosses - & Why

PROBABLY—indeed almost certainly—there is no factor which influences employers agreeing to wage claims less than that of the needs of his employees.

All sorts of factors weigh more with the bosses than that, but an example has just been given in America of what is, in our experience, a new reason. Or, at least, it is new that the real reason should be so frankly stated.

The huge steel firm of U.S. Steel has just signed a new contract with the United Steel Workers' Union (C.I.O.) with what is described as 'surprisingly generous terms'. The rest of the steel industry followed suit.

The employers granted a 5 cents an hour increase on wages, bringing steelmen's pay up to \$93.60 (£33 8s. 6d.) for a 40-hour week, 2 cents an hour on medical benefits and stepped up top pensions from \$100 to \$140 a month. This was given in spite of the fact that production throughout the industry is running at only two-thirds of capacity, with ample stocks available, and when that situation exists, bosses usually fight an increase which adds so much to their wages bill. In this case the addition totalled at least \$120 million on to the industry's present wage bill of \$3.6 billion.

Why did they give in without a fight? In small part because the benefit and pension figures had been frozen since 1949 contracts, but much more because the U.S.W. President, Dave McDonald, has a long-standing rivalry with C.I.O. President, Walter Reuther, and the steel

bosses wanted to give McDonald a boost. Again, why? Because, as one top steel executive put it:

The steel industry knows that it is going to have to deal with the union problem on a permanent basis. It therefore wants a sober, responsible, conservative man running the union, and not some Socialist element.

It is news to us that Reuther is a 'Socialist element' but then, American bosses' standards are a bit different from ours on these matters. The interesting point is the main one, however; that employers will throw a bone to the union to keep a 'sober, conservative man' in the saddle.

Could it be that, over here, Arthur Deakin's 'successes' on behalf of his members stem from the same cause?

PORTWORKERS STILL RESTIVE

THE strike in the cold stores in London's docks a fortnight ago ended inconclusively, and it would be foolish for the Port authorities to imagine the dockers have not settled down to the new conditions (see FREEDOM 17/7/54).

In other sectors, also, unrest is only just below the surface, and there may still be a flare-up over the overtime issue.

For six months an official ban on overtime has been operated by both the smaller unions in the port—the Tugmen & Lightermen's and the Stevedore's & Dockers'. This has been against the Dock Labour Board's interpretation of 'reasonable' overtime as being in fact compulsory overtime.

In all this six months, not one worker has been disciplined for operating the ban, and the two unions, in a joint statement, have claimed that this means a victory for the principle of voluntary overtime. The D.L.B. of course will think differently, but the unions now are considering intensifying their campaign if no official decision is forthcoming.

Other issues, too, are coming to a head. By the time this appears in print, a dispute may have appeared in the Albert Dock, to which 'redundant' cold store workers are being transferred, creating a surplus of workers there. And still more dockers are being registered.

The D.L.B.'s policy is clearly to flood the docks with labour and set the workers at each other's throats. In such circumstances only the bosses win. There must be enough militant dockers who realise this, and before long a serious clash will obviously occur, but where is the fighting organisation that can co-ordinate the workers' forces?

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST.

HIS MASTER'S VOICE

AS if to offer evidence that O.B.E.'s, C.B.E.'s and C.H.'s are not given for services to the working class, "Brother" the "hon." Arthur Deakin joined his capitalist admirers in calling for complete resistance to "Communism" in its form of international trade unionism, when he spoke at the opening of the International Transport Workers' Congress in London last week.

To show how much further leaders of his ilk are allied to capitalist trends of thought he said "... We must work together in the free trade unions of the world ...". Note how this glib utterance of "free" ties up with our masters' conception of the "free" world fighting against the "unfree". "Brother" Deakin completed his rôle of capitalist mouth-piece when he uttered the time-honoured phrase of that class, "... to maintain those principles and practices of democracy so dear to us all, which we cannot, and must not surrender ...".

What those "principles and practices" are we are not told, but having in mind former dictatorial utterances by this master-class spokesman, we would venture to suggest that they are absent in his own union.

The hon. Brother went on to say: "The fight was against intolerance and aggression, wherever they showed their heads ...".

Arthur being bitten by the same bug of Soviet aggression as his admirers, did not of course have in mind the intolerance of "leaders" to the rank and file fighting for a living wage, or the aggression against so-called unofficial strikers who, tiring of orthodox methods of sit-

ting around capitalist arbitration boards, take the initiative in their own hands to secure a larger lump of that other union leader's mythical conception of wealth production—Jack Tanner's "National Cake".

Arthur shows a cautious note later on however, when saying of Soviet policy that, "... there does appear to me to be some indication at this time of an easing in the tension which has existed over so long a period, and it is the desire of everyone of us that this may be so."

Whether our hon. Brother discovered this through the *Daily Worker* or finding that the "Socialist" paradise had rowing Blues, in the shape of Red oarsmen at Henley, one cannot say, but this discovery may have lessened the idea of resisting "Communism".

The bitterest reflection on this issue of divided international unity (surely a paradox in itself!) is that workers have so far allowed the leaders to play the old capitalist game of "divide and conquer". Have allowed organisations, which grew from the sweat, toil, and oppression of their forebears to be taken out of their hands and run for the benefit of such tin-pot dictators who pay lip-service to working-class struggles but have an eye fixed on the plums of office and all the trappings of a privileged class-ridden society.

The lesson to be learned is that workers whilst capitalism lasts, have but one interest industrially: to own and control their own industrial unions. To give their leaders the sack, and to recognise that their interests as unionists lies in identifying themselves with all other workers the world wide on the basis of an "injury to one is an injury to all". When they achieve this they will have advanced considerably towards doing away with the need for trade unions—will have become conscious of the realisation of their own strength (when combined and not divided). This realisation will lead them to ask; why cannot this unity of purpose allow us to run society for the benefit of all, not just a wealthy minority and their tinpot lackeys?

G.H.

UNION ORGANISERS ARRESTED IN S. AFRICA

DURBAN, JULY 19.

Mr. G. Dooreward, national organiser of the South African Union Cigarette and Tobacco Workers, and eleven union members were arrested to-day by police in connection with the strike by 350 African workers at a Durban tobacco factory. They appeared in a magistrate's court later for formal remand—*British United Press*.

THE MAN NOBODY WANTS

MARSEILLES, France, July 19 (A.P.)—Serge Levitsky, the man without a country who has spent eleven months aboard a French ship without once touching land, got a brief respite to-day. French authorities granted him shore leave until July 31.

Boycott Civil Defence

Continued from p. 1

However, the possibilities arising from the action are tremendous.

It is clear to us that only mass action throughout the country will deter the British Government from its war preparations, and a boycott of Civil Defence is as good a means as any of pulling public support from under the Government. If the people refused to lend themselves to any of these voluntary organisations, the Government would have either to abandon then completely or turn on some form of conscription.

In point of fact, most of the Government propaganda for C.D. recruits has fallen on deaf ears. The response has in all areas fallen far short of estimated requirements, although enough good neighbours have come forward to create at least a skeleton (significant word!) staff.

What is Involved?

Coventry, however, has been followed by the London borough of Tottenham (Labour-dominated, one Tory resigning after this decision), but here again, it must be stressed, this Council has not revolted against war preparations as such, but only against the inadequacy of the Government's provisions for the protection of the civilian population under atomic attack.

For us, these Council actions represent well-meaning half-measures. There is no defence against either A- or H-Bombs. The only safeguard is to ensure that they will never be used. But have these Labour Councillors faced up to everything involved in this? We think not, for the only guarantee that these horror-weapons will not be used is the destruction of the States which create them. And this is usually going a bit too far for Labour Councillors.

Nevertheless, a thorough-going nationwide boycott of the voluntary C.D. organisations, consciously carried out and publicised, would be a beginning of pressure against the State. And if the Government knew that to enter a war with no Civil Defence would be asking for a full-scale revolution, it might make the statesmen do a bit of hard thinking instead of sabre-rattling, for a change. P.S.

DOUBLE CENSORSHIP

Correspondents of this newspaper and of The Associated Press have informed their home office that censorship in Indo-China has reached a point at which the French Army admits that a "double censorship" exists. Dispatches that have passed censorship at Hanoi have been held up at Saigon and censored there a second time without the knowledge of the correspondents. In addition to deletions Saigon censors "have edited and changed correspondents' copy, again without noting on the copy that changes had been made by the censor."

We should expect censorship in a war zone, and no criticism can be made on that score. But the alteration of copy as another matter, and surely one that merits protest.

(N.Y. Times, 21/7/54).

So it doesn't only happen behind the Iron Curtain!

World Court Rules U.S. Sulks

Eleven Americans working for the United Nations were dismissed from their posts in December 1952 and May 1953, for having refused to answer questions put to them by a United States investigation Committee as to their political affiliations.

The United Nations Administrative Tribunal, in a ruling Sept. 1, said the dismissal of the Americans during a Congressional loyalty inquiry was "illegal".

Four were ordered reinstated with full back pay. The seven others, who had asked for payment in lieu of reinstatement, were awarded sums ranging from \$6,000 to \$40,000. Later Mr. Hammarskjöld decided to make payments instead of reinstatement.

Because of American objections the legality of the U.N. Administrative Tribunal's decision was heard before the World Court at the Hague last week. The American objections were overruled.

Now some observers say that America may refuse to make her annual contribution to the U.N. because of the adverse decision at the Hague!

CRICHEL DOWN

The resignation of the Minister of Agriculture has turned the Crichton Down controversy into an important political issue. A similar case in which a woman has had restored to her a requisitioned holding after an enquiry presided over by Mr. Justice Stable had overturned the decision of a Tribunal which found against her, would seem to show that the individual does have some protection against the State.

But in both these cases the plaintiffs won their struggle with the ministries because it was shown that the Act was not administered properly and that the procedure involved had been improper. Neither of them really touches the central issue—the right of the State compulsorily to acquire other people's property whether they want to sell or not. Workers may not be very much interested in these struggles of property owners against the State, but the law under which such requisitioning becomes legal does give the State tremendous power, and increases its general ability to impose its will on the population as a whole.

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7.30 p.m.—Lecture Tony Gibson "The Mythology of the Class Struggle"
Sunday, 1st August
11 a.m.—Lecture John Hewetson "Sociological Aspects of Anarchism"
Afternoon—Hyde Park Meeting
Evening—Social.
Monday, 2nd August
11 a.m.—Lecture Sam Fanaroff "Man—the Anarchist"
Attendance at individual lectures will cost 6d. 1/6d. for all four.
Main meal charges have been tentatively fixed at not more than 2/6d. each. A small charge may have to be made for some accommodation for comrades who are coming from outside London.

Have you sent a Contribution to help cover our printing Deficit?

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WED. AUGUST 4—Gerald Howson
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