

among the people was prevented We know—and the Poles have from reaching Hungarian proporgood reason to know also-the tions only because the Communist flimsy nature of Soviet promises, and

who show "weakness of character and irresponsible behaviour". heads of the other two parties joined with the Communists in the 'Front', condemned in a published declaration the 'disloyal tricks' used by some candidates against their competitors from allied parties on the same official list. "Reactionary diversions" and campaign oratory are cited as dangerous to national unity, defined as such diversions and oratory is too outspoken criticism of the former Stalinist régime!

controlled-by themselves! And Gomulka is worried lest too strong Last Saturday, Gomulka, and the attacks upon Stalinism should develop into attacks upon the existing régime.

mendation is that the parties have taken great care to place the ablest candidates at the top. An inspection of the lists has shown, however, that these "able" people are invariably prominent figures of the central leadership, and predominantly Communists! Gomulka's task is an unenviable one. Somehow he has to serve the Kremlin and keep the Polish people quiet too. Throughout every level of Polish society discussion and enquiry ferments as never before. Gomulka is between the Devil of Soviet power and the Deep Blue Sea of the people's power.

authorities were able to produce Gomulka in time and pop him in the saddle.

This on its own however is not sufficient for the Poles, and they are very carefully watching Mr. Gomulka to see that he does in fact produce what they want. So far he has managed to tread the uneasy path between independence from and friendship with his mighty Soviet neighbours.

Gomulka has concluded trade and military agreements with the Soviets, which have increased his prestige with the Polish people. Whereas before the unrest of last autumn millions of tons of Polish coal went eastwards every year, paid for at prices well under the market level, now Russia is to pay world prices for all goods she gets from Poland. While Gomulka recently signed an agreement with Zhukov and Shepilov controlling the movement of Soviet forces in Poland; that, although those forces must remain for their common defence, they shall be moved about the country only with Polish permission.

although Gomulka is to-day, because of his past persecution by the Stalinists, and his recent 'standing up to the Russians', something of a national hero, still those sections of the population who concern themselves with such matters are watching him very closely.

As a delegate from Cracow said at the Congress of Revolutionary Youth held in Warsaw last month:

"We ought to support Comrade Gomulka, but only so long as the party continues on the way towards genuine socialist democracy. If they stop we shall fight against them."

Now Gomulka is awaiting uneasily the results of this week's elections. For the first time a Communist government faces voters who have a choice—although it is a choice carefully limited, for all the candidates have to be nominated by the official 'National Front', and local co-ordinating commissions of the 'Front' throughout the country have been urged to make use of their legal right to strike from the list before January 17 all candidates

Communists everywhere want the criticism of Stalin to be carefully

In order to do his best to ensure that the Polish people vote the right way this weekend, Gomulka's declaration told them how to vote. It called upon the electorate in each constituency to choose their allotted deputies "from the top of the list" -e.g., if six seats have to be filled from a list of 10, to strike out the last four names. Alternatively, they can achieve the same effect by dropping their ballots into the box un-

The elections will solve nothingbut they might tell Gomulka which he has to fear most at the present.

Reffections on a Government Crisis 'Democracy' and Freedom

MR. MACMILLAN'S announcement of the composition of his Cabinet-a mere reshuffling of Eden's pack of knaves and jokers, with an industrial king thrown in (to help tip the "scales" a little more to the right?) as Minister of Power in the country, the F.B.I.)-clearly indicates that there has been no change of heart among the Tories. It even makes one believe that perhaps poor Sir Anthony was not after all levered out by his enemies in the Party and that he gave up simply because he had not stomach for the political and economic problems ahead. He may derive some consolation from the unusual privilege of reading his own obituary notices, though on the other hand he may find it odd that those very politicians and organs of the Press which were loudest in their condemnation of his conduct of affairs are now falling over one another in their praise of his selfless devotion to Queen and country. This we may be told is an example of British "fair play": of not hitting a man when he's down. This code of behaviour (which gives the British their false sense of superiority* over other nations who, in their turn, use such "codes" to justify their references to "perfidious Albion" and British "hypocrisy") contributes to the political impotence of the British public. Politics is a game-like cricket-with rules

watches, heckles and disagrees with decisions but which recognises the supreme authority of the umpire (the Speaker). They are made to believe that they have selected the teams, have made the rules and have selected the umpires. They are under (and perhaps also of the real Power the delusion that this is democracy! Let us examine a few aspects of this. "democracy" as revealed by the events of the past ten days.

action, in which public disapproval can be more than vocal. (The Suez venture was too short lived for the principals of democracy to be put to the test. It cannot, nevertheless, be denied that the government disregarded the very considerable body of opposition to its policies in the country as a whole in so far as that resistance was vocal and did not extend to a refusal by the reservists to answer the call-up or by widespread strikes among dockers and other transport workers. On the other hand it paid very serious attention to Russia's threats of "volunteers", and America's threat of economic and other reprisals.) Furthermore the government has at its disposal a whole apparatus of servants of the State who owe allegiance to the government, and on whom they also depend for their wages at the end of the week, to implement its policies administratively, as well as to see that they are carried out in the country and overseas. It is argued by parliamentarians that without money a government can do nothing and that the government cannot spend money without the authority of Parliament. Apart from the myth of the power of parliament in a democracy, with which we shall deal later, the importance of this safeguard is surely exposed by the fact that the bill, which the people of this country will have to foot, as a result of, for instance, the Eden government's abortive invasion of Egypt, has still to be drawn up. It was certainly not sanctioned either by parliament or by the people since they were not even told of this extra-ordinary expenditure until it had already been incurred. But what is equally important: there is no way for the people of this

IN THE DEEP SOUTH NEGROES' SELF-DISCIPLINE

ONLY time will show whether the passive resistance of the Southern Negro is proof against the continual violence of the Whites, but their astonishing self-discipline is already much in evidence and their dignity increases as the moral position of the white racist diminishes. The Negroes had a long time to learn the art of self-control, and so far they have generally avoided being drawn into violent resistance against the abuses of the whites.

The Supreme Court edict ordering the desegregation of all bus transport which followed the ruling on schools brought an end to the successful Negro boycott of buses carried on for almost a year. Early reports from some of the Southern States suggested that Negroes were occupying seats usually reserved for white passengers with little reaction from the white travellers. Perhaps this would have continued with the white population reluctantly accepting the inevitable if the rabblerousing leaders of the anti-Negro organisations had been silenced. But how can they be silenced except by legal means, an unlikely eventuality in the South? And even assuming this were possible what legal steps can be taken to persuade a man how wrong he is if he is already firmly convinced emotionally that the Negro is a menace to the white race and someone to be feared. So the process of accepting the Negro on a basis of equality will take longer. Encouraged by the convictions of the Rev. Martin Luther King: "If cursed, do not curse back. If pushed do not push back. If struck do not strike back but show love and goodwill at all times"-the Negroes are finding that ther enemies are even more infuriated by this passive approach. Fresh outbursts of violence against Negro churches and homes have taken place and six Negro ministers in Atlanta have been arrested for defying Georgia's segregation laws, which are in fact,

invalidated under the new Federal Law.

Last week a blow was directed at the methods adopted by the State of Virgina to keep the schools segregated when Judge Walter Hoffman in Norfolk, Virginia, condemned the tactic whereby bright pupils would be assigned to one sort of school and backward pupils to another. Since the quality of education for Negro children is below that of white children it is obvious that certain schools will be kept practically white if this method continues. It was after this statement by Judge Hoffman that the local laws were invoked leading to the arrest of the six Negro ministers.

In the meantime Luther King has put Eisenhower in a spot by publicly asking him to use "the weight of your office and point out to the people of the South the moral nature of the problem". It has also been suggested that Vice-President Nixon tour the South on behalf of the President "as he had done on behalf of the Hungarian rebels". Moral necessity is likely to carry less weight with Eisenhower and his administration than political expediency. It is easy to make a few vague references to civil liberties in the Senate, but few politicians (if any) would be willing to run the risk of losing the support of the white South by rashly carrying moral arguments into the heart of the South.

THE Eden government's policy in

Egypt was put into effect without prior consultation of the United States, which fact has deeply shocked the liberal organs of opinion in this country. What shocked them much less was that neither Parliament nor the country were previously informed of the intended action, but only of the accomplished fact! What is not sufficiently realised in the country is that the government is the Executive with powers to make policy, and not the mouthpiece either of Parliament or of public opinion. The power of public opinion exists only to the extent to which the public is prepared to disobey, or refuses to be the instrument of, the government's policy. But it can only exert such power where government policy requires the direct participation of the public for its implementation. But in foreign policy, for instance, where the public is only at the receiving end of and two teams (government and Opgovernment decisions, treaties or position), a paying public that deals, there is no way, short of direct *Like so many sayings which are served to control their thought processes, that is of imposing the will of a political élite-Tory or Socialist makes no difference-through a monopoly of the channels of communication and control over the forces of repression made respectable by the "moral" force of Law. Eden is not "down" in the same sense that the people are down. In the struggle for power either his health could not stand up to the pace of present day affairs or his backers have withdrawn their support with the result that the limelight has been turned onto another of his ilk. That we should shed crocodile tears because he no longer has the power to run our lives is sheer masochism! But one can well understand what lies behind the eulogies of press and politicians. It is a kind of loyalty to their profession. To strip a politician down to his birthday suit is to expose the frailty of the whole political machine. The public must not despise the politician, even if he is only a "has been" such as Eden, for after all they will still have to be "sold" a Macmillan or even a Gaitskell or Bevan!

There will be plenty of support from reactionary sources for Hungary because the Hungarian people are fighting against these "Goddam Reds" whom the Southerners are convinced would grant equal rights to the Negro race.

Neither President Eisenhower nor Vice-President Nixon will be touring the South for a long time in order to gain support for the elementary rights of United States citizensbecause-they happen to have dark faces.

up with out mother's milk, we are expected to assimilate them without question. Yet what could be more superficial than to hold the view that you don't hit a man when he's down? Surely what is more important is not to knock him down, for what is the point of hitting him when he is down? Ah! but if you don't knock him down he will knock you down. Assuming this to be true then once you have knocked him down you must prevent him from getting up or he may knock you down. How do you keep him down if not by "hitting" him every time he tries to get up? There may be a subtle distinction here between hitting a man when he's down and only hitting him when he tries to get up, but to our minds the fundamental problem is the same; that no man should be up because other men are down; that no man should have power over other men. There are two aspects of this power: one is materialthat one section of the community is in a position to grant or withhold, or deny to the individual, his right to the necessities of life. The other is spiritual and material-that of disposing of the very lives of the people as well as of seeking

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 2

Deficit on Freedom		£40
Contributions	received	£18
DEFICIT	·	£22

January 4 to January 10 Shepton Mallet: E.H.S. 5/6; Sheffield: G.P.* 5/-: Detroit: J.C. 14/-: Warrington: J.H. £1: Oxford: Anon* 5/-: Sheffield: H.W. 2/-: London: Comrades of F.A.S. £5: London: J.S.* 3/-; London: A.S. 1/9; London: Anon. 2/9; Copenhagen: Anon. 10/4; London: Social: Malatesta Club £4. Total

12 9 4 5 12 4 Previously acknowledged 1957 TOTAL TO DATE ... EIS I S Ber Continued on p. 3

PEOPLE AND IDEAS WILLIAM RICHARD LETHABY

"Get into the habit of seeing things as they are, with the dirt, strewn paper, and orange peel thrown in; don't acquiesce, don't be content . . . It is the deadness of our town life which produces the deadness of our architecture: the unutterable deadness which has come over English cities and villages in the last forty years, the stagnation and daily dying of the towns up and down the country . . .

2

"For the earlier part of my life I was guieted by being told that ours was the richest country in the world, until I woke up to know that what I meant by riches was learning and beauty, and music and art, coffee and omelettes; perhaps in the coming days of poverty we may get more of these."

-W. R. LETHABY.

revivalists in 1856, and in the same year Philip Webb, who a few years later built Morris's Red House at Bexley Heath, became Street's chief assistant, Neither of them stayed very long, Webb described Street as "a very able architect according to his lights", and on this Lethaby commented:

"The lights were the vain hopes of the Gothic revival, and later Webb decided to leave Street because he saw that modern mediaevalism was an open contradiction. He resolved to try whether it was not possible to make buildings of our own day pleasant without pretences of style".

Webb was followed in Street's office by Norman Shaw, another architect who sought to break away from Gothic revivalism, in the direction of his most famous building New Scotland Yard (which Shaw's biographer describes as "full of suggestions of the mysterious processes of the police"). Lethaby, who was born on January 18th, 1857, at Barnstable where his father was a picture-frame maker, came to London in 1879 to work for Norman Shaw with whom he stayed for twelve years. There was a curious interplay of influence between Norman Shaw, Philip Webb and Lethaby, about which Sir Reginald Blomfield wrote: "Shaw had a very high opinion of Lethaby, but he was well aware that Lethaby, though very loyal, did not share his master's views on architecture. Somebody asked Shaw if Lethaby was his pupil. 'No,' Shaw replied, 'I am his.' The strange thing is that though Lethaby must have admired Shaw, I never heard him say so, and he reserved all his admiration for Philip Webb, who by the austere simplicity of his life, and the sincerity of his convictions, appeared to Lethaby to be the ideal of what an architect should be . . . The eight or nine buildings that Lethaby did on his own, though interesting in themselves, hardly account for the claim made by Mr. Noel Rooke that, "In the end Lethaby has had more influence on world architectural thought than any other Englishman before or since". This influence was due to his qualities as a teacher and thinker, and as one of the initiators of those organisations which have concerned themselves with the state of our physical surroundings. For years he was active in the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings which Morris and Webb had founded in

1877, and he was one of the group which started the Art Workers' Guild in 1883 and the Design in Industry Association in 1916. When the Central School of Arts and Crafts was founded in 1896 he was appointed principal, and he made it "a school which influenced and changed for the better, every school of art in this country except one, and had great influence abroad". He became in addition, Professor of Design at the Royal College of Art in 1901, when it was, in Lethaby's words, "the worst school in Europe". His methods, and the work done under his influence in architecture and furniture, were taken to Germany by Herman Muthesius where they spread, far more rapidly than in this country, in the movement towards Sachlichkeit, and in the Werkbund. His were the teaching methods and approach which

not taste", and in 1912 that "we have to aim at a standard of ordinary good quality; damp, cracked and leaky architecture must give way to houses as efficient as a bicycle". The remarkable thing about these utterances is their date, but looking round in 1957, you see that they have not lost their point.

He deeply loved English traditions and for years was Surveyor to Westminster Abbey which he looked after, he remarked, "like the family butler", yet at the same time, H. M. Fletcher said, "like all men of true originality, he was a rebel, a heretic". He was (like Philip Webb who described himself as a revolutionary socialist) a member of Morris's Socialist League. His socialism was rooted in his belief that "to live on the labour of others is a form of cannibalism". He had no illusions about politics. "Politicians seem to flourish on their worst qualities", he declared, "Governments did themselves in: their true aim should be to become unnecessary".

He was, as the epigrams recorded by his friends, and the collection of his lectures and articles, Form in Civilisation demonstrate, a brilliant and witty talker, and has been described as a "born leader" and "a figure of tremendous authority", and yet he was the most humble and self-effacing of men, who refused all honours, and when pressed for advice at the Central School (where his students gave him a bicycle which he rode for years), would say: "Well, if you do so and so, the results may perhaps be this or that; and if you do the opposite, either this other or that other. But what I think doesn't matter in the least. It's what you think that does".

FREEDOM

THIS lovable and life-enhancing personality has still, though it is twentysix years since he died, a great deal to teach us. In his own profession the 'modern movement' has arrived, though there are still plenty of architects who need to heed his warning, "Avoid the false smiles of the sham styles". A growing number of architects would accept his dictum that:

"We have indeed been betrayed by the mysterious word Architecture away from reality into a pretence about styles and orders and proportions and periods and conception and composition. If we had no other words than building we might have been living in sound, watertight, well-lighted dwellings . . . Architecture is human skill and feeling shown in the great necessary activity of building; it must be a living, progressive, structural art, always readjusting itself to changing conditions of time and place".

There is, however a growing danger that one or more of the conflicting schools of thought in architecture to-day will harden into a self-conscious style. Lethaby forsaw this too, when he said, "Modernism conceived as a style is only inverted archaeology, it will not be real unless it becomes unconscious". But it is as a propagandist for making our homes and our towns habitable that he speaks most urgently to us to-day. Here is his description of the English town: "I wonder whether it seems an extreme thing to say that we have partially lost the use of our eyes; if, however it were not so, I cannot think that we could endure the general disorder in our towns with the advertisement-plastered stations and paper-littered streets; the general dreariness, dullness, and nothing-to-bedoneness except to get away in a fast

WHEN the social effects of the industrial revolution began to be felt in this country, there arose a stream of thinkers, prophets and reformers, from Pugin and Ruskin, through William Morris and his disciples in the Arts and Crafts movement, down to Eric Gill, all of them in revolt against the false canons. of 'taste' in their day, against the degradation of labour, against the ugliness of the 19th century world. They began by seeking to improve some aspect of design and ended by trying to change society. In spite of his having been dismissed years ago as just another dreamer living in the middle ages, Morris's stature as artist, thinker and socialist continues to rise, and so does that of one of the first generation of his followers, W. R. Lethaby, whose centenary was celebrated this week.

The influence of Pugin and Ruskin upon architects in the middle of the last century was in some ways disastrous. It led to a generation to whom the Gothic spirit was a style, ruthlessly and inappropriately applied, rather than an attitude to building. It also set in motion the vogue for 'restoring' ancient buildings and ruining them in the process. Morris went as a pupil into the office of G. E. Street, one of the 'hard' school of Gothic

were used in the twenties by Walter Gropius at the Bauhaus. Belatedly they returned to England long after superior people had written off the Arts and Crafts movement with a sneer.

ETHABY'S character was evidently a very rare combination of qualities. No one in his generation knew more about Gothic architecture. (His researches into the organisation of mediaeval building laid the foundation for the recent work of Mr. John Harvey). But he was resolute in combatting architectural revivalism, insisting in a famous passage written in 1912:

"The modern way of building must be flexible and vigorous, even smart and hard. We must give up designing the broken-down picturesque which is part of the ideal of make-believe. The enemy is not science, but vulgarity, a pretence to beauty at second-hand. We have to awaken the civic ideal and to aim first at the obvious commonplaces of cleanliness, order, and neatness".

He was fascinated by the ritual and symbolism behind ancient architectural motifs and forms. (He wrote in 1892 a book called Architecture, Mysticism and Myth, and rewrote it years later as a series of articles called Architecture, Nature and Magic), but he did not demand mysticism or symbolism in modern building, declaring in 1893 that "new design must ever be founded on a strict consideration of the exact purpose to be fulfilled", in 1903 that, "hardness, facts, experiments-that should be architecture.

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Fact and Fantasy

"If one is as unfortunate as I have been, and becomes famous for things one has not done and words one has not uttered, one has to admit that legend is stronger than history, because history is truth which become false in the long run, and legend is falsehood which, in the long run, becomes truth."

-JEAN COCTEAU.

T SUPPOSE many FREEDOM readers must often have wondered if leaders and articles could not by some miracu-Ious means be transferred from the columns of FREEDOM to those of other

papers. We can imagine the reception such a leader as "The Democratic Illusion" might get: it probably would not be read at all. But put down in terms like S.F.'s fantasy of the same date "Through the 'A' in Anarchism" (Dec. 22nd, 1956), there is a chance of a message surviving in the mind of the reader already doubting the stuff he reads elsewhere as the truth. Such thoughts were in the back of my mind after hearing the radio play "The Man from Thermopylae" (Mon., Dec. 17th, 1956, 9.15 p.m., Home Service); if you want to criticise the accepted standard of values, it is safer either to resort to fantasy or revert to history. Here in the radio play the history was of the return of Pantites, a survivor from the battle of the Pass of Thermopylae when 300 Spartans were vainly pitched against great Persian odds. Pantites arrives home in the company of a stranger without illusions whom he befriends on the way, only to find that he is no longer a hero now that he is found to be alive. His uncle thinks in terms of what his fellow-officers will say at the club; his mother leaves the comment to father who knows best: "he was a good lad before he took to thinking"; his sister is chagrined when her brother cuts short her recital of the oration she has composed with "You talk of heroes, I talk of men". There are some cleverly devised passages used to point some of our present follies. The father of his wife's child, which has been conceived of course as a duty to the State, is able to pull strings to keep good athletes out of the Army in order to become Olympic Games heroes. And on his bad-egg-strewn way back to Thermoplyae and the fate ordained by the pressure of public opinion, he meets first a huckster who would make money by having him-such a crowdgatherer-sell souvenirs of the battle, and later a travelling showman who offers him a place in a sideshow together with his freaks of nature. "There is no crime that cannot be redeemed by publicity". The play begins as history but ends with a touch of the legendary: just as the Prince awakens his Princess, so Pantites by remaining true to himself and refusing to die in order to look after an abandoned child he comes across, is rewhile companion was Hermes, messenger of the Gods, in search of one good man and true. tion "Go now, for you are the hope of much fine writing worthy of attention in the event of a repeat broadcast. For plethora of either/or's with which we are grity and expediency.

through love Beauty wins the Beast, and warded with the knowledge that his erst-The Christian overtones of the perorathe world" should not blind us to the fact that this near-morality play has in the end, the choice of Pantites is the only one whose issue is clear-cut in the assailed. That choice is between inte-

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Freedom Called it "A Matter of Style" Mr. Burdick Replies

DEAR SIR,

In the October 6, 1956, issue of FREE-DOM there appears a review of a short story of mine called "She Knew Kropotkin". The story first appeared in the American magazine, The Reporter.

Only one section of what your reviewer wrote is accurate. When he states that I " . . . was given every assistance . . . by members of Freedom Press, he is understating the case. I was given most generous help and my recollection of all of the individuals that I met there was most pleasant. With many of you J disagreed politically, but the mood was one of friendliness and generosity. And that, alas, is the single objective statement which your reviewer makes.

It is always difficult to reduce a piece of fiction to reporting, but your reviewer. "C.W.", not only does a bad job, he does one that is flagrantly and destructively misleading. I cannot hope to overtake the damage that such a vicious review-has done, but I should like to remark upon the most obvious misinterpretations, First, the Miss Warren-Gorer of my story was not an anarchist. She was a right-wing, direct-action Leninist who had clearly abandoned anarchism. In fact, the whole crux of the story is that until her faith in anarchism was crushed, Miss Warren-Gorer was a rather likable and effective person. No reasonable person could have read the story and thought it an indictment or description of anarchism. I have my doubts about anarchism, but they are not reflected in this story. Secondly, my story was not a "pitiable rehash of the stuff spread around by agents-provocateurs of the French and Russian governments in the eighteen-nineties". It attempts to describe a contemporary type of revolutionary who, in the terrible grip of extreme ideology, will even exterminate his fellow man. Hungary and Poland have, in the time since the story was published, provided a dreadful and sad example that such revolutionaries still exist. And

harsh things said in the story about Kropotkin are said by a person with animus and I have imagined that any sensible reader would, for that reason, devalue them.

But your "C.W." does the power of my pen too much credit and demeans Kropotkin's reputation, Kropotkin's great and deserved reputation for gentleness, charity, and kindness and his enormous impact are recognized by people of all political views. I did not intend to diminish that reputation . . . if I had, I would not have been successful.

> Sincerely, EUGENE BURDICK.

Berkeley, Cal., Jan. 3.

Our Comment:

[What Mr. Burdick generously concedes in his second paragraph he wants

may be the stage for the creative writer, but we cannot help asking how such a writer, who admits that his contact with the "Liberty Library"-that is Freedom Press-and the group which manages it was so pleasant can in the name of art (or whatever writer's call their trade) use a series of pleasant memories as the background for a piece of sourness and unpleasantness such as he has concocted. Even assuming that no one in America would identify the setting of his piece as Freedom Bookshop, did it not occur to Mr. Burdick that there was a possibility that his short story might be read by members of the Freedom Press Group? And to our minds rather than the confused* arguments he uses to explain the real significance of his article we should have been much more interested to learn from him whether he considers the creative writer is morally justified in using his contacts with people he considers as friends for his material, particularly where, as in Burdick's case, he only uses them for his setting and then superimposes ideas which are an insult to everything they stand for. Probably he does. In which case he is no better than the worst hack journalist of the yellow Press and will eventually find himself with very few friends in the world. In his article Burdick was "ordered out" of the "Liberty Library" whereas in his letter he tells us that at the Freedom Bookshop he was given "most generous help". Now if he comes to London we somehow doubt whether he will call either at the "Liberty Library" or Freedom Bookshop, even though we assure him now that we wouldn't throw him out if he does call. Have you thought of those kind of problems, Mr. Burdick, in the carefree (so far as your friends feelings are concerned) pursuit of your career as a Book-of-the-Month writer? -EDITORS].

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of Style". thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the story is not an attack on the memory or reputation of Prince Kropotkin. The

to take away later by attempting to justify gross distortion with technical problems of short story writing. He even suggests that it is we who are responsible for "obvious misrepresentations"! Yet in his piece of "fiction" he tells his readers that he found himself wandering down "Red Lion Street" and "I came to a bookstore. On the window 'Liberty Library' was lettered in black paint ... The shop was run by a woman who knew Kropotkin. How disguised is this piece of fiction so far? In Red Lion Street, a real street, there is a bookstore -and only one bookstore-which is in fact Freedom Bookshop and is run by a woman who knew Kropotkin. Thus the only piece of "fiction" is that Mr. Burdick has called the shop the "Liberty Library". Not a very subtle piece of camouflage some would say-and in fact several indignant readers from all parts of the United States sent us copies of the Reporter containing Mr. Burdick's article. So it will be seen that if anybody was misleading it was Mr. Burdick and not C.W. in his reply in FREEDOM (Oct. 6) to which he gave the apt title "A Matter

For this is what our objection to Mr. Burdick's piece amounts to. The world *Confused because he uses the word revolutionary in its wrong context. The struggle at the top in Russia or the satellite countries is for power. It has nothing to do with revolution or revolutionaries.

CHARLES DAWSON.



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Democracy and Freedom

Continued from p.]

country to refuse to foot the bill since the money bags are in the hands of the government[†] and so long as it has a working majority it can spend what it likes for whatever it likes.

*

T ORD STRANG, who spent thirty-

to wear them out. We will make them sit up day and night and grind away until they get absolutely hysterical and say 'We can't stand it any more' and this is what we are going to do for the next two or three months,

It actually took six months. Parliamentary "democracy", like business, cannot function without "capital"-or "working majorities". Sinister terms when one considers that just as capital is the coin of exploitation and monopoly, so "working majorities" are the passport to absolute government. For, if one can free oneself from current propaganda and view objectively the differences in method between "democratic" and totalitarian government[‡] what in fact distinguishes the one form of government from the other is its power to push through its policies against the wishes of the people? The difference between 'democratic" and "totalitarian" systems is that in the former any man can, within certain limits stand as a candidate, whereas in the latter he is nominated by the one and only recognised Party. But in practice, in this country at least, he is nominated by one of four parties (and if he aims at being elected, one of two parties). That is the essential difference which, however, hardly effects the issues or the actions of the government once in power. (The Eden government, for instance, completely disregarded "the will of Parliament" on the issue of capital punishment in spite of the fact that a majority voted in support of a Bill for its abolition).

"The ultimate responsibility, however, is the Queen's alone. It is a hard and heavy duty to discharge. She has discharged it. Time and events will show how wisely she has judged."

No politician of Mr. Bevan's standing could miss such a political plum. What an opportunity for this son-of-the-people labelled Red by his enemies, to show that under the surface he is really true-blue!

These are exceedingly dangerous words. Does The Times mean that when the Opposition, which is Her Majesty's Opposition as well as the nation's, criticises, as it must certainly do, the policy of Mr. Macmillan, that they will be at the same time commenting on the wisdom of Her Majesty's choice?

Let me make my position clear beyond all danger of misunderstanding. There can be no criticism of the Queen. She carried out her constitutional duties scrupulously and efficiently, and, no doubt, in accordance with the precedents that her advisers placed before her. The fault lay with the Tory Party.

leaders competing for the office of Premier.

The Times itself points out that if such a situation recurred too frequently it would be necessary to make constitutional changes to meet it. Unfortunately, we have to meet it now.

How much lower, one wonders, can these politicians stoop in satisfying their craving for power? "There can be no criticism of the Queen" indeed! What self-respecting person would accept the role of rubber stamp and mouthpiece one day of one political faction and on the next of another? Who (other than a film-star or politician), would subject his or her person to the exhibitionistic indignities, the gossip and the sycophants and put up with it for years on end without a protest? But what is more important, what professed socialist would have dared use Bevan's words fifty

stood, that the "Queen's prerogative" is a right of the sovereign to appoint the leader of the government. For if it applies to the Tories it must equally apply to the "Socialists" and we would hate to think that Elizabeth would prefer Gaitskell to Bevan! But we think this business of "prerogative" is as phoney as the "kissing of hands", and that in the present crisis the Crown was again the rubber stamp to the wishes of the real forces that count within the Tory Party. We do not know who in the Labour Party is the equivalent of the Cecils among the Tories, but Mr. Bevan should know, for after all was he not shunned by his own parliamentary colleagues at a time when he was the darling of the Constituent Parties? The Labour Party hasn't been in the game for four centuries as have been the Cecils. But in the short time it has been in business it is quite clear that they have not been slow in learning all the tricks of the trade. But people who live in glass houses really should refrain from throwing stones!

four years in the Foreign Service, and was for four years until his retirement in 1953 Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office, told listeners in the second of his broadcasts on "Foreign Policy in a Democracy" last Sunday that in effect (his exact words will be found in this week's Listener which was not available at the time of writing) British foreign policy was made by the government and not by parliament and admitted that it was less likely for a British government to be defeated by a revolt among its supporters than was the case in France, since in France the defeat of the government would not mean a General Election whereas in this country it would. In other words, to quote from FREEDOM'S editorial of December 22 (The Democratic Illusion):

It is still on the cards that a few heads may roll (including that of sun-tanned Sir Anthony) in a government reshuffle, though one cannot imagine a Tory revolt going as far as risking a general election the results of which would certainly be to return Labour to office.

Thus the personal interests of the

IN view of the foregoing, the fuss which has been made by the Labour Party, over the way the Queen was involved in the nomination of Mr. Macmillan as successor to Eden, is both ridiculous and hypocritical. And there is nowhere to be found a greater stickler for constitutional or Parliamentary niceties than that enfant terrible, that (ex-) arch-rebel of the Labour Party: Aneurin Bevan. In an impassioned piece, in last Sunday's News of the World, addressed to the thinking section of the community, he communicates the terrible dilemma of the Labour Party.

The Queen should never have had the invidious and distasteful task of having to choose between a number of Tory

years ago?

T is important that it should be universally known, and under-

THROUGH THE RUSSIAN PRESS Kremlin Respectability

RESPECTABILITY is one of things craved after by the Kremlin managers of the most extensive though not yet the strongest State capitalist system on earth. Whenever they can they use every possible means to impress both themselves and the masses of the Russian workers and peasants with this recognition by others, by their capitalist enemies of the West, by the national States of the East.

One of these methods employed at home is to get diplomats to the satellites to broadcast and to televise their talks. FREEDOM reported a couple of weeks ago the speech broadcast by the Albanian ambassador in Moscow. This week we report something of what another satellite diplomat said on the wireless for the Moscow public. Speaking, then, on the occasion of Rumania's celebration of her national independence day, comrade M. T. Vlad said that: "During the years since 1947 when the people themselves had governed their own land, achievements had been attained such as one could never have hoped for under many decades of a capitalist régime. Economic and other developments in our country show quite objectively that the supreme aim of the Rumanian Workers' (Communist) Party and of the Government was to secure a better, an independent, and a cultural life for the toilers. The enthusiasm with which the broad masses of the Rumanian folk worked to carry through the programme of economic developments on a national scale which was adopted by the Second Party Congress was ample proof of the faith of the masses in the Party's policy." (Pravda, 365/14028).

to the effect that he wished Soviet Russia all success in its struggle for peace. But surely he knew of the kind of peace that will descend on the cities of Pest and Buda if the Soviet stooge Kadar is maintained in office-by the offensive weapons of the Red Army? Pest and Buda are ruins; coal mines are damaged by the mere fact of not being operated; at Pecs the uranium workings are in danger for a number of reasons-all this enormous material destruction is solely the act of the Kremlin and the Red Army. But on all this Vlad was silent.

Another Rumanian Stooge

Setting Their House in Order

Wherever Soviet interference or the stupid apeing of Bolshevik methods have prevailed in any single one of the East European countries now under the heel of the new imperialism disaster has followed. At the beginning of this month the Rumanian Government took the advice given by their Party's first secretary at Tyrgu-Muresh when he insisted that "it behoved all communists everywhere to draw the true conclusions from the Hungarian events". One conclusion has already been drawn and demonstrated in the acknowledgement that farming according to Communist Party policies is a complete failure.

very people who are allegedly the representatives of the public weal, coupled with the workings of the Parliamentry machine, are the guarantee that the "institutions" of democracy are an obstacle to even the theoretical operation of democracy! It may be argued that this "unfortunate" situation exists only when a government enjoys an everwhelming majority, and can even afford to permit mild rebellions in its camp (though even if the 30 Suez rebels in the Tory party had abstained from voting, the late Government would still have had its policies endorsed by the House). But when a government does not enjoy a majority in the House sufficiently large to allow for absentees sunning themselves in Jamaica or earning pinmoney lecturing in America, then not even the Parliamentary machine works, let alone democracy! Wise students of politics can consult Volume 1 of Selections from Freedom§ to refresh their memories as the problems faced by the Labour government when it lacked that "working majority". At the time (1951) Sir Robert Boothby told

It is a fundamental, if unspoken, principle of the British Constitution that anyone in the land can hold and express a political opinion without the slightest implication that in doing so he or she is open to the charge of commenting on the wisdom or otherwise of the occupant of the Throne.

We have it on the authority of the Times-declares Mr. Bevan, suddenly humbled by the authoritative voice from Printing House Square-"that this is no longer the case". And he quotes Sir William Hailey's ukase:

‡Anarchists are the first to distinguish the difference in method but at the same time are objective enough to realise that this is a subjective circumstantial, evaluation of the situation. Not only do "democratic" government deny the rights of free speech in "exceptional situations" (which is proof enough that they do not believe in free speech) but we are also witness to "democratic" governments which recognise these rights in say London or Paris and at the same time deny them in Nairobi, Nicosia and Algiers. In other words governments support free speech so long as their power is not threatened by it!

Big Brother Such a Help

According to this Tass report comrade Vlad laid great stress on the fact that were it not for the constant assistance rendered by the Soviet Union this steady advancement of the Rumanian People's Democracy would never have been possible. Being merely a diplomat and not an economist he could not know, of course, that according to the Communists who now rule Poland their county was bled white by Soviet exploitation. In Hungary there is not a single "honest Communist" who is in a position to say exactly how that country has been exploited for the behoof of Big Brother in the East. Inasmuch as the Kadarene swine appear to be gaining the upper hand over the workers we may never know now: uranium sent to the USSR was only one item filched by the Soviet imperialists from the Magyars at far below world prices.

A much bigger stooge was also doing his masters' bidding elsewhere in the Soviet Empire sometime previously. Pravda (359/14022) gives four full columns to what it regarded as an important speech by comrade G. Gherghiu-Dej who is first secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party. About the 20th of December last he spoke in Tyrgu-Muresh, the capital, so to say, of the Hungarian autonomous district of the Rumanian republic. Even Pravda does not seem to know the precise date; but, anyhow, it was a district conference of the C.P.

Old George worked hard to follow the Khrushchev-Pollitt line that a fascist counter-revolution had been attempted in Hungary. However, he had to admit that "the former leadership of the Hungarian Communist Party as headed by Rakosi and Gerö had committed the gravest of mistakes in every possible field-in the economic, Party, State, and cultural fields. These errors had called forth the righteous indignation of the toilers. The said errors had been utilized by reactionaries both inside and outside Hungary.

. . . Instead of a normal Party life based on the Leninist principles of democratic centralism and an inner-Party democracy, there had been a continuous violation of the legal standards of the People's Democracy. A large number of old members of the Party had been arrested. Criticism from below had been systematically stifled." You spoke well, George, for this once at least. Such a pity you can't attend the Easter conference of the English Communist Party!

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Gherghiu-Dej declared at the New Year's plenary session of his Party's central committee that their farming system had "proved a failure and was in fact hampering the development of the country's agriculture".

So from the first of this month of January 1957, individual as well as cooperative farmers will no longer be forced to deliver fixed quotas of all grains, potatoes, hay, milk. But at every step taken by the State-any Statebureaucracy grows the stronger. Rumania has therefore appointed special contracting and purchasing boards to arrange for the buying in on behalf of the State of all agricultural goods. Farmers are to be allowed to help in fixing prices. Government, for its part, has promised to raise prices on many farm products. Workers in the towns and on the oil fields will have to carry this extra burden.

Since Rumania has not risen in revolt yet and therefore everything in the garden is lovely-to use John Ross Campbell's phrase-The Daily Worker is going to do a lot of serpentine twisting if it is to explain to its boneheads why it has been essential in recent weeks for the Kremlin to call an economic conference at the highest level in Moscow and why the Rumanian Government and Party had to sit for three whole days discussing "the country's economic difficulties". Why, the sale on the world market of her oil alone could solve all Rumania's economic ills. Where does this oil go? To ask the question is to answer it. The Imperialist Power needs I.P.

an audience of admirers how democracy doesn't work:

We shall harry the lives out of them [the Labour government]. We shall keep them up day and night. The only way to get rid of them fairly quickly is

†To get out of the dilemma by saying that we can refuse to pay our taxes, presupposes that a large proportion of workers could become self-employed overnight or that employers of labour would join the revolt and refuse to deduct tax at source, or charge purchase tax and so on. The one-man revolution à la Ammon Hennacy, which we are the last to decry as unimportant, only scratches at the basic prob-Iem of the power of govenment. As we have pointed out on other occasions, in France and Italy, for instance, where no self-respecting business man or industrialist-let alone conscious revolutionary-dreams of paying taxes if he can get out of it (and in spite of being a fervent reactionary and patriot!) the government raises revenue by other means-by a sales tax, for instance, thus making the poor pay for the rich. SThe first five volumes of which (1951-1955) are still available from Freedom Press for only £1-a 1000-odd pages of "know-how" in the political jungle!

In France where the Parliamentary setup could be described as more democratic in that opinion is represented by Deputies of a great number of political parties, governments are easily overthrown; witness the unending stream of governments since 1945. British political commentators, however, point to the instability of French government as an argument against a multi-party House of Commons and as proof of the degradation of French politics. They are too smug to recognise that the more representative an assembly the less likelihood of government being able to function. To recognise it would be to admit that government and democracy don't mix! The Mollet government survives only because his "Socialist" government in defiance of the wishes of the Party membership pursues policies which win it the vote of the Conservatives! The same old problem again: of the government being divorced from those who have put it in power.

Desert Called Peace

Vlad was expansive on the value to his people of the Soviet form of people's democracy as compared with the false values embodied in what was designated "bourgeois democracy". The importance was emphasized of the close and enduring friendship which existed now and always would exist between the Soviet Union and Rumania as a Socialist State. (No mention, of course, of the disarmament of the People's Army on orders from the Kremlin. Khrushchev, at least, reposes no trust in this friendliness of the Rumanian workers in uniform). Final worlds of Viad's broadcast were

Vacuum East Power Middle The Eisenhower Doctrine

IN some respects the Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East is beginning to resemble a kind of means test with a difference. The first qualification is of course that the state concerned should require aid of some sort; almost all the countries concerned fall into this category so from America's point of view this is no problem-she is selling on a potentially buyer's market.

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Mr. Dulles will no doubt be the principal judge of qualifiers and to a great extent is also laying down the rules for qualification. However before he can get started he must get sanction from Congress; this, in his view must be obtained very speedily, he hopes by February 1st, but it is unlikely that congress will approve the resolution as quickly as that. He has stated that unless the U.S. acts quickly in the Middle East: "... it is our definite belief that this area is very likely to be lost. And if it is lost it will be the greatest victory that the Soviet Communists could ever have gained, because if they get this area they in effect will have got Western Europe without a war." This in our view is putting it a little too strong, but it is at least an indication, if we are to believe that Mr. Dulles means what he says, that the official American attitude is one of urgency and of the importance placed upon "vacuum filling" in the Middle East. He further stated that Russia was undoubtedly increasing its activity in the area (confirmed, he inferred, by the Ambassadors of Turkey, Iraq, Persia and Pakistan), and rammed his point home by adding that "the time within which we can act effectively is not of very great duration."

national communism (the phrase international communism is not just used as a euphemism for the USSR, but is obviously intended specifically to include China). "... we do not want to give such aid," said Mr. Dulles "if it merely supports governments which are subservient to or sympathetic to international communism." This phrase indicates that the U.S. is prepared to assist Egypt and Syria-providing they will adust their present attitudes and mend their ways.

One suspects that other qualifications will be necessary for most of the countries concerned; these will no doubt be of a more definitive nature and will be more specific agreements with individual states. They may perhaps concern the question of an air base here or a private trading arrangement there-one cannot yet tell for sure. It is nevertheless a fact that the recently expired air base agreement with Saudi Arabia is expected to be extended. Naturally Mr. Dulles would not want too many details made public at this stage, since he would then be in the position of playing his cards with an open hand.

the victim of any overt aggression. (The Arab-Israeli problem is however to be left to U.N.-supported by U.S.).

It is difficult to refrain from speculation upon what might have been the situation, if America (and of course the rest of the Western bloc) had followed a policy of economic aid to the Middle East before the Suez crisis, before the Czech arms deal, before the "doctrine" became necessary in terms of spheres of influence, before the panic created by fears of Russian infiltration.

Needless to say we have become accustomed to the fact that governments only take actions which are directly in their own interests and have no thoughts of assisting others simply because they need assistance. However, in this instance, if the West had in fact made some real effort to help the backward countries of the Middle East before it had to, not only would those countries have benefited but so would have the West. Many lives could have been saved, many dollars and pounds could have been put to better use and the bitterness between nations would have been lessened. Unfortunately states are not particularly interested in such things, but only in the widening of their own power, prestige and influence at the cheapest possible cost.

EDITORS THE LETTERS TO The Bohemians Again!

DEAR SIR,

In reply to the cordial Mr. Hedley (The Bohemians on our Shirt-Tails, FREEDOM Nov. 24), I wish to propose the following rejoinders:

1. The editor of FREEDOM is continuing to express his belief in the congenital idiocy of Americans by publishing only the most ridiculous communications from this country.

2. Mr. Hedley, in his usual vague manner, alludes to things and events, quotes unknown persons and never allows himself to be guilty of expressing a specific fact.

3. No self-respecting bohemian would have anything to do with the "honest and discriminating" blowhard types for which Mr. Hedley speaks.

4. The bohemian element in the San Francisco Bay Area will never be found

But the most fantastic trash Mr. Green injects into his comic-book letter is that business about Bohemia being at the barricades in the Hungarian fight against Russian tanks! Having personally interviewed a number of Hungarian refugees here in San Francisco, and also having worked with people connected with broadcasting over the American radio for Hungarian relief, not to mention communications received from Vienna, we have yet to locate a single member of that clownish sect known as Bohemia who took part in the current uprising. Those who were in the thick of the revolution appear to be mostly young college students in such fields as Engineering, Medicine, Law, the Sciences-all socalled "boorjoy" trades Mr. Green would probably sneer at disdainfully. Although I've examined several dozen records of

FREEDOM

The main qualification for U.S. aid, economic and military, seems to be "dedication". What is required insists Mr. Dulles, is that before any help is forthcoming the countries of the Middle East should dedicate themselves to the fight against inter-

If the doctrine is approved by Congress with no amendments it will provide for those countries which "qualify", a degree of military and economic aid to be agreed, and the guarantee that America will support

hanging onto the shirt tails of Mr. Hedley's sinless stone-heaving friends, whoever they may be.

5. The bohemians hereabouts are creating works of literature, music and art while the "responsible, honest representatives of an advanced philosophical movement" sink deeper daily into the stink of middle class conventionality. .

6. Out of the "relatively harmless expression of protest against bourgeois society" has come the greatest creative works of modern time.

> Unctiously, HENRY HERMAN EVANS.

San Francisco, Dec. 15.

DEAR EDITORS.

Mr. Bob Green, in FREEDOM (Refugee from Bohemia, Dec. 1, 1956), attempts amid strangulations of distorted humour, to reply to my contention that passé Bohemia has helped to destroy the influence of anarchist philosophy. Mr. Green fails to amuse or make sense. His jocular jag is unfair to the honest readers of FREEDOM. He sounds hysterical-if not sex stricken-running off about fornication, kissing, Submergia, H-bombs, children, etc., etc., in all directions at once without once discussing the issue. This is no shock to me, but rather typical professional Bohemianism at work. The issue is, to remind anyone still interested, that Bohemia, in my opinion, is as ridiculously ineffectual as hiding under a buffalo skin during an air raid. (To please the Bob Greens in the world I'll try to use the word "f-k" in this letter. This is considered very "revolutionary"!) Contemporary Bohemia has been nothing but an irresponsible, vicious, adolescent, play-acting ennui committing harm to any sincere and honest person it ever came in contact with. We mustn't confuse Bohemia with nonconformitythis being the obvious error Mr. Green and his sort would have us all make. The two are not the same. The nonconformist stands for responsible independent will, not the cliché Bohemian uniformity. Bohemians think and act alike-in San Francisco, London, Bombay. In fact it's the corniest act still playing.

these exiles, I admit I didn't think of counting beards and berets, but I did note that none of them acted as silly as Mr. Green's characters portrayed in his Bohemian letter.

Bohemia is as outmoded as the oldfashioned water closet and smells equally as bad. Some people, like Mr. Green, probably prefer it. They're welcome to it. Note, however, that anarchist FREE-DOM attracts less non-conformists, independent, non-Bohemians. The Bob Greens in the world will never help rescue FREEDOM or Hungary or anyone else. It's much more fun drinking beer in a dirty alley . . .

Sincerely, LESLIE WOOLF HEDLEY.

San Francisco, Jan. 3.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTIS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP **LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS**

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

TWO VIEWPOINTS ON Where do Jewish Anarchists Stand?

DEAR COMRADES,

To-day I read the article on the subject: "Where do the Jewish Anarchists Stand?" (FREEDOM) and as an old active comrade in the Jewish movement in England, for six years, and active since then in the American Jewish movement, I want to tell you that I am in full accord with your article.

for that matter, he would be glad to find a place in Israel and to be protected by the State of Israel. The average Arab is full of hatred, because the Jew can do better. The Jewish kibbutzim are still the nearest thing to the philosophy of Anarchism. You ought to give credit to communities and to people who create a sane civilization in Kibbutzim rather than to show pity to the blind, dogmatic Arab masses who follow Nasser or other devil rulers. Yes, we still make comparisons. Even for Amarchists it is still easier to work in a democracy like Israel than in Arab or so-called "communist" countries. The "lesser evil" is still something not to belittle. But, there is something of a Jewish individual way of life and culture, what most of the intelligent Jews don't want to give up. Such a life can only flourish in the Jewish homeland-therefore the Jewish Anarchists who are as revolutionary and cosmopolitan as you are, have enough common sense to support it. As to your ignorance of Yiddishwhy? If R. Rocker could learn enough Yiddish to become a Yiddish Editor, surely you could learn enough to understand the Freie Arbeiter Stimme!

William Richard Lethaby

Continues from p. 2

motor-car . . . Think of the post-offices in the back-ends of grocers shops . . . the leaky private houses with their cracked ceilings, the fireplaces making fog rather than heat . . . All the streets are netted over and across with sagging telegraph and telephone wires hitched on to weak parapets and trigged up to tottering chimneys-a shuddering sight when you take notice of these things. Fortunately most of us have given up taking notice in infancy . . . "

Is not all this true-more true than when he wrote forty years ago? And is not the remedy, the only possible remedy, the one he proposed-the development of a movement for civic consciousness and town-tidying?

"Directly I speak of art in the town it will be natural for you to think of a picture gallery or a special statue or some 'art lamp-post', or other overornamented object; but I must again insist that this is not what I mean. I mean the making of our towns fair and fit to live in from end to end, the whitewashing of back courts, the laying down of turf, the reducing of the advertisement mania, the smartening of the railway station, the seeing to it that there shall be some place in every town where decent food can be got comparable to what one gets abroad . . . We need to make it an enthusiasm, a game, a 'movement',-a tide of tidying".

want you to know that the Freie Arbeiter Stimme do not represent the viewpoint of all Jewish comrades in America.

Enclosed please find ten dollars to help cover the deficit on FREEDOM.

Your Comrade, S. MARGOLIS.

To the Editors of FREEDOM.

Reading in your paper of December 8th, "Where do the Jewish Anarchists Stand?" I would like to know where anarchists with common sense stand?

True enough, British government officials didn't care to save Jews during the Nazi slaughter and so it is to-day: No government cares about Jews; only Arab refugees matter, because there is oil in Arab lands, and the rulers of Arabia know how to exploit the feelings of Arab refugees and take the millions of dollars.

Nathan Chofski is all right because he feels safe in Israel. If he had to leave Egypt without any means, or Hungary

Yours,

A. M. OSTROVER. Brooklyn, Jan. P.S.-I used to live in London.



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

WHO shall measure the greatness of this man? asked Eric Gill, and Sydney Cockerell described him as a "saintlike and peerless character". But for those whose only acquaintance with Lethaby is through his writings, he must stand out simply as a man who had the rare ability to put first things first. C.W.

The more important of W. R. Lethaby's books are: MEDIAEVAL ART (1904, reprinted Nel- son 1949). ARCHITECTURE (Home University Library 1912, reprinted Oxford U.P. 1955). FORM IN CIVILISATION (1922, reprinted Oxford U.P. 1938). PHILIP WEBB AND HIS WORK (Oxford U.P. 1935). ARCHITECTURE, NATURE AND MAGIC (Duckworth 1956).

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(see	also pa	ge 3)
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