

AFTER THE H-BOMB TESTS

AN ECONOMIC BLAST

TO a background of eighteen H-bomb test explosions, with an 800 square-mile cloud of bomb debris, strontium and caesium drifting above the stratosphere (and due to shower the good earth with a fertiliser of death any time now), the political trumpeters of London, Washington and Moscow are vying with each other to see who can blow the loudest and most convincing improvisation on the theme of "peace". We found none of the contestants convincing. As to the respective performances, Britain's was virtually inaudible against the competing roar of her two H-bomb test explosions; the United States marred her chances by blowing a lot of wrong notes at the beginning (occasioned by the sordid squabbles within the Administration over cash and disarmament policy). We think, without a doubt, that Mr. Khrushchev, with the co-operation of American television, gave by far the best performance. His top notes were sweet and melodious ("It is not my view that the United States is planning a war against the Soviet Union" . . . "any man who should unleash war . . . I would call a madman"). On the lower register, however, he was less sweet, and even played out of tune (e.g. those two flat notes "Absolutely", "Absolutely" on the theme of whether he was convinced in his own mind that in every country with a Communist régime, that régime rested on the will of the people).

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BUT a common note was sounded in this cacophonous Trumpet Involuntary. The 100% cold war is to be replaced by the economic offensive. The military machines of the Three Powers are to be pruned to the new essentials of this nuclear age: a good supply of H-bombs, pilotless bombers to deliver the goods, and a few of Khrushchev's "madmen" in reserve to press the button that will unleash universal destruction. (Did you read in Monday's report from Christmas Island by *News Chronicle* correspondent

Touring in Russia

KEEPING TO THE RIGHT ROAD WITH A "GUIDE"

The Automobile Association announces that, for the first time, the Soviet authorities have agreed to allow private motorists to tour in Russia this year. After negotiations lasting more than eighteen months, the A.A. has been notified by Intourist that two routes have been approved. They are:

1.—Brest Litovsk, Minsk, Smolensk, Moscow (covering a thirteen-day tour in Russia); and

2.—Brest Litovsk, Minsk, Smolensk, Moscow, Tula, Mtsensk, Orel, Kursk, Kharkov, and Simferpol to Yalta and return (covering a 27-day tour).

Motorists will be required to provide a seat in the car for an Intourist interpreter guide during the whole of their tour in Russia.

The thirteen-day tour will cost £25 10s. —£34 if first-class accommodation is provided. The longer tour will cost £49 or £70 for the first-class touring accommodation. Petrol in all cases is extra and will cost about 5s. 4d. a gallon—little more than the price in this country. An A.A. official added:

"Intourist has advised us that the roads on the approved tours are generally good, with weather-bound surfaces and widths of 27ft. to 33ft.; that is room for two traffic streams. The usual Customs and circulation documents and, of course, visas, will be required and, in addition, a British driving licence and car registration book."

Hugh McLeave, that even the one wild pig which survived Bomb Test No. 1 has disappeared after Test No. 2?). The release of manpower, skilled and unskilled, of raw materials, of existing industrial plant and of the potential for industrial expansion—these are the new weapons that will be available to the politicians in the struggle for power, without—and it is important to stress this—in any way reducing the military capacity of the Powers to destroy all humanity!

The only condition for real peace is that no country shall possess the weapons to wage war. It is as simple—and as sweeping—as that! Now as to *how* that state of affairs can be achieved is much less simple. Wars are declared—or at least initiated—by governments, but are fought by the people. For the public to blame politicians for wars (apart from local or colonial conflicts) in the second half of the 20th century is to think in terms of the past centuries when wars were normal, almost predictable, methods of conducting the affairs of State. To our minds, with the exceptions given, and excluding the raving lunatics of the 20th century such as, for instance, Chiang Kai-shek, Singman Rhee and a few South American upstarts, the implications of total war are more clearly understood by politicians than by a large section of the public.

It should not be overlooked that during the past twelve years of cold war there were more hot-heads among the American people who

were advocating war with Russia than among the politicians. If we may use the now fashionable cliché about "self-interest" it would seem that the politicians show more understanding of it in not declaring war (however near "the brink" their political rivals tell us they have gone) than those sections of the public who, on the strength of newspaper headlines and news conferences given by the politicians themselves, seek to resolve the political impasse rather in the same way as they would deal with their recalcitrant off-spring or a wayward husband or wife within the confines of the four walls of their "home"!

Clearly people will refuse to fight wars once they have ceased to seek to solve their personal problems by recourse to force or authority. However much a politician may browbeat his wife or chastise his children, he is not allowed to bring the methods of hearth and nursery to bear on "interests" more permanent and "vital" than those of personal pride and authority whether as a politician or as a father!

The war bogey is to our minds much more a scare weapon in the hands of politicians in order to make themselves indispensable in the eyes of the public, than a threat *per se*. On the other hand war is a concomitant of the economic struggle between nations at some stage or other of that struggle. For this reason we consider the shift by the Three Powers from the cold war to the economic war not as a justification

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ARTHUR MILLER FOUND 'GUILTY'

ARTHUR MILLER, the American playwright was found guilty of contempt of Congress by a Washington court on May 31st; his crime was refusal to answer two questions put to him by the United States House of Representatives' Un-American Activities Committee; his sentence could be one year in prison or a \$1,000 fine or both on each of the two counts.

The questions, which Miller refused to answer were: "Can you tell us who was there when you walked into the room?" and "Was Arnaud D'Usseau chairman of this meeting of the Communist Party writers which took place in 1947 at which you were present?" The Government had to prove that they were "pertinent to the question of fraudulent procurement and misuse of American passports by persons in the service of Communist conspiracy." The case was heard by Judge Charles F. McLaughlin without a jury, and it will almost certainly go to appeal.

In his ruling the Judge said that Mr. Miller's motives for refusing to disclose the names of his associates—"however commendable"—could not be considered in judging the case because of an Appeal Court ruling in a similar case. The sentence will be announced after a report has been received from the court's probation officer—in about a week.

The committee already knew the answers to the questions which Miller refused to answer, before they asked him.

What of democracy in a country in which there are only these three

alternatives in a situation such as this?

1. Informing on one's friends and associates.
2. Pleading the Fifth Amendment which is then regarded as implied guilt.
3. Conviction, and sentence to imprisonment and/or a fine.

Particularly when the events referred to happened 10 years before, the questions are unnecessary, and any sympathy for the "conspiracy" has long since disappeared.

The cause of American justice is certainly not furthered by Miller's conviction, and the witch-hunting activities of the committee stand once more as an example of the peculiar totalitarian tendencies which creep into the so-called democratic constitutions when it "becomes necessary". Persecution by McCarthyism has had a long run and with devastating results, its effects will be felt in the United States probably for an indefinite period, by now it is fairly certain that the general public disapproves, partly because of its wild-goose-chase aspect and partly due to the discredited character of the late McCarthy. And yet the committee continues its futile and pointless pursuits, largely after men of independent and liberal thought who once supposed that Communism might solve the world's problems, have since discovered their error, but still believe that there are values of far greater importance than obedience to State policy and patriotism. Values which include loyalty to one's friends and ideals, and a refusal under any circumstances to betray either.

Background to the Melouza Massacre

The Algerians Among Themselves

PARIS, JUNE 1st.

ALI CHEKKAL, vice president of the Algerian Assembly, who was shot dead as he was leaving a sports meeting in company with the director of the municipal police, was the last of the moslem clientele created by the French in their North African Departments. The terrorist who killed him belonged to the National Liberation Front (N.L.F.), and his act symbolises the manifest will of the N.L.F. for a complete rupture between France and Algeria. Not a single Moslem Algerian attended the funeral, which the government had wanted should be a spectacular affair; their absence can be explained by the threats issued by the Algerian nationalists, but it was above all an indication that all "conversation" between Paris and the façade of pseudo-democratic organisations set up in Algiers, had come to an end.

Violence destroys the *décor* and the expedients which for too long are taken for the reality; it places facts and phenomena in a more true light. Thus, in France itself, no party has succeeded in organising even a minority among the hundreds of thousands of Algerian workers; no trade union organisation has succeeded in keeping in its ranks the wage-earners of North African origin. The break is therefore not only an incident in parliamentary life, but exists everywhere and the existing political game will never heal the breach.

We have left behind the days when the groups of the French extreme-right recruited followers and demonstrators in France among the miserable North Africans, paying them by the day. (It was for this reason that in the years 1934-35, one of the fascist organisations, *Solidarité Française* was often referred to as "Sidi-larité française") so fell of Algerians were its meetings, though they understood precisely nothing of what the

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speakers were discussing). The working masses established in France are no longer a connexion that can be bought, but a milieu exclusively worked on by Algerian political and trade-union groupings.

It is true that Algerian workers in France already possessed a tradition of organisation; since 1930 Messali Hadj had created, under such names as "North African Star" and "Algerian Popular Party, a political movement solidly based on the Parisian region (notably in the engineering industry in which many Algerians were employed) and in many provincial areas (East, Lyons, Marseilles). This tradition led them to seek an understanding with the trades unions and the Left wing political parties. The lack of interest shown by them in the North African workers, the communist manoeuvres, the weakness of the support that the few genuinely revolutionary groups could offer in advancing the Algerian workers' demands, conspired to precipitate the evolution of the militant North Africans and led them to formulate their own programmes and develop closed forms of organisation. After the war, when it was still possible to hope that the metropolitan authorities would concede an ever greater autonomy to the Moslem population of Algeria, the M.N.A. of Messali Hadj again tried to work together with the Socialist Party, the C.G.T. and with various groups of the Left and the extreme-Left. To no purpose. On the other hand, the influx of Algerian emigrants who had come to France to find work and the means to feed the families they had left behind, were to give the M.N.A. an almost complete monopoly in their organisation as well as swelling its ranks and establishing its influence.

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IT was in Algeria itself, where the clashes between the Moslem popula-

tion and the French authorities, supporting the European minority, were most bitter, and where all possibility of collaboration in the march towards independence appeared illusory, that the N.L.F. was born. Slowly but surely the National Liberation Front grouped together all those who, by quite different paths (from the attempts at open collaboration with the French authorities, via efforts at creating local assemblies without great powers, of entering the trades-unions, by agitation, strikes and finally through insurrection and terrorism), were all demanding national independence. Events ironed out tendencies and doctrines, leaving only two forces in the field, both trained and armed: the N.L.F. and the forces of repression.

In metropolitan France, the speed of this development was slower, which explains why the M.N.A. remained in a majority whereas in Algeria the N.L.F. predominated. Both movements avail themselves of the maquis, of controlled zones, of acts of war, of influence over this or that corporation, in France as well as in Algeria. The rivalry between these organisations has become such that the "settling of scores", assassinations, "raids" and expropriations have become more numerous and are regular news items in the daily press. If one ignores the detail of the internal struggles of the movements in the Algerian Departments (and of which the massacre in Melouza provides us with the most recent example), one can follow fairly accurately what is happening in French territory. The N.L.F. is gaining in influence because it is more daring, more aggressive and surrounded with a halo of glory for its campaigns carried out overseas. The M.N.A., better organised, still holds out, but its more pacific methods are clearly a handicap. Each organisation now has its own Trades Union organisation in French territory.

From the interminable polemics between the two tendencies, the following arguments can be discerned: the M.N.A. blames the N.L.F. for not having a realistic programme, of conducting a war without foreseeing the possible outcome; in a word, of lacking a political sense. It also charges the National Liberation Front with being too much inclined to the belief that the United States will in the end come to its rescue, and accuses it of drawing its resources both from certain backward nationalist elements in the Middle East as well as from North American oil companies. To all this the N.L.F. replies that the M.N.A. is deceiving itself by believing in the chances of re-opening "conversations" with the French government, and that this very government is secretly helping the followers of Messali Hadj in order

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!
 WEEK 22

Deficit on Freedom £440
 Contributions received £343
 DEFICIT £97

May 24 to May 30

California: D.R. 1/-; London: W.H.T. 2/6;
 London: Anon. 9d.; London: S.B.* 2/6;
 London: J.S.* 3/-; Warrington: J.H. 10/-;
 London: W.E.D. 1/-; London: D.S. 2/6;
 Bolton: W.H.B. 4/-; Net proceeds of successful speculation by Stock Exchange operator hoping to save conscience and buy way to Anarchist Heaven, £5; London: Hyde Park Sympathisers 2/11; London: D.M. 1/9.

Total ... 7 10 11
 Previously acknowledged ... 335 8 1

1957 TOTAL TO DATE ... £342 19 0

*Indicates regular contributor.

Fire Fund

Man Group per A.R. £10.
 Total ... 10 0 0
 Previously acknowledged ... 119 7 4
 TOTAL TO DATE ... £129 7 4

DOMESTIC AMERICA

A MIKE IN THE BOSOM

[This remarkable article on the machinery of conformity in the United States is condensed from the New York magazine *Dissent*. THE television show *Person to Person* employs a technician whose job is to hide a small microphone in the bosoms of women who appear on the show so that the women may be heard without the apparatus being visible to the audience. This tactful technician—he is said to do his job with courtesy and discretion—is, I would suggest, symbolic of the main drift of contemporary society. In the dim world of mass culture he stands out as a startlingly clear figure.

Consider *Person to Person* as we see it after the tactful technician has done his work. With Edward R. Murrow we look at a picture of one of the homes we are going to "drop in on" that night. Then, as Mr. Murrow turns to our "host", the exterior of the home disappears and we plunge inside. After a few minutes of conversation in which we are introduced to the host, his family and pets—the inevitable whimsy—we are taken on a tour of the home. Along with Mr. Murrow, the ubiquitous camera, and the hidden mike we poke and pry at nearly everything that is exposed to us—television doth make voyeurs of us all.

This process must be understood with reference to a cliché that haunts all discussions of television: It brings the world into our living rooms. Obviously, Mr. Murrow has hit upon the most intriguing variation of this theme; he brings other living rooms into ours. And with the help of his tactful technician he allows us to snuggle up closely to this other living room; the artfully hidden mike eliminates another barrier between us and what is happening in that room. It is also clear that Mr. Murrow, like the rest of his fraternity, has a ready answer to the question, Do we want the world continually pouring into our living room? Another question, Does it make a difference how it pours? has apparently never been considered at all.

I pick on Mr. Murrow and his show because more often than not it is conducted with urbanity and wit, which distracts our attention from its inherent vulgarity. Mr. Murrow seduces us while his competitors try to rape us. For what

we are often tempted to forget is that *Person to Person* is merely one end of a continuum at the other end of which is *This is Your Life* and *Strike It Rich*. These two shows are notable for their exquisite refinement of the process of alienation. The industrial worker sells his labour power and relinquishes control over his tools and product; but on *This is Your Life* and *Strike It Rich* what the sponsor buys are the feelings, emotions, and intimate relationships of the participant, that is, precisely those elements of life, beside work skills, which define him as a distinct human being. *Person to Person* is not as crude as all this, but it differs only in degree.

Since privacy is an end in itself, the destruction of privacy is to be condemned. But the significance of the mingling of living rooms and the lowering of barriers must be seen in a broader context.

EVERY society or group has the persistent problem of getting people to behave in a way that maintains the existent social structure. The norms which prescribe the approved behaviour may be conceived of as the "discipline" of the society or group; it represents the standard of conformity. But the amount of conformity that is required varies. On the one extreme there is the discipline of a military organization where the goal is as much uniformity of behaviour as possible. Toward the other extreme is the discipline of science: The norms of the "scientific method", unlike military norms, prescribe behaviour and thought only within very wide limits.

The main drift of contemporary society is clearly toward the first of these. When we talk of the pressures for conformity we are saying in effect that it is increasingly difficult for individuals to bring their own distinctive styles to their social roles. We are saying that it is becoming harder to seize upon the ambiguities which pervade all spheres of action and use them to explore other alternatives, because the disciplines are

being so narrowed as to eliminate these ambiguities.

This brings us back to the Peeping Toms of televisions. First, and most obviously, the penetration of the home by camera and microphone creates a frame of reference for accepting this as expected and conventional behaviour. *Life in a goldfish bowl is transformed from metaphor into accepted reality*. The strength of television as a promoter of discipline does not derive solely from its intrinsic appeal; it is also congruent with other forces pushing in exactly the same direction. *Fortune* reports that in the "new-middle class" communities it is virtually impossible to keep the neighbours from invading one's living room at the slightest pretext or without any pretext at all. This, combined with the uncritical acceptance of the *Person to Person* show, suggests how far we have come from the innocence of the nineteenth century with its motto, "A man's home is his castle."

WE may now have a perspective from which to view the social consequences of the trivialization of emotions and intimate relationships. As soon as these aspects of personality are transformed into commodities, as well as means of titillating the sado-masochistic impulses of an audience, they become alien characteristics, and, as such, they cannot serve as bases for a defence against the pressures of a restrictive society. We must not be deluded into thinking that this is the participants' problem and not ours. For, as with the invasion of privacy, this continual exposure to the disintegration of other people's identities creates an environment in which it is difficult to maintain a high valuation of our own identity.

Increasingly, support for behaviour and thought which deviate from the ever tightening norms comes from such small groups as the family, one's friends, etc. The invasion of privacy is, in effect, a subversion of these groups. Perhaps this

will become clearer once we recognize that television is first cousin to the informer. Once the latter becomes institutionalized—as he seems well on his way to becoming—one must always act in strict conformity with the prescribed discipline since the betrayer may be professional colleague, son, or trusted friend. By destroying the solidarity of a group which depends, in large part, upon almost unlimited trust, the informer undermines the supports for behaviour which challenges the accepted norms of society. But the basis for the establishment of trust is *privacy* which, in turn, is being destroyed by television and other media.

When any group has control of the environment it is comparatively easy to socialize the members through the classical methods of censorship, etc. But there are other methods beside censorship or physical isolation which do not require the same degree of environmental control. One such method involves the distortion of the meanings of certain symbols and actions which represent alternate beliefs and behaviour. That is, if you throw a Krishna Menon in with a Gabor, bill the entire "package" as entertainment, and sell it through television you have gone a long way towards creating an image of an unambiguous world.

What I am getting at here may become clearer by way of a Norman Vincent Peale. His success in converting the New Testament into a gospel of Positive Thought is, in part, due to his ability to destroy his own symbolic status as a minister. Will Herberg points out that a biblical faith is a declaration of resistance against the claims of society. The minister can be a symbol of that resistance, but if one resorts to the mass media it is impossible to be taken as a figure of "resistance", since these media are not organized for the expression of resistance.

Again, television is not the only medium which distorts the meaning and significance of symbolic figures. *Person to Person* is, after all, a lineal descendant of the covers of *Time* which within a month may feature anyone from Howdy Doody to David Riesman. What is crucial is the fact that the mass media present the world in such a manner that

the inherent complexities and ambiguities which challenge the norms of society cannot emerge.

In the *lingua franca* of contemporary sociology there is the term, "anticipatory socialization", which means, roughly, behaving now in a way which will make adjustment in some future situation easier. It adequately describes, I think, one meaning of popular culture. When the man slips the mike into the bosom, without causing anyone perceptible embarrassment, he helps train us for the time when we shall willingly do the job for ourselves; he is teaching us adjustment to a future nightmare.

MURRAY HAUSKNECHT.

In the Court of Public Opinion. By Alger Hiss. John Calder. 1957. 25/-.

The above are details of the English edition to be published shortly. It is Hiss's attempt to explain away Whitaker Chambers's evidence on which he was convicted for perjury, particularly the typewritten documents which Hiss asserts were forgeries. The book makes the case even more complex and baffling. The subject, by the way, has now quite a sizeable bibliography, which in addition to this latest work runs as follows: "A generation on Trial", by Alistair Cooke (Hart-Davis, 1950), and "Seeds of Treason", by Toledano and Lansky (Secker & Warburg, 1950) (both accounts of the two trials); "Witness", by Whitaker Chambers (Deutsch, 1953) (autobiography); and "The Strange Case of Alger Hiss", by Lord Jowitt (Hodder & Stoughton, 1953).

The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists. By Robert Tressell. Lawrence & Wishart. 1957. 15/-. (New edition).

Most readers will know the above book from its second edition (1918), which was an abridgement of the first (1914). We now have for the first time a complete publication of the MS, 250,000 words, which is about twice as long as the 1918 edition. The story of the MS, from its discovery in a tin trunk to its resting place in trade union archives is told in "The Adventures of a Manuscript", by Frank Swinnerton (Richards Press, 3/6d.), also published recently. Not so well-known as it might be is the life of Robert Noonan, the author, himself, entitled "Tressell of Mugsborough", by F. C. Ball. (Lawrence & Wishart, 1952).

Segregation. By Robert Penn Warren. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1957. 9/6.

The author, a Southerner, records a journey through Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana, and his conversations with the people he met. It is an attempt, he says, to penetrate the slogans and automatic attitudes adopted by blacks and whites and to perceive the "essential struggle" of the South. It is a readable enough little book, originally written for *Life* magazine, without containing anything really new.

South from Granada. By Gerald Brenan. Hamish Hamilton. 1957. 21/-.

Between 1920 and 1934 the author spent seven years in Yegen, one of the remotest and poorest of the villages of the Alpujarra region of Andalusia. He rebelled, he says, against English middle-class life and set off to discover a more breathable atmosphere. Here he describes the life of the village, its customs, folk-lore, festivals, quarrels and love-affairs, and how he came to appreciate a society which "puts the deeper needs of the human nature before technical organization". A postscript describes how the region fared during the Civil War and the changes the author saw on his latest visit in 1955. These communities are fast disappearing in the modern world: a question posed by reading the book (but not by the book itself) is how far is it justifiable thus to turn aside from modern life?

Teach Yourself Esperanto. By John Cresswell & John Hartley. E.U.P. 1957. 7/6.

Esperanto is not everybody's idea of an international language, but it is good to see evidence that a book on it is still a commercial proposition. The authors suggest that studying for four quarter-hour periods a day for four or five weeks will give a good foundation, and the book has been constructed with the novice to linguistics in mind. It looks admirable for this purpose, attractive and topical; but the newcomer to Esperanto who has had experience of other languages, and the more advanced student, will still need Montague Butler's "Step by Step in Esperanto" for fuller mastery of the grammar and niceties of meaning. R.B.

BOOK NEWS & COMMENT

CENSORSHIP has been in the news lately and it can take many forms. Newspapers and periodicals are not the concern of this column but on the face of it there seems no reason why the recent decision in the W. H. Smith case should not affect the flow of foreign books into this country. Magazines of course are much more topical and more likely to contain comment on current court proceedings, and being more numerous their contents are more difficult to check, but the difference is one of degree, not kind. Publishers (and others) have enough trouble with libel, obscenity, Official Secrets and H.M. Customs without a new burden.

In the U.S.S.R., pre-publication censorship; in the U.K., threats of proceedings after publication; in the U.S.A., the pressure of organised groups. A statement issued by the American Civil Liberties Union (and reported in "The Bookseller") complains that parish groups have been calling on booksellers, armed with a list of condemned titles. The list is published by the National Office of Decent Literature, an organisation of the Catholic Church, and the groups threaten boycott of the bookshop if any of the titles listed are stocked. Lists of "approved" booksellers are widely circulated. Apparently the police and prosecuting attorneys in some districts have forbidden the sale of any books on the N.O.D.L. list. The complaint is signed by 150 publishers, authors and critics.

The most striking thing about the "Lolita" affair is the Home Office's assumption of proprietary rights in the English language. Readers will recall that the book, a novel in English about a nympholept, by Vladimir Nabokov (highly praised by the critics) was published by the Olympia Press of Paris in 1956. A French translation is to be published there soon. Until December 20th, 1956, the book was freely available in France and copies were imported into the U.K., the U.S.A., and other countries. On that date the French Ministry of the Interior, at the instigation of the British Home Office, prohibited the book, thus effectively preventing the export of any more copies to any country whatever. It is no new thing for H.M. Customs to seize publications on arrival at U.K. ports, but this latest action introduces a new principle which affects all countries where English is widely spoken. I do not suppose that the authorities in

the U.S.A., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc., will shed any tears over the loss of the book, but after all it has not been convicted of any crime. It would be interesting to observe the British government's reaction if the French government, at the request of the Indians, forbade the publication of a biography in English of Winston Churchill which contained complementary references to his attitude to Indian independence.

SOME recent books:—

Battle for the Mind. By W. Sargent. Heinemann. 1957. 25/-.

This is an attempt to explain a man's political, ethical and religious beliefs in terms of Pavlovian psychology, of stimulus, response and rationalisation. The conversions of saints, the Chinese technique of brain-washing, the suggestibility of Evans (of the Evans and Christie case), shock therapy, and other phenomena are used as evidence. It is a subject of prime importance. We all like to think our beliefs have a rational and valid foundation: what, and it may be so, if they have not? This book will comfort neither humanists nor those who adhere to a supernatural religion.

The Common Muse. Edited by V. de S. Pinto and A. E. Rodway. Chatto & Windus. 1957. 25/-.

A collection of 197 British popular poems and street ballads, reprinted from such sources, inaccessible to the layman, as the broadsheet collections of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library. It is doubly useful for including 20th Century material, which has so far been neglected. The editors have not been consistent in their conception of what is popular poetry (they remark, however, that it should be low-faluting); some of the pieces are by well known poets, some are certainly by individuals (hacks, ballad mongers, etc.) who are unknown, and some are traditional.

Dangerous Estate. By Francis Williams. Longmans. 1957. 24/-.

Francis Williams is an ex-editor of the *Daily Herald* and runs a weekly Fleet Street column in the *New Statesman*.

This book is a history of the Press, from the early broadsheets, through the incredible influence of *The Times* in its prime, the mad fight for circulations of the 1930's and the rise of the tabloids. There is, too, some discussion of journalistic ethics and of the various menaces to the freedom of the Press. It is refreshing to find a defence of the tabloids: they exist, says the author, "to subject the standards and values of the Establishment to the vulgar realities of common life."

Fabian International Essays. Edited by T. E. M. McKitterick and Kenneth Younger. Hogarth Press. 1957. 18/-.

Anarchists will maintain something more than scepticism towards the apparatus of international power politics; nevertheless these essays by the more intellectual Labour Party leaders (on Co-existence, The Political Economy of the Cold War, British Defence Policy, The Middle East, The Far East, and The Commonwealth) ought not to be ignored. They represent an attempt to escape from the rigid attitudes that inter-party politics and the NATO alliance have created.

Freedom is as Freedom does. By Corliss Lamont. John Calder. 1956. 25/-.

This is a survey of the present state of civil liberties in the U.S.A. The author, who has had several clashes with those Congressional committees concerned with treasonable activities, exposes the often outrageous methods they use in detail. He shows how widespread the persecution of non-conformists has become, how powerful the subtle and crude pressures employed against minority opinion, and describes the vast power attained by the F.B.I. H. W. Wilson in a thoughtful preface argues that certain inevitable developments in society leave less and less room for individualism and wonders whether the recent decline in McCarthyist activity may not be because the fight against non-conformism has been won. Bertrand Russell's foreword refers to persecution at other times and places and compares Senator McCarthy with Titus Oates ("who invented the Popish Plot").

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP OPEN DAILY

(Open 10 a.m.—6.30 p.m., 5 p.m. Sats.)

New Books . . .

Tea and Sympathy Robert Anderson 12/6
The Short Reign of Pippin the Fourth John Steinbeck 12/6
Leftover Life to Kill Caitlin Thomas 18/-
Capital, Vol. 2 Karl Marx 7/6
A Priest in the House Emile Zola 18/-

Penguins . . .

Social Welfare and the Citizen [ed.] P. Archer 3/6
The Penguin Book of German Verse [ed.] Leonard Forster 6/-
The Aesthetic Adventure W. Gaunt 3/6
Patients and Doctors Kenneth Walker 3/6

Second-Hand . . .

Society and the Homosexual Gordon Westwood 4/-
Stories and Dramas Leo Tolstoy 3/6
The Uncertain Feeling Kingsley Amis 3/6
Unto Caesar F. A. Voigt 4/6
Trial of Edward Truelove (1878) 10/-
Trial of Bradlaugh and Besant (1877) 15/-
The Yogi and the Commissar Arthur Koestler 6/-
The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti Howard Fast 4/6
Essays in War-Time (1917) Havelock Ellis 3/-
Buddenbrooks Thomas Mann 5/6
The God that Failed Arthur Koestler, etc. 5/6
The Tyranny of Words Stuart Chase 6/6
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An Economic Blast

Continued from p. 1

for seeing peace round the corner, but rather as a cause, in the long run, for alarm.

★

MR. KHRUSHCHEV in another speech delivered at the opening of the Moscow Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition declared that when Russia catches up with the United States in the production per head of meat, milk and butter, "this victory will have a greater effect than the hydrogen bomb". And to this end he announced a relaxation of the regulations towards those collective farmers, who have also worked small holdings, which, to quote Victor Zorza in last Monday's *Manchester Guardian*, "is as 'capitalist' as it could be." And in his television interview he referred to the "removing of all restrictions on trade" as the most important first step for "bringing back normal relations between all countries in the world".

It is possible that the Russian economic system is less at the mercy of markets and world prices than is the system prevailing in the West. On the other hand the fact that we know on their own admission that in Russia there is not only a huge bureaucracy, that wage differentials are perhaps even more marked than in the West, but that also openly capitalist methods for raising production are now being resorted to as well as interest shown in the markets of the world, are we not justified in assuming that economically at least, the system in Russia is no more revolutionary than that advocated by the Labour Party in this country. We see therefore no grounds for Mr. K. suggesting that East and West can live in peace in spite of "ideological differences" of an "ideological struggle" since their ability to live in peace has no relation to ideologies. As we again pointed out last week in connection with power politics, international conflict existed before the emergence of "ideologies", of "isms", and the emergence of Russia as a respectable market and supplier of markets will at most postpone the showdown by temporarily expanding potential world markets.

But in the long run the struggle for these markets, in spite of growing populations and increased purchasing power in some backward countries, will become more acute than ever before. The national open-sesame to 'prosperity' to-day is industrialisation. As each year passes consumption increases if only because world population is increasing by 120,000 a day. But industrial productive capacity is in fact increasing much faster, and will continue to do so as more predominantly agricultural countries become industrialised. If we are to judge the effects of industrial development by existing results then the point will be reached where not only will food be once more the most valuable commodity—for the wrong reasons of scarcity—but markets will have contracted—in spite of overall consumption—to the point where survival of the cheapest will be the order of the day. When such a point is reached we are back to the '30's, and war round the corner.

For all these reasons, and many more, the announcement that the Three Powers (France is too busy playing the colonial power in Algeria to notice what's going on elsewhere!) have shifted the political emphasis from the cold war to the economic war is not reassuring. Politically as well as economically Russia, it seems to us, stands to gain most from it, the United States least. Britain lives in hope; and as a second string to hope woos China!

(Continued from previous issue)

II.

IF in the popular image the anarchist is, as we have said, a bearded, cloaked, and sinister figure, to the more informed he appears most frequently in the shape of Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876). Even many anarchists themselves see in this most formidable of all 19th century revolutionaries the archetypal manifestation of their faith. His life and his works conform to a certain stereotype which possesses an undeniable attraction to rebellious, romantic and slightly sentimental youth. It is a little disillusioning perhaps to learn that this great bull of a man was probably an ox so far as his sexual life was concerned—no one under thirty can find physical impotency anything other than ridiculous—but there is more than enough left after this to provide scope for hero-worship. A man who not only incites and inspires revolutions but also mans the barricades and suffers as a consequence six years in Tsarist prisons compels admiration whatever his faults.

While Bakunin has been more written about than any other Russian revolutionary before Lenin, the estimates of him are many and widely divergent. Of the Marxist caricatures, nothing needs to be said. Of the more serious, we have first and foremost E. H. Carr's classic biography—one of the best of its kind, in the language. Nevertheless, for all that, it lacks something. For Mr. Carr, as for all sensible men, power is a terrible thing but fundamentally he is on the side of the big battalions: might is right, so long as it is successful. He lacks genuine sympathy, therefore, with a character whose central message is the abomination of power. Mr. Carr can evoke the atmosphere of revolutionary Russia and the *émigré* circles but he cannot escape the conviction that the men and women he depicts, Bakunin especially, were all more or less ridiculous. They were fascinating, charming and often courageous but in the last analysis they were romantics—destined like all romantics to have their illusions smashed against the harsh realities of the world we live in.

Of the other estimates in the English language, K. J. Kenafick's *Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx* is the most sympathetic study of Bakunin, the social revolutionist. Based largely on James Guillaume's account of the First International, Mr. Kenafick has done for the present generation of anarchists what Bakunin's Swiss friend sought to do fifty years ago. Then, as an introduction, there is G. D. H. Cole's excellent chapter in the second volume of his *History of Socialist Thought*: a lucid summary of Bakunin's social and political ideas presented perhaps—as in Maximoff's recent *Selected Writings*—with a greater coherence and logical order than they appeared to Bakunin himself. Also deserving mention is the sketch by Max Nomad in *Apostles of Revolution* in which Bakunin appears as the precursor of Lenin. Nomad has an interesting and suggestive view of revolutions to defend and the evidence is selective; but the point is well made and needed making: Bakunin perhaps would have been the first to cry *touché*.

Now, as in his study of Belinsky, Dr. Lampert adds to this corpus of judgments a penetrating account of the roots of his subject's philosophy. He rejects the fashionable approach which would interpret Bakunin's inclination to rebel as a neurotic symptom and instead treats him as a serious critic would an artist or imaginative writer. The result is illuminating. The social and political thinker comes to life and the social revolutionist becomes human without being ridiculous.

There is no use denying it: Baku-

nin was an impossible person, as even the charitable Herzen discovered. As a scurrilous journalist sarcastically observed in an obituary notice, Bakunin's friendship "soon became rather expensive . . . though he lived for an idea, he soon proved to be equally capable of living on an idea: he . . . too literally applied the theory of common ownership to his friends." To any remonstrances Bakunin would sometimes reply coolly: "If you don't like it, you can lump it!" At other times he was equally frank and would admit: "I am an impossible person and I shall continue to be an impossible person as long as those who are now possible remain possible."

Bakunin's 'impossibility', however, was not merely or even primarily a matter of money between friends: it concerned the whole area of his social relations. For most of his life this apostle of liberty was moved by an urge to achieve absolute domination in personal relationships. It was a trait of which he himself was conscious. "Despite my love of freedom", he wrote to his brother, Paul, "I had a great tendency to despotism and often tormented and oppressed my poor sister." The satirically minded will leave it at that: the irony is all too evident. Dr. Lampert, however, probes deeper: he leaves us with the impression it was *just because* Bakunin felt the urge to dominate all who came into contact with him that he was impelled to make such a passionate avowal of freedom. It was not simply a case of a man with an impulse to dominate: it was the case of man aware of the impulse and aware of its destructive possibilities. And we may hazard the guess that it was Bakunin's insight into his own character which provided the basis of his insight into the self-destructive nature of revolutionism and which finally made him recoil in dismay from the fanaticism of the fundamentally authoritarian Nechaev. The logic of the *Revolutionary Catechism* may, as Max Nomad observes, lead to Lenin, and Bakunin undoubtedly had a hand in its composition but it represents only one facet of his

personality, albeit one which gleamed too brightly during the period when the old anarchist was under the spell of 'the Boy'. As Dr. Lampert says, Bakunin was "the Promethean *revolté*, the prophet of total revolution who, with all his advocacy of indiscriminate destruction of everything that stood in the way of freedom, paradoxically detected the moment of damnation when noble ends are destroyed by ignoble means."

Like Belinsky, Bakunin was an anti-theist. For him, "the existence of God was irreconcilable with the happiness, dignity, morality and freedom of man." But perhaps more clearly than in the case of Belinsky, his anti-theism was linked with his anarchism. Rebellion against both God and the State was part of the same rebellion—the rebellion against power in all its forms. In Dr. Lampert's apt phrase, "his denial of religion became a religion of denial." If God existed, it would be necessary to destroy him: this is the ontological proof of the non-existence of God. "If God is, man is a slave. But man can and must be free and therefore God cannot exist. I defy anyone to escape this circle: now therefore let us choose!"

Against the principle of power, against God and the State, Bakunin set the principle of life, to establish which freedom was an indispensable condition. The same principle of life led him also to rebel against scientism—the claim of science to dominate life. With an insight which we can all now acknowledge, he attempted to deflate the pretensions of the scientists. He derided those scientists who, in their search for abstract laws, aimed at a false unity, at generalizing particular cases in all-inclusive abstract formulae. Such an aim was essentially unrealistic; it resulted only in a lamentable failure to describe "things as they are." "What I preach," said Bakunin, "is the revolt of life against science," which is "a ceaseless victimization of fleeting but real life on the altar of eternal abstractions."

Bakunin's feeling for "fleeting but real life" provided the basis of his

anarchism. Social life no more than natural phenomena could be encompassed by abstract laws which inevitably involved the mangling of the individual person. In a passage which has relevance not only for political society but also for certain visions of a non-political order, he said: "I do not believe in constitutions and laws; the best constitution in the world would not be able to satisfy me. We need something different: passion, life, a new lawless and therefore free world." Such an attitude does not lead to the elaboration of an ideology—even an anarchist ideology—in the usual sense of the word. Dr. Lampert is right, I believe, in opining that his "ideological achievement was perhaps to have exploded all ideological systems." For Bakunin, revolutions appeared valuable not so much because of what they were likely to achieve in a positive way as because they were explosive, liberating acts of freedom—assertions of man's will to conquer 'necessity'. "Revolutions," says Dr. Lampert, "cannot, admittedly, change human nature and human relations, but it gives an intoxicating, almost obsessive sense of liberation from pretences, pretexts and fictions which set up their courts for the intimidations and subjugation of man."

To be free and to desire freedom: that is the important thing. Even to love, wrote Bakunin to his brother, Paul, is "to desire freedom, complete independence from one another: the initial act of true love is liberation from the object loved. This is my profession of faith—political, social and religious."

Bakunin died in 1876. For the last two years of his life he was a rather lonely, half-forgotten, disillusioned old man, haunted by the vision of the mutual slaughter of the nations in the coming world war. "An old and played-out agitator", in the words of Turgenev. Perhaps. But also a dying volcano whose white-hot lava in the years before had set half the statesmen of the Western world scurrying for shelter.

G.O.

(To be continued)

LETTER FROM FRANCE

SOME CONTRADICTIONS

THE Cartesian logic that gives France a reputation abroad for reason and clarity seems to disappear entirely in the country's internal life. One has only to dip into the troubled waters of everyday life to bring up nets full of monsters of absurdity and incoherence.

Let us begin with the most recent and at the same time the most flagrant example: that afforded by the vote of confidence in the Mollet government¹. Of 595 deputies, 221 considered it necessary for that administration to continue its policy; 188 demonstrated their declared opposition; and 186 abstained or did not take part in the vote. This means that the "confidence" did not exist but that the government responsible for the war in North Africa was authorized to carry on with it. It means several other things as well: among others that the social programme of the Socialist ministers had lost every chance of being put into practice and that the repression in Algeria was to be led by the party that, during the electoral campaign, had declared itself in favour of negotiation.

If one examines the behaviour of this same administration in international affairs one finds on the one hand that it asserted its willingness to help in building up the European idea, to bring the common market into being, and to abolish customs barriers; and, on the other hand, that the slogan of M. Ramadier, the Minister of Finance, was "Buy French", and that the torrent of guarantees, delays, and conditions demanded by the Paris experts to protect national industry rendered the whole European policy inoperative or postponed its fulfilment to a distant and hypothetical future. On the eve of the signature in Rome of the treaty setting

up the common market the French authorities decreed the stopping of imports of Belgian chicory, which at once provoked Brussels into banning imports of French spirits and vegetables. It is a curious method of unification that consists in isolating just a little bit more an economy already protected to the full!

But the absurdities and paradoxes flourish in plenty of other fields. The Minister of Information, the Socialist Jacquet, openly attacked by all the parties for his policy of favouritism,² stated his views in the course of a press conference: "News items inconvenient to the public authorities should not be passed over in silence by the State radio," he declared in substance, "because the newspapers will, in any case, publish them a few hours later." Here is a piece of common sense, if you like. However, the very next day, when General de Bollardière, who had commanded a military region in Algeria, announced that he was giving up his command in protest against the methods of the police and the repression he was ordered to conduct, the official radio was silent about it—in obedience to the government's orders.

Here is another piece of mental conjuring: for some months now the financial specialists and distinguished economists have been pointing out the danger of inflation that every wage increase brings in its train. The cost-of-living index, whose rise had set in motion a general increase in wages, was artificially maintained at a low level: the cost of some products was assessed without taking into account the tax borne by them, and quotas of foreign goods were injected into the system to maintain the level of fixed prices. All these manoeuvres cost the taxpayers some 80,000 million francs—over and above the increase

they still had to bear on all those items not included in the official index. And not one paper was willing to remind its readers that the prime cause of inflation was to be found in the crushing financial burden of the Algerian war.

Even the Hungarian refugees have suffered from the incredible incoherence that characterizes French social life. The Magyar tragedy has unquestionably moved public opinion deeply, and in all classes of the population gestures of solidarity were numerous. Hundreds of tons of food, clothing, and medical supplies were got together in a few days. Tens of millions of francs were collected. So much initiative and dedication required a central organization: so an inter-ministerial committee was set up. It included representatives of the CFTC (the Christian trade-union federation) and "Force Ouvrière". Believe it or not, but when the Hungarian refugees arrived they were received by soldiers, police, and officials; but for a very long time—weeks and months, in fact—nowhere did they come in contact with the working-class organizations, the unions, or the population itself. And the revolutionary Hungarian committee itself, symbol of and spokesman for the determination of the Magyar struggle, has been scouring Paris for premises where its militants could carry on their work.

P.S.

¹This article was written before the Mollet government fell, and the reference here is not to the vote that brought down the government but to an earlier occasion.—Translator.

²The radio and television services were transformed to allow many Socialists to be employed and journalists and technicians of different persuasions to be dismissed or displaced.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

University Probes

The Editors,
Freedom,

DEAR FRIENDS,

Lord Chorley's speech in the House of Lords on 22nd May has at last succeeded in giving widespread publicity to the creeping McCarthyism that is permeating our Universities. As a university teacher with a vested interest in academic freedom may I add the following background information to your main article of last week?

What are politely known as "security checks" have been instituted at our universities since at least January, 1952, when an announcement on the subject was first made. Since then a small number of dons, prominent among them Harry Ferns of Birmingham, have been struggling in the Association of University Teachers and elsewhere to get our profession to face squarely the issues involved. They argued that to report on the political and religious views of students applying for jobs either with the Government or elsewhere would be destructive of the teacher-pupil relationship; the profession, therefore, should adopt as part of its ethics a rule deprecating such disclosures, in much the same way as the professional code of doctors deprecates the giving of information about patients to non-medicos.

The response to this was not encouraging. As an example, let me cite the case of the university teachers of politics. The importance of mutual confidence between teachers and students of politics is obvious; one might be able to discuss biology sensibly without teacher and pupil revealing frankly their political views but hardly political science. Moreover, one might think that politics teachers could be expected to give a lead to the profession generally. When, however, Harry Ferns raised the subject at last year's business meeting of the Political Studies

Association, he received support only from "dissenters" like myself and two or three Communists and fellow-travellers. The rest gave the impression of being annoyed at the subject being raised at all, especially as the pubs were due to close in half-an-hour's time. One bright professor even suggested that it was commendable of security officials to approach people like himself rather than ignorant landlords who could not distinguish Marx from Moses! But the dominant tone of the meeting was set by the Chairman of the Association who suggested blithely that we were all "reasonable" men who could be relied upon to use our "common-sense".

Nevertheless, despite such appalling naivety, the A.U.T. finally passed a resolution earlier this session to the effect that it considered as improper the disclosure of students' political and religious views—adding, for the sake of the softies and would-be narks, that it was a matter for each individual teacher's conscience.

So far, so good. But it now appears that the "security checks" concern not only students but also university teachers themselves—people who are not applying for a Government job, although some of them may be doing research at the behest of the Government. Lord Chorley's recent outburst in fact was occasioned not primarily out of concern for the students but because of the revelation that M.I.5 was enlisting agents among the university staffs and, moreover, already had such assistance from members of the

University Publications

DEAR COMRADES,

In his review of university publications in the current issue of *FREEDOM*, C.W. quotes part of a paragraph from an article of mine in the *University Librarian*. While I am naturally pleased that the journal and my article should receive such publicity, I feel that to extract such a paragraph from the article gives a rather false impression. The smugness of so great a proportion of the universities who live out their lives of quiet parasitism like the Medieval clergy, is no exaggeration, but it does not in fact represent the whole of the university population. Later in the same paragraph I went on to say that "Dissident voices are raised . . ." If this were not so there would be no-one in the universities to "stick their necks out" by producing journals like the *University Librarian*. That this journal is as slender as it is, and dependent on the literary contributions of many whose opinions are not very close to anarchism, is a demonstration of how firmly libertarian opinion is generally kept under the academic hat.

London, May 30. TONY GIBSON.

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S. PARANE.

teaching staff at every university in Britain, save one. What is now at stake is not merely the teacher-pupil relationship but also the relationship between teacher and teacher. And from now on we university teachers can comfort ourselves with the thought that the colleague we sit next to at lunch or join in a glass of beer at the club may be an agent of M.I.5. Three cheers for the ideal of the university as a community of scholars!

The A.U.T. is now asking its members to provide particulars of the number of times they have been approached by security officials and the sort of questions they have been asked. It is to be hoped that all will co-operate. But we cannot expect too much of the results. The patriotic narks who place their duty to the State higher than their professional obligations will not reveal themselves in this sort of questionnaire. The only answer to creeping McCarthyism in the Universities is a determination on the part of all who value academic freedom to speak up now in defence of their ideal and, what is more important, to keep on speaking up.

Yours,

GEOFFREY OSTERGAARD.

London, May 30.

Company Reports

The Malatesta Club

A Bad Year Financially

THE third annual general meeting of the Malatesta Club was held in London on Saturday, May 18.

The meeting was devoted almost entirely to the sombre financial picture drawn by the treasurer. He recalled that the club first opened its doors on May 1, 1954, with a capital of £75 5s. 3d. At the end of the first year's operations the income and expenditure account showed a surplus of £67 11s. 6d. The two succeeding years' operations resulted in deficits of £13 14s. 0d. and £48 4s. 2d. respectively. This meant that for the three-year period income had exceeded expenses by only £5 13s. 4d. This fell a long way short of the club's capital expenditure during the same period, which amounted to £43 13s. 4d. Of this sum £35 5s. 0d. represented hire-purchase payments on the electric cooker and water-heater, the remainder having been spent on an oil convector heater, electric fires, and additional crockery and kitchen utensils. To offset this shortfall of £38 recourse had been had to borrowing to the extent of £33 13s.

Although the club's difficulties were due in part to a succession of burglaries, thefts, and other depredations, the main reason was lack of support from its members. Subscriptions had fallen from £78 16s. in 1955-56 to £29 7s. in 1956-7, and there had been a corresponding drop in catering profits from £157 18s. 9d. to £58 5s. 8d.

Agreement had been reached with the

landlord to discontinue the telephone at the club, and this would result in a saving of nearly £20 a year. On the other hand the club had agreed to an increased rental to meet the landlord's higher insurance premiums, and an additional £4 17s. 6d. would have to be paid in the coming financial year. No further economies were possible.

Under present conditions it was impossible to carry out even minor repairs that were needed, and improvements were out of the question.

The situation was such that unless more money were forthcoming in the next financial year the club would be forced to close. The committee resolved to keep the club going for as long as possible.

The reports and accounts were adopted.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

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

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP MEETINGS

JUNE 9—No Meeting

JUNE 16—John Bishop on

SNOBBERY

JUNE 23—Donald Room on
ANARCHISM & RELIGION

JUNE 30—Max Patrick on
IS THERE A RULING CLASS

JULY 7—Laurens Otter on
HISTORICAL DETERMINISM
REVISITED

JULY 14—Jack Robinson on
WORK.

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INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CENTRE

DISCUSSION MEETING
on
ANARCHISM—A SOCIAL
PHILOSOPHY

Discussion opened by Philip Sansom

MALATESTA CLUB,
Thursday, 13th June at 8 p.m.

★ Malatesta Club ★

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

ACTIVITIES

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

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

BONAR THOMSON speaks

Every Friday and Saturday:
SOCIAL EVENINGS

Saturday, 15th June
SPAGHETTI & CHIANTI
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NEWS IN BRIEF

WHEN politicians spend colossal sums of the nation's money on new-style weapons for war, that is called realism. When anarchists propose that wealth and energy should be used to serve constructive ends, that is called utopian. But lunacy would be a more suitable word to describe the desperate race between the powerful nations in the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

In the United States this madness has reached such proportions that the three services are furiously competing with each other in the race for supremacy in guided missiles. This rivalry is "getting out of control" with the Army and Air Force "striving to acquire an arsenal of weapons complete in itself to carry out any and all possible missions."

With so many jobs and interests at stake we can readily understand the anxiety of the personnel from the two services in this competition for top place. The fear is that if the missile is the "ultimate weapon" which will eventually be capable of carrying a hydrogen war-head anywhere in the world, whichever service gets it first will render the others unnecessary.

It has been proposed that a single service including all three would be the solution, but opposed on the grounds that centralization is inefficient and wasteful. If the services do form some kind of collective enterprise no doubt a few people will be out of a job, but many more will be incapable of work altogether if the race towards war is not halted.

On Friday last America launched an Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile (named Atlas) which has a range of 2,000 miles. A report said: "It is anticipated that the Atlas will reach an altitude of 700 miles, turn on a curved right angle and proceed continuously controlled flight in a south-easterly direction for a distance of approximately 2,200 miles" a course taking it into the south Atlantic.

ONE man who feels so strongly about the organised lunacy and was prepared to give his life if necessary in protest against further H-bomb tests has had to report failure owing to lack of support for his courageous attempt to draw attention to "the cause" of peace.

Mr. Harold Steele who spent his entire life savings on a trip to Japan

from where he intended trying to get into the Christmas Island area of the Pacific where the British H-tests took place, has failed in his mission because, it is reported, Japanese pacifists called off the protest. The reasons are not yet clear but it is likely that force would have been used to keep them away from the area.

Feelings against the tests are strong in Japan, but it would have been necessary for the entire population to support the people who were prepared to sail into the test area if they were faced with organised force to prevent them. The Japanese Government seemed sympathetic enough to the idea, but time will not doubt disclose that it was not in its interest to protest too much.

WHEN the Greek-Cypriot reporter, Nicos Sampson, was acquitted last week on a charge of murdering a police sergeant because Justice Shaw was not satisfied that an "alleged confession was free and voluntary", some newspapers hailed it as an indication that justice was really being exercised in Cyprus and claimed that the decision would mark (another) beginning to a "better understanding" between the British Government and the people of Cyprus. The subsequent decision of "Justice" John put an end to that pious hope. He sentenced Sampson to death on the grounds that he had no hesitation in believing four policemen who said that Sampson would have fired his sten gun at them if given time.

If the prosecution based its case in a British court on speculation about what might have happened on the evidence of four unsympathetic witnesses there would be some form of protest. But the British administration in Cyprus has for a long time disregarded even their own peculiar form of justice when dealing with the opposition in Cyprus.

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reach them!