

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Were it made a question, whether 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."
—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT GIVE GREEN LIGHT FOR POLICE & MILITARY BRUTALITY

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 increased 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 terrorist 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 Cyprus" than at the "front". (*Tribune*, Nov. 23rd). This lesson cannot be entirely lost to the strategists,

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 can be just as effective as strong military power. At the same time the British position has been

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 these odds, it looks as if Britain will be in occupation for a long time to come.

THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN PRESS

Catering for the Mass Mind

MASS communications, one discovers as one leaves our island shores, is an even more serious problem than appears at first sight. If the French and Italian Press are typical of the Press of other countries of the West then one is justified in concluding that mass communications is not a national but an international problem, and that thinking processes are not only conditioned in all countries but conditioned in the same manner. That it is possible to criticize the uniformity of the international Communist Press without being aware of the fact that a similar criticism can be levelled at the non-Communist Press, is perhaps further evidence of the extent to which the human personality 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 them in the kiosks in Paris, Milan or Genoa—and their place is taken by a *France Soir*, a *Paris-Press* 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

Italian daily announced the disappearance of Nagy in two inch high display type, and the general layout is no less chaotic than that of the *Daily Express*.

The contents is hardly different from that of our popular Press. The same political rumours, the same cynical disregard for the dissemination of false rumours and political scare-mongering. Information from the international agencies is rarely presented "straight". The "cuts" and the biased presentation of news are practised with the same disregard for truth as are only too familiar with our own Press, and the political comments are as pedestrian and constrained. Add to this a liberal dose of crimes of violence, 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!

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EVEN 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 Repubblica*, *Il Pointe*, *Mondo* and other literary-political

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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 anaemia will be taxed unfairly for their illnesses. So will the man bringing up a large family on a small wage.
2. 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.

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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 £960
Contributions received £772
DEFICIT £188

November 23 to November 29
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.* 3/4-; London: V.T. per P.S. 10/4-; London: E.M. £1; Glasgow: S.M. 4/-; London: Anon. 5/-; Brantwood: 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

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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Catering for the Mass Mind

Continued from p. 1

journalists 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-Israeli 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 process 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!

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 Yugoslav 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-

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 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 Khrushchev 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.

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RECOGNISING 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

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 be 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 unexpected.

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

What could we do?

—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 let 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 gathering of journalists.

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Dawn at Midnight

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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WHERE DO THE JEWISH ANARCHISTS STAND?

A FORTNIGHT ago the editors of FREEDOM attended a reception held by the Freie Arbeiter Stimme London Group.

We were happy to eat and talk with the veterans of the Jewish workers' struggle in the East End of London.

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

say and conversation to know the attitude of their paper. We used to be told, during the war, that they were 'pro-government-anarchists';

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.

IN 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.

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.

IF there was any one thing which prolonged the German policy of racial extermination it was the Allies' theatrical demand for unconditional surrender

"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.

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.

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 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.

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.

"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

"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.

Speeches We Never Heard Made--I

THIS speech we never heard was dreamed by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge on the night of November 19th.

By day Mr. Lodge is held in esteem as the United States ambassador to the United Nations, where, say the newspapers, he is famed for his diplomatic victories over Communism.

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.

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.

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.

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.

Any other people who cares to try will also find out that the United Nations are united, indeed I hope I can say unanimously, 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.

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.

atories; 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.

"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!

"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.

NATHAN CHOFSHI concluded with the bitter question, "Must mature Jewish anarchists, at this late date, start memorizing the ABC's?"

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.

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".

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

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