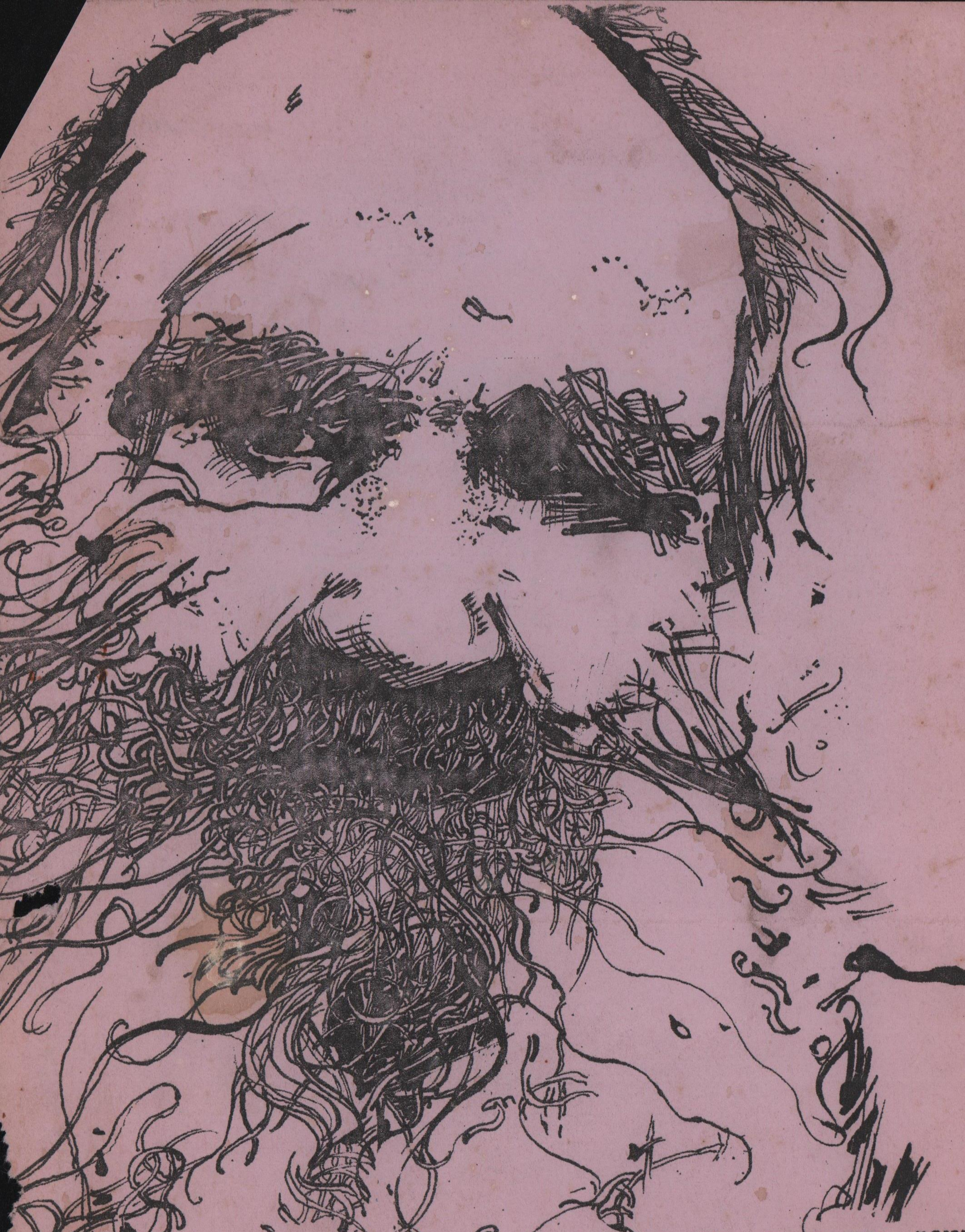


THE JOURNAL OF THE



FREEDOM... IS ATTAINED NOT BY ANY NEW INSTITUTION GOERCIVELY INTRODUCED, NOR BY BARRICADES OR MURDER, BUT BY CEASING TO OBEY ANY HUMAN AUTHORITY WHATSOEVER.

C o n t e n t s

Editorial
Commentary W. Crofts
 Political Peanuts
 Victory for All!
In Danger of the Judgment Alfred Reynolds
Waste Land Hans Manfred Bock
'Current Affairs' and All That Jazz .. Horst Laube
Masters of Irony (Kassel)
Just to let you know ...

T H E L O N D O N L E T T E R

LIII.

May/June, 1962

The contempt political leaders show for their subjects is epitomized in speeches against their opponents who pollute the atmosphere with bomb tests. So certain are they of the "long ears and short memories" of their supporters, that a little later they can resume the parlour game themselves and cause untold suffering to their present and future victims.

The latest tests ordered by the Washington Government are, of course, not for warlike purposes. They are motivated by scientific curiosity to see the bombs' effects on magnetism, broadcasting and stratospheric stability. It seems that our rulers, East and West, will not desist from their anti-human activities until they have found out^{at} exactly what point the Earth becomes unable to support human life. Then, at last, their curiosity may reach saturation point: it's a pity they won't know.

The quotation on the title page is
from Tolstoy.

Political Peanuts. Having survived the reported Scotland Yard charges of drug addiction, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament must now brace itself to meet the Labour Party's privately sponsored campaign of abuse and misrepresentation. The insinuations hurled by Hugh Todd Naylor Gaitskell at his May Day hecklers are not, it is true, so colourful. Yet the alacrity with which they have been taken up by the Press suggests that assertions of Communist affiliation and intrigue are still considered good material in spite of their time-worn unoriginality.

Previous attempts to discredit the movement - derisive observations on the age, sex, attire, tonsorial deficiencies, etc. of its members - having failed to produce any significant result, responsible papers such as The Guardian and The Observer are now adding their weight to the Labour leadership's accusations of reckless sabotage, inspired by Moscow, of the Labour Party's electoral ambitions. As though the Kremlin cared one hoot which party holds power at Westminster!

Are Gaitskell and Brown seriously afraid that CND candidates might snatch some of the votes that would normally be given to Labour candidates? Gaitskell himself declares that when it comes to the vote, "these people are not worth a tinker's cuss. They are peanuts. They don't count". As for the handful of dissidents among the Party's Parliamentary Members, they show precious little inclination to go so far as to quit the Party. Take Konni Zilliacus, for instance. The renowned rebel has virtually fallen over himself in his eagerness to dissociate himself from the May Day 'rowdies'. Their success in breaking up the Gaitskell-Brown meetings he describes as 'morally wrong' and - more important - 'politically disastrous'.

Far be it for us to condone any attempt to prevent free speech; but by what feat of the imagination is it possible for the Labour leadership to feel righteously indignant when their careless refusal to adhere to their own declared principles is shouted down by an angry audience?

"If we are to succeed", stormed Mr. Brown in an election rallying article published in Reynolds News, "we must campaign for our own Socialist values all along the line."

Socialist values? Isn't this the same Mr. Brown who proposed that stirring resolution (carried unanimously) condemning nuclear tests? Isn't this the same Mr. Brown, and the same Labour Party, which is now sanctioning such dangerous absurdities as the proposal to explode a nuclear bomb in space? If CND supporters are deliberately seeking, as the Labour leadership claims, to damage the cause of the Party, they should certainly use their energies more profitably. It is like throwing pebbles at windows that have been shattered by a megaton bomb.

Does this mean that the CND should pay heed to the recommendations of the Observer and adopt a more reasonable attitude to ends and means? Should it cease to demand 'all or nothing' and be content with a promise of 'partial' disarmament? Should it no longer insist on that which is politically impossible or (as The Observer puts it) irrelevant? Should it, in short, tailor its demands to suit the facts of power? On the contrary; it should recognise that the facts of power are such that no political leader will - or can - act other than expediently, that no degree of disarmament will be achieved until such time as it is politically desirable. Instead of compromising with the facts of power the movement should dissociate itself utterly

from them. And this means - no futile 'demands' of this party or that; no being frustrated by the acrobatics of party conferences; no angry surprise and resentment because what is considered morally wrong today is sanctified tomorrow; no participation in the political game - even in a freelance capacity.

The most significant part of Mr. Gaitskell's outburst was his jibe about peanuts. This is political wisdom. This is the reality of politics. A principle, a belief, is evaluated, not by an examination of its moral rightness but by the strength of its support at elections. That which the majority condones is moral; that which a minority believes is beneath contempt. If the incredible happened and CND candidates gained sufficient support, they would cease to be peanuts; they would count. Just how high they would rise in the political social scale would depend only on their numbers. Given enough of them, the Labour leadership would doubtless find a way to embrace them as their own.

We will fight, fight and fight again to preserve the dignity of the herd aristocracy and the right to hold popular opinions!

It is not too difficult to understand the real reason why Hugh Gaitskell was provoked to anger by the sudden emergence from his May Day audience of so many CND banners. He, too, was an idealist once; perhaps - who knows? - he still is. But a political leader must so dilute his ideals with gallons of expedient wash that there comes a day when the essence is no more than a muddy sediment. Is it not possible that for a brief moment there flickered across the Labour leader's mind a sepia-coloured memory of the young Hugh on May Day platforms of the 'thirties? Is it not more than likely that in that moment he was faced with the appalling truth that there is more nobility and more honesty of purpose in one grimy, bedraggled, inarticulate teenage protester limping along with a mud-bespattered symbol of the mushroom cloud than there is in the entire slick organisation of Transport House?

There is only one way in which an idealist who has been swept away by the vortex of politics can react to such a realization; that is the way in which Hugh Gaitskell reacted - blindly, furiously, outrageously, in a desperate attempt to exorcise the truth.

Victory for All! Now that the results of the local elections are in, what are the feelings of the political parties? Let us first ask Sir Jocular Jones on behalf of the Liberal Party.

"Well, of course, from the Liberal point of view things couldn't be better! I think I can say, without fear of contradiction, that the election results confirm and underline the size and importance of the Liberal revival that is sweeping the entire country. Every decent Englishman is a Liberal at heart, and these elections prove beyond a shadow of doubt that having given the others a fair trial, the nation is welcoming back with open arms the one party with a sane and sensible policy - particularly with regard to the Common Market."

Yes, it certainly looks like a happy day for the Liberals! And now let's hear what the Labour Party thinks. Mr. Tom Tryiton?

"We said we'd do it and we have! We said we'd hit the Tories hard and we have - that is to say, the British people have! All credit to the British public. They've been fed up, browned off and proper choked by Tory

mismanagement and Tory policy. How they've stuck it for so long is fair beyond us at Transport House. But at last they've done it - they've hit back hard. England has awoke! Nothing can stop the Labour Party now in its great march forward. Onward, ever onward brothers with a true Socialist policy - especially towards the Common Market!"

How nice it is to meet so many happy people! And now - now for the Conservative reaction. How have the Conservatives taken the results? Lord Moneybags?

"I must confess that there have been occasions during the past trying years when I thought that the day would surely come when the Conservative Party would begin to lose its tremendously long and successful command of the nation's affairs. I have to admit to a sneaking fear that even the personality of Mr. Macmillan would be unable to overcome the natural desire of the British people to give the other fellow a chance. But the results of the local elections show that I was wrong! The fact that we have lost 500 seats - and not 1500 - proves conclusively that the great British public is behind the Conservatives to a man. The British people, bless 'em, are with Conservative policy all the way - particularly with regard to the Common Market."

----- . -----

It is no use saying that the elected person or the representative of the people is only the trustee for the people, its delegate, its advocate, its agent, its interpreter, and so forth; notwithstanding this sovereignty which belongs in theory, to the mass, and the formal and legal subordination to it of its agent, representative or interpreter, it will never come about that the agent's influence and authority will not be greater than his principal's and that he takes trusteeship seriously. It will always be so: in despite of principle, the delegate of the sovereign will be the master of the sovereign. Sovereignty on which a man cannot enter, if I may so put it, is as empty a right as property on which he cannot enter.

(Proudhon)

It is true that the public authority in France, under whatever régime ... has its own, narrow, egoistical ends. It is, not say a coterie, but a consortium of people who, having attained authority originally by an accident, are thenceforward concerned not to lose it by an accident. National sovereignty is undoubtedly a lie.

(Lavissee)

These quotations are from B. de Jouvenel's 'Power'

I am afraid that we came to court in the same dispositions that all parties have done; that the principal spring of our actions was to have the government of the State in our own hands; that our principal views were the conservation of this power, great employments to ourselves, and great opportunities of rewarding those who had helped to raise us, and of hurting those who stood in opposition to us.

(Bolingbroke)

It happened at Orators' Corner. The Catholic Evidence Guild were holding their daily meeting when one of the hecklers challenged the speaker on the Church's attitude to war. When did Jesus say anything which condoned war, he wished to know. "Well", said the speaker, "you can't deny he was rather fond of Roman soldiers."

Far be it from me to blame the Roman Catholic Church for the unspeakable inanity of this remark: it was indeed a personal blunder of its spokesman. Reading over carefully all the books of the New Testament, it is impossible to find a single passage which could be held to indicate that the Master approved of a view now officially adopted by most Churches. It is not surprising that our not too bright orator felt impelled to seek support for his attitude in the most unlikely argument.

No lesser dignitary than the former Archbishop of Canterbury said in 1958: "All war is detestable, horrible and sinful in the sight of God. But in a sinful world, good people have to do sinful things sometimes. You have to obey Caesar and God, and the task of humanity is to reconcile the two. Very often in a sinful world you have to support Caesar, even though it is far less than the complete will of God." The Bishop of Rochester had this to say at the same time: "For the Christian, aggressive war is always wrong. But defensive war, or war to preserve order to save others from oppression, is a very different matter. As such, in an evil world, war can be the lesser evil." The Chaplain-General of the Church of England recently rebuked an obstreperous clergyman, who furthered civil disobedience, for trying "to embarrass those who sought to guide us". And in the same Convocation the offending priest was accused of "pure pacifism".

The late Pope Pius spoke of a "just war" in which Christians may have to fight, and the Roman Catholic 'Question Box' (page 426) volunteers the following information: "The Bible never declares war intrinsically immoral. On the contrary, in hundreds of passages God approves (a great number of Old Testament examples follow - AR) ... Our Lord's chief commandment was the love of God and the love of the neighbour for God's sake. If the world were faithful to it, war would become impossible. But a pagan nationalism often sets to naught the Christian principles of justice and charity ... our Lord praises highly the faith of the Centurion, but neither asks he the soldier to abandon his calling as immoral ... Christ's words in the Sermon on the Mount are a counsel of perfection addressed to the individual, while St. Paul forbids private vengeance as a grievous sin ... The early Fathers never condemned war as intrinsically immoral ... While recognising that war is one of the greatest evils that can confront a nation, the Catholic Church has always held that a just war is licit and moral. She condemns the pacifism of the Quaker who declares all wars incompatible with Christianity ... A nation goes to war in self-defense. For a war to be just, Catholic moralists insist upon the following conditions: A State can rightly declare war only when it is morally certain that its rights are being actually violated, or are in certain and imminent danger; when the cause of war is in proportion to the evils incident to the war; when every peaceful method of settlement has proved inadequate; when there is a well-grounded hope of bettering conditions by the conflict. If these conditions were fulfilled - they rarely have been in history (sic! - AR) - wars would rarely happen."

Against the background of all this hypocrisy and cant let us see what the Master and His disciples had to say on the subject.

We should deal first with the oft-quoted saying: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword." (Mat.10:34) However, if we read on: "For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law. And a man's foes shall be they of his own household ..." (Similar passage in Luk.12:51-53), we can see at once that Jesus did not mean a murderous conflict between ethnic groups, but a reliance on His teaching even if it involved (mental) conflict with our nearest and dearest. Only hypocrites or ignorant dupes can maintain that this passage justifies war (or a "just" war).

There are, on the other hand, innumerable instances showing that Jesus and His followers thought that war, enmity, feud and violence were contrary to God's will and that the divine spirit is best expressed by peace and goodwill between men.

In the Sermon on the Mount this point is made repeatedly: "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God." (Mat.5:9) Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time: Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment: but I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment ... if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." (Mat.5:21-24) "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also ..." (Mat.5:38-40) "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you ..." (Mat.5:43-44).

In Matthew 8:5-10 (also Luke 7:2-10) we encounter the Roman centurion and his supplication. This was, presumably, the incident which our unfortunate Hyde Park speaker had in mind. No comfort can be drawn from this story by those who insist that Jesus was not averse to war. He merely remarks that this man, a pagan, shows more faith than the children of Israel. His profession is not even considered. John the Baptist, on the other hand, warned the soldiers: "Do violence to no man!" (Luk.3:14) How do our Christians interpret this saying, I wonder?

Forgiveness, so alien to the advocates of war, violence and revenge, is extolled by Jesus in the famous episode when Peter asks Him: "Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him? till seven times?" And Jesus' answer is: "I say not unto thee, Until seven times: but, Until seventy times seven." (Mat.18:21-22).

Our opponents frequently quote the story of the moneylenders in the temple (Mat.21:12-13, Mar.11:15-17, Luk.19:45-46, Joh.2:13-16) to show that on occasion Jesus Himself became violent. While only twisted minds can compare His action with mass-slaughter involved in war (and especially the indiscriminate butchery of modern war), it should be pointed out that even in this incident, recorded by every evangelist, only St. John puts a whip into the Master's hand.

Another famous story relates to the arrest of Jesus and the violent reaction of a disciple. In the words of Matthew: "And behold, one of them which were with Jesus stretched out his hand, and drew his sword, and struck a servant of the high priests, and smote off his ear. Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." (Mat.26:51-52)

In the Gospel according to St. Mark we find these words: "Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another." (Mar.9:50) and another injunction to practise forgiveness: "... forgive, if ye have ought against any: that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses. But if ye do not forgive, neither will your Father which is in heaven forgive your trespasses." (Mar.11:25-26)

At Christmas we all repeat the words - but do we mean them? - of St. Luke: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men." (Luk. 2:14)

The theme of the Sermon on the Mount recurs in the Gospel according to St. Luke: "But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you, bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you. And unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other ... And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." (Luk.6:27-32) "Be ye merciful, as your Father also is merciful." (Luk.6:35) In the same gospel we find Jesus saying "For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives but to save them," (Luk.9:56) and healing the ear of the servant which had been cut off by one of the disciples (Luk.22:51).

The attempt of many alleged Christians to have their cake and eat it, is made difficult by the words of Jesus as quoted in the Gospel according to St. John: "These things I have spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world," (John 16:33) and "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight ..." (Joh.18:36)

The saying of Jesus: "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon" is confirmed by the words in Acts 5:29: "We ought to obey God rather than men."

Is there any group to whom the words of St. Paul apply more clearly than the modern politicians: "... with their tongues they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips: whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness: their feet are swift to shed blood: destruction and misery are in their ways: and the way of peace have they not known ..." (Rom.3:13-17) In the same Epistle Paul writes: "... as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men. Avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, says the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him, if he thirst, give him drink ... Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good," (Rom.12:18-21) and "Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace ..." (Rom.14:19)

Another passage in Paul's epistles is even clearer: "Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice: and be ye kind one to another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you." (Eph.4:31-32)

Let me finally quote the Apostle James who says in his epistle: "For where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work," (3:16)

"The fruit of righteousness is sown in the peace of them that make peace" (3:18), and "From whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members? Ye lust and have not: ye kill, and desire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight and war, yet ye have not ..." (4:1-2).

I have attempted to confine myself to quotations. Unfortunately for my opponents, all they can do, and do they will, is to foam at the mouth about the "real" intentions of Jesus, and about interpretation and the like. What they cannot do, poor souls, is to quote Jesus or his disciples in their support. Which is just as well.

----- . -----

DIE WUESTEN

Es tackt das Zahnrad. Und in
den Gehirnen
greift Zahn in Zahn: Maschine
läuft.

Grenzen für Maschine? Keine -
Niedergewalzt sind Götter. Und
für Träume
verbleibt kein Raum im Räder-
werk des Hirns.

Man liebt hygienisch und ist -
"Ach so leer!"
Man rennt um Brot und schlingt
es ohne Lust.

Alkohol stoppt Maschine. Dann
blödes Lallen;
kein Rausch, kein Schaun
von Ueberwelten;
nicht Sichhingeben und nicht
Sterbenwollen
um zu leben. Der Mensch
blickt stumpf.
Es stockt das Zahnrad und
ihn schaudert -

WASTE LAND

Cogwheels are clicking. Also
in the brains
cog grips the cog: machines
at work.

What are their limits? There are none.
Gods fled from the steamroller. And
for dreams
there is no room in the cogwork
of the brain.

Love is hygienic and is -
"Oh so bleak!"
Men work for bread and eat
it without joy.

Alcohol stops the engine. Then
foolish burbling;
no ecstasy, no sight
of superworlds;
no self-commitment and no
will-to-death
to feel alive. And eyes
turn blank.
The wheels are out of order:
Man is scared -

Hans Manfred Bock

(We continue with our new venture: the publication of a literary work in the original language together with its translation into English by one of our contributors. It depends on our friends in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and other countries whether we shall be able to keep up this feature. Poems or short pieces of prose are welcome together with the contributor's own or a literal translation into English and we shall be pleased to publish a contribution from abroad in every issue of the London Letter.)

Judging by the continuing popularity of newspapers, journals, paperbacks, and such TV programmes as 'Panorama', 'Tonight' and 'What the Papers Say', interest in current affairs is greater than ever. Yet never before has there been a time in which so many people have been content to allow events 'to take their inevitable course'. Never before has it been so taken for granted that those at the top will do as they will, with scarcely a thought for the ordinary individual. The role of the latter is merely passive: he has to suffer the consequences.

This widespread attitude prompts people to absorb with equal avidity news about the cruel export of horses from Ireland, the death of a racing ace, the gassing of millions or the bombing of Algerian villages. All are equally exciting news items, various facets of the peculiar and distant 'current affairs'. Their importance may equal, but seldom exceed, the imposition of a new tax, the invention of an ingenious household gadget or the indisposition of Elizabeth Taylor. As the news service grows more comprehensive, the reader becomes more uncomprehending, or even suspicious. The sources of information: press, radio, film and television, vie with each other in bringing 'fresh' stuff, or as the English language so aptly describes it, 'news'. Catastrophes afflict Agadir today, Hamburg to-morrow, the MI or Stalingrad, Hungary or Tibet. Yesterday radio, TV and recordplayer blasted at full volume Rock'n Roll, the rhythmic idiocy assailing our ears today is called Twist, and perhaps to-morrow it will be the St. Vitus Dance. Yesterday detergents washed white; today whiter than white. Yesterday some played at politics, now the frontiers are advanced and the rocketeers East and West present us with super-hyper-bombs: all this provides the illusion that things are happening, circumstances are changing and our insignificant selves are important parts of this universal course of events.

However, the story we are told can merely confuse us and conceal that which happens in fact - in the sense of history. The way things are told and the choice of subjects show that the reader, listener or viewer is not meant to learn merely about the news, but is to be manipulated into seeing them in a certain light.

Let us, for example, choose an imaginary news item:

Federal Minister M dead.

This tells us a lot and yet too little. It presents us with five "W"-s, of which only two are answered: Who? Federal Minister M. What? Dead. When it is extended to "Federal Minister M was found **shot** dead in his Bonn apartment at 8 o'clock on Thursday", we have the answer to another two: Where? In his apartment at Bonn. When? At 8 o'clock on Thursday. We are still left with the fifth "W". Let us try again:

"As the Police informs us it was possible to arrest 34-year old Berlin welder, Eugen Junkers, who yesterday at 10 p.m. tried to throw an object from the Cologne Deutzer Brücke into the Rhine. The object was a revolver, and Junkers himself turned out to be a member of the proscribed Communist Party. He confessed to have shot M in order to prevent West Germany from being involved in atomic rearmament which may lead to war."

Why? Political opponent. Anti-nuclear agitation.

Let us consider two possible adaptations of this news item:

Government newspaper (West).

FEDERAL MINISTER X BRUTALLY MURDERED

Communist Thug Confesses

Federal Minister X is dead. He was found shot through the head in his Bonn apartment at 8 o'clock yesterday morning. And his murderer - the 34-year old Communist, Eugen Junkers, is now in custody.

Junkers was captured at the Cologne Deutzer Brücke last night - just as he was about to hurl his revolver into the dark, swirling waters of the Rhine below.

When interrogated, the Red murderer boasted it was he who shot X, and made a vicious attack upon the Federal Minister's policy of protecting Germany with nuclear weapons. He murdered X, he claimed, because the policy would inevitably lead to war.

"I fired the shot before it was too late," he added.

'Neues Deutschland' (East) would report the case as follows:

BONN WARMONGER COMMITS SUICIDE

Clumsy Cover-Up Attempt by Adenauer

The Bonn warmonger, X, was found shot dead yesterday morning in his apartment. X - who is known to have suffered of late from severe mental depressions - preferred suicide to the failure of his bankrupt policy.

But this is not, of course, the story the West Germans are being told. In a clumsy attempt to conceal the truth, Adenauer is trying to persuade the public that X was assassinated. And to give weight to the lie, he has arrested an innocent man - 34-year old Eugen Junkers - a patriotic and indomitable friend of peace.

In a desperate gamble to find a scapegoat for the self-inflicted deed of one of Adenauer's chief henchmen and lackeys, the Federal police claim to have extracted a full 'confession'.

These examples, which are by no means exaggerated, show how information is passed through the filter of a manipulated ideological news service. 'Federal Minister X dead', nothing more, is the news item bared of its propaganda value, in its naked historical function. However, the manipulated words appear like the patterns on the board of a railway guard, where they symbolize shuntings, rails, change-overs etc. Karl Korn says that the manipulated world is a system of co-ordinates. The points of reference are fixed and action is merely a changing of the symbols on the board.

"CDU loses absolute majority", reports the Hessische Allgemeine. The Kasseler Post, slightly to the right of it, says: "CDU continues as strongest party". This non-action invades language itself, resulting in mumbo-jumbo like "bringing the case to a successful conclusion" and "giving expression to a pre-conceived intention". This journalese corresponds faithfully to the events it describes.

"Sikiang is opened up as far as traffic is concerned", or this weather forecast: "The zone of disturbance should influence the weather mainly in the direction of Northern Germany." "A vicar addresses his flock: 'You should find a way to incorporate your desire for love into the whole of the love complex.'" All these quotations are significantly indirect. The events reported have no effect on the objects themselves. Again, we do not see the actual rails, shuntings and change-overs, only the board with its symbols and figures. Korn points out that news items are veiled, not by the use of abstract expressions but by a peculiar business-jargon: "as far as traffic is concerned", "should ... in the direction of ..." The single event becomes but an aspect of something wider and more general, already modified by the context of constellations and statistics. The date and the fact are no longer important, merely their place in the larger pattern. While reading, our mental eye perceives punch-cards, charts and graphs which tabulate the processes described into one larger whole.

How is a news item born? Each item must fit into a standardized pattern and the difference between interviews with the relatives of Algerian bomb-victims or with Hamburg flood-victims will be small indeed.

How often do we come across the expressions: "in my capacity as" and "as representative of"? For instance: "In his capacity as chairman of the regional CDU, Dr. Fay spoke about the relation between the general low water-level of reservoirs and the reduced capacity of baptismal fonts", and "as representative of the small garden owners' organisation known as 'The Happy Watering Can', Herr Strumpfloch said ..." 'Capacity' does not indicate here quality or ability. It does not mean seriousness, vitality or even their opposite. It means competence, authority, membership: not the person, but his relation to the apparatus, the organisation, the party. A person is not expected to make a unique pronouncement, but a statement on behalf of the organisation of which he is merely an articulate part. However, manipulation degrades language. Language will not fulfil its purpose which is to reveal; instead it will be reduced to indirect expression. It is significant that few of the words current among the 20th century manipulators can be found in earlier dictionaries.

The word 'representative', for instance, should only be used to indicate someone representing another in contact with somebody else. Thus Christ can be said to represent Man before the Throne of God. Yet, nowadays a monument is unveiled "in the presence of the representatives of the Federal Army and the local Rifle Club". Obviously there is no confrontation and the word is suspended in a depersonalized vacuum.

News becomes standardized, pre-cooked and pre-digested for an audience that will eventually see, hear or read only what it is meant to consume. The 'consumer' will not take up a position of his own and there is no danger that a salutary shock would activate his grey matter, disturbing his conformist tastes. It can be safely assumed that he will remain unaffected - and what else is the main task of the Press if it is not to ensure this state of un-response. The reader must not awaken from his long sleep, he must not feel responsible for anything that happens in the world. The press provides him with an unperturbed conscience, a conformist slumber, it helps him steer clear of trouble and to acknowledge his own insignificance. This is achieved not by crude dictation, but by subtle manipulation and entertainment. No newspaper wants to be 'dry'. "We have to entertain the reader if we wish to instruct him", I was told recently by a political news editor.

Strength Through Joy, or, Animals Are Better Than Humans. "A young rabbit was adopted into the family by two young sisters in Hamburg, Britta, the younger of the two, is looking after Master Longear as if he were her own brother. Our picture shows the little rabbit tenderly playing with Yolanda, the piglet." Moral: All creatures are children of God.

The information value of this item is nil. Tame monkey smokes a pipe - A woman bullfighter almost gored by crazed bull - The first dog-motel in the States - these are the important events of which we must be instructed. The intention is clear: the reader is to be 'diverted' from things that matter. Anyone who delights in reading about dog-motels is not likely to worry about the housing shortage.

The Scent of Distant Lands - or - Paradise Seen Through the Fence. "At Frankfurt twenty Pakistan models interrupted their air journey. Hundreds of spectators gathered round the exits to admire the shapely young ladies and their colourful garments."

"Jackie and Farah, accompanied by John Junior, went for a walk in the garden of the White House. Jackie wore an afternoon frock of dark grey, Farah was dressed in a lemon-coloured garment. It is said that on meeting Junior, Farah exclaimed in Persian: 'The spitting image of his father!' Jackie asked the interpreter to translate these words and, on hearing them, tears filled her eyes."

Such news items have no importance whatsoever. The reader has nothing to do with the events described. It is true he can 'identify' himself in a day dream, and may even reach the conclusion that he is living in a world worth living in. If constant repetition of such a view makes him adopt it, the newspaper allows him a peep through the fence which satisfies and keeps him in a state of passive indulgence.

Take Your Hat Off Before Authority, or, How Very Important Are Our VIPs. "Federal Chancellor Adenauer greeted his American guest at Cologne Airport. Twenty salvoes were fired and, in their elegant uniforms, the band of the Federal Army struck up the 'Stars and Stripes' first and then played the German national anthem." "President Lübke sends his good wishes to Würmeling on the latter's birthday", "A Power Station is opened by Federal Minister Herr ...", "Federal Minister Herr..." etc. etc.

Now we're coming nearer to history, the reader may think. Hypnotized into believing that he has read about Acts of State, about 'historical events', he is given an account of two politicians meeting. Again he is allowed to peep through the fence: it is certain that he will not attempt to take up his own position.

Long Live the Muscle Man, or, Aren't We Ever So Progressive? "Germany's rocket is called Armin Hary", "In Los Angeles many athletic records were broken before a gathering of 40,000. The fantastic became reality: Harry Smith jumped 2.224 m. Will this record, too, be toppled?" "New fast fire arm for the US Army - 8,000 shots a minute."

Well, things seem to be happening at last! The future has already begun. Now the reader can 'identify' himself. Runners run faster, bombs become bigger. Isn't it wonderful to live in an age like this?! The perfidy is obvious: through an abundance of 'similar' news items the reader becomes incapable of separating the wheat from the chaff, the marathon-runner from the super-bomb. He is impressed by the facts, the unbelievable progress which