

FREEDOM

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'Man is the only animal who blushes—
or has need to!'

MARK TWAIN

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THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

Common Market or Internationalism?

THE most conspicuous feature of discussions of the Common Market, in the national press and apparently on radio and television, has not been the arguments in favour or against, but the unanimous hypocrisy of the protagonists of both sides.

From its first introduction, the Market was treated by the press, particularly the supposedly liberal elements, as if it were a kind of governmental equivalent of the International Friendship League, where nice governments joined together to help each other, while those that did not were mildly attacked for being unfriendly.

Presumably if it had been suggested that Great Britain should become a state of the U.S.A., or a republic of the U.S.S.R., there would have been considerable comment on the social and political consequences of the move. With regard to Europe this has not been so. The very fact that it has been treated as a question on which the only division was between "good Europeans", and old-fashioned "insular British", should make people suspect that there is more to it than that.

Another point that has been widely canvassed is that the Common Market is an example of "Free Trade". It is on this score that the Liberal Party endorsed Britain's prospective membership from the very beginning. Liberal support could be excused in terms of party politics, for there is nothing which puts spirit into a party and rouses its flagging followers more than the

re-evocation of the battles of a century ago, when the party did have a cause, great leaders, power, etc., but the fact is that it just is not true. It is an open fact about the E.E.C. that it is an organisation for ensuring unfree trade, by means of high tariffs against non-members, and that is what the 'realistic' Commonwealth politicians are worried about. Why then, do the Liberals and their supporters keep up the Free Trade pretence?

A popular synonym for joining the E.E.C. is 'joining Europe'. However, there are seven West European states in the E.F.T.A., not to mention the handful who belong to neither of the trade groups. Furthermore, E.E.C. has looked suspiciously on the applications of the neutral states for membership, and will not in any case accept them as full members, while the French government is reported to be trying hard to prevent Denmark and Norway coming in when the door is opened for Britain. The small social democratic states are apparently subversive to capitalist solidarity, while Britain is safe!

On the other side, the fervent defence of Commonwealth and Empire by Labour and Communist propagandists is equally absurd. If what they are saying today is true, and the Commonwealth is a band of equal, free partners for good, then the old-fashioned Empire builders, the scorn of socialists for eighty odd years, have been fully justified in their task of bringing enlightenment to the world.

The question remains, whether there are any alternatives that anarchists can support or advocate. Some socialists, including Fabians, New Leftists, *Tribune* supporters, are in favour of preserving the E.F.T.A. and strengthening it, and developing contacts with the newly independent colonies. This line has at least the advantage of preserving the *status quo* at a time when reaction seems to be winning hands down in every field.

What we would like to see naturally is the workers in Britain getting rid of the government and organising the economy to suit peoples' needs, instead of the present profit-making system, and the workers of

E.E.C., E.F.T.A., the colonies and the whole world doing the same. Nevertheless, in matters like this it seems that there is nothing the ordinary people can do to alter the course of economic events, any more than they can change the course of nuclear crises over Cuba, and anarchist criticism should be directed, not to taking one side or the other but to the destructive work of demolishing the myths that either European or Commonwealth capitalism has the slightest interest in the welfare of the ordinary people, when they discuss whether "Britain" will gain this or that advantage from entry; and the constructive work of pointing out how people can resist authoritarianism under whatever form it appears.

The controversy about Europe has made it clear that internationalism is just non-existent among the

workers and their organisations. It was to be expected that the Labour and Social Democratic Parties would have nothing to contribute. Despite Gaitskell's recent move against entry, not one of them has considered which course of action would be best for socialism, or perhaps they have considered it and chosen the other line.

However, there are the other two wings of the traditional labour movement, the trade unions and co-operative societies, representing the workers and consumers. If these had been inspired by libertarian ideas, they could have formed a centre of resistance to Trade politics, providing means whereby the people of the countries involved could solve their economic problems without reference to political double dealing. The answer to politicians and their claims for support in var-

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FORD'S ON THE BRINK?

WHEN the Ford management gave their workers an extra ten shillings a week recently, they seemed to imagine that ten bob would make them into tame yes-men and permit them to get rid of the 'agitators' and 'trouble-makers' without any fuss, and with the support of the Union officials. It didn't work; the sacking of one shop steward led to an unofficial strike in one section of the works which in due course paralysed production—the Ford's management say it cost them £3,000,000; but how much did it cost the workers in lost wages, which they could less afford than Fords, to support their dismissed comrade? They went back, on the advice of their Union leaders without having won their point and with the threat that reduced schedules following the 9-day strike would make it impossible for the management to re-engage all those who had been out. Management also de-

clared that employment would be available only for those workers prepared to sign an undertaking to observe the rules.

Last week the company intimated that something like 600 men would be declared redundant, but it is now believed that following the Chancellor's statement on reduction of Purchase Tax on cars that 530 of them will be given "hope of re-employment". But as the *Guardian's* Labour correspondent points out "tactically this will probably come before the strike deadline", that is the next strike which will begin on November 17, and is official!

Since work was resumed at Fords plant, not only has the management flatly refused to reinstate the sacked shop steward, they have also announced that 70 men (including 12 shop stewards) who they have branded as "trouble makers and wreckers" will not ever be considered for re-employment. Mr. O'Hagan, acting leader of the union side at Monday's negotiations with the management declared that "No self-respecting trade union official could lift his head up again if he was party to this," and it has therefore been decided to call for an official strike of the 32,000 workers at Dagenham plant from midnight on November 17.

It is clear that the Ford management are determined to have a show-down. Mr. Barke, managing director at Fords declared that they had considered the possibility of an official strike before taking their decision. Though they were not anxious for a strike they would not embark on their present tough line

if they did not think they would win in the end. But the same can surely be said of the Union leaders who are calling for strike action.

At the time of the recent unofficial strike it was suggested that because of strikes at Dagenham, Fords of America which now completely controls the British works were considering running down the British plant and building up the German Fords. This has generally been discounted but only on the grounds that German Fords cannot be built up because of an acute shortage of labour in Germany. Such a move would however be possible once mobility of labour within the Common Market countries will be in operation.

What do the workers at Fords want? Sir Patrick Hennessy, chairman at Fords declared after the unofficial strike that "even Ford of Britain could bleed to death" thereby indicating that the workers hold in their hands the power to decide. If they accept the existing social and economic set-up—as right, or as the only kind of society possible then to use their power simply to "bleed Ford to death" will only result in unemployment and the need to look elsewhere for a job. If on the other hand they wish to use this power in order to assert the right of the producer also to control the product of his labour then their industrial agitation must be matched at every step by far-reaching revolutionary education and understanding which not only must embrace the 32,000 workers at Dagenham, and as many technicians and management staff within the works, but must spread to workers in industry throughout the country, and if possible beyond national frontiers. The choice is theirs.

THE elections in Northern Rhodesia usher in "a dangerous period of marking time" (as the *Times* leader puts it). In fact they present a period in the history of Central Africa when ranks could be broken, unpredictably and in various areas. The United Federal Party, representing the white settlers has 15 seats, UNIP, led by Kenneth Kaunda has 14 seats and the African National Congress holds the balance with 5 seats.

Since the subject at hand is politics it seems so commonplace to mention the twisted hypocrisy that has been evident in this election—yet the downright about-face that follows it is even startling in political terms. Before the election Harry Nkumbula's ANC received huge financial support from Tsombe across the border in Katanga, and siddled up quietly beside the UFP—this revolting affair was justifiably condemned by UNIP in no uncertain terms. Now, as the ANC holds the balance of power Kaunda seeks to join forces with Nkumbula! Am I alone in believing that politicians slowly graduate into rodents?

Just before these elections the Africa Correspondent of the *Times* in an article "Fear of Unrest After N. Rhodesia Election" (Oct. 30th) wrote of the African people living in the Northern and Luapula Provinces of Northern Rhodesia in the following supercilious vein: "Unip supporters in the remote north are under the illusion that Northern Rhodesia becomes independent tomorrow. When the illusion is broken the northerners, especially the fishermen round Lake Bangweulu, are expected to express their frustration in the only way they know—violently."

I spent more than a year in the Provincial Administration in the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia, several weeks in and near Lake Bangweulu. It is the area where David Livingstone finally met his end, an area that produced the men who carried his body the many miles to the coast due to their love and admiration—it is an area that has been milked of its manpower for the Copper mines until in some districts, like that of Chief Katuta's, over eighty per cent of the tax-paying males are absent from the villages. It is a primitive area of

Africa, indeed, where tribal antagonisms have been fostered due to the fact that they divide the African people and make them easier to rule. I well remember that, in places, the ignorance was such that the people had no knowledge of how to milk cows whilst in the bush nearby prospectors from South Africa ferreted away for manganese.

It is true that the people around the lakeside have a proud history of resistance, both passive and aggressive, due to some extent to their independence of income from their trade as fishermen. But most of the understandable frustrations of the African people find expressions in the joys of the dance and in the throbbing pulsation of music. If the *Times* correspondent had spent a night on Lake Bangweulu during a music and drumming festival he could never sneer at these fishermen, whose sense of community puts a European, in this disinterested society of ours, to reflective shame. When these people have resisted with force and violence it has usually been caused by the insults of foolish and callous administrators.

If, now, as one hopes, these non-westernised Africans recognise that Kaunda is seeking to acquire power by grasping the hand of Nkumbula, they will, most probably, take matters into their own hands unsoiled by Katangese lucre. J.W.

KAUNDA'S ABOUT-FACE

ANARCHY 21

is on

Secondary Modern

ANARCHY is Published by
Freedom Press at 1/6
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This Year's

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THE world was comparatively small and simple when in 1907 at Amsterdam we hopefully resolved among other things to set up an international centre of communication between all Anarchist movements, with library and archives in which to preserve the record of their activities and publications. Centres budded like crocus in a hard winter, frozen and snowed under by wars, always pushing up again from sound local roots—covering with tragic brilliance in Spain, for instance, modestly in England with Freedom Press and its publications—but nothing effectively international. The London congress of 1958 scored a try but didn't convert. It is only now, with ten times as many countries and heaven knows how many more languages, that there has come to life in Geneva the very model and active reality of our dream.

Uninitiated and incurious friends had told me that there was an "anarchist library" here in the Rue des Granges; an unlikely quarter, it seemed, when I found the street. The old Geneva aristocracy built their family "hotels" in Parisian style there; the street is still forbidding in the silence of its great mansions hidden behind the massive portals of their courtyards. And nobody in the neighbourhood had ever heard of it—mansion porters, street-sweeper, news-agents, policemen, Information Bureau of the nearby Hotel de Ville! Baffled by these and the heat of a cloudless summer, I returned only on the first cool day and walked straight into the arms of the man who has had more to do with the matter than anyone else.

"An Anarchist library? Yes," he said, "it is here at CIRA—the Centre International de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme."

Pietro Ferrua suffered 18 months of prison for refusing military service in Italy; moreover he had the honour of being accompanied to the frontier by minions of the republic of King John

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A Dream Come True

for other "subversive" activities. A handsome young man of 30 or less with a wife and two children, he has been for some time now an established teacher of the famous International School of Geneva, the Mecca of intellectual families of many countries. And, as a pacifist, surely most acceptable to a community which, along with the other French-speaking cantons, voted this spring against the provision of atomic weapons for the Swiss army? But no—with the perversity of justice where the word anarchist is whispered, a deportation order has been issued which is still the subject of appeal—a strong enough appeal it may be hoped for Swiss justice to clear itself.

This anarchist library in Geneva, according to my uninitiated informants, would be something vestigial, some abandoned scrapheap of a generation of refugees, in the dust of which it might still be interesting to identify the footprints of refugee pioneers—Lenin, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Lunacharski, Trotsky . . . ?

AROUND THE GALLERIES

VICTOR MUSGROVE the art dealer is a man of charm, wit and intelligence and it follows that an exhibition for which he accepts a personal responsibility must be worthy of the Town's attention. The occasion for this unsought praise is the Festival of Misfits at Gallery One at 16 North Audley Street, W.1. This quiet and sedate gallery, a hundred yards from the American Embassy, has for two weeks been turned into a pot-pourri of Steptoe & Son, the Southern Ghost Train and the Old Dark House, for the long lean gallery has been turned over to Daniel Spoerri, a Rumanian adventurer and his eight followers to do with as they willed. The street window is packed high with rubbish and a dozen white daubed directions and accusations are scrawled, in a barely legible hand, across it while within a cage furnished with all the cooey accessories, bed, beer and bread, of the dedicated Beat. There, within his tiny cage, the poet hopefully harangued his passing cash customers. Then to fumble into the dark through a tiny corridor past empty hanging bottles and wet foam rubber and into the main gallery packed to the ceiling with all the cluttered rubbish that could be accumulated; and finally into the basement where Emmet Williams supervises the creation of his universal poem. There, upon a blank white wall we are invited to stamp at random a limited number of office type words until in the end all languages will have become obliterated beneath this mass of words to leave only the visual image of the universal poem.

That then is the set up. The group at various times in personal conversations disclaimed any attempt to recreate a dadist or shock exhibition but the spectators must accept their own interpretations for in spite of the organisers' claim that it is a happy non-specialized fantasy, the chained hammer to be used to destroy the Leonardo reproduction and the gibbering caged poet must inevitably bring to mind the 1920 Cologne Dadist exhibition held at the Winter Café and closed by order of the police. But no such fate will overtake this exhibition for it is too innocuous; there is not even a latter-day Marcel Duchamp urinal to shock the elderly ladies who tread so gently among this carefully arranged rubbish. And the sweet old ladies and myself stood in the gallery basement facing our ersatz lavatory wall and dabbed away at the universal poem.

I passed the time blocking out the words FREEDOM PRESS and the old ladies stamped the official jargon upon the wall until one hoped against hope that at least one of the rubber stamps might have inked the work fuck upon our ersatz lavatory wall so that the old ladies might be shaken out of their social lethargy. But only the official jargon of a hundred thousand dreary offices appeared upon our wall.

The following evening the Institute of Contemporary Arts in Dover Street threw their dog's leg room open to the Gallery One group and there under the wardenlike gaze of Mrs. Moreland the ICA's resident Commissar for Culture they gave of their all. Sheets of paper daubed with luminous red paint and hanging like washing was removed sheet by sheet, in total darkness, to audience

"You will notice," Professor Ferrua was saying while the last of such romantic notions faded, "that the publications of each country are bound in distinctive colours; so that if you want some Spanish publication, say, or some Spanish manuscript, you look for a yellow volume—if something German, a blue one—and so forth."

He had taken me into a picturesque old house somewhat withdrawn in a small square from its artistic neighbourhood, up to a room lined with shelves and cupboards—bursting indeed with information—but large enough for a reading table and an office desk with many files. In a recess were bales of newspapers—unsorted back numbers of Anarchist publications, including some parcels of FREEDOM. In due course they will all be included in the library catalogue which is being issued in parts as the library grows. The first Bulletin of CIRA, issued in 1959, had 4 foolscap pages of catalogue. The second Bulletin of the same year had an additional 6 pages, and announced the acquisition

AN AMBITION OF AMSTERDAM (1907) REALISED IN GENEVA

of a precious collection of Chinese Anarchist literature rescued from the destructive Communists; also that CIRA was taking over the archives of the International Committee set up by the London congress of 1958. The third Bulletin added 8 pages of catalogue; the fourth, 12 pages; the fifth and sixth (1961) added 33.

Bulletin No. 7 (May, 1962) is a quadruple number, an impressive volume of 96 foolscap pages, of which some 70 are additional lists of library acquisitions, while the first 20 pages or so pay tribute to the life and work of the veteran pacifist Anarchist, Emile Armand (Ernest Juin) who died at a still active age of 90. He was the first person to accept honorary membership of CIRA. Among other honorary members are Alex Comfort and Herbert Read; Giovanni Baldelli, secretary of the London Committee of 1958; Ugo Fedeli of Ivrea, author of many sociological studies; Albert Meister of Geneva University and the Sorbonne; Hem Day, the Belgian anti-militarist, whom I happened

eye and with each sobbed noun the poet's hidden hand tossed handfuls of gravel onto the stage. "Music while you work" consisted of a pop record caught in a single groove and Robin Page, a Yukon lumberjack, donned a motorcycle helmet to perform his guitar piece. His act consisted of throwing the guitar onto the floor of the ICA and then kicking it down the stairs and out into the darkness of Dover Street, followed by a solemn queue of about half the audience. I took up my place at the bar with the rest of the bar flies until Page returned with the remnants of his guitar and audience.

Benjamin Patterson, a captured alive Negro, has evidently escaped again, for he was unable to open the second half of this display and four men and a woman stood in for him and solemnly

Continued on page 4

KARL WALTER.

AN AGE HOSTILE TO WOMEN?

"THE SHAPES OF SLEEP", by J. B. Priestley (Heinemann 18s.).

RECENT Priestley novels can be divided into the hilarious-fantastic and the thriller-mystery categories. Into the former category come "The Magicians", "Low Notes on a High Level" and "The Thirty-First of June", and into the latter "Saturn over the Water" and now "The Shapes of Sleep".

Although it has been said that recent Priestley is not up to the standard of his earlier work, it is, to me, of far more relevance. The issues involved have far more meaning for a present-day reader. "Low Notes on a High Level", for instance, might well be read by those CND campaigners busily broadcasting or preparing their own Voice of Nuclear Disarmament, and "Saturn over the Water" provides an exciting and thought-provoking description of something approaching the reality behind the nuclear age, with an extraordinary conclusion that leaves one spell-bound.

I had hoped that "The Shapes of Sleep" would be a good sequel to "Saturn over the Water", but the book is a disappointment. The story concerns a secret organisation calling itself "Antians": "We encourage whatever makes for variety, flexibility, free development" explains Sir Roderick their President: "We try to oppose—in many different ways—anything moving in the opposite direction, creating dumb blind masses." As the hero of the tale dryly remarks: "You're not winning."

It is around this mysterious organisation that Priestley spins his yarn—yet the attempt to keep up the excitement is not sustained and the content of the story is not enough to keep one's interest. The attempt of the Antians to procure the Shapes of Sleep—hypnotic shapes that influence people subconsciously—provides the substance of the tale with the adventures of the reporter investigator in sorting out the mystery connecting the threads of the novel. It is, in fact, rather a poor book, a sign that Priestley might well have written himself out.

However, one or two beautiful Priestley quips come through—exact observations that make one sigh in distressed agreement—make a reading of the book worthwhile. Good sound stuff on power, women, advertising, the present

world. To take an instance listen to this: "Unfortunately, the age itself, now one-sided to the point of lunacy, is hostile to Woman. And when it isn't merely bribing her to accept it—nylons and washing machines, let us say—it's frightening and blinding her with masculine technology at its highest pitch—H-bombs and rockets, for instance. I'll confess she's disappointed me—"

Mr. Priestley, you have said it.
J.W.

168 Tortuous Pages

"PEACE AND OPINION", by Evan Luard. (O.U.P. 18s.).

I STARTED this book hopefully, expecting to find much of interest and food for thought. In fact, I did find both, but such is the style and agonising language of the book, that one is instilled with a boredom that leaves one mentally exhausted on struggling to the final page. Taken at random here is an example of what is meant: "But though particularly liable to violence, colonial disputes are unfortunately at the same time particularly intractable to international authority." And so on, bla bla bla, for 168 tortuous pages.

This is a shame, for the subject is a serious and topical one; the book indeed might have been an opinion maker. The concern of "Peace and Opinion" is with the effect of public opinion on the nation-state as regards war and peace. We are taken into the historical background of disarmament negotiations, arms control and aggression. Minute details concerning frontiers are discussed. There are chapters on Colonies, Civil War, Authority and Law with a big accent on the work of the United Nations seen in historical perspective.

The last chapter on Opinion is the most important, one feels, for the author holds that opinion is the key to a more peaceful world. Though this seems an exaggerated claim—it remains the theme one dissects out of the wool surrounding this book. Opinion has its effects, but the moulding of opinion is to-day as much the business of the State as it ever was, and this fact is largely ignored by Luard. True, an enlightened and informed public opinion favouring peace can have an effect—but the real need is for action expressing this, and direct

to have the pleasure of meeting as he was in Geneva for a lecture that day.

An important accretion caused the sudden growth of the Bulletin catalogue. When Jacques Gross, active Anarchist and anti-militarist of the last century, died in 1928, he left a large literary estate, which has now been presented to CIRA by his widow, Elizabeth Gross-Fulpius. Besides books and pamphlets it includes many manuscripts and unpublished letters—for instance, from Elisée Reclus and Max Nettlau, and single items of interest such as a letter from William Morris. Another valuable acquisition comprises several letters written by Jean Grave in prison to Octave Mirbeau. And among the minor curiosities of this library-museum is an Italian version of Kropotkin's "French Revolution" in which the name of the translator is not given; but attached to this copy is a postcard on which the writers says he is very hard up and begs for a remittance of 30 francs on account of the translation. The card is signed with a pretentious flourish: Mussolini.

There are other surprises here, but the great surprise is CIRA itself—that it should have grown to such efficiency in the three years since its first bulletin was issued. It already has correspondents in most of the old established countries and is enlisting others where the passion for changing gangs into states is rife. It is affiliated with the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire by which its services as a lending library are extended to 15 European countries. The organising ability which has brought it to such fruitful life, whether that of Professor Ferrua or, as he declares, of an unusually competent team, is remarkable.

CIRA is already a centre of information and research admirable in efficiency and personnel, in scholarship and good will; it provides the first opportunity for a world-wide understanding of Anarchist aspirations as well as achievements. But in a city where millions are lavished on the good intentions of governmental enterprise and authoritarian planning, CIRA must depend on voluntary support. And for the small membership fee of 10 Swiss Francs—less than a pound—sent to 11 Rue des Granges, you will get all its services—and help others to get them—including copies of the very interesting Bulletins.

KARL WALTER.

BOOK REVIEWS

action at that.

As usual with the vaguely liberal elements the author stakes a great claim for the United Nations—which he sees as something of a super-ego keeping the delinquent ego-like nations in their places. Eventually he must see developing the daddy of them all—World Government; the answer to authority is more authority!

This flat, rather weak book lacks the dynamic to effect opinion. It lacks the fire or power to penetrate barriers and to shatter false illusions. It is over-intellectual and fails to inspire.

J.W.

Roundabout

KATHARINE WHITEHORN'S book *Roundabout* is reprints from her weekly or fortnightly column in *The Spectator*.

She is something of a new phenomenon in women journalists. She isn't stuck with the usual women's page type things, and even as Fashion Editor in *The Observer* manages to bring a breath of fresh air into this hackneyed old subject; she has attempted to move manufacturers and the buyers into considering more what women want, rather than just saying that hips are worn low and bosoms high like the rest of that dreadful cackle.

These essays are on a variety of topics. Indoor plants, WEA, hairdressing (with a mention of FREEDOM forsooth), and the best of the bunch, on hand-crafts:

"But to some of these fringe potters and makers of incompletely beaten copper earrings, the 'hand' look seems to be the only thing that matters. They are doing exactly the opposite of what the great craftsmen have always done, from Cellini to Lock's the latter: they emphasize the imperfections which the great craftsmen were always trying to subdue; they are undisciplined, because they have rejected the discipline of perfection."

She's on less firm ground with the Bomb. I've read the article three times, once aloud, and still don't know whether she's for or against unilateral disarmament. I don't think she does either.

This book would make good light Christmas reading. Unfortunately it costs 21/-.

I.R.

PROPAGANDA BY FEAR

FEAR as a weapon of propaganda can be successful in the short term; it can arouse people to an awareness of imminent dangers and push them into taking action to get rid of them. But it invariably fails as a long-term propaganda weapon for people either learn to adjust themselves to living in society as it is or they are so affected by fear that they become mentally unbalanced. In the latter case they are unable to act in a positive way to remove the source of danger, while the former will tend to ignore its existence.

These reflections are prompted by a letter from Miss Pat Arrowsmith published in last week's *Peace News* and a similar statement she made to the press concerning her recent visit to West Ireland. In her letter she denies that she went there on a holiday.

On Tuesday night we were both present at the demonstrations outside the American and Russian Embassies. The news at that time clearly indicated that the nuclear deterrent was on the very point of failing—the point we had been making in public for the past five years. Within 24 hours, when there was almost certain to be a confrontation between the Soviet missile-carrying ships and the US blockade, it seemed almost inevitable that nuclear war would break out. It seemed to us that nothing useful could be achieved by ordinary people within 24 hours to prevent this event. We therefore decided to go as swiftly as possible to a place where we might conceivably survive a nuclear war—the west coast of Ireland.

As soon as the politicians solved the "crisis" they had created, Miss Arrowsmith returned to play her part in the demonstrations and was twice arrested. "The nuclear deterrent was on the point of failing" she writes—adding the comment "the point we have been making in public for the past five years". But Miss Arrowsmith and her pacifist friends have been saying other things too in their propaganda. They have been warning people of (1) the dangers of nuclear war being started by accident (for technical reasons or misunderstanding); (2) that as more countries acquired these weapons so the danger of annihilation without warning increased; (3) that there was no defence against nuclear war, and that Civil Defence simply gave people false hopes.

We are not proposing here to argue whether these propositions are supported by the facts or not. What we want to point out however is that whereas Miss Arrowsmith, the propagandist, argues in public that they are, and hopes that fear of annihilation will galvanize people into doing something to prevent the holocaust, Miss Arrowsmith the individual found it impossible to believe that: evidence the fact that when she thought "the moment of confrontation" had come she sought refuge in a place where "we might conceivably survive a nuclear war". Yet every minute of

the day, according to the pacifist propagandists, there is the danger that somebody will "press the button" that will annihilate us!

Even if this were true, normal human beings could not, and do not, live with that thought. It is "crises" such as the recent one over Cuba that remind people of this particular weapon of destruction. As the *Observer's* diplomatic correspondent put it last Sunday:

[The Cuban crisis] has been a savage reminder of a basic truth that in quieter times we often, for our own peace of mind, prefer to forget: that the whole human race is endangered by the present way the world is governed.

THE danger then of propaganda based on fear is that it tends to defeat its own ends. Witness the complete failure of the poster campaigns against smoking and road accidents, both of which sought to arouse fear of death from lung cancer or dangerous driving. Such campaigns have initial success—tobacco consumption for instance dropped sharply for a few weeks, but all they leave behind them are gadgets—safety-belts, crash-helmets, cigarette holders, filter-tips—and more people die through reckless driving and from lung cancer.

Similarly, a movement of civil disobedience which seeks support for its actions on propaganda stressing the imminence of annihilation by nuclear weapons cannot expand as a movement, for even though it may succeed in reaching even greater numbers of people, its gains in new supporters must be offset by those who drop out once the first impact of propaganda-through-fear has worn off, or has driven them into mental homes. There will of course remain a nucleus of activists, including Miss Arrowsmith, who are not influenced by their own propaganda, and sooner or later, it seems to us that they will come to the conclusion that the propaganda which has been the basis of their initial success will, if sustained, be the cause of their ultimate failure.

The foregoing is in particular directed to the many anarchist comrades active in the anti-nuclear movement for it seems to us that they have a positive role to play as anarchists for anarchist objectives within such a movement. We are not suggesting that they should infiltrate these groups to destroy or capture them *à la C.P.* We believe they have an important part to play in broadening horizons; of disabusing the innocent of any illusions they might cherish that governments can be ever persuaded to introduce wholesale disarmament; and above all of seeking to harness the good will and enthusiasm of supporters in the direction of agitating for a fuller—freer—more meaningful-life rather than for such gloomy, negative slogans like "survival", and the constant reminders that we are on the verge of annihilation-at-any-moment!

Common Market or Internationalism?

Continued from page 1
ious manoeuvres, lies in developing anti-political methods of doing without them.

Many people have come to the conclusion, with regard to the international nuclear power struggle, that the solution lies not in support for one side or the other, or even in a 'neutral Britain' alter-

native, but in creating a world in which nuclear power politics is inconceivable.

In the economic sphere, the anarchist solution lies in the creation of a world in which tariffs and "free trade", state monopolies and private monopolies, subsidies and profits would be equally meaningless. P.H.

ON QUEEN-&-COUNTRY ANARCHISM, CHEAP JIBES & PRODUCTIVITY

NOTHING is more encouraging to this Editorial writer than when his articles provoke discussion among FREEDOM's readers; that many, in the past weeks have had just that effect would have been a source of stimulation and satisfaction had our correspondents not almost invariably concluded that we were everything but an anarchist! Our friend C.H., more in sorrow than in anger, we are sure, suggests that we are "for-Queen-and-Country" anarchists; Francis Ellingham (FREEDOM Oct. 20) that we are pro-productivity-at-all-costs anarchists; for Mr. Ken Weller (FREEDOM Aug. 18) we are just "uninformed-and-rather stupid"-anarchists; our friend Uloth puts it down to the fact that we "reason like a militarist" (July 21). It is difficult to sum up Laurens Otter's diagnosis of our complaint. One week he discovers that we are suffering from pernicious "elitism"; another it is modified to irresponsible Marxism; last week he at last got to the root of our multiple troubles: we are "Tribune tail-enders", members of an un-named freemasonry, advisors to the Establishment, reformists and—"to cap the lot" politicians in radicals' clothing! But that is not all. Our editorial "Religion, Miracles and Anarchism" (Oct. 6) brought two letters (unpublished): one from a real anarchist, who declared that the "foolishness" of the letters we published was only matched by "the idiocy of the apologies in the editorial", the other from a Catholic anarchist who suspects that FREEDOM has "this prejudice against Catholicism not because it is anarchist but simply because it is British!"

With such zealous guardians of anarchist orthodoxy ever ready to pounce on any suspected editorial heresy, is it surprising that each week this unworthy, but willing, unpaid hack (still waiting for S.F. to provide the new bloodstock so that we may go and graze on pastures green!) burns the midnight oil searching . . . no not the columns of *Tribune* . . . for the truth, and carefully weighing his words before committing them to print? Because we treat our readers as intelligent people it is surely not asking too much, in return, that correspondents should credit us with a modicum of intelligence or at least with the ability to read or re-read their, or our own articles!

C.H. in his "Many Reasons for Silence" (Oct. 20) suggests that "it was surely not necessary for FREEDOM to present evidence that it was not in favour of monopolies" blithely forgetting that in his first article he declares that one "could hardly be blamed for assuming", from the editorial he criticises, "that such monopolistic conditions [as we foresee in the Common Market] did not prevail in Britain and that there was no great concentration of wealth or power". It was necessary to rebut his "assumption" not only because it was a false one but also in order to reject his thesis that to oppose the E.E.C. "implies" acceptance of the situation in Britain as a lesser evil, and the charge of being For-Queen-and-Country-anarchists!

In attempting to prove that we "had certain fixations on the subject of joining Europe" our friend resorts to methods which one expects from politicians and the gutter press but not from those one esteems. He writes in "Many Reasons for Silence" that far from "demolishing" what we described as his "wild accusations" of our insularity and "Britishness" all we do is to "sneer them away". And he asks:

Is it so wild to suggest that the following implies partiality: ". . . we are not neutral . . ." This writer does not share the views of those anarchists who consider that for this country to go in or keep out is a choice between two evils . . ."

We agree that the foregoing supports C.H.'s contention, but this is not what we wrote! It is what is left after C.H. has excised the passages that he does not consider of any consequence a substituted with dots! We will place these four words ". . . we are not neutral . . ." in their proper context by reprinting the first paragraph of our article "No Reason for Silence" (Sept. 1) and in so doing, we hope, refute C.H.'s charge as well as refresh Laurens Otter's memory:

Unlike our correspondent [Laurens Otter] who wrote in FREEDOM last week on the subject of the Common Market that he, though "tending to oppose it" remains neutral because those who are its most active opponents, the Beaver-

EDITORIAL COMEBACK

brooks and the Communists, are not the kinds of allies he would relish working with, we are not neutral; but nobody is suggesting that because we oppose the Common Market we should ally ourselves with those who oppose Britain's entry for what are to us, equally unacceptable reasons. Surely anarchist propagandists must oppose both European preference as well as Commonwealth preference.

As to the second part of C.H.'s alleged evidence of our "Britishness" and soft-peddling of monopolistic trends outside the Common Market, we quote the second paragraph of our editorial which contains the sentence he has chosen to isolate from its context:

This writer does not share the views of those anarchists, who according to our correspondent, consider that for this country to go in or keep out is a choice between two evils, since on the one hand it means "greater exploitation", while on the other "starvation". It is our opinion that the concentration of the wealth and productive resources of these countries in ever fewer hands increases the overwhelming power that the class of managers, financiers and technicians already possess, thus making it ever more difficult to put over, and convince workers, of the practicability of decentralised control, and the part they must play in achieving it.

In our view the arguments of "greater exploitation" if Britain goes in or "starvation" if she keeps out are not the arguments of anarchists but the propaganda without much foundation in fact put out by the political opponents and supporters, respectively, of the Common Market.

C.H. recognises that "FREEDOM as a topical journal must comment on the passing scene" but he confuses the scope of "comment"—or what we would call anarchist propaganda—when he writes:

But we would be deluding ourselves if we did not admit that to participate in daily events, and to comment on them, reduces us to being progressives rather than idealists. It is only at this level—in volunteering to discuss the Common Market as progressives and realists rather than as anarchists—that FREEDOM can proceed to comment.

It is obvious to us that C.H. is desperately trying to show that we must take sides because he himself, evidence the last column of his article in which he enumerates his "optimistic predictions" regarding the Common Market, has done so. He also believes that in his predictions he is a "progressive"—that is a "realist" (whereas that of the anarchist approach is that of the "idealist"). We hope he will not think us spiteful or unkind, when we say we consider his "predictions" idealistic—that is unrealistic—and not anarchistic. We will answer them as briefly as possible.

(1) The extremes of poverty in Europe will probably be ended with or without the Common Market, just as standards of living have improved in Western Europe during the past 15 years in spite of no Common Market and in spite of the ravages of war! (2) "The newly prosperous workers will have more bargaining power" C.H. writes. "Prosperous workers" implies a "sellers' market", which means that demand exceeds labour power. Then workers are always strong. It's when it's the other way round that Common Market or no Common Market the workers are at a disadvantage! (3) Capitalism is being "forced increasingly to assume responsibility for alternative employment" in cases of redundancy. Maybe, but what has this to do with the Common Market? (4) "one only has to take the composition of the committees set up to plan national production (NEDDY in Britain's case), to find that labour and capital sit down together with a fairly equal division of power (even if for the greater profit of the capitalist) because mass production needs mass markets."

If the workers exercised their power they would obviously not be sitting down at the same table as capital. (5) C.H. asks "Must I really provide proof that the experts and technocrats are taking over from the *laissez faire* business-men?" No, because this is not what we say: what he will find however, is that it is the Accountants who are taking over, and presumably C.H. doesn't need us to tell him why? (6) "A study of history would point to

the inevitability of a far greater merging of nations than at present forms the Common Market. Only Marxists talk of "inevitability" and only "idealists" like C.H. could talk of the Common Market as a "merging" of even six nations!

★
Laurens Otter's cheap jibes at our expense are so consistent and fresh that this writer would feel that he was slipping if our friend put pen to paper to agree with something we wrote. It would however be interesting to know why he did not write when we used his letter (FREEDOM Aug. 18) for our original editorial but joins the fray when C.H. lists all the advantages in joining the Common Market—not to attack him but to accuse us of being advisers of the Establishment!

We are tempted to challenge comrade Otter to substantiate all his accusations—but that would also involve asking him to read our articles. No, perhaps *Tribune* is as much as he can cope with—but in that case perhaps he should direct his diatribes to that journal and not to FREEDOM!

★
FRANCIS ELLINGHAM (FREEDOM, Oct. 20), criticises our article "The Wind of Small Change" (Sept. 22), on two counts, the first that we deny that workers benefit from higher productivity the second the "assumption that the impulse to raise productivity is in itself good."

We have never denied that living standards have been raised. What we did contend was that "Productivity in the society we live in" brings the working people "neither greater leisure nor liberation from wage slavery". Mr. Ellingham believes that "factory workers live better now, on the whole than kings did in the past", a statement which does not bear examination and that their "leisure [has] been increased", a popular view not borne out by facts, unless of course one is talking of the very distant past. After all, in spite of the great technological developments of the past 20 years, most workers still work a basic 40-44 hour week and to enjoy the "prosperity" of our society need to work overtime. Furthermore as land values in the big cities soar so workers tend to live always further from their jobs: hence more time is spent on travelling to one's job than in the "bad old days". More and more women contribute to the "prosperity" of the household by taking jobs whilst still being responsible for the housework. Has the average "working class" housewife more leisure than her mother or grandmother?

Mr. Ellingham puts his second criticism in these terms. "But there is a more serious weakness in your position. This is your evident assumption that the impulse to raise productivity is, in itself good." Not only do we in our article define "productivity" as we understand it. "Productivity, which must not be confused with production or output, is the application of labour-saving techniques, and economies in raw materials and plant to manufacturing and other processes. Productivity as applied to the land means greater output per acre; to a factory more units of production per hour per man", but even Mr. Ellingham quotes us as saying that "productivity has meaning if it results both in a raising of living standards and an increase of leisure for all".

In that sense then, we believe in productivity, and we cannot see what it has to do with all the evils of materialism which our correspondent mentions and suggests that we are by implication supporting. We are not suggesting that industrial production would be increased in countries such as this in the event that the profit motive were to disappear from production as a result of the abolition of the capitalist system. But we do suggest that in such a society productivity would be to everybody's advantage in that the necessities of life would be produced with the minimum of effort thus freeing people to live their lives. Obviously we do not believe in the kind of efficiency which results in the dehumanisation of workers, though we would suggest that what is above all inhuman about mass production is to condemn workers to a 40 or 50 hour week for a working lifetime within the confines, and in the noise, etc., of a factory, a mine or a steel-works, doing always more or less the same job.

BOTH EAST and West agree that thanks to Mr. K. the world is still with us. Gary Powers has returned to his old job as U2 test pilot for the Lockheed Aircraft Co. and even Brian McGee was allowed to buy his discharge after completing his sentence. Three airmen and two soldiers have made it a different way, by applying for discharge to fight by-elections. The *Sunday Telegraph* military correspondent assures us that elaborate arrangements were made to enable the mobilization of Britain's defences at the climax of the Cuban crisis. Part of Bomber Command had been brought to a state of alert where it could react quickly against surprise attack. There were probably aircraft on the runway loaded with bombs; Civil Defence controllers had been told to "put their house in order"; mobilization and dispersal plans were urgently studied at the Service Ministries during the week so that they could be acted on quickly and effectively. . . .

A SECOND man attached to the U.S. joint task force has been found to be suffering from an eye injury after the high-altitude test over Johnston Island. The Russians conducted three nuclear tests on October 28th, one at high altitude with the force of somewhat less than one million tons of TNT and two in the atmosphere with lower yields. These make 25 announced explosions in the current Russian series. The United States conducted its 34th nuclear test. It was in the megaton range with a yield of a million or more tons of TNT. This is part of Operation Dominic. *Pax Vobiscum*. The Russians conducted tests No. 27 and 28 in the present series (so, who's counting?); the Americans conducted another high altitude test. On Saturday the Seismological Institute in Uppsala, Sweden, recorded another Russian test in the atmosphere, it was of four megatons, equivalent to four million tons of TNT. Canada told the United Nations that the amount of Strontium 90 in milk had reached record levels. Two boys aged 15 made rockets from instructions given in an American science magazine which was 'highly dangerous' and about the same strength as TNT. At Romford juvenile court they were given conditional discharge. The chairman said, "You are lucky to be here. You could have been blown to smithereens and so could your homes and people. . . ."



EIGHTY-SIX PEOPLE were each fined 40s. with 10s. 6d. costs at Bristol for obstructing the highway in a sit-down. One man claimed that he was not in the demonstration, he just sat down to have a smoke after he had had a few drinks.

TRADE UNIONS invested on behalf of Trade Unions two-and-a-half million pounds in shares. Just over 60 per cent in ordinary shares, with the biggest interest in a hire-purchase finance group and Butlin's, the holiday camp company. The author of the foreword to *Crockford's Clerical Directory* 1961-62 com-

plains that the Church's "constant reference to their skill and success in handling investments is creating another image of the church which in the end may be more fatal to its spiritual mission than was ever the easily refuted accusation about the Paddington brothels". *The Financial Times* reported an increase of £622,657 in Church Commissioners' income up to last March. It totalled £16,387,814, including £8,993,275 from Stock Exchange investments. Total assets are £243.4 million. Assets included Courtlands shares, property rentals increased by £702,735. "At the annual meeting the Commissioners were unable to propose any general increase in stipends but decided instead to concentrate upon new allocations to improve permanently the incomes of clergymen's widows." Six families, totalling 23 people who have been squatting in a former vicarage at Bilston, Staffs, have been evicted because the building is being demolished. The Bishop of Southwark is planning to sell some of the churches in his diocese as the first steps towards raising more than one million pounds. The money is needed for the building of churches, schools and parsonages on new estates. A labourer disguised as a priest had 300 watches concealed under a girdle when

searched at London airport. The Archbishop of Canterbury said in New York, "Religion is strong in America but a good deal of it is a kind of vague religious sentiment." A Manchester industrial chaplain complained of the business ethics of vicars. "Even when the vicars have a contract signed and sealed sometimes they try to break it. You would never find this happening in industry. . . . Many clerics act in a high-handed manner when dealing with individuals working for them. They do not appreciate, as large industrial firms do, that a man's livelihood must be protected." The Rev. Guy Potter of All Souls, Alton, Hants. is arranging make-up lessons for teenage members of his congregation after finding lipstick on the chalice. He said, "Lipstick can be applied so that it won't come off. It is hardly reverent to have lipstick stains on the chalice. . . ."

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH synod of the Johannesburg diocese condemned house arrests and apartheid in resolutions moved at their meeting. Father Brabant said, "The Minister can punish us but he can't prevent us thinking, praying or saying what we like." Mr. Ben Bella the Premier of Algiers banned the sale for a year of the French left-wing paper,

L'Express. The paper supported him during his fight for independence but now he says it insults Algeria. Students in Bonn demonstrating against arrests of *Der Spiegel* staff chanted "Who will be dragged from his bed tomorrow?" . . . A GOVERNMENT report on the new Weights and Measures Bill: rods, poles and perches will no longer remain measurements and after five years the bushel, peck and pennyweight will disappear.

JON QUIXOTE.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS CENTRAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at
The Two Brewers,
40 Monmouth Street, WC2
(Leicester Square Tube)
Sundays at 7.30 p.m.

NOV 11 S.F.:
The Ridiculous to the Sublime
NOV 18 Alan Albon:
From the Peckham Experiment
to the Haughley Experiment
NOV 25 Ted Kavanagh.
DEC 2 Philip Holgate:
Some Notes on Anarchism
DEC 9 Arthur Uloth:
The Origin of Christmas
DEC 16 Max Patrick:
The Far East Situation

Hyde Park Meetings

Sundays at 4 p.m. onwards
(Anarchist time) (Weather permitting)

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx.
1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.
3rd Tuesday at Brian and Doris Lelie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).
Third Wednesday of the month, at 8 p.m. at Albert Portch's, 11 Courcy Road (off Wood Green High Road), N.8.
Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).
3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3. Please note that the meetings at Fellows Road, N.W.3 are now on the third Friday, not the third Wednesday as hitherto.
Last Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at George Hayes', 174 Mcleod Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2.
Notting Hill Anarchist Group (Discussion Group)
Last Friday of the month, at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbroke Road, (near Notting Hill Station), W.11.

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C.H.'s Assumptions

DEAR EDITORS,
C.H.'s Common Market arguments ("For Queen & Country?" FREEDOM, Oct. 6) are well assembled and convincing, but he makes a very important assumption which is quite unjustified. EEC, he says, is mainly an economic union. A confidential questionnaire recently to German industrialists asked them their main reasons for backing EEC. Practically without exception, they put first the idea of a strong European anti-Communist bloc. It does not, in fact, need a great deal of guesswork to forecast the political alignment of a group—be it Europa or Europe des patries—with de Gaulle, Adenauer and the anxiety of the British "Defence" industries at its head. In Britain, it is indeed becoming difficult to justify Blue Streaks and Waters, and the "independent deterrent" has reached that stage of obsolescence where even the Conservative Party must consider abandoning it—what better than to take the plunge into a bigger and shinier nuclear pool. Europe is visualized as a third huge power bloc to stand toe to toe with U.S. and Soviet Union—this is the giving back to Europe of its self-respect. Who knows, we might even be able to afford the odd kudos-ball in orbit. And, while it is very much the occasion for asserting manhood against U.S., when all the transatlantic jealousies of every European state come to fine flower; so it will also be the new defiant face towards Krushchev. How, otherwise, could U.S. swallow hard and welcome this third bloc?

And what, in the meantime, happens to neutrals? If Sweden and Yugoslavia stay out, how do they survive? What happens to the Rapacki Plan and to the hope (pretty slight by now, true, but still emotionally attractive to many Germans, apathetic otherwise to the antics of their official political parties) of a neutral, unified Germany? The questions do not stop at Finland (which cannot be anti-Communist) and Switzerland (which would hate to be committed), or

Around the Galleries

Continued from page 2
stood upon the stage and tore up sheets of paper while Higgins drew applause with his Symphony No. 4 that consisted of picking up all the torn paper and then emptying it all onto the stage again. The finals came when the entire group dragged sacks of raw vegetables onto the stage and chopped them up and into a huge wooden tub for an uneatable salad that they distributed to their audience. While the Gallery One Misfits will never displace the Crazy Gang in our affections they passed an evening for us. In various discussions with them I was constantly told that the exhibition and the ICA performance was an affirmation of life but one assumes that a grave-digger pissing into an open grave could make the same claim. Every decaying social order needs periodic traumatic purges to rejuvenate its jaded palates and whether Victor Musgrove has supplied this intellectually sophisticated but emotionally immature audience with a private giggle or a public vomitory, lies with history and let it be the judge. But the jokeless jokes were too cumbersome, the laughter too long and the overtone of hysteria too much in evidence to make it a pleasant occasion.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Letters

at the implications within the U.N. of the impotence or non-existence in Europe of representatives of neutrality. The new Europe may well not endear itself to Africa, Asia or S. America by making a third to the Cold War; but will they even be pleased by its achieving, in C.H.'s 10 years, the same superfluity economy as U.S.—even if then, to deal with overproduction, we gracefully hand out a little aid? The answer to the new nationalism of Europa is, economically and politically, a more virulent and tighter regional nationalism elsewhere, in areas whose development, though more necessary, is condemned to be more slow. Is it thus that we come nearer to the ideal of internationalism?

I am not completely against Britain in Europe. I agree with much of what C.H. said (though I take less comfort than he from the probability that British breweries will take over all the Continental ones). Some authorities pose Mr. Macmillan as a counterweight to Franco-German little-Europism: we are to see Supermac enlarging the vision of EEC to include the world (with special reference to the Commonwealth), and our Leader will go on talking to Krushchev even while Adenauer is stamping on his toes. Such disunity among the Europeans is very possible, but I do not like to rest on it my hopes for decreased tension and the surety of peace in the world.

Economically, perhaps, the outer European nations and the Commonwealth are in a weak position. EEC is obviously on to a good thing—the Conservatives wouldn't have about-turned on it, otherwise. But what price are we going to pay for our fine new clothes? C.H. makes the point that the bureaucrats and experts are the new rulers: he instances the change in France. But

it is no coincidence that this change has brought in the Expert and de Gaulle. The same faceless Experts—the cheerful robots—harnessed efficiently atomic power for the State. We may still be shrugging our well-tailored shoulders at the mere politicians when our "strength" encourages them to who knows what at the next Berlin Crisis.
Pajusaari, Finland. JONN ROE.

Against all Authoritarianisms

FOR C.H.'s information (FREEDOM Oct. 20): I am a believer in a society of free individuals, and an opponent of all authoritarian systems, no matter what their country of origin. I hope that he is right about the New Europe, but it seems to me more likely to strengthen the power of the European ruling groups. It is the ruled who should unite, not their masters!

I have lived among "foreigners" for years and years, and have no desire to keep them at a distance. I opposed the Immigration Act, which was partly inspired by the New Europeanism.

I am in favour of every race and nationality being free to settle in this or any other country. The world belongs to all its inhabitants. But I do not like the idea of the part of the world I live in coming under the authoritarian control of the ruling classes of countries which are near-fascist, and which not so long ago made the pogrom a normal feature of political life, Germany on a large scale, France on a small. Things are bad enough here, I know that, but they still could be worse, and in other European countries they have been.

I believe in the abolition of frontiers and all forms of class, religious, sexual, national and racial exclusiveness, and the development of a society of people who think of themselves in individual terms, not as white men or black men, Frenchmen or Germans, Europeans or Afro-Asians or whatever. But I have no faith in "Man". Only in some men and women.
London. ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

UNBALANCED!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT NOVEMBER 3 1962		
Week 44		
EXPENSES: 44 weeks at £70		£3,080
INCOME:		
Sales & Sub. Renewals:	£	
Weeks 1-43	1,435	
Week 44	28	
		1,463
New Subscriptions:		
Weeks 1-43 (348)	374	
Week 44 (9)	9	
		393
		1,846
		DEFICIT £1,234

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Glasgow: A.J. 1/10; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; New York: C.G. 12/7; E. Rutherford: E.S.* 7/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 2/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; Hounslow: L.* 2/6; London: D. 2/-; Bordeaux: R.S. 2/-; Southend: P.O.* 5/-; Glasgow: J.H.* 8/6; Reading: M.B. 1/6/-; Shoreham: M. & D.* 2/6; Victoria, B.C.: B.E.* 1/-; Stockholm: O.H. 5/-; Chicago: J.K. 1/4/-; Worthing: B.D.B. 5/-; Karori, N.Z.: G.V.B. 2/6; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-.

TOTAL 12 18 3
Previously acknowledged 1,036 7 1
1962 TOTAL TO DATE £1,049 5 4

*Indicates regular contributors.

Whitehall Sit-down

DEAR SIR,
There was an atmosphere of unreality about the C of 100 Demonstration in the square last Saturday. So few of us so many of them. As soon as anyone started to speak the p.c.s instructed by a commissioner arrested him. These desultory arrests continued for about an hour and at four we started to walk down Whitehall; the home of farce was a suitable place to learn that two paid officials of the committee had gone to ground in Ireland earlier in the week. We were met by men doing their job and unable to do ours we sat (or 154 of us did). Many hundreds more were content to jeer at the police and look for 'fascists' to duff up. The fuzzi pounced and in the quiet of the cells some of us continued the education of the servants of the state. Whether through boredom or a frightened feeling in the bowls that we might be in at the end this time. This was the first time that the case for anarchy had been put to these men and a surprising understanding was reached. Perhaps at the next crisis when we are down again they too might say no to nuclear insanity.
Witney, Oct. 30. R. PATEMAN.