

## The Night the Soldiers Went Mad

# BRITISH BRUTALITY IN CYPRUS

An inquest is being held this week into the deaths of two Cypriots killed during an Army round-up in Famagusta following the murder of Mrs. Cutcliffe—presumably by KA terrorists—on October 3rd. (FREEDOM 11/10/58).

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

The effectiveness of such methods of unearthing terrorists may be judged from the fact that to date no body has been charged with the murder of Mrs. Cutcliffe.

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

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

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

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

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

credit, is publishing extensive reports of the inquest proceedings.

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

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

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

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

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

Dr. Sanerkin went on:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## "The Battle of Ideas is on"—Mr. MacMillan

# Prerequisites of 'The Battle of Ideas'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## Ghana - Progress of a Dictator

RECENT events in Ghana culminating (for the moment) in the demotion of Krobo Edusei from Minister of the Interior to Minister of Communications have an only too familiar ring about them. Edusei had become known as the strong man of Ghana, renowned for repressive measures in general and his latest threat in particular, that he would seize the passports of all the Opposition leaders.

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

His present gambit in Parliament is an equally logical step towards it; he is pushing through a bill

to amend the constitution so that a two-thirds majority in both Parliament and the regional assemblies will no longer be necessary for legislation, but a simple majority in Parliament will be sufficient. The C.C.P. majority being 80 to 24 at the moment.

What then of Krobo Edusei's demise? Plainly he had been carrying out Nkrumah's wishes, so why should he have been stopped? It is not unreasonable to assume that his disadvantages were beginning to outweigh his advantages. The publicity he has been accorded in the world press has had a twofold effect not at all to Nkrumah's liking; it has caused raised eyebrows from the more respectable nations who dislike un-democratic behaviour by other nations, and this could have unfavourable effects upon Nkrumah's more long-term, messianic ambitions, and also it has placed Edusei too much in the limelight which Nkrumah prefers to keep as his own particular preserve.

Edusei has gone too far and has outlived his usefulness as front man. In Communist countries in the Stalin era he would have been liquidated, and currently he would simply have been reduced very nearly to the ranks. Ghana is young and not powerful, and Nkrumah does not want bad publicity, so Edusei is only demoted not reduced. But there are other symptoms which bear a

strong resemblance to Communist techniques. The allegations which led to the arrest of the 43 people amount to an attempt to involve practically the entire executive of the United Party branch in Accra in a probably non-existent plot in order to facilitate their eventual imprisonment or liquidation.

On another level, the statement by Edusei after his demotion: "I am a loyal C.P.P. man. I will serve Premier Nkrumah in any capacity. I'll even be his shoeshine boy if he wants." Shades of Krushchev dancing the *gopak* for Stalin!

And another—the cult of the individual process—the Accra *Evening News*: "Our Indomitable Prime Minister and the founder of the new nation of Ghana, Defender, Does All Well, Never Failing, Ever-Giving Leader, Brave, Kwame Nkrumah."

Not that we would suggest that Nkrumah is a communist, or even a fellow-traveller, simply that he has learned a thing or two from their highly successful methods of achieving personal, absolute power and intends to do the same. We would suggest that Nkrumah sees himself as the African Nasser, and like him intends to attain an all-powerful position in his own country first before proclaiming a United African Republic. But he cannot afford a bad press yet, and will not allow competition. Edusei had to go.

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# The Story of Otto John

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No man has the right to complain if, after working for rulers, or would-be

rulers, he is sacrificed. Otto John was prepared to sacrifice the lives of his fellow-countrymen, by implication, by working for the British. Of course, the answer comes pat, "What should he then have done? To refuse to support the Allied cause would be an abdication of responsibility. You cannot simply walk out of the problems of life." It seems to me however that to support war, particularly wholesale modern war, is to support a permanent massacre. Whether you are roasted alive in your cellar by incendiaries, or in a crematorium oven, seems to matter little. It is equally painful.

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

## The Trends of Soviet Marxism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Visit to Cyprus

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

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

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

certain Makarios could not be more and was therefore deliberately lying. Following the first flare-up in Lebanon, Cyprus Radio became a phony in English, Greek and Turkish. Relentless preparation for every eventuality went on daily under our eyes while a variety of official commentaries were issued with its ineptitude, or, deliberate deception.

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

It is necessary to break things up to see them whole. Then one is tempted into discussing Cyprus instead of Cypriots and it will be seen clearly what has followed—the standstill of an occupying authority at its wit's end—strikes which parallel the imposed few—the fratricidal killings—have their origin in no spontaneous hate. An organised and imposed by one authority or another on a simple people in church-going, with their young men betrayed by an education in idealism that looks as surely to Ankara as the predominant authority in Cyprus looks to London.

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

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## Anarchist Commentary

MESSRS. Tate & Lyle are planning a scheme which will enable their workers to purchase bearer shares up to any price. According to a Tate & Lyle spokesman it is hoped that other large industries will follow their example and discussions have already taken place between representatives of various industries.

In a B.B.C. interview last Friday conducted by Paul Bureau, a certain Mr. Booth from Tate & Lyle said that they hoped for a "closer identity" between workers and the industry. Is this large capitalist concern feeling the prick of conscience, thus producing a scheme which will give the worker a tiny share of the wealth he produces (and tiny it must be because how many workers can afford to purchase large shares)? We think not, and suggest that part of the reason is based on the old maxim that "contented cows give more milk", a method used by 'new syle' capitalism. There is another important reason as we might expect.

In the course of this interview Mr. Booth said that workers should not be underestimated. This was no mere sop to any worker who might be listening. And to prove it Tate & Lyle have taken the precaution of ensuring that these worker shareholders will have no decisive say in policy and are not entitled to attend shareholders' meetings! Nevertheless it could be argued that Tate & Lyle are taking a relatively enlightened attitude to their workers.

But experience has taught us to look for the underlying motives when capitalism puts on a benevolent front. We were not surprised therefore, when Mr. Booth, forced to reply to a very direct question put to him by Mr. Bureau, admitted that it was hoped that workers would be less attracted to the concepts of nationalisation if 'closer identified' with capitalism.

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

BLACK South African women are showing the kind of militancy in defence of fundamental principles rarely shown by women anywhere. For weeks they have been harassing the authorities, who, not content with forcing African males to

carry passes (which must be signed by some white authority every time an African changes jobs or stays in another town for more than 72 hours) have legalised the pass system to cover all African women over the age of sixteen.

It is in Johannesburg that the real opposition to government policy has taken place. Photographs from Johannesburg's own newspapers show black women, many with children on their backs, in retreat under the lashing sticks of white policemen but it appears that these are only strategic retreats in a campaign which one newspaper says is only beginning.

The strategy adopted is not to avoid arrest when demonstrating outside the 'pass office' but to attempt to overcrowd the jails. This should not be difficult since for example, when one day 128 women were arrested and put on trial they were each fined about £3 each (which amounts to two weeks' wages) or a month in jail. Even if they wanted to pay these relatively exorbitant fines it is impossible for these underpaid women to meet them.

No doubt the South African government will think up new repressive measures to deal with these spirited women, but at the same time it will have to give a lot of consideration to another factor—how to avoid depriving the white South African ladies of their cheap servants.

We express our solidarity with the black women of Johannesburg and hope they find it possible to continue their fight and to chant their slogan "Sera sa motho ke pasa" which we understand means: "The pass is the enemy of man."

AT the time of the "Notting Hill race riots" which provided the press with saleable material and the anti-black with ammunition, the Labour M.P. for that area, mindful of his white voters, had no better solution to offer than that there should be a control on immigration of coloured people into Britain.

We had another instance last week of Labour members playing safe politically regardless of ethics if accounts from Battersea (a Labour controlled council) are authentic. Estate Agents claim

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

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

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

PORTUGAL was described at the time of the recent state visit to this country of its President as "the oldest ally of Britain", and still another representative of a totalitarian country dined at Buckingham Palace. In view of these close ties between our nations we hope that "Her Majesty's advisers" will see to it that an official protest to Portugal is made against the insult to one of her future ministers on its refusal to allow him to visit that country.

Mr. Aneurin Bevan, invited by the leaders of the Portuguese Opposition on a lecture tour, has been refused admission by the Portuguese Government on the grounds that the invitation was "designed to foment unrest".

We send an anarchist assurance to the Portuguese Government that Mr. Bevan is as likely to foment unrest as Mr. Macmillan.

R. M.

# Prerequisites of the Battle of Ideas \*

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ommunism—or rather Russian communism—will spread in Asia not ideological reasons (what is left, that, of the *ideals* of the Russian nation?) but because the Russian government will offer the political leaders of the Asian countries living or credit facilities more favorable to their immediate political interests than are offered by the other countries. The "masses" of under-developed countries are more interested in the struggle for power between East and West than they are in the theoretical differences between the Russian and the United States. Capitalism is *laissez-faire* capitalism. They are hungry, sick, dirty and ignorant. They have no positive meaning for their thoughts are centered on solving these immediate problems. It is not surprising that they are drawn to their own political parties or that they will "welcome" *imperialism* relieves their "immediate poverty".

Neither Russia nor the nations of the Western bloc have expected the apparent "collapse" of the East. It is offered in the spirit of the fact that Khrushchev thought of Mr. Lippmann as the people of the West and their stomachs. One can conclude that something more than gratitude is expected in return and machines by both East and West and that the nations of under-developed nations are more ambitious and more cunning than the seasoned politicians of Russia. The West has the advantage to be. The politician who sells his personal power to another nation in return for an extra bowl of rice is the person who deserves to be rebuffed by his rivals or caught in the web of his "benefactor".

International politics is a combination of traffic and blackmail. Governments never represent the people. At most they serve the interests of that section of the community which politically and socially they are connected to. Often they are dominated by power maniacs or sheikhs. But never are the spiritual and physical needs of the people adequately represented. They are the ends of government or power structures. Thus, the American government is prepared to offer the support of food surplus to India. Thus Britain and America can find more than \$5,000 million a year for the cold war but have successfully boycotted S.U.N.F.E.D. the special United Nations fund for economic development. It has been estimated that to raise the national incomes of the under-developed nations to keep the balance of trade at \$10,000 millions a year of imported capital would be required, that is less than only these two Powers spend to keep the balance of trade.

Add to this Russia's expenditure, not to mention the "defence" budgets of every aspiring Tom, Dick and Harry of the power and cold-war conscious "Community of Nations", and it is simple to see that in a few years the standard of living in the under-developed nations in which more than half the world's people are struggling to keep alive—could be raised beyond Messrs. Macmillan, Khrushchev, Lyndon B. Johnson and Eisenhower's wildest dreams. But it will not happen. Firstly because, as we have been pointing out, governments don't think in these *human terms* (Mr.

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

COMMENTS in the press on the recently published biography of King George VI have treated as a matter of course the picture that emerges of the character of the late monarch. King George V. They have described him as a martinet, a domestic tyrant, and as the cause of his son's deficiencies, chronic anxieties and digestive troubles. But this is not how he was described a few years ago when his own official biography was published. George VI was stated by Sir William Reid Dick as having stood on a grateful nation. Only the Duke of Windsor's autobiography, regarded in official circles as regrettable, broke through the barrage of adulation. George V died in 1936, and his character to become respectable. We shall certainly all be dead before existing Charles III tells our grandchildren all about Mum. But there are signs that the time-lag is growing shorter—already late Holiness is being treated as some pretty sharp posthumous criticism which will certainly weaken his chances in the canonization stakes, and Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery's colleagues are all too obviously waiting for the pleasure of publishing his obituary. At present, however, the only source of information is some pretty sharp posthumous criticism which will certainly weaken his chances in the canonization stakes, and Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery's colleagues are all too obviously waiting for the pleasure of publishing his obituary. At present, however, the only source of information is some pretty sharp posthumous criticism which will certainly weaken his chances in the canonization stakes, and Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery's colleagues are all too obviously waiting for the pleasure of publishing his obituary.

Thirteen years after the death of Lloyd George, the present Earl Lloyd George is writing in the *Sunday Dispatch* that "not one of the two or three hundred letters I have written my father's life story has told the full truth", and with the title "The truth and the lie" he tells about "my father", (he in the words of his publishers begins by exploding a legend of our time. "A similar phrase," is used about "corrective to popular mythology," is used about the new biography of Lord Kitchener, appearing 42 years after his death. Kitchener, who was in the front line of this century "Britain's greatest soldier, his builder and popular idol" turns out to have been "the last of the great British leaders", a brutal, blistering, arrogant incompetent, who set about his schemes of empire with "all the official residences while "in other respects, especially the comfort and welfare of his soldiers, he was a first-class officer, a figurehead whose death when the cruiser *Hampshire* went down, was a national calamity," which caused immense relief in Whitehall.

The idols go down one by one, after they are dead and after a decent interval in deference to the principle of *invidiosus nil nisi bonum*, and then they fall to the ground with malicious pleasure in learning that they were not what they were made out to be. The fashion for debunking biographies began in the thirties with Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*.

Lippmann for instance wants India to be a show-piece of the West but at the same time wants to "make available" to the Indians "the right to lose the race of armaments!" Secondly because of the resistance that can be expected from the "native" politicians, who are interested in the outside. Thirdly because of the internal upheaval that is implicit in such a programme. The problem in India for instance is that you get one grade of a lack of capital. The country is hamstrung by religious and language problems, by political rivalries and political barriers. To overcome these problems, which cost more than dollars and Gandhi's ghost.

"THE battle of ideas is on"—declared Mr. Macmillan and I believe that our ideals will triumph. But the battle of ideas has not yet started and the power struggle may be an even more bitter one. The tragedy for the world's remaining 2,000 million inhabitants! The battle will never start and will therefore never be won until we have the integrity to question, and, as we anarchists see it, to reject, the values on which the existing social and economic system is based. It is quite simple. One need only

ians, and though Lytton Strachey himself is now thoroughly debunked (since some of the small details of his life are like a moving-machine, giving clever-clever-leave all over the lawn) the iconoclastic attitude which he epitomised is needed more than it is needed.

ONE of our contemporary iconoclasts, Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge, writing recently in the *Observer* on "Lytton Strachey in Authority Over Us" reaches the conclusion about the Establishment that "What is surprising, and certainly interesting, in the particular set-up is that it has grown decidedly stronger and more influential instead of being supposed weaker. The forces of conservatism have regrouped, and now are waxing, not waning, a sort of stealthy counter-revolution has, all unnoticed, taken place, and is steadily gaining strength. I should say myself that the penalties for speaking out of turn are

mediately the news of this tragedy was known, soldiers who had killed their own men and abandoning the boats without paying any attention to the most understandable retaliation on the innocent.

The true contrast and comparison of Cyprus and the unforgotten British in Cyprus is that the latter are not at home in their own island. The Royal Air Force took over their presence in Cyprus as a job of work—a tour of duty which they were not to perform in a tour of duty elsewhere, preferably Britain. Although their views are in fact shared by a few of them, their illusions as to the value of Cyprus as a military base since the abortive Suez adventure, which have none of the career-building sycophancies of the commissioned ranks, whose principal anxiety will be how to keep their wives and young in a year in civvy street.

In general among these regular servicemen there appears to be a widespread feeling that what "England" and their superiors expect of them is a job of duty. Their sense of outrage when one of their own is killed by a terrorist is one of unthinking cleanliness enhanced by the distinction drawn by the fact that the rebel against Britain is a stab-in-the-back murderer, whereas any unforgotten member of "properly constituted" forces may be a traitor as deserving of one's respect as he is of one's country's shot and shell.

From somegrants to petrol this preposterous rebuke was manifest everywhere.

When an equally abashed Englishwoman protested to one trader that if he persisted in this attitude she would be seated comfortably in a map room at headquarters.

In these circumstances and under these conditions, it is not surprising that in dreams of placing the blame for disablement or death upon the employing authority, the British soldier's sense of tragedy is enhanced with a similarly wounded Cypriot seduced from his natural humanity by unscrupulous religious and political leaders into an armed and violent reaction against the armed servants of a foreign powerful authority.

Of the anxiety police, Turkish or Greek, all that can be said is that they are determined to do nothing that provokes trouble rather than prevents it. They are employed in pursuance of the

# PEOPLE AND IDEAS: THE REAPER AND THE FLOWERS

to-day more severe than they have been for at least half a century, and that the two words of observance are comparatively greater. "Out of the debris of the world's past, the social upheavals which accompanied and followed them, the position of those put in authority is not so different as it happens to be."

Those put in authority, he believes, have every reason to expect to stay put, public criticism about what they were apprehensive, has proved a tranquilliser rather than a stimulant. The world's present contains some sacrificial elements, certainly, but has, to their relief, no more of the kind of things which Miss Hirsch, Miss Bartok, Prince Shiro, William Hickey, and all other "big names" are meditating on in connection with more serious matters, they conclude their players; and, with a final flourish of the Queen's Grace, the Queen's Grace to solemnly to bed."

The Top People stay on top, and Mr. Muggeridge's journalist friend of the thirties who said summarily "I sometimes wonder if I'm kicking the right

boots", would, he thinks, have less cause to wonder nowadays. He has a kind of compassion for those poor, aimless, Supermen. Think of this country's great men of twenty or thirty years ago. Who came to be, and what they did, but seek utterances and their destiny-shaking activities? Who even bothers much about debunking them? We feel, if anything, a kind of compassion for those poor, aimless, pompous creatures, floating in inflated bewilderment on the surface of events, who are being carried along by the dominant. Or we would feel this, were it not for the fact that power is in their hands.

Look at the world's present crop of selfish and heroic leaders: Macmillan, Khrushchev, Eisenhower, de Gaulle, Lytton Strachey, the land that has no heroes' explains a character in Brecht's play about Galileo.

No, epicure Galileo, "Unhappy the land that has no heroes" explains a character in Brecht's play about Galileo. "Unhappy the land that lacks a need for heroes." C.W.

# WHY VISIT TO CYPRUS 4

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

Clearly the Cyprus Government regular police have been recruited from those members of Britain's police forces who were recruited in Cyprus, and by the certainty of rapid promotion and big pay and the greatest opportunities of advancement, they are irresistible power without fear of official reprimand.

All that we saw of the prisons in Cyprus were the outside of Nicosa Central Prison (from which escaped prisoners regularly) and of the famous K (Kokkinotrimithia) Camp some miles from Nicosa. Their draft walls are guarded by elevated seventy-foot platforms, machine-gun manned, like war prisoner compounds, which is exactly what they are.

There is, however, another interesting relic of Britain's historic rôle in the Middle East in the shape of a network of concrete between Famagusta and Larnaca. These were dug in 1947 to enable Jews to escape the internment camps of Cyprus, but when the British and Nazi persecution belated admission to the island, they were never used.

With the flaring into delicate blue flower of the high-branched Jacaranda tree in Nicosa, and the shade temperature of the rising of the sea breeze, violence swept the Lebanon in unlovely predilection. Cyprus restless took the form of its trademark suddenly deciding "simply" to withdraw all their markings in English and instead substituting Greek. From somegrants to petrol this preposterous rebuke was manifest everywhere.

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## PROFESSIONAL JEALOUSY

The age of the New Pope—he is nearly 77—and the manner of his election are considered to-day by the *Church of England* as a case of professional jealousy.

After all the playing-act, a New Pope has been chosen, Cardinal Roncalli, an old man, a good, reasonable age of retirement, the paper says.

"If the choice of a man on the verge of decrepitude was predilected it is clear and thoroughly understandable."

## PROFESSIONAL DISEASE

SAN FRANCISCO, OCTOBER 27. Tension is the main factor in heart disease, according to Dr. Mexico, a man and Dr. Ray Rosenman, of Mount Zion Hospital, and newspaper editors who are the most prone to heart trouble.

The doctors told the American Heart Association that the 83 Mexican television officials, advertising firms, and senior officers of business corporations. This group showed six times as many clinical heart disease as a relatively "easy-going" group including city employees, embalmers, bookkeepers, and clerks, and mostly in routine jobs. Twenty-three in the "tension" group had heart disease during the last year of the 83 in the "non-tension" group.

They studied that consumption of alcohol, cigarette smoking, exercise, and diet had little to do with cardiac disease.—*Reuter*.

Continued on p. 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

P.H.

## FREEDOM needs many more New Readers

## It Happened in a Gramdan Village

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

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

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

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

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

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

## British Brutality in Cyprus

Continued from p. 1

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

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

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

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

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

## MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

### LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

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

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

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

Dec. 7.—Donald Room on THE BOMB-TROWER MYTH

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

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

### EAST LONDON DEBATING COMPETITION

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

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