

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Politics is perhaps the only profession for which no preparation is thought necessary."

—Robert Louis Stevenson.

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Threepence

"Tribune's" Star Becomes a Transport House Satellite

THE 'SAGACITY' OF THE HON. MR. BEVAN, P.C.

AT the height of the Attlee-Bevan struggle more than two years ago we wrote a piece for these columns with the title "Watch Mr. Foot, Mr. Bevan & Co."* in which we refused to see in these factional struggles any glimmer of hope in a progressive sense. We wrote:

Not the wilderness for Mr. Foot and his friends! They seek the limelight and power, and time is pressing for these middle-aged politicians thwarted by old men and threatened by a bunch of ambitious, up-and-coming yes-men . . . For the Bevanites the goal is political power, and if, and when, they occupy the government benches they will conduct affairs in much the same way as their predecessors. Their means—their tactic, is cunning and dangerous, for they appeal to, and pose as the real champions, of the common man. Yet when they should dare to voice their criticisms they will treat them as the "rabble" . . .

Last week at the Labour Party's conference Aneurin Bevan, recently returned from his tour of the Capitals of the Near and Far East, from a successful dress rehearsal as Shadow Foreign Minister for the next Labour Government, speaking on International Relations and in particular on Labour's attitude to the H-bomb, may have created alarm and despondency among his followers, but from our point of view, as our editorial of two years ago was predicting, he simply ran true to form. He has shown the "Courage and sagacity" which as he wrote at the time, he considers the essential virtues of the "Statesman".

By "courage", his followers are only now discovering, he meant the politician's brazen-faced betrayal of his friends in his giddy ascent to the coveted rungs of power.

"I have thought anxiously about the

*FREEDOM, Mar. 19, 1955. Also in *Selections from Freedom*, Vol. 5, pp. 62-64.

Sabotage Campaign in Argentina

BUENOS AIRES is in a state of siege, proclaimed by the government last Friday and to last for 30 days. It covers the city and province areas, and follows a wave of sabotage incidents during the last fortnight. The majority of them were cases of cutting telephone and telegraph lines. There are also cases of lifting railway tracks blowing up oil pipelines and obstructing roads.

An official spokesman says, "These acts of sabotage have been directed from abroad, and the principal object is to isolate the provinces from the capital and at the same time hamper essential public services."

"Evidence of co-ordination is provided by the fact that there were seven separate acts of sabotage at 11 p.m. on October 1."

Under its new powers, the Government arrested nearly 300 trade union leaders, who are believed to include Peronista agents. Arrest of meat workers' leaders was followed by announcement of a nation-wide packing-house strike unless they were released.

It was among the trade unions that the ex-dictator Peron had his power, and it is difficult to see what other influence can be strong enough among the Argentine workers today to find expression in such a determined campaign of sabotage as the present one appears to be.

subject. I knew I was going to make a speech which would offend and even hurt many of my friends." This was greeted by a great roar of "Hear, hear," and Mr. Bevan was stung to shout back: "Do you think I am afraid? I should say what I believe. I don't care what happens."

By "sagacity" they are now realising is meant not principled wisdom but the awareness that when you are in power you cannot behave as an irresponsible popular agitator; soap-box oratory and front-bench slickness don't mix! Sagacity in politics is the ability to carry on where your predecessor left off; it's the recognition that politics is a vested interest, and the diplomatic world a closed shop.

★

"IF the Executive Committee had asked me to get up and support the hydrogen bomb"—Bevan told the Delegates—"I would have refused". Indeed had he not "probably made more speeches to more people condemning the bomb" than anyone present? He was as "strongly against it as ever". So nobody should misunderstand him. Firstly the Party was committed, if returned to power, to "take the initiative in suspending tests". But it was one thing to give a lead to the other Powers by a unilateral suspension of tests, and quite another if this country were to scrap its stocks of nuclear weapons or have nothing to do with those countries, allies as well

as potential "enemies", which were working on these weapons of destruction. In that case, said Mr. Bevan, the Statesman,

You will have to say at once that all international commitments offered to friends and allies must be immediately destroyed . . .

What this conference ought not to do is to decide on demolishing the whole fabric of British international relations without putting anything in its place. To pass the motion would mean that "you will send the British Foreign Secretary naked into the conference chamber."

Later he declared that if the Norwood motion were accepted "It would place a British Foreign Secretary in diplomatic purdah" (which is just as well if Mr. Bevan was also being sent "naked into the conference chamber"). Mr. Bevan's pre-occupation with the Foreign Secretary's political attire—or lack of it—read in conjunction with the following extract from the report of his speech:

Mr. Bevan here interrupted his main theme to say that some of the newspapers had interpreted some of his recent actions as being dominated by nothing but a desire to be Foreign Secretary himself, and when someone from the hall cried "Hear, hear" to this he said: "That is a pretty bitter thing to say about me. I would never do anything I did not believe in."

reveals a personal concern with his own power, and his place in history, in the event of a Labour victory at the next elections. It is quite clear, in spite of his denials, that Mr.

Bevan is at present Labour's Foreign Secretary designate as well as wanting the job as the next best thing to being Prime Minister designate, or even as a stepping stone to that more exalted post to which he may yet attain if the "statesmanlike" qualities he revealed at Brighton (which converted such an implacable enemy as the *Manchester Guardian* into a qualified admirer) are further developed between now and the general elections. "Unity" in political parties is no more than a marriage of convenience between ambitious, ruthless, vain men and women. One cannot better describe the atmosphere than did James Cameron in his report on the Conference in last Friday's *News Chronicle* when he wrote of the Executive:

from the councils of State on the tribune came the quiet rasping sound of axes being ground, the gentle sigh of knives being delicately inserted into backs.

★

THE arguments used by Mr. Bevan for rejecting the Norwood motion for unilateral abolition of the H-bomb were no more original than those advanced by the Tories or by Mr. Churchill when he announced to the House more than two years ago that Britain was working on the H-bomb. Compare Mr. Churchill's:

"Personally I cannot feel that we should have much influence over their [the United States'] policy or action, wise or unwise, while we are largely depen-

dent upon their protection. We too must possess substantial deterrent power of our own."

with Bevan's argument at Brighton last week that:

Unfortunately the United States and the Soviet Union were in possession of the weapon and we were in danger of extermination as a consequence. I would like to have the opportunity of exerting an influence on the policies of those countries. But this [the Norwood motion] is not the way to do it."

Thus both Churchill and Bevan believe that Britain can only influence the Big Two and prevent them from starting an H-war, as a result of which "this country would be poisoned with the rest of mankind" by a show of arms—of H-bombs made in Britain. We just cannot see how mankind will be saved as a result of Britain's possession of the Bomb. Either an H-bomb war, which every scientist in the world believes will definitely or might (depending on their political independence or commitment) destroy all mankind, has already been ruled out by the leaders of East and West. In which case Foreign Secretary Bevan will be as influential or ineffectual in the international game of politics whether he is naked or clothed in an H-bomb. Or such a suicidal war has not been ruled out as a possibility in the Power struggle, in which case the possession by Britain of the ultimate weapon can only add to the dangers of extermination.

The H-bomb is either ineffectual, in which case the sooner it is scrapped the better, or it is a threat. It can never be a deterrent without being a threat to mankind, since its effectiveness as a deterrent implies that in the last resort it will be used, and the moment it is used mankind is threatened with annihilation. We cannot escape from the bitter logic of this argument. When Bevan and the Labour Executive attempt to do so it is for other reasons than the future of mankind.

The Labour Party Conference at Brighton was, in fact, committed to evolving a programme that would win votes at the next election and not one of seeking to put forward a policy for the commonweal. With this end in mind the Executive soft-pedalled on Nationalisation and refused to taken an unequivocal stand against the H-bomb as an instrument of policy. Listen to one of Mr. Bevan's arguments for rejecting the Norwood motion:

Mr. Bevan said he was profoundly convinced that nothing would give more anxiety to many people who did not share their political views than if the British nation disengaged itself from its obligations and its influence in international affairs.

Continued on p. 3

The Struggle Against Segregation Equity Boycott for South Africa

THE actors' trade union, Equity, has put a ban upon British actors and actresses going to South Africa if they have to perform before segregated audiences. Equity policy forbids its members to appear in any theatre where the colour-bar is in operation, and it has put its ban into operation on a company which was to tour South Africa in the American musical "The Pajama Game".

Union chief Gordon Sandison told the South African theatre chain arranging the tour that unless coloured people were allowed in to see "The Pajama Game" Equity members would not accept the engagement.

At this the South African firm, South African Consolidated Theatres, which has 140 theatres and is controlled by 20th Century-Fox of Hollywood, tried to get an American company to tour the show. But British Equity appealed to American Equity, who cabled back: "Our council unanimously endorses your stand."

So no "Pajama Game" for South Africa.

Incidentally, 20th Century-Fox is the studio which made "Island in the Sun", a film which, they claimed, broke the screen taboo on interracial romance (although Harry Belafonte did not go so far as to kiss Deborah Kerr!).

A 20th Century-Fox spokesman in London is reported as saying:

"We are not propagating a colour bar because our theatres in Africa are licensed only for European audiences."

"That is a problem of govern-

ment. We can't do anything about it."

But Equity is to be congratulated on showing something different. Something can be done by all those who have something that South Africa wants, and action by entertainers has the very important effect of being immediately noticeable by the people (of all races) in South Africa.

The "Pajama Game" incident is not the first. Band leader Johnny Dankworth has refused to make a second tour of South Africa following his realisation during his first tour that he was playing to segregated audiences.

Dankworth and Humphrey Lyttleton, with their bands, are playing at the Festival Hall, London, on Tuesday, October 15th, in a jazz concert in aid of the South African Treason Trial Defence Fund, organised by Christian Action. They are giving their services free, and other musicians and singers have promised to drop in during the evening.

Increase in Postal Charges

THE latest increases in postal charges will mean an additional burden upon the running expenses of FREEDOM and Freedom Bookshop.

Will all subscribers therefore please note that in future receipts for all monies received for subscriptions, funds, etc., will be enclosed with the next copy of FREEDOM to be despatched after receipt. Will all non-subscribers please enclose stamped addressed envelopes if their communications require reply.

In order to save postage on Postal Orders, small amounts can be paid in stamps.

Treason Trial Counsel Refused Passport

THE South African Nationalist Government's Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dinges, has, according to a report in last Sunday's *Observer*, refused to issue a passport to Mr. Vernon Berrange, one of the leading defence counsels in the treason trial.

When the defence applied for a long adjournment of the preliminary examination early last month, one of the chief reasons they advanced was that Mr. Berrange had to visit England and the United States to interview witnesses.

The letter giving the Minister's decision recalls that a passport issued to Mr. Berrange, in London, was withdrawn in January, 1955, and that his application in 1956 for a South African passport had been refused.

Mr. Berrange's passport was withdrawn because he had used it for a journey to the Soviet Union and had given lectures on his experiences there when he returned to South Africa. Mr. Berrange is one of the many persons named under South Africa's Suppression of Communism Act.

In a letter to the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Berrange says that application for a passport was made, not for personal reasons, but "to ensure that the persons I am representing at the trial are not deprived of witnesses who may be vital for the defence." The Government, he added, seemed unmindful of his clients' interest even to the extent of withholding an elementary right from them.

ANARCHISM
ON TELEVISION

The Programme
'Out of Step'

on
Wednesday, Oct. 16th
at 10.30 p.m. is being

devoted to
ANARCHISM
Starring

Rita Milton and Alan Albon
ITV ★ Channel Nine

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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The 'Sagacity' of the Hon. Mr. Bevan, P.C.

Continued from p. 1

There are many people in this country who would feel great anxiety if Mr. Bevan were to become Prime Minister. Does Mr. Bevan consider this a valid argument for retiring from the political arena? We hardly think so. Then why does he show concern for those who "do not share our political views", etc. . . if not because he and his colleagues are themselves "anxious" to get their votes at the next elections?

WHATEVER Lord Packenham may say about the Conference (in last Sunday's *Observer*) as the most significant since 1935, we are convinced that James Cameron is nearer the mark when he described it as "a flood of anaesthetic oratory, the relentless march of the worn-out phrase and the cliché rubbed smooth by years of indefatigable use". Of course there is going to be a lot of heart-searching and explaining away in *Tribune* offices during the next few weeks. In one speech the great man has knocked the Bevan out of Bevanite. Still Mr. Foot and his friends have only themselves to blame for that. They can't say they hadn't been warned of the dangers of the Cult of the Personality and yet they persisted in building up farmer Nye as the man sent by Providence. And now he has let them down. But who knows, Mr. Foot is probably chucking away to himself in his office as he doodles with the word "Foot":

Brutus and Caesar: what should be in the "Caesar"?
Why should that name be sounded more than yours?
Write them together, yours is as fair a name;
Sound them, it doth become the mouth as well;
Weigh them, it is as heavy; con-jure with 'em,
"Foot" will start a spirit as soon as "Bevan"
Now, in the name of all the gods at once,
Upon what meat doth this our Bevan feed,

That he has grown so great? . . .
"H'm,"—says Michael as he approaches the office mirror, jaw thrust forward, chest expanded to capacity—"and why not?"

Speculations on Another Satellite

GOODNESS knows what are the military implications of the successful launching of a Russian earth satellite which is, as we write these lines, "blipping" merrily along on its fortieth circuit of the earth. We leave such speculations to the military pundits—though in passing it is noteworthy that in the United States there is, according to the *Observer's* correspondent, already such "public concern" that it is "likely to affect radically the defence-cutting programme", which just goes to show that armaments are still just as much a vested interest for some as they are supposed to be the "only deterrent" for others.

FIRST let us sit back and marvel at Man's ingenuity and achievement in the field of Science. Not only have the Russian scientists succeeded in launching this earth satellite beyond the grasp of gravity. They have even been able to give us

a timetable of its journeyings through space as precise as anything one can find in the columns of a Bradshaw timetable—and with this subtle difference, that the earth satellite has been running to time! All the romance of a Simplon-Orient Express timetable is now lost as we look through the schedule for the Blip-Express for October 7:

05 28 Calcutta, 06 30 Guatemala, 06 37 Washington, 06 38 New York, 06 47 Reykjavik, 06 52 Stockholm, 06 53 Tallinn, 06 55 Tula, 06 59 Baku, 07 01 Tehran, 07 14 Denver, 08 31 Hamburg, 08 31 Berlin, 08 32 Budapest, 08 33 Belgrade, 08 34 Sofia, 08 38 Cairo, 10 10 Bordeaux, 10 11 Barcelona.

A new dimension has been added to human imagination!

THE Russians have warned the world to expect "something extra special" on November 7, the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. Perhaps we shall be forgiven if, in the special circumstances, we hazard a guess as to what this "something" will be. The Russians are out to dominate the world of the spirit! On November 8th they will launch an earth satellite into which they will have placed Lenin's embalmed corpse plus recordings of his collected works, or rather, since these earth satellites move so fast, recording of his greatest dictums, in every language on the satellite's route. And mankind which has been waiting for two thousand years to hear the voice of "God" will for all time be able to tune in to the voice of "Lenin", and with the knowledge that somewhere in the firmament His embalmed body is watching over every one of His children; not metaphorically speaking but a visible reality . . . 05.28 over Calcutta, 06.30 over Guatemala, 06.37 over Washington . . . (Russian Time of course).

The established Churches will have to pull up their gaiters. Only last week the Bishop of Chichester was appealing to his fellow Bishops "to bring the Church's thinking into line with modern scientific discoveries". One wonders whether his Lordship had some advance notice of what was about to happen in outer space for his appeal could not have been better timed. He suggested that this rethinking should be "carried out in co-operation with scientists" which just shows what a practical man he is! The scientists will be well able to provide the Churches with a satellite and transmitters. But have the Churches the right man to travel in it in the cause of immortality?

MORE seriously, we would endorse what Mr. Nehru had to say about the satellite, at his news conference in Tokyo last week:

He suggested that it was a fantastic situation when such advances came in a world still conducting its politics in "Stone Age terms"—a world of "military alliances, armament races, and threats of war."

He did not think the launching of the satellite would affect the world situation, except to make people think of the "absurdity of war and military forces". The gap between scientific advance and the state of society "shows our inability to adjust to the age we live in. Psychologically and mentally we still live in a past age."—*Reuter*.

But we shall only live in the present when the Mr. Nehrus—that is the politicians—the industrialists and financiers, get off our backs and mankind can stand up and take in for itself what is going on in the world. Then perhaps we may even get the scientists on our side . . .

And as the satellite train leaves our planet with every seat occupied by the political, military, religious and industrial leaders of the world in search of new dominions (and unaware that the transmitters have been jammed and the mechanism for their safe return to this planet sabotaged), science will have cleared the way for that most exciting of all experiments, which can only be carried out on this earth, by you, me and the next man: the search for the "elixir" of human happiness!

What Others Say About Anarchism

Educating the Draughtsmen

A LITTLE Basic Education has been going on in the correspondence columns of *The Draughtsman*, organ of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen. Mr. William Greenwood was criticised in the July issue by Mr. P. R. Heaton, for painting a 'dismal' picture of our capitalist society, Mr. Heaton implying that anyone who did that must be a Marxist waving a 'blueprint'. Back came two 'Letters to the Editor' as a means of putting over some elementary lessons in the trade-union backwoods.

Mr. Greenwood writes: " . . . I would point out that the socialist movement has, from its very beginning been divided into two distinct parts, the libertarian socialists (anarchists), and the authoritarian socialists (communists, socialists, social democrats, Labourites, etc.).

"The libertarian socialists believe that a free socialist society can only be achieved when man ceases to have power over man. As any State, capitalist, communist or half-and-half, is composed of the rulers, who hold the power, and the ruled who do not, it is necessary to destroy the State before we can set about building a free society. As socialist political action (electioneering, winning seats in parliament, forming 'socialist' governments) is concerned solely with gaining power it is rejected by libertar-

ian socialists as leading to as great an evil as it sets out to destroy.

"Authoritarian socialists, on the other hand, believe it is possible to take control of the State and to administer it in the interests of the workers. Believing this they devote most of their energy to political action and regard industrial action with disfavour. The main difference between the communists and the other types of authoritarian socialists is that the communists are willing to use violence to gain control of the State whilst the rest rely on democratic means."

And in his letter, Mr. Picknell declares:

" . . . The greater part of the socialist movement while surviving was deflected from its true course. Broadly speaking it happened as follows. In countries with a parliamentary system, sought to gain seats, and in doing so, gain control. When in control they intended to abolish capitalism and replace it with a society in which people would be free from poverty, oppression, exploitation and war. They did not know, and apparently still do not, the parliamentary systems are subtly designed to maintain a

ruling class. The best they could do in the circumstances was to become the ruling class themselves. Now, once established, any ruling class seeks to maintain its position. It does this by oppressing those who seek its downfall and by giving privileges to those who support it. In this manner parliamentary socialists failed to produce true socialism . . .

"I do not propose to go into what happened in Russia (and this is not because it meets with my approval). Basically the result was the same. Namely the new rulers are as reactionary as the old.

"I think of the capitalist system as if it were a tree. A little judicious pruning (as done by parliamentary socialists) does no harm. To kill it you must destroy the roots. These are property, money and their supporting side shoots among which are the State, Parliament, the armed forces, prison, etc.

"Until these go you won't have a hope of getting the freedoms I have mentioned—and this state of affairs can only be brought about by the direct action of the working class.

"A person who advocates these changes is usually called an anarchist."

ITEMS IN BRIEF

VATICAN DISMISSALS

Canon Colomb, director of the Centre National Cathédrique, the Abbé Courdeau, director of the Institut Supérieur Cathédrique of Paris, and Mlle. Dinjon, director of the centre for Christian education of young children, were recently relieved of their posts by order of the Vatican for refusing to teach the doctrine of original sin to young children.

—*Times Educational Supplement*, (4/10/57).

MORE BAD TEETH

IN his annual report, the chief school medical officer for Nottinghamshire, says (according to the *Manchester Guardian* for 21/8/57) that the children in his care have worse teeth to-day than in 1931, a year of depression and poverty. Of 22,000 children examined last year just over 91 per cent. were found to have dental defects requiring treatment. The scheme for routine dental care, he says, instead of pursuing the primary aim of preserving teeth, has become instead an emergency service for the alleviation of pain and sepsis.

A report on the situation in London in the *British Dental Journal* for September 17 tells a similar story. The number of caries-free children for every hundred has declined: in 1950 22.2 per cent. of the new school entries were caries-free. In 1956 only one five-year-old out of 70 children was caries-free.

LET'S CALL IT OFF

The new law year begins to-day (Oct. 1). As the courts reassemble to tackle the list of cases awaiting trial, barristers will be ruefully surveying a decline in the volume of litigation, particularly over the last eighteen months.

That a slump in litigation is in progress is undeniable . . . The reader of the new list for non-jury actions in the Queen's Bench Division will note that 555

cases are awaiting trial compared with 810 at the same time last year and 2,113 in September, 1954. This is sufficient cause for investigation.

—*Manchester Guardian*.

SACCO & VANZETTI AND THE SALEM WITCHES

The Governor of Massachusetts and the Mayor of Boston have before them requests, made on the 30th anniversary of the execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, for clearing the record of the charges against them "as has been done in the case of the so-called Salem witches." Sacco and Vanzetti were executed Aug. 23, 1927, on charges of holdup and murder, but world opinion has held since their arrest in 1919 that they were victimized for their radical beliefs.

A standing offer of sculptor Gutzon Borglum, made ten years ago, has been renewed to place his bas relief sculpture of the two men in Boston Common. The sculpture bears the sentence from one of Vanzetti's letters from prison:

"What I wish more than all else in this last hour of agony is that our case and our fate be understood in their real being and serve as a tremendous lesson to the forces of freedom so that our suffering and death will not have been in vain."

The proposals for vindication of Sacco and Vanzetti were made by Aldino Felicani, Boston printer, and newspaperman Gardner Jackson, original organizers of the Sacco-Vanzetti defence in the 20's.

—*National Guardian* (Chicago) 9/9/57.

[Readers are reminded that *The Witches of Salem*, the French film based on Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* (reviewed in *FREEDOM* 7/9/57) is still showing at the Academy Cinema, London].

SOVIET PRESS AND SACCO-VANZETTI ANNIVERSARY

THE Soviet magazine *New Times* (No. 34, Aug. 22, 1957) devotes a page to an article "In Memory of Sacco and Vanzetti" by Lev Nikulin, commemorating the thirteenth anniversary of their execution. Needless to say, Mr. Nikulin's article referred to Sacco and Vanzetti as "working-class militants" and failed to mention that they were anarchists.

A number of other papers in Europe and America, recalling their trial and execution, have referred to them as Communists. An article in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* (3/8/57) referred to in *FREEDOM* recently, declares, for instance, that Sacco and Vanzetti were "really on trial because they were openly of Communist opinions". It is as well to recall Vanzetti's own statement in court on the subject from the transcript of their trial (Vol. V., p. 4921):

" . . . we do believe that there ought to be a change, and that it should be in the direction of more freedom and not more coercion. That is where we are opposed to every theory of authoritarian communism and socialism; for they would rivet more or less firmly the chains of coercion on human spirit, just as we are opposed to the present system, which is based upon coercion".

People & Ideas

Continued from p. 2

police officers as "Juvenile Liaison Officers", who fulfil rather similar supervisory functions to those of probation officers, but without taking the children to court. The two main advantages Mr. Kee found in the system are firstly that it is "saving many boys who are not, and never will be, real criminals, from having a 'criminal record', and secondly and most important, it is doing a job of crime prevention which the courts are incapable of doing". The success of the system he infers from the figures. The percentage of juvenile offenders with 'previous history' appearing again before the Liverpool court in 1956 was 48.1 per cent. The percentage of those dealt with by the J.L.O. scheme who have committed further offences by the end of 1956 (five years) was 8.4 per cent.

Mr. Kee stresses the libertarian objections to the scheme, but concludes that the Magistrates' fears, "though justifiable in principle, were quite beside the point" and that "the orthodox system of dealing with juvenile offenders as practised in most of the rest of the country is unsatisfactory".

Its real offence, like that of Miss Foyle's 'pernicious' form, is that it cuts across the Official Way of Doing Things. Put 'em in the dock, say the magistrates. Refuse them registration, says the Ministry. Make it conform, says the Town-Planning Committee. For the voice of authority has a very limited range. Like Jehovah, it either says *Thou Shalt* or *Thou Shalt Not*. C.W.

FREEDOM PRESS

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What Do We Mean to New Readers?

I WAS on holiday and missed the topicality of the bouquets and brickbats hurled at the gay dodgy head of P.S. May I fight my way through the gang pulling him to bits?

The editorial reply (24/8/57) to my letter explained the causes of the strikers' violence, and was a corrective to the impression I got from the original article, i.e. that FREEDOM approved of it. I was content to have drawn out the admission that this was not so.

With more courage N.H. has stated his opinion of the strikers' tactics, and his refusal to excuse, approve or condone hooliganism. I agree with him. Whether this is a moral judgment or not, I don't know. My feeling is not of blind condemnation, but of deep sorrow, that an organisation that men brought forth in brotherhood and victimisation and suffering, should in these days stoop to such stupid, mean and vicious actions.

P.S. seems to think I condemn others; and that unless I take up the line of absolute pacifism I should not do so. Brother, I am not condemning; I am lamenting! I lamented every time I drove by the ruins of Cassino—should I not have done so, because I was in soldier's uniform? I lamented when I heard of Hiroshima, and Nagasaki, and Bikini Atoll, and the Marshall Islands and Xmas Island and . . . Am I wrong to do so, because I 'fought' in the war? (The only fighting I did was against an Englishman, in a boxing-ring).

Maybe this is again irrelevant to P.S., but it isn't to me. I joined the army with a C.P. membership card, and had my identity discs inscribed 'atheist'. From the C.P. I got lots of a-moral, objective analyses of events, but from the Church Huts and Canteens, in many places, I got food and fags and books, when they were badly needed. I slid out of the C.P., and I didn't 'jine the kirk', but I realised what a big word humanity is, compared with dialectical—or any other kind of—materialism.

This discussion may be of value if we don't lose sight of each other behind heaps of split words. To me, P.S. makes an important point when he says "Much of the editorial writing in FREEDOM assumes a certain attitude in our readership and a degree of understanding of our own attitude." For the sake of brevity this is helpful, but how does it affect new readers? Do you ever look at FREEDOM with the kindergarten eyes of a new reader? That's what I did with the article that started all this palaver.

And this is why: I am in daily contact with people whose education ended when they left school; who get angry when I disagree with their opinions; whose opinions are usually based on old fallacies and head-line reading; whose chief end in life is to keep in with the boss and work for him until death do them part. They are nice people, in their way, and there are times of pleasure and even co-operation between us, but there is no development of our relationship—no real trust, openness, sincerity; no increase of knowledge and self-knowledge through mental intercourse; no real mutual social life between us.

I don't mean that they should think as I do about books, art, life—I mean they should think. But the logic of words doesn't touch them—not my words. Nothing will convince them that building houses is really more important than making H-bombs. The fact that we are spending £4 million every day on destruction they dismiss with a shrug; they think it's necessary.

These are your new readers; these are the people you have to get to; spell out the ABC for them, and they might learn to read. It's no use appealing for new readers, you have to win them. It may sound silly to you, but the front page of FREEDOM would shock the people I live among, and if I urged them to read it, I would lose what ground I've made

with them. This is the problem of propaganda, and unless you can do something new and original about it, I'm afraid things will just bumble along as before.

Am I asking for the moon? Well, I wouldn't have mentioned it if I hadn't thought it worth while.
Peabes. G.G.

Who are the Men of Violence?

TO effuse even more profusely, who said the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalists achieved something? Where are they now?

And you were lucky when you used your right arm on that platform. The chances were that you would have been "done"—and out of action for weeks!

Thn, why give as an example Fenner Brockway choosing one alternative of two—when Fenner Brockway is a fence-sitter and there were at least three courses of action anyway? By the way, Fenner Brockway's recent attendance at a Roman Catholic function doesn't lead one to believe he was so offended by Franco!

Apart from that, someone seems to be getting mixed up on the meaning of violence. What's breaking windows got to do with the violence we (I thought) are considering? Really! If you are going to use window-breaking one minute and shooting people (as I suppose the Anarcho-Syndicalists did) the next in your argument, we shall get nowhere. Break as many windows as you like: punch as many noses as you will to stop people killing you—you are not a man of violence by that standard. The men of violence of to-day can be recognised—they carry weapons that are made to kill or seriously injure. These people, even if they are Anarchists or Free-thinkers or Individualists (i.e. not institutionalised) are men of violence.

Breaking windows my foot!
Slough. ERNIE CROSSWELL.
P.S.—I am hoping my remarks about Unions will receive criticism—if I'm mixed up I would like to be straightened out.—E.C.

Personalities on Television

WE have just acquired a television set—as a gift I might add—and I have been watching 'Youth Wants to Know' in which Wolf Mankowitz was asked questions by Grammar School youths who obviously felt he used art as a means for making money, and like all cheap snobs looked down their noses at him for being a success. Now what prompts this note is that in the short period I have become a television addict I have been amazed, in the programmes used as a journalistic medium, how often the ideas of Anarchist philosophy come up.

Politically speaking—in the first issue of Panorama, Chris Chataway interviewed a number of Conservatives who had voted Liberal in the recent by-election. Nine time out of ten they fumbled for words trying to express the rights of individuals and how fed up they were with the State taking over these rights. They weren't in fact pro-liberal but anti-government whether Conservative or Socialist, not realising, shame on their innocence, that Liberal would be no different. At least this was a step in the right direction but unfortunately there was no one by to give them a gentle shove one step nearer to the point of not voting at all.

In to-night's programme I found the discussion intensely interesting, especially Mr. Mankowitz's struggle to remain honest to himself. Many of the ideas he expressed could have come from the Anarchist platform in Hyde Park although I felt, often he merely gave a hint of ideas which needed hammering home if they were to come across to his audience. He wasn't courageous enough. For example in discussing Religion taught in schools he was definite enough in stating he thought it wrong to teach religion but when a sanctimonious 17-year-old asked in a superior voice, surely the Christian Doctrine of 'Love thy neighbour' ought to be taught, Mr. Mankowitz merely pointed out that he felt other Doctrines such as Buddhism should also be explained. What a golden opportunity this would have been to an anarchist speaker faced with a similar audience! Any Anarchist would have grabbed it to

point out the hypocrisy of teaching a doctrine of Love in the schools and then condoning conscription which forces young men, the same age as this audience, to go out and murder their fellow men.

Mr. Mankowitz did successfully get across many points on the rights of the individual to his creative medium but in the same fashion as I remember A. S. Neill once faced with a hostile medical school audience. The speakers' manner being so simple, honest and lacking in the actor's manner as not to come across the footlights. He did make many statements which were a joy to hear on TV such as 'I feel that the State should interfere as little as possible with the rights of the individual'.

Another interesting point in the programmes on personalities is how obvious the insincerity and mumbo-jumbo of the politicians becomes. Recently we have seen Lord Hailsham, Governor Faubus, the Liberal leader and the Leader of the Communist party in Great Britain. It's quite unbelievable how pat they are and how smug. In contrast, figures such as A. S. Neill, Kenneth Tynan trying to make some money in the 64,000 question, Wolf Mankowitz, Donald Soper, all come across as 'big' people with a humi-

'THE GREAT KINSHIP'

CAN anyone loan us a copy of the pamphlet *The Great Kinship* by Elisee Reclus for translation into Braille? Great care will be taken of the pamphlet, which will be returned immediately after use. Send or write to Freedom Press.

lity and humanity completely lacking in the politicians.

After two weeks of addiction I am becoming deeply frustrated because of the need for an Anarchist bystander standing ready to pup up on the screen like the advertisements and say 'You see, that's the man you gave power to' or 'Those children are given freedom to live, aren't they obviously better human beings than the Grammar School prigs?' and so on—at least three times a day! Can't we buy Advertisement space for this sort of thing? Perhaps just one caustic comment a day?

Bromley. J. SIMON.

Anarchists to Appear on T.V.

OUR correspondent's wish is almost to be granted. At any rate a programme is to be devoted to Anarchism in the series **OUT OF STEP*** appearing on ITV at 10.30 on WEDNESDAYS.

Films have been made of two of our comrades, Rita Milton and Alan Albon. Rita was filmed on the Platform in Hyde Park and subsequently interviewed, and Alan (one of the founders of 'Communitas') was interviewed discussing anarchist responsibility as expressed in per-

*Funny, we thought we were the only ones in step!

Warsaw Riots Make Us Remember Hungary

IN Warsaw, crowds are rioting. Following the Government's ban upon the students' paper *Po Prostu*, students began demonstrating and were met by tear gas, baton charges and rifle shots from the militia.

Ever since the disturbances of last year, Poland has enjoyed more freedom of expression than any other Communist country, but now Gomulka obviously feels strong enough to begin to clamp down in the interest of monolithic unity. It should never be forgotten that, although for appearances sake and in order to prevent popular discontent going 'too far' Gomulka was brought back to power, and has been allowed to put up a facade of independence from Moscow, Poland is still a Communist country, it is still in the Moscow orbit, and freedom of expression and a Communist government go ill together.

Po Prostu had a circulation of 150,000, with a strong influence in the Union of Socialist Youth. It described itself as 'Left Wing', and freely criticised the government in a way that Gomulka can no longer tolerate.

The Warsaw riots are a reminder of the events of last Autumn, when the Hungarian students were shot down while demonstrating peaceably outside the radio station in Budapest. Then events led to a full scale revolution, with features which gave tremendous encouragement to freedom lovers everywhere as the people showed themselves once again capable of organising society not only without the State, but in the face of ruthless attack by the State.

Hungary was crushed, but the effect those few weeks of revolt had upon the world will never be forgotten. The effect upon the Communist parties of the West has been to shake them to the foundations to an extent from which they will never recover, and the Hungarian people demonstrated with no shadow of contradiction that a modern tyranny can be challenged by the people, and that the desire for freedom cannot be crushed out of mind even by the conditioning power of a modern totalitarian state.

For anarchists in particular the lessons of Hungary should not be allowed to sink out of sight. The role played by America, which encouraged revolt for years through its 'Free Europe' radio stations, only

to sit back and allow the people to be crushed when they rose up, showed that people are thought of only as a means to an end in the power struggle. On the role of Russia, nothing further needs to be said of its imperialist character.

To commemorate the Hungarian struggle, the International Anarchist Centre in London is holding a meeting on Thursday at the Malatesta Club.

REMEMBER HUNGARY

A meeting organised by the International Anarchist Centre in London.

Anarchist speakers at the MALATESTA CLUB, 32 Percy Street, W.1.

on Thursday, 17th October, at 8 p.m.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Every Sunday at 7.30 at THE MALATESTA CLUB.
32 Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.1.
LECTURE - DISCUSSIONS
OCT. 13—Donald Room on FREEDOM & OWNDOM.
OCT. 20—Reg. Wright on GROUP WORK IN INDUSTRY

OCT. 27—Alan Albon on HUMBUGGERY
NOV. 3—Giovanni Baldelli on ANARCHIST ACTION.
NOV. 10—F. A. Ridley on THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF SOCIETY
NOV. 17—Francis Tonks on VOLUNTARY WORK CAMPS
NOV. 24—Arthur Uloth on THE ANARCHIST UTOPIA
DEC. 1—Axel Hoch on AM I MY BROTHER'S EATER?
DEC. 8—Bob Green on SOME SHIBBOLETHS OF ANARCHISM.
Questions, Discussion and Admission all free.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

GLASGOW

OPEN AIR MEETINGS
Maxwell Street
Every Sunday at 7.30 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

FREEDOM

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