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# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The ballot is nothing more or less than a paper representative of the bayonet, the baton, and the bullet. It is a labour-saving device for ascertaining on which side force lies, and bowing to the inevitable."

—B. TUCKER.

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Threepence

## THE POWER STRUGGLE AMERICAN POLICY

AMERICAN foreign policy since the war has been dedicated to the pursuance of a twofold strategy: first and foremost that she should become the greatest power in the world, secondly that she should at the same time be thought of as a great "moral force for peace". With the existing state of affairs in the world this strategy may reasonably be regarded as schizophrenic.

Not very surprisingly it so happens that Russia has pursued the same objects, in a somewhat different way, and of course there has been noticeable conflict!

The two procedures have not however been so different as might be supposed. America has employed three principle methods: economic aid, military aid, and the idea of the American way of life with its high standard of living. The Russian system has been similar: military aid, economic aid and the ideology of the Russian (communist) way of life. The differences lie not so much in principle as in application and degree. The U.S.A. has given more importance to economic aid than the U.S.S.R., mainly because she has so much wealth but partly because she is geographically so far from the usual scene of action. The U.S.S.R. has put to great use her considerable military power in conjunction with

the insidious spreading of her so-called socialist ideology.

A mistake is often made in supposing that the basic reason for conflict between East and West is due to ideological differences; this false view gradually becomes even less tenable as the years go by, and the actual differences between the capitalist countries (private enterprise) and the communist countries (state enterprise) disappear completely.

But it is not even true to say in fact, that the conflicts between Russia and America are therefore entirely economic—this has invariably been the automatic analysis of the enlightened political person of the left wing, for it has always been possible to demonstrate in the past that there were opposed economic interests between antagonistic states. Such is not the case in this instance, where both Russia and America are capable of maintaining entirely self-supporting economies, do not compete with one another's markets, and do not constitute a serious threat in this field in the near future.

Patiently we must include other factors besides economic ones for the very real and quite obvious antipathy which exists between these two super-states. The main motivation would seem to be fear, with the

subsidiary reason (or effect) being the desire to dominate one another by whatever means possible. Once again, this wish to dominate can be, and is hidden beneath the cloak of the supposed belief that only their own particular brand of ideology is the correct one for the world and the correct way of life for the maintenance of peace and freedom.

It will be remembered that long before the war there was fear and hatred of the U.S.S.R. in the West, and that the alliance of the four Great Powers against German fascism was at the best an uneasy one—the advance notice of the doctrine of co-existence. Towards the end of the war the tottering Nazi régime was convinced that it could come to terms with the Western powers in order to present a common front against the communist invader. Churchill was well aware of things to come and would no doubt have conducted the end of the war quite differently but for the insistence by Roosevelt on mutual trust between the nations' leaders. Roosevelt had not grasped that Stalin distrusted the West as much as Churchill distrusted him, and was determined to place a buffer of as much of Eastern Europe between Russia and the West as was possible without actually coming to blows.

And so from immediately post-war Berlin with its atmosphere of international suspicion and spying, to the Berlin airlift—to Korea, a kind of trial war by proxy, and a test of the United Nations (by kind permission of the U.S.A.), continuing by way of Formosa, the cold war blew hot and cold, and finally, the last in the line so far—the Middle East.

After the slight diversion caused by Israel and the Anglo-French in-

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### AMERICA & ISRAEL

## The Blackmail Racket

IN our article last week ("America's New Middle East Policy or—The Protection Racket") we posed what seemed to us to be a question of vital importance in relation to the solution of the Suez problem: "If Israel refuses to retire from the Gaza strip or the islands on the mouth of the Gulf of Akaba, and Egypt refuses to re-open the canal until Israeli forces withdraw to their original lines before the war—what will the U.N. do—and to whom?"

In asking what the U.N. might do, we were in reality questioning actions which might be taken by America and the U.N.; the former being the mentor, guide and actual financial backer of the latter in times of stress.

An article from Robert Kee in Tel Aviv, published in *The Observer* last Sunday supplies the answer in fairly plain terms, and might reasonably be entitled "The Blackmail Racket". For those who believe in the "kind-hearted objectivity" of American foreign policy, and of its desire to help all the little countries of the Middle East in their difficult times, in the manner of a super-fairy godmother, let them first of all digest the methods of this "benevolent democracy".

"It is likely that the Israelis will resort to every kind of diplomatic, and possibly even military, stone-walling to retain control of Sharm Al Sheikh and the Straits of Tiran, at least until some acceptable guarantees for their security are forthcoming.

At present the immediate prospects do not look good. The results of the meeting in Washington between the Israeli Foreign Minister, Mrs. Golda Meier, and Mr. Dulles last week and that between the United States Ambassador here and Mr. Ben-Gurion, the Israeli Premier, this week were considered disappointing. It was not said that no guarantees would be given, but that complete withdrawal of Israeli forces must proceed regardless of guarantees.

Meanwhile, United States economic pressure is making itself felt. American Grant-in-aid funds and Point Four assistance to Israel are still frozen, and though Point Four assistance to the Arab States is also frozen, a \$75 million loan to Israel from the Export-Import Bank for water developments, which had been definitely promised, has now been suspen-

ded. The State Department ban on United States tourist travel to Israel still stands.

Even more formidable economic sanctions are believed here to be looming in the background—the stopping of the United Jewish Appeal funds on which the Israel economy largely depends and pressure on the West German Government to suspend reparations." (Our italics).

In other words American foreign policy is prepared to blackmail the Israeli government into accepting her terms regardless of any justification which Israel may have for her attitude and without even giving guarantees by which Israel might be assured of the non-occurrence of the situation which came about before her attack upon Egypt.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of the Israel attack it is perfectly clear that she had some justification. Can America have forgotten that Israeli shipping was the only shipping not permitted through the canal by Egypt? That whilst Egypt held the islands in the mouth of the Gulf of Akaba she controlled the entry of vessels into the port of Eilat? That Arab Nationalism was sworn to the extinction of Israel? That Nasser conducted a perpetual propaganda campaign to this end, and constantly instigated a series of border incidents against Israel outposts and farms? That the Gaza strip was a continual source of tension for the same reason?

Without question it must be added that all the faults did not lie with Egypt, and on occasions the Israelis resorted to counter measures which were excessive. It may be held that the eventual attack upon Egypt was such as to deprive Israel of any reasonable moral position, but it could be said that if she had not done so it was merely a question of time before she herself would have been attacked in accordance with the stated Arab intention to liquidate her.

Thus for America to implement economic sanctions of the type and magnitude which she is now undertaking, without some form of guarantee, is to say the least, partisan; and if continued sufficiently long and ruthlessly might well constitute an absolute breach of human rights.

"In this Case Truth Itself is no Defence"—

Attorney General

## Truth versus Expediency

NO social movement is likely to progress in the right direction if its adherents have no regard for the truth (the same can be said of personal relationships). But to-day only a handful of people would agree with this view because almost everyone has become tainted with the practices of the time; expediency and discretion rule our lives. People are so accustomed to the methods of political expediency (the euphemistic lie) that they are neither shocked nor surprised when they hear a political apologist publicly claiming without a blush that his party had to act in such and such a way because, although it appeared to be contrary to its stated policy "expediency" made the action necessary.

The argument is used so frequently by the communists that it no longer even raises a cynical laugh. But the majority of people do not oppose the communists on these grounds because the same reason is put forward by all political parties as an excuse for not doing something which they had promised in order to get them into office, or doing something they shouldn't have done after getting into office.

Newspapers have a similar policy and even the more liberal ones are sometimes guilty of dishonesty by omission. News is ignored, played down or blown up according to expediency. Thus, for example, no daily newspaper in this country made a big fuss about the people who were arrested in South Africa on charges of treason (with the possible exception of the *Daily Worker* for reasons which we need not go into). Our view at the time was that British economic ties with South Africa and her own racial policy in some parts of the colonies made the

editors of newspapers think twice before splashing the news from South Africa over their front pages. In other words expediency took over, and the news was played down.

Coming so soon after Hungary the difference in treatment was noticeable, and although it has to be admitted that events in Hungary were more spectacular, South Africa has been operating a totalitarian policy for years and the blacks under Strydom's domination are so crushed that they are unable to resist in any way like the Hungarians. For this reason they are just as deserving of our support.

Totalitarianism (British style) is having its effects in a quiet way in Cyprus where the Attorney General prosecuting the Editor of the *Times of Cyprus* said last week: "In this case truth itself is no defence."

The Editor was being prosecuted for reprinting an article from the *London News Chronicle*. Under an emergency regulation the Governor can stop the printing of a paper without notification for disseminating news which could be, according to him, interpreted as likely to spread alarm and despondency. As the Editor pointed out in a letter to various people in this country, the measures are more severe than wartime regulations here.

Here again, expediency versus truth. What was reprinted in the *Times of Cyprus* may have been factual, but the prosecutor is not all that interested in the facts, he is interested in keeping Britain's hold on Cyprus and the truth might loosen that hold.

The suppression of freedom of expression is one of the signs of the totalitarian state. Reformers and democrats should think hard about this.

## The (Industrial) Rape of the Americas or DOLLAR IMPERIALISM

A 32-PAGE supplement to the *New York Times* (Jan. 4) accurately described as "A Finance-Trade Review" of the Americas is for us both an interesting and depressing document, though we can well imagine that most of its readers will find it not only intensely interesting but inspiring and encouraging as well. For them it is a brilliant record of man's achievement in opening-up these virtually "undeveloped" countries rich in natural mineral sources, of millions of acres of virgin land ripe for development and of agricultural countries just waiting to be industrialised. It is an interim account of what has been achieved and a picture of what can still be done aimed at making (American) technicians', industrialists' and financiers' mouths water! The inducements to foreign capital are provided by 17 pages of advertisements paid for by the governments of the various countries of Latin America, Mexico and Central America and even by such go-ahead cities as Calgary in Alberta, Canada, "where Business and Industry Get up and . . . Grow" and which shows us, among other things "The Skyline that Enterprise Built" (and a more frightening and hideous skyline is difficult to conceive). The remaining 15 pages are packed with factual, financial, statistical as well as, to our

minds, socially revealing information.

The superficial picture that is conveyed by these 32 pages is of a vast continent in the throes of a technological earthquake, of a skyline that almost overnight has been transformed from one of endless mountain ranges and virgin forests, to one of skyscrapers, derricks and complex refineries, steel and chemical plants. To those with a little more human feeling and imagination and less technical know-how, it is as if the continent were being turned upside down: the bowels of the earth are being brought to the surface while man and his fields are buried under these new-found riches of our phoney civilisation!

The caption to three pictures tell the story:

The prairies that once grew only wheat and livestock are sprouting more and more facilities for extracting and processing Canada's great natural wealth. These photographs reflect the process of change—wheat harvest on the plains of Alberta, development of oil production in Saskatchewan and manufacture of chemicals at a new plant in Ontario.

In Latin America the pace of urbanization we are told "is the most stunning of all the modern revolutions of thought and custom that have come to this continent in recent years".

Thus cities have become metropolises, towns have become cities, hamlets and villages are now towns, and urban centres by the dozens rise in what not long ago was open country.

In the past five years the population of Sao Paulo has increased by a million to 3 million and because it has the physical space to expand in all directions it is estimated that by 1970 the population will have grown to 6 million. The increase of a million in the population of Rio de Janeiro since 1940 is considered even more spectacular in view of its location on a narrow ledge with mountains on one side and the Guanabara Bay on the other. The space had to be found on the hills and by building out over the water! The oil boom in Venezuela is reflected in the doubling of the population of Caracas from 500,000 to a million in the last five years. We are told that building there "seems to be a national pastime". In 1956 alone \$120m. (£42 million) was spent on private construction. And this meteoric growth of the cities has naturally been achieved by "an exodus from the fields".

Urbanisation has given birth to a middle-class "whose demands for goods and services make these cities expand from year to year". But all

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## Bricks: an Industry in Transition

There are fashions in bricks as in most other things. The yellow stock bricks which have been used for about two hundred years in London are called, according to taste "the miles of dreary yellow brick" or "the mellow and unobtrusive traditional London brick". They have always been useful for their strength and resistance to damp and frost, but their use as facing bricks has alternated with red bricks while for internal use they have been superseded by the ubiquitous Fletton brick or by sand-lime pressed bricks. Both red and yellow bricks for use in London have been made for centuries in the valleys and estuaries of the Thames and Medway. Daniel Defoe was the owner of a brickfield at Tilbury in the seventeenth century, and Edward Hyams, rehabilitating his small-holding on the Roman road through Kent found the subsoil full of brickfield debris dating from Tudor times.

The London stock brick is made from clay, chalk, river mud, and ashes which burn during the firing of the brick; and its making consequently grew up in the river estuaries and creeks where these materials were available and where water transport was possible. It formed a part of the beautifully balanced transport economy based on the flat-bottomed spritsail barges and 'stumpies' peculiar to the Thames estuary and East Coast. The barges which carried straw and fodder to the city in the days of horse transport would return with dung and stable litter for the farms and market gardens, and the barges carrying the bricks that built nineteenth-century London returned loaded with refuse from London rubbish dumps for use in burning the bricks. This 'rough stuff' lay on the marshes for twelve years and was then put through a rotary sifter and incorporated in the brick slurry. To-day the ashes are bought ready sifted from municipal refuse destructors. (The green or purple bubbles you sometimes see on stock bricks are from glass in the ashes). The firm whose brickyards I visited in the area round Sittingbourne, facing the Isle of Sheppey in the Medway and Swale

estuaries once had a fleet of about fifty barges which could each take a load of from 70 to 200 tons, with about 5,000 square feet of sail, manned by only two men. Capt. Isaac Baker who began work in this fleet in the 'eighties told the author of *Spritsail Barges of the Thames and Medway* that:

"A master of the 36-ton *Dabchick*, built at Halstow in 1895, he was paid 29s. to carry 29,000 bricks to Lea River up Bow Creek, but when the County Hall was being built at Westminster, the price was 2s. 6d. a thousand, of which the skipper took 1s. 8d. and the mate 10d. The usual time on the trip from Halstow to Putney was about three tides; this included shooting 13 bridges and the barge being towed by horses for the last part of the journey. In the *Devon* he had gone from Otterham to Lambeth in one day on the tide, and in *Westmorland* from Conyer to Mortlake in 14 hours, but she is noted as a fast barge."

I went abroad the *Westmorland*, tied up in Halstow Creek. It is the last of the fleet, apart from the hulks of the *Durham* and *Lapwing*. It is capable of carrying 40,000 bricks. Now, painted blue, red, ochre and black, it is used only

in the Thames Barge Races which were started 90 years ago by William Henry Dodd, who made a fortune out of the collection and disposal of refuse and was known as the Golden Dustman. The firm now uses hundreds of lorries and its only vessel is the motor barge *Lastholme* which brings in river mul from the estuary saltings and sand for moulding which is dredged off Southend pier.

The disappearance of the Thames sailing barges is lamented by enthusiasts like Mr. Edgar Marsh who writes:

"To-day the rough timber wharves lie neglected and grass-grown, and in nearby creeks barge hulls gradually rot away. Meanwhile through once peaceful villages and country towns, huge lorries thunder day and night along arterial roads which cost millions of pounds. Sea and tide flow free to all, but are no longer used."

★

STOCK brick making is of course only a small part of the clay brick industry as a whole. Seven-eighths of all bricks made in this country are 'commons'—bricks made as cheaply as possible without regard to appearance. Only very

underburnt stock bricks are relegated to this category. 34% of bricks are made by the semi-dry process, where the clay is used in the form of moist grains instead of a plastic paste, and consolidated under pressure. These are Flettons, the blotchy pink common bricks from the huge works around Blethley, Peterborough and Bedford, with their forest of chimneys. Another 27% are made by the stiff plastic process where the clay, in a very stiff condition is forced into moulds in clots roughly the shape of bricks which are then pressed into precise shape. The advantage of these two methods is that no drying is required and the bricks go direct from presses to kilns. The oldest machine method is the wirecut process where the clay is extruded in a rectangular column which is cut into brick sizes by wires stretched on a frame. This is the commonest method in most industrial countries except Britain where it amounts to 29%. The remainder are stock bricks, moulded by hand or machinery with a wetter clay.

As you go through market gardens and orchards to these waterside Kentish brickworks at Otterham, Halstow, Conyer and Funton, you notice that the road is higher than the surrounding fields. The brick earth occurs in a seam about six feet deep and is excavated, after removal of topsoil, within a few yards of

growing vegetables, and once it has been removed, the topsoil is replaced and the land returned to the farmer. The contention that the crops give every appearance of having benefited by the change of level is used by the brickmakers in their current argument about planning permission for further excavation. The brick earth is conveyed to a circular washmill where, mixed with chalk and water it is broken into a slurry by revolving harrows and pumped two miles to the washbacks. These are reservoirs in which the slurry is spread through a system of overhead wooden channels and chutes suspended on poles. There it dries for several months. Ashes are spread over the top and it is dug with open spades called cockles into tipper trucks. This loading is done by 'temperers' who gauge by eye that the right quantity of ashes is included in each load.

The tipper trucks are drawn on an endless wire rope to the brick-making machine in which a pugmill mixes and crushes the material and fills four-brick or six-brick moulds. The machine is tended in a circle of repetition jobs which even the most mechanised works has not eliminated: taking out the moulds, emptying the soft bricks, picking them up with wooden pallets, loading them on

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## DISCUSSION

### Learning from Hungary

FOR reasons which it will serve no useful purpose to enumerate here, the activities of the anarchists are now practically everywhere reduced to an effort to clarify, express and propagate their principles. It is not usually a very rewarding effort, and one reason for it is that people who might be tempted to embrace these principles would like to see how they could be realized and what sort of a world they would lead to. A vicious circle is thus drawn, wherein anarchists cannot be clear about their objectives and the means of attaining them because they do not know on what people they can rely upon to make anarchism a social reality, or what imprint anarchism will receive in the process of its realization at the hands of such people; and the various sections of the population whom anarchism might affect remain indifferent to it because it is not presented to them as a possible social reality.

The best way anarchism can be achieved, it was once generally thought, is by means of a revolution. But the more thoughtful, the more coherent and realistic among present-day anarchists have plenty of misgivings about the desirability and effectiveness of revolution. By 'revolution' I mean armed revolt. The difference between revolt and revolution, as sanctioned in history books, is that the former is militarily successful and the latter is not. The appropriate name for both, while success hangs in the balance, and the more appropriate the longer it hangs in the balance, is 'civil war'. The violence, tyrannies and horrors of a civil war are ethically not less condemnable than those of a war brought about by rivalry between states. To sit on the fence or preach the cessation of all killing in the midst of a civil war is at least as difficult and unsafe as it is on the front line in a war between states. Neutralism and pacifism in a civil war are also morally difficult for those anarchists who before its outbreak have been taunting the people for their craven submission to the state.

Genuine revolts, however, occur, without any conscious and deliberate preparation, when a system of exploitation is clogged by its inner contradictions, and remedies are sought in a relaxation and/or a tightening of oppressive measures. If the first act of a revolt is not immediately and thoroughly suppressed, the respite between it and a second engenders a feeling of freedom so intense and exhilarating that a willing return to the previous state of servitude becomes inconceivable. Challenged on the ground of power, to which they claim a right of monopoly, the state and its supporting organizations answer with a ferocity all the more vicious and blind because it is prompted by a fear that verges on panic. Under such circumstances, to the dilemma "freedom or servitude" it is human to prefer the dilemma "freedom or death", while for the neutralist and pacifist the dilemma may be even more tragically one between servitude and death.

The professional revolutionary may still appear surrounded by a romantic halo to those who have not met him in flesh and bones; but in his modern version he is usually a type in which some of the worst features of the military and the commissar are found in combina-

tion. He is not to be recommended to anarchists and lesser lovers of freedom as a personality ideal. Yet a fight for freedom, a fight for the preservation of that feeling of freedom that rises to the head like an intoxicating wine after years of misery, fear and powerless resentment, needs men with a keen sense of the realities of power, neither timid nor overconfident, men with experience and quick intuitive grasp of combat situations, and some knowledge of weapons.

Such men, nearly all still unknown to the outside world, have appeared on the Hungarian scene; and students of revolutionary strategy and tactics, in those countries where conditions exist which may lead to a revolt, must be busily taking notes. Hungary has shown that a nation-wide revolt in a totalitarian country may suddenly become a reality; it has shown that a totalitarian state is vulnerable in many spots; it has shown what methods can be used against it; and even if finally defeated, it will have shown what forces and methods of repression a totalitarian is likely to resort to when openly defied.

There is no doubt that a feverish activity is now going on in all the organs of decision and control of the totalitarian régimes for which the quenching of the Hungarian revolt is a vital interest. Its aim is to forestall further setbacks by a careful appraisal of the factors responsible for those suffered already. Such activity will not relax, but be more thoroughly and scientifically conducted when and if the Hungarian people are starved and massacred into submission. It would greatly diminish the chances of another revolt, in Hungary or elsewhere, if while the totalitarian states are learning from the present experience, their slaves of to-day who may be their new rebels to-morrow were to let the Hungarians' example go by unmeditated, and their sacrifice be fully consummated, bearing no fruit.

The anti-revolutionary weapon 'par excellence', the tank, has lost a lot of its prestige in the street-fights of Budapest. A row of plates, according to a photo published in various papers in England, could bring it to a stop. If that is so, plates could be strewn in every street where tanks are likely to pass, and it would not be necessary for every plate to have something underneath. A tank crew is not precisely insulated, and could therefore be electrocuted by tram cables hanging in their path, or be made very uncomfortable by other cables of lesser voltage.

House-to-house night arrests and searches can be turned into a very dangerous proposition for those carrying them out by a well-organized system of wall-tapping or some other means of communication which would rapidly spread the alert to a whole house, a whole street or a whole district. The chances of success for such operations could be further reduced by shooting at the driver of every suspect vehicle. Possession of adequate weapons and control of certain positions could interfere with large-scale arrests and deportations if any vehicle not showing its load is straightway considered to be used for a counter-revolutionary purpose and dealt with accordingly.

Of great effectiveness would be the boycott, not only of government-con-

trolled newspapers, but also of government broadcasts, even to the point of smashing every wireless set as soon as the main broadcasting stations are known to be in enemy hands. The government would thus be deprived of its main means of sapping the morale of the rebels by slander, false news, promises and threats. Everything is to be gained by information and suggested tactics in the revolutionary camp being made entirely dependent on direct contacts between different localities and groups. This policy recommends itself, moreover, for the blow it deals to one of the most dangerous forms of centralization and for the anarchist bias it gives to the shaping of revolutionary organizations.

From the point of view of physical victory or defeat, the one single factor which destroyed most advantages and jeopardized most of the conquests achieved in the October rising is to have thought the Russian communists capable

of good-faith. The responsibility for it falls mainly on Mr. Nagy. There was a moment when the Hungarian air force was ready to operate against Russian troops, and when the part of the country nearest the Austrian frontier was in insurgent hands. While the Nagy government negotiated, Russian military forces surrounded the airfields and were deployed along the Austrian frontier. Only if the Austrian frontier had been kept open, would there have been a possibility of help coming from the outside.

This I am prompted to say in answer to C.H.'s question in *FREEDOM* of Dec. 8th: "What could we do?" Anarchists here cannot be expected to help the Hungarians when they are so weak that they can hardly manage to help themselves. Only by promoting anarchist aspirations in the country where we live can we hope to be able to help them in other countries. All we can do now is to hope and despair with the Hungarian people at every new turn of the struggle; it is to have faith in them and in their struggle; it is to learn and to be inspired by their example.

G.B.

## BOOKS

### SEGREGATION

ROBERT PENN WARREN, author of *Segregation\** (also author of a number of novels including *All The King's Men* which is a study in the corruption of power) was born in Kentucky and began his education in the South. He has since taught at several Southern Universities, and was one of the founders and editors of *The Southern Review*—"a distinguished literary magazine". He has therefore some qualifications for studying the emotional basis of the many arguments put forward by the segregationists in defence of their attitudes towards the Negro.

Mr. Warren's book is the result of conversations had with Southerners—black and white, integrationists and segregationists, during a revisit to the Southern States, notably those with the strongest racial policies. His Southern origins made him less suspect than a traveller from the East, and generally views were expressed naturally without the stultifying awareness of being prodded by antagonistic forces.

Mr. Warren is opposed to segregation. But he is a gentle investigator and this short book sums up most of the attitudes which go to make up the individual convictions of the racist, such as; the negro is naturally mentally inferior because of the difference in brain structure; the negro, if allowed to mix freely will ruin the cultural heritage of the white man; the negro has no moral sense—he beats his wife; the negro is naturally slovenly. The conversations recorded in this book are apparently free from many of the hysterical abuses one reads about in the press, but the convictions are just as deep rooted for all that.

There is the view of the cultured man from Mississippi who is kind to the negroes working on his plantation:

"I don't hate Negroes, I never had a minute's trouble with one in my life . . . (but) I have a deep contempt for the Negro race as it exists here."

And a lady from Kentucky expresses her conflict:

"I think it is a moral question, and I suffer, but I can't feel the same way about a Negro as a white person.

It's been born in me, but I pray I'll change."

The bible is often used to ease the conscience of Christians. For example a Baptist minister quotes from Acts 17 in defence of segregation.

"It is simple," he says, "It is a matter of God's will and revelation." He quotes from the passage usually used by integrationists but claims that it is the end of the verse which counts.

. . . And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointment, and the bounds of their habitation.

As an eminent Christian once said if one accepted what was written in the bible to the letter one would be thoroughly confused by the contradictions.

It is not surprising that the white man in the lower social grades is the one who is the most violent in his opposition to Negro equality and least amenable to reason. The point was made by one such white man:

"The Red-neck," he says, "that's what you call him around here. I'm one of them myself, just red-neck that got educated. Those fellows are the ones who will feel the rub. He is the one on the underside of the plank with nothing between him and the bare black ground. He's got to have something to give him pride. Just to be better than something."

Generally one gets the impression that a change is inevitable but that it will take years. In the meantime the silent acceptance and despair of many Negroes is sad. But the wheel of integration has started to spin, slowly but surely, and not all negroes or White integrationists are passively accepting the rule of prejudice.

Mr. Warren sums up the problem in terms which anarchists will understand and sympathise. The problem of the white man is not to learn to live with the Negro but to learn to live with himself. You cannot live with yourself when you are humiliating the man next to you.

M.

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## DOLLAR IMPERIALISM

Continued from p. 1

the evidence leads one to conclude that the mass of the people will continue to be poor for, whatever one may be led to believe by outward appearances, Latin America is the United States' colonial empire. Not as in the bad old days of the British Empire in which the colonies were physically occupied, a policy which had a growing number of disadvantages, as Britain has learned to her cost the hard way (and as it would seem Russia is also slowly appreciating in her Empire). No, American imperialism is more practical without being any less effective in producing the results. Their pioneers of Empire are business men and bankers, not missionaries and soldiers trying to mix business with vocation!

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THE United States has three main interests in Latin America (we shall deal with her economic colonisation of Canada separately). In that continent she has (1) an almost unlimited field for capital investment as well as an outlet for the employment of American technical personnel and specialised equipment (made in U.S.A.); (2) as a consequence a source of cheap raw materials and commodities which she either does not produce herself or of which her own production is insufficient; (3) a growing market for her ever-increasing productivity.

The *New York Times* in an editorial comment on its Finance-Trade Review declares:

The economic as well as strategic fate of the United States is tied inexorably to Latin America and Canada. Anyone doubting that statement need only read the articles printed in to-day's special financial and trade issue on the Western Hemisphere. In statistical terms and in the sources of raw materials without which we cannot carry on, Latin America and Canada are the two most important regions of the world to us.

On our part, we are also much the most important region to them. They had a prosperous 1956 and have good hopes for 1957, but this was literally a reflection of the booming prosperity in the United States. Because of the demands of our industry and public, the oil and coffee of Latin America, the iron, uranium and aluminium of Canada (just to mention some highlights) found ready and profitable markets. And because this meant dollars to be spent, our exports in the hemisphere were correspondingly high.

To judge by the editorial it all sounds a very friendly arrangement, of giving and taking all round. Where does the accusation of imperialism, albeit dollar imperialism, come in one may be asked. We will let the dollars speak.

On the basis of statistics for the first half of 1956 it appeared likely that Latin America's exports to the United States would reach a peak of \$8,000 million (£2,750 million), and that the value of U.S. exports to Latin America would be of approximately the same magnitude, that is between 20 and 25 per cent. of the over-all United States exports. This constitutes in turn about 32 per cent. of Latin America's total world imports. Now while it is true that the loss of Latin American markets would have serious repercussions in the United States it is obvious that the country's economy as a whole would not suffer in the way it would in Latin America if there were a marked fall in U.S. markets or a world price slump in certain raw materials. That is to say that United States economy is essentially based on a huge home market; that of Latin America, developed as it has been by foreign capital, is based in supplying the needs of world- and not internal-markets. The indus-

trialisational and development of Latin America by foreign capital has been made with an eye to satisfying present world demand; the markets are booming but there is no guarantee that demand will not decrease in years to come or that prices will not fluctuate sharply in the next five or ten years. For those countries a slump in world prices and demand spells widespread hunger and misery.

We do not know the full extent of dollar colonisation of Latin America. But mid-1956 figures for private investments of United States capital were nearly \$9,000 million (£3,200 million)—that is it had almost doubled since the end of the war, and investment profits for 1956 were expected to reach \$1,000 million (£350 million).

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UNITED STATES investment in Canada makes even these impressive figures look modest. It has been running at the rate of nearly \$1,000 million (£350m.) per annum for the past ten years.

Some Canadians viewed their country's growing dependence on the United States with concern. It is almost certain to be an important issue in the national election next summer. There are several reasons for apprehension over the size of the United States stake in Canada.

For one thing many Canadians fear that they are handing over control of too much of their national resources and industry to foreign hands. They complain that they are being milked of their natural wealth by foreign interests instead of developing their own secondary industries for processing and fabricating it.

One economist estimated that Canada was "exporting" 2,000,000 industrial jobs.

Last year Canada's trade deficit with the United States was more than \$1,000 million. Clearly the development of Canada which is proceeding at a typically American pace (last year's \$8,000 million [£2,850 million] capital investment programme was completed all but for about \$500 million) is of great interest to American industry which is developing so fast that production is outstripping demand. Canada is a vast and still largely undeveloped country which can well absorb much of American heavy industry's output. For instance work has started on a pipeline 2,250 miles long which is to carry natural gas from the rich fields in Alberta to the industrial centres in the East. The contract worth \$350 million is being carried out by Trans Canada Pipeline Ltd. Not only is this company 80 per cent. controlled by American capital, but the steel pipes are being manufactured in the United States. Thus it would seem that the United States has many fingers in the Canadian pie, and with the current bank rate at nearly 9 per cent. one can imagine that American and other foreign capital in Canada is reaping handsome profits.

But how long can all this go on for? American investment in the world may be a cure for American inflationary trends, but it creates or encourages inflation in those countries which pay tribute to the American dollar. In spite of the trade boom in Latin America and Canada, the growth of new cities and buildings that "appear to emerge overnight", Latin America—and the rest of the world for that matter—is fighting with inflation. Let us quote some of the headlines from this *New York Times* supplement: "Columbia strives to Right Economy"; "Ottawa Uneasy over Inflation"; "Inflation Clouds Brazilian Gains"; "Uruguay Strives to Stabilize Peso"; "Bolivia Banking on Oil Prospects"; "Costa Rica pins hopes on Coffee".

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IS mankind as a whole better-off as a result of industrialisation run riot? We are not even concerned here with the moral aspects, human happiness, social justice, civil liberties, but simply with the question of whether the standard of living of humanity has increased in proportion to the vast industrial effort, the mining and the building that has taken place in the past five years to

transform the world's skyline. The answer is a simple one requiring no statistics about oil production or the increased industrialisation of Patagonia. It is NO since industrialisation has advanced at the expense of man's basic need which is food! The exodus from the land is not only to be found in oil-drunk Venezuela which at the moment can turn its back in the land because oil is a hard currency throughout the world, but even in countries such as India capital is forthcoming for large steel plants and power stations while large areas of land are being allowed to go out of cultivation.

As the United Nations Food & Agriculture Organisation pointed out in 1955: where the needs were greatest, such as in "Far Eastern and some Latin American countries," "consumption still remains below the very inadequate pre-war levels".

The growth of industrialisation has undoubtedly improved the lot of many people in a material sense, through better housing, sanitation and communications. But industrialisation principally benefits those countries and those sections of the community whose conditions were

already comfortable or perhaps too comfortable.

The car industry which seems to be a kind of world industrial barometer clearly illustrates the law of capitalism that unto those who have more shall be given. In a "Manchester Guardian Survey of the Motor Industry" (Oct. 17, 1956) it is shown that whereas the car-to-human population for the whole world increased from 1 to 56 people in 1947 to 1 to 37 in 1954, the proportion for the United States increased from 1-5 in 1947 to 1-3 in 1954, in Sweden from 1-44 to 1-14, Switzerland 1-52 to 1-20, Belgium 1-65 to 1-21, Britain 1-24 to 1-16. Obviously most of the improvement in the world ratio could be accounted for simply by the improved ratio of the United States and W. Europe! This is further confirmed by the Sales Director of Vauxhall Motors who quotes figures to show that so far as world car exports are concerned

"It is the European car market that has grown most both in volume and proportion of total shipments."

Just as with cars so with raw materials, manufactured goods and food that are produced in the world.

We see no way out through the manipulation of the capitalist system. To remove the profit from capitalism is to destroy its *raison d'être*. Yet it is the profit motive which prevents a reasonable system of production and an equitable method of distribution. This we believe emerges clearly from the important document issued by the *New York Times* which we have attempted to examine. But this august journal can only see that:

"By and large the picture is a good one. Great and healthy forces are in motion, such as industrialization in all Latin-American countries, a superb fiscal situation in Canada, heavy and continuing American investments all over the hemisphere. This is not an easy period, economically or politically, anywhere in the world. The Western Hemisphere has much to be thankful for and at least as much cause to expect a Happy New Year as any region in the world."

To our minds the picture is a fake, the skyline, so far as the workers are concerned, is a mirage, and the "forces" [that] are in motion" far from being "great and healthy" are the forces which, if let loose for another twenty years, will leave behind them a trail of gigantic industrial "dust bowls".

## THROUGH THE RUSSIAN PRESS ZHUKOV'S FEARS

SOMETHING is being covered up by the Kremlin's rulers, we always believe, when more attention than usual is devoted in their press to the satellites or annexed countries of the Soviet Empire.

Estonia is the small land over against her ethnic neighbour Finland which lies at the eastern end of the Baltic. Her southern neighbours are Latvia and Lithuania. Collectively the inhabitants are called Balts by all the imperialists. Thrifty and industrious, they are first-class workers and craftsmen such as are mainly met with among the people of the smaller nations.

Their languages are remote to the Westerner, though of the greatest interest to philologists and other scholars. Their literature, folk art, and dances are beautiful in their own right. Indeed, they are, as it were, a kind of Cymric group with a similar pride in their non-industrial culture. Something of the wealth of this true culture was displayed to what we may now loosely call the Moscow public at a ten days' Estonian arts festival which was opened on 14 December last.

### Ambassadors of the Arts

Among the important Russian citizens who gathered at the Annexe of the State Academic Grand Theatre to greet the Estonians with bouquets and warm speeches of welcome were the famous Soviet-titled artists Yu. Shaporin, A. Melik-Pashayev, V. Firsova, and N. Timofeyeva, as well as the chief producer of the Bolshoi, B. A. Pokrovsky.

We quote *Pravda* (305/14013): "We are overjoyed," he said, "to think that all here present share our deep feelings of sincere love for our sister nation of Estonia. During this festival there will be demonstrated with particular intensity that friendship which binds the peoples of the Soviet Union into a single socialist family. We wish you, our dear friends, every success in your work as artists."

No doubt the message has been furnished by the Party. The reporter added that: "It was long ere the applause died away that greeted the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and honoured these ambassadors of the Estonian people."

### "Fires of Vengeance"

The festival opened with an opera by Eugen Kapp. It is built round the story of the struggle for freedom against the German knights who enslaved the Baltic lands over six hundred years ago. The central episode is the nation's revolt on the night of St. George's day, 1343. The last lines of the opera close with the solemn oath that "not one of us will ever betray the freedom of the people!"

The imperial box was occupied by the new collective leadership. But nary an eyelid batted they as the call for freedom went out from across the footlights. Their minds were probably fixed on how they might best secure freedom of action for themselves in Hungary where a whole colonial people had dared to revolt against them of all people, the saviours of mankind! Freedom as a word means nothing to them, either one

way or the other. But it is a wonderful propaganda slogan which they are constantly using to enslave free peoples wherever they can do so, either by sheer weight of numbers as in Estonia, by the use of tanks and Kadar's quislings as in Budapest, or by bartering tanks and guns against the cotton crop for years ahead as in Egypt.

### Systematic Genocide

While quite recently *The Daily Worker* hailed the Soviet achievement represented by the abolition of the direction of labour under the Soviet as a great gain for the Russian toilers who are already so much better off in every way than the poor, down-trodden proletarians of England, we find that young Estonians are being directed to "permanent jobs" in Siberia and the Donbass area. Knowing how obsessed Khrushchev is with canal digging—as was also his late master Stalin—the latter destination must be in connexion with the proposed plan for linking the Donets River with the Greater Don in the huge coal-producing area of the south-eastern Ukraine.

In the matter of less than a generation the Soviet could completely liquidate the three small nations concerned by thus scattering their nationals over the vast spaces of Asiatic Russia.

The talk of permanent work for these deportees is merely a smoke screen. It implies that there is a superfluity of labour in the Baltic, whereas the exact opposite is true. Indeed, recently workers from the Ukraine have been brought into Tallin to ease a local shortage of labour.

### Making Their Mouths Water

To soothe the conscience of the Moscow bourgeoisie and the intellectuals of the artistic world there may shortly be a Latvian arts festival. Actors and actresses from all the State theatres will be there to greet the Latvian folk-ambassadors most effusively on behalf of the Kremlin. Before then it will have been Latvia's turn to watch her young men being directed to permanent jobs in the very heartland of the Empire.

By his new editor I. Ivert has been sent to Riga, capital of Latvia, to do a write-up of that city. The interestingly written article in the German style of journalism was given two front-page columns in *Pravda* (359/14022).

His description of Riga shows it to be more European even than Leningrad, though Riga is much the smaller city. It is the dream of the spouse of the Soviet bureaucrat in high standing, one of the rulers of the masses.

Riga's central market is one of the largest in Europe, occupying, as it does, an area of approximately 22,000 square feet. Below ground there are chilling rooms for storing produce in perfect freshness. Daily some few tons of meat is brought to market, many tons of vegetables, sack on sack of potatoes, and fruits in season. Ukrainians and White Russians bring apples and onions, Moldavians grapes, Georgians citrus fruits.

In the matter of housing Riga has always been reasonably well off: tall, well-built tenements in the city itself, semi-detached houses in the suburbs.

During 1956, 2,000 houses of this type were built, involving the laying of 50 new streets.

The wives of the new Soviet middle classes would be enchanted to live permanently in what is practically a European city with all conveniences; nannies for their babies, German-speaking governesses for Bonik and Voludushka, servants for themselves.

And what a thrill to walk along the granite-quayed harbour to see the ships set out to sea, to watch the great diesel-driven *Archangel* taking cargo on board and to dream perhaps of a trip away from the workers' fatherland some day when hubby lands that Minindel or F.O. post. Why, it was almost like living abroad already as one heard the Latvian dockers loading the vessel. Now they were shouting "Wirah! (Up!)" and now "Majnah! (Down!)"

This spring the same *Aarhangelsk* leaves for distant Burma, bearing Latvian cement for Rangoon—though there is already a glut of Soviet-traded cement in that Eastern port.

Of course the journalist had to bow the knee to the Party's economists by describing the Rigas-Audums silk-spinning mills. They spin fabrics that shimmer with all the colours of the rainbow, wonderful textures worthy to grace the bodies of all the Furtsovas of the capital at a Kremlin reception. Talk about Fordism in industry: why, where 63 teams used to work the seven-hour shift 48 teams are now the rule. The mills have expanded their output tremendously under Soviet control. "It suffices to say that at the present time ten days' production is equal to that for the whole of 1946." What the Latvian worker thinks of it all we do not know.

### Jews of Lithuania

Jews in Lithuania, the English press reports, are said to be in fear of these deportations which have already taken place in Estonia and many are applying for Polish citizenship as the best immediate insurance against Communist inhumanity.

### What of Zhukov?

Oh, his dream is of a belt of Great Russian populations from the Gulf of Finland to the Black Sea. If the Balts with their European ideas (and Europe as an idea has its own magic) could be carried off completely to inside the empty spaces of Siberia he'd rest o' nights. From an area almost exactly the same size as Yorkshire he has already deported every single Crimean Tartar and Qarait to somewhere round Kiev. With the experience provided by Stalin's operation "elimination of the kulaks as a class" it should not be a physical impossibility to transfer the Baltic peoples from their ancient homelands within a single generation. From far-off Kenya, too, certain indications of how it can be done are provided by the "enivillagement" of the Kikuyu and other East African tribes. Thus the experience of one imperialism helps the other, even if a rival.

Zhukov is extremely sensitive concerning his western defence, and defence is his business. . . . Hence our title.



## Can Stalinist Tyranny Be Re-imposed

## THE RESURRECTION

**TOLSTOY'S** The Resurrection is regarded as an outstanding work in a great period in Russian literature. The resurrection of Stalin will undoubtedly be regarded as an equally outstanding achievement in the present rich period in Russian politics.

The Soviet Communist party leader, Nikita Khrushchev, told guests at a New Year reception in the Kremlin that all the Soviet leaders were "Stalinists" when it came to "fighting the imperialists," according to diplomatic sources in Moscow. These sources said that Khrushchev was loudly applauded by the guests, numbering several hundred, when he praised Stalin as a "great fighter against imperialists" and a "great Marxist" in proposing a New Year's toast.

Diplomatic sources quoted Khrushchev as saying that "I grew up under Stalin" and that the present Soviet leaders must share responsibility for Stalin's mistakes because they had been associated with him. He went on: "Of course he had his shortcomings, but he fought against our class enemies. I am proud we worked together in this great cause."

There are two immediate causes for these remarks by Khrushchev. First the disastrous results which the de-Stalinisation line is having in the satellites, secondly, Tito's recent disclosures of divisions of opinion inside the Kremlin between 'Stalinists' (thought to be led by Molotov,

Malenkov and Suslov) and the Khrushchev-Bulganin faction.

After Khrushchev's toast, others were proposed by Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, and Bulganin. These toasts, together with Khrushchev's emphasis on the present Soviet leaders' close association with Stalin and their willingness to accept their share of responsibility for Stalin's "mistakes" were regarded as an attempt to scotch allegations made by Tito and others that these leaders were divided into "Stalinists" and "anti-Stalinists". It was the first time that any Soviet leader had publicly admitted any responsibility for Stalin's "mistakes", which were so severely condemned by Khrushchev himself at the party congress in February; but the difference of emphasis in Khrushchev's position then and now was considered here to be strikingly significant.

## Price of De-Stalinisation

Tito's 'disclosure' came at the height of the Hungarian revolt and was undoubtedly very much resented in the Kremlin, the more so the nearer to the truth it was. But his knowledge of the differences of opinion (to put it no higher) did not stem from anything to do with Hungary, but from the top-level talks he had with Khrushchev and others at Yalta in October, when it was made clear that not all the Russian leaders were keen on the new 'friends-with-Tito' line.

It all, of course, comes from the

renunciation of Stalin's policies, as does the present revolutionary upsurge in the satellites. But for de-Stalinisation to become acceptable to the stubborn Stalinists in the Kremlin (or King Street for that matter) it had to pay off. For them, no more than for Khrushchev himself, it was not a matter of the principles of liberty, but of undoing Stalin's errors without undoing Stalin's empire.

But that empire has begun to undo itself. As we published on Oct. 20, just before the Hungarian uprising, against the economic and propaganda advantages of de-Stalinisation 'must be balanced the fear of those who have held the reins through the years that once you start allowing people more liberty you don't know where it might end up. The governors' fear of the people, in fact.'

That fear has been amply justified. It is small wonder, as Khrushchev looks upon the havoc that his policy has unleashed, that he is preferring more and more to look instead upon the wine while it is red.

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!  
WEEK I

Deficit on Freedom £20  
Contributions received £5  
DEFICIT £15

January 1 to January 3

Nottingham: K.N. 5/-; London: L.C.W. £1;  
Blackburn: P.J.H. £1; Letchworth: L.A.H. £1;  
London: D.S.M. 2/6; Falmouth: R.W. 2/4;  
Exmouth: A.B.H. 10/-; Merriott: Anon. 14/-;  
Glasgow: S.M. 5/-; London: J.O. 3/6;  
London: D.R.\* 10/-.

1957 TOTAL TO DATE ... £5 12 4

GIFTS OF BOOKS: London: K.M.; Anon.

American Policy Continued  
from p. 1

vasion, and the entertaining development which found Russia and America almost in agreement at the United Nations, we come to the real battle for the Middle East—a battle which will be fought in the usual manner with aid—economic and military, and with propaganda. Once more we can see that so far as the two principle protagonists are concerned it is not primarily a battle for economic interests—for oil. Neither country needs the oil to support its economy, Europe needs it but has not the power diplomatically or militarily to back up a claim to it.

Why are America and Russia prepared to go to such lengths to ensure their spheres of influence in the area? Eisenhower has made no bones about his government's reason; it is to prevent Russia from securing undue influence over the Arab states—there is no reason to believe that the Kremlin has anything but the same motive, in reverse. Both countries have managed quite well in the past without particularly close ties with the Middle East. But for fear that the other one will fill the "vacuum" both states are now prepared to devote considerable quantities of financial and material aid to the promotion of goodwill and support in the area.

And so the proposition is in essence quite simple: America is devoted to the principle of the containment of Russia, and Russia is dedicated to the principle of not being encircled by her only effective rival for world domination. Both states have such vast resources as to make almost any action towards this end possible. Both states are prepared to rationalize any such action as being necessary for the defence of their own state. Both states have as their ultimate aim the destruction of the other by any means short of their own simultaneous destruction.

This brings us to the assertion which is often made, that the existence of nuclear weapons is the most effective force for world peace. Depressing as this proposition may be it seems to be almost undeniably true. Since there is no guarantee that a head-on collision between two major states will not bring forth a harvest of completely devastating hydrogen bombs, probably over

almost the entire face of the world, the risk of open and absolute war appears to be too great for both sides. Even the unimaginative politicians can see that a war of this kind could wipe out the population of the world, and certainly the civilization of the world, into thin air.

There remains the prospect of some stupid or over-enthusiastic general, or perhaps a politician of lower than average mental faculties ordering the use of a "small atomic weapon" for a "limited objective". War psychology being what it is, one thing leads to another and the bombs get bigger and bigger. Sometimes it is mentioned that "gas warfare was not used in the last war, and therefore why should nuclear weapons be used in the next one?" This argument may have some validity in the earlier stages of a conflict, but if we picture the attitude of the side which is about to lose a war and still has its hydrogen bombs as yet unused; the bombs might alter the final result if put into action... So goes the justification. But there was never any prospect that poison gas could radically alter the course of the last war—still less would this be the case in another war.

And so we would appear to be in a position in which our future rests upon a knife-edge; upon the difference between the retention of generals and politicians on both sides with just sufficient foresight not to start something which cannot be controlled, and the other kind (like Field Marshal Montgomery) who would waste no time at all, but immediately throw all available explosive power at the enemy.

The only alternative to this uncomfortable position is quite radical, and is expressed in the only other basic ideology besides the one which exists to-day. In opposition to other ideologies, all of which are based upon the concept of group power of one kind or another, there is the philosophy of anarchism which entirely negates the principle of power, other than that power which the individual has over himself. What other final solution can there be for the unlimited continuance of civilized mankind in a state of freedom from fear?

## Khrushchev or Malenkov?

Will Khrushchev survive? It is difficult to tell, except that liquidations of top Bolsheviks seem to have fallen out of favour recently. (And the usefulness of Gomulka in Poland has shown the Kremlin the advantages of keeping your opponents alive—just in case). All we know is that Mr. K. is beginning to show up less at official gatherings, and Malenkov is beginning to re-emerge from the shadows.

At two receptions recently, Khrushchev's once inseparable buddy, Bulganin, showed up alone. At the arrival of a delegation from East Germany and at a reception at the Sudanese embassy, functions at which only a short time ago Mr. K. would have been sure to be present, he was conspicuous by his absence. He did, however, go to Budapest last week for talks with Hungarian, Czech, Bulgarian and Rumanian leaders—but so did Malenkov. And this is the first time he has shown up at this kind of meeting for a long, long time.

Following that meeting, Kadar's government, which had shown signs of making concessions to the revolution, has now tightened up again, saying categorically that there will be no free elections and that there is only one party—the Socialist Workers (Communist) Party.

"All those who plead for the resurrection of the Social Democratic Party are hostile elements, because they are trying to divide the working class."

## Will the People Take It?

If the meeting at Budapest is going to mean a toughening of Kremlin control over the satellites (thought to include formation of a new Cominform with Poland or Yugoslavia and intending to restrain their influence) it will probably bring with it a tougher attitude towards opposition inside Russia too.

People and Ideas Continued  
from p. 2

to trolleys, sanding the moulds and returning them to the machine. The soft or 'green' bricks are pushed on trolleys each holding about 400 into tunnel dryers. Each truck, as it is pushed in sends the next one stage further through the tunnel. "The trucks are so stiff, that's the trouble," said the pusher. In some works they go through mechanically. At Halstow the bricks are burned in a tunnel kiln. They are loaded on firebrick-lined cars, each carrying 6,000 bricks, which go through at the rate of six in 24 hours. The kiln holds 25 cars and the fire travels from one to another so that each time a car of dried bricks enters at one end, a car of burned and cooled ones emerges at the other. The burner works in 8-hour shifts feeding the burning trucks with washed coal through portholes in the kiln roof. "She's warming up nicely," he remarked, shovelling in a little fuel here and there. Years of experience and the feel of the kiln roof tell him just where it is needed.

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AT Otterham Works which is in transition from seasonal to continuous production, four-fifths of the bricks were handmade until the war. Some still are, for handmade bricks will always be wanted for the sake of their surface texture. The brickmaker works like a pastrycook, kneading his 'pug' like dough, rolling it in sand, cutting it with a two-handled slicer, and filling his moulds like cake tins. He makes 2,000 bricks a day on piecework, and in the days of seasonal working got a new pair of boots at the end of the season in September. His pool coupon lies at the back of the berth, ready for posting.

In seasonal working it took three months to dry the bricks, three months to burn and cool them, and another month to sort them. At Otterham the old method of drying in long rows or 'backs' in the open air with wooden covers and sidescreens, had just been given up. It needed too much time and labour (for constantly adjusting the covers to suit the weather). But they were still burning by the old method in clamps, consisting of a great stack of 1½ to 2 million bricks, surrounded by three courses of old bricks. When the huge clamp is built, by methods differing in different yards, a little pile of ashes at the bottom is ignited and this gradually sets alight the whole stack, burning for a couple of months. Walking on top of the clamp we could feel

the heat rising and looked down into its incandescent interior. When the clamp has cooled the bricks are graded for colour, strength and regularity of shape. As there is no control of the fire there is a high proportion of 'roughs', but to the visitor the wonder is that it burns at all.

At the Funton works, which is the most fully mechanised in the stock brick industry, the washmill and washback are eliminated. The freshly dug earth is tipped in a storage shed with the chalk and ashes. An electric overhead grab crane fills bins from which rubber conveyor belts collect the materials in regulated quantities. They pass to a paddle mixer, through a mill and rollers which pulverise the pug and feed it into the machines. The soft bricks pass mechanically through a tunnel dryer and then on fork-lift trucks to a continuous kiln of twenty chambers (the fire travels from one to another), each holding 27,000 bricks. Fuel is fed through portholes mechanically with automatic control. These bricks are burned with greater uniformity and far less wastage than elsewhere. The plant can produce eleven million bricks a year and employs only 35 people.

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Thus in a small area we can see the same article produced at every technological level, and with a mixture of degrees of mechanisation at different stages of manufacture. The actual process of mechanisation is as everywhere, simply a matter of applying in sequence a few widely used devices—worm drives, cams, time-switches and thermostats and so on; and, to avoid continual re-handling, the introduction of conveyors, stillages and fork-lift trucks. The new methods greatly increase the speed of production and give a more uniform product, but are much less economical in fuel and power than the old. What really determines the degree of mechanisation that is adopted is the shortage of labour. The conditions in the industry are not very attractive and foreign workers are brought in because of the lack of local labour. The work itself is either completely repetitive or very highly skilled indeed. In fact nothing impressed me more about the brickworks than the contrast between the smooth-tongued salesmen plying us with sherry on their expense accounts and the quite old men who could burn a million bricks with a bucketful of ashes. C.W.

The Kremlin is clearly worried over the students' demonstrations, but it is not going to be easy to start rolling things back to the iron-fisted character of Stalin's régime. First move in that direction, however, must be another re-appraisal (how agonising this one will be!) on Stalin. Maybe the old dictator was right after all?

The frightened men in the Kremlin have realised that you can't have dictatorship by half-measures. They can dare to return to tyranny in full measure only by invoking the ghost of he who had the stature to impose it before. They must resurrect Stalin and seat him again at the right hand of the great god Marx.

There is, however, one different element present to-day. The people of the satellites and of Russia have smelt a little more freedom, they like it and they want more. They won't take kindly to the yoke again.

## MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

## LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

## LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at  
THE MALATESTA CLUB,  
32 Percy Street,  
Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

JAN. 13—Philip Sansom on  
HUNGARY

JAN. 20—Billy Strachan on  
THE CARRIBEAN

Questions, Discussion and Admission  
all free.

## OPEN AIR MEETINGS

## Weather Permitting

## HYDE PARK

Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

MANETTE STREET  
(Charing X Road)  
Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

## ★ Malatesta Club ★

SWARAJ HOUSE,  
32 PERCY STREET,  
TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.1.  
(Tel.: MUSEUM 7277).

THE Social held at the Malatesta Club just before Christmas was held to be a very successful and enjoyable evening. Through the admission charges and the raffling of books the FREEDOM deficit fund and the Club's own fund benefitted by £4 each.

While the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* Group (London) sent £5, and our Italian comrade V.T. donated £2, for the Press Fund.

Many of the guests expressed the hope that such evenings would be arranged more frequently, and it is possible that this will be done at least once a quarter, if not once a month.

Meanwhile all members are reminded that the Club is open for social purposes every Friday and Saturday evenings. Visitors are welcome and rocking 'n' rolling is not banned.

## ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.  
London Anarchist Group Meetings  
(see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m.  
BONAR THOMPSON Speaks.

Every Friday and Saturday:  
SOCIAL EVENINGS

## AFRICAN FORUM

Tuesday, January 29th, at 7.30 p.m.  
CANON COLLINS on  
SOUTH AFRICA & THE  
PROTECTORATES  
Followed by Social

## FREEDOM

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