

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

February 1st, 1958

Threepence

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

—JOSIAH WARREN.

POWER FROM THE SEA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"News that British scientists had successfully harnessed hydrogen power for peaceful purposes threatened to make uranium as a source of energy as outdated as paraffin as a source of light. By the end of April 1957, the rout in uranium

shares had begun and almost continuous and heavy losses in most of these issues had indicated that something more than normal market influences had been at work".

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

Continued on p. 4

The Cyprus Tangle

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Continued on p. 4

Patching the Leak that Wasn't

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mixed-up Mollet

PARIS, JANUARY 20.

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

"It is true that I faced several people, and even some of my own Ministers, with an accomplished fact, but I have only one regret—that I was prevented from going through to the end. In the same way that help was given in 1936 to the Spanish Republicans, I furnished arms and aeroplanes to that admirable people—the people of Israel." [How these "Socialists" drag in Spain when it suits them. Our recollection is that it was the Blum government which proposed the non-intervention farce to the League of Nations].

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

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

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

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

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

Continued on p. 4

AID FOR SPANISH ARMY DESERTERS

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

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

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

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

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

Continued from p. 1

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In Brief

PREMIER WITHOUT A CABINET

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

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

A general election is due in the

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

German Reserves Down

FRANKFURT, JANUARY 23. West German gold and foreign currency reserves fell by about 178 million marks (about £15 millions) in the week ended January 15, the Federal Bank here said to-day. This included a fall of 141 million marks (nearly £12 millions) in the value of gold holdings—*Reuter*.

Unemployment in Holland Up

AMSTERDAM, JANUARY 12. The number of unemployed in the Netherlands was almost doubled since December 1, 1957, to more than 110,000 people.

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

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

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

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

"Revolutionary Change"?

MOSCOW, JANUARY 25. A revolutionary change in Soviet agricultural organisation to allow collective farms to own their own machines instead of getting them from tractor and machine stations has been proposed by Mr. Khrushchev.

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

Scared of the Redskins?

BURLINGTON (NORTH CAROLINA), JANUARY 26.

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

'Governments look up to us'-Dulles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Every Sunday at 7.30 at THE MALATESTA CLUB, 32 Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.1

LECTURE - DISCUSSIONS

FEB. 2.—S. E. Parker on WHY I AM AN ANARCHIST
 FEB. 9.—Arlo Tatum on INTERNATIONAL PEACEMAKING
 FEB. 16.—Max Patrick on LIFE OF SIGMUND FREUD
 FEB. 23.—Jack Robinson on FREE THOUGHT & ANARCHISM
 Questions, Discussion and Admission all free.

HAMPSTEAD LIBERTARIAN GROUP

Fortnightly public discussions are held on alternate Mondays at 7.45 p.m. in the basement of 12, Oak Hill Park (at Frognal) N.W.3. Nearest tube station: Hampstead (Northern Line).

February 10th, 1958.

"Anarchism—Yesterday and Today" A Symposium with contributions by PHILIP HOLGATE, S. E. PARKER and others.

★ Malatesta Club ★

SWARAJ HOUSE, 32 PERCY STREET, TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.1.

ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. London Anarchist Group Meetings (see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. BONAR THOMPSON speaks

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CENTRE MEETINGS

Discussion Meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m.

FREEDOM

The Anarchist Weekly

Postal Subscription Rates: 12 months 19/- (U.S.A. \$3.00) 6 months 9/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50) 3 months 5/- (U.S.A. \$0.75)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies: 12 months 29/- (U.S.A. \$4.50) 6 months 14/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25)

Cheques P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, cross a/c Payee, and addressed to the publisher.

FREEDOM PRESS 27 Red Lion Street London, W.C.1. England Tel.: Chancery 8364

Patching the Leak that Wasn't

Continued from p. 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No Progress!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

WEEK 4	
Deficit on Freedom	£80
Contributions received	£26
DEFICIT	£54

January 17 to January 23

British Guiana: P.A. 4/-; Santa Clara: per Osmar, R.A. 14/-; London: T.H. £1; London: Anon.* 10d.; Seattle: W.V.H. 14/-; London: P.C.O. 1/-; Shoreham: P.J.P. 1/-; Glasgow: L.B. £1/1/0; Sheffield: H.W. 3/-; London: S.B.* 2/3; London: E.M. 2/6; Cheltenham: J.S. £2/2/0; Stroud: S.L.R. 2/6.

Total ...	6 8 1
Previously acknowledged ...	20 9 0
1958 TOTAL TO DATE ...	£26 17 1

*Indicates regular contributor.

Have you received a Subscription Renewal Reminder? ★ And have you dealt with it?

Letter ON EDUCATING THE YOUNG

DEAR EDITOR,

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

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

This, of course, raises a thorny problem. One cannot ask a child how it would like to be educated. What to do?

FREEDOM dealt with education, a few issues ago, to a limited extent. I should like to see the subject explored more thoroughly. In case it helps, I will pose a question:—

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

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

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

Let's have some better suggestions then.

Yours, etc., ERNIE CROSSWELL.