"Ours is an age which is proud of machines that think, and suspicious of any man that tries

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

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Threepence

## KADAR'S TERROR

THE return to Stalinism is going on apace in Hungary. The puppet Janos Kadar, having once accepted-or had thrust upon him-the unenviable position of Quisling, or for entering a Government facseems now to set no limit to the repressive measures he will institute against the Hungarian people.

From the day when he felt he had enough Russian troops behind him to deal with the workers, and abolished on paper the Workers' Councils, Kadar has gone step by step to the re-establishment of the terrorist dictatorship which had existed in Stalin's day under Matyas Rakosi. In this, the recent change of line in Moscow with regard to Stalin, who is now once again 'a good Communist', gives confidence to what remains of Rakosi's state forces.

One of the factors that gave the Hungarian revolution its first success was the low morale of the hated AVH, the state security police. All the Kremlin talk of coexistence, and Russia's downgrading of Stalinist police methods, had made the AVH feel that they might be sold out at any time by their Moscow bosses. Now a new Hungarian securitypolice force, composed of old AVH stalwarts, diehard Communists and trade-union toughs, to the number of 10,000, has been formed, and every effort is being made to make them feel that not only do they have the backing of Moscow, but of the whole Communist world. This was the main reason last week for the visit to Budapest of Red China's Chou En-lai and the announcement of huge loans from both Red China and the Soviet Union.

The results of the elections in Poland will also strengthen the hand of the Kadar government, since Gomulka (like Tito) has announced long ago his support of this régime. Death for Striking

The new AVH are being backed by sweeping state powers. On January 12th, the death penalty was introduced in Hungary for anyone calling a strike, damaging factory

machinery, or committing "any kind of offence directed against the State." The death sentence could be ordered for distributing leaflets tory without permission, according to the new regulations, which were announced in a supplementary paragraph to the martial law declared in December.

Prior to December, the death penalty existed in Hungary, for civil offences, only for murder and manslaughter. Then, the death penalty was introduced for the illegal possession of arms. Its extension to industrial action clearly shows the fact that Kadar still has to break the spirit of the industrial workers, and is prepared to go to any lengths to do so.

An announcement by the Presidential Council said that special tribunals would be set up in provincial capitals composed of one Judge and a jury of two. The moves were believed to be an attempt to avert a new call for a general strike by the workers' councils. In special cases the death penalty could be changed to life imprisonment or prison terms ranging from five to fifteen years. All sentences will be subject to appeal before the supreme court, but the situation in Hungary is very different from that in Poland following the Poznan riots. The trials that arose from those were turned into public indictments of the régime. No such extravagances are likely in Hungary, where the new AVH will be in charge.

Already the death penalties are being ladled out by the courts—and carried out by the hangmen. Two leading revolutionaries, Josef Dundas, once a Communist youth leader, who lead an attack on the Hungarian Foreign Ministry in October, and Janos Szabo, who led a stand against superior Soviet forces in the battle of Budapest's Moscow Square, were found guilty after a six-day secret trial of "trying to overthrow the Hungarian People's

Democracy," and executed. While Colonel Pal Meleter, who led the insurgent army at Gyder, has been tried and sentenced to death. Meleter has an interesting background. He deserted from the Hungarian army and joined the Russians during the war, coming back with the 'liberation' forces which drove out the Nazis. He was raised to a high position in the post-war Hungarian army—only to be one of the prime movers in the disaffection of the army against the Russians in October and of the initial armed resistance in Budapest.

Attacks on the Writers Proceeding from the banning of the workers' councils, Kadar has now also dissolved (on paper) the

Hungarian Writers' Union and the

National Association for Journalists. The Writers' Union was in the forefront of the agitation which first sparked the revolt, and were considered the 'brains trust' of the Nagy group during his brief spell of office. They were prepared to come to terms with Kadar—but it seems that now the Soviet Government have given instructions for the writers to be crushed.

The usual accusations will no doubt be levelled at the Writers' Union, but it is as well to recall the statement they issued at the end of December:

"We have to state with a depressed heart that the Soviet Government made a historical mistake when it stained the revolution with blood.

"We predict that the time will come when the Great Power that erred will repent. We warn everyone away from the erroneous judgment that revolution in Hungary would have annihilated the achievements of Socialism without the interference of Soviet arms. We

IT is understandable that Commer-

know that that is not true."

Like all the groups which inspired the revolts in Hungary and in Poland (and in Russia itself), the Writers' Union was not anti-socialist. It was more socialist than the government.

No Coalition

are methodically restoring the struc- cratic parties resigned one after anture of the police state. Martial law applied to the factories has enabled them to curb strikes and send troublesome workers to the coal mines. Lightning strikes are being punished by fines, and January pay envelopes are lean. ("Anyone who was on strike in December, even for

two days, will see the difference in

his pay.")

But still the disgusting government can find nobody to collaborate with it. Negotiations with all the opposition groupings have broken down, and all attempts to form a coalition with other parties on Moscow's terms So Kadar and his new AVH men have failed. Leaders of the demoother during January, declaring they have retired to private life. Neither intimidation nor promises of freer life "when law and order are restored in Hungary" have succeeded in persuading them to give support to the Kremlin's nominees.

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### Kashmir Crisis NEHRU THE POLITICIAN

HOW many times have we read in the editorial columns of the more enlightened newspapers, of the internationalism and breadth of vision of Pandit Nehru? And now it turns out, to everyone's surprise but our own, that Nehru also lives in a glass-house—despite the fact that he has recently thrown more stones than almost any other political leader.

The integration of Kashmir into India in defiance of the United Nations resolution, and the refusal to accept a plebiscite—amidst celebrations in New Delhi (complete with Marshal Zhukov in attendance), and demonstrations in Karachi and Hyderabad—these events indicate quite clearly how much of an internationalist Nehru actually is when it becomes a question of ordering what he considers to be his own domestic affairs. His breadth of vision extends precisely as far as is convenient.

The parallels which may be drawn to India's action are only too ob-

vious. There is not much to choose principle between Kashmir, Cyprus and Hungary. In each case the people of the country concerned have not been consulted as to their wishes, and the government of a big power has imposed its will upon them—the difference is one of degree only.

The fact that Nehru has for so long been regarded by so many as the last remaining statesman of integrity, makes his offence all the more disruptive in a world which already reeks of disruption and ever-increasing despair. It is no consolation that the anarchist analysis of politicians in power is proved again—for we know in advance that the lesson will not be learned by those who are most in need of iton the contrary, it will merely be used as an excuse for others to continue their own similar policies, on the principle that what is all right for Nehru must be all right for them

## B.B.C. Threatens "Third" in Programme Reshuffle Freedom of the Air

cial Television should be publicising the findings of the latest audience Survey, which states that "the ten largest programme audiences were all held by Granada T.V. Network". Such publicity is the bread and butter of Commercial Television; for the larger their audiences the more advertising "spots" they can hope to secure, and at ever higher rates. That the B.B.C. should be alarmed by its position of "inferiority", and be in the process of reorganising all its services to meet the Commercial "challenge" is on the surface more surprising since its financing is not dependent on the subsidies of the detergent kings, or the industrial tycoons. From the point of view of the discriminating public, at least, the outlook is pretty grim, and the sooner the situation and its implications for the future are understood, the greater are the chances of doing something to halt a trend which must inevitably lead to a degeneration in this particular field more marked even than in that of journal-

A CCORDING to last Sunday's Pictorial the B.B.C. is reviewing its sound-radio policies with the economies and at the same time re-

ism and the Press in general.

capturing audiences from T.V. We quote the Pictorial's inimitably vulgar journalese:

Plans now being thrashed out include: ROCKING the highbrows by abolishing, as a separate show, the 6 p.m. to midnight Third Programme.

ROLLING the Third Programme into a combined Home and Third from 6 p.m. onwards. The Light would continue separately in the evenings.

TELESCOPING the Home and Light into a combined programme from early morning until the six o-clock news.

All three items would save money. Only half the present number of shows would need to be produced.

If the Pictorial is to be believed "Listeners would get far less of the Third flavour, and proportionately far more of the Light flavour". And savings on the Third programme would be squandered in "give-away" shows that have made Commercial Television "such a huge success". "How soon can this shake-up start?" -asks the Pictorial. And the answer

The working committee, headed by the Director of Sound Broadcasting, Mr. Lindsay Wellington, should report by March. Then it is up to Sir Ian Jacob. He is expected to work fast.

apparently is that

THE Third Programme with all its defects-and any initiative subintention of effecting large-scale jected to centralised control by administrators who, one imagines, must

feel themselves to be civil servants, answerable to angry parliamentarians and the witch-hunting section of the National Press, rather than the public who in fact pay their salaries, must err on the side of caution and conformity—in spite of its defects, the Third Programme is to Radio what newspapers such as the Manchester Guardian are to journalism. It treats its listeners as thinking human beings rather than undiscriminating, sub-human morons. We are made to feel that whether we have the possibility or not of influencing those who address us, at least the manner of presenting their arguments presupposes that we have the mental capacity to weigh their arguments and agree or disagree. In a world in which ideas are predigested for us and presented as absolutes this is indeed a step forward! Hence our concern when even such minor concessions to our intelligence are threatened. For it is clear that if the Sunday Pictorial is right then B.B.C. policy will be directed to a lowering rather than a raising of standards. The emphasis will be on the Light programme, which will become a sound version of Commercial T.V. and will function "from early morning" in a combined programme with the Home Service until 6 p.m. and thereafter "separately in

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CO far as political line-ups are concerned nothing that could happen would surprise us. It is part of the politician's job to steer a crooked path and to justify it in the name of national interest. Thus the news that diplomatic exchanges are taking place between representatives of Russia and Franco's Spain over the 510 tons of gold sent to Russia for safe-keeping (?) by the Caballero government in 1936 is more

than probable and in spite of the strong

deniai from the Press Attaché in the

Soviet Embassy in London.

The New York Times (Jan. 21) even gives the names of the two diplomats discussing the question in Paris; one a Spanish grandee, José Rojas y Moreno, Count of Casa Rojas, the other a Communist Professor, Sergei Alexandrovitch Vinogradov. One can hardly believe that the talks are taking place because at last the Spanish government has the receipt for the gold. One suspects that Negrin's death-bed request that the receipt be removed from the safe in America and handed to the Spanish government is largely the invention of newspapermen. In fact according to the N.Y. Times (Jan. 10) Madrid correspondent the documents "were obtained after a year's confidential negotiations in Paris with Señor Negrin . . . He had agreed before his death to return them to the Spanish state, officials here

say . . . " It appears also that unofficial negotiations have been going on between Russia and Spain since the end of 1955, when arrangements were made for the repatriation of Spanish prisoners in Russia.

Moscow & Madrid Shake Hands?

What nobody seems to have mentioned is that Khrushchev also has a few receipts and I.O.U.'s in his safe: to cover the cost of supplying arms and the Russian secret police to Spain during 1936-1938. According to one source, "When the war came to a close in 1939. the Loyalists owned the Soviet government \$120 million which was never paid".\* What that would be worth today with the general devaluation of all currencies will undoubtedly be decided on by the diplomats, more or less, according to how anxious the Russians are to establish diplomatic relations with Spain. Obviously so far as Franco is concerned his willingness is tied to Russia's willingness to hand over the muchneeded gold. And it is possible that for political and economic reasons Russia will comply at least by handing over a part of it.

When that happens how many Spaniards in exile will reflect that the gold which was sent to Russia in 1936 to prevent it from falling into Franco's hands. not only was not used to further the fight against Franco, but is in fact to be used to bolster Franco's régime 20 years after!

\*Louis Fischer, quoted by Cattell in Communism and the Spanish Civil War (Los Angeles, 1955).

## PEOPLE AND IDEAS SINGING FISHERMEN

T AST week in his radio programme 'Memories of a Ballad Hunter', Alan Lomax introduced recordings he made on a journey across Spain from Vigo to San Sebastian. He ended with the wonderful polyphonic singing of the Basques, and as he sat listening to the fishermen singing in a little coastal town, one of them leant over his table and said:

"Listen, American. We are brotherhood, founded five hundred years ago, before Columbus and his Basque crew discovered America. We own our fishing boats in common, and whenever the weather is uncertain our captains meet together on the town bridge and decide whether it's safe for the town to fish. That way no crazy greedy individual can risk the lives of his crew and anyone who follows him. That's why we can sing together, because we're a brotherhood".

"I got the feeling," said Lomax, "that these Basques had been singing together

for a very long time."

It made me think of John Langdon-Davies' description in Behind the Barricades of the fishermen's communities along the Costa Brava at the other end of the Pyrenees. He thought it had something to do with living by the sea, for he noticed the difference between the coastal villages and those a few miles back from the sea, and he compared Premia de Dalt, an inland village, "priestcontrolled and medieval", with Premia d'Abaix where the fishermen were freethinkers:

"And the important thing is that in the villages on the hill the morals are bad; they do horrible things to the women; but among the free-thinking people below, the relationships are much better. Often enough the fishermen do not trouble to marry, but they live with their 'comrade' far more faithfully than the legitimate husbands further inland".

"The fishermen are the first to rise against oppression, and the most ruthless in their determination to break chains. In the fishing town in which I lived for two years there was still to be seen the burnt-out ruins of the parish church which had gone up in flames during the Semana Trágica of 1909. At that time San Feliu declared itself a Libertarian Republic all on its own. I had not understood when I lived there, how or why this had been, but now it is perfectly clear".

LIE was writing a few months after the revolution in 1936, and went on to describe another fishing village at the Catalonian end of the Pyrenees, Port de la Selva, which was practically owned by its Fisherman's Co-operative, the Posito Pescador. There the fishermen owned the boats and the nets, the curing factory, the stores and storehouses, the refrigeration plant, the shops, the olive oil refinery, the olive groves, the transport lorries which delivered the fish at Barcelona, the café, the hotel, the theatre and the assembly room. "By setting up a curing factory the co-operative protects itself from slumps. If the fish-market is glutted, the catch can be withdrawn and cured. By providing each of its members with an olive-grove or a vinevard or a vegetable allotment, they are insured against the disaster of continued bad weather. When they cannot fish, they labour in the vineyard. To sit in the café at Port de la Selva is to sit in an atmosphere of free men, and no one can understand Spain if he excludes from

his idea of Spain, this reality". Douglas Goldring in a book of reminiscences of the nineteen-twenties told a similar story of the village of Puerto de Pollensa. "The inhabitants-technically 'anarchist-communists'-ran their fishing

industry on co-operative lines. The secretary of the Posito de Pescadores, a Venezuelan, was almost the only man in this Arcadian village who could read and write. He transacted all the business for the community and, by explaining their illiteracy, sent the tax-collector empty away. As there was no Law and Order in the village there was no crime. The honesty of these people was absolute and instinctive; no one ever tried to get the better of anyone else . . . Everyone had enough to eat, wine was plentiful and everyone was happy. The nearest church was five miles off, in the town of Pollensa, and I never saw a priest in the village".

THESE fishing communities are older than Spanish anarchism and much older than the co-operative movement. The brawny Basque fisherman was not boasting when he declared that they were there before Columbus went to America. Gerald Brenan in his Spanish Labyrinth refers to the very old comunidad of net-makers at Bagur, and says that the fisherman's commune of Port de la Selva and an exactly similar one a few miles away at Cadaqués are referred to in documents of the early sixteenth century. There was another such community at Tazones, near Villaviciosa in Asturias. The present constitution of Port de la Selva, he says, was adopted in 1929 just before the fall of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, under the influence of the productive co-operative movement founded in the 1860's by Fer-

nando Garrido. "Here then," comments Brenan, "we have a modern productive co-operative grafted on to an ancient communal organisation and functioning perfectly":

"When one considers the number of guilds or confraternities (cofradías) that till recently owned land and worked it in common to provide old age and sickness insurance for their members; or such popular institutions as the Cort de la Seo at Valencia which regulated on a purely voluntary basis a complicated system of irrigation: or else the surprising development in recent years of productive cooperative societies in which peasants and fishermen acquired the instruments of their labour, the land they needed, the necessary installations and began to produce and sell in common: one has to recognise that the Spanish working classes show a spontaneous talent for co-operation that exceeds anything that can be found to-day in other European countries".

This historical background helps to explain the achievements of the industrial and agricultural collective in Spain which sprang into life after the revolution of 1936 only to be crushed by the defenders of 'democracy' as a prelude to the victory of Franco.\* For revolution, as Landauer puts it, means the uncovering of something which has always been there, "of Community, which in fact exists alongside the State, albeit buried and laid waste".

IN the summer of 1936, Laurie Lee was living at the opposite end of Spain, in an Andalusian fishing village which in his book A Rose for Winter he calls 'Castillo'. Here the fishermen were poor, unskilled compared with the Basques and Catalans, and at the mercy of dealers. He saw that year,

"A summer of rage and optimism, of murder and lofty hopes, when the hillpeasants and the fishermen, heirs to generations of anonymous submission, had suddenly found guns in their hands and unimaginable aspirations in their breasts. saw them shoot the fish merchants,

\*See "Collectives in Spain" by Gaston Leval, and "Lessons of the Spanish Revolution" by V. Richards, chapters 9 and 10. (Freedom Press).

drive the sugar planters into the hills, barricade the mountain roads, and set up the flag of their commune over the Town Hall . . . The destructive frenzy soon wore itself out. The committee of the commune took over all the big houses that had been abandoned by their owners, and across the walls, in letters of scarlet, they chalked their naive ambitions. 'In this house we shall make a school for the women'. 'Here shall be founded a club for the young'. 'This house is reserved as a hospital of rest'. The committee sat night and day in the Town Hall, their guns on the table, confident that their enemies would be defeated; in the meantime drawing up an impossible spring-like way of life".

A few years ago Mr. Langdon-Davies went back to Port de la Selva and found 'a quiet sadness' about the place. It still wore the scars of Franco's Italian bombers. The Catalan language was forbidden. He had brought with him the photographs he took in 1935 of the young men cleaning the boats, salting the sardines in barrels and getting out the boats with their great acetylene lamps for the nightly fishing. "Soon several women, some old, some moderately young, but all in black and with tears in their eyes, had come to say that Pere, or Joan, or Albert or Ramon was in one of the photographs, that they had no photo or other souvenir of him, that nobody knew where his grave might be, and would I let them have a copy? . . . Hardly a family but had lost a son or a father".

AND a few years ago Mr. Lee went back to Castillo in the South. "I found it starved and humiliated, the glory gone, and the workers of the sugar fields and the sea hopeless and silent".

"As I walked through the town, time past hung heavy on my feet. The face of a generation had disappeared completely. A few old women recognised me, throwing up their hands with an exclamation, and came running towards me with lowered voices as though we shared a secret. But of the men I had known there was little news, and such as there was, confused. Most of them, it seemed, were either dead or fled. The old women peered up at me with red-rimmed clouded eyes, and each tale they told was different . . . In the end I gave up. There was no point in making any further enquiries. Nobody lied deliberately, but nobody wished to seem certain of the truth. For the truth, in itself, was unendurable."

Nobody sang in the café of Port de la Selva, nobody sang in the bars of Castillo, where they talked at night in whispers. "But in their salty sunburnt eyes, in the twist of the copper lips, and in their silences, one saw what they could not say-a savage past, an inglorious present, a future choked with unmention-C.W. able hopes".

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## BOOK REVIEW MAN AND FREEDOM

an admirer wrote that "he has freedom dual to his natural habitat, man-the- life, in our own life. Sense, and faith in his blood, the freedom of logic and reason, therefore the whole freedom". We understand what his admirers meant when we read Bontemps' own opinion on freedom: "a word that rings clear and gay, a little snappy as if to waken the sleepers . . . If freedom were to become one day a genuine attribute of human nature, this would happen in a world of light, of charm and laughter, among men and women vigorous and healthy, as eager for the sports of the body as lively in the jousts of the mind". So much for freedom in the future. Freedom now is for him "a reasoned self-determination". What then of freedom in the past? "L'homme et la liberté", a book which

Bontemps published in 1955 in Paris in "Les Cahiers Francs", is an answer to this last question. Though asserting that the history of freedom is inseparable from the history of spirit, his treatment of the subject is not Hegelian, nor is his work a miniature replica of Croce's achievement. He takes pain not to separate historical man from biological man, and tries to show the development of freedom as running parallel to the evolution of the species. Sceptical as I am about evolution as meaning anything more than species and sub-species differently classified have inhabited the earth at different times, and that change has taken place, I found that Bontemps had interesting things to say, and that most of his remarks, if not conspicuously original, bear the imprint of a cultured and reflective mind.

During the ice age, in Bontemps' vivid reconstruction, man lived in caves, and every act of his life was strictly governed by magical injunctions and prohibitions. Then, as the ice withdrew, chasing the bison and the reindeer in their withdrawal towards northerner regions, man ventured afield into a world of sun and greenery, in defiance of taboos that were but a testimony and a submission to the coercive power of nature. Then freedom was born. "Lo and behold! Man had transgressed the law, and yet he was alive! His beliefs took new shapes, and ancient rites, dovetailing new conditions, gave him a self-confidence previously unsuspected. So rites were not fixed for all times? His ways of life were less rigid still?" It was a momentous discovery; and Bontemps reflectively remarks: "Maybe no man had yet made the first free gesture which would mark his singularity in the clan. But men together had won for themselves the right to march to the material conquest of a better standard of life".

Here lies the crux of the matter. The

an old French comrade, of whom evolutionary constant which Bontemps if we fail to find it in the individual's society, appears here as in many other instances as an unsolved antithesis. The good and freedom of the individual simply does not coincide with the good and freedom of the species. The application of evolutionary doctrines to social and ethical matters has a dangerous way of suggesting and justifying the sacrifice of the small for the big, and of to-day to to-morrow. The accent in libertarian thought is on the individual, and in evolutionary thought necessarily on the species; and I see no way of bringing the two together. Why, if we insist that much good has come from wars in the past, why not have another on the chance of further good in the future? And if, as Bontempes reminds us, the establishment of a permanent leader is the first affirmation of human personality, why not continue to accept the leadership principle so that more affirmations of human personality may be realized?

> EST I be guilty of misrepresenting Bontemps' intentions, let me hasten to say that I believe his heart is in the right place. The choicest flower of a mind devoted to freedom is for him that which is most truly good which is most broadly shared, and that nobody's dignity is pure which battens on the indignity of others. "A system is not worth achieving," he says, "if it posits the individual as the thing of the collective". And he condemns the communists because they want a revolution, not for the sake of man, but for the sake of a system. But these fine sentiments, and these sound ideas, are independent of, and hardly consonant with, an evolutionary theory of freedom. The essence of values, as live things, and not as objects of study and catalogued museum pieces, is that they are somewhat out and above the vagaries of time, beacons and magnetic poles operating from the future rather than from the past, and invisible matrices rather than things born, growing, dying or dead.

> In history we find facts, we don't find values. When our heart is moved by the record of some act of courage and sacrifice, or by the words of some inspired author of a time gone by, a leap is effected which reveals us as contemporary with that author or act. There are no ancestors or descendants in the realm of spirit, but all are brothers. Theories of freedom and systems of ethics may be shown to be indebted to one another in time, but no man is privileged to be a greater lover of freedom, or to live a more ethical life, because he is born in one century rather than in another. We

CHARLES-AUGUSTE BONTEMPS is proposes to find, linking man-the- indivi- are not likely to find a sense in history in sense, is here and now, or it is not, It is a sordid sort of smugness to look back on all the passion of mankind dead and dissolved as a laborious preparation to the glory that is ourselves; as it is no consolation to look upon our passion as drawing its justification from some better humanity in centuries to come. If perfectibility is indefinite, then it is sense-

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### Viewpoint on the LIBERTARIAN SOCIETY

THE tendency on the part of even libertarians to confuse libertarianism and utopianism is regrettable, for libertarianism can only be conceived of as an acceptance of the problems of human existence and a willingness to share in these problems and to take responsible action without supposing that any action will provide more than a temporary solution.

Libertarianism, in other words, attempts to relate, at all times, action to reality rather than imposing an institutional form upon ideas that can only at a certain point and instance correspond to reality. Anyone who is flippant enough, at this point, to ask what is reality has missed the essential point. Reality has no verbal equivalent and this makes the institutionalizing process an idiotic one since verbal constructions such as laws, mandates and dogmas cannot correspond to something that is non-verbal and obviously highly unstable.

If anyone conceives of a libertarian society as being anything but a series of profound headaches, he has been deceived. Libertarianism is not attractive because it will make life easier. Quite to the contrary. It is attractive because it would allow a whole society equal responsibility.

For the same reason, its achievement would be enormously difficult and its "Stability" (a word that probably shouldn't even enter into the discussion) at all times threatened. That again, however, is an essential point. There could never be a libertarian society without a general acceptance of responsibility and a general sharing of power. If a majority of society wished to shun responsibility and hand over power to the minority that wanted it, libertarianism would cease to exist as a social or quasi-political system.

While a democratic society is a step on the road to a libertarian society, its institutional and legal framework insures its decay and corruption as each individual becomes increasingly a victim rather than a participant in the society's encumbrancing framework. In this country (the United States) at the present time, "democracy" consists of a great number of organized groups exercising pressure for or against specific rather than universal aims.

A libertarian society would require a whole group that was essentially aimless. It would require a whole group that would have no truck with the concept of "hope"; that would act on the basis of substituting for the intolerable the less intolerable, rather than acting on the basis of "solving the problem" or "making things right".

It would not be a society involved in the concept of a "better" world, thereby carrying with it always the immense burden of the "worse". Rather, it would move and act from problem to problem allowing circumstance, spontaneous genius and the space of events that we call time to lift it over each hump and out of every depression. It would, in other words, act exactly as we do, but it would recognize that that was what JAMES KEILTY. it was doing.

CREATES UNEMPLOYMENT

Vol. 18, No. 5. February 2, 1957

# Freedom of the Air Now!

Continued from p. ) the evenings". After 6 p.m. the Home Service and Third will combine. Presumably from these five hours must be deducted at least two (politically) safe news bulletins presented by the traditionally impersonal "voice", plus a "to-night in parliament" with its bias in favour of what the government has to say. This, the news summary at 11 p.m. and the most essential five minutes on "market trends" at 11.03 p.m. will reduce those five hours to four. And since one cannot believe that certain features of the Home Service will be dropped (including the Party political broadcasts—or will they be considered suitable for the Light Programme?), the Third Programme's remaining four hours will be whittled down to dimensions which will make it hardly worth while. Indeed, one can foresee that by 1960 there will be no Third Programme.

W/E anarchists are neither snobs nor dictators. To the public's "demand" for the Daily- Mirror, Express or Sketch or the Weekly-Reveille, Mail or Women's Own we do not counter-attack with demands for legislation to ban them on the grounds that they operate against the common good (though we strongly believe this to be true!). We can only counteract by combining with people of a like mind to produce or to support, journals which more closely represent what, to our minds, honest, objective and clean journalism should be. We have grounds for protest, in every form at our disposal, when government- or monopolistic- forces deny us the unfettered use of a particular medium of expression. We can only blame ourselves if, granted equal rights for all to express themselves, only a very small minority of the public are interested in our particular ideas.

So far as the written word is concerned, it must be recognised that at the present time there is, theoretically, no governmental or monopolistic barrier to prevent the equal dissemination of anarchist, communist, fascist, liberal, socialist and tory ideas by the printed word. What is lacking is a strong dissatisfaction with the muck which Fleet Street serves up daily, and a feeling that there is no alternative to the present Press monopoly. It is not yet realised that what the Press millionaire can seek to impose by his monopoly of wealth, his potential victims can reject by combining their poverty. Organised Labour to-day command numbers and funds which permit them, if they so wished, not only to publish their own daily papers but to put a large number of the "popular" newspapers out of business without calling on printing workers to refuse to print them. (As we have seen with the Glasgow Evening News even a circulation of 180,000 did not prevent it from losing money at the rate of £3,000 a day. In the case of the Fleet Street giants the minimum circulation required for solvency is very much higher. If only half of Labour's eight or million organised members withdrew their daily twopences from Fleet Street the effect would be dramatic to say the least!)

That such action is not even put forward is not so much a reflection on the Trade Union leadership as on the conditioning to which the mass public has been subjected and against which it is too apathetic or too intellectually stupified to react. For even if one were to blame the Trade Union leadership for not taking any action (we cannot take

the Daily Herald into account) the fact remains that the public has, even now, an alternative to the gutter press which it just does not take. But the fact remains that there are nearly 300,000 people who pay a penny extra a day to buy the Manchester Guardian rather than the Daily Express, and half a million who prefer the Sunday Observer to the Sunday Dispatch. That these two minority newspapers survive on a circulation which would drive the millionaire press into bankruptcy should effectively dispel the myth that all forms of communication today necessarily need the backing of millionaires or the blessing of the State.

WE have digressed for an obvious reason. The threat to public taste and intelligence symbolised by the gutter press can be met: either by boycotting that press and supporting the existing minority press, or by a sufficient number of people combining to produce a newspaper that satisfies in broad terms their tastes and needs. To the threats, as represented by the proposed developments in sound radio and television, no such action is at present possible by a minority of the community which feels that it will not be served by the existing programmes. The "ether" is a monopoly of the State, which has so far only condescended to lease a bit of it to Big Business, for no other reason, so far as we can see, than that these interests were powerful enough to force their demands onto the present government. To argue that as a result the B.B.C. monopoly has been broken is sheer cant and humbug for in its place we now have a new monopoly of bad taste (for is not the B.B.C. now vying with Commercial T.V. to capture its audience, and to this end is proposing to lower its standards?).

The B.B.C.'s Third Programme Iwas never intended to attract a mass public. And so far as sound radio is concerned it is, we suggest, the programme which has lost the least number of listeners to the new joys of T.V. Obviously the mass recruitment to T.V. comes from the Light Programme, which the B.B.C. is now proposing to make more "popular" than ever (perish the thought!) in order to attract back to sound radio those who recently deserted it for T.V. To this end they propose to antagonise the only section of the community which had not been tempted away from radio by the new medium! This is as crazy as a Marx Brothers comedy, and it makes one put the question as to how disinterested are the officials of the B.B.C. in all this. Is the proposed reorganisation of programmes an attempt to solve the problem of staff redundancy created by the public's wholesale swing away from sound radio to Television? What grounds are there for assuming that the public which has taken to viewing can reasonably be induced to switch over to a similar programme limited to sound only? Yet this, according to the Sunday Pictorial is what they hope to do: "There's a plan to build-up the Light programme with give-away shows of the kind that have made ITV such a huge success". And assuming they did, it would only be at the expense of the Television programme audiences. In which case presumably the Television directors would have to reorganise their programmes to attract back the audiences lost to sound radio! It is all such a lot of nonsense that, as we said earlier, one comes to suspect the motives of those engaged in the reorganisation.

HAS the minority public any means of protecting its interests? We think it has if it is prepared to be more than be a spectator at all these developments. In the first place there is a question of establishing the rights of minorities to the "ether" on a par with the rights that have been won to express one's views by the spoken and writ-

ten word. By far the most effective

IN its issue of 12th January The Daily Worker carries a two-inch paragraph on Hungarian refugee mill hands at Rochdale who are earning a miserable £28 a month. The half-inch heading assures us that "we earned much more in Hungary." Yet an inch higher up in the same column this stooge paper contradicts itself when it admits that in Budapest at "a large wagon factory in the south-east of the city . . . some classes of workers who received £25 wages last month would receive only £19 this

#### Can the Boneheads Count?

month".

Though set plainly in front of them in cold print, Daily Worker readers can not, apparently, see the differences between the three sets of wages cited. Under Kadar the wage of £25 drops by £6 to £19, whereas in England for the Hungarian refugees concerned they stand at £28 or £9 more. This is 45 shilling a week more in Rochdale under free capitalism than in Hungary where the Red Army is trying to impose Russian State capitalism.

An additional advantage enjoyed by the Hungarian weavers working in Rochdale is that they are in no danger of being shot dead if they do protest at their low wages.

Two Hungarian workers were shot dead as they marched in a working-class demonstration against this crippling cut in wages. This The Daily Worker admits likewise, citing Reuter as its source of information. Professing Marxianity as their creed and lacking a knowledge of Marxism, the editors of Khrushchev's English daily are unable to draw the inescapable conclusion that a clique claiming to be a working-class government which shoots down peaceful, unarmed workers is certainly no friend of the workers.

#### Magyar Miners Give More Coal

Since humans don't count, these lackeys of the Russian Communist Party set their emphasis on coal output and its upward movement as the Hungarians ex-

method would be to face the government with the fait accompli. An appeal should be directed to all those people in this country who consider the Third Programme represents the kind of "entertainment" they are interested in, and who are prepared to join some co-operative that would be set up to produce and broadcast such programmes. 100,000 people willing ta pay five shillings a week would provide more than a million pounds a year to this end. The co-operative could then offer to lease from the B.B.C. all its V.H.F. transmitters at present radiating the Third Programme and set about producing its own programmes. One can well imagine that such a proposal would meet with a refusal.

But the B.B.C.'s position (and in consequence, the government's) would be a difficult one if on the one hand it refused to continue a programme for which there was still a large demand, and on the other hand refused to come to an arrangement to provide the unused and available facilities to those who wished to carry on. And if eventually all kinds of persuasion failed to move the government other steps would have to be taken, beginning with a refusal to pay wireless licences and including exploring the possibilities for setting up transmitters outside this country—a kind of Radio Luxembourg for Third Programme audiences! This all may sound fantastic, but not half as fantastic as the present capers in Briadcasting House, which threaten to "take away" from the Third- to indulge in a blind "give-away" on the Lightprogramme.

The so-called popular taste is catered for by two television- and one-and-a-half sound- programmes. Is it asking too much to expect that just one sound programme, which is on the air for barely five hours a day, should be free of news bulletins, church services, unfunny funny men, politicians and crooners? Call us snobs if you like, but it's not that in fact. It is simply a plea that "freedom-of-choice" should be a reality and not just a string of fine words!

Kadar, but love of their land and the people in it, recognition of the crying need for fuel to heat hospitals and the like the homes of the common folk, makes the miners go back into pits that are more dangerous to-day than they were, say, six months ago. They have a certain liking for their work in spite of all its risks, a pride in what they give to their people in the way of warmth and comfort in the depth of winter.

Before the Magyar working class rose to its feet to spit on Sovietism and all its manifestations 80,000 tons of coal were being brought up to the surface daily. Output is now slowly increasing and is at present about 44,000 tons a day. This—to the D.W. hacks—is a great victory. But it is a victory for Russian State capitalism, not for the Hungarian working class.

#### Kadar's "Tasks"

Workers' and Peasants' Government' is allotted two pages of Pravda (7/14036) to broadcast to the world its most important tasks. The statement is in ten numbered parts preceded by a preamble which is a shambles of generalities speaking of dollar imperialism (but failing to

mention Soviet imperialism); the dictatorship of the proletariat (which has suddenly been declared by the Chinese
Communist Party to be of outstanding
importance as a fundamental tenet of
Communist orthodoxy); and the enormous help accorded by the Red Army
(though nothing is said of the incredible
destruction caused by its tanks and their
guns fired at point-blank range in the
streets of what was once one of the beautiful cities of Europe). Control of the
press is, of course, complete in all three
countries. All thought has been silenced.
Only doctrine remains.

#### Our Shrinking World

One may telephone from Communistheld East Berlin direct to Los Angles on the other side of America. Besides being essential for the commercial needs of a huge capitalist State like the Soviet, it is held up by the Party as a great Communist achievement. This is the Party in action on the technical field.

But it is impossible to telephone to West Berlin half a mile away. Indeed, one must telegraph through Frankfurt at great expense.

Bureaucracy, censorship, and Beria's secret police will have it so.

TP

### Letter from Bulgaria

OUR youth, both in the country and in the towns, cannot satisfy their cultural needs, and it is the university students in particular who suffer from this. One way or another some echo reaches us of the cultural progress of other nations, but we have no access to their new acquisitions. Only very recently has the censorship allowed films, plays and works of art of Western origin (all works contributing in some way to communist propaganda). Soviet "culture" floods the market, and Russian films repeat ad nauseam the same propaganda slogans, so that one does not ask any more whether a film is good or bad, but whether it is Russian or good.

One by one, the young people join in the struggle, and that by the only means at their disposal of an enslaved country trying to stand up against terror: passive resistance. In this silent fight, the inertia of the young masses is such that the most able communist agitators and organisers are powerlessly marking time. Passive resistance started a long time ago, from the very beginning of terror. It has developed slowly, but it is now so strong that it paralyzes all the organizational life of the country. "Popular manifestations" have for several years looked like so many funerals. The last of them, which took place on November 7th, 1956, was the sombrest of them all, in spite of communist agitation and a recrudescence of terror, or perhaps because of them. The youth meeting which took place in Sofia on December 1st, 1956, was a total failure, always because of passive resistance.

The young people (the names of

those absent were taken down) not only did not listen to the speakers, but left the meeting before it was finished. They should have chanted the party slogans, and they remained silent; they should have been singing, and they did not utter a sound. They had been ordered to spread through the streets singing the youth hymn, but it was the loudspeakers which broadcast the music played by a military orchestra stationed on the square called September 4th.

This life with no opening, with no hope in the future, does not satisfy the young. No wonder, then, that in this dark night they are looking for some light in ever increasing numbers. Some already confide to their best friends that their life is unbearable, that they are not living, but only vegetating, and that it is imperative to find a way out of this situation. The Bulgarian youth are asking themselves the question whether they should follow the Hungarian example and do something. The hold of terror is still great. "They will crush us like flies," say some of them; "It is foolish and dangerous at the present moment," say others, and maybe they are right.

But nobody can forsee the development of future events; and who knows whether, in this country brought to the last of its endurance, a spark might not rekindle the torch of freedom, and fire the hearts into a struggle in which our University, working-class and peasant youth will doubtlessly be in the forefront . . .

(Signed X.X.X., and translated from the January number of "Le Monde Libertaire".)

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I have been influenced by and have a

great sympathy for the work of the

Society of Friends, but I have no reli-

gious affiliation. In the past I have:

worked with the American Friends Ser-

vice Committee and expect to do so in

THE NATURE OF ANARCHY

Some little time ago, a few words of

mine which you were kind enough to

print led to a lengthy series of articles on

George Orwell, whom I had claimed to

be a "natural anarchist" out of the dis-

It does not seem to have occurred to

anyone since, as it had not occurred to

me at the time, that the operative word is

"natural". No other word is applicable

to anarchy, and that thought leads to

realisation of the fact that much that is

nonsense is said of anarchy—and not all

of it outside of the columns of Free-

DOM. In the columns of Freedom, "pro-

paganda" is often used in connection with

anarchy. This is utterly wrong. There

is no propaganda of gravity, evolution,

radio or atomic energy. Exposition is

the medium used for giving understand-

ing of these. They are expounded as

in Nature is demonstrated almost every

week in Freedom by examples given of

how men, wherever left to themselves,

behave as anarchists, naturally and in-

evitably. True understanding of anarchy

can come in no other way, and the crying

need is for exposition, not propaganda.

Propaganda, or anything savouring of

that, obstructs and retards understand-

ing of anarchy as the fact in Nature

Yours fraternally,

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Bekewell, Jan. 12.

That anarchy is natural and a fact

things natural and facts in Nature.

covery that I was one myself.

the future.

COMRADES,

#### From the United States

### Individual Resistance

[We have often remarked on the general apathy or cynicism to be found among young people in the post-war world. One has had confirmation of this in the past few days with the registration of the first batch of conscripts for the W. German army. There had been many signs that resistance would be widespread. Instead out of more than 100,000 youths involved in this registration only 100 have registered as C.O.'s. Perhaps—and we hope this is the case—the small number of C.O.'s will be accounted for by an official aamission at some later date tha a large number of young people did not register at all.

The statement we publish below is by an American C.O., John Leslie Martinson, who was arrested in January 1956 for refusing to be "inducted" into the American armed forces. He was released on bail. His trial opened in November 1956, but was adjourned until some time in February. We find the statement interesting both for the account of his background and the influences in his development, as well as for what seems to us a healthy cynicism where governments are concerned.—EDITORS].

... I DON'T feel that the burden of proof is on the war resister to justify his position, logically or otherwise. To-day the shoe is on the other foot. It is the men who fashion the weapons of mass destruction and spend billions on war preparations who need justification to the world. Atomic weapons are being stockpiled with the best of intentions. But is the H-Bomb our best guarantee of peace? It is a moot question.

Of course it's no great accomplishment to be against war. The problem isn't war. The problem is peace. What is peace? Certainly the perpetual Cold War punctuated by periodic Korean "brush fires" cannot be called peace. Absence of a shooting war is only one of the conditions of peace. But what must we (the World's population) have or do or know to achieve peace? This is the question rather than the simpler issue of draft resistance that most concerns me. But I have no easy answer. All I suggest is that we try to cultivate ber standing in front of Faunce House that humble spirit of the seeker for truth. I have been a student of physical and social science and I believe these disciplines could help us if we would support scientists studying peace problems in the way we support the scientists who work on war problems. I have known a number of artists and craftsmen whose vision I believe can guide us on the road to peace.

Personally, the search for peace seems incompatible with military service.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

I was born in 1929 and grew up in the human junk piles of war. The date of my birth is probably more important than my early surroundings in explaining my present position. The human

junk piles of war are the Veterans Hospitals where my father has been employed and where we have always lived. But being born in 1929 in a family accustomed to regular paychecks means the Great Depression didn't exist for me. As a child I enjoyed a kind of security that caused one of my friends to call me "a child of the welfare state." There was surprisingly little competitive spirit in this type of community. Government owned homes and public knowledge of fellow workers salaries virtually erased class distinctions. The government reservations always had vast expanses of green lawns on which I and neighbouring children were always welcome to play. But I also remember those lawns being mowed by long lines of mental patients marching zombie-like behind their lawn-mowers, a white-coated attendant fore and aft. At the time these were simply, "The patients" and only years later did I begin to comprehend how and why they had come to be there.

I was 10 years old when the second World War began and 16 when it ended. What did the war mean to me? Sugar rationing, summer jobs at a nearby Army hospital, saving defence stamps and maybe buying a little black market gas for our parents' cars if we had a big date. It was between 1945 and 1950 that I came of age. Remember the idealism in the early part of that period? At least that's the way it seemed to this teen-ager. In my high school choir in Maywood, Illinois we sang "United Nations on the March, With Flags Unfurl'd. Together march to Victory, A Brave New World."

Yes, a brave new world for we graduating seniors, class of '47, future leaders of America. And compared to the years before and after I think it was a new world. The UN was having birth pangs. There was no armaments race, no real chilly cold war or Korean "police action", no draft, and millions of readjusting vets who had nourished dreams of "what it's going to be like after the

But still the cold war abroad and the witch hunt at home were not in full swing. I couldn't vote yet but I rememin Providence, Rhode Island. It was a beautifully sunny idealistic day in October and Henry Wallace was speaking to us at Brown University. Later we organized "Political Emphasis Week" and I sat on a platform with Sen. Theodore Francis Greene and his Republican and Progressive opponents. What was said or what the issues were I haven't the least recollection, but we had a wonderful torchlight parade before the meeting.

Then one day on the south side of Chicago in June 1950, I decided maybe I'd better know the issues. Suddenly, shockingly we were again at war. In short order I realized that the idealism of 1945 was hardly adequate for the realities of 1950. At that time I was a member of a Students-In-Industry pro-

ject of the YM & YWCA. I was working on the assembly line at the Ford Plant and later as a construction labourer. There were a number of conscientious objectors in the same project. and after discussions with them and members of the 57th Street Friends Meeting of Chicago, I became a conscientious objector.

In January 1951, my draft board classified me as a conscientious objector, was a little surprised because in my letter to them I did not base my objection on strict religious grounds . . However, my draft board could not give me authority to begin work so I continued my studies.

In June 1953, my draft board ordered me into alternative service after I had contacted a small co-op hospital in Two Harbors, Minnesota. I began work there as an orderly and ambulance driver. think it is fair to say that I was a reasonable success in this job. I think I was able to be of service and I got a great deal of satisfaction from my San Francisco where she will remain work. This was a co-op owned and pending the outcome of my trial. My operated hospital in a "company town" present plans centre around teaching, dominated by the Duluth Missabe & Iron Range RR (a U.S. Steel subsidiary). The local St. Louis County medical society was bitterly opposed to the work of the hospital, clinic and health plan to the extent of excluding our doctors from membership. (Thankfully the threat of court action has since changed this situation). But all of these things made me greatly sympathetic with the people of the town who were fighting against

considerable odds to secure adequate medical care.

Eventually though, I came to feel that I could not conscientiously co-operate with Selective Service when I observed how non-religious objectors were being treated. I arranged for another young man to come to Two Harbors and then left in protest against what I feel is the unconstitutional and unjust treatment of men whose religion may be unorthodox.

Returning to the University of Wisconsin I completed my work (my research concerned the relationship between fertility treatment of the soil and nutritional value of the resulting plant protein) and in June 1955, I received my M.S. in Soil Science. Since then I have tried to increase my technical competency in a broad way by working at a variety of technical and engineering tasks. Presently I am employed by the Water Resources Division of the U.S. Geological Survey in San Francisco, California. My wife is a nursery school teacher working in writing and research.

Some of the organizations I support include:

The Society for Social Responsibility in Science.

The War Resisters League. The San Francisco Planning and Housing Association.

Community Service Inc., Yellow Springs, Ohio. Peacemakers.

#### LETTER

DEAR COMRADES.

Those anarchists who take more interest and pleasure in emphasising their similarity of opinion with that of other anarchists, rather than in puerile namecalling (cf. the recent letters on "Bohemians") will be inspired by the possibilities inherent in international anarchist co-operation. We can represent anarchist opinion as the voice of many nationalities, instead of the isolated cry

### Still no Surplus-But its Improving!

Deficit on Freedom Contributions received DEFICIT

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E. Boston: Aurora Club £4/11/0; San Fran-

from the outsider in the wilderness .

Co-ordination of action can only be achieved when there is co-ordination of words and thought. Why not an international anarchist news agency? Although most fast methods of communication are much too expensive for the ever-poor anarchist movement, written communication is quite feasible. Transmission of news would be relatively slow, but we are not primarily interested in red-hot news. What we want is the truth and unbiased opinion concerning it.

The two most convenient languages are surely English and French, and work at the co-ordinating centre could be greatly reduced if most incoming news items were in one of these languages.

From this centre the news would be sent to all member anarchist organisations, also in French or English. A central agency would be useful in correlating information sent in, and to keep records of news items, but urgent news could be posted from the country concerned direct to other anarchist journals, again in French or English. Another function of the central agency could be to issue a short non-controversial (amongst anarchists!) statement to all anarchist journals and to the press, at an event of great importance (as recently with the affairs of Hungary and Egypt). Although the drafting of such a statement would demand a high sense of responsibility, some such system surely deserves a trial.

Why not world-wide campaigns on agreed subjects (e.g. abolition of the death penalty everywhere)? How effective this might be.

Yours sincerely, Cheltenham, Jan. 20. H. R. LEWIS.

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### Man and Freedom Continued from p. 2

less; and if a state of perfection is one day to be reached, all those who die before it are merely an instrument and expendable. Evolutionary theories, swallowed whole, act as an anaesthetic to our sense of tragedy, hardly separable in my opinion from a reliable sense of ethical freedom. To look for manifestations of the spirit in the records of ages past is to look for brothers dwelling in other abodes than our own century and civilization. What matters when we find them, is that we are capable of the same feeling and that they have an example, a hope or a consolation to give us; not that one came before, and another came after, that one was rich and another poor, and all less privileged than us.

THIS spirit of brotherhood is not lacking in Bontemps, but it is not the most apparent feature of his work. The reader is more likely to be impressed by some neat and judicious appraisal like the following: "The Stoic and Epicurean doctrine may be an inexpugnable haven, but it supplies no weapon for attack. It does not offer to the simple-hearted the attraction of active struggle which is the relish of instinct". Or these stringencies on the Sartrian brand of existentialism: "On the ontological plane, essence necessarily precedes existence because it is all contained beforehand in the genetic cells"; "What does existentialism bring to this struggle (of man trying to master his destiny) but a repellent philosophy, a 'nausea' which denies the deep instincts of beings who want to go on living at

all costs?"

Bontemps' freedom, we must remark finally, is not for the masses, but for a spiritually disciplined and generoushearted élite. He may be right when he writes that "in order to want one's freedom in the service of man, and solely for the sake of a fully unfolded life, one must have a rare religious vocation or a philosophy deeply rooted in the self." But "in the seething of instinctive and minor passions, to want one's freedom is too often a yearning for domination. The habit of obeying and envying him who holds the chain in his hand makes one conceive one's freedom and see oneself insured against a novel servitude only if one manages to hold the chain in one's own hand in turn". Thus the crucial problems of freedom are left unsolved, and the hope and will to establish freedom as a social reality can draw but little comfort from Bontemps' reflections. As addressed to the mind rather than to the heart, his book fails to link up in a taut conceptual system those facts and values, those emotions and aspirations, often widely divergent or bitterly conflicting, which shelter under the great ambrella word of freedom. Without a solid conceptual system, fitting reality all round in its broad contours, one's mind cannot confidently guide and support one's will, nor meet with other minds for a common purpose, except gropingly and at random. As a general rule, it is the will which guides and comforts the mind; and it is no mean homage to Bontemps to say that his will is good.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

#### Kadar's Terror Continued from p. 1

Kadar has still not succeeded in filling the Ministerial posts in his Government. The Workers-Peasants Party, which he founded early in November, when he became Premier, still has no popular support. Out of the 800,000 former Communist Party members on record, only 25,000 have so far joined the new party. The Communist Party machine, which collapsed the day the revolt began, remains politically, a dead body. Only the secret police remain to play their macabre rôle, attempting to clothe the corpse with the trappings of power.

### Concessions Nevertheless

In spite of the outward show of tyranny, however, Kadar has been forced to make some concessions to student demands—although without public announcement. Kadar is obviously desperate to get things back in some sort of running order without losing too much face. Teaching has already been resumed in

most universities and schools and students are now free to choose between Russian, English and German languages. The Marxist-Leninist subject in the curriculum has been omitted. Religious teaching is once more allowed.

The Kadar régime still faces tremendous power in the passive resistance of the Hungarian people. It is ironic and pathetic that the two top Kremlin stooges should be Janos Kadar and the Socialist renegade Gyorgy Marosan, for both these men went through the torture chambers of the AVH while they were Rakosi's prisoners. Kadar is known to have had his fingernails pulled out and is reported to have been castrated. Is it the memory of that suffering and the threat of more that keeps him dancing to the Kremlin's tune?

And can any Communists anywhere still sincerely defend the circumstances of Kadar's régime in Hungary to-day?