

## Labour Party Attack on Budget was Only

# MOCK INDIGNATION

IN the April Budget the Chancellor of the Exchequer magnanimously distributed £140 million among the nation's taxpayers; last week he took it—and an extra million for luck—all back. So we are back where we were except for the not uninteresting—and for many people the important—fact that in April the lion's share of the tax concessions went to a small section of the higher income section of the community whereas the Autumn budget will hit those in the lowest income groups who benefited not at all from the earlier concessions.

It is quite obvious that the "considerable degree of internal inflation" from which we are apparently suffering will not be cured by Dr. Butler's latest prescription. Not only does the £141 million assume infinitesimal proportions compared with the nation's annual expenditure of £10,116 million on food, goods and services\* but because wages in a large number of industries are tied to the cost of living index much of what Mr. Butler hopes to have gained will soon be lost by demands for wage increases. Indeed they have already started! (The outcome of the Government's meeting with the T.U. leaders, clearly with the intention of urging on them their patriotic duty to resist such demands from their members, is not known as we go to press, but in view of the stand taken by the T.U.'s man Gaitskell, it seems unlikely that they will

play ball with the government on this occasion).

★  
THE Budget has been the excuse for a party political battle in which Gaitskell and Morrison vied with each other as to who would create the best impression in the Parliamentary Labour Party. The *Manchester Guardian* which has been putting forward the view that the Labour Party was torn asunder by dissensions and by the struggle between personalities declared in its headlines on the Friday following the Budget: "Labour Now Full of Fight". But the arguments of Gaitskell, Wilson and the rest, their accusations that the government's budget in April was simply for the purpose of vote-catching reveal their own contempt for the public, for, by saying that the government tricked the public, they are conceding that votes can be swayed by a budget which improves the lot of 8½ million tax-payers by *one shilling a week*. Even Judas expected more than that!

The Labour Party's accusations that the government was pursuing

sectional as opposed to national interests has an insincere ring about it. All parties when in opposition are the champions of the "national interest": when in power they all defend the machine of State, the *status quo*, capitalism. In 1945 a mood prevailed throughout the world which would have sanctioned and supported revolutionary changes; all that the Labour Party in this country and the socialist parties throughout the world which were overwhelmingly swept into power, did was to seek to *manipulate* the capitalist machine. They did even this so half-heartedly that within six years the forces of reaction had succeeded in creeping back to power everywhere. There is no doubt in our minds as to the interests served by the Conservative government in spite of its new look and flourishing youth section. Equally, however are we not impressed by the Labour Party's display in the House of Commons last week. But we were obliged to the politicians for their lack of decorum in their debates and for saving us the trouble of calling them a bunch of twisters by doing it themselves in no uncertain manner!

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Crumbs for the Backward People

LAST week at the United Nations sixty-one countries pledged a total of \$28 million dollars for the U.N. Technical Assistance Programme of aid to underdeveloped countries. It is expected that the contributions of the remaining fifteen countries will bring the total up to \$30 million (£11 million). The *New York Times* (27/10/55), reports that:

"The one-day pledging conference in the General Assembly Hall produced the rosiest prospects this United Nations agency has enjoyed since it began operations in 1950. It drew a record number of participants, registered increases in contributions from twenty-six countries and raised in a single day a larger total than the peak of \$27,966,017 realized over a matter of months for the current year's projects."

The United States contribution is \$15½ million. Such generosity is quite laughable in modern terms of costs. What will they be able to do which is noticeable in the underdeveloped countries with £11 million.

Compared with the money being wasted in America far from the prospects being rosy, one would say that they are very black and the contributions mere chicken feed. The same *New York Times* a few days earlier was reporting that "the Navy took a calculated risk on ordering fighter jet planes during the Korea emergency, and the cost of bad judgment was about \$302 million (£102 million)."

### Lunatic At Large

An American economist, Dr. Omer Pendell of Ohio told 300 delegates at the International Planned Parenthood Conference in Tokyo last week that he favoured a legal limit to the size of families and that Governments should sterilise mothers who exceed that limit. "Reckless reproduction of our relatively brainless citizenry—he said—means a decline in human standards."

"He said that sterilisation should be the penalty of exceeding the limit imposed, "except when a family can show achievements which demonstrate better than average ability."

Two Japanese doctors said that the pressure of Japan's growing population was forcing families to take alarming measures to prevent further births.

Abortion was now practised in Japan "virtually without any control or restric-

tion at all." Eighty per cent, of the mothers involved suffered harm as a result.

### Passports

A Liberal Peer, Lord Granchester, is to raise a question in the Lords as to the intentions behind the Foreign Office's modification of the wording of the cautionary note printed in British passports which read:

"This passport remains the property of Her Majesty's Government and may be withdrawn at any time if the holder ceases to be entitled to the protection of Her Majesty's Government," and the reasons for its amendment to the following:

"This passport remains the property of Her Majesty's Government and may be withdrawn at any time."

The noble Lord takes the view that there is evidence in all this of limitations of the liberty of the subject.

### Subsidised Pork in the Land of Free Enterprise

The government announced in Washington last week that an \$85 million pork and lard purchase programme to help halt the decline in hog prices. Obviously the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, is trying to rehabilitate the Government in the eyes of the farmers, who are the only section of the community to record a drop in incomes during the current year. And with 1956 being election year the farmers need larding!

## LOOK!

### PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 43

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Total ... 1 5 0  
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1955 TOTAL TO DATE ... £540 2 2

## The Wasted Years

THE Report compiled by the King George Jubilee Trust which collates the views of 130 organisations on how Britain's youth is facing its future, lauds the benefits of National Service and recommends ways of combatting the indifference, hostility and resentment of parents and young men due for National Service.

The Report stresses the importance of "dispelling the idea that National Service is an infliction rather than a duty to the Nation" and deplores the fact that about 40 in 100 who join the army and the R.A.F. are either indifferent or have the attitude that the real aim is to "get it over" as quickly as possible. The selfish mothers of these boys make matters more difficult by their outlook which "varies from indifference to hostility and resentment".

"The Battle of the Gap"—the time between leaving school and call-up—gives the greatest cause for anxiety since boys at the age of 15 going into employment have an "eat-drink-and-be-merry" attitude, and employers are therefore recommended to refuse to pay them on piece rates, thus keeping their money down to reasonable proportions. The latter proposal is presumably to restrict the activities of young men in the amusement arcades and the pin-table saloons, the popular rendezvous of urban youth, where it is "easy to spend a pound a night", thus the disciplinary training for service life will be off to a good start. The less money they have to spend before the call-up, with all the frustrations this implies for youth whose lack of the means of expression drives them in herds to mechanical amusements, the more willingly will they enter the services.

While recognising the major adverse influence on many young people of the gap between leaving school and the call-up, the survey shows little real understanding of the problems involved, or the fact that the eat-drink-and-be-merry attitude is in part due to the realisation that few jobs can be regarded as permanent with the certainty of National Service looming in the future. The strictures of the committee on the attitude of most mothers who may quite naturally resent the need for sons going into the army and perhaps sent abroad to take part in the many "peace-time" skirmishes endangering their lives, would suggest that the purpose of such investigations is not solely in the interests of Britain's youth but to find ways and means of adjusting them to the demands of the State. How else can we interpret the recommendations which show little regard for the sanctity of family life, which is normally held up for our approval? The suggestion is:

Send all the call-up boys abroad—or at any rate as far from home as possible. The reasons given: It will do them good.

It advises:  
RESTRICT week-end leave to "a reasonable amount".

SEND call-up men abroad, as far as possible, as soon as they are trained.

MAKE attendance at chaplain's hour obligatory to combat religious ignorance and apathy.

ABOLISH drummer boys and band boys serving in units.

Two case-their-lot recommendations are made—improve the food and cut the chores.

Even if we consider the best of the "key moves" recommended by the working parties we find that the prime consideration is for adjustment over the period of school leaving and National Service. The Report suggests that the attack on the problem should begin with:—

More leisure-time facilities for school-children and more playing-fields.

The introduction of county colleges, where appropriate, for those aged between 15 and 18.

More training courses for young workers.

Preparation courses for National Service run by employers.

More funds for youth service. But we find in the last paragraph emphasis on happy adjustment to duty:—

"If county colleges in England and Wales and junior colleges in Scotland, to which the benefits of the school health and dental services had been extended, could be introduced as soon as possible and where appropriate, we believe that in a youth service, fortified and reinvigorated by more generous treatment, they would find an ally so powerful that together they could go far towards transforming the lean years of the gap into a time of fruitful and happy development for young people. For a boy under no continuing educational influence, with little idea of the nature or need of National Service, and no idea whatever of its potentialities for good, the years of the gap become the years of the short view and the 'good time!'"

It would be unrealistic for us to present the youths covered by this survey as innocents torn from the arms of doting families. Or to suggest that if National Service did not exist there would be no problem. But to understand the aimless unsatisfying existence of the majority of young people, and to suggest a cure, we have to recognise the frustrating circumstances of their daily lives and to realise that the demands of the State in the form of army life aggravate the sore. We have to remember that family life very often offers little but dreary recriminations and irregular economic security and that normal human relationships between children and parents are soured by circumstances.

It does not matter that the majority of youth are apathetic to the call-up, indeed, we prefer that to their being enthusiastic and patriotic, but in terms of satisfactory living it does matter if they are hypnotised by the refinements of modern entertainment; television, horror comics and mechanical amusements.

We would suggest that the cause of apathy and irresponsibility is rooted in our society and the cure is not a happy acceptance of training to kill but a change in our standard of values. M.

### The Bird in the Gilded Cage

AS we go to press the news is announced that the country has been waiting. Or, to be more accurate, has not been waiting for, for there is no doubt that the majority of people in this country wanted to hear that Princess Margaret would renounce her royal position in order to marry the unsuitable, divorced commoner of her choice.

She has decided otherwise, and just what pressures—both internal through the conditioning of her upbringing and external from the family, the Archbishop of Canterbury and her advisers—finally made her make the choice she did, we

shall not know until the memoirs appear many years hence.

It may seem all wrong for anarchists to feel sorry for a princess, but isn't it pathetic that a young woman in the prime of life can be surrounded with unlimited wealth, privilege, pomp and circumstance, and yet be denied the very thing which every working-class girl takes for granted—and which in real human terms matters more than the pomp and circumstance?

Princess Margaret is a bird in a gilded cage—and truly a pitiful sight to see.

### Dockers Strike Against the Budget

THE day after the Chancellor of the Exchequer presented his Budget in the House of Commons, 50 London dockers presented their employers with a strike in protest against it.

Forty of them walked off one ship—a Swedish ship at Wilson's Wharf in Tooley Street, and stated they were doing so 'on behalf of the British housewife who has had such a raw deal'.

The feeling has now spread through dockland and there is the possibility that there will be more token strikes against the Budget.

This is of course the only true method by which working-class opposition to government policy can be expressed—and expressed in such a way that the class which benefits from Butler's Budget will feel it the most. Strikes of this nature should be encouraged to become more widespread, so that working-class action ceases to limit itself to petty-fogging demands and begins to take on a social aspect, expressing the desire of the workers to influence the organisation of society, and all those decisions which affect them.

The dockers' action has not been welcomed in all quarters, as may be imagined. The Housewives' League, you may think, would appreciate a gesture of solidarity in their hour of need, especially if we remember their militancy during the last two years of Labour's reign. But it is strange how since the Tories came to power in 1951, the organised Housewives have remained very quiet.

About the dockers' strike, the chairman of the Housewives' League, Mrs. Carrington Wood, made the profound statement: "If the dockers really feel sympathetic they should work harder. Besides, there may be household goods for housewives on that ship."



# THE RELEVANCE OF MAX STIRNER

It is for me an impossible task properly to assess the work of Max Stirner. It is beyond my competence first because my scholarship of his period is inadequate and second because I cannot easily read German. As I do not read German, many of the important commentaries on Stirner, and his own replies to such of them as were contemporary, are inaccessible to me as they do not appear in English translation. In particular I miss Karl Marx's criticism of *The Ego and His Own*, which occupies three-quarters of the unpublished part of German Ideology. My acquaintance of this work is limited to Sidney Hook's quotations from it and his comments thereon are enough to whet anyone's appetite for so lively an attack. But apart from missing many of the contemporary and post-humous commentaries on Stirner through a lack of understanding of German, one lacks the appreciation of the original German text of *The Ego and His Own*. Stirner's translator, Byington, points out that it is difficult to represent Stirner's exact meaning in another language, for he used the technique of analysing words in common use, tracing their derivation and exposing the meaning contained in them, a meaning not always wholly acknowledged by the users of the words. In this he has some kinship with Siegmund Freud, who likewise sought people's deeper levels of meaning in the words they used and has set his English translators the same problem.

Having acknowledged the impossibility of my doing justice to a proper assessment of Max Stirner's work, I will not try to accomplish the impossible. I will confine myself to dealing with the relevance which he has for us here and now. An interest in Stirner's work was revived at the end of the last century by John Henry Mackay in Germany and by Benjamin Tucker and Dr. Walker in America, yet I do not think it had much influence on the development of the anarchist thought at that period. Anarchism in Britain was too closely tied to

Marxian concepts and to evangelical socialism such as that of Keir Hardie to pay serious attention to implications of Stirner's work. It has taken the Russian revolution and the spread of totalitarian ideas throughout the world to show us the dangers inherent in collectivist socialism; anarchists are now a little ashamed of the strange bedfellows they used to have. I refer to the general trend of the anarchist movement in Britain: one might perhaps deduce the contrary from the movement in France. However, comparing the British anarchist paper FREEDOM of 1955 with the FREEDOM of 1905 we would see a marked progress in clarity of thinking and general awareness of the issues which are likely to shape the course of future history. We are less tied to the muddled mystique of proletarian revolution which dominated the anarchist and socialist movement for so long.

Interestingly enough the contemporary revival of the influence of Stirner took place in one of the most proletarian centres of Britain, the working-class quarters of Glasgow. There you had a brilliant propaganda group arising, not during a period of slump and economic depression, but during the period of economic revival and high wages during the war. The workers were being given economic advances in return for the surrender of all that goes with self-determination and civil liberty necessitated by the war, and anarchism with a Stirnerite slant came as a powerfully attractive way of thought and action where Marxism and evangelical socialism had nothing to offer. The anarchist movement in London, the indoor and outdoor speakers, the journal *War Commentary* and then FREEDOM received this Stirnerite influence partly through the Glasgow propagandists and partly through the general psychological awareness that has been spreading among educated people during the 20th century. The Editors and all who are familiar with the present journal FREEDOM would rightly repudiate a sugges-

tion that it is a Stirnerite journal, yet one has but to compare it with its predecessor 50 years ago or much of the anarchist literature published then in Britain, to see how far it has progressed along the road of conscious egoism. Ideas are seminal; we get our concepts from many sources and we are not always sure just where we get concepts from when we use these concepts to explain the results of our own experience. In anarchist circles to-day I hear Stirnerite concepts being freely used as tools to understanding by people who have probably never read the writings of Stirner. Such concepts of conscious egoism as an essential part of anarchism were firmly rejected by most of the anarchist comrades of an older generation, yet they are the practical concepts which have given new life to the movement in the past 15 years.

Before I go further I must explain what Stirner did not say, for he is better known for what he did not say than for what he did say. Many people conceive of Stirner as a philosopher who urged people to be egoistic, to conquer their own impulses to generosity and to cultivate a steely selfishness. I am sure that if you skim through *The Ego and His Own* you can find texts in plenty to substantiate this superficial view. Yet why

indeed should anyone who aspired to a predatory selfishness seek to convert others to his own way of thinking—would he not rather have them meek as lambs in order that he might the better gratify his wolf-like lust for exploitation? Stirner is in fact credited with much that properly belongs to Nietzsche. It was Nietzsche not Stirner who worshipped the historical figure of Napoleon, who saw the only desirable society in terms of a masterful aristocracy lording it over an exploited mass who should accept their lot with resignation. The sight of a tyrant was abominable and ridiculous to Stirner, for he knew that a tyrant could only exist by virtue of the fact that thousands of individuals gave up their power and their interesting uniqueness to inflate the ego of the tyrant. If Stirner's ideas became widespread, there would be no room for tyrants on this earth.

Stirner did not urge people to be egoistic—he took it entirely for granted that everyone in the whole world was egoistic and needed no urging from him in that direction. He is generally regarded as being an advocate simply of egoism, but that is to underrate him; that is not what the book is about. Why write a book urging people to be what they are already? What he is concerned with is the problem of consciousness, and when

he writes of egoism, unless he uses it in a qualified sense, he means conscious egoism. In the following passage he demonstrates the difference between egoism that is conscious and that which is unconscious:

"Just recognise what you really are, and let go your hypocritical endeavours, your foolish mania to be something else than you are. Hypocritical I call them because you have yet remained egoists all these thousands of years, but sleeping, self-deceiving, crazy egoists. . . . Even religion is founded on our egoism and exploits it; calculated for our desires, it stifles many others for the sake of one. This then gives the phenomenon of *cheated* egoism, where I satisfy not myself but one of my desires e.g. the impulse towards blessedness. Religion promises me the "supreme good", to gain this I no longer regard any other of my desires, and do not slake them. All your doings are *unconfessed*, secret, covert and concealed egoism. But because they are egoism that you are unwilling to confess to yourselves, that you keep secret from yourselves, hence not manifest and public egoism, consequently unconscious egoism—consequently they are not egoism but thralldom, service, self-renunciation; you are egoists and you are not, since you renounce egoism. Where you seem most to be such, you have drawn upon the word egoist, loathing and contempt." G.

(To be continued)

## COMMENTS ON

### A New Anarchist Publication

AMONGST FREEDOM's many sins of omission one, which has caused some tongues to wag, apparently, is our failure to mention—apart from advertising it in our Bookshop list—the new "Anglo-American Anarchist publication" *Man!* of which so far four issues have appeared. There is however in this silence nothing more sinister than that our intention was to devote to *Man!* something more than the usual platitudes generally reserved for such occasions, and in the end we did neither!

With the first four issues of our contemporary in front of us it is possible to assess its purpose and direction. What we have to say in this connection should be prefaced by the remark, for the benefit of any other wagging tongues, that FREEDOM has always encouraged group initiative and welcomed the attempts that have been made to increase the number of anarchist publications in the English language, whether printed (such as *Resistance*, *Individual Action*), or in the form of the duplicated bulletin (such as the *Libertarian*, *The Anarchist*). We equally recall that some years back we deplored the fact that in the United States though regular anarchist publications appeared in Spanish, Italian, Yiddish and Russian, the English language was represented only by the sporadic appearance of *Resistance*. We therefore unreservedly welcome the appearance of *Man!* which is a joint Anglo-American effort to reanimate the journal of that name published in the United States from 1933 to 1940 under the editorships of Marcus Graham and the late Hippolyte Havel.

IN their introductory Statement the publishing groups declare that it is their "firm intention to continue in the general spirit of the previous series". They will

not "pull their punches" even if, as happened with the original publication, they make themselves unpopular "in some quarters" because of their "refusal to compromise on matters which affect the anarchist ideal". The publishers consider that "integrity of purpose is essential to the health of our movement. . . . Our purpose is to preach anarchy and from that we shall not waver".

It is always a good thing to aim high when one launches a publication, even if one cannot attain such heights in the early stages or ever. An anarchist journal, written and published by volunteers and without any substantial financial backing is at the mercy of human as well as technical obstacles which all the efforts of the willing few are not always sufficient to surmount. It seems to us that these problems have been insufficiently taken into account by the sponsoring groups of *Man!* if we are to judge by the first four issues.

The original *Man!* so far as its "political" content was concerned was a journal primarily directed to the anarchist movement, in that it covered in considerable detail the activities of the movement throughout the world, either through its correspondents in the various countries, or by translating material from the anarchist press and drawing on such excellent news bulletins as issued by the I.W.M.A. and the I.A.M.B. It was a polemical journal and contains some material of a very high level of ideas and discussion. Then there was the Literary section and one can well imagine that it was with this material, plus the biographical articles that *Man!* made its first appeal to the non-anarchist reader. Each issue, therefore, contained a variety of material for all tastes, it was full of interesting snippets, of fact and of opinion. Far from getting the feeling that it was "preaching anarchy" *Man!* presented

the reader with a diversity of views which allowed him full scope to form his own opinions!

Now the present series of *Man!* starts off with the disadvantages of:

(1) Having about one third of the space at its disposal compared with its predecessor.

(2) Of living in times in which the working-class struggle in the world—and of the revolutionary movement in particular—is at a low ebb compared with the period 1933-1940 which included all the unrest in Europe, Mussolini, Hitler, Asturias 1934 and Barcelona 1936. Not to mention Austria, and the ferment in France 1936, Latin America and the Far East, besides the economic crisis which had the whole world in its grip culminating in the 1939 war.

(3) Of the ravages wrought upon the anarchist movement (in common with all revolutionary and socialist movements), by the issues of the 1939 war as well as by the post-war struggles for power between East and West, camouflaged politically as a struggle between the forces of freedom and of darkness in which all are expected to take sides. It is the attitude which S. E. Parker describes in his article on Anarchy and Practicality (*Man!* No. 2) which has not only emasculated the socialist movements of the world and reduced the intellectuals to literary hacks and the workers to the advocacy of "differentials" and the acceptance of capitalism, but has decimated the ranks of international anarchism both of its militants and its thinkers.

Disadvantage (1)—limited space—is not tackled at all by *Man!* Long articles are just carried over from one issue to the next. Since Issue No. 2 there are actually two articles being serialised. It is already expecting much to carry over articles in a weekly but in a monthly it is asking the reader to possess an "electronic" brain! Most of the other articles are too diffuse and repetitive.

Disadvantage (2): the times in which we live. Obviously it is not possible to report the revolutions that do not take place. But could not *Man!* give us brief news items of the activity of what is left of the anarchist movement in the world? However unspectacular it may be the fact remains that anarchist movements are functioning in a number of countries, literature is being issued and newspapers and magazines published. Then again there are a number of movements and groups which are sympathetic to our ideas about which information would be of interest to readers. Finally, if the struggles in Europe have for the time being been overshadowed by East-West politics, the problems of Africa, India and China are of greater social importance to-day than ever before and there is room for thoughtful articles on these subjects in an anarchist journal.

Disadvantage (3): the shortage of militants and thinkers in the anarchist movement. The first four issues of *Man!* have been written by four comrades, and the two reprinted articles have been taken from English sources, one of which is still in print. Really, the anarchist movement is not as poor as all

J.R.

Continued on p. 4

## BOOKS

### A MAN OF THE TIMES

ONE favourite literary game is to try and pick out the most representative novel of a particular decade, one in which there is a clear expression of the ideals and attitudes that go to make up the "spirit of the times". It is often a very difficult thing to do because gener-

ally the atmosphere is caught by looking at the wood rather than any one tree. From the vantage point of seventy years we know the sentimental features of the Victorian novel; we can get an insight into the jumbled phenomenon of the twenties. One cannot expect much from the current giants of literature; they are too unique, nor from the more or less sociological novelists (though even so, George Orwell has shown that he can find quite a lot about the Victorians from a study of Dickens' "happy endings"). What we are after is a book which consciously or otherwise assumes the beliefs and attitudes prevailing at the time.

One critic has described the hero of Kingsley Amis' latest book\* as a "man of the fifties". A reading of this book tells us that the phrase is not very complimentary to us New Elizabethans. Mr. John Aneurin Lewis, the narrator and principal character, is not a hero in the ideal sense of the word but a representative of modern man. Considering that the story is of the dilemma of a municipal library assistant who realises that because of an (half-hearted) affair with an influential lady he will not only have unfair advantage over the other applicants for promotion but also lose his wife, the moral remorse is not at a particularly high level. Irritation and boredom are the heights to which emotion reaches, and one of the greatest pleasures to be had is to shut oneself in the lavatory with the latest Science Fiction. John Lewis caught in a dull round of existence views the world in the same way. But there is no doubt that the attitudes are definitely modern, sometimes uncomfortably so. Under the de-emotionalising process of modern culture there is something of Mr. Lewis in all of us.

This tone gives a kind of seedy wit to the piece which becomes very funny at an intellectual party at the beginning of the book. There is a cruel but true parody of Dylan Thomas, one example of many attempts by Mr. Amis to deny the existence of a specifically Welsh culture in A.D. 1955. A description of a dance hall thankfully avoids both condescension and forced slang. But the point remains—is this picture really life to-day? It should not be a pleasant admission to make. Undoubtedly we could have learnt a lot more if the exhibit was something we could dig our teeth into, something positive rather than negative. However, that may have been the author's intention. P.J.H.

\**That Uncertain Feeling*. Gollancz 12/6.

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## INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY

THE behaviour of governments never shocks us and very rarely surprises us by its daring, since we expect nothing in a progressive or revolutionary sense from government. We are, however, shocked and surprised when people we esteem behave or express themselves in a way which conflicts with our estimation of their intelligence, their integrity and their humanity. It is not a question of idolising or lionising particular individuals and feeling hurt when they reveal that they have feet of clay. (If anything it is the idolising and lionising which gives them feet of clay!) Is it that, in spite of the frailty of human character, we look more to individual rather than collective resistance as the real hope for change in the revolutionary sense. To avoid being misunderstood we must add that ultimately the violent, or preferably, the non-violent, upheaval that must change the whole social and economic structure of society will be a collective effort, but that by far the most important shocks on society that will precede and will result in such action will come from individuals seceding from the values of existing society, by what pacifists, we think expressively, describe as individual "witness".

However much the political destinies of the world may be determined by the decisions of the Molotovs, the Dulles' and the MacMillans, for the ordinary thinking man it is the personality of an Albert Schweitzer that is the symbol of the positive, human, worthwhile values of mankind. Why? Is it not perhaps because he appears to them to have scorned the bribes of cheap success, material comfort and the false values of wealth for something more positive, more real, more closely linked to human problems and needs? This problem of our time was well put by Geoffrey Grigson in a talk on the Third Programme a fortnight ago\* when he asked:

"Would you not confess that independence, integrity, and curiosity are particularly and exactly in danger, in our time, even if they are not exactly scarce? Would you not agree that the powers are now exceptionally strong which tend to make us think timidly and feel timidly and sandpaper our personalities to a common surface and accept the same things as they are, without the awkwardness of enquiry or protest?"

★

THESE thoughts—some may say this outburst—have been prompted by a report of an address given by Dr. J. Bronowski at the Association of Mining, Electrical, and Mechanical Engineers at York last week-end. Dr. Bronowski is not only a scientist, and at present director of the National Coal Board Central Research Establishment but a man whose wider and deeper interests in social problems are well known to readers of this journal in which they have been reported on a number of occasions. According to the *Manchester Guardian* report, Dr. Bronowski's subject was

the competition between coal and atomic power which will develop in Great Britain in the next few decades, and the consequent need for the coal industry "to change its function".

Let us assume that the subject of the address was proposed by the Association, and it would sound very much as if this was the case since one can well understand its concern for the "future" of the profession! So far as electricity gene-

\*Reprinted in the *Listener*, "A trio of Underestimated Virtues—1" (October 27).

## OPPORTUNISTS GET TOGETHER

AT various times in the chequered history of its party line, the Communist Party has 'demanded the nationalisation of the arms industry, maintaining that it is immoral for the trade in armaments to be carried on for private profit.

So it is, but we have never quite been able to follow the implied argument (it is rarely explicitly stated), that what is immoral in private hands becomes moral in the hands of the State. It can become legal, like killing, robbing, burning and all the other acts which are crimes if you do them for yourself but permissible, even praiseworthy, if carried out for the State, but we have never understood why the dirty business of trading in lethal weapons and making a profit by their sale should be regarded as acceptable by socialists if carried out by the State.

However, so it is, and now that we have the traffic in arms dramatically increased by the Soviet bloc in its deals with Egypt, we can expect many tortuous arguments to explain its connection with socialism.

But we shall remain unconvinced, and shall look for the reason for the very different approach by the Russian government to the 'need' of the Egyptian government for tanks and jet-planes, and that of 1936 and the supply of arms to republican Spain. Then, the Russian government demanded the market price for the arms it was prepared to send and

rated in Great Britain was concerned, Dr. Bronowski thought that by 1965 atomic energy would account for a quarter. Further increase in demand would be supplied by atomic power stations, so that conventional power stations would begin to drop out of commission, and the demand by power stations for coal would begin to fall. "I expect it to have taken quite a dip before 1985" he said. But the speaker emphasised that

the competition between coal and atomic power was only effective as far as the generation of electricity was concerned. Although the electricity industry was the largest single customer for coal, it consumed only a fraction of what was mined each year.

For this reason—he hastened to add—he was not depressed by the future.

"The industry would be more prosperous if it were relieved of mining the ten or twenty million tons of coal which cost most effort. Nevertheless, I do not think that coalmining needs to be contracted. My moral is not that we should mine less coal. My moral is that we should use the coal we mine, all the coal, to better purpose."

What should be done? Dr. Bronowski pointed to the advantages that will come when more efficient and smokeless fuels were manufactured out of coal; when more coal was used for the chemical products which could be extracted from it. He also contemplated a state of affairs when it would be economic to use coal as a source of liquid oil fuel. By concentrating on these aims, he said, we have "the chance to make the mining industry as progressive, as a processed fuel and chemical industry, as atomic energy itself."

It is the foregoing that comes as a shock to us because it is clear that Dr. Bronowski's optimism for the "future" is not that the development of atomic energy will eliminate the need for some half-a-million men having to work in terrible conditions and a large part of their lives in darkness (besides running the risk of violent death or permanent injury or disease), but that in spite of atomic energy it will be possible to find ways and means of making use of coal. As if the mining industry had to be kept going at all costs!

We believe that Dr. Bronowski should have had the courage to declare that he hoped the future for coal mining in this country was black and that the day was not far distant when our mines would be sealed up for ever. Unpalatable for a few mining engineers and the Coal Board hierarchy perhaps, but a new life for hundreds of thousands of human beings. Or does Dr. Bronowski put human happiness second to the problem of coal production *per se*? We would hardly have thought so.

that they be paid for in gold in advance. Then it made sure that the hardware passed into the hands of the Communist Party in Spain, which used it to strengthen its own position within the anti-Franco coalition.

### The Egyptian C.P. has been Banned!

To-day the situation is very different. The arms are being sold to Egypt at very low prices—in some cases as little as 10 per cent. of the world price. There is no social struggle going on in Egypt in any way comparable to that in Spain in 1936, and yet the arms are being sent there with an almost indecent haste, with payment, apparently, the last thing the sellers are worried about. And they are being sent to a reactionary régime under which the Communist Party has been banned!

What are the Egyptian Communists to think when they see their spiritual masters (comrades) supplying more power to their national masters (the ruling class)? Presumably they will not think very differently from the German Communists when the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was signed in 1939.

Everyone who accepts a revolutionary viewpoint knows perfectly well that the armed forces of the State have two main functions. One is to wage defensive or aggressive wars with other States (or, nowadays, to act as a 'deterrent' against wars, so we are told), and the other is to defend the *status quo* against its own people—to be a counter-revolutionary force.

The Communists of Egypt must feel quite happy, then, at the thought that if the Egyptian workers should revolt against Nasser, the tanks that will shoot them down in the street will have been supplied by the Soviet fatherland.

But probably our sympathy is wasted. There is no reason to suppose that the Egyptian Communists are any more questioning of the policies handed down from on high than those of Germany or Britain. They will probably be convinced that the men in the Kremlin can be fully trusted to guard their interests, and that, by the dialectical method, it is a step towards socialism for the Arab States

### How to Explain it Away?

to be armed with Czechoslovakian tanks. Be that as it may, we are glad that it is not our job to explain away the Soviet arms trade with the Arab States to Jewish supporters. In the East End of London, where the Communist Party once had its own Member of Parliament, much of its support came from the Jewish community, who thought that the loud protestations of anti-fascism were sufficient proof of an identity of interest.

Support for the party took a knock, however, at the time of the Slansky trial in Czechoslovakia and of the 'Jewish doctors' in Russia, when charges of 'cosmopolitanism' had an uncomfortably familiar ring, and a very thinly veiled anti-semitism made itself felt. Members of the C.P. of Jewish origin are not likely to be Zionists, but support from outside the party came from many who were, or who at least thought of themselves as Jews first and socialists or what-have-you second.

It was from these that a great amount of financial support used to come, but comes no more. And the latest adventures of the Kremlin policy-makers in the Middle East will wear away still more Jewish support for the local Communist Parties in Jewish areas. Which is all to the good in itself, as long as it does not throw progressive or liberal-minded Jews back into an insularity or nationalism from which they did well to emancipate themselves at all.

### Foreign Policy Dictates

The Russian leaders have never considered the embarrassment and the harm their policies may cause their parties abroad, when they have embarked upon a change of line, or any particular manoeuvre. The fate of the German party is the outstanding example of the way in which even a large and powerful party can be sacrificed when the foreign policy of the Kremlin so demands.

It was inevitable that this should happen as the Russian State developed. A

State must play the game of power politics, and the balance of power can have no consideration for ideology. Useful as their fifth columns inside other countries undoubtedly are, they must never be considered except in their capacity to serve the fatherland, and if at any time the interests of the Fatherland demand it—the international organisations must be jettisoned, folded up, or abandoned to whatever fate awaits them.

There need be no great amazement, then, at the developments of Russian policy in the Middle East. However much the leaders of the great powers may smile at Geneva (are they still smiling?) the real business of cut-and-thrust in the maintenance of the balance of power must go on. And when you are patting someone on the back, you are in a good position to slip in the knife.

### Vital for Britain

The whole of the Middle East is of vital importance to Britain. The determination to defend it during the war, as finally exemplified by the glory of El Alamein showed that Cairo is for the British what Stalingrad is for the Russians. The Suez Canal is a vital link with the East, and although we now hear talk of the possibility of Russia and China allowing planes from the West to fly over their territory, thereby cutting many hours of flying time off the flight to—say—Tokyo, still the Suez, the use of which cuts days off the journey by ship from Britain to the East, remains of tremendous economic and strategic value.

But the real key to all Middle East politics has always been—oil. The oil interests do not only explain the concern the 'great' powers feel for areas which otherwise are barren wastes of desert, they also explain the attitude of Britain towards Israel.

This has nothing to do with anti-semitism. It has everything to do with the fact that in the establishment of Israel, a forward-looking and independent industrial power was being placed right in the middle of a backward and dependent region. The Arab States were virtually the satellites of Britain, through her control of their economies, and what development there was came through British capital and was practically limited to the exploitation of the natural oil resources.

The social set-up in the Arab States—with perhaps the exception of Egypt, where the long occupation by masses of

Continued on p. 4

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## THE AFRICAN WILL ADVANCE

(From a South African Correspondent)

JOHANNESBURG, Sept. 20.

A MUCH admired friend once said to me that the most highly developed amongst Nature's creatures always desire to change their environment for the benefit of all. I have no doubt that these creatures wish to do this for selfish reasons, but the lower forms in the species content themselves with attempting to improve their own lot only. The initial motive is probably the same, but the one may succeed where the other will surely fail.

The South African hierarchy and their rulers are perfect examples of this latter type of creature. They are blind to the fact that the effect of prohibiting a man from the right of self expression by political propagation has always led to the creation of a force within that man, terrible in its severity and even tantamount to the life force itself.

This force against their denial is rapidly gaining a gigantic momentum amongst the dark skinned people in South Africa. In the last eight years more laws prohibiting the individual development of the non-Europeans have been enforced than in almost the whole history of the Union of South Africa. Smuts in 1946 instituted the Asiatic Land Tenure Act which prohibits Indians from holding property in areas decided upon to be exclusively European, because the Indians in South Africa were and are rapidly becoming an extremely wealthy class of merchants and therefore a danger to white supremacy.

The Industrial Conciliatory Council and its laws prohibit the black man from becoming skilled in any of the trades or gaining access to any form of trade union. The Bantu Education Act insists that the curriculum in non-European schools confirms to a pattern which will maintain the non-European as a menial labourer. The Group Areas Act directs that non-Europeans be moved from their present homes in Urban Areas, miles further out of the cities to special locations laid out by the government, causing great discomfort, expense and a host of other ill effects to the non-European.

The Native Affairs departments have been re-organised to cope with the implications of the new identity books and passes each African has to carry. There are very few exceptions. The African to-day cannot be employed unless the Native Affairs Dept. dealing with employment arranges it. And even as I write this the Government sits devising more laws to stem the tide of advancement of the non-European, for that is the meaning of 'Apartheid'.

These laws have been made as a result of the pathological fear of the white man of the advance of the non-European despite the latter's handicaps. From an uncivilised tribal savage the African has developed in the ways of Western Civilisation so that to-day he is doctor, lawyer, technician and on a par with his white neighbour in many different spheres. There are of course millions of Africans who, not having had to leave their tribal villages in order to seek work in the European towns, are still untainted by our civilisation. But, unfortunately, for they are the happiest, these people are rapidly disappearing. Despite his handicaps, the fact that his wages amount to less than a tenth paid to the most menial of white workers; despite laws designed to exclude him from all activities above the menial; despite the general consent of the white South African that he is naturally inferior, more backward, a savage and always will be, the non-European advances by leaps and bounds.

Behind this advance there is the toll the black man must pay. The toll of disease and a mortality rate highest in the world. The toll of bad living conditions and the struggle for life's sustenance which to the African is becoming increasingly hard to win. Where once his diet was extremely simple, consisting for the most part of corn and milk, to-day he needs meat, butter, sugar and bread, not to mention tobacco, alcohol and other joys of our "beautiful" civilisation.

For all this the black force in South Africa is becoming a powerful force. Without the possibility of coming to terms with the white man's government because the white man brooks no terms, consequently when he is organised and ready he will strike for revolution in South Africa. Good or bad? Time will tell.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

## ARMS RACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(Letter from Israel)

RECENTLY it is Russia which has started conquering the Middle East and is being quite successful. The pretext has been commercial business. Innocent business. Pure innocence.

What the Arab countries are doing with the arms is already known—and felt—by the Israelis. No day passes without skirmishes on the frontiers, or rather inside Israel territory, when the infiltrators, called 'Fadyeen' come over at night, and kill and rob mercilessly. Yet when the Israelis react in defence the whole 'civilised' world shows its sympathy with the 'poor Arabs'.

They have petroleum and cotton and wool and what not. But who has all this? Not the poor Arabs, but a few dozen effendis and feudalists. The rank and file are really poor, working long hours with a 'backsheesh' for their wages. They have no trade unions to defend themselves, they live in huts and tents and are driven on with whips, but never mind, after death they will have their thousand and one women (the fat ones of course), and Allah will be with them.

Try and tell these people about Darwin's theories or Bakunin's ideals and you will be considered some devil on whom the Geehad—the holy war—must be declared.

The propaganda against Israel is being helped by the arrival of arms from the Soviet bloc. And not only arms arrive. They are accompanied by political commissars, technicians and instructors.

Our Communists are cheeky enough to declare and assert that the Russian arms are sent there because Russia is in danger from the Imperialists.

## SPOT-LIGHTING MALE HOMOSEXUALITY

IN the issue of *The News of the World* of 25/10/55 His Honour J. Tudor Rees has an Article under the title of: "What can be done with these Problem Men?" (Problem Men being Homosexuals), which raises one, or two, interesting thoughts.

His Honour states that in 1930 the number of homosexual offences known to the Police was 748. By 1953 the number had grown to 5,680.

This staggering increase coincides with the ever-increasing publicity given, in all sections of the Press, to male homosexual cases.

Can it be possible that this spot-lighting of male homosexual cases manufactures Perverts? I use the word "Perverts" to indicate those men who, out of curiosity indulge, from time to time, in homosexual practices.

Some confirmation of the possible effects of publicity on the increasing number of homosexual cases, may be observed by comparing female homosexuality. This perversion has never been subject to the criminal law. Yet doctors, psychologists and psychiatrists tell us it is quite as common as the male variety, but, since it is not a criminal offence, one hears nothing about it in the Press, and there is, consequently, very little likelihood of young girls being corrupted by female homosexuals in what they read.

It seems probable that the number of true homosexuals, male and female, remains very much the same from decade to decade, but it is, I venture to suggest, very easy to manufacture Perverts by bringing the subject ceaselessly to their notice.

Edinburgh.

ANATOLE JAMES.

## A New Anarchist Publication

Continued from p. 2

that; and in spite of our own difficulties in finding an American correspondent for *FREEDOM*, one would have thought that a journal launched jointly by American and English groups would start off with other American collaborators besides Marcus Graham?

In the fourth issue of *Man!* S. E. Parker announces his resignation from the editorship because he feels

"temperamentally incapable of undertaking the responsible task of editing an anarchist publication. The wholehearted zeal needed for such work is no longer mine and I am, in addition, feeling the need for a re-thinking of my ideas and attitudes regarding the function of the anarchist in the contemporary world. I am most certainly still of the opinion that the anarchist ideal is the only ideal that offers any worthwhile salvation to mankind, but since the new conclusions I am reaching are, in some ways, out of keeping with the attitude of the circular which the re-publication of *Man!* it would be unfair of me to continue my association with it."

What a pity he gave up so soon (surely he cannot have all that much to re-

The progress and development in Israel is a thorn in the side of the Arab rulers and they are on the warpath. Great War No. 3 is in sight—what are the proletarians of the world going to do? They will have to march along as they always have.

Haifa, Israel. CH. F. HOCHHAUSER.

Magistrates' Association  
Advocates Change in  
Abortion Law.

A RESOLUTION advocating a change in the law on abortion was adopted by 189 votes to 148 by the Magistrates' Association in London at its recent conference. Moved by Mrs. K. Child, of Stockton-on-Tees, it suggested that no doctor should be found guilty unless it were proved that the procuring of an abortion was not done (a) in good faith to save the mother's life or prevent serious injury to her; or (b) in the belief that there was a grave risk of the child being incapable of normal physical or mental development.

Mrs. Child argued that the alteration would have a beneficial effect on marital relations and on juvenile crime. In relations and on juvenile crime. In many cases, she said, a woman continually having abortions lost pride in herself and her family. The children were neglected and turned to crime. The change would also help to eliminate the professional abortionist.

It would be also invaluable in cases of German measles in expectant mothers, where 85 out of every 100 children born were victims of blindness, severe heart disease, or mental illness, Mrs. Child added.

It is a cautious recommendation and, as suggested by the *Manchester Guardian*, on the problem of children being born defective in some way the matter of amendment needs greater consideration than it got. Considering however that the minority opposing the amendment was so large it was perhaps necessary to exercise caution in order to get the principle of the amendment supported at least.

It is a cautious recommendation and, as suggested by the *Manchester Guardian*, on the problem of children being born defective in some way the matter of amendment needs greater consideration than it got. Considering however that the minority opposing the amendment was so large it was perhaps necessary to exercise caution in order to get the principle of the amendment supported at least.

A DANGEROUS 'one man revolutionary' mania has cropped up again to parade its vices as virtues.

Ammon Hennacy says, "When I speak of suffering I mean that a person has to be ready to die before he is ready to live for an ideal or cause". What could sound more monstrous to life than the above statement? Of what use any ideal to a corpse? And if everyone with any ideals were to die for them would be there to make those selfsame ideals a reality? He cited Vanzetti and the Haymarket Martyrs, Thoreau and Garrison as examples of people who 'acted' when they faced an obstacle instead of 'detouring'.

It's common knowledge that people all over the world on every economic level tackle obstacles in their daily lives yet remain unsung. Is it because Vanzetti or the Martyrs died that make them the better type of example for Hennacy? Surely Vanzetti did not die for his Ideals, he died because he could not walk out of prison. The Haymarket Martyrs didn't go out on strike to die for their ideals, they died because the State

think after three months in the Editor's armchair, for had he stuck it out he would have discovered that there was no better place than one of responsibility to do all the thinking and re-thinking that he will ever want to do. His statement reflects the *malaise* of the progressive movement in our time, the uncertainty and the pessimism of the young generation marked by their lack of 'wholehearted zeal'.

We extend a welcome to our friend the new Editor of *Man!* Surely he was not serious when he wrote in the last issue that he hopes "to be able to continue in the same spirit "as his predecessor for in that case *Man!* will suffer from another spiritual crisis in three months' time! We trust that he will accept our criticism and suggestions as an indication of our interest in *Man!* and its success in furthering our common cause.

Articles, contributions, subscriptions (5/6 for 12 issues), single copies (6d. post free), specimen copies, enquiries, etc., should be addressed to *MAN!* c/o Express Printers, 84a Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

LIBERTARIAN.

## OPPORTUNISTS GET TOGETHER

British troops and its resultant effect on trade had brought some change—was little removed from feudalism. And the rulers had come to terms with the British with tremendous financial benefit to themselves. The extent to which the economies of these countries depend on Britain has been demonstrated by Dr. Mossadeq and his abortive attempt to prise the Abadan oil installation away from British capital and nationalise them.

## Israel a Competitor

But Israel established herself against the bitter opposition of the British and only by giving Britain (or, rather, British troops), a taste of her own medicine. And since her establishment has managed to develop her territory in a way that the Arab States, under British domination, had never done—even to the extent now of striking oil and developing it.

This latter development will eventually make of Israel a competitor with British oil interests. And since Israel cannot be bought as the Arab States have been, it provides a headache for the British which could be very nicely solved by an Arab-Israeli war in which the Arabs were successful. British oilmen would be called in to take over and run the Israeli oil strikes—with suitable back-handers for the Arab leaders—and Middle East oil would then be nicely wrapped up in British hands again. But this is possible only if Britain maintains the dependence of the Arab States upon her.

British hegemony in the Middle East has been somewhat disturbed by the rising Egyptian nationalism. But, as we pointed out at the time, the Suez agreement which has been signed with Nasser allowed for British interests in Egypt to be well looked after while at the same time giving an appearance of independence to her nationalist rulers.

## Opportunity Knocks

What was apparently overlooked was the possibility that perfidious Albion might be double-crossed by even more perfidious Russians and Egyptians. Russia has pulled a fast one by offering arms to Egypt and Nasser has not been slow to grab his opportunity to play off one side against the other.

Why have the Russians taken this

action at this particular time? Well, geographically speaking, Russia is nearer to the Middle East than any of the Western powers who effectively dominate it, but she has never been able to get a foothold there because of the British grip on the economy and because of the backward natures of the régimes—until *Nasser's triumph in Egypt*. The Communists are always ready to use nationalism if it suits them, and the internal nature of the Egyptian régime can be easily overlooked if other considerations offer advantage.

And there are considerable advantages for Russia in her present moves. An infiltration of influence into the Middle East could mean a wedge driven into the Western chain which stretches from the NATO countries in the West to the SEATO countries in the East. This chain has already had a link weakened in the Eastern Mediterranean through the British-Greco-Turkish tension over Cyprus—which of course is why the Communists are supporting the cry for 'Enosis', a support which does not take the interests of the people of Cyprus into account for one minute.

## The Way of Capitalist States

Add to that the advantage to Russia's expanding industrialism of getting her hands on some more oil, as well as in finding a market for her industrial goods which will bring her cotton and rice as well as oil, and of getting friendly with the country in which is situated the Suez Canal!

Russia's opportunity in the Middle East has come. Not through popular revolution as in Asia, not through war as in Eastern Europe, but through an anti-Communist, militaristic, right-wing nationalist dictatorship! And Russia is grabbing her opportunity with both hands.

The fact that she is doing so in a typically capitalist method need not surprise us. Russia is a capitalist State and if the present moves towards disarmament come to anything, she will need markets for arms so as to be able to keep her armaments industry at full capacity the same as the Western powers.

## VIEWPOINT

## Vices or Virtues?

hanged them; it may have made cowards of the police but they only became 'Martyrs' to those who need Martyrs and Saints as outstanding examples . . . for themselves.

Thousands of American soldiers died defending American 'ideals' and way of life. Russians died for Motherland and Communist ideals. German fascists gave their lives for their God-father Hitler Reich and nation. What a horrible fraud it all was. Though they all fought each other the common demand of the American, Russian and German "Idealists" was "to be ready to die before he/they were ready to live for their ideal or cause". Perhaps "living a life of voluntary poverty" to show that one is not a 'slave' to 'the best of everything' becomes understandable as being produced by the same soil that is ready to die for ideals, etc. A slave to anything is most undesirable yet there is no good reason why people shouldn't have everything of the best if it is available, unless one feels that for some unconscious reason one is not entitled to the best things in life.

Some Eastern religions expect their adherents to mutilate themselves in their religious service, the assumption being that pleasure belongs only to the gods and to inflict pain upon themselves is to supplicate themselves before the Almighty. If it is impossible for A.H. to inflict upon himself Eastern chastisements perhaps 'living in voluntary poverty' and being prepared to die for ideals is the more civilised way of supplication. Living amongst the Hopi Indians or sojourning in a prison may have given A.H. a greater 'vision' but surely we don't have to starve to know that hunger is an unpleasant feeling. As A.H. says, he 'enjoys' the voluntary poverty in the Bowery, etc. Yet I venture to think that most of the people of the Bowery would soon exchange their conditions for

a little 'of the best of everything' if it were at all possible. Next we expect to hear that suffering cleans the soul.

"The person who really suffers with little to show for it is one who leads a bourgeois life and knows better" etc. Do people really suffer who lead a bourgeois life? Is civilisation such a heavy mantle, with no hope or pleasure? Or is the above point of view only produced by continually wearing dark glasses? It is ludicrous to say that people who lead a bourgeois life have nothing to show for it. As far as material things are concerned they have much to show; as far as spiritual things or Freedom are concerned, many people who use intelligent discrimination find much spiritual comfort—because of their 'ideals' perhaps, not in spite of them. That being a "tribute to Caesar" as A.H. suggests is only his evaluation and one prejudice is as good as another.

People who act apart from what is expected of them by social demand or *status quo* may be termed "Revolutionary" if one likes to label people like parcels, but it does appear that thousands of people, even millions perhaps, act on different occasions contrary to static demand, but they do it mostly, not because of some idealism but because doing that is being *them*. It is basic to their whole character and personality that to become a "slave" to an ideal or cause is as bad as being a "slave" to "the best of everything".

People behave socially, mostly because behaving socially is done automatically without reference to ideals, causes, logic, etc. We breathe, not in order to live, but because we breathe. I have no doubt, and my experience with other Catholic workers confirms it, that A.H. does good work amongst the poor and destitute in the Bowery, but I suggest that living otherwise would be intolerable to him and that ideals are rationalisations, sugar-coated pills one takes like benzedrine whenever one meets the fatigue that comes with hammering at the same anvil or even "listening to a different drummer" for too long. As far as I am concerned ideals held by corpses, mean nothing and I do agree with my grandfather who, when asked what he'd do when stalked by a leopard replied: "I'd run for my life." "But a leopard can run at nearly forty miles an hour?" "Well, if a leopard were chasing me, so could I," was his reply.

S.F.

We may be fairly sure that Russia already has all she needs in the way of 'conventional' armament, now, and can only benefit by selling her surplus where it will do her most good.

As we have already pointed out in these columns, the fact that millions of ordinary people may suffer from the eventual use of these arms is of no concern to the Russian rulers. That Israel may be crushed—no concern. Mr. Molotov shrugs his shoulders, as, no doubt, he shrugged in 1939 after he and von Ribbentrop shook hands on the 'non-aggression' pact—which helped the Nazi war plans so effectively.

But let not the British Government be moralistic about all this. Their main argument so far has been—'why should Egypt buy arms from Russia when we are prepared to sell them to her?' And, as pointed out above, Britain would be quite happy to see an Arab-Israeli war—as long as she is profiting from the sale of arms and from the eventual result.

Such is the despicable nature of governments—different labels perhaps, but how similar in their behaviour!

P.S.

Mutual Aid Among the  
Colonial Powers.

The British Embassy in Paris announced that British helicopters would be delivered immediately to the French Air Force for use in North Africa. It said the French order had been given priority over Royal Air Force orders.—*Reuter*.

MEETINGS AND  
ANNOUNCEMENTSLONDON ANARCHIST  
GROUP

## LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at

THE MALATESTA CLUB

155 High Holborn, W.C.1.

(Nearly opposite Holborn Town Hall)

## INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

Every Thursday at 8.15.

## OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting

HYDE PARK

Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

MANETTE STREET

(Charing X Road)

Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

## GLASGOW

## INDOOR MEETINGS

Friday evenings at 7 p.m. commencing  
Friday, October 14th at 200 Buchanan  
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## The Malatesta Club

155 HIGH HOLBORN,

LONDON, W.C.1.

## LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Informal Discussions Every Thursday,  
at 8.15 p.m.

## DISCUSSIONS:

Saturday, 5th Nov., at 9 p.m.

A Play in 3 Acts:

"THE ANARCHIST SAINT"

and Social.

Thursday, 10th Nov., at 8.30.

Discussion: W. H. Carlton on  
"MARXISM AND THE SOVIET  
UNION".

Saturday, 12th Nov., at 9 p.m.

SOCIAL

Thursday, 17th Nov., at 8.30.

Discussion: Harold Walsby on  
"ANARCHISM, ITS GROWTH  
AND CURE".

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