

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Do I think America could go Fascist? Yes—but we wouldn't call it that!"
—HUEY LONG.

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Threepence

When Russia Delivers the Goods - WILL AMERICA GO COMMUNIST?

U.S. Senatorial Integrity

ALMOST everybody has heard of Jimmy Hoffa, the boss of the American Teamsters' Union (Transport), and of the fact that his Union has for some time been under the scrutiny of a Senate Committee charged with investigating the rackets which the Union runs, and is known to run, but somehow cannot be stopped from running—yet. Unlike some Senate Committees, this particular one is under the chairmanship of Senator McLellan, who is by all accounts an honest man, dedicated to the task of nosing out and eradicating the rackets in the Teamsters' Union.

Hoffa, by common consent, is a thug and a racketeer of the first order (his predecessor was not considered quite so bad and is now in gaol), but there is a certain humorous originality about certain of his activities. Having found it wearisome to be constantly investigated by acrimonious enemies, he had the idea of setting up his own investigating committee, which he did. He chose as chairman—a senator—George H. Bender.

The Bender committee, sponsored by Hoffa, set about its particular task by asking Teamster officials throughout the U.S. for information as to racketeering in their local—if any. Since these officials were hired or elected by Hoffa the not very surprising answer from them all was that there was no racketeering. This was the extent of the investigation. Bender then informed Hoffa that his house appeared to be in order, and Hoffa informed the press of Senator Bender's findings.

As Bender's methods of investigation began to leak out and it was discovered to be a farce, so also did the financial angle come to light. For organising his secretary to type a few letters Bender was paid \$250 per day, amounting to \$19,250 from August to December—and in addition, \$9,000 for expenses. Not a bad fee considering the work involved.

A specimen of the Bender letter to officials was as follows:

"We would like to know if there have been any cases of racketeering or gangster alliances in your local, and what action has been taken officially to eliminate such elements."

Specimen reply:
"No racketeering here."
Signed: Secretary/treasurer.

Meanwhile James R. Hoffa is currently trying to start a Union for policemen; he's having trouble, but in the unlikely event that he should succeed he would have even less to fear from the "guardians of the law", because he would be their boss too.

could be no coincidence that Russia launched her moon-rocket same weekend that Mikoyan set for his first official visit to America—the first visit ever of a top-up from the Soviet government to the land of the free.

Americans we gather (and we need to be corrected or confirmed by our American comrades), to admire the big. It appears big enough to advertise a film, for example, as BIG to ensure its success at the box-office. Apart from the singing stars at the Palladium, almost the only American imports which are really noticeable in America are those huge cars which are sold along our narrow, congested roads as though impatient to take to the road. They're BIG all right, and one is tempted to wonder whether every car sold in the US on its size-

ten-gallon hats? Obviously, triple-decker, triple-decker hamburgers? Naturally. Brassieres? Rackets?

Conspicuous Consumption

If this is so, then we must ask ourselves how long the average American is going to hold out against the most powerful argument he knows—material success. American progress is rated strictly in material terms. Staunchly denying that they are materialists and maintaining their allegiance to the spiritual values of Christianity, in the event every American knows that those values are strictly for the birds. What counts is not only material wealth but, even more, the appearance of material wealth.

COAL—THERE OUGHT TO BE A LAW

MOST of us have probably noticed that the cost of living continues to rise; occasionally it does not rise by quite so much as usual, but recently it has made up for this by rising slightly more.

The Ministry of Labour has put responsibility for this on the cost of cheese, butter and coal; no doubt the responsibility could be put on a number of other items as well (though *apropos* of nothing the price of timber has dropped), and no doubt a lot of it is true.

Ordinarily speaking there are two main factors which influence prices—cost of production, and the supply and demand position. Leaving aside cheese and butter, what about coal? Costs may have risen, but there is an enormous glut of coal, due it is thought to an extraordinarily inaccurate calculation by "someone in the Ministry" some time ago. It might be thought that even if the price of coal could not be brought down—to discourage the glut—at least it need not have risen—thus encouraging it. What about the inevitable laws of supply and demand as applied by all self-respecting economists?

Coal is of course a nationalised industry, and thus a monopoly. That appears to have cut out even the supposed benefits to be occasionally gleaned from the present competitive system!

The colossal amount of hire purchase business in the States demonstrates the extent to which Americans are prepared to plunge into debt in order to have the outward show of affluence. They don't bother about the rock of money in the bank, they settle for the shifting sands of conspicuous goods to flaunt their success in the only way in which a philistine society can rate it.

How much are the problems of American youth due to the schizophrenic nature of life with two conflicting sets of mores—the pretended, Christian ethic, and the real, capitalist materialism? How much is due to the revulsion of the young against their imminent, forced, entry into the rat-race?

Differences Disappearing

Ever since 1917 the steady corruption of the Soviet Union has made it easier and easier for the governments of the West to denounce the Communist system. And the point was that not only was the Bolshevik régime a tyrannous one, it was an inefficient one. It didn't deliver the goods.

In presenting this argument the West forgot to mention the abysmally backward nature of Russia before 1917 and the tremendous start that the 'free-enterprise' capitalist powers had. Nor could Russia's capitalist opponents say too much about the inequality under the Bolsheviks in view of the creed of justifiable and indeed necessitous inequality which is capitalism. America's deep South and Britain's colonies provided other reasons why the pot could only hypocritically call the kettle black on that score.

It was on the arguments of individual liberty and of failure to deliver the goods that the West could most strongly attack Communism.

But what of now? In the forty-one years that have passed since Lenin's and Trotsky's seizure of power there has been a gradual closing of differences between East and West on both these scores. In the West the horizons of individual liberty have shrunk, while in the East production and technical progress have leaped ahead.

We may regard Krushchev's boasts of how soon Russia will be the superior of the West in production as a dictator's bombast, but we don't know that it is not true. Indeed, such official comment as it draws from the Western governments amounts to grudging admission that Russia will do it.

And as massive evidence that she may be capable of all that there is the ironmongery now hurtling through space, past the moon, to circle the sun for ever.

Now if Americans believe, as they do, that their system of society is best because they produce more, bigger and better than anyone else, what are they going to believe when Russia can claim a bigger steel production, higher wheat yields, faster airplanes, the farthest rocket? When Russia is the most, what happens to American confidence, even American patriotism?

Surely you cannot build a belief in a superior way of life upon the totems of material success and then still maintain there is something wrong with another system which is even more successful?

The Search for Power

After all, we can remember how much of the support for Hitler and Mussolini in this country came from those who admired the German *autobahns* or the fact that the Italian dictator 'made the trains run to time'. Efficiency is a shibboleth on the altar of which much human sac-

rifice is demanded, but those who are sold on the idea of efficiency for its own sake do not count the human cost.

Both America and Russia are big, rough countries relatively young in the sense we have been discussing. Both have developed at a tremendous pace in relatively short times. Like big, rough people each may grudgingly admire the toughness of the other, and in each case the ideology they pretend to follow has gone by the board in the search for the same thing—material power.

If we judge a society by the outward expressions of its culture then it is significant to compare the dull mediocrity of the Russian art at present on exhibition in London with the spectacular triumphs of Soviet rocketry. For the Americans who will be seeing Mikoyan in the flesh and on their television screens, there will be no doubt as to which is the more important. Art does not capture markets or win wars or gain power. Rockets can do all three.

Mikoyan, therefore, is a man with something to sell to the Americans. Not revolution for the American worker—but success for the American boss. And as production rises in the U.S.S.R. perhaps the men in the Kremlin may be able to ease the shackles on the Russian people, while at the same time the men in the White House have to introduce more controls to steady their economy and pay for the greater effort to keep up with the Comms. The legacy of McCarthy still provides enough of an apparatus for a thought-police to operate in America while Khrushchev reduces the awful power of the secret police in Russia to manageable proportions.

The two systems approximate more and more. When Communism can deliver the goods, why should Americans fear it? That's what they want, isn't it?

Ghana Democratised

THE new "democracy" of Ghana continues upon its undemocratic path with the promise of worse to come. The Government which recently arrested two Opposition M.P.'s has now decided that it does not intend to allow the arrested men a court trial. This in spite of Nkrumah's statement in New Delhi expressing the hope that they would be allowed a trial in public.

The accused M.P.'s, Mr. R. R. Ampousah and Mr. K. Apaloo are alleged to have plotted a *coup d'état* but have of course denied the charge. Mr. Kofi Baako the Minister of Information has said that the Act under which they were arrested makes no provision for a trial, and "so long as they are detained under this Act they will never be tried." Supporters of Ampousah and Apaloo claim that the charges have been invented as a method by which vocal opposition to the Government may be suppressed, and any and all objections to it may be intimidated to silence. This is standard totalitarian procedure.

The two points which arise most

clearly from this are, firstly that a so-called act under which anyone may be detained indefinitely without trial gives effectively absolute power to the Government, and secondly if the charges are in fact true Nkrumah would have everything to gain and nothing to lose by bringing the prisoners to trial. It may therefore be assumed that there is a *prima facie* case for their innocence.

A great deal has been said by writers and speakers of many and varied hue to the effect that where a "young democracy" is concerned, if it is to be successful, a certain amount of undemocratic procedure

must necessarily be used because "the people" are politically immature. Quite apart from the fact that this idea strikes at the roots of every anarchist, libertarian, liberal or for that matter theoretically-democratic principle, it misses out the obvious and shattering corollary, that the politicians are at least as politically immature, and what is more are in a position to do far more harm.

But there seems to be very little in the way of Premier Nkrumah becoming the Führer or Duce of Ghana, or whatever the title is to be in Africa.

American Investments in Cuba

The State Department said this morning that it was planning no immediate recognition of the new Government of Cuba, and Mr. Ernesto Betancourt, agent for the Castro rebel group in the United States, described the members of the junta as unacceptable to the revolutionaries.

Behind the scenes, American officials are working energetically to try to end

the fighting quickly. Traditionally Cuba begins its harvest of the \$600 millions sugar cane crop on the first of the year. American investments in Cuban sugar amount to about \$400 millions, and some 35 per cent. of the amount of sugar consumed in the United States comes from Cuba. In addition there are huge industrial investments by the United States in Cuba. There is also a large American

naval base at Guantanamo Bay and three military missions.

Apparently the losses suffered by Batista's army in Santa Clara had been much larger than first reports had indicated, and the prevailing view in Washington is that the Army was unwilling to suffer these repeated losses and used its influence to drive Batista into exile.

Manchester Guardian

THE LITTLE ISLAND

A Film to Haunt You

HAVE you ever heard an English cinema audience applaud and boo a film? It is extremely unlikely that you have, for the films which would provoke such an un-English demonstration are few and far between.

The usual audience reaction as a film ends is a relieved silence—relieved because either the boy has got the girl in spite of all the misunderstandings and there is a happy ending or, if the film finishes 'unhappily', the release of tension and the end of a horrifying experience is a relief.

Rarely, however, is a film strong enough to call for *opposition* as well as applause from the audience. The fact that *The Little Island*, now showing at the Curzon Cinema, London, produced that effect on the occasion I saw it, is an indication of its power.

The Little Island is a cartoon film, but if that makes you think of Disney, Bugs Bunny or even UPA, I must hasten to tell you that the only thing in common between them is only that all have been drawn by hand and do not employ live actors for the visual image. One may as well think of Annigone and Picasso as having something in common because they both use paint and canvas.

The Little Island runs for half an hour, which is long for a cartoon, and

tells the story of three little men who land on an island and proceed to have an argument. Simple enough, except that they represent Good, Truth and Beauty and into that half an hour is packed, in symbolic form, a statement of man's accumulation of knowledge and the struggle between goodness and beauty—both of which become transformed in the course of their conflict into monstrous machines of destruction.

That is all the film is—a statement. Dick Williams, who made it, assured me that it has no message; it was something he wanted to say. There can be few statements which have been made so forcefully.

For sheer invention in colour, pattern, form, and movement (the fourth [abstract] graphic dimension which only the ciné camera can offer an artist), this must be one of the wittiest serious statements ever made, with biting comment on art collectors and the babel of art criticism, on the church with its prudery and readiness to resort to violence, and on the detached and objective scientist who realises too late what he has done and settles the argument once and for all. The tension, the terror, built up in this last section is the equal of any I have ever felt in the cinema.

Dick Williams is a young Canadian who now lives in London and spent five years getting this thing out of his system. He worked day and night, accumulating heavy debts, and when things got too bad produced a few TV commercials to buy more time for *The Little Island*. Brilliant at his work, he could obviously make a fortune the easy way in TV advertising. He preferred to make a statement the hard way.

Yet although his was obviously the drive and conviction which has made *The Little Island* what it is, he would be the first to admit how much he owes to a handful of good friends who worked with him or who helped and encouraged him through the years of labour—the dark despairing days as well as the days of hilarity and high enthusiasm.

Most important among these for the finished result and the success of the film is Tristram Cary (son of Joyce Cary, author of 'The Horse's Mouth') who provided the brilliant musical score, which matches in wit and invention the visual imagery.

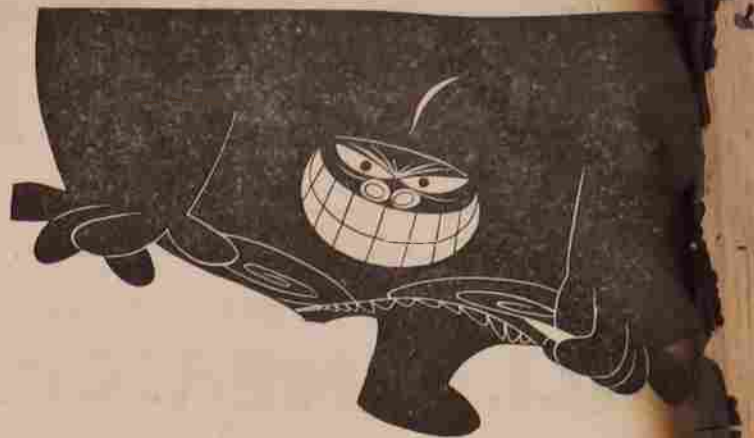
I first met Dick Williams the day he heard that his film had won a prize at the Venice Film Festival and that the Rank Organisation had bought the distribution rights. That night we celebrated. He had already collected a prize at the Brussels Festival and now *The Little Island* is being put forward for an

Oscar. If there is a cartoon more deserving I shall be very surprised and even more interested to see it.

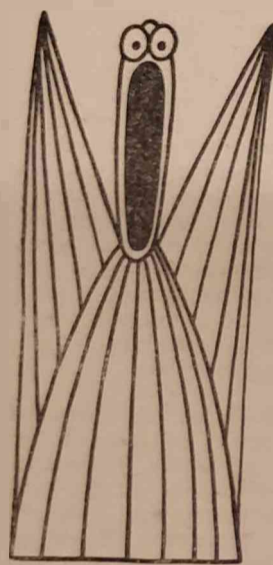
It will probably be the Brigitte Bardot film 'La Parisienne' which will draw the crowds to the Curzon, but it will be *The Little Island* which will move them more and haunt them longer. In view of the ticking off I received recently from my comrade R.M. after suggesting (in a review of Behan's play 'The Hostage') that readers of FREEDOM might tend to prefer certain kinds of plays, I will not say anything about *The Little Island* being a 'must' for anarchists.

But aren't you curious about a film made in the way this one was and which earned boos—even in fruity Mayfair voices—from a Curzon audience?

P.S.



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When French Socialism was a Real Force

FRENCH SOCIALISM IN THE CRISIS YEARS 1933-36, by John T. Marcus. Distributed by Stevens & Sons, 37s. 6d.

AN absorbingly interesting study of developments within the ranks of French socialism when it was faced with its last crisis while it was a real force. The work is of a detailed and scholarly nature, and its actual value therefore depends on whether one feels that the political approach to social problems, including in that concept the 'political' aspects of for instance anarchism and pacifism, have enough relevance to the present and future, to make it worth while studying the recent past.

Marcus sets the scene in 1933 with Hitler's seizure of power in Germany. Governmental crises were occurring in Paris, and the problems facing the Social Democratic Party were whether to commit themselves to parliamentary democracy and compromise, or whether to try the alternative of standing by revolutionary principles and ultimately putting trust in direct action by the workers in fact of fascism in France or international war. The consequences of the internal disputes were expulsions right and left, the destruction of what the author calls the "mystique" of socialism as a political force among the French workers, and the reduction of the Party itself to a negligible size. Meanwhile, very little had

been achieved towards the destruction of fascism, and the march towards war continued undisturbed.

It is interesting to note that British socialism was not faced with these problems to quite the same degree. Despite the momentary setbacks of the desertion of MacDonald from the right, and the break-away of the I.L.P. on the left, there was no doubt about the Labour Party's hold on the voting allegiance of the working people in England. In France it appears that the existence of a stronger Communist Party provided an alternative home for careerists and opportunists, or 'realists'. In fact, one of the final blows to socialism occurred when the C.P., initiating the Popular Front period, "went over to the right of the socialists", and in so doing took from them the support of the solid working class voters.

The author does not let his precise sympathies show through his description of the internecine warfare he describes, but he is obviously one in whom the ideals of the left are well understood and felt for. His book combines the authority of study and systematic work through the literature, with a spirit of appreciation. He realises that behind each of the factions, with their short-lived periodicals and revolutionary jargon, are human beings who are giving something valuable in the conviction that

it is somehow relevant to the ushering of a better social order. This combination of detailed knowledge, and application is rare; and extremely rare in dealing with purely political matters. It is therefore a pleasure to welcome Marcus' work.

Where he does give a slight preference it is to the middle of the way, because he points out the impossibility of the left-wing revolutionaries ever being able to put their schemes for a general strike against war, the arming of workers to resist an invasion from Germany, etc., into practice. It hardly points out where the road to France actually followed led to.

I would suggest that a worthwhile hypothesis to keep in mind when reading the matter of this book is that revolutionary activity cannot succeed unless the ranks of a socialist party. With one foot in parliament, the other foot in the factories and streets does not kick so effectively; but that with the ideas which are widespread among working people, they will prefer to follow a socialist party to the polls, to the end and to authoritarianism.

If the reader is then still interested in radical change, he should be led to the anarchist conclusion of the prime importance of *changing peoples' ideas*.

P.H.

PARANOIA - 2

(Continued from previous issue)

POLITICAL creeds are no less paranoid in their self-centred delusions than religious creeds. Self-centredness in the political sphere is also a group phenomenon and has nothing in common with individual egoism; the individual is to be sacrificed to the group. Paranoid thinking in political thought is now giving promise of its final fruit. Because the ruling élites of two different political systems are so convinced that their own ideology is the only possible one they are willing to risk the obliteration of life on this planet rather than let the opposing system prevail. Paranoid cases in psychiatric hospitals seldom go quite as far as this. Those who are responsible for such an insane policy must be adjudged dangerous lunatics if we view them objectively. Like other paranoids they can defend their bizarre system of thought by a logical appeal to the internal consistency of their beliefs.

The Role of Persecution

It has been pointed out that the paranoid misinterpretation of events in the real world to fit in with a delusory scheme of things often leads to ideas of persecution. Nothing could be truer of the realm of religion and politics; here the faithful flourish on persecuting and being persecuted. Persecution becomes a morbid obsession and every creed revels in its persecuted martyrs. As far as anarchism is taken as a political creed by some, it is no exception to this trend; the memory of figures like Ferrer, Sacco and Vanzetti is cherished because they were pointlessly butchered. A distinction has been made between the paranoia of the person who becomes a psychiatric casualty because of the individuality of his delusions, and the group-paranoia of the true believer of a religious or political creed. The individual paranoid interprets society's uncomprehending treatment of him as persecution, whereas the group-paranoid may incur a very real persecution at the hands of his paranoid opponents. The paranoid group persecutes other groups which it recognizes as being rather similar to itself—that is, it persecutes individuals who are identified with certain stereotypes. Thus Catholic Christians have picked on Protestant Christians, and vice versa, as targets for persecution; but atheists have at all times been fairly successful in evading religious persecution because they have had little meaningful identity in religious paranoia.

In the Christian delusory scheme of things the opposite of Christ is Antichrist, of God—the Devil; the paranoid delusion excludes the plain fact of non-belief in any such nonsense. In Russia the main targets of persecution have been Communists who have deviated from the current Party line. In Nazi Germany the main target of persecution was the Jews, because the Nazis regarded themselves as the Aryan Chosen People set apart by blood and race to inherit the world. The Jews were associated with a similar tradition, even if they had outlived their barbarian past.

Internal Consistency

The internal consistency of paranoid thinking has been mentioned. Although a whole religious or political creed may be based on utter nonsense, nevertheless it tends towards internal consistency; in fact, there is a strong need to preserve internal consistency in proportion to the degree of insanity of the basic premises. It is necessary to argue about how many angels can stand on the head of a pin in order not to discuss the topic of whether angels exist at all.

The great Soviet Encyclopedia is devoted to portraying knowledge through Marxist-Leninist eyes (lately through Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist eyes). Consequently, the task of keeping it internally consistent is a formidable one. Whenever the Party line changes, or the heroes of yesterday become the villains of to-day, large chunks of the Soviet Encyclopedia have to be re-written. Libraries in Britain which possess copies of the Encyclopedia receive addendums which are supposed to be pasted over, and thus obliterate, the passages they replace.

Intelligent paranoids can use all their resources of learning and skilled argument in defence of their paranoid systems; in fact the more intelligent and verbally capable the paranoid is, the more bizarre his beliefs appear to those who do not share his delusions. It is rather horrible to hear an intelligent man defending his belief that all the other patients in the hospital are really plotting against him and destroying his mind by means of an "influencing machine". So also is it pathetic and repugnant to hear an intelligent Roman Catholic reveal the depth of his paranoia when talking about the miracle

Paranoid beliefs are not absolutely inflexible and actual personal experience may cause the paranoid to modify his system a little. There is some evidence to show that such patients can be brought to abandon certain parts of their paranoid system, even if the system may grow in other directions. One might think that the abandonment of absurd and morbid beliefs would afford the patient relief, but the process of giving up delusions is accompanied by an increase in anxiety.

Anxiety and Change

In everyday life it is not considered polite to point out the absurdities of another man's religious beliefs, or his patriotism or devotion to the Queen, for by challenging the basis of paranoid belief one causes anxiety. At the time of Krushchev's denunciation of Stalin, utter misery was caused to Communists in this country. It must be remembered that utter loyalty to the figure of Stalin was one basic tenet of their faith in spite of the monstrous absurdities in which they became involved. That Stalin should be deposed from his pedestal in their minds involved a severe modification within the paranoid system. Following this painful experience, the reality of Russia's imperialistic domination over the people of Hungary became too plainly apparent for the maintenance of consistent delusions in the minds of many Communists here, and major emotional upheavals were caused among the faithful.

To some extent then, the paranoia of the older forms of creeds is more satisfying since the true believer can never be let down by his God. Since God inhabits Heaven and not Earth, and since he is granted unlimited capriciousness and irresponsibility of power the true believer can never question the righteousness and holiness of anything he does; i.e. if God chooses to act precisely like Satan he is merely exercising his prerogative of being omnipotent, omniscient and always right, so no one need be dismayed or surprised. This was thrashed out in the Book of Job. No re-adjustment of the paranoid system of the religious believer need ever occur therefore, and so there is no threat of anxiety. One of the main strengths of religious belief is in its utter absurdity and divorce from reality. Political belief is less divorced from the practical world, and so the true believers are never quite secure. For this reason religious dogmas may offer their followers greater emotional security than political dogmas.

G.

DICTATORSHIP BY THE CALENDAR

Of the aggravating and false claims made by "the democracy" which is believed by the majority of people is that democratic government is the only desirable alternative to the totalitarian threat from the East.

Most people do not examine very closely the views which they support, and it appears as easily persuaded by the 'organs' of influence and the glib tongues of politicians and policies carried out by governments which are far from democratic are nevertheless justified.

It seems to us that people generally are becoming less critical of government behaviour. They grumble over rising cost of living, but do not seem to be affected by collective punishment in Cyprus. Their apparent indifference to the fate of people who suffer daily as a result of their government's policies may be because they simply do not care what happens to 'foreigners', but there are many people who fall under the spell of a lie by deception which reaches them through the mass forms of communication.

Millions of people in this country share the fantastic view incoherently expressed that when 'we' punish and it is for good motives and in a way different from 'the enemy' whose savagery horrifies them. They will justify violence exercised by the government of their own country to force the uncivilised to accept the values of a decent society, and accept what they are told—that right (and God) is on their side.

To us, governments never seem more odious than when they switch their allegiances. That former friend and ally is discovered to be really rather a nasty chap (he probably is, but has been all along). We find it equally repugnant when a monstrous dictator becomes a "rugged old warrior chief" Churchill's epithet to Joe Stalin, after he entered the second World War on the side of the allies. Before the war and after he was described by his ex-pals as the butcher he was, and the docile people forgot they had once believed in the qualities described by their own rugged old warrior chief.

Hitler and Mussolini in turn enjoyed the favourable comments of British political leaders, before Germany and Italy threatened the economic interests of Britain.

More recently we have seen ruthless dictatorships in the Middle East and South America first supported and then discarded by the democracies. The brutality of the Iraq coup was played down both by America and Britain when it became obvious that it was in their interests to recognise the new régime. The leader of the totalitarian group who ousted Peron in Argentina was invested with qualities which were not reflected in his actions after seizing power. But Britain and the United States following their usual practise were relieved to have a strong man in power with whom they could negotiate even if he was indistinguishable from the previous dictator. He was on the side of big business.

Egypt's Colonel Nasser, who acted in a most inconsiderate way when he closed the Suez Canal, was denounced by Britain as the Hitler of the Middle East whose actions, we were told, were supported, if not

UNACKNOWLEDGED LEGISLATORS

LIVING here on Airstrip One, our tight little Atlantic island, where the Gulf Stream makes our climate more temperate than that of the great continental land masses of East and West, has many advantages, but tends to isolate us from the full impact of the literary currents which flow across continents. If you believe that writers really are unacknowledged legislators, you may feel the existence of, but not quite understand the impact and significance of, those works which, even if they are not notable in themselves, become symbols of a change in temperature or of mood for a generation. With the East wind blows *Not By Bread Alone* and Adam Wazyk's *Poem for Adults*, and from the West Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* and Allen Ginsberg's poem *Howl*.

Ginsberg's poem is, says Kenneth Rexroth, "the confession of faith of the generation that is going to be running the world in 1965 and 1975—if it's still there to run." Wazyk's poem has, says the editor of a new collection of verse

instigated, by Moscow. Nowadays the situation appears to be changing. Britain has released £3,300,000 from Egypt's frozen sterling balance which will no doubt be followed sooner or later, by recognition of the United Arab Republic (in the interests of business). The changing policy will coincide with a new portrayal of Nasser—really a friend to Britain but somewhat misguided in the past by genuine patriotism! Nothing to do of course with the fact that the Soviet Union is to help build "five new airfields, several new factories and a thermal power station at Suez"!

Nasser's own "statesmanship" has the nauseating stench of political expediency. On the eve of a visit from the President of the World Bank "to speed up settlement of the financial claims which followed Suez" 200 Communist Party members have been imprisoned. Nasser may have no predilection for Communists but since he is getting aid from a Communist country one might suppose that he would grant the same amount of freedom at least to the supporters of that country allowed every other citizen. One might also suppose that Moscow would have protested, but not yet, and she may never do so. It is not the first time in the history of Soviet Communism that party members have been thrown to the wolves.

British Bombers to Cuba

The latest dictator to fall from grace after being supported for years is General Batista, late of Cuba. This time America was ahead of Britain (for economic and political reasons of course) in recognising the dangers of continuing to support Batista. Months ago after a rather unpopular reception had been given to Vice President Nixon in Cuba the U.S. government stopped sending arms to Batista. At the time when Nixon was having bricks thrown at him, Cuban Communists were blamed for the 'disturbances'. But the Americans obviously did not believe their own propaganda since presumably the arms which they would have sent to Cuba would be used against the Communists. They seem in fact to have been well informed of the support that the rebel leader Fidel Castro (a Catholic, not a Communist) had from the people. Worried about their investments, the Americans cannot have been very pleased with their British allies who in their usual way in such circumstances, sent tanks and airplanes to help boost the tumbling Batista—airplanes which no doubt helped to carry out the "almost non-stop" bombing of rebel strongholds on December 31st. Undaunted by their 'indiscretion' the British have now discovered that Batista was a dictator after all. The BBC in its latest bulletins loyally follows the line and now give us news of *Dictator Batista and Senator Castro*. What chaos if the well trained robots read yesterday's announcements by mistake.

from behind the iron curtain* "had an enormous effect, and not only on literature". It has been circulating like a clandestine manifesto around Eastern Europe. The group responsible for sorting out and publishing the papers left by Bertolt Brecht, found, to their embarrassment, his translation from a French text, of the *Poem for Adults*. In Warsaw, Wazyk was summoned before the Politburo police member Berman. "Je me suis aperçu", he told a Western journalist, "que nous étions gouvernés par des imbéciles".

Anarchists may perhaps draw comfort from the fact that in both East and West these writers are described as—anarchists. The Moscow *Voprosy Filosofii* (Sept. 1957) refers to "a certain section of our literary and artistic intelligentsia, among whom there has spread a bourgeois-anarchist, individualistic conception of the creative liberty of the artist", while the *New York Times Book Review* (1/6/58) sees the writers of the 'beat generation' in America as

"groping, rapt and delinquent, towards the fulfilment of the famous nineteenth-century prophecy that the State would or ought to 'wither away'; that in the disengaged we see a movement towards the ideal of the anarchists' earthly paradise."

The secretary of the Kazakhstan Central Committee condemned on October 7th, 1957, the 'nihilistic' demands of the Writers' Union of Kazakhstan. Mr. Clancy Sigal reviews Kerouac's *On the Road* under the title 'Nihilism's Organization Man'. The First Secretary of the Azerbaijan Republic (14/12/57) criticised the republic's poets for "expressing superficial feelings and thoughts, purely subjective experiences, devoid of social significance", and the organ of the Rumanian Communist Party (7/6/58) condemned the poets as "completely cut off from the strivings of the workers of our country". Mr. Alan Pryce-Jones, editor of the *Times Literary Supplement* declared on the radio last summer that

"The young people in the American books I have been describing run about like hares on an aerodrome. The great machines of everyday life take off and land without paying any attention to them, and they in their turn, blinded by noise and light, are more concerned with running than with getting anywhere".

More sympathetic to the 'beat' writers, Mr. V. S. Pritchett, reaches a similar conclusion: "One thing a very standardised society always produces sooner or later, is a strong pocket of anarchism. Here the State is withering away in a puff of marijuana. You wake up; the State is still there." Not that it needs to be marijuana. The Polish poet Mieczyslaw Jastrun writes, "I saw in dream the country/of which I prefer to be silent". Nor are the real dreamers only among the hipster-anarchists of the beat generation who are simply contracting out of the American Dream, nor only among the bourgeois-anarchists of the Communist world. Adam Wazyk writes:

*"The dreamer Fourier beautifully prophesied
that the sea would flow with lemonade.
And does it not flow?"*

*They drink sea-water,
and cry—
Lemonade!
They return quietly home
to vomit."*

★

THE new American rebels are in a very old American tradition. They consider themselves at war with conventional society. Did not Melville, Poe, Thoreau, Whitman, all the significant writers of nineteenth-century America? There being no longer an open frontier, a way of escaping into the innocence of new territories like the heroes of Mark Twain's or Fenimore Cooper's novels, they find their territory in the world of the delinquent, the vagrant, the underprivileged, the Negro (as seen through a romantic White vision) and the Mexican. A world of jazz, narcotics, and frantic fornication, very like the Warsaw of Marek Hlasko's stories which appeared after the Polish thaw, and have been violently attacked

*BACK TO LIFE: Poems from behind the Iron Curtain, ed. by Robert Conquest. (Hutchinson, 15s.)

HELP us to
FIND MORE
NEW READERS
for 'FREEDOM'

in the official Polish and Russian press for their 'pessimism' and 'indecenty'. Hlasko, named as the favourite writer of Polish youth and described by Leopold Labedz as "a peculiarly Polish mixture of Hemingway, Françoise Sagan and James Dean" applied for political asylum in West Berlin two months ago. The party critics accused him of being under the influence of George Orwell and he replied that Orwell had created a vision of a world "against which I desire to defend myself". They declared that his style of unqualified realism conflicted with 'Socialist realism'. He replied that "It's quite obvious that Socialist realism is utter nonsense". In a letter which *Trybuna Ludu*, organ of the Polish Communist Party (which had presented him as a traitor for publishing his 'pessimistic' stories abroad) he declared "It was not I who made up Warsaw . . . It was Warsaw which made me". And the newest generation of rebellious American writers might, and probably do, say, America made us. *On the Road* and *Howl* remind the reader of Whitman's endless evocation of the vastness of American geography. Kerouac's heroes are always on the move across the continent. "We were on the roof of America and all we could do was to yell, I guess—across the night, eastward over the Plains . . ." It makes you think of Whitman's great affirmations: "I sound my barbaric yawp" etc. but there was nothing to affirm except Subtopia:

"We arrived at Council Bluffs at dawn; I looked out. All winter I'd been reading of the great wagon parties that held council there before hitting the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails; and of course now it was only cute suburban cottages of one damn kind and another . . ."

The same urge to be on the move affects the Russian poet Evgeni Evtushenko who writes:

*"The frontiers oppress me
I feel it awkward
Not to know Buenos Aires,
New York.
I want to wander
As much as I like
In London,
To talk, however brokenly
With everybody.
Like a boy
I want to ride
On the bus
Through morning Paris.
I want an art
—As varied as myself."*

On which the reviewer in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (8/4/58) commented, "It would not be so bad if Evtushenko wanted only to wander through London and Paris, the

trouble is that he resents living inside Soviet frontiers."

THE poems in Mr. Conquest's anthology are the result of what he calls "an extraordinary movement which has swept the minds of the creative writers of the countries of Russia and Eastern Europe over the last few years". They have all been printed and published in the countries concerned. In the days of Stalin and Zhdanov the poets had either to write odes to Stalin or to exhibit what Isaak Babel, before he disappeared in one of the purges, called the heroism of silence. By the end of 1955 the régimes had relaxed the intellectual climate not in order to free literature, but, as they indicated at the time, in the hope that a literature less obviously contemptible than that of the Stalin epoch, would appear in support of the official viewpoint.

But both writers and editors have continually pushed to open the door wider, experimenting on the very fringes of what is permissible. In Moscow, the two most frequently denounced periodicals have been *Literaturnaya Moskva* and *Novy Mir*, and in Warsaw *Po Prostu*. There were street riots when on October 2nd, 1957 *Po Prostu* was suppressed. This collection is of poems from Russia, East Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, and it is the Soviet poets Margarita Aliger, Olga Berggolts and Harijs Heislars whose reproachful threnodies on the theme of unjust imprisonment are immensely impressive. The last poet's *Unfinished Song* concludes

*Is it not peculiar to our times—
Some are guilty, others have to suffer?
Semyon Kirsanov's satire Seven Days
of the Week brought down the wrath of
the authorities, as did the Armenian
Gevork Emin's Conversation with a
Pharisee which begins*

*"Halt, what are you doing?
In whose face are you bolting the
door? . . .
Shut up, you frighten me. For God's
sake leave off with your slogans
And your lying sermons all in the name
of our age.
Stop! I have been awaiting this
moment
For a very long time."*

and he ends
*"We own no share of the capital
Invested in your shop, trading in
refuse,
And we want no share in your bank-
ruptcy."*

Continued on p. 4

The Economy of Waste

AS a footnote to the article on *The Affluent Society* by C.W. and the maxim: 'Borrow, Spend, Buy, Waste, Want', we reproduce below a recent editorial comment from *Refrigerated Engineering*, organ of the American Society of Refrigeration Engineers (or ASRE—but make sure you get those initials in the right order):

EMBROIDERED MOUSE TRAPS

IN spite of all the sometimes ill-considered criticism levelled at the makers and builders of appliances, automobiles, equipment and homes in this time of euphemistically identified recession, the fact remains that the level of performance of many products gives serious evidence of having fallen off appreciably.

"Within a few years", Robert S. Geran of Kelvinator told the Domestic Refrigerator Engineering Conference at the 54th Annual meeting of ASRE, "the average American family will have to budget \$500 a year for servicing operations upon the various appliances and devices used in its home".

A sobering thought. Mr. Geran was addressing a technical audience with known problems related to design and servicing operations. His comments were echoed, in substance, by the other four speakers whose remarks reached the same audience. But, and we think that should be BUT, not one of the speakers left the impression that much would or could be done about it. True there was a high-minded inclination to anticipate improvement in their own (refrigerator) practices but for "the other fellow" the case seems to be virtually hopeless.

Perhaps the pertinent question becomes most importantly "How does it happen?" Assuredly, there can be no single cause but just as certainly there are

several which may be identified as common to the whole field of difficulty. We think of: Over-complexity of design and assembly, resulting in the need for unusually close procedures in manufacture and unusual training in servicing; over-emphasis on styling and eye-stimulation to the detriment of such basic engineering values as ease of assembly, dimensional compatibility and adequate performance-safety margins; failure to enforce shop discipline; and inadequate inspection and test operations.

Now, those are fundamental things—but behind them are even broader generalizations, such as: How long should a product or equipment last? What is the desirable economic relationship between materials used, manhours required for production, capital invested and the duration of to-be-looked-for service?

Ours has been called an economy of waste. It is all of that.

It is wasteful of materials and labor when products are so style-designed as to achieve customer disinclination to retain when far from worn out.

It is wasteful of consumer dollar resources when products must be distributed on a yearly model basis instead of on a duration of satisfactory performance.

It is wasteful of engineering talents when improvements fall in the gadgetry class instead of into that of basic betterment.

It is wasteful of industry capital when a wholly new tooling setup has to be made prematurely.

It is wasteful when the dealer makes more out of selling the product than the manufacturer does by producing it.

There are those who would rather see fewer things better done than more things done poorly—and who is to quarrel with them? Not we.

