"Freedom, like love, must be conquered for ourselves afresh every day."

-H. W. NEVINSON.

Vol. 19, No. 47.

November 22nd, 1958.

Threepence

The Night the Soldiers Went Mad

BRITISH BRUTALITY IN CYPRUS

AN inquest is being held this week into the deaths of two Cypriots who died during an Army round-up in Famagusta following the murder of Mrs. Cutcliffe—presumably by EOKA terrorists—on October 3rd. (See Freedom 11/10/58).

On this occasion the British troops clearly went berserk, although naturally it was denied in Parliament that they were 'out of control'. From that we can only assume that the way they were behaving was the way they had been ordered to behave an assumption that is backed up by the attitude of the present man in charge of military operations against EOKA, General Darling, who has let it be known that the only terrorists he is interested in are dead terrorists. His troops seem to have done their best to keep him happy with their wild brutality on the night of October 3rd, when they rounded up nearly 1,000 Greek Cypriots, kicking and beating them into trucks to be taken away for interrogation.

The effectiveness of such methods in unearthing terrorists may be gauged from the fact that to date nobody has been charged with the murder of Mrs. Cutliffe.

Two men however were killed by the troops that night, while an unknown number—variously estimated at 200 to 300-were enjured, more or less seriously.

The two killed were Panayiotis Chrysostomou and Andreas Loukas, a student of 19. Giving evidence at the inquest in Famagusta, Dr. Nedjat Sanerkin, senior pathologist to the Government of Cyprus said of Loukas:

The left side of the whole upper face, and the left temple, and the left side of the head were considerably swollen. There was a large collection of blood at the side and the skull had been fractured above the ear "deep to the bone". There was a haemorrhage between the skull and the covering of the brain and there was acute compression of the brain.

Mr. Andres Pouyouros, the Mayor of Famagusta, appearing for Liuka's relations, asked how the skull could have been fractured. Dr. Sanerken said: "A fracture of the skull requires considerable force. . . . It could have been caused by a club or the butt of a gun."

The above quote and those following are from the Manchester Guardian of Nov. 18, which, to its

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WEEK 46

Deficit on Freedom

Contributions received

credit, is publishing extensive reports of the inquest proceedings.

The other man, Chrysostomou, was a sick man when he was picked up by the military police. Incidentally this pogrom (is there any other word to describe it?) by the British soldiers was carried out during a curfew period, when all the Cypriots were shut up in their homes, which were ruthlessly invaded by the

Mr. David Griffiths-Jones, representing the Attorney-General, questioned Chrysostomou's widow about the last time she saw her husband:

She said that the military had come to her house and arrested him shortly after the curfew sirens on October 3. "I opened the door. They took him outside and kicked him. They put him in a lorry."

Asked what the soldiers had done she said: " . . . he went and met my husband . . . he grabbed him by the vest and pulled him to his feet while kicking him and took him outside." Answering the coroner, Mrs. Chrysostomou said that the soldier had kicked her husband from the hallway to the truck; he had kicked him on the back and the thigh and the

Mr. Griffith-Jones questioned Dr. Sanerkin about the state of Chrysostomou's health (for the British army always likes to prove that its victims die of something other than its maltreatment of them) and he said "It seemed a frail thin body . . . He looked as if he might not be very healthy." In the heat of the moment the British military police must have overlooked the fact that such a person is not so very likely to be a 'terrorist'-or do they perhaps reserve their most vicious treatment for the frail and thin?

Dr. Sanerkin went on:

"He had various external injuries. These mainly were abrasions and bruises over both knees, various bruises around both ankles, a small abrasion of the right side of the chest, a small abrasion below the outer side of the right elbow, a small bruise on the right side of the face, a few minor bruises on the back of the chest and shoulders.

"Internally the ribs on the right side were fractured from the second to the eighth. In the lungs there was an old healed tubercular focus at the apex of

the right lung. And on both sides the lungs were densely bound to the chest wall by fibrous bonds, indicating an old pleurisy."

Asked to what he ascribed the man's death, Dr. Sanerkin gave the "terminal" cause of death as cardiac failure. The external injuries, in his view, were "very mild".

Questioned by Mr. Michael Joannou, representing the dead man's relations, about "the real cause of death", Dr. Sanerkin said:

"A certain sequence of events probably led to death. Persons with chronic lung diseases, persons with bilateral dense

adhesions always tend to have hearts similarly affected. Such persons-if their respiratory reserves are further embarrassed whether by bronchitis or by a fracture of the ribs-may go into heart failure. I think that in this instance the fractures of the ribs must have pushed him over."

Trying to establish that it was his conditions and not the violence that caused this sick man's death, Major Colin Overbury, representing the British Army in Cyprus, asked Dr. Sanerkin whether all the injuries could have caused the death of a

normal healthy person. This line of questioning does not deny the injuries, nor that they were inflicted by British troops, but tends to minimise or skate over the fact that this kind of action is absolutely intolerable from the point of view of the authorities themselves on the part of forces of law and order.

Dr. Sanerkin admitted that he would be surprised if the injuries themselves had caused death, but also said, replying to questions put by the Coroner:

that the deceased might have died suddenly of shock even if his ribs had not been broken. "If, as one might expect, he had been lying in bed for a time," said Dr. Sanerkin, "and then suddenly was taken out."

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"The Battle of Ideas is on"-Mr. MacMillan

Prerequsites of 'The Battle of Ideas'

IN his after - the - Lord - Mayor's -- Guildhall - Banquet speech, Mr. Macmillan said it was "the fashion" to say that the Communist threat was no longer military, but economic. But he, Mr. Macmillan, favoured the convenient, middle road. He thought the "danger of open aggression" may have "diminished" but the military threat had not been withdrawn—only held at bay, and so he could conclude that "we cannot relax our defences, or lower our guard except on fairly balanced terms". On the other hand he could recognise that in the "many new communities" that had emerged "out of the international convulsions of recent years" some of them had found "the attraction of the Communist system . . . powerful". Consequently, "If our way of life is to survive and spread and vitalise, we must offer prosperity as well as freedom"

"In the face of the Communist challenge, we cannot hope to hold our own. even in our own countries, and certainly among the uncommitted nations, except on the basis of a continual growth in world prosperity and world trade. Multilateral trade is not only good business it is the only sensible response to the challenge of our times."

The "Communist challenge" as Mr. Walter Lippmann points out in

his interesting, revealing and debatable series of articles in the Manchester Guardian last week, is "the Russian and Chinese challenge for the leadership of Asia and of Africa", which he thinks cannot be met by looking at the "underdeveloped nations as military bulwarks and bastions" but by showing these nations that there is "another and more humane" alternative to the "Communist" way of life, to overcome the "immemorial poverty and weakness of the Asian peoples".

In Mr. Lippmann's opinion the "demonstration" of this alternative can best be made in India. His reasons for selecting India are interesting:

It is, for one thing, a very big country, known to all of Asia as a land of deep poverty. For another thing, India has the necessary structure, including a Civil Service with a good tradition—something which does not exist in equal measure elsewhere in Asia, except in Japan. But in my mind the clinching reason for making the demonstration in India is that the spiritual heritage of which Gandhi was the great teacher is, of all the ideologies of the world, the most radically different from that of Leninism. Yet, though it is different, it is, like communism, addressed to the suffering masses of the people.

As if the Gandhian philosophy, of resisting armed force by non-violent

means, or its attitude to the capitalist methods of mass production, were not just as "radically different from" the anti-Leninist bloc! (Incidentally, who is the West's prophet to oppose to Lenin and Leninism?).

The West, according to Mr. Lippmann should "underwrite and assure the success of India's development" and so give a "successful demonstration [which would] carry conviction to the great masses of the people who are looking for a better way of life". Which is all very well but is it not like saying that the lion should bleat and the sheep should roar?

INDEED, Mr. Lippmann is only concerned with the survival of the capitalist lion when he proposes that it should also learn how to bleat. He thinks that the Communist system is unacceptable and "unlikely to spread to the more advanced countries . . . The Soviet system does not work and there is no reason to think that it will work in Eastern Europe". But he thinks the "communist revolution" will expand in Asia unless we make "an heroic effort of statesmanship to demonstrate that there is an alternative to

Continued on p. 3

Ghana - Progress of a Dictator

man of Ghana, renowned for repressive measures the moment. in general and his latest threat in particular, that he would seize the passports of all the Opposition he had been carrying out Nkrumah's wishes, so On another level, the statement by Edusei after

This threat follows the arrest of 43 people for an alleged plot to assassinate Premier Nkrumah Amongst other things Edusei, who has been Minister of Interior since August, 1957, has carried out measures to reduce any possibility of the five regional assemblies and the Houses of Chiefs having any power in Ghana which might oppose the Governmental power. At the same time by dint of detention and deportation orders, undesirables (those who might oppose) have been removed from the scene. The effective overthrow of the Opposition United Party (the Government's is the Convention People's Party) is the obvious next step towards the establishment of a one-party totalitarian State. This is patently Nkrumah's

RECENT events in Ghana culminating (for the to amend the constitution so that a two-thirds strong resemblance to Communist techniques. The moment) in the demotion of Krobo Edusei majority in both Parliament and the regional allegations which led to the arrest of the 43 people from Minister of the Interior to Minister of Com- assemblies will no longer be necessary for legisla- amount to an attempt to involve practically the munications have an only too familiar ring about tion, but a simple majority in Parliament will be entire executive of the United Party branch in them. Edusei had become known as the strong sufficient. The C.C.P. majority being 80 to 24 at Accra in a probably non-existent plot in order to

> What then of Krobo Edusei's demise? Plainly tion. why should he have been stopped? It is not un- his demotion: "I am a loyal C.P.P. man. I will reasonable to assume that his disadvantages were serve Premier Nkrumah in any capacity. I'll even beginning to outweigh his advantages. The pub- be his shoeshine boy if he wants." Shades of licity he has been accorded in the world press Krushchev dancing the gopak for Stalin! has had a twofold effect not at all to Nkrumah's And another—the cult of the individual process liking; it has caused raised eyebrows from the -the Accra Evening News: "Our Indomitable more respectable nations who dislike un-democra- Prime Minister and the founder of the new nation tic behaviour by other nations, and this could have of Ghana, Defender, Does All Well, Never Failing, unfavourable effects upon Nkrumah's more long- Ever-Giving Leader, Brave, Kwame Nkrumah.

term messianic ambitions, and also it has placed Not that we would suggest that Nkrumah is a Edusei too much in the limelight which Nkrumah communist, or even a fellow-traveller, simply that prefers to keep as his own particular perserve. he has learned a thing or two from their highly Edusei has gone too far and has outlived his successful methods of achieving personal, absolute usefulness as front man. In Communist countries power and intends to do the same. We would in the Stalin era he would have been liquidated, suggest that Nkrumah sees himself as the African

facilitate their eventual imprisonment or liquida-

and currently he would simply have been reduced Nasser, and like him intends to attain an allvery nearly to the ranks. Ghana is young and powerful position in his own country first before not powerful, and Nkrumah does not want bad proclaiming a United African Republic. But he His present gambit in Parliament is an equally publicity, so Edusei is only demoted not reduced, cannot afford a bad press yet, and will not allow logical step towards it; he is pushing through a bill But there are other symptoms which bear a competition. Edusei had to go.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Story of Otto John

THE MAN WHO CAME BACK by Willi Frischauer. Muller, 18s.

THE story of Otto John, the Chief of West German Intelligence who "fled" to the East, later to escape back again to the West and suffer imprisonment, is an object lesson in the futility of the conventional idea of patriotism. John had been concerned in the generals' plot to assassinate Hitler, and when this failed he fled to Portugal. Since he had already been in touch with British agents, and Hitler was to him an enemy of Germany, what more natural than to take refuge in Britain and continue to work against the Nazi régime? But according to orthodox ideas this made him a worker against his country, for he was co-operating with the government of a nation which was at war with his. In any case, bombs make no distinction between Nazis and anti-Nazis.

When he returned to Germany after the war, he was regarded as a traitor by the patriots. He became depressed at the resurgence of Nazism, and it was in a mood of despair (and intoxication) that he allowed himself to be taken over the border into the Eastern Zone in a car. He was not a supporter of the Communist régime, but once in the Eastern Zone he naturally had to toe the line. When he got back again he was sentenced to four years in jail, and presumably when he comes out he will be an outcast.

This kind of muddle explains why the modern "progressive" or "liberal" is often so confused and guilt-ridden. "Loyalty" and "disloyalty", no one knows which is which. (A comparable case was that of the French émigrés at the time of the French Revolution, but they did believe that their country was their estate. There was no treachery in calling in other landowners to help them retrieve their own. Patriotism as we know it is a product of the bourgeois revolution).

People who supported the Spanish Revolution found themselves supporting a civil war, and from supporting the Republicans against Franco it was a short step to supporting the Allied democracies against Hitler. This meant in practice condoning the bombing of civilians. No wonder this led to the development of the pernicious "defend the Bad against the Worst" philosophy, when

the individual loses all pride and submits himself to the lesser evil, and works for some government or other.

The old adage, "Never put your trust in princes", applies to-day as much as ever. Not because rulers are necessarily evil people, but because the way the game of power is played demands the sacrifice of human interests. I doubt whether any intelligent "top person" would deny this, though he might speak of "necessity", because a ruler is bound, by the nature of his profession, to believe in the innate evil of man. But so many liberal-minded persons are incredibly naive, and imagine that one can rule a state, and yet do justice to the indivi-

No man has the right to complain if, after working for rulers, or would-be rulers, he is sacrificed. Otto John was prepared to sacrifice the lives of his fellow-countrymen, by implication, by working for the British. Of course, the answer comes pat, "What should he then have done? To refuse to support the Allied cause would be an abdication of responsibility. You cannot simply walk out of the problems of life." It seems to me however that to support war, particularly wholesale modern war, is to support a permanent massacre. Whether you are roasted alive in your cellar by incendiaries, or in a crematorium oven, seems to matter little. It is equally painful.

One's sympathy is with John, as a suffering human being, caught up in political machinations, but he who plays with fire will assuredly burn his fingers.

The Trends of Soviet Marxism

SOVIET MARXISM, A Critical Analysis, by Herbert Marcuse. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 28s.

THIS book is described as "an attempt to evaluate some main trends of Soviet Marxism in terms of an 'immanent critique', that is to say, it starts from the theoretical premises of Soviet Marxism, develops their ideological and sociological consequences, and re-examines the premises in the light of these consequences."

It is a dry closely-written book, as any work dealing with Marxism is bound to be. It makes me wonder how anyone can be a Marxist, or take any interest in Marx or his ideas, or those of his followers. People's lives have been sacrificed in order to develop society along the lines Marx laid down. It is a frightening thought.

In reading this book one gets a feeling that human beings were dealt with by Marx and others as if they were abstractions. This is the "objective" or "scientific" approach I suppose. Yet a good deal of the trouble must be in me, because many libertarians have drawn great support from the writings of Marx.

The whole thing seems so remote from reality. Most theories that seek to find meanings in history do have this air of unreality. Marx believed that "history had at last reached the stage where Reason and Freedom could be transubstantiated from philosophical ideas into political objectives." He was wrong.

"Philosophy (which Marx considered as the most advanced ideology) was to find its fulfillment in the action of the proletariat", but this proletariat of Marx's imagination was as mythical as The Little People. It was not the proletariat of real life, but an ideal. The real proletarians did not care about philosophy, and they wanted reforms rather than revolution, either Marxist or libertarian. In practice the belief in the revolutionary rôle of the proletariat, and everyone else, and force it to perform its predestined

This idea is not uncommon in Europe. It was the idea of the churches. It underlies the welfare state. People must be forced for their own good along a certain path. The churches said, "Man is sinful and must be punished." Trotsky said, "Man is a lazy animal and must be made to work." Pagan and non-European despots were usually content to extract taxes or labour from their subjects, and suppress revolts when they occurred, but they did not impose a "destiny" on their people.

Beware of those who speak of "destiny", "historic rôle" or "mission". The more I read of it the more I come to the conclusion that there is no meaning in history whatever. It is just a chronicle, highly inaccurate for the most part, of

Visit to Cyprus Continued from p. 3

never buy anything from him again, the Greek Cypriot replied: "Very good, lady. I only lose your custom; but otherwise I lose my life. What would you do with a gun at your back?"

Although such statements cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence, it is difficult to reconcile the evident friendliness of Cypriot tradesmen hitherto with this sudden change, unless they suffered some coercion: and however hard one tries to avoid the pitfall of giving a dog a bad name and then hanging him, it is not unreasonable to suppose that E.O.K.A. was the most likely to have prompted such suddenly concerted action.

Indulging the English habit of seeing all our troubles sewn up in one suit of clothes—the Kaiser's, Hitler's, Stalin's or Nasser's—the cap that fits in Cyprus is seen to be that of Archbishop Makarios. The attitude adopted towards this politician-prelate by Britishers varies between one of vicious bad temper which would blindly have Makarios shot out of hand, and the leaning over backwards view of him as one of a brave line of rebels against British authority which time will surely justify. The simple arbitrary judgment I came to was based on broadcasts he made from Athens which were not in accordance with the observable facts in Cyprus, and about which it was

events, meaningful for those who took part in them but not for later generations. except insofar as one event causes another. There is no purpose in it at all that I can see. Certain forms of society displace others, as capitalism pushed out feudalism. But if history is to end in utopia it will only be because people have decided that that is what they want, it will not come as part of an inevitable process.

Marx was by no means the worst of the philosophers who tried to find meanings in history. He desired a society wherein the state would "wither away". At least his vision was more humane than that of Winwood Reade who saw mankind as struggling forever in the throes of progress.

But both the tough and the tenderminded philosopher adhere to an unproveable myth, and in the long-run they both come to the same thing. They both demand sacrifices in the present, in the cause of a future which is dubious. Marx and his followers have always been prepared to mess up the lives of lesser (and greater) men, in order to achieve their ideals.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

certain Makarios could not be mistaken and was therefore deliberately lying.

Following the first flare-up in the Lebanon, Cyprus Radio became a cacophony in English, Greek and Turkish. Relentless preparation for every violent eventuality went on daily under our eyes, while a variety of official comment staggered us with its ineptitude, or, worse, deliberate deception.

As reinforcements of fighting men and material flooded Cyprus it became increasingly clear that there was more to the build-up than the alleged desire to prevent rival Cypriots from cutting each other's throats. The concentration was without doubt a prelude to a possible British intervention in the Lebanon on behalf of the greatly interested Americans. Since it is an open secret that eminent strategists have declared Cyprus to be of no use for Empire defence following the loss of Suez, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the British are hanging on to this turbulent little island simply in consequence of some gentleman's agreement with the Ameri-

It is necessary to break things up small to see them whole. Then one is not tempted into discussing Cyprus instead of Cypriots and it will be seen clearly that what has followed—the standstill orders of an occupying authority at its wits end -strikes which parallel the imposed curfews-the fratricidal killings-have their origin in no spontaneous hate. All are organised and imposed by one authority or another on a simple people fervent in church-going, with their younger element betrayed by an education in nationalism that looks as surely to Athens or Ankara as the predominant authority in Cyprus looks to London.

Cypriots bewilderedly under the duress of Greek. Turkish or British are in the toils of intrigues whose only warrant is a long line of cultural, commercial or military invaders. Symbolic of the whole situation perhaps was the watch won by an old warden of the Mosque Selimiye in Nicosia. This timepeice was two-faced. One dial gave Cyprus time, the other showed Mecca time. In the Cypriot amalgam of civilisations, embracing Stone Age huts, Bronze Age tools, Byzantine churches, Greek temples, Gothic cathedrals, Moslem mosques, Venetian fortifications, Classical mythology and Roman and British public works, it is the Cypriot alone, without prefix, with foreign influence abated and violence eschewed, who can ever achieve a true synchronisation and make his own civilisation tick.

SAM WALSH.

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Anarchist Commentary

Tate & Lyle spokesman it is hoped that other large have legalised the pass system to cover all African cretion". industries will follow their example and discussions women over the age of sixteen. have already taken place between representatives It is in Johannesburg that the real opposition of various industries.

Paul Bareau, a certain Mr. Booth from Tate & black women, many with children on their backs, after the snoopers had discovered he was coloured. Lyle said that they hoped for a "closer identity" in retreat under the lashing sticks of white policebetween workers and the industry. Is this large men but it appears that these are only strategic capitalist concern feeling the prick of conscience, retreats in a campaign which one newspaper says thus producing a scheme which will give the is only beginning. worker a tiny share of the wealth he produces (and The strategy adopted is not to avoid arrest when tiny it must be because how many workers can demonstrating outside the 'pass office' but to afford to purchase large shares)? We think not, attempt to overcrowd the jails. This should not and suggest that part of the reason is based on the be difficult since for example, when one day 128 old maxim that "contented cows give more milk", women were arrested and put on trial they were a method used by 'new syle' capitalism. There is each fined about £3 each (which amounts to two fine opportunity to demonstrate their lack of pre-

that workers should not be underestimated. This is impossible for these underpaid women to meet was no mere sop to any worker who might be them. listening. And to prove it Tate & Lyle have taken the precaution of ensuring that these worker share- think up new repressive measures to deal with holders will have no decisive say in policy and are these spirited women, but at the same time it will of the frightened men in the Labour Party are not not entitled to attend shareholders' meetings! have to give a lot of consideration to another factor taking any risks. Nevertheless it could be argued that Tate & Lyle -how to avoid depriving the white South African are taking a relatively enlightened attitude to their ladies of their cheap servants. workers.

fore, when Mr. Booth, forced to reply to a very means: "The pass is the enemy of man." direct question put to him by Mr. Bareau, admitted that it was hoped that workers would be less attracted to the concepts of nationalisation if 'closer identified' with capitalism.

Maybe it has not occurred to Mr. Booth that the workers might buy their shares and still support nationalisation.

BLACK South African women are showing the people into Britain. kind of militancy in defence of fundamental We had another instance last week of Labour signed to foment unrest".

MESSRS. Tate & Lyle are planning a scheme carry passes (which must be signed by some white which will enable their workers to purchase authority every time an African changes jobs or bearer shares up to any price. According to a stays in another town for more than 72 hours)

to government policy has taken place. Photo-In a B.B.C. interview last Friday conducted by graphs from Johannesburg's own newspapers show

another important reason as we might expect. weeks' wages) or a month in jail. Even if they In the course of this interview Mr. Booth said wanted to pay these relatively exhorbitant fines it

No doubt the South African government will

We express our solidarity with the black women PORTUGAL was described at the time of the But experience has taught us to look for the of Johannesburg and hope they find it possible to benevolent front. We were not surprised there- "Sera sa motho ke pasa" which we understand

> and the anti-black with ammunition, the Labour him to visit that country. M.P. for that area, mindful of his white voters, Mr. Aneurin Bevan, invited by the leaders of had no better solution to offer than that there the Portuguese Opposition on a lecture tour, has should be a control on immigration of coloured been refused admission by the Portuguese Govern-

who, not content with forcing African males to trolled council) are authentic. Estate Agents claim foment unrest as Mr. Macmillan.

that Battesea town council is operating a colour bar over housing loans, and one agent in particular wrote to the council seeking a "categorical assurance that the council had no discriminatory policy". He was told that no assurances could be given on a matter "within the council's dis-

The agent cites the case of a coloured man who applied for a loan, presumably giving the required proof of his reliability, which was "well received" by the council but later turned down no doubt

Now there is no reason why we should necessarily expect individual Labour Party members to be any less prejudiced against "the foreigner" than some of their conservative opponents. But the Labour Party as a collective body does from time to time restate, if only in theory, its fundamental principles of international solidarity, equality, etc. One might suppose that on matters of housing for coloured people the Labour councillors have a judice and belief in socialist equality. Why don't they? Because power means more than principles to the little men in office and votes are what they are mainly interested in. The white voters from Battersea may or may not be opposed to a few black men getting houses but it seems that some

recent state visit to this country of its Presiunderlying motives when capitalism puts on a continue their fight and to chant their slogan dent as "the oldest ally of Britain", and still another representative of a totalitarian country dined at Buckingham Palace. In view of these close ties between our nations we hope that "Her Majesty's advisers" will see to it that an official AT the time of the "Notting Hill race riots" protest to Portugal is made against the insult to which provided the press with saleable material one of her future ministers on its refusal to allow

ment on the grounds that the invitation was "det-

principles rarely shown by women anywhere. For members playing safe politically regardless of We send an anarchist assurance to the Portuweeks they have been harrassing the authorities, ethics if accounts from Battersea (a Labour con- guese Government that Mr. Bevan is as likely to R.M.

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Prerequsites of 'The Battle of Ideas'

Continued from p. 1

Communism—or rather Russian influence—will spread in Asia not for ideological reasons (what is left, in fact, of the ideals of the Russian revolution?) but because the Russian government will offer the political leaders of the Asian countries trading or credit facilities more favourable to their immediate political interests than are offered by the other countries. The "masses" of the under-developed countries are no more interested in the struggle for power between East and West than they are in the theoretical differences between State Capitalism and laissez-faire capitalism. They are hungry, sick, dirty and ignorant. Life has no positive meaning for them. Their thoughts are centred on solving these immediate problems. It is not surprising that they are easy prey to their own political upstarts or that they will "welcome" whatever ism relieves their "immemorial poverty".

So far neither Russia nor the nations of the Western bloc have exploited the apparent possibilities thus offered in spite of the fact that Mr. Krushchev told Mr. Lippmann that he thought the people of the poorer countries would be "convinced by their stomachs". One can only conclude that something more than gratitude is expected in return for food and machines by both East and West and that the leaders of these under-developed nations are more ambitious and more cunning than the seasoned politicians of Russia and the West hoped or expected them to be. The politician who sells his personal power to another nation in return for an extra bowl of rice for the people deserves to be overthrown by his rivals or caught in the web of his "benefactor"!

International politics is a combination of traffic and blackmail. Governments never represent the people. At most they serve the interests of that section of the community of which politically and socially they are an integral part. Often they are dominated by power maniacs or sheikhs. But never are the spiritual and physical needs of the people uppermost; never are they the ends of government or power structures. Thus, the American government is prepared to offer subsidies to farmers who take their land out of clltivation and stores unsold crops in laid-up Liberty ships, but cannot find the money to pay for the transport of food surpluses to India! Thus Britain and America can find more than £5,000 millions a year for the cold war but have successfully boycotted S.U.N.F.E.D. the special United Nations fund for economic development. It has been estimated that to raise the national incomes of the under-developed nations by only 2 per cent. a year, \$10,000 millions a year of imported capital would be required, that is less than only these two Powers spend to keep the cold war warm! Add to this Russia's expenditure, not to mention the "defence" budgets of every aspiring Tom, Dick and Harry of the power and cold-war conscious "community" (!) of nations, and it is simple to see that in a few years the standard of living in the under-developed nations — in which more than half the world's people are struggling to keep alive could be raised beyond Messrs. Macmillan, Krushchev and Lippmann's wildest dreams. But it will not happen. Firstly because, as we have been pointing out, governments don't think in these . . . human terms (Mr.

THE REAPER AND THE FLOWERS

Lives of great men all remind us. We can make our lives sublime, And, departing, leave behind us Footprints on the sands of time.

COMMENTS in the press on the recently published biography of King George VI have treated as a matter of course the picture that emerges of the character of the later king's father, George V. They have described him as a martinet, a domestic tyrant, and as the cause of his son's deficiencies, chronic anxieties and digestive troubles. But this is not how he was described a few years ago when his own official biography was published, nor when his statue by Sir William Reid Dick was foisted on a grateful nation. Only the Duke of Windsor's autobiography, regarded in official circles as regrettable, broke through the barrage of adulation.

George V died in 1936, and it has taken 22 years for frankness about his character to become respectable. We shall certainly all be dead before ex-King Charles III tells our grand-children all about Mum. But there are signs that the time-lag is growing shorter—already his late Holiness is coming in for some pretty sharp posthumous criticism which will certainly weaken his chances in the canonisation stakes, and Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery's colleagues are all too obviously waiting for the pleasure of writing his obituary. At present, however, we are still catching up with the Great Men and National Heroes of the

Thirteen years after the death of Lloyd George, the present Earl Lloyd George is writing in the Sunday Dispatch that "not one of the twenty or so biographers who have written my father's life story has told the full truth", and with the title "The truth nobody DARED to tell about my father", he (in the words of his publishers) 'begins by exploding a legend of our times". A similar phrase, "a useful corrective to popular mythology" is used about the new biography of Lord Kitchener, appearing 42 years after his death. Kitchener, who was in the first decade of this century "Britain's greatest soldier, Empire builder and popular idol" turns out to have been "the last of the great British looters", a brutal, blustering, arrogant incompetent, who set about grand schemes of enlargement at his official residences while "in other respects, especially the comfort and welfare of his soldiers, he was a penny pincher", a figurehead whose death when the cruiser Hampshire went down, was a national calamity which caused immense relief in Whitehall.

The idols go down one by one, after they are dead and after a decent interval in deference to the principle de mortuis nil nisi bonum, and then we all get a rather malicious pleasure in learning that they were not what they were made out to be. The fashion for debunking biographies began in the nineteen-twenties with Lytton Strachey's Eminent Victor-

ians, and though Lytton Strachey himself is now thoroughly debunked (since someone made that remark about him being like a mowing-machine going cleverclever-clever all over the lawn) the iconoclastic attitude which he epitomised is needed more than it is heeded.

NE of our contemporary iconoclasts, Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge, writing recently in the New Statesman on "Those put in Authority Over Us" reaches the conclusion about the Establishment that

"What is surprising, and certainly interesting, about our own particular set-up is that it has grown decidedly stronger of late, instead of, as might have been supposed, weaker. The forces of conformism have re-grouped, and now are waxing, not waning. A sort of stealthy counter-revolution has, all unnoticed, taken place, and is steadily gaining in strength. I should say myself that the penalties for speaking out of turn are

to-day more severe than they have been for at least half a century, and that the rewards of subservience are correspondingly greater . . . Out of the debris of two world wars and the social upheavals which accompanied and followed them, the position of those put in authority is stronger than before it all happened."

Those put in authority, he believes, have every reason to expect to stay put.

"Public education, about which they were apprehensive, has proved a tranquilliser rather than a stimulant. The popular press still contains some sacriligous elements, certainly, but has, to their relief, largely discredited itself. 'God bless Hire Purchase, Miss Bartok, Prince Shiv, William Hickey, and all other harmless diversions which deflect attention from more serious matters', they conclude their players; and, with a final 'Floreat Etona' and 'God Save the Queen' go serenely to bed."

The Top People stay on top, and Mr. Muggeridge's journalist friend of the "No," replies Galileo, "Unhappy the thirties who said ruminatively "I sometimes wonder if I'm licking the right

boots", would, he thinks, have less cause to wonder nowadays.

But time takes its revenge on the Supermen. Think of this country's great men of twenty or thirty years ago. Who cares about their statesmanlike utterances and their destiny-shaking activities? Who even bothers much about debunking them? We feel, if anything, a kind of compassion for these poor, vain, silly, pompous creatures, floating in inflated bewilderment on the surface of events they cannot understand but seek to dominate. Or we would feel this, were it not for the fact that power is in their hands.

Look at the world's present crop of selfless and heroic leaders: Macmillan, Krushchev, Eisenhower, de Gaulle!

"Unhappy, the land that has no heroes" exclaims a character in Brecht's play about Galileo.

land that feels a need for heroes!"

C.W.

VISIT TO CYPRUS-4

(Continued from previous issue)

DURING five weeks tour of the island by car our only mishap was a punctured tyre of not malice aforethought. Partly for reasons of economy and partly from doubt about halting in some isolated place which might house one of the Cypriot minority that believes there is no British owned car whose windscreen would not look nicer after a brick had been hurled through it, we rarely ate meals in restaurants or bars. An exception was when we visited Kysema, where the Turkish Moslem mosque and the Greek Orthodox church are not far apart-except in religious dogma and political allegiance.

In the Astoria restaurant in the town, kept by one Vassos Siaxates (commonly called "George") we ate succulent steak sandwiches and rich cream cakes served with the biggest pot of tea ever brewed, while we watched a workman somehow escape damage to his traditionally extra large little finger nail as he fixed wirenetting to protect the windows from hand grenades. The only comment from "George" was his sighing "More expense", delivered with a shrug, with neither surprise nor bitterness.

Even as on one blue-skied shimmering Sunday morning on Famagusta beach we sat reading about a palpitating victory at Wembley, and our grandchildren were swimming peacefully, in close-by Famagusta town two British soldiers were shot to death, and we wondered afresh would the bankrupt statesmen of all nations convert the counterfeit of their paper schemes into sterling and confine the battling of their subject peoples to field and stadium.

On the beach that day a Cypriot boatman complained bitterly to us that im-

ask the expert critics of the Russian

mediately the news of this tragedy was known, soldiers who had hired his boats hurt more than his feelings by abusing him and abandoning the boats without paying their dues, in an unfair but understandable retaliation on the innocent. The true contrast and comparison of

Cypriots and the uniformed British in Cyprus is that the latter are not at home. The regular N.C.O.'s of the Army and Royal Air Force look upon their presence in Cyprus as a job of work—a tour of duty which they will not be sorry, on purely personal grounds, to exchange for a tour of duty elsewhere, preferably Britain. Although their views are in the main orthodox, few of them have any illusions as to the value of Cyprus as a military base since the abortive Suez adventure, and they have none of the career-building sychophancies of the commissioned ranks, whose principal anxiety will be how to keep their wives content if they have to come down to a thousand pounds a year in civvy street.

In general among these regular servicemen there appears to be a dogged determination to do what "England" and their superiors expect of them by way of duty. Their sense of outrage when one of their number is killed by a Cypriot is one of unthinking clannishness enhanced by the distinction drawn by the notion that the rebel against British rule is a stab-in-the-back murderer, whereas "any uniformed member of "properly" constituted enemy forces may be a warrior as deserving of one's respect as he is of one's country's shot and shell.

That the serviceman's reaction to Cypriot violence is as rough as it is ready is exactly what their hypocritically denying employers expect despite the issue of an official card of instructions couched in parliamentary language exacting an assessment of any critical situation as if the serviceman attacking or attacked were seated comfortably in a map room at headquarters.

In these circumstances and under these regular orders the serviceman never dreams of placing the blame for disablement or death upon the employing authority which has put him in peril. The tragedy is enhanced with the similarly swindled Cypriot seduced from his natural humanity by unscrupulous religious and political leaders into passionate and violent reaction against the armed servants of a foreign powerful authority in his midst.

Especially to be pitied along with the simple ordinary Cypriot betrayed by his fellow nationals and provoked by the invaders is the conscripted British serviceman, of whom it can be confidently asserted that he feels unreservedly fed up and far from home. One such I questioned as to when he expected to be demobilised replied promptly "89½ days from noon to-day." Another, safe on Mount Olympus in beautiful surroundings, and fully appreciative of his good billet, food and army pay, was looking forward eagerly to returning to work in a Lancashire coaltar factory. None of these young fellows has more than newspaper headline knowledge of, or interest in, the cause of the trouble which makes doubly detestable a life which offers them neither a present content nor a future hope.

Of the anxiliary police, Turkish or Greek, all that can be said is that they are hirelings with a determined bias that provokes trouble rather than prevents it. They are employed in pursuance of the

divide and rule tactic which generations of governments have found expedient.

Clearly the Cyprus Government regular police have been recruited from those members of Britain's police forces who are attracted to Colony service by the certainty of rapid promotion and big pay and the greatest opportunities of exercising practically irresistible power without fear of official reprimand.

All that we saw of the prisons in Cyprus were the outsides of Nicosia Central Prison (from which escapes happened regularly) and of the famous K (Kokknino Trimithia) Camp some miles from Nicosia. Their drab walls are guarded by elevated seventy-foot platforms, machine-gun manned, like war prisoner compounds, which is exactly what they

There is, however, another interesting relic of Britain's historic rôle in the Middle East in the shape of a network of catacombs between Famagusta and Larnaca. These were dug in 1947 to enable Jews to escape the internment camps of the British liberators who were concerned to deny the victims of Nazi persecution belated admission to the much-promised land of Israel.

With the flaring into delicate blue flower of the high-branched Jacaranda tree in Nicosia, and the shade temperature reaching the May nineties, violence swept the Lebanon in unlovely prelude. Cyprus restlessness took the form of its tradesmen suddenly deciding simultaneously to withdraw all their markings in English and instead substituting Greek. From pomegranates to petrol this preposterous re-labelling was manifest everywhere.

When an equally absurd Englishwoman protested to one trader that if he persisted in this practice she would Continued on p. 2

PROFESSIONAL JEALOUSY

The age of the new Pope—he is nearly 77-and the manner of his election are criticised to-day by the Church of England Newspaper.

"After all the play-acting, a new Pope has been chosen, Cardinal Roncalli, an old man long past reasonable age of retirement," the paper says.

"If the choice of a man on the verge of decrepitude was premeditated it is feeble and thoroughly discreditable."

PROFESSIONAL DISEASE

SAN FRANCISCO, OCTOBER 27. Tension is the main factor in heart disease, according to Dr. Meyer Friedmen and Dr. Ray Rosenman, of Mount Zion Hospital, and newspaper editors and business executives are the most prone to heart trouble.

The doctors told the American Heart Association to-day that they had examined 83 newspaper editors, television officials, advertising firms, and senior officers of business corporations. This group showed six times as much clinical heart disease as a relatively "easy going" group including city employees, embalmers, book-keepers, and others engaged mostly in routine jobs. Twenty-three in the "tension" group had heart disease but only four of the 83 in the "nontension" group.

Their study indicated that consumption of alcohol, cigarette smoking, overweight, exercise, and diet had little or nothing to do with cardiac disease.-Reuter.

Lippmann for instance wants India to be a show-piece of the West but at the same time wants to "make sure" that "we [the West] do not lose the race of armaments"!) Secondly because of the resistance that can be expected from the "native" Politicians to "interference" from outside. Thirdly because of the internal upheaval that is implicit in such a programme. The problem in India for instance is not just one of a lack of capital. The country is hamstrung by religious and language problems, by political rivalries and property barriers. To overcome these man-made problems requires more than dollars and Gandhi's ghost.

"THE battle of ideas is on"-declared Mr. Macmillan and added "If we have faith . . . I believe that our ideals will triumph". But the battle of ideas has not yet started and the power struggle may be an "ideal" for politicians but is a tragedy for the world's remaining 2,000 million inhabitants! The battle will never start and will therefore never be won until enough of us have the integrity to question, and, as we anarchists see it, to reject, the values on which the existing social and economic system is based.

It is quite simple. One need only

system to apply the same tests, and the Press to give the same amount of space, to an evaluation of what Mr. Macmillan calls "the free concept of society" but which we call capitalist society, to reveal that its structure is as authoritarian and hierarchical as that in Russia. Most of us who have ideas would probably find the climate of the West less oppressive than that of the East. But just as an "open" prison is undoubtedly less oppressive than a closed prison, yet both are prisons, so both East and West whatever the nuances, which we are the first to concede, are both authoritarian and power structures. This basic fact is too easily overlooked in the war of words and slogans to which the public has been subjected since 1939. Most people do believe that the world is divided into two halves one free the other unfree, and so hypnotised are they by words that they also believe that the unfree half of the world is always the other halfjust as the threat of aggression always comes from that other half of the world! The battle of ideas will really start in earnest when we rehabilitate freedom, not just as a definition but as a state of being, meaningful and fundamental to the full development of ourselves and the rest of mankind.

THE public reaction to the recent visit of Dr. Heuss, the President of the Federal German Republic, caused a certain amount of consternation in the press of that state. Instead of cheering wildly as he passed through the streets of London, many people remained silent, or were content with an odd wave of the hand; others could be seen on newsreels to be reacting angrily.

No doubt many of those aggrieved by his visit did not base their feelings on very rational grounds. The constitutional head of the state which twenty years ago had been largely responsible for the outbreak of a war in which many of them, or their relatives had suffered was being wined and dined by our young Queen, and the stately Lord Mayor, and at this even the good old English public which could stomach B. & K. a few years ago, began to feel that things were being piled on a little thickly. To be complimentary to the English character, feelings like these show that its heart is in the right place, in so far as it grudges the fact that politicians find it so easy to get together round the conference table or in the banqueting hall, so shortly after the workers have been murdering each other by the millions at their bequest. Perhaps if its head were in the right place it would realise that the purpose of the conferences and banquets are to make arangements, slightly revised, for the next time!

Neverthless, recent reports from West Germany are alarming, in showing the growing force of ideas and opinions not very different from those which led to the last openly totalitarian régime, and even the tendency to dismiss criticism of the Nazis.

Some years ago, when the proposition of a German army was being sition in countries formerly at war with Germany, the strongest opposition of all seemed to be coming from the German people themselves. A fine paradox, if it had really been true that the most militaristic nation in Europe had resisted the attempts of the peace-loving Allies to remilitarize it. Pacifist and war-resistance movements were strong, and in some quarters hope was expressed that it would be impossible to recruit an army even if one was set up on paper.

These hopes have proved unfounded. The introduction of conscription drastically cut down the number of war resisters (just as in England in 1939) and the "official" opposition to militarism from the

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Evangelical Church and the Social Democrat Party has melted away under the pressure of political expediency.

It might be a consequence of the rapid reinstallation of the army that increased interest is being shown in digging into the depths of the Nazi régime, and the war time period, and trying to find some solution or other to the questions raised.

The Ministers of Justice of the Länder (not, notice of the Federal Republic) have decided to set up a central office to co-ordinate the work of prosecuting former Nazis for war crimes. The feelings of West Germans have been shaken out of complacency by the revelations made at recent trials of S.S. officers and concentration camp guards. There is no great difference between the type of crimes committed by these men, and those committed by the prisoners at Nuremburg, but the latter were tried and condemned directly in the aftermath of the war, when the victorious Allies were extracting their pound of flesh, and there was still a feeling in the air that the Germans should be taught not to take up arms again. Recent trials however, are more isolated, and therefore have attention focussed on them, and the atrocities committed are now seen to have been against one's partners in N.A.T.O.

Among the possible activities of the new office will be to inquire into the appointments and pensions given to former officials of the police forces, and to organise a list of the hundred and fifty or so who were guilty of 'major' crimes and who have not yet been charged with

Simultaneously, some people are beginning to be concerned with the inadequacy of the compensation mooted, and eased through the oppo- paid to those who suffered directly as a result of their opposition to the Hitler government. Wherever possible, courts have found some legal excuse or other for not paying compensation. If the victim had opposed Hitler for reasons not covered by the compensation law, if the events occurred outside the frontiers of Germany, some courts have been ready to dismiss the claims.

> Finally, the film "Blitzkrieg" which has arrived in London, is a more open attempt than ever to "restore the honour" of the German army, and throw all the blame for the murderous deeds it committed onto a small minority of officials.

> Within the framework of a state, the best a victim of a deposed régime can hope for is that the next one will

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give him some kind of financial restitution, and the movements to make this as much as possible are to be welcomed, provided they do not make an excuse for forgetting what has been done to the people concerned. Unfortunately, the fact that the drive against former war criminals is taking place just at the time when the reconstituted Wehrmacht is rapidly expanding, making its place felt in the new state, and perhaps thinking about its possible opponents, leaves a little suspicion.

A report of a sincere effort to effect reconciliation between Germans and Jews tells of the activities of a Herr Lüth, a Social Democrat. against the Jews on the night of On the anniversary of the reprisals November 9th, 1938, he drew attention to the fact that such activities could not be regarded as isolated events, that already feelings of antisemitism had grown up in the minds of the middle class and intelligensia of the country.

The work of such people is being thrown into relief though, precisely because, as President Heuss expressed it in a message to the Council of Jews in Germany, "The number is growing of those who want to

It would be creditable if people wanted to forget because they were so sure that terrorist government would never again come to their land, if expansion was no longer a part of German policy, but it seems that for many people that is not so. The tone of letters to the editor from German students in England takes the attitude that the British army were responsible for as much destruction and killing as the German, and that the blame is therefore lifted from them.

In his discussion of the anti-Jewish terror, Herr Lüth stressed the responsibility of the people who although not taking part in it, had merely remained silent.

The situation to-day is not directly comparable with that of twenty-five years ago. Then, a certain fear of German rearmament was mixed with the hope that it might prove a bulwark against communism. There is no such dilatoryness now. The Germans are going to be jolly well made into a bulwark against communism. Thoughts of the all too recent past have to be hustled into the back-

FREEDOM needs many more New Readers

ground, and the blame placed on a few selected shoulders. For what benefit can the victims of concentration camps obtain, even if the severest penalties are imposed on the former policemen? Whatever are the motives of the Land Ministers the campaign against former S.S. men can only draw a blind over the preparations that are going on at the moment, with the Social Democrats announcing their policy of friendship with the army, and with the Federal Minister of the Interior, Dr. Schröder calling for stronger police forces, an emergency law which would give him total power when the government judged it necessary.

As usual, a minority will be protesting and trying to wake people up to the dangers in the path of developing militarism, while the majority of solid citizens, as in the thirties, will bury their heads in the

And while we can justifiably criticise those Germans who turn a blind eye on the deeds of their army in the past, and allow it to develop again, the same criticisms are applicable to their opposite numbers in England who are equally complacent about the methods of our boys in Palestine, Kenya and Cyprus.

The only consistent attitude, whether or not it is politically expedient as a short term policy, is to oppose militarism under whatever pretence it is carried out, and whether or not it is being carried out acording to the rules of war. The danger for Germany to-day lies in the "democratic" army which is growing to power, while the sincere democrats are busy with the "totalitarian" army of the last war.

P.H.

NATIONAL VICE

The number of combined television and sound licences through Great Britain and Northern Ireland increased during September by 78,863, bringing the total to 8,423,512. The number of licences for sound only is 6,276,984, of which 357,080 are for sets fitted in cars.

NATIONAL DISEASE

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—A Royal Air Force recruiting officer recently spent over an hour telling me that it was impossible for me to do my National Service in the R.A.F., and that to join I would have to enlist for at least three years. Five minutes later the same officer accepted an applicant for two years without any hesitation. He had fewer technical qualifications than myself, but he played Rugby.

Yours, &c., J. W. ANGUS.

British Brutality in Cyprus

Continued from p. J

The evidence was not clear, as reported, whether Chrysostomou had in fact been in bed when the Military Police burst in. We have only the words of his widow: " . . . he grabbed him by the vest and pulled him to his feet while kicking him and took him outside."

It will be interesting to see what evidence Major Overbury can unearth about the state of health of the young 19-year-old student Loukas.

Other witnesses gave evidence of the way in which the 'suspects' were herded into army trucks and made to lie down piled up on top of one another, ('like sardines') all the time being beaten with wooden sticks by Our Boys. When they were made to descend, the Cypriots were beaten all the time by two soldiers, one on each side of the truck, beating them with pieces of wood.

At the time of our going to Press the inquest is continuing. Maybe it will all come right in the end and the good name of the British Army will once again be vindicated. Maybe.

Meanwhile we wonder where are the voices in Britain to be raised against the lunacy of Government policy in Cyprus? Where are the prominent men, respected by the general public, who could rouse the conscience of the freedom-loving British? There should be protest meetings all over the country addressed by our finest speakers, our most respected 'brains', to compel the Government to come to its senses. Where are the people to do

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Regular Sunday meetings now held at "Marquis of Granby" Public House, Rathbone Street (near Percy Street and Oxford Street), 7.0 p.m.

NOV. 23.-Francis Tonks on ANARCHISM AND NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

NOV. 30.-Rashard Gool on AN EVALUATION OF 'DR. ZHIVAGO' (Pasternak)

Dec. 7.—Donald Rooum on THE BOMB-THROWER MYTH

DEC. 14.-Max Patrick on AN ANARCHIST ANALYZED.

DEC. 21.—Philip Holgate on EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE

EAST LONDON DEBATING COMPETITION

1st Round at University House, Victoria Park Square, Bethnal Green, E.2. (Bethnal Green, Central Line Underground) at 8 p.m., Friday, November 28. London Anarchist Group will debate the motion that "Government should be abolished".

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It Happened in a Gramdan

Lancaster.

(The following narrative, which originally appeared in the Indian weekly Bhoodan, is reprinted from Non-Violence, the bi-monthly bulletin of the Non-Violence Commission of the Peace Pledge Union. A gramdan village is one in which the land is common property and is worked and administered by the community).

THE village is Matora in the Baroda district It is already a Gramdan village. It is fast developing towards the ideal of Gramswaraj (self-government).

As it happens in all villages, here too a quarrel started with women. The menfolk of two families came to blows. One Shantibhai was wounded by the lathiblows of Bhayyabhai. What could be done? What should be done in a Gramdani village?

one place. They first thought in the traditional ways of retribution. But soon they all felt: "We have decided to live and die together. We cannot punish in the old way." There were long deliberations. It was the final decision of the Gram Sabha that the aggressor Bayya-

bhai should till the lands of Shantibhai for one year and should take food at his place. The work of cultivation should be done by him with the help of Shantibhai and he should use the latter's implements. The decision was taken unanimously. Thus, there was punishment but no sense of vengeance; on the contrary, this novel method of inflicting punishment was bound to resolve the conflict through mutual service and compassion.

The police came on the scene just two days after the decision. Nobody had called them. The people said: "You need not take any trouble now. The event has happened, but we have already taken a decision over it." The police officer was angry and said that the police would offer no protection to the village in any future calamity. The people replied that even where the police offer their protection such things as thefts and squabbles continue. They assured the officer: "We shall not have any crime now, and even if there is one, we shall know what to do about it. We shall have Gramswaraj in which we shall rule ourselves."

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