ther no law as among the savage Americans, or too much law, as among the civilised Europeans, submits man to the greatest evil, one who had seen both conditions would pronounce it to the last."

"Were it made a question, whe-

—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Vol. 17, No. 49

December 8th, 1956

Threepence

DON'T FORGET CYPRUS

ALTHOUGH events in Cyprus appear to have been overcast by the fray in the Middle East, the importance to the British of this island as a military base has increas-

ed with the crisis.

Under the smoke screen of the Suez venture, Britain has intensified her ruthless grip on the Cypriots. Death is now the automatic penalty for the illegal carrying of arms; for the illegal manufacture of arms, and for those who are found consorting with armed persons. At the same time immunity is given to the military and police in their capacity as Government servants preserving "law and order". Thus individuals from either of these groups can behave as brutally as they wish without running the risk of being summoned before a court. The Government order reads: -

"No police officer, member of the armed forces, or public officer shall be prosecuted in respect of any offence alleged to have been committed by such persons while acting in the course of his

duties."

Do you remember Kenya? Africans were beaten and shot by soldiers, the innocent as well as the guilty', and the authorities turned a blind eye to these incidents until they were forced in extreme cases to pay public attention to the terroristic behaviour of individual soldiers. The same pattern has developed; and will be increased under the new order in Cyprus. Already youngsters have been "arrested, jailed and whipped" and twenty-three-hour curfews have "reduced the town of Nicosia to temporary starvation, and smaller places, because of the loss of crops at harvest time, to lasting poverty."

Muzzling the Press

New emergency regulations to muzzle the press have been introduced. These give the Governor power to suspend any publication which in his view "prejudices the success of measures to bring about an end to the state of emergency". If ever a policy was designed to anger the people and prejudice the success of any measures which might bring an end to the emergency in Cyprus it is the totalitarian methods adopted by the Government. Before the curfew was imposed there were signs of irritation among the ordinary people against some of the tactics adopted by EOKA, often directed at dissenting Cypriots, but the Government policy of imprisoning people in their homes and the brutal treatment of prisoners is turning the resentment against the Government again.

Now an attempt is being made to stop up one of the important means of communication. Mr. Charles Foley, Editor of the English language Times of Cyprus has been summonsed under the new regulation on a charge of publishing a disturbing report. In a joint protest with the Editor of the Cyprus Mail he states that:

"Before the new regulation was issued the Government already exercised stringent control over newspapers under existing emergency regulations, to a degree far greater than that used in Britain during the war.

Editorial comment in English and most of the Cypriot press had been far more restrained than that published in responsible and influential organs of the British press which were freely distributed in Cyprus.

The New press regulation swept aside all processes of the courts, and no newspaper could continue to do its duty to the public if it could be arbitrarily suppressed at the Governor's absolute discretion."

The Government has no means (at the moment) by which it can control newspaper opinion in Britain even though copies might circulate in Cyprus. But there is a distinct difference between newspapers published in Britain which are only likely to be read by a relatively small number of people in Cyprus, and newspapers which are known to the people there. The British in Cyprus, like the Russians in Hungary, are afraid of allowing freedom of expression or action.

Will Makarios Return?

Can the Government however, afford not to grant a degree of freedom to the Cypriots? Cyprus is essential to the British as a military base, and eventually for their own safety and success they must be sure of an obedient population in case of further military engagements in the Middle East, or elsewhere. During the week of attack on Egypt, Britain "sustained heavier losses in

and it will be for reasons of expediency that methods, other than open force, will be adopted.

Lord Radcliffe's proposals for a new constitution in Cyprus are now under discussion. There have been in preparation for months and will "allow" a measure of self government with Britain still firmly in control of internal security and foreign affairs. It remains to be seen whether they will be acceptable to the Greek Cypriots who are still agitating for the release of Makarios from his comfortable exile.

We stated in FREEDOM at the time of the "discoveries" of the Grivas Diaries when "proof" of the extent to which Makarios was involved in EOKA was being used by the British Government in an attempt to discredit him as a justification for his exile, that he would be brought not to trial, but to heel. This view is confirmed by reports which suggest that Whitehall is now considering bringing him to London for discussions.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the Government has all the trump cards. Makarios enjoys the support of the majority of the population in Cyprus, and this not be entirely lost to the strategists, the British position has been come.

strengthened in the eyes of other countries by the crisis in the Middle East, giving her some justification for remaining in Cyprus.

Now proposals for a joint meeting of Greece, Turkey and Britain are being considered for a settlement of the Cyprus problem. Both Greece and Turkey appear to be alarmed by the extent of Russian penetration in the Middle East presenting a threat to their own security. The Greek leaders are now in Belgrade for talks with Tito who is anxious to revive the Three-Power Balkan Pact. The Greek Government may be more alarmed by the "outlawed communist underground' 'than the British in Cyprus, and may well withdraw their support from the Enosis movement, and help to persuade Makarios that he has a political future before him if he collaborates with the British.

The chances are that EOKA and its supporters will be faced with an alliance of Greece, Turkey, Makarios and Britain compromising over the future of Cyprus. This would present a formidable force to the movement for complete self-determination, and unless they are able to sustain their struggle against Cyprus" than at the "front". (Tri- can be just as effective as strong these odds, it looks as if Britain willbune, Nov. 28th). This lesson can military power. At the same time of in occupation for a long time to

Doctors Denounce Prescription Charges

GOVERNMENTAL policy in respect of the National Health Service has recently come in for considerable criticism from the British Medical Association and also in the British Medical Journal. The criticism has largely been as a result of the new government order that one shilling per item on prescriptions must be paid as from December 1st. It is true to say however that the medical profession has for a long time been dissatisfied with many aspects of the Health Service, and not without good reason.

The B.M.A. which has a membership of 60,000 has launched a campaign specifically against the shilling-per-item imposition, and Dr. A. B. Davies, who is chairman of the General Medical Services Council headed a five-doctor London Press conference which condemned the new charges as a menace to the whole framework of general practice in Britain. They made these points:

1. Chronic causes of diabetes, heart disease, asthma, epilepsy, ulcers, and anæmia will be taxed unfairly for their illnesses. So will the man bringing up a large family on a small wage.

Z. Heart cases which have to be 'propped up" with various drugs may have to pay as much as 5s. to 10s. a time.

3. The family of four children might cost as much as £1 a week on prescriptions during ordinary epidemic illnesses.

Continued on p.

THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN PRESS

Catering for the Mass Mind

sight. If the French and Italian Daily Express. Press are typical of the Press of other countries of the West then one from that of our popular Press. The communications is not a national but an international problem, and that thinking processes are not only conditioned in all countries but conit is possible to criticize the uniformthe extent to which the human per- a liberal dose of crimes of violence, sonality has already been moulded into a robot Mass Man by the concentration of the sources of information and their diffusion throughout the world in a few hands.

One leaves behind the Daily Express, the Daily Mail the Times and the Manchester Guardian-not altogether, because one can always find or Genoa—and their place is taken by a France Soir, a Paris-Presse or a Monde in France or a Corriere della Sera, or Giorno or a Stampa in Italy. It is true that the complete monopoly of the British national Press is less pronounced in France and Italy, but the effect of more regional dailies is less noticeable when the ownership is nevertheless the monopoly of a few press lords and the sources of information are always the same. Except for the Monde with its headlines in the tradition of the Times or Manchester Guardian the approach of the French and Italian Press is based on the sensational headline. One

MASS communications, one dis- Italian daily announced the disapcovers as one leaves our pearance of Nagy in two inch high island shores, is an even more ser- display type, and the general layout ious problem than appears at first is no less chaotic than that of the

The contents is hardly different is justified in concluding that mass same political rumours, the same cynical disregard for the dissemination of false rumours and political scare-mongering. Information from the international agencies is rarely ditioned in the same manner. That presented "straight". The "cuts" and the biassed presentation of ity of the international Communist news are practised with the same Press without being aware of the disregard for truth as are only too fact that a similar criticism can be familiar with our own Press, and levelled at the non-Communist the political comments are as pedes-Press, is perhaps further evidence of trian and constrained. Add to this the usual chit-chat about the national film industry and the lives of its "stars" and finally the insatiable passion for competitive sport, then the daily ration to feed the Mass mind, whether it be in London, Paris or Milan, is complete!

them in the kiosks in Paris, Milan FVEN in the "serious" weeklies, without being in the hands of Press lords, are as it were dominated by an international free-masonry of left-wing politicians, and intellectuals. One leaves behind Mr. Bevan in the Tribune or Professor Cole in the New Statesman only to find then peddling the same ideas or more accurately "practical programmes"—in M. Mendès-France's Express and in the Florentine weekly Nuova Repubblica respectively. And in M. Bourdet's France Observateur we even meet Mr. Peter Fryer giving us his copyright story of "Why I resigned from the Daily Worker." We are not for one moment suggesting that the news-

papers and periodicals of the different countries should exist in hermetically-sealed national compartments. What we are saying is that the present "internationalism" of the Press is an illusion; that far from this syndication of news and features on a world scale encouraging the growth of ideas and better understanding among the peoples of the world, its effect is to standardise thinking, and to restrict the dissemination of ideas.

The fact of the matter is that at

best the daily Press exists to provide information and to entertain, and at its worse to make huge profits as well as to serve the political interests of particular political groups. In neither case is the stimulation of new ways of thinking ever considered. After all one has only to study the reactions of the "serious" Press on the burning topics of the day, Egypt and Hungary, to see that having attempted moral criticisms of the respective governments they then seek solutions through government. Nowhere does one find even the scintilla of a doubt in the efficacy of government ever to resolve the problems, economic and political, which continually beset the world. Similarly with the weeklies. Just as Tribune and the New Statesman, whilst providing some kind of forum for a public conscience in politics cannot nevertheless escape from the vicious circle of the political institutions whose actions they are continually condemning-that is, they believe bad institutions can be made good by introducing a new personnel-so in France. France Observateur, and Express, or in Italy La Nuova Reppublica, Il Pointe, Mondo and other literary-political Continued on p. 3

WANTED! 188

GOOD MEN* & TRUE

AT the beginning of this year a valued reader in Derbyshire suggested that we should find 1000 readers prepared to promise £1 to the Press Fund throughout the year and-there was our £1,000 deficit wiped out.

We left it to readers to respond without any chivvying on our part, and many have done so generously. But we are still far short of breaking even by December 31st.

Have we got 188 readers prepared to send us £1 in the next three weeks, so that we can enter 1957 with our heads above water?

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 48

Deficit on Freedom Contributions received

DEFICIT £188 November 23 to November 29

£960

£772

Bronx: Ferrer Branch per M.G. £5/5/0: San Francisco: H.E.E. £1/1/6; Tampa: A.G. & A.B. £2/2/0 Somerset: Anon. £2/5/0; Glasgow: J.S.A. 9/6: London: H.M.* 2/-: London: Anon. 9d.; London: J.S.* 3/-; London: V.T. per P.S. 10/-: London: E.M. El: Glasgow: S.M. 4/-: London: Anon. 5/-: Brentwood: A.C.P. 4/-: Bolton: R.T.S. 7/6.

Total ... 13 19 3 Previously acknowledged ... 758 12 6

1956 TOTAL TO DATE ... £772 11 9 GIFT OF GOLD WATCH: Gateshead: G.D.

*Indicates regular contributors. * or Women

Vol. 17, No. 49. December 8, 1956

Catering for the Mass Mind

Continued from p. 1

journals seek, often by courageous criticism of their countries' policies, to awaken public opinion against governmental discrimination and injustice but only to offer the alternative of more-but, so they think, better, government.

The "serious" periodical press is therefore in all countries of the West the platform of these political aspirants and one cannot be surprised if the uniformity of positions and of contributors is so noticeable. They are in fact all saying the same things ... only in different languages! Outside the anarchist Press there would appear to be no platform for writers uncommitted to a political party or to solutions within the framework of government. On the other hand to judge by the contributions to the anarchist Press it would also appear that there are as yet very few writers and thinkers who feel that the time has come to recognise the bankruptcy of existing political institutions and the need to begin the exacting yet exciting task of seeking new roads for the organization of human affairs. Yet if any lesson emerges from the events in Hungary and the Anglo-French-Israel's conspiracy in Egypt it is that there is nothing to choose between politicians, nor the political colour of governments. The criminals in the Hungarian-Egyptian disasters proess every shade of politics: Communist, Socialist and Conservative not to mention the Israeli government which so many progressives imagined would, in view of the uniqueness of that new nation, the idealism of many of its communal experiments and the experience of its people at the hands of government, pave the way for new values, a new relationship between man and man. But in the event there is little to choose between them. Even the illusions regarding Mr. Nehru seem to be rapidly dwindling.

Then what is left? Mr. Bevan, M. Mendès-France, Mr. Silone and Mr. Kingsley Martin? That in fact is the prospect until enough men and women have the courage to abandon their utopian faith in good government and the patience to persevere in the propagation of new ideas based on freedom and not authority. Societies are not changed by Revolutions. Revolution is after all only an expression of the people's overwhelming wish for change when that wish has been resisted by the ruling class.

Society will change when the people will want it to change, will know in general terms what they want, and are prepared to bring about that change. There are no short-cuts; there must inevitably be a period in which we talk in the wilderness; we must also be prepared not to "count" in the political fortunes of our time (and this is the major stumbling-block so far as the intellectual and progressive Left is concerned. They cannot bear the idea of not being in the political picture!). We must start from the beginning of the road and refuse the tempting offers of immediate gains to be found in the side turnings, for any advantage is always offset by long-term disadvantages. We know too well what has been the result of the social revolutions organized from above to believe that there is still the exception which proves the rule. The social revolution must come from below or not at all. And if we are all honest with ourselves we are thereby provided with the vital clue to the means we must adopt. All other solutions are doomed to failure a priori!

THE RESIDENCE PROPERTY AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY AND ADDRESS OF THE PART

THERE is no evidence—five weeks after its beginning—that the struggle in Hungary is over. At the moment of writing, everything is poised at a point where Russian military intervention has failed for the second time, the Kadar puppet government is without real power or popular following, and the people themselves are resorting to strike action, passive resistance, the creating of workers' councils, the guile of the go-slow and the threat to destroy factories, mines and essential installations.

Without looking at the future, which still has the intriguing possibility that this second Russian failure to gain any kind of co-operation might lead to limited concessions, there is much that has happened so far which deserves studying. Particularly in considering what we outside Hungary could have done to help, the ways there were of restraining Russian intervention, and where these efforts failed, and, finally, the wider implications of a situation admittedly still confused.

It will be remembered that the original intervention ended with their apparent defeat and the establishing of a coalition government under Nagy. After three days, during which period they had pledged themselves to free elections, withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact and a policy of neutrality, the government was quickly crushed by strong Russian reinforcements taking advantage of the temporary paralysis to strike mercilessly. Despite universal horror, even from Communist China, Russia had no hesitation in repeating on an even bloodier scale her first armed suppression. What could have been done to prevent this, and what was done that has proved so ineffective?

First, since there is a supranational organisation, one must consider what happened within the United Nations. A number of resolutions condemning Soviet action were passed with sizeable majorities. A decision to send observers to Hungary, however, was rendered impracticable by the refusal of Russia to permit it. Urgently required supplies of food and medicine were at one time refused entry, then limited to the Jugoslav frontier, and at last permitted over the Austrian frontier. The argument that the United Nations had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of a nation was seized with relief by members as an insurmountable legal barrier against their humanitarian obligations. The Hungar-

What could we do?

ian representative had the humiliating experience of defending the freedom of the Russians to massacre his own people.

Outside U.N., the actions and words of governments and their leaders were even more pitiful. America was paralysed by an election where all efforts had to be devoted to choosing between 'the left wing of a party slightly slightly right of centre and the right wing of a party slightly left of centre'. Nehru, who has from time to time uttered liberal sentiments, was too committed to neutralism to condemn the massacre. Evidently one would no longer be neutral if one favoured the victims. Tito, too, whose protégé Nagy actually formed the revolutionary government, was quick to recognise the new puppet authority which replaced it. Tito's condemnation of the Soviet action was limited to regretting the possibility of the re-emergence of Stalinism.

This is the age when, for one reason or another, we seem unable to act as we should. If the governments of the West, and even those of the Afro-Asian group, had really wanted to take action, they could have broken off all diplomatic relations, cancelled all trade agreements with Russia, kicked out all their missions, advisers, instructors and experts, and even suspended the function of U.N. until Russia respected its resolutions. This would not have stopped the shooting or changed Soviet policy but it would have been the kind of gesture which showed unmistakably their horror and repudiation. There is also the probability that Russia's complete isolation would have brought about the downfall, or the consolidation of Kruschev and his 'moderates', already hard-pressed in a divided government. A return to Stalinist extremes in Russia, should that faction have proved the stronger, would have kept the Soviet government fully occupied within their own frontiers.

R ECOGNISING that governments and political leaders are more interested in their own survival than in such 'impractical' issues as principles and ideals, one comes at last to the single unit in society which can still follow its conscience—the individual. The individual

-a man with no other status than being himself, without rank, authority, ambition; often without the ability to put his feelings into words. What could he have done?

The issue of FREEDOM dated 24/11/56 admits that the only advice it can give is to send money to the Red Cross, and confesses: . . . the Hungarians have been tet down by the workers of the world . . . And: . . . the anarchist movement is so weak as to be practically helpless. The little that has so far been done by individuals has therefore taken the form of giving to charities helping to alleviate physical suffering, and occasionally volunteering for the Red Cross. A number of individuals have helped courageously in bringing refugees over the frontier, while a Swiss soldier made a one-man incursion from his neutral country to help the rebels. There is also a proposal, given publicity in the Observer, to start a pilgrimage to Hungary.

This, it is suggested, should take the form of student groups, and any others caring to join, converging on the Hungarian frontier from every country in Europe. At the frontier they would wait for permission (presumably from the Russians) to cross into Hungary and make their verbal and well-intentioned protest.

Although we can see how impractical this idea is, and how ineffective it is likely to be even if its resolution survived the fatigue and discomforts of the journey, it deserves praise from its originality. A march across Europe by tens of thousands of individuals would be a magnificent gesture. It would be even more magnificent if, as a measure of its high purpose, they ignored all formalities, frontiers and authorities, in fact any of the artificial barriers that keep people apart, and really were free men on the march. Cross the Hungarian frontier, this unarmed mass of people, presumably intent on reaching Budapest, would challenge the Russian forces to open fire. One should not overlook, at this point, the fact that some weeks ago a rebel frontier post was spared destruction by the Russians because it was situated under the eyes of an international gather- lenge is one we would rather evade. ing of journalists.

SUCH marches, however, remain romantic speculation—and as for the frontiers of Europe being thrown open to facilitate this, it is indisputably true that, for governments, Hungarian freedom is not worth an unstamped passport.

As we have seen, then, protests, words, individual generosity, resolutions and sterile good-intentions, have all proved ineffective against the single-minded purpose of Soviet militarism. Is there anything at all that has not suffered this fate? Yes; the struggle of the Hungarians themselves.

Reports are necessarily scant but there is evidence to suggest that workers' councils, in view of the present breakdown of effective government, are organising much of the production and distribution of essentials. The workers of Hungary have discovered that, despite the hostility of the puppet government and the Soviet army, they can conduct and organise to a surprising degree the essential life of the country. The man at a factory switch is proving more important than Kadar at his desk. The peasant giving his vegetables to the underground to feed the strikers is keeping alive the resistance and creating a valuable-though probably brief-precedent of mutual aid and self-help.

What the Hungarians are doing for themselves, however, is remote from what we should or could be doing ourselves. Our own ineffectiveness, the practical difficulties, the enormous and relentless strength of the Soviet military machine, remain indisputable factors. The disorganised, chaotic and indecisive way in which individuals scattered all over the world react to a situation like this, has to be recognised. Every day that passes makes useful action less likely. One thing can be done, however, and that is to study the help that can be given to the underground movement in the decisive phase when the central authority has broken down or is functioning in the form of an unrepresentative puppet government.

The events in Hungary will be repeated in the future, not only in that country but in others too. When the next-time comes, to be as unprepared as we are this time will mean one of two thingsthat we are incapable of learning from the past or, alternatively, that the chal-

Dawn at Midnight

THE revolt of the Hungarian intellectuals and workers, officers and soldiers, women and children, has taken the world by surprise, and most surprised of all have probably been the experts on Eastern European affairs. The Russian reaction, on the contrary, was expected, but not its inability promptly to obtain the desired effect. After tanks and artillery had been massively used to shatter buildings and disrupt nests of resistance; after the hated political police have been given means to wreak a bloody vengeance; robbed of their children, threatened by hunger, and in the grip of cold and disease, the Hungarian people are still defiant, still undaunted; while the very real alternative is to be shot, they still refuse to submit, even in such an apparently trivial matter as going to their usual place of work.

The world watches the Hungarian tragedy with mixed and disconcerting feelings. These feelings which one dares not explore or disentangle, because they are shameful or in contrast with one's professed beliefs or dearest interests, would, if known to the Hungarian people, cause them nearly as much bitterness as Russian lies and brutality causes them indignation. The noble and generous feelings, on the other hand, which are voiced in the most convincing tones both in the big press and in the highest political quarters, are an almost infallible sign, alas, that if such feelings are about, the cunning and appropriate machinery is ready to exploit them for aims that are neither generous nor noble.

One feeling, which cankers all others, and is all the more accurate because it has overwhelming evidence to support it, is the feeling of the utter powerlessness of the individual against the big political and bureaucratic machines to which he is in many ways committed—a feeling worsened by experience of repeated failure in his attempts to find a plane of authenticity and good will on which to meet other individuals.

Powerlessness that is internalized pro- ted. duces guilt, and the ways of the mind to shake it off and retrieve its lost innocence are crooked and insidious. If events in Hungary have touched us deeply, obviously something is at stake there which concerns us closely, and the role

of inert spectators in this case is the least befitting. Then in order to justify our inactivity we use our reason crookedly and insidiously to relieve the sense of guilt for our powerlessness by casting blame of some kind upon the Hungarian rebels. What we wish we could, but dare not, say to them is: "Why are you not as wise as we? You are just as powerless as we. You are only bringing more death, suffering and oppression upon yourselves by your rebellion. Your oppressor is stronger and bound to win. You will be crushed and snuffed out. Whatever vision moved you to your foolhardy rising was false. There is no dawn at midnight".

The Hungarians cannot help but be aware of our powerlessness, unless they imagine that there is no oppression and no cause for rebellion in other parts of the world. They have found out that 1956 is not 1848. Any help they were likely to receive from other oppressed was in other countries in the East, not in the West. If they did hope, and still hope, for any help from the West, it is from the governments and not the governed. By their action they are weakening the Russian state, and therefore rendering a service to the states of the West. For entertaining this hope, and for welcoming its consequences if it should materialize, no one would blame them in the West who refrains from emancipative pursuits for fear of playing into the hands of the oppressors of the East.

This help is not forthcoming. Is there then nothing else to expect but for darkness to close in and strangle the light which on the first days of their October revolution seemed to the Hungarians like the dawn of a new era? From expecting a thing to being resigned to it, and finally to wishing secretly for its happening, the process is slippery, and may be the conscious counterpart of another which has confessedly taken place already in the opposite direction. If we have faith in human freedom, let us not expect anything but the unexpec-

NORE Hungarian rebels are captured or killed every day; more Soviet troops and Soviet police pour into the country and close their grip on the

centres of resistance. Their slowness is deliberate, now that they have learned that spirit is not to be crushed at one blow. The bodies themselves would be easier to crush if it were not for the spirit that is in them. The apparent strength of the Russian state, and its reliance on final victory, comes from the relatively small area in its huge empire now visibly affected with rebellion. It can afford to turn on the Hungarians an oppressive apparatus out of all proportions to the material strength they can oppose it with; at least, its aim is to show that it can afford it, and to impress on everybody that its reserves are endless.

But they are not. The Russian state has given Gomulka real concessions because it could ill afford a revolt in Poland as well as in Hungary. An oppressive apparatus is not immune from collapses. When meeting with widespread resistance, it is compelled to stretch and strain beyond the limits for which it was constructed; and when the oppressed choose to die rather than submit, they leave it with not enough people to

oppress, and force it to turn against itself. An oppressive apparatus, especially of the modern type, is not self-supporting. It is a part of another apparatus whose purpose is exploitation. When the latter ceases to function, the former comes to the rescue to bring the exploited back to their state of exploitation. But if the compulsive apparatus fails to support the exploitive, the exploitive cannot in turn support the compulsive, and the two must perish together-unless they may come to terms with the exploited and make a promise and a show of being less exploitive and compulsive.

The midnight hour of man's spirit is when exploitation is thought to be unavoidable and compulsion ineluctable. The light arisen in Hungary has broken through the darkness of this hour, and has engraved the few simple truths stated above with an authority and in such material that every pen is put to shame. If the light of dawn has been seen in Hungary, maybe it was not midnight after all.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

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London, W.C.I.

Journey Through Utopia

WHERE DO THE JEWISH ANARCHISTS STAND?

FORTNIGHT ago the editors of FREEDOM attended a reception held by the Freie Arbeiter Stimme London Group. (The Freie Arbeiter Stimme is the Yiddish-language anarchist paper published in New York. The London Group were formerly the publishers of the Arbeiter Freund). The meeting was to celebrate the 70th anniversary of FREEDOM, and the publication, sponsored by the Jewish group, of the English edition of Rudolf Rocker's autobiography (reviewed in this page last week), and to discuss the possibility of closer collaboration between our two groups.

We were happy to eat and talk with the veterans of the Jewish workers' struggle in the East End of London. The very building we were sitting in, the premises of the Workers' Circle in Alie Street, was a testimony to the immense activity of their movement in its heyday. Our hosts were quite right in saying that it was a long time since there had been close co-operation between us. I believe that the reason for this is a fundamental difference of opinion on how far, as anarchist propagandists, we should compromise our beliefs in the support of existing political institutions.

In discussing these differences, we are handicapped in that while the members of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme group can read Freedom, and know where we stand (some of them were indeed, readers of FREEDOM over forty years ago), none of us can read a word of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, and consequently rely on hear-

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say and conversation to know the attitude of their paper. We used to be told, during the war, that they were 'pro-government-anarchists'; at other times we were told that they were 'Labour-Partyanarchists'. To-day we are told that they are 'Mapai-anarchists' or 'Ben-Gurionanarchists'. We may be doing them an injustice. If so, it is not through ill-will, but simply through ignorance of the Yiddish language.

Old readers may remember the Freedom Press pamphlet published during the war, The Issues in the Present War by Marcus Graham, which attacked the position taken up by Rocker and by the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. At the meeting last Sunday week, Sam Dreen emphasised that so far as he was concerned, his group supported the government during the last war for one reason only-in order to end the mass-murder of the Jews. Now however much one may sympathise with this attitude—and one must sympathise if one thinks of the agonising helplessness of Jews in Britain and America who knew that their own relatives were being systematically slaughtered in Eastern Europe-the fact remains that in the war the last thing that concerned the Allied governments was the fate of European Jewry. Their plight was certainly 'discovered' for propaganda purposes by the governments, but if you read, for instance, Dr. Reitlinger's The Final Solution or the Kimche Brothers' The Secret Roads, you will see that in fact the British government had many opportunities of assisting the escape of Jews from the Nazi inferno, but for political reasons availed itself of none of them.

TN 1937, when it became clear that the British government despite the growing pressure on the Jews of Germany, Austria, Poland and Rumania, was not going to increase the permitted quota of immigrants to Palestine, the Mossad le Aliyah Bet was set up to organise illegal immigration. When the war began (ostensibly to defend the anti-semitic government of Poland against the antisemitic government of Germany), the Mandatory Government of Palestine announced that it "could only regard the revival of illegal immigration as a serious menace to British interests in the Middle East". The Mossad at that time was getting large numbers of Jewish refugees out of Axis countries down the Danube, but the intransigence of the British government, even when there were many thousands of unused immigration certificates under the quota arrangements, led to the frightful tragedies of the sinking of immigrant ships like the Patria, the Salvador and the Struma. In 1943 the Colonial Secretary, Lord Cranbourne wrote to the British Ambassador in Turkey to say that the Jews in occupied Europe should not be encouraged to escape, nor should they be organised or helped. In spite of this, the Mossad in the face of fantastic difficulties got over 4,000 people out of Rumania and Greece into Turkey in the following few months.

The pogroms that followed the advance of our allies the Russians into Eastern Europe, drove the Jewish survivors of the Nazi terror into a flood of hopeless and desperate wanderers, making blindly for the Mediterranean ports. But the policy of the Labour Party's Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin should have removed any doubt as to whether the British government was concerned at the fate of the Jews, and it was only the enormous flood of illegal immigrants which finally broke the British rule in Palestine.

TF there was any one thing which prolonged the German policy of racial extermination it was the Allies' theatrical demand for unconditional surrender which made it impossible for any group in Germany to sue for peace since there was no-one with whom the allies would negotiate. The origin of the Allied demand was discussed in a broadcast last month by Air Marshal Sir John Slessor who said:

"I am still intrigued by the question of how it came about that the phrase 'unconditional surrender' was let loose by the President (Roosevelt) at that press conference on January 24. Sir Winston in his book says he was rather surprised by that, though I am not clear why he should have been, because he had asked the War Cabinet three days earlier for their views on making such a statement and they had not demured. Roosevelt himself, according to Sherwood, gave the impression that it was all impromptu: he said 'the thought popped

into my mind that they called Grant "Old Unconditional Surrender" and the next I knew I had said it'."

This was the fantastically casual way in which the most disastrous decision of the war was arrived at, and everyone disclaims responsibility for it. But the grandiloquent gesture of demanding unconditional surrender which undoubtedly prolonged the war, could only have been made by governments which knew they had a docile and acquiescent public behind them. In the end, with the Nazis trying to bring down the whole of Europe with them in a final Gotterdamerüng, the surrender was arranged between the Swedish Red Cross and Himmler's masseur Kersten.

These are matters of history, and I mention them, not to re-open old arguments, but to illustrate what kind of people anarchists find themselves supporting when they adopt a policy of 'the lesser evil'. The organisation which really sought to save European Jewry during the war was the illegal Jewish Mossad in the face of both the Allied and the Axis governments.

WIHEN we discussed, with the Freie Arbeiter Stimme group, the question of Israel, the chairman, Sam Dreen, declared that while he, as an old Poale-Zionist, was for Israel, the editorial policy of the paper was not. And he explained that the Freie Arbeiter Stimme was an open forum in which every point of view was expressed. Here of course it differs from FREEDOM which, while it contains a variety of anarchist points of view is not open to the political movements which it opposed. (We do not see the point of running a paper at a loss simply to publicise the views of our opponents). The trouble about running an open forum is that nobody knows where you stand. As one of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme's readers once said to me, "Unless someone told you, you wouldn't know it was an anarchist paper".

Last year in these pages, I compiled a "Notebook on Anarchism, Zionism and the Kibbutz", in which I attempted to

unravel a little of the history of the Jewish resettlement of Palestine, the links between anarchism and Poale-Zionism, the significance for anarchists of the kibbutzim and kvutzot, and the intrusion of politics and nationalism. I don't want to repeat what was said in those articles, except that Zionism, which has so many aspects, did not necessarily conflict with anarchism, nor did it imply necessarily the support of the idea of a Jewish state. I would like instead to quote from an open letter sent to the Freie Arbeiter Stimme six years ago by Nathan Crefshi, writing after 40 years of life and work in Palestine. Referring to enthusiastic references to the State of Israel by Jewish anarchists in Britain and America, in the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, he asked himself the question "Is anarchism really the ideal I have believed it to be for many years, namely: life without rulers, force, or government, founded on the voluntary co-operation of free men-or was I mistaken and is anarchism really something different?" And Chofshi went

"When a new arrival in Israel is shown the communes and rural co-operatives, the workers' organizations, the various cultural organizations and movements as well as the technical advances, both rural and urban, when these are all identified with the State, it is only natural to express great admiration in the face of such unique advances on the part of the government in the short time of its existence. It is indeed miraculous, and sharply contradictory to the negative anarchist attitude to governments in

general. "But it is the exact contrary which is actually true. All these wonders were achieved voluntarily, freely, without coercion, and these proclaim precisely, and over many years, what the free will of man can create. We have always been saddened by the fact that our peaceful pioneering and creation were not only misunderstood, but also condemned by anarchists and socialists, and that it was therefore natural that our comrades throughout the world gained nothing from our rich experience. We were considered fanatic Zionists who deserted the struggle elsewhere to settle in far-off Palestine, in Asia! Terrible reactionaries! But then, suddenly, we became like other people: Jews created a govern- socialists-of whatever denominationment, complete with soldiers, wars, vic-

tories; with the glare of shells and the bursts of cannon. It was perhaps the glare of these shells which permitted the discovery of Palestine, and the impression, seemingly, also registered on the retinas of Jewish anarchists. And so now they also speak of the wonders created by the State of Israel, and all in so short a time! . . . Shall we laugh or

"The naked truth is that the State of Israel arrived on the scene to discover a fully developed community which the state is now exploiting for its very existence! And the only creation for which the state is solely responsible—a creation which is inseparably tied to its own creation—is the war with the Arabs. The war can be ascribed equally to the Arab States and to the newly-created Jewish State, and in this respect they are functioning properly.

"The praise heaped upon the Jewish state, the jubilation provoked by the Miracle of Israel amongst Jewish anarchists, disregard completely the stark fact that this state, as naturally with all states, was built on blood and ammunition. Are Jewish anarchists acquainted with the efforts of Ihud ("Union"), a group working for a bi-national state based on Arab-Jewish equality), of the late Dr. Judah Magnes, and of our own pacifist group to avoid war? Do they know that there had existed great possibilities for Jewish-Arab understanding as well as for a large Jewish immigration, and that it was only the state-mania which destroyed these possibilities and led to war with all its attendant fears and dangers?"

TATHAN CHOFSHI concluded with the bitter question, "Must mature Jewish anarchists, at this late date, start

This is the question that we must ask more than ever to-day of any members of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme groups in Britain and America who support the present military adventure of Ben-Gurion's government. We would welcome an assurance that they do not.

memorizing the ABC's?"

The pacifist paper Peace News published in its issue of Nov. 23rd a statement headed "A Time for Shame and Atonement", issued by "The Central Committee of The Third Force in Israel". It declares that:

"The present events should put an end to the blindness of socialists and liberals as regards Israel. Israel is not ruled b

Continued on -

Speeches We Never Heard Made-I

THIS speech we never heard was dreamed by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge on the night of November 19th. When he woke up he found himself still caught in a recess of sleep and screamed for his mother, but that good-natured lady from Boston was too well-brought-up to hurry and for several minutes Mr. Lodge held on to the edge of his blanket as tightly as to a bar of iron.

By day Mr. Lodge is held in esteem as the United Sates ambassador to the United Nations, where, say the newspapers, he is famed for his diplomatic victories over Communism. One day he infuriated a delegate from a Peoples' Democracy by referring to him as the Gentleman from so-and-so. Stung, this man yelled back, "I am not a gentleman, I am a delegate." "I had hoped," Mr. Lodge replied, while studying his right set of finger nails with devastating effect, "that the two were not mutually exclu-

In his dream Mr. Lodge is speaking about Hungary. He rises to his feet.

Gentlemen, before I address myself to the subject on the agenda I wish to say a few words on the matter of genocide. As you know the United States considers genocide an unhappy term, too open to misinterpretation. We have always stayed away from such conventions as the recent one in Geneva on traffic in slaves just as we have always tried to resist any resolutions that attempt to define what are known as human rights. As I have said before, there are peoples' rights and there are governments' rights, but when you start talking about human rights you don't know where you are. The same with genocide, depending on how the word is defined any of us could find it used against us.

Now what I want to say about Hungary is this. Some of you here in the United Nations, and you ought to have known better, have suggested that the United States has been fomenting this rebellion. I resent any such suggestion. Didn't President Eisenhower state clearly that the United States has never encouraged open rebellion and never would? A small revolt here and there, gentlemen, a foray, a mass meeting, protests or placard displays, that is one thing, and

many of us see fit to protect the rights of our peoples to carry on these valuable activities. It does people good to show their feelings and allows a healthy airing of opinion. That is Americanism and we would never allow anyone to whittle away our freedoms. But what the Hungarians are doing now is entirely different. It is un-American. In fact it is unreasonable. You cannot have your governments just swept away like that, gentlemen, or we would be in a state of anarchy.

No, our President said in his Press Conference, "We must get this thing quieted down." We believe in constitutional government but more than that we believe in government. Governments have certain rights, for instance when we make a solemn pact with another government we expect it to be kept until the time is opportune to break it. We have the right to break pacts. But our peoples can never have the right to break with their governments. No matter how intolerable to its people a government may appear (and I would venture a criticism to the Soviet Union in this respect) to us it is far more intolerable that a people take the law into its own hands. And if a people like the Hungarians imagined that our government would give them weapons or emergency supplies I hope by now they have learned their lesson.

Any other people who cares to try will also find out that the United Nations are united, indeed I hope I can say unanimous, in rallying to the cause of government.

Gentlemen, there are several steps to be taken. First, now that it is safe to send supplies without risk that the rebels will use them to further the revolt, we must do all that we can to get the wheels of Hungary's economy turning again. Food is needed for those who are returning to work. Little babies need their baby food and the sick in hospital need penicillin. Let us get these supplies moving and help Hungary to struggle to

Second, we must see that the refugees who are now dangerously huddled near the Hungarian border are dispersed at as safe a distance as possible. To leave them where they are would leave a

her feet again.

powder keg. My government is proud to take the lead and as you know our first reaction was to offer a home to a sort to ten thousand of the refugees. Other governments must co-operate in this humanitarian manœuvre.

Third, let those of us who are anti-Communist each resolve to make our public pronouncements as few and as mild as possible. Our Communist colleagues must be patient and understand that some expression of horror and revulsion will be required of us from time to time by the public which we shall certainly oblige. The public is always right I say, and where should we be without the public? (Laughter). Thank you.

With our aid we must convey the resolution I am going to propose in place of the one submitted by the gentleman from Cuba. The import of our resolution is that we condemn this immoral rebellion. I repeat the words of our President: We must get this thing quieted down. As Pope Pius put it differently, the Christian religion does not countenance murder and though your adversaries sorely try you with the rope of the secret police, yet it is God not you who shall judge them.

Mr. Shepilov, Mr. Horvath, you have Pope and President standing behind you. You did what had to be done and you did it without flinching. I venture to say that had you acted less promptly and permitted this thing to continue a conflagration would have spread that we should all have had the utmost difficulty to extinguish.

At this point in his dream the surroundings became rather vague. An AVO man came by and sat down opposite and pointed a finger at him. A crowd of cut-throats burst into the room and ran up to the AVO man and past him in the direction he was pointing to Mr. Lodge. One hand gripped his throat, another tore at his hair and a knee pressed his chest to suffocation. He tried to scream, "It's him you want not me," but no sound came out, while the AVO man tilted back his chair and laughed. Mr. Lodge then awake in the condition already described. A few minutes later his normal world returned and his panic subsided.

DUBLIC opinion in England has been given to understand that some one hundred people were killed in the assault on Port Said. It is impossible to get at the exact figure. But for some reason or other the public generally is dubious on the point. After all, an important proportion of Englishmen of all classes have served in recent years in both wars and armed conflicts. These find it hard to accept the figure of one hundred Egyptians killed in an assault of the kind so graphically described in the national press. In any case it seems that we are not expected to enquire any further. Our citizen's duty makes it incumbent on us to believe Eden's figures.

Khrushchev in like case has done just the same thing. To read the Russian press day by day at the present time no one would guess that anyone had been killed. No figures are given. There are photographs of men barbarously hanged -mostly by the feet. But there are no indications of the fact that some thousands of Hungarian men and women, boys and girls, have died in the fighting both in Budapest and in the country as a whole.

Belatedly the Soviet journalist styling himself "Contemporary", admits, however, that "the blood of thousands and thousands of honest Hungarian patriots done to death by reactionary gangs" is upon the head of the various agencies operating from abroad on moneys provided by foreign governments.

Moseow Students Have Doubts

Inasmuch as the Kremlin was of the view a month ago that it would take less than a week to crush the spontaneous revolt of the workers of the Hungarian I capital, Pravda at first gave as little space as possible to the matter. The aim was to represent the whole affair as a Party disagreement which could be settled in the proper way by the intervention in person of Khrushchev.

As the workers swept government and all administration aside, acquired weapons, dealt summarily (very summarily and most brutally, indeed) with the secret police; as they opened the prisons and set free the politicals (including Dr. Edith Bone of The Daily Worker), the Hungarian masses forced not only the whole world to sit up and behold what they were doing, but even the blindfolded masses of Russia were forced to see that

The Jewish Anarchists

Continued from p. 2

but by zionist-socialists, i.e., by Jewish national-socialists.

"The kibuzim are not socialist or communist or anarchist communes, but politico-economic strongholds of zionist-

socialism. "It is the kibuzim that have grabbed most of Arab land in Israel. It is members of kibuzim who were at the head of Jewish organisations for the boycott of Arab work and trade in Palestine, and it is they who led the war against the Arabs in 1948 and are now leading the 'second round'.

"The accusing-excusing assertion that Israel is only a tool in the hands of the imperialists is a misleading half-truth.

"The rulers of Israel ARE a tool in criminal imperialistic hands. But it is a tool that SEEKS to be used by wicked hands.

"And the Israeli rulers' policy is supported by a great majority of Israel's population. What Israel vitally needs is not only a change of government, but also and chiefly a change of its public mind."

I don't know who the people are who issued this statement. I don't know whether they are just or not. I love the kibbutzim and social ideas and aspirations which gave birth to them. And I feel deeply aware of the guilt and responsibility which we must bear towards Israel, since Jewish nationalism is the offspring of European anti-semitism. But I do not know how to refute these words.

THE mother of a friend of mine, writing from Jerusalem a few months ago, quoted some words used by Gustav Landauer in 1914. Landauer had said: "I know in sorrow how this madness has originated; I know myself to be quite German and yet do not find in myself a trace of fellow-feeling with the political actions of the German Reich." And she commented, "Put Jewish in the place of German, and you will know how we feel". These are tragic words for a Jewish refugee from Nazi barbarism to have to use. But they are the words which we would expect to hear from our comrades of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. They should know, if anyone does, that states, governments, armies, are the enemies of free and creative life. They should know that, in Martin Buber's words, "One cannot in the nature of things expect a little tree that has been turned into a club to put forth leaves".

THE EGYPTIAN DEAD

Russian students started to read between the lines. Those of them who were studying radio engineering as a speciality for their masters in the Kremlin, for their future employers, that is to say, began to listen in to British broadcasts. They are said to have posted B.B.C. bulletins alongside their faculty wall newspapers. At a lecture delivered in the Romyantsev Library (now the Lenin Library, of course) doubts were expressed by students as to the authenticity of the versions put out by the bolshevik press regarding events in Hungary.

Bolshevik Journalists Mobilized

To-day the Kremlin press is giving almost as much space to Hungary as to Egypt. All the skilled hacks (and they don't live in Grub Street either but on the fat of the land) have been set their

Over the joint signatures of P. Yefimov and M. Odinyets correspondence direct from Budapest is now appearing in Pravda. There, too, every effort is made to hoodwink the people at home in Moscow. According to them everything is rapidly being brought under control again. Every effort is made to focus attention on the Party aspect of what has happened in Hungary. Although they had intended, to begin with, to write a light, lively article about the townspeople

there was something very much amiss, of Budapest, in the second paragraph of their long article they had slipped into inner Party politics.

Kadar's Press Toes the Line

We quote Pravda (331/13994): Instead of being scattered free from automobiles as was the case a few days ago newspapers are now being sold from the stands. "Chief interest in to-day's papers as far as the Hungarian people are concerned lies in the circumstance that they have all reprinted Pravda's editorial entitled 'Towards a further consolidation of the forces of socialism on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles'." Kadar's sheet Nepszabadsag had dutifully made the most of this editorial; had carefully spaced it out with sub-headings to guide the reader. Our readers of FREEDOM can guess how it was done from the list of sub-headings cited by the two journalists from Moscow.

Again we quote: "Pravda on the Hungarian Events and on Tito's speech at Pula; Causes of the accumulated discontent in Hungary; Weakness of Nagy's government: Concerning the assistance rendered by the Soviet troops; We criticize Tito's speech; Regarding the bonds between the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, etc., etc."

Why such dullness? This is the usual pap doled out to the Soviet newspaper reader from day to day. But in the inner life of the Party there is meaning to it. To the bosses in the Kremlin this means that Janos Kadar is doing as he is told. Though he is already aware that his end must be either suicide or a bullet from one of the nine million reactionaries who have suddenly emerged from the ranks of the working class, Janos is toeing the line, the Party line. When he has served his turn he will be cast to one side or liquidated. Meantime, he carries out the orders of the power-drunk maniacs in the citadel on the banks of the Moskva in Moscow.

Hungarian Communists on Band Wagon

However, Nepszabagsag carries real information as well. We are told in an important article "We organize the Party" that new rules will have to be worked out for the acceptance of members for the new Party.

It says: "In these few stormy weeks new organs have come to the fore whose full significance we cannot yet assess properly. But under no circumstances whatever can they take the place of the Party whose Marxist-Leninist theory embodies the experience of a whole century not only of the Hungarian movement but also of the entire international working-class movement but of the class struggle. The toilers demand that there shall be such a Party; they await it; they feel the necessity for it, this being especially true of the finest sons of the work-

ing class, men who in the past have fought most determinedly against the mistakes then committed . . . They realize that if the Party's activities were to be developed on a broad scale production would be set on a sure footing and we should start moving forwards to a brighter future."

The paper claims that in the Borsod area workers and poor peasants are applying for membership, but admits that office workers, teachers, craftsmen, and middle peasants so called are holding back and showing no keen interest in Party membership. Perhaps they have seen from recent events in their country that they are better off without Party interference. Governments may-as they have possibly come to understand-be dispensed with as well.

English readers must never forget that in spite of the hatred for the Russians and the bitterness of the fighting, there was one authenticated case where a neutral Russian unit had milk supplied to it for the children in married quarters of the said unit. This was mutual aid. This was anarchism. No money was passed. This was something greatly human. It must be remembered to the credit of the Soviet prisoner inside the tank as well as of the Hungarian peasants concerned.

MALATESTA CLUB

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

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Are We Superficial?

LIOW superficial can anarchism get? I wonder as I glance through current Freedoms. Strontium poisoning and the new generations, fear, passive resistance through birth control, governmental discontinuation of tests. How very superficial all this is-the authoritanianism moved to another level of fear, the intellect in a quandary, like scientists with their barbarism and stupidity (cruelty) to rabbits.

Even more disappointing is Rita Milton's emotional airy-fairy quote of Camillo Berneri. I've never heard such superficial nonsense and inevitable contradictions as in that quote. Here again there is no fundamental response to life. The mind working within the security of the known, projecting itself as ideals or fears, hopes, and so on-servile to fear itself.

It would be interesting to know what is meant by conscience? Good and bad, right and wrong? Good is merely an extension of bad-the good man to-day can be played upon to align himself with 'evil' to-morrow. Kropotkin, Miss Milton, Read-and others?

Anarchism to-day has merely become an intellectual novelty with some emotional projections from an idealisticbased past projecting itself like a readymade suit on to the world of the future. 'Anarchism' has become more important than humanity. Some 'new' dogma with which others may be measured, labelled and derided. Anarchism is failing because like all other avenues to the goal Happiness and Freedom it isolates itself

from mankind, is in conflict churning out ideas as superficial and stupid as their so-called rivals.

I challenge the anarchist movement to prove its approach is not superficial, based on intellect and emotions. The whole fabric of 'anarchist' views-like Woodcock's and Milton's for exampleis merely a difference of views within the realms of the mind which lives, anchors, perpetuates itself within the known. That is no fundamental revolution, any more than that in Hungary, France, Spain. Such are emotional convulsions, not revolution—the mind merely carries on as before, projecting that which it knows (memories, experience, what should be as opposed to what is).

That is not liberty, freedom. A mind enslaved by ideals, ideas, memories, views, labels, sentimentalism and such airy-fairy quotes as that of Camillo Berneri is not free.

Perhaps Miss Milton will tell us of the ideal society she takes upon herself to encourage others into. Merely the opposite of the present one?

Anarchists tend to brush aside the 'human nature' bogey-but how can a new sane humane society be established if merely an idealistic extension of the present, the known? The visions Miss Milton refers to should not be containment of ideals (no doubt with reward, gratification, sensate values as motives) called anarchism (or any other label) but the vision of courage to go beyond, not in time but to an understanding of the human mind and its cruel tricks and

subtleties. It will project anything you wish, Miss Milton, but-has it fundamentally changed?

London, N.W.2. MARTIN LAING.

P.S.—Does Freedom express anarchism? An editorial only with the remainder filled with readers' letters would by far better fulfil-freedom.

Editorial Comment:

W/E thought our readers might be interested to read this letter as an example of what they might expect were we to take up the suggestion contained in the Postscript. But they need have no fear. Freedom will continue to be an organ of expression of anarchist ideas even at the risk of incurring Mr. Laing's wrath for stubbornly dealing with the known as against the unknown, and for being so superficial as to be concerned for future generations in view of the lunacy of governments.

What is unknown to our readers is that a few weeks ago Mr. Laing submitted (under a different name) a (long) synopsis of an (even longer) article for publication in FREEDOM and presumably, since he considered us fit to publish his work, he was not dismissing us as all that superficial then. The above letter has come after we returned his manuscript regretting that we did not think it suitable for this journal. Readers can guess from the above letter why we returned his longer work and also why we have received the reaction.

How subjective can you get, Mr. Laing?

The Politicians and the Health Service

Continued from p. 1

Dr. Davies added that the new hardship fell on the section of the public least able to bear it. Another doctor stated:

"If there are two essential items on a prescription and the patient has only one shilling, then the chemist may have to decide which to give," he said.

"Then we have reached the dangerous state of partial prescription."

Naturally enough we consider these kinds of reason quite sufficient for a withdrawal of the new order for prescriptions, but we recognise that there may be some who consider this kind of charge to be necessary in the interests of the economy of the Health Service. If there are such people then we would point out that the absurdly small income which will accrue as a result of the measure, compared for example with the government's admitted expenditure on armaments, does nothing to justify it. Roughly speaking the income on prescriptions will amount to about one third of one day's armaments.

A leading article in the British Medical Journal had a much more general criticism to make of what it called the "sickness" of the National Health Service. It said:

"The pettifogging arguments about whether a food is a drug, the form-filling, regulations, discussions on whether a week's leave not taken one year can be carried on to the next, the ever-increasing intrusion of the administrator both centrally and locally—all this and much more is turning medicine into an administrator's maze, where the unfortunate doctor soon loses his sense of direction and will end up in losing his sense of profession."

The writer stated that there existed widespread discontent in Britain with the Service, not only amongst the professional classes, but in all walks of life. He said " . . . that in some unexplained way virtue has gone out of the profession: that quantity counts more than quality: and on top of this there is the ubiquitous politician."

He also gave our own view as to politicians in general, and the Minister of Health in particular. The Manchester Guardian (November-17th) reported as follows:

"The writer complains that the politician sees the health services as a principal piece on his political chessboard. A Minister of Health might, by a rare coincidence, be genuinely interested in the medical services, but most likely than not, he regarded his post as one of the halting points in his career."

And as the author quite rightly points out at the end of his article. "All this degrades medicine, and the clamour grows for medicine to be taken out of politics . . . "

To which we would add that politics should be taken out of medicine (which is almost the same thing), and everywhere else too, for there is no reason to suppose that if a complex Health Scheme could be run without the machinery of government then so also can everything