

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Freedom for you to do (at your own cost or within your own sphere) what I may consider wrong, foolish or inexpedient, is the vital principle of peace and all progress; for your experiments may prove that you are right."

—JOSIAH WARREN.

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Threepence

POWER FROM THE SEA

THE trouble nowadays with any sort of unique achievement in any field of life is that it gets surrounded by a fog of national self-congratulation. It is attributed not to the people who did it but to the country in which it was done. Miss Jenny Nasmyth recently estimated that since Suez the words 'greatness', 'second-rate', 'faith in the Empire', and 'atomic pre-eminence' have occurred at about four times the pre-Suez rate in every British newspaper except one. And now 'Zeta', the machine for producing thermo-nuclear power, joins the four-minute mile, the conquest of Everest and the Baghdad Pact as a sign that the old British Lion can still roar.

This obsession with national prestige is not only infantile and embarrassing, it obviously lengthens the time that must elapse (because it discourages the pooling of results) before practical application can be made of developments like Zeta. The recriminations now going on (not among the scientists actually concerned) about whether the announcement of the success of the work done at Harwell was delayed at the request of the United States Atomic Energy Commission so as to give 'America' a chance to catch up, tend to obscure the fact that this kind of research is going on independently in many parts of the world. It is well known (for instance from Academician Kurchatov's lecture at Harwell in May 1956), that work in Russia is proceeding on exactly similar lines. Professor Kai Siegbahn said the other day that a machine similar to Zeta has been built at the University of Uppsala in Sweden and that another twice as big would be ready in the spring. The director of the Nuclear Centre near Paris announced that French scientists had produced temperatures of a million degrees with two types of machine, one of them like Zeta.

Why are they all so busy? An obvious reason is the military one. Describing the history of thermo-nuclear research in this country, the

scientific correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* writes that "In 1950, as a result of the progress made, it was decided that the work was so important that it should be continued in secret and taken away from the university research departments. The Oxford group went to Harwell and the Imperial College group to Aldermaston". (There are in fact three places in this country where this work is being done, the Atomic Research Establishment at Harwell, the laboratories of A.E.I. Ltd. at Aldermaston, and the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at the same place. In last week's release of information nothing was said about the work at the Weapons Establishment).

And why the secrecy? Experience teaches that nothing is gained by secrecy about a process of which the general principles are already widely known, declares the *New Scientist* in an editorial in its issue of Jan. 16th, foreshadowing the official announcements. The secrecy, the *New Scientist* remarks, seems to stem from American fears,

"that enterprising small countries will be able to develop some more advanced form of Zeta which will generate neutrons (released during the fusion process) in such numbers that it is able to convert uranium-238 or thorium packed around it into the atomic explosives plutonium or uranium-233. The implications of

this are considerable. First it means that small nations could quietly set about making atomic bombs without entering on the costly business of building reactors like Windscale or separation plants like Oak Ridge. Secondly, countries able to make uranium-233 in this way would no longer be dependent on the United States or the Soviet Union for enriched fuel elements for more advanced types of reactors".

TURNING from the grotesque question of national prestige and the sinister military implications, the importance of Zeta, "the most curious machine ever built in a laboratory", is obvious. The world's coal and oil reserves will, we are told, last another hundred years. Its uranium and thorium might also be exhausted in two or three hundred years, but supplies of deuterium or heavy hydrogen, the gas used in the thermo-nuclear machines are limitless since it can be extracted from sea water. One gramme of deuterium which costs two shillings with present methods of extraction, contains the energy of ten tons of coal.

In his press conference last week, Sir John Cockcroft said that for the discovery to reach the stage of economic application would take ten years if everything went perfectly, and fifty years at the worst. His guess was twenty years. Some people are sceptical, but it is notice-

able that the producers of uranium take him seriously. Last month the financial correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* commented on the unwillingness of uranium mining companies to undertake new capital expenditure for lack of a guaranteed market for their product. And last week's *Investor's Chronicle* made this comment on the end of the uranium boom:

"News that British scientists had successfully harnessed hydrogen power for peaceful purposes threatened to make uranium as a source of energy as outdated as paraffin as a source of light. By the end of April 1957, the rout in uranium shares had begun and almost continuous and heavy losses in most of these issues had indicated that something more than normal market influences had been at work".

On the other hand Sir Edwin Plowden, chairman of the Atomic Energy Authority points out that the future demand for uranium is dependent more upon the opening of new nuclear power stations than upon the actual amount of nuclear power installed and he believes that even with the installation of 'fast breeder reactors' the demand for uranium will continue to grow. It seems likely that just as the develop-

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The Cyprus Tangle

THERE is no shortage of solutions being offered by political commentators and other interested parties to the "Cyprus situation" which steadily moves from bad to worse in spite of the seemingly general approval of the new Governor, Sir Hugh Foot.

He certainly gives the impression that he is at least more aware than his predecessor that the Cypriots are human beings, but as we have stated in these columns before, he is limited by the cloak of office and the resentment among the people of British rule—a resentment which has been extending to EOKA over the past year.

Many suggestions have been made (apart from the anarchist one to

which we do not expect many people to listen; the British people don't, why should the Cypriots?) to pacify the island, from partition—favoured by the Turkish leaders—to self-determination with the Turkish minority given assurance that they will be represented. Neither of these solutions is going to satisfy the various conflicting interests which have been intensified by British policies.

One of the arguments used by the British Government for public consumption in defence of its refusal to grant self-government, etc. to Cyprus has been that the Turkish minority would suffer a loss of rights. We were unconvinced at the time by such solicitude and it seems that so are the Turks who are now staging anti-British riots in Cyprus. It is believed by them that proposals are going to be made at the Ankara Bagdad Pact meeting (starting today, Monday 27th), for a period of self-government for Cyprus "followed by self-determination".

It is reported that the success or failure of Britain's plan rests on the effectiveness of the "pressure Britain and America are able to exert on Turkey in the forthcoming meeting"! Do these proposals, if they are put forward and carried, mean that Britain is no longer worried about the position of the Turkish minority in Cyprus, or is it that Britain has never really been impressed by her own arguments about the poor Turks? Would it not be nearer the truth to say that the Turks were being used (however willingly) as another reason to justify enforced rule which was seen as necessary by the British because of the strategic importance of Cyprus?

We suggested at the time that the appointment of Sir Hugh Foot marked a change in British policy, not out of sympathy for the suffering population but because of political expediency and power. These are the real reasons for the blatant reversal of policies which are made so often by Governments everywhere.

The illegal Cyprus Communist Party which has been content to sit back while EOKA harried the British forces is now re-emerging. The Communist leader of the Labour Federation, Andreas Ziartides, has promised Sir Hugh Foot that he will do everything to avoid trouble between the 'left-wing' trade unions and EOKA. This followed an interview with the Governor after two trade unionists had been killed by EOKA followers. It seems likely that a struggle for power between the "left" and "right" will be the new "problem" in Cyprus.

Britain will not be slow to play one off against the other, and while the politicians spar the people will continue to die and suffer.

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Patching the Leak that Wasn't

NOW that the available evidence has been carefully sifted by the great Bank Rate Leak Tribunal, we may all sigh with relief that despite our suspicions at the time, everything was above board and not the slightest guilt attaches to any of the gentlemen in the city. Many anarchists have no doubt been worried at the prospect of others being in a position to make an unfair profit on their guilt-edged whilst they, in their innocence of vital knowledge, unavoidably made a considerable loss as the Bank rate went up to 7% and their 2½% Consols went down several points.

Aside from certain misgivings as to the doubtful possibilities for large scale, long term loans from the banks, we may all feel satisfied that if anything, the integrity of the persons individually concerned and of the city in general has been uplifted by the events which took place. The Parker Tribunal has elicited by all possible means that all those who were called to give evidence before it did not behave in any way improperly—the decision is unanimous and unhesitating. . . .

In view of this (expected) result it is difficult to understand what all the fuss was about. However (equally) in view of the "disquieting rumours in the City and elsewhere . . . and the heavy selling of gilt-edged the night before the Bank rate went up," it is perfectly obvious what all the fuss was about. Can it have been, the astute bystander asks himself, just a series of unfortunate coincidences? Of course it must have been (he replies—to himself), for no one would impugn the word or deed of a City banker, or even an ordinary business man for that matter. As for a director of the Bank of England—surely it cannot

be denied that his prime loyalty is to sterling, not to the interests of a company of which he also happens to be a director.

The Tribunal almost continuously remarks in its report that "there is not a shred of evidence to support allegations . . ." "Indeed . . . and there is certainly no proof. The fact that Lord Kindersley who had prior information of the increase as a Bank director, was placed in an embarrassing position—he is also a director of private companies who could conceivably benefit by that knowledge—and the fact that Lord Kindersley's knowledge is presumed to be one of the reasons for his being on the Board of these companies . . . this is not evidence, and certainly not proof.

The unfortunate Mr. W. J. Keswick was in precisely the same position. Embarrassment is not evidence. "A sinister construction could be put upon his actions . . . but . . ." Patently Mr. Keswick was innocent.

Mixed-up Mollet

PARIS, JANUARY 20.

M. Guy Mollet, speaking of his Government's policy at the time of the Suez expedition, said in a public speech at Amiens yesterday:

"It is true that I faced several people, and even some of my own Ministers, with an accomplished fact, but I have only one regret—that I was prevented from going through to the end. In the same way that help was given in 1936 to the Spanish Republicans, I furnished arms and aeroplanes to that admirable people—the people of Israel."

[How these "Socialists" drag in Spain when it suits them. Our recollection is that it was the Blum government which proposed the non-intervention farce to the League of Nations].

And what of Mr. Oliver Poole? As the Tribunal so aptly put it: "Not a shred of evidence that he made any disclosure to any companies with which he was associated or made use of any such information for private gain.

As for the others who gave evidence before the Tribunal, the ladies particularly, their remarks to others at the time were in some extraordinary way misunderstood. Miss Susan Chataway who was then employed in the press department of the Conservative Central Office, had a conversation with Mr. J. L. Pumphrey (a civil servant) in which she claimed in jest that she knew about the Bank rate increase before it was announced. The Tribunal finds it had to understand how Mr. Pumphrey came to take her remarks seriously. . . . It could hardly have been because they were meant seriously. . . .

Mrs. Dorothy Campbell had attended a cocktail party on September 18th, where, it is stated, she said she had been told in the city that the Bank rate was going up the following day by 1½%. A most unsatisfactory witness, the Tribunal concluded (as well they might), and what is more they did not believe she had been told such a thing. "She had made what she had intended to be a sensational remark to draw attention to herself". Sensational.

The Opposition, headed by Shadow Chancellor, Harold Wilson, notes that the Tribunal "specifically declines" to pass judgment on the two main issues. These are summed up as follows:

"(1) The propriety of the Chancellor of the Exchequer giving to selected journalists and even to the vice-chairman of the Conservative Party secret information

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AID FOR SPANISH ARMY DESERTERS

A SPECIAL fund drive for \$17,000 to relocate 149 Spanish soldiers who fled from Franco's army in Ifni, North Africa, is being conducted by Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc., 80 East 11th Street, New York City.

The soldiers who left the Franco forces in Spanish Morocco, which nationalist forces are seeking to free from Spanish rule, have been jailed in Casablanca. They will be freed when funds are available to clothe them and pay their transportation to countries willing to accept them as political exiles under the Geneva Convention.

"Their release is the result of many months of work on the part of the Solidarité International Antifasciste, a Spanish Republican refugee committee in Toulouse, France, along with the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Red Cross," according to Mrs. Nancy Macdonald, executive secretary of Spanish Refugee Aid.

Morocco has agreed to free the former Franco soldiers, now facing their second Christmas in jail, if they can find other countries to accept them. Belgium and some Latin American countries have agreed to take part of them, Morocco itself will keep a few skilled workers.

"But they will not be free until the funds are raised," Mrs. Macdonald warns

REALITY

Warsaw & the Supreme Betrayal

SEVENTY DAYS—A Diary of the Warsaw Insurrection 1944, by Wacław Zagorski, Muller, 21s.

DURING the summer of 1944 the Russian army was involved in much heavy fighting with the retreating German army; in June the Russians broke through and by the end of July had reached the outskirts of Warsaw. On the 1st August, 40,000 men of the Polish "Home Army" went into action against the Germans inside Warsaw. *Seventy Days* is the diary of the commander of a particular unit which defended a particular section of the Polish capital during the Insurrection. It is an incredible story describing the day to day events of a battle between the highly organised and well equipped soldiers of a Fascist state and an amateur army of men and women with practically no experience or equipment. After nearly seventy days there was a truce and then an agreement for cessation of fighting.

The book itself is not concerned with the events which led up to the Insurrection, except in a foreword by the man who was in command of the "Home Army" whilst it fought the Germans; but it will be remembered that when the Russians arrived on the outskirts of Warsaw they called upon the Poles to start fighting and promised immediate support. As the Poles started to fight, the Russians stopped, and only commenced once more in mid-September. With no difficulty they then fought their way to the river Vistula where only the river itself separated them from the Insurgents—and stopped again.

Clearly Moscow's intention was that the Polish fighters should be defeated (or exterminated) so that Poland would be more easily turned into a Soviet satellite when the Germans were thrown back. This aim was achieved. The Polish intention was to regain her own capital for reasons of prestige, and to counter the Russian threat which was already assumed.

On 1st August barricades were built by the Insurgents and any arms and ammunition which could be acquired

were put into action. These consisted mainly of old revolvers and bottles of petrol—for use against machine guns, tanks and aeroplanes. Volunteers arrived and soon Zagorski's unit began to grow rapidly. By the time the fighting finished the unit had become a "battalion" composed of men and women of at least ten nationalities and six religions.

Zagorski himself is a Catholic and appears to be liberal in outlook. There is little in the book to indicate any political or ideological orientation of the Insurgents in general. It would seem that most of the Insurgents were fighting against the Germans who had been their oppressors for so long, and for a Polish Government for Poland. It is not clear what proportion there was of Socialists, Conservatives and others, but there is no question that the "Home Army" was divided into groups under a high command, subject to some approximation of military law, with the whole force taking its political orders from the Polish "government" in London.

This does not detract from the valiant (and not unsuccessful) struggle put up by the amateur army, nor does it necessarily mean that if the Poles had extricated themselves from the clutches of both the Germans and the Russians, a reactionary government would have been put in power. After years of Nazi rule any "home-rule" would have seemed likely to be an improvement, and in any case patriotism in wartime is almost everyone's creed (excluding anarchists), and particularly in the circumstances which befell the Poles.

This review has digressed, for the book is about none of these things. It is about people involved in street fighting, most of them determined to free themselves from the Germans by whatever means possible and with whatever weapons are to hand. They very nearly succeed.

The book is neither well nor badly written, but is extremely gripping. How much of it is *absolutely* accurate, over thirteen years after the event, and how much is a general picture helped out by an "inspired" memory is hard to tell, but it is not over-written and most of it has a ring of truth. Much of it is written as conversation—which can hardly have

been remembered; but the impression of a city being bombed and shot to pieces is real, men and women dying and fighting bravely, and amidst the horrible chaos a feeling that many of the quite ordinary people who were living such an extraordinary existence, were imbued with a strong sense of solidarity which was not simply derived from patriotic fervour.

Some of the descriptions of the fighting evoke memories of the Hungarian uprising, though the Warsaw Insurrection was much more prolonged. Both events show the Russians' infinite ability to double-cross their way to their objective, and in some ways this is almost as horrifying as the battle itself. Warsaw appears perhaps as the supreme betrayal, for the Russian army did not even bother to do its own repulsive work, but let the German's do it for them. H.

"Bombs? . . . But since when has bomb-throwing been the prerogative of

one doctrine or another? . . . It is not only anarchists who resort to terrorism, but any dynamic philosophy does! You have only to cast a glance at history to see how nationalism, for example, is one of the warmest addicts of terrorism. Political assassination for the good of one's country is still spoken of as holy in our schools".

The anarchist case is thus put forward in page after page of discussions, now with workers and unemployed, now with Communist members, by a man, Liron, who nominally is not yet an anarchist, but through his courage and direct devotion to the workers' cause wins over to himself the sympathy or admiration of all, including the reader, who sees him at work.

Once he takes his girl friend to an anarchist meeting, and her reaction is "They are nuts". He reflects sadly upon that (p. 162):

"She was like the others. She wouldn't understand. The Party, on the contrary, was perfectly clear, so neatly did it fit into the success of things one was accustomed to. One worked in it, gave one's opinion when it was asked, and carried out orders as one did in the factory or the army, just as the established morality, which the Party wanted to suppress, said one should do."

The action takes place in Paris in 1933. The atmosphere of the depression, of the class-struggle and its revolutionary possibilities, are faithfully rendered, as I can vouch, having lived through it myself. The Communist Party is slowly gaining control of workers' organizations, but opposition to it is still spirited and they are not having it all quite their own way. Liron is attracted into an Unemployed's Committee, controlled by the Communists, and there he stands against their tactics and intrigues, seeing through their mummeries and manoeuvres, down to their deep-frozen sincerity through their many-coated alienation. The portraits of some of them are remarkably penetrating. Here is one, that of Desclous, a man with twenty years militancy in the workers' movement:

"The impulse lifting a man towards the Revolution is replaced in him by one pushing him to develop the Party whose task it is to make the Revolution. Between him and the Revolution stands the Party, its interests, its cadres, its organic necessities created by a closed milieu. You said it just now, man is shaped by his surroundings. Desclous is caught between the sincerity of his beginnings and the interests of his Party. He gets out of it by an arbitrary somersault, identifying his Party with the Revolution. He wants his Party to make the Revolution, there is no doubt about it. He wants the Revolution to coincide with the interests of his Party, there is no doubt, alas, about it, either. Therefore he wants the Revolution to absorb his habits and view-points, which are also those of his Party, so that the new society to be built should include the form of individual behaviour which has become his friends' and his own. Desclous does not want the Revolution, but the generalization of a climate rising, not in the midst of a revolutionary upheaval, but through the many-years-old cohabitation of men for whom the Party, originally a means, has become an end, with its own ethics, its own methods and constraints" (pp. 57-59).

The main theme of the novel is between the libertarian Liron and the Communist apparatus insidiously dominating and corrupting the revolutionary aspirations of the working class. It is an unequal struggle, but if Liron does not win, neither does he succumb. The Party fails to conquer him, though not through want of trying. Men like Liron are very useful to the Party, if it can capture them, but very dangerous outside, for they incarnate both revolutionary sincerity and unpredictability.

In his novel "The Plague" Albert Camus wrote these words:

"I know that in this world there are pestilences and there are victims, and it is up to us not to ally ourselves with the pestilences."

Such an attitude should be basic to the approach of every libertarian, and every libertarian who can accept neither East nor West will find that "The Un-Americans" confronts them with this problem: Can support be given to those who are victims of one pestilence and bearers of another? In other words, how is one to behave in relation to those who, like the Communists of the U.S.A., are both persecutors and persecuted? Mr. Bessie shows us one side of the coin and obviously does not want to turn it over. This is his failure, but can we who know both sides succeed in separating the victim from the pestilence when they both occur in the same person?

Arthur W. Uloth.

FICTION

A Novel by an Anarchist about an Anarchist

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Poems

PILGRIM'S TERRACE by Tram Combs. (Box 1795, University of Puerto Rico, \$2).

IT is hard to review the poems of Tram Combs; it would be better to quote some of them. He writes in Imagist free verse and all his work breathes life and celebrates its natural manifestations (mostly in the West Indies). At their best, to cite Kenneth Rexroth's brief foreword, his poems are "lucid, perceptive and deeply felt", and they are also beautifully sure in their form; others are loose, too casual or too occasional, and some are a bit cliquy. If you like D. H. Lawrence, you will enjoy Tram Combs writing on cats and lizards and flowers. The sap of the tree is in his poetry. L.A.

The Party has method, Liron has guts. It is Liron's courage, his making straight for action, that makes the book quite readable as a novel. They lead to the two main events in the story: the sending of a deputation of unemployed to an important political personage breaking through a cordon of policemen, and an attack on the Polish Consulate in Paris. The pages dealing with these two events are full of excitement and suspense. The action is blurred here and there round the edges, but this lack of precision, lamentable as it may be as a token of uncontrolled and perhaps careless writing, may on the other hand be forgiven as the result of an experience too intensely lived through to allow a clear grasping of peripheral details.

Liron's courage, however, though certainly fascinating, is, to one reader at least, artistically unsatisfactory. There is no explanation for it; it just comes out when it is needed, while in others round him it is just unexplainedly wanting. Not that Liron is unreal; he is simply incomplete. His being openly represented with sexual needs of the crudest kind that cut across his revolutionary activities goes a long way to give him the third dimension, but, the same as his courage, his success with women must just be taken for granted. Preferable to the Hemingway brand and to the animated statues turned out by the Socialist Réalisme factories, Liron is still too much of a hero, with many a prototype in Malraux's novels, to convince us that he is made of the same stuff as we, and that he is truly our brother.

So, while wishing this first novel the success it deserves, we are looking forward to a second, more diligently written, and with characters of greater depths, such as we trust Joyeux can give us, drawing material from his twenty-five years of militancy in the cause of anarchism, syndicalism and pacifism, and in particular from his prison years both under the Germans and the French.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI.

. . . and about a Communist

THE UN-AMERICANS by Alvah Bessie. Calder, 18s.

THIS is a novel which is concerned to plead the cause of the Communists who were victims of the Un-American Activities Committee. It is the story of two writers who supported the Republic during the Spanish Civil War. One of them, Ben Blau, joins the Communist Party on his return to the U.S.A. and is eventually 'tried' by the Un-American Activities Committee. He refuses to 'name names' and the novel ends with him facing the prospect of five years' imprisonment. The other writer, Francis Xavier Lang, his integrity sapped by success, becomes a government witness against his friend. The narrative shuttles back and forth between the Spain of the 'thirties and the U.S. of the 'forties (with a few interludes in France). It ends with an eulogy of the 'people in motion'—Eastern bloc version.

For a political novel with a definite Communist slant "The Un-Americans" is not as bad as one would expect. Mr. Bessie's style is rather bitty, but he handles the dialogue in the trial scenes well (he is a blacklisted Hollywood script writer). The 'personality problems' are not given a completely black and white treatment and some effort is made to understand how it is that a man can be brought to the evil of betraying a friend. Nonetheless, as an ideological tract it is likely to convert only those who are already converted.

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S. E. PARKER.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bitter Fruit

NO FRUIT MORE BITTER, by Laurence Wilkinson, Heinemann, 25s.

THE title of this book is taken from a Rumanian saying, "There is no fruit more bitter than the rule of the foreigner in one's own land." It is an account of the attack made on the Rumanian Legation in Berne in February, 1955, by anti-Communist exiles, and an account of the life stories of the men who made up the attacking party.

They entered the legation grounds loaded with weapons and tools to the point of encumbrance, expecting to have to deal with heavily armed guards, instead of which they met only women, children and some rather timid diplomats, who fled, leaving their families behind. Some shots were fired at them by a mysterious personage, who made his escape, but apart from that there was little resistance. An unfortunate chauffeur, who tried to wrest a sub-machine gun from one of the attackers, was riddled with bullets and died later in hospital. He was the only member of the legation staff who displayed any courage. Rumours, for some of which the Communists themselves were responsible, claimed that he was a master-spy, but Beldeanu, the leader of the exiles, stated that he was a simple man, quite harmless, who was in fact being spied on himself because his loyalty was suspect. The trouble about these affrays is that it is so often the innocent who suffer, while the people who are really guilty are sufficiently cunning, or cowardly, to get away.

The main purpose of the raid was to attract attention to the plight of the Rumanian people. The world appeared to have forgotten this land behind the "iron curtain". There were also other purposes. It was suspected that a Rumanian who had disappeared had in fact been kidnapped, and that he was being held prisoner in the legation. It was also thought that an important spy often went there, and one plan was to capture him if possible. There was also a rather hopeless scheme for compelling the Rumanian government to release five political leaders being held as hostages.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

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The 'Practical' Man's Nightmare

OUR age is plagued with "practical" men, self-labelled "realists" who through the medium of mass communications transmit the disease to every thinking and unthinking Tom, Dick and Harry. No discussion on social or political matters ever leads anywhere because at some stage the voice of the "practical" man, the "realist", swamps the realism of reason and the practical aspirations of human beings. Man is lost in a jungle of mental confusion from which he eventually emerges with the first conviction that all his wants, his aspirations, his values are either Utopian or all wrong simply because they appear to be diametrically opposed to the existing order of things or to what the "practical" men tell us are possible.

The overwhelming majority of mankind is opposed to war yet we go through life either at war or under the threat of war; no man wants to go hungry yet half the world's people die prematurely as a direct consequence of malnutrition; few people would admit to enjoying being at loggerheads with their friends and fellow beings yet the world we live in is poisoned by litigation, petty jealousies and hates; we start life each developing his personality and long before it ends we have none left or it has been stifled by respectability, conformism and the Joneses; those of us who attain adulthood with ideals, interests and the desire "to make something of life", abandon them ere long to the much more "practical" business of earning a (good) living, and exchanging ideals for status.

How does the ordinary man come to accept, without question it would seem, that war is peace, insecurity, security; that time is money and money the measure of all things? What superior argument has led the hungry millions to accept a living death as their fate, and the well-fed millions to deny that they are their brothers' keepers?

★

THE answer, we venture to suggest is that man's judgment and his values have been undermined by a small, articulate, powerful section in society who claim to have not only the answers to the economic problems of a world whose population is rapidly expanding, but also to understand the minds and nature of Man. In fact, of course, they are simply reflecting their own ambitions, their own desires to dominate. We are even prepared to be over-charitable and suggest that some of these "practical" people labour under the delusion that they act in the best interests of humanity!

Thanks to these brain-washers the ordinary adult has lost that curiosity, basic to the human species, the possession of which in the field of science has led to such achievements as "Sputnik" and now "Zeta", the absence of which, in the realm of human relations, has led to connivance in the use of gas chambers, concentration camps, prisons . . . and hunger in the midst of food surpluses! The child-like quality of asking "why?"—by which the young child through his own insatiable curiosity to know and understand not only his physical environment but the orders and admonitions that shower on him from anxious, authoritarian and/or unreasonable adults raises himself from the status of a young animal to that of a young person—is in most cases stifled by tired, defeated parents, and over-worked, uninspired teachers; frowned on by Churches to whom doubt

(for which that innocent "why?" is the life-blood) is a heresy, and considered sheer impertinence by the employer who expects his workers to do their job and not ask questions.

As a result, by the time our young person is "independent" his mental baggage is heavy with prejudices and Pavlovian conditioned reflexes, and light in curiosity and doubt (except, of course, where his ability to manage his own life is concerned!) Though he may never meet his employer he will dogmatically assert that his capital and initiative provide employment. He has never met his M.P. but it doesn't prevent him from believing that this well-groomed, pin-striped gentleman is personally defending his interests five days a week in the House. And if he does not live up to what the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Pope decree is good and proper where demon sex is concerned, he will not question their wisdom or infallibility but, rather, condemn his own weakness, and live with his remorse.

When, therefore, the government tells him that he cannot expect to have the Welfare State and protection from the Russian man-eaters he naturally appreciates that the Government are doing more than their share for his welfare, and leaves it to them to decide that rockets are more important than teeth and old-age pensions. When the Government says that inflation means national bankruptcy, and the opposition equally emphatically declare that the health of the nation depends on a bit of inflation, our average man believes them both. After all, power is truth in this topsy turvy world, and there's no saying the Opposition will not be in power this time next year! Similarly he believes the government is determined to increase production in spite of increasing unemployment in the country. And he laps up unquestionably the "experts" pep talk such as appeared for instance in last Sunday's *Observer* by its Industrial Correspondent on "Tackling the Problem of Absentees". We quote the first and last paragraphs of this article:

"The outlook for the British coal industry would be greatly improved if the example which has just been set by the Lancashire miners were to be followed by miners in other parts of Britain" . . .

The net will close around the man who is not willing to do a five-day week. "There is no room in the industry for a man who will not do a five-day week," said Mr. Hall [area secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers]. If this type of absentee could be eliminated, even at the expense of driving these men out of the industry, it would be possible for an economic gain to be registered, even if output suffered somewhat.

Telescoping the two paragraphs we have that: "the outlook for the British coal industry would be greatly improved . . . [if] . . . it would be possible for an economic gain to be registered, even if output suffered somewhat". In other words it would be a "better outlook" if we could sell coal a few shillings a ton cheaper even if to do this meant sacking thousands of miners and thereby reducing output by a few million tons. What are they after, the money or the coal?

★

AND here we have the root of the problem. What is "practical" for anarchists and uncommitted "simpletons" is based on reality, on the productive potential of mankind related to human need. But what is "practical" for the ruling classes of the world to-day is what is financially practical, that is, worthwhile, to those who manipulate the money markets, who own the sources of raw material, the industrial potential and the land on which our food is grown, and who are in a position to employ and direct the labour of others for their own narrow interests. "Practical" is for us that which is possible; for them it is that which is profitable. There is no way of reconciling these two approaches. Both, it is true, are practical but whereas the latter is primarily con-

cerned with the interests of a privileged minority, or of a system *per se*, the former recognises the equal basic needs and rights of all humanity.

The following, from an editorial in last Sunday's *New York Times*, on the "Farm Question" indicates better than anything we could write ourselves the gulf dividing these two approaches:

Nearly everyone concerned with "the farm problem" agrees that its ingredients are overproduction, instability of income, and—among some farmers—chronic poverty. The quarrels that reverberate persistently through Washington involve what to do about the problem. One view is that the important thing is for the Government to put props under farm income through price supports. The other view is that income would take care of itself if production could be decreased and sales increased to eliminate price-depressing surpluses.

So long as anyone in the world goes hungry we cannot talk of over-production of food. And at the time of writing over a thousand million people are going hungry. To say, as we are sure the editors of the *New York Times* would say, that there is over-production since the United States cannot dispose of her existing surpluses, is not an argument but an admission that the existing financial system is in fact not practical. The food is there, the empty bellies are there, there are hundreds of ships idle in the ports. Then what are they waiting for? Just for pieces of paper they call "hard currency"!

If anarchists live in a "dream-world", then theirs must be one long nightmare!

Puritanism or Hedonism?

he will be lost to the movement and the prating dogmatist will claim that his defection proves his dilettantism.

A Multitude of Problems

The anarchist movement should be a hotbed of ideas on every subject under the sun, from Art to Zeta. The wide range of subjects dealt with by our comrade C.W. in his series "People and Ideas" indicates surely the multitude of problems which face us when we begin to think of people living freely in society.

Our bourgeois proletarian intellectual wants (as I do) the workshops to be taken over by the workers and to be run under workers' control. In his more daring moments he might speculate on working hours being slashed when production is carried on for use not for profit, and may even be prepared to hazard a guess on what the revolutionary workers will do with their spare time.

But what does he have to say about leisure time now? Ah well, now we should devote ourselves to the struggle for emancipation in the sweet bye-'n'-bye. We should not waste time in the enjoyment of the development of interests now.

A Middle-class Puritan

So the B.P.I. seeks to freeze society as it is until the Great Day dawns. In fact, he seeks to freeze it as it was when the Gospels were laid down. He sneers at modern art because it doesn't look like anything he knows, and although he has never in his life done anything as arty as put brush to canvas he is convinced that charlatans like Picasso paint the way they do only because they can't paint properly. He dislikes jazz and abhors skiffle and rock 'n' roll as musical aberrations expressive only of the decadence of modern youth. Yet he doesn't like 'The Classics' either; too highbrow.

Essentially middle-class, our bourgeois proletarian intellectual is also essentially a puritan. His very rebellion is born not of a love for life nor joy of living nor even the pursuit of happiness, but of the opposite: hatred. The bitter, repressed hatred that has provided the dynamic for so many religions and tyrannies can have no place in a movement aiming at the liberation of the human spirit.

I am not saying that one should have no hatred of oppression or of cruelty; nor contempt for the slimy tactics of leaders and governments; but you can't build a social philosophy on hatred. It may be a good weapon with which to destroy, but the anarchist must know how to build, and the building of a free society requires tolerance and generosity which is not to be found, for example, among the mean little minds in political parties.

Enjoy the Movement!

This is not to say that politicians are not capable of the supreme sacrifice. They clearly are. In fact the call invariably is for sacrifice, for duty, for the cause. Which in this case is an extension of putting the party, or the class, or the nation, above the individual. Who has not met the stern Communist who regrets that so many millions have had to die in the onward march towards Socialism in the Soviet Union? It's unfortunate, comrades, he will tell us, but inevitable. Part of the historical process.

This, of course, is the extreme form of the disease but the poor old bourgeois proletarian intellectual whom we are investigating at such inordinate length (or is that all just an excuse for me to investigate myself?) is always suffering from it to some extent. Like his erstwhile revolutionary forebears the Christians, his call is for single-minded sacrificial struggle on this earth (in this society) in return for rewards in heaven (after the revolution).

And just as the Christian would be aghast at the thought of anyone entering the Church to express his own ego, so the bourgeois proletarian intellectual is shocked at the spectacle of individuals entering the anarchist movement for their own satisfaction. Those of us who enjoy our work for the movement, and do the kind of work we like doing and dodge the rest are, we realise, vile hedonists, pleasure seekers and dilettantes.

Poor sinners and egoists all, we quail before the dim religious eye of the bourgeois proletarian intellectual. Yet we'll bet our libertarianism is the likelier path to the free society than his kind of class struggle. P.S.

9,000 Scientists Call for Ending H-Bomb Tests

UNITED NATIONS (N.Y.), JANUARY 13.

More than nine thousand scientists from 44 countries have signed a petition presented to the United Nations to-day urging that an "international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs be made now." Dr. Linus Pauling, American winner of the Nobel Chemistry Prize in 1954, handed over the document to the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld.

The petition said: "Each nuclear bomb test spreads an added burden of radioactive elements over every part of the world. Each added amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world and causes damage to the pool of human germ plasm such as to lead to an increase in the number of seriously defective children that will be born in future generations."—*Reuter*.

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Power from the Sea

Continued from p. 1

ment of nuclear energy is very far from the stage where it causes any falling off in the demand for older fuels, so the development of thermo-nuclear energy will run concurrently with the growth of nuclear energy itself.

But apart from the use of an inexhaustible and potentially very cheap fuel, there is one advantage which the press reports of the past week seem to have said surprisingly little about, in view of the public alarm about radioactivity. Nuclear fusion as opposed to nuclear fission is a 'clean' process. In reporting the famous Harwell lecture of Academician Kurchatov, Professor J. Rot-Blat wrote, (in *Truth*, 11/5/56):

"One of the main drawbacks of atomic energy obtained from fission is the huge amount of radioactivity which is inevitably produced; this necessitates shielding the nuclear reactor with heavy walls of concrete and creates the awkward problems of radiation hazards and disposal of waste products. In the case of hydrogen power the amount of radioactivity produced might be so small that it may be possible to dispense with heavy shielding. Such a system would, therefore, be much lighter and could be used for propulsion purposes."

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ANOTHER reflection on the implications of thermo-nuclear power is provoked by an article by John Starr in the *Daily Mail*. Under the heading "Midget Plant", he writes:

"No one knows what the new-age power stations would look like or how much they would cost. Nuclear power stations of the present day cost about £40,000,000 to build. Zeta itself cost £300,000. But a smaller version has been successfully used at the A.E.I. laboratory, using less gas and needing less 'starting' energy. This has cost only £10,000. There is a school of thought which suggests that the smaller type could be advantageous in practical use."

This is, of course, the wildest speculation at present, because of the years of work needed on any machine of this kind, but we mention it for the reason which we recently raised in connection with atomic power stations and with attempts to harness solar radiation. You can approach the generation of motive power in two ways. You can

think of a few big units or of a thousand little ones. The centralist attitude of mind, will think in terms of big comprehensive units of enormous expense, administered by one big all-powerful authority, feeding electricity into a great super-grid of fabulous complexity. The decentralist current of thought, starting from human needs, will think in terms of innumerable small units of more modest cost, scattered around the continents.

Which conception is going to guide the development of a thermo-nuclear power station? The question is vital not only from the point of view of the kind of society we want to see, but also when we ask what are the most urgent purposes for which we need to find new power resources. The *Daily Mirror*, presenting the implications of Zeta to its readers in the usual homely terms, says that it means

"The end of the electricity bills that now harass householders. H-power electricity will be as cheap as tap-water... and a small once-a-year payment will cover it. The end of smog—which causes many deaths from chest ailments. Because when we stop burning coal the air will be much cleaner."

But is this all? Obviously, in a small, rich, densely-populated and highly-industrialised country, it

means warmer houses, cleaner air, cheaper consumer goods, a chicken in every pot and a car in every garage. But what about places like— to name them at random—Indonesia, Zanzibar, Brazil or Northern Australia. They could be transformed by a new source of cheap motive power, making economically possible irrigation or land drainage as a basis for a completely new economy. But they will never have a super-grid (so much cheaper to move either seawater by pipeline or deuterium in cylinders) and they will certainly be the last places to be served by big-scale generators.

It is thus a question of whether the advent of nuclear power is simply going to widen the gap between rich lands and poor, or whether, through the development of cheap, flexible units of modest scale, it is going to close that gap.

Meanwhile there is the formidable technical gap between the achieved temperatures of 5 million degrees sustained for 5 thousandths of a second, and the estimated requirement of 300 million degrees lasting for a second, a gap which makes the search in all other directions for economical sources of motive power as pressing and valuable as ever it was. C.W.

In Brief

PREMIER WITHOUT A CABINET

GARFIELD TODD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has said that he is not a liberal but that he believes "in the welfare of all people of all races and will not pander to any one section to get votes". This is enough to make him unpopular with the whites in Southern Rhodesia who think that granting voting rights to blacks, with the necessary educational and financial qualifications, is taking democracy too far.

The Prime Minister's four-man Cabinet has resigned in protest against his "liberal racial policies" and demanded that he resign from his position.

A general election is due in the

autumn when it is likely that the Dominion Party, opposed to racial partnership, will get the support of the white population. With political power at stake the United Federal Party may well call a halt to its modest policies. If it does not Todd's career as leader of the Party may well be over.

German Reserves Down

FRANKFURT, JANUARY 23.

West German gold and foreign currency reserves fell by about 178 million marks (about £15 millions) in the week ended January 15, the Federal Bank here said to-day. This included a fall of 141 million marks (nearly £12 millions) in the value of gold holdings—*Reuter*.

Unemployment in Holland Up

AMSTERDAM, JANUARY 12.

The number of unemployed in the Netherlands was almost doubled since December 1, 1957, to more than 110,000 people.

In addition in a number of factories working hours have been reduced to 15 and even 24 hours a week because of decreasing activity.

The rapidly changing situation from an over-spending economy some months ago to increasing unemployment, with an average percentage of 3 at the moment, has caused alarm in all quarters. Especially is the drop in building being criticised because of housing shortage. The Government is being urged by Members of Parliament to take special measures.

"Do As I Tell You, Not As I Do"

Mr. Khrushchev told collective farmers at Minsk on Wednesday, according to *Pravda*: "We must not permit drunkenness to be made a cult. The time has come to raise sharply the question of the struggle against drunkenness and the struggle against people who brew their drinks at home."—*B.U.P.*

"Revolutionary Change"?

MOSCOW, JANUARY 25.

A revolutionary change in Soviet agricultural organisation to allow collective farms to own their own machines instead of getting them from tractor and machine stations has been proposed by Mr. Khrushchev.

The Soviet news agency Tass said the proposal was made at the conference on Wednesday.—*Reuter*.

Scared of the Redskins?

BURLINGTON (NORTH CAROLINA), JANUARY 26.

A Ku-Klux-Klan leader, whose segregation rally at nearby Maxton last week started a thousand Red Indians on the warpath, cancelled a similar rally that was to have been held here last night on the ground that the field in which it was to have been held was too muddy.—*Reuter*.

Patching the Leak that Wasn't

Continued from p. 1

on investment cuts and credit restrictions the day before the increase in the Bank rate; and

"(2) The invidious position of part-time directors of the Bank who, being aware of the Bank rate decision in advance, were expected to advise firms with which they were associated on the prospects for the gild-edged market."

We must assume that issue number 1 could bring to attention the fact that the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Peter Thorneycroft, chose certain newspaper representatives to whom he gave advance information, but omitted to see representatives from the *Daily Mirror*, the *Daily Express*, the *Daily Mail*, the

Daily Herald and the *Daily Worker*. (The first four newspapers having between them, in terms of circulation, perhaps 80% of the daily total). However it must be recognised that the Labour Party probably has in mind that no one should be told anything in advance. It will of course be remembered that it was the Labour Party, which in 1946, nationalised the Bank of England and originally created the set-up which it is presumably advocating should now be changed.

Issue number 2 is more interesting still, bringing into the open as it does the suggestion of divided loyalties. For some extraordinary reason it seems to imply that men in the position in which, for example Lord Kindersley and Mr. Keswick find themselves, could by some ill chance be placed in a schizophrenic (if that is the word) situation. In effect, battling on behalf of the Bank of England, sterling and the National Interest on the one hand, and the possibility of private gain* on the other.

Of one thing we may be certain: arising from the great Bank Rate Leakage there may or may not be considerable repercussions, hardly any of which will affect the readers of this paper.

*"Private Gain" in the sense in which the Tribunal intended covers: gain, or avoidance of loss, not only to the individual concerned but also to his relations and friends, and the firms and companies with which he is associated.

No Progress!

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'Governments look up to us'-Dulles

REPLYING to a question put to him at a National Press Club luncheon in Washington last week, Dulles expressed his usual disregard for the people of the world who do not accept the policies laid down by the State Department.

The question was: So far as world prestige is concerned, how do you think America stands to-day as compared with five years ago? The reply:

"I would say, to try to be as candid as possible, that the U.S. stands higher than ever before with the Governments of the free world

countries. I cannot say the same as regards public opinion, where I think public opinion may perhaps have been somewhat misled."

This disregard for the opinions of the people is the kind of thing for which the Communist leaders are criticised by western politicians who put a facade on their contempt for the people by suggesting, when their policies meet with disapproval, that public opinion is misled or is just unrealistic.

The last refuge nowadays is the "courage to take unpopular measures" theme which is monotonously played by the Tory Government (discussed in *FREEDOM* recently), and now used by Dulles in his address to the Press Club.

It never really seems to occur to most politicians in the democratic countries that to ignore the "wishes of the people" when they are opposed to government policies is to behave like the totalitarian governments. It has almost certainly occurred to Dulles who obviously thinks that U.S. totalitarianism is superior to the Soviet Union brand.

Strike in Yugoslavia

A REPORT from Vienna (*News Chronicle*, 27th Jan.) states that 4,200 miners occupied one of Yugoslavia's largest pits for three days in a stay-in strike against a 20% pay cut:—

"This is the first time since Marshal Tito installed his Communist regime 13 years ago that news of a strike has leaked out.

But now one of the strikers has fled across the snowbound Alps to Austria.

He told how anger erupted among the 4,200 miners at Trbovlje, Slovenia (Northern Yugo-Slavia), when they found a 20 per cent. pay cut. Their protests were met by the claim that production targets were unfulfilled.

Scuffles broke out when the small local police force tried to re-establish order.

Top-ranking Slovenian party chief Mirko Marinko arrived next morning, promising no reprisals if miners returned.

But his reception was hostile. Finally the party leaders had to retreat. They promised that the missing wages would be paid."

Have you received a Subscription Renewal Reminder?

★

And have you dealt with it?

Letter ON EDUCATING THE YOUNG

DEAR EDITOR,

Recently, in *Tribune*, a self-styled champion of individual liberty caned a few socialists who wanted to abolish "public" schools in favour of a complete system of State education. It was his view that parents should be at liberty to send their children to the school they (the parents) thought best.

Now I should have thought that the individual concerned, whose liberty we should be ready to honour, is the CHILD—not the parent! (And I submitted, twice, to the Editor, letters in that vein—unsuccessfully).

This, of course, raises a thorny problem. One cannot ask a child how it would like to be educated. What to do? *FREEDOM* dealt with education, a few issues ago, to a limited extent. I should like to see the subject explored more thoroughly. In case it helps, I will pose a question:—

Should a parent have the right to direct his children to either a State school or, say, A. S. Neill's school?

Also, I make the suggestion that all children should be directed to a universally agreed type of school at which the curriculum would be decided by an international body consisting of Sociologists, Philosophers, Educationalists, Parents, Religious Leaders—and Anarchists.

Should differences of opinion arise (this is conceivable in the case of the Religious Leaders!), the children would be instructed in each of the disputed subjects and by each of the disputed methods. Crazy?

Let's have some better suggestions then.

Yours, etc.,
ERNIE CROSSWELL.

Slough, Jan. 8.

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WHY I AM AN ANARCHIST
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