

Brave New Left - p. 2
 No Thank You! - p. 2
 The Paperback Boom - p. 3

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"All that is founded on force is fragile and denotes poverty of genius."
 —CHARLES FOURIER

Vol. 21, No. 23

June 4th, 1960

Threepence

Generous People, Mean Government

VOLUNTARY contributions donated by people of this country to various refugee relief organisations during the past year have amounted to the considerable sum of £7,736,723. This is the official figure, and probably in diverse ways and through uncharted channels the actual sum donated amounts to much more.

The idea of World Refugee Year was first mooted in this country—initially in an article in *Crossbow*, the organ of the Bow Group of Conservatives, and it was taken up and developed in 76 other countries. The target aimed at for Britain was £2 million, already a figure thought by the organisers to be an optimistic one. But it has in fact been over-subscribed to the tune of nearly four times as much.

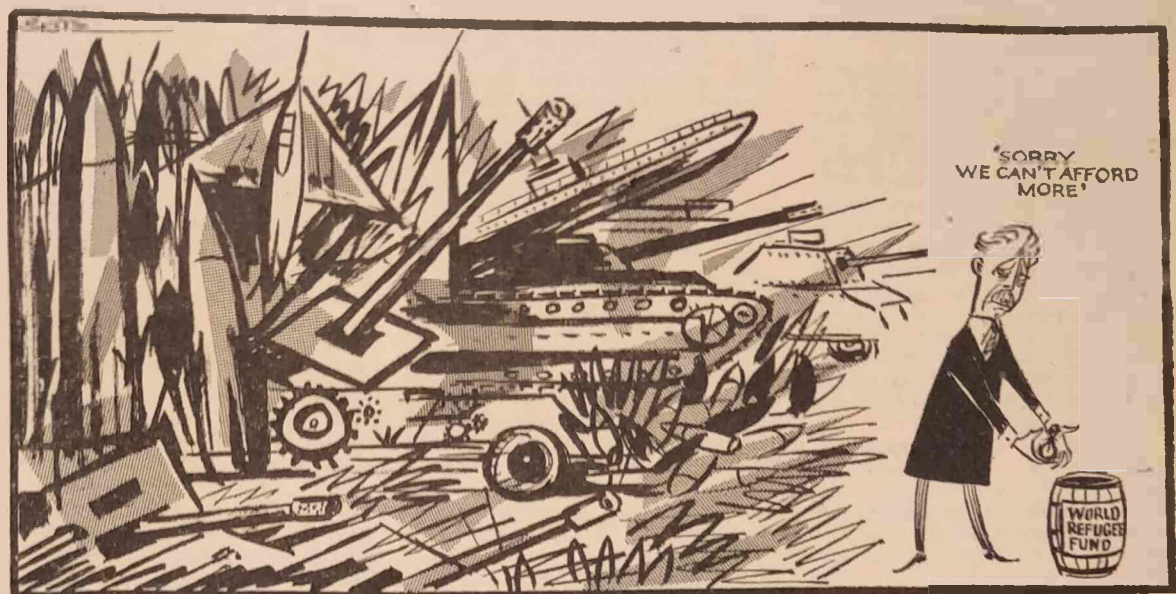
This is a triumph of voluntary organisation and gives some little idea of the tremendous wealth of goodwill that exists among people who can be uncovered when the attempt is made. Even though the total is not really a lot in terms of the wealth and population of this country, everyone who has ever had anything to do with raising money will know what a triumph this is.

But we cannot help contrasting this generosity of the people with the niggardly attitude of officialdom. We have already drawn attention to the City of London's Appeal and its target of £100,000—a piddling amount for the centre of the British Commonwealth's financial power.

Even more paltry, however, is the Government's contribution. Originally offering the tremendous sum of £200,000—about one penny per head of the population—Mr. Macmillan has now been shamed by the public response into doubling that sum! This great country of ours, proud of the fact that World Refugee Year was first thought of here,

has supported it on the official level to the tune of £400,000—less than one-seventieth part of what was thrown away on the Blue Streak missile. The defence of British interests has been a primary cause for two world wars, internal upheaval and frontier-fiddling, but our Government, whose extravagance knows no bounds where the means of destruction are concerned, kicks back tuppence per head to salve its conscience for the misery this has caused.

The people are more generous. Isn't it time we gave our better impulses more opportunity, removing mean and destructive government from the path of our humanity?



'Elder Brother Cemal' - or Big Brother? - Takes Over TURKISH GOVERNMENT'S FEET OF CLAY

WHETHER General Cemal Gursel, who led the successful *coup d'etat* in Ankara last week meant what he said—when he declared that the army acted to "put an end to tyranny and an illegal administration", and that the purpose of his government was to bring the country to "a fair, clean and solid democracy"—remains to be seen. And in the very near future, for the General has assured the country that "he would transfer power, probably within a month or six weeks, to a Government elected by the free choice of the people".

So let us give the General the benefit of the doubt and echo the description of him by those members of the Army who familiarly call him "elder brother Cemal" and not jump to hasty conclusions by labelling him "Big Brother" instead! Our generous feelings towards the General have surely been deserved. Whatever may be his intentions (and there is no doubt that most generals in similar circumstances have second thoughts after a week or two in their new role of politicians, and decide that they like the job and see no reason why they should give it up and return to the position where they take orders) we must be grateful to him for presenting us with the spectacle of how easy it really is to round-up, and bloodlessly remove, a government from office.

In a matter of hours a bunch of politicians who had been strutting on the political stage like turkey cocks, giving orders, threatening demonstrators with armed force, suppressing all Press criticism of the Prime Minister and his acolytes, closing the universities and seeking to use the Army to interfere with the liberties of his political opponents—in a matter of hours their feathers had been plucked, neatly, swiftly and completely, and the naked individuals left after this operation were then safely housed in the very jails they had reserved for those who dared resist their "authority".

We are obviously not alone in seeing the funny side of the ups and downs of government. The General himself also showed a sense of humour when, after liberating journalists imprisoned by the Menderes

régime, and restoring freedom of the Press, he issued a "request" to the newspapers asking that their cartoonists should not make fun of the fallen Ministers!

A few words must also be said of the efficiency with which the *coup* was executed. Operation Round-up took place at 3 a.m. Not only the leaders of the Menderes government, about 70 in all, but the 150 parliamentary deputies of his so-called "Democratic" party were caught in the net, and the only violence reported were minor clashes between army units and members of the police force. The *Guardian's* correspondent in Ankara reports:

As for the revolution itself, this, one feels, is the way they should be—and seldom are. Although it is less than three days since an Army *coup d'etat* overthrew the Government of President Bayar and Mr. Menderes, Ankara wears

a cheerful and welcoming air, like the living-room of a conscientious housewife who has just finished her spring cleaning. The military are in charge and there are certain inconsiderable restrictions on movement, but there is more freedom in Turkey than there was three days ago and the Turks are holding their heads high in the knowledge that what has been done in their name needed to be done and has been done well, with little bitterness and even less bloodshed.

As far as bloodshed goes, only two people—one Army cadet and one civilian—are known to have been killed when the Army moved swiftly and competently in taking over the reins of Government on Friday morning. For the rest, the President and his Ministers and some hundreds of their more extreme supporters in the country have been rounded up and placed in custody—but many people whom they had imprisoned have been released from detention, including nine army officers, about fifty students, and seven journalists sentenced under

the severe press law by which the defunct régime tried to stifle criticism of its policy.

Of course what has happened in Turkey is not a revolution. As the reader will notice in the report, for the *Guardian's* correspondent, "revolution" and "*coup d'etat*" are synonymous. Revolution implies a turning upside down, fundamental changes in the structure of a society. At best all that "elder brother" Gursel intends by his *coup d'etat* is to restore the *status quo*, the machinery of parliamentary "democracy" through which the opposition party of Menderes was elected to power in May 1950 at the expense of the government of Mr. (formerly General!) İnönü, who, according to the *Observer* "to everyone's surprise gracefully retired in favour of Mr. Menderes". In the course of 10

Continued on p. 3

THANK YOU? But We Need More, Please

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!
 WEEK 22

Deficit on Freedom	£440
Contributions received	£351
DEFICIT	£89

May 20 to May 26

- Surrey: F.B. 6/-; Farnham: D.M.B. 6/6r
- Manchester: M.G. 6/-; Manchester: Ann.
- Stoke Poges: K.S. 6/-; Glasgow: J.M.
- Pittston: P.D.L. 17/0/0; Donaghadee: J.P. 12/0/0; Chigwell: R.A.S. 7/6;
- London: S.S. 2/6; Westthroughton: F.M. 7/6;
- Billingham: J.G. 2/-; Wolverhampton: J.G. 2/-; Birmingham: H.D. 11/10;
- Enfield: J. & M.S. 3/-; London: P. & G.T. 3/6;
- London: T.S. 1/6; London: Ann. 2/6;
- London: J.M.P. 15/6; Aberdeen: W.M.R. 11/10;
- Waltham Abbey: R.J.H. 6/6;
- Nelson: M.E.B. 3/6; Leicester: C.M. 11/-;
- Fife: G.G. 1/6; London: Ann. 1/6;
- Keighley: S.E.K. 8/6; Chalfont St. Peter: W.C. 12/6;
- Edmonton: Alta. W.G. 2/6;
- London: B.K. 6/-; London: A.A.L. 7/6;

Total	17 10 0
Previously acknowledged	333 11 5
1960 TOTAL TO DATE	£351 9 5

GIFT OF BOOKS: London: C.W.
 *Indicates regular contributor.

Demonstrations in Japan The U.S.—Japan Treaty

THE sight of 200 parliamentary socialists wrestling with members of the ruling "Liberal Democratic Party" in the Japanese Parliament last week made a change from the polite, but equally futile, parliamentary debates we are used to in the West.

The occasion was the presentation of the new U.S.-Japanese treaty of alliance which the Premier, Nobusuke Kishi, decided to rush through parliament, and which was passed by a standing vote after some of the socialists had been evicted by 500 policemen—the remainder walked out with 27 members of Kishi's own party.

The socialist plot which was to prevent the speaker by force from getting to the chamber to call the session failed, but the following day 30,000 demonstrators came to grips with the police in Tokyo against the Premier and the treaty.

An American paper reported the demonstrations as being organised by "left-wing students and trade unionists", and the *Observer* correspondent in Tokyo writes that:

country as a whole is much concerned one way or the other over the security treaty.

It strikes us however that Mr. Kishi's days may be numbered although he has adopted a similar attitude to President Rhee when he says that he has no intentions of resigning.

It appears that he has little support from any sections of the press, and is severely criticised by some members of his own party.

The "sensible" thing would be for the Democratic Party to force his resignation as one concession to popular demand (it won't be the first politician who has been sacrificed by his own supporters) in the hope that the opposition might accept the treaty or at least call off any demonstrations likely to take place on June 19th, the date scheduled for President Eisenhower's visit to Japan.

It is not unlikely that the Americans will repeat their Korean performance which was to "advise" Rhee to step down after his usefulness was expended.

Although it is contended that: The average man in the street (in

Japan) has been looking with distaste on the endless lines of university students, unionists and intellectuals who have been closing streets and delaying tram and bus services. (John Campbell, *Observer*), it seems to us that the Japanese people above all others are more likely to have deep-rooted objections to modern militarism than any other nation in the world. And while much of the vocal opposition to this particular treaty may come from elements with Soviet or left-wing sympathies, that silent section of the people who appear to have no articulate voice cannot have forgotten the terrible effects of the American A-bomb, effects which are still being felt. It is in this section that any hopes lie for non-political action to any Japanese war aims.

A timely reminder of the consequences of modern war has just been given by the Tumour Registry of the Hiroshima City Medical Association who publish for the first time statistics on cancer effects of radiation relating to distance from the "hypocentre of the explosion" and cancer incidence.

Continued on p. 4

O BRAVE NEW LEFT!

SOMETHING a lot more substantial than the voice of a bird has been stirring down in the forest of the British Left during the five years since the supremely boring General Election of 1955. Apart from the rather special case of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the chief symptom of this activity has been the rise of the so-called "New Left"—though sociologists like Michael Young and Richard Titmuss, film-makers like Karel Reisz and Lindsay Anderson, dramatists like John Osborne and Arnold Wesker, and novelists like John Braine and Alan Sillitoe are also significant.

The New Left originated in 1956 from two distinct processes—a revolt of Communist intellectuals (mostly in Northern universities) against the Party Line during the period between the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the Hungarian Revolution, which demanded that the spirit of Stalinism should be exorcised; and a revolt of young Socialist intellectuals (mostly at Oxford) against compromise and apathy in the Labour Party during the period between Gaitskill's succession to the leadership (so-called) and the Suez War, which demanded that the spirit of Bevanism should not be allowed to die. The dissident Communists did not become "right" or "left" "deviationists" so much as humanists, turning from Marx to Morris, and this brought them close in feeling to the dissident Socialists; the growing support for these two groups, at first allied and now united, is the history of the New Left.

In Spring 1957, the common ideology of "socialist humanism" found expression in two magazines. The *New Reasoner* was a continuation of the *Reasoner*,

whose three numbers had been brought out by Edward Thompson and John Saville (of Leeds and Hull respectively) when they were still CP members in 1956, and it always tended to remain something of an opposition magazine within a Marxist framework—though its ten issues seemed to move gradually away from this position. The *Universities & Left Review* (horrid name!) was started by Stuart Hall, Gabriel Pearson, Ralph Samuel and Charles Taylor (who had graduated at Oxford between 1954 and 1956), as a magazine trying to bring new life into British socialism after ten years of the Cold War and the Welfare State, while avoiding both the Scylla of Fabian reformism on one side and the Charybdis of Communist tyranny on the other. These two magazines led the New Left movement (together with half a dozen pamphlets), and at the same time they sponsored the Socialist Forum and the ULR Club which held frequent (sometimes excellent) public meetings.

By the time the Partisan coffee-house was opened in Autumn 1958, the two facets of the movement had so much in common that there was clearly nothing to be lost and everything to be gained by a merger. This was effected a year later, and last December the combined forces launched the *New Left Review* (see report in FREEDOM, 19 December, 1959) and the New Left Club. So far the magazine has reached its third issue and seems to be prospering. At the same time New Left Clubs have been springing up in about two dozen places outside London, and the poor old Labour Party—torn by controversy about nationalisation and nuclear disarmament, and faced by the prospect of losing the fourth General Election running in 1964—has reacted by organising groups of Young Socialists in the constituencies. The scorn of the New Left for this response to the "challenge of youth" (so much better understood by the Young Conservatives) is reinforced by the likelihood that if the Young Socialists become anything more than a joke it will be because they become part of the New Left. For the Young Fabians

are always dominated by the New Left, and the *Socialist Commentary* group may well go the same way. When will Transport House realise that young Labour supporters often take socialism seriously?

Out of Apathy

But what are the ideology and programme of the New Left—that is, what do its members believe and want? One may seek the answer to that question in the twenty issues of its magazines or in its pamphlets; and now one may also examine the first of the "New Left Books"—*Out of Apathy* (Stevens, 15s.)—whose eight essays, according to the blurb, are "the result of three years' intensive study, discussion and controversy". In his Foreword, Norman Birnbaum says that the book "looks backward to the themes we have broached and forward into the new socialist inquiry we intend to develop"; he also claims that "we write for the entire Labour movement" and points out that "our task is urgent" for "history is not necessarily on our side". This is all very well, if a bit trite, and one turns hopefully to Edward Thompson's Introduction, called "The Point of Decay".

Here the central thesis of the book is stated. This is that our society has "passed the point of maturity and processes of decay have set in", and that "apathy is the familiar form which this decay takes in our public life"; alternatively (in the words of the blurb—presumably also written by Thompson), apathy is "the symptom of a general decay inside an industrial society overripe for socialism", a society in which "the drive for profit has exposed consumers to the dangerous myth of affluence". Further, "the Labour Movement is immobilised" by the partial success of "liberal reformism" (the Welfare State), by the combination of declining imperialism and "Natopolitan nuclear strategy", and by fear of Communist excesses, with the result that "capitalism has been left to rot on the bough". The danger is that "apathy could lead on by rapid stages to the authoritarian state" (as in

France), and the only chance is of the Labour Movement "develops a total offensive" against the present state of affairs, leading to "a humane and democratic socialist revolution" regarded not as a utopian vision but "as a serious immediate policy".

This neo-Marxist assertion seems to say at rather greater length what Cecil Day Lewis once put into two lines:

*Revolution, revolution,
Is the one correct solution.*

But before we examine Thompson's theory of revolution, which is stated at the end of the book, we must look at the six intervening essays, which purport to illustrate the main thesis. What is actually shown by the two in the first section (called "The Climate of Apathy") is that Britain is getting more and more like the USA—and we didn't need a book to tell us that. Ralph Samuel's account of "bastard" capitalism (aptly named by analogy with the "bastard" feudalism of late-medieval England), which is based on earlier work by himself and Michael Barratt-Brown, is interesting but badly written—it must have been put together in great haste. This is a pity, because the raw material is promising, and the change that has taken place in the ten years since the time when Evelyn Waugh felt that the country was "under foreign occupation", when Lord Chandos complained that "profits are without honour in our country", is a subject deserving detailed study. Samuel's sketch hardly scratches the surface—but it does contain a delightful *double-entendre* (at the top of p. 49).

Stuart Hall's account of "the sludge and confusion and cross-fire of the no-man's-land of British politics today" (in particular of the relation between commercial and cultural activity and taste—an old New Left subject) is fluent, rhetorical and confused. He is travelling in country already explored by Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams and, more recently, Dennis Potter; indeed, even *The Glittering Coffin*, for all its muddled fury (see FREEDOM, 1-6 April 1960) is considerably more effective, while *The Uses of Literacy* and *Culture & Society* are both far more so. It is distressing, for example, to find Hall saying, "It is the mythology of prosperity which induces apathy", while playing down the fact of prosperity relative to pre-war poverty. No doubt Strachey's *Contemporary Capitalism* and Crosland's *The Future of Socialism* (the anti-Bible of the New Left) are most unsatisfactory,

but it is nevertheless necessary to account of the definite rise in the standard of living of nearly all classes of the British population since the War.

The classic Marxist (or, more correctly, Leninist) explanation of this phenomenon is that imperialism enables the bourgeoisie to give the proletariat at home wealth drawn from the colonial proletariats abroad. In the middle section of the book (called "Between Two Worlds"), Peter Worsley's essay shows how the retreating imperialism of the European colonial powers has been subordinated to the American anti-Communist crusade on the one hand, and has survived in its economic form on the other. Hence the British support of tyrants like Syngman Rhee and Nasser-Said (and the failure of the Suez War), and hence the continued exploitation of workers in "independent" states like Ghana and Malaya. Worsley also mentions the spread of the gangrene of colonial violence back to the home country; but he scarcely mentions Russian and Chinese imperialism, and he omits the point that NATO was set up to defend Western Europe from Russia, not "international capitalism" from socialism—Russia began the Cold War, not America. The end of his essay, however, is excellent—in particular a remark C. P. Snow made about the need of Africans and Asians: "They want not who will muck in as colleagues, who will pass on what they know, do an honest technical job, and get out."

Edward Thompson's "Outside the Whale" is concerned with what he calls the "Natopolitan ideology" of Western intellectuals in the Cold War—an "ideology of apathy". The characteristic pattern he draws is one of a *recoil*—"disillusion in Communism" followed by *capitulation*, which becomes "an apologia for complicity with reaction"; and he claims that this is now "the dominant ideology" of the West and "tends towards the negation of mankind" (whatever that may mean). It might perhaps be amusing to state that "the revolutionary, disenchanting or tamed in youth has become in middle age the apologist of reaction" as a clever idea; but when it is put forward seriously and deliberately as a fact of contemporary life one wonders what is wrong with its author. Since the chief illustrations of the thesis (there aren't more than half-a-dozen altogether) are Auden and Orwell, one may guess that Thompson's real subject

Continued on p. 4

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP OPEN DAILY

(Open 10 a.m.—6.30 p.m., 5 p.m. Sats.)

New Books . . .

The Writer and the Commissar
G. Palocz-Horvath 10/6
The Fall of Singapore
Frank Owen 21/-
All or Nothing J. C. Powys 16/-
The New-Old Land of Israel
Norman Bentwich 18/-
The Fall and Rise of Alfred
Krupp Gordon Young 21/-
Unpublished Letters
Frederic W. Nietzsche 21/-
In Defiance Françoise Rigby 16/-

Reprints and

Cheap Editions . . .

Lectures on Modern History
Lord Acton 6/-
A History of Europe
(Vols. 1 & 2) H. A. L. Fisher
each 9/6
The Romantic Agony
Mario Praz 7/6
Five: Short Novels Doris Lessing 3/6
Butterfield 8 John O'Hara 2/6
A Rage to Live John O'Hara 5/-
Three Plays Eugene O'Neill 3/6
Selected Short Stories
William Sansom 3/6
Intimacy Jean-Paul Sartre 3/6
The Origins of Love and Hate
Ian D. Suttie 3/6
Is Sex Necessary
James Thurber and E. B. White 2/6
England Under the Stuarts
G. M. Trevelyan 7/6
Homosexuality D. J. West 3/6
The Sinful Priest Emile Zola 3/6

Second-Hand . . .

Conscription and Conscience
(1916-19) John W. Graham 6/-
Route to Potsdam
B. G. Ivanyi and Alan Bell 2/6
Gael Delivery Mark Bennet 3/-
Privileged Spectator
Ethel Mannin 3/6
The Unity of Europe
V. A. Firsoff 3/-
Industrial Justice through
Banking Reform Henry Meulen
Focus One (on Kafka and
Rex Warner) 3/-
Zola Henri Barbusse 5/-
Killers of the Dream
Lillian Smith 3/-
Behind the Spanish Barricades
John Langdon-Davies 6/-

Periodicals . . .

University Libertarian, No. 10
January 1/-
The Humanist June 1/-
Views and Comments May 6d.

We can supply ANY book required, including text-books. Please supply publisher's name if possible, but if not, we can find it. Scarce and out-of-print books searched for—and frequently found!

Postage free on all items

Obtainable from

27, RED LION STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1

BOOK REVIEW

The Conquest of Tibet

THE FLIGHT OF THE DALAI LAMA by Noel Barber (Hodder & Stoughton 16s.).

THE REVOLT IN TIBET, by Frank Moraes (The Macmillan Co.)

THE conquest of Tibet by China produced a little stir in the West, but not much. It has been accepted as inevitable and certainly no-one has proposed that any other country could do anything about it, for indeed how could they? Tibet is one of the most inaccessible countries in the world; the only broad front of accessibility is from China.

Strangely enough concern from the West has centred around the person of the Dalai Lama, Tibet's priest-king, who is supposed to be a human incarnation of Buddha and hence divine. The Dalai Lama escaped to India while the going was good, and this escape was great news value. It is not every day that the Commies chase a real live god over the mountains. In both the books under review, although they give a good deal of information about Tibet, its ancient history and the more recent tale of the Chinese occupying it and taking over control and colonizing it, the authors are mainly obsessed by the figure of the Dalai Lama. Moraes becomes a positive bore in his repeated kow-towing to this figure; he does not just refer to him as the Dalai Lama, he constantly rings the changes of adulation in referring to him as "The Living Buddha", "The God-King", "His Holiness". It is as if Italy had been conquered and a fair portion of its population killed off—and a chronicler were chiefly to be concerned with the personal inconveniences suffered by the Pope.

Tibet is an exceedingly backward country which has been ruled for centuries by a feudal theocracy. The priestly rulers have managed the country so that few technical advances have been allowed to penetrate from the world outside, and an inefficient and primitive economy which rested on serfdom, chattel slavery and a debased form of Buddhism, rendered the life of the mass of the people rather brutish even by the standards of most impoverished countries. It would have seemed that here of all places the

Chinese communist forces would have gained a popular welcome. The Tibetans had little personal liberty to lose, and much to gain from elementary advances in agriculture, industry and hygiene. Yet the policy of China seems to have been singularly crude and to have provoked a full-scale guerilla war from the Tibetan people of the Khamba province.

Both books bring forward considerable evidence of China's failure to get much popular support in their earlier semi-peaceful penetration into Tibet. The rival to the Dalai Lama in Tibet is the Panchen Lama (also an incarnate god) who has been reared under Chinese influence and is the puppet of Peking. Several powerful lamas are also willing tools of the Chinese. Having gone through the usual routine of military and political penetration, the setting up of Communist schools, etc., China then turned to outright colonial methods of deportation, massacre and importation of large numbers of Chinese peasants as settlers. Possibly, internal problems of population pressure have led China to use Tibet in this manner.

Both books are written in a highly journalistic manner, and the intrinsic interest of their subject matter is somewhat overweighted by a laboured and sentimental style. Noel Barber, who is the more readable writer, expends a lot of invective on Nehru and the policy of the Indian government in not doing more for Tibet against China. What effective action India could take is not even suggested; for there is none. Tibet, the old museum piece of a singularly ugly feudalism, has irrevocably fallen to the Chinese empire. The comparatively free-living people of Khamba will no doubt go on fighting a stubborn guerilla war against the Chinese, but there is little hope for them. The Dalai Lama adds his person to the international club of exiled monarchs. They should be pleased to welcome an incarnate god as a new member.

No Thank You!

The French painter, Jean Dubuffet, leading exponent of *art brut* ("crude art"), whose exhibition, "Eléments Botaniques", opens at the Arthur Tooth Gallery in London on May 31st, was invited last year by Herbert Read to take part in an exhibition of twenty painters to be held at the Galleria dell'Arte in Milan (May, 1959). Dubuffet replied to this invitation with the following letter. It should be explained that this exhibition was endowed with a prize of two million lire, to be awarded by a jury composed of Herbert Read, Ennio Morlotti, Franco Russoli, Michael Tapié and Antonio Tapiés.

(S.W.T.)

Paris, March 23, 1959.

Monsieur Herbert Read,
Stonegrave House,
Stonegrave,
Yorks.

Dear monsieur Herbert Read,

Certainly I remember very well our meeting in London, and I am pleased to have this opportunity of sending you my regards.

Collective exhibitions worry me. It is their cultural character which annoys me, for I have the impression that this aspect must inevitably impel the functions of art (for the public, and for the artists themselves) along pathways which are not natural to art and which are, indeed, most unhealthy for it. The usual principles of cultural activity—enumerations and indexes, classifications and labels, ranks and hierarchies—seem to me to be scarcely compatible with the nature of *true* creativity in art.

But I become even more irritated when I find these collective exhibitions dressing themselves up as competitions with prizes to be awarded. What the devil would I do with two million lire? I would consider it

most disagreeable to receive this gratuity at anyone's hands. Can you see me submitting my pictures to Messrs. Tapié and Tapiés like a young petitioner presenting himself before the examiners and receiving from their hands (or not receiving, according to their judgment) the crown of laurels which is to constitute my reward? Would there not be something rather suspect in such a process? Would there not be a danger that the spectators of such a ceremony might suddenly think that one (at least) of its actors was playing the wrong part?

I am absolutely opposed to distributions of awards and to the whole concept of merit in relation to art. The true mission of art is subversive; its true nature is such that it would be quite legitimate to forbid it and to persecute it, but certainly not to encourage it by tipping. Are we to envisage the establishment of championships and cash prizes for drunkards and lunatics? Would that not be utterly unseemly, and absurd as well? If your jury were concerned (as it should be) to expose the basic challenge to authority inherent in any work of art, and were to acknowledge the virtues of a contribution by a sentence of ten years imprisonment, I might conceivably convince myself that I had some chance, and would be honoured to be one of the candidates; but two million lire, no thanks! That seems rather dull to me, and even alarming. My work has no place in a competition of this sort.

I trust that you will give sympathetic consideration to my viewpoint and excuse my intransigence, my dear monsieur Herbert Read.

Yours very sincerely,
JEAN DUBUFFET.

TURKEY

years in office Mr. Menderes has obviously become so attached to his job, that, like his predecessor İnönü who ruled without effective opposition from 1923 until May 1950—a mere 27 years!), he saw himself as the undisputed leader for life, whether the people liked it or not. Undoubtedly Mr. İnönü after 10 years in opposition was becoming restless (at 79 one hasn't much time left for a political come-back) and the Menderes régime became more and more dictatorial he could see his chance of enjoying the glory of dying in harness—fading. He has undoubtedly played his cards well, for he has studiously refused to become embroiled in the public demonstrations or in the military conspiracy though, as the *Guardian* correspondent points out, he “was almost certainly aware there was a movement on foot to overthrow the government”. So now the prospects are that the “patient leader of the opposition” will reap the benefits, if and when new elections take place. Traditionally the Army favoured İnönü, who after all was one of them, but it remains to be seen what happens when the new Constitution which the General has appointed a Commission of eight University professors to draw up—is ready. Somehow we think that it will include a very important post-for-life or “elder brother”!

THE new Constitution will include the creation of a Senate, a second Chamber, a House of Representatives, and a Constitutional Court. Thus far from giving more power to the people the régime envisaged by the General will at most seek to prevent the concentration of power at the top into the hands of one individual. But these are illusions, or moves intended to appease the people for government, whether in Russia or the United States, means rule by a small group on condition that it has the loyal support of the Army—as General Gursel should know better than any one else in Turkey—apart from Menderes!

And this is not revolutionary. It is not even democratic. It is purely and simply government.

Comment

Mr. Justice Pennycuik in the Chancery Division last week, held that payments to Rolls-Royce, Ltd., by foreign Governments or companies for technical knowledge to enable them to manufacture jet aero-engines arose from the sale of a capital asset and was excluded from the computation of the company's profits.

He dismissed, with costs, four appeals by the Crown against decisions of the Special Commissioners for Income Tax allowing appeals by Rolls-Royce against assessments to income tax, excess profits tax, profits tax and excess profits levy arising from the sale of technical knowledge. The appeals concerned assessments on the company's profits, amounting to more than £15 millions for the years 1948-55.

The Judge said that Rolls-Royce had acquired a great fund of technical knowledge, commonly called “know-how”. Between 1946 and 1953 the company entered into a number of agreements with foreign Governments and companies, the basic provision of which was that in return for a lump sum the company would supply drawings and information to enable the other party to manufacture specified types of aero-engines.

He thought that the transactions represented a disposition of part of the company's capital assets and it followed that

THE PAPERBACK BOOM

(Continued from FREEDOM May 21)

THE history of the paperback book is short but interesting and this excursion into “cheese-cake” is only one facet of the struggle for markets.

Paperbacks in their original form can be traced to before 1848 in the Railway Library, the Travellers Library, the Run and Read Library. These were cheap, shoddy, and deemed expendable at from 7d. to 1s. 6d.

In 1841 Bernhard Tauchnitz had started in Leipzig the Continental editions in English which bear his name. These were introduced to relieve the ennui of the long railway journeys which were the lot of those reckless enough to venture abroad in those days. These books were, like the sevenpennies, expendable. Indeed they carried upon them fearful warnings against importing them into the English-speaking countries. As trains became more speedy and comfortable the “Railway Libraries” and the like declined.

The paperback never attained respectability, being relegated to the “Light Programme” of literature until in 1935 Penguins commenced their career. There was an attempt at Pocket Books with paper backs in 1929 in New York but

any payment made in respect of it was not to be brought into account in computing revenue profits.

We have no doubt that the learned judge will have his interpretation of the law upheld by his learned colleagues if the Crown appeals—and who wouldn't when the sum involved is £15 million?

WE are particularly interested, however, in the implications of this judgment. A “capital asset” is not only a machine, a building, but “technical knowledge”, “know-how” which had to be acquired at, presumably, considerable expense to the firms concerned. But the engineers and scientists employed by Rolls-Royce who through years of research provided this “know-how”, have Income Tax deducted from their salaries. It will be argued, we are sure, that the two cases are not on a par, that in fact the capital asset has been built up, like a machine, by the labour of individuals as well as other expenses on materials, equipment etc., whereas all the scientists and engineers are doing is hiring out their labour power.

That is all very well, but what they are hiring out is not only their labour but their “know-how” which in turn has been built up by years of study and experience. Similarly a skilled worker operating a machine whether it is a complex piece of mechanism or a simple shovel, applies to his work “know-how” which is only obvious when one sees an inexperienced person attempting to do the same work.

All work properly carried out is a question of “know-how”, and is acquired by experience as well as in many instances by years of unremunerative study. When a worker sells his “know-how” or even simply his labour power which enables his employers to make a profit, what he is disposing of is not a “capital asset” and is therefore subject to taxation! But when Rolls-Royce supply to another company the plans for the construction of a jet-engine, by which the latter expect to make profits, it is held that Rolls-Royce were not selling a commodity but disposing of a capital asset and therefore outside the reach of the Tax Collector.

DRAWINGS of machines are a capital asset, the selling of which to other manufacturers reduces the capital asset. A human being whose “machine” suffers the same wear and tear as any machine (but with the serious disadvantage that worn parts of the human machine cannot be replaced!) is not a “capital asset”, though a machine is!

Who said that the Law is intended to protect the interests of the individual?

this was by subscription only and eventually failed. In 1932 Albatross Books entered the same field as Tauchnitz with a more glossy presentation and smart typography.

In 1935, Allen Lane of John Lane, the Bodley Head publishers, had an idea for a series of paperbacks. The Bodley Head was not very enthusiastic, it was a fairly quiet time in publishing, the political scene was disturbed and armaments had pulled us out of the slump. The five or six first titles didn't set the Thames on fire. Traditional booksellers (and what bookseller isn't?) complained that these sixpenny books would kill the market for new books. Disappointed with the reception, Bodley Head decided to stop the Penguin series but Allen Lane had enough faith in his own idea to pull out and form a company of his own.

His representative called on the buyer for Woolworths, and she placed a large order which set the firm on its feet. The provision of non-bookshop ‘outlets’ has always been a problem for the paperbacks, and Penguins were saved by an early solution to this problem. In 1937 Pelicans were commenced (*Mutual Aid* being an early one) and the Pelican Specials catering for the politically aware which were being catered for by the Right and Left Book Clubs at the extreme ends of the political spectrum. In 1939 King Penguins commenced. The basis of Penguin (and Pelican) book production was a concentration on quality, the major proportion of production costs were allocated to binding and printing but the ‘run’ was carefully calculated and restricted to an economic level. This cheap provision of culture was highly welcome at a time when world events were causing people to ask questions.

When war came, and with it paper rationing, there was a ‘cut-back’ on Penguin production and many titles (as with other publishers) were printed for the Ministry of Information. But publishing on the whole boomed in war-time. Other pleasures were in short supply. The black-out and air-raids inhibited the usual forms of entertainment. The boredom and isolation of barracks, evacuation and exile made reading an escape whilst the ever-present question of “what's it all for?” made reading a necessity.

The American armed services were issued with pocket-books in which the Government co-operated with publishers. These books were a curious oblong shape

which could fit into a combat-dress pocket. Among the titles was Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (suitably ‘tarted up’) to give G.I.'s advice on how to deal with the natives.

The war-time boom in reading was accompanied by a rise in book prices and the move into publishing and book distribution of easy-money seekers. The war-time boom was followed, as rationing ceased, by peace-time bust. Alternative amusements presented themselves and when the new toy of television appeared on the scene there was a slump in light reading which has more or less become permanent.

The great middle-brow reading public has disappeared, and with it the circulating libraries millions and the middle-brow magazines (e.g. *Picture Post*). This has meant an end of the cheap-edition of the near-best sellers turned out regularly by the standard authors who never attained to genius but were steadily competent on their own low level.

Disillusionment was the post-war outlook and there was no great idealistic viewpoint developed from the post-war situation. The great war novel (to compare with *All Quiet*) has not yet been published. It may well never be; its public having disappeared.

The decline of the reading public has meant a decline in the number of bookshops, especially in the provinces. Many bookshops, even the most snooty, have diluted their stock with gramophone records and greeting cards in an effort to meet the growing overheads. In the provinces, it takes a large population town to support a bookshop and consequently there are many towns without even one bookshop.

At the same time there has been a rise in the demand for technical books because of the growth of scientific education. Students, proverbially poor, now find State grants too small to do other than cover, if that, the cost of text books. This restricts their purchasing power and leads to inter-student book marketing eliminating the book-seller altogether.

Faced with these challenges and opportunities the paperback book trade has expanded to meet them. There are now at least thirty firms in the paperback publishing business. The low-price paperback has tried to tempt back customers, the closure of bookshops has led to the search for new ‘outlets’ for

Final Letters on a Controversy

Violence & Non-violence

DEAR COMRADES,

We agree with A. R. Lacey on the need for a ‘thorough examination’ of the problems raised by the attentat of David Pratt. Such acts as these have always produced varying and often conflicting reactions amongst anarchists and it is doubtful if complete accord is possible regarding the attitude to be adopted towards them. It is certain, however, that the name-calling and irrelevancies which have marred the present controversy are of no help in reaching an understanding of the difference of opinion expressed. The space which they take up could be more fruitfully occupied with serious and relevant comment.

It seems to us that to argue, as did the writer of ‘Too Bad He Missed’, that assassination “is the only language that dictators and tyrants understand” is too slick and facile. Like Ernie Crosswell we are no longer absolute pacifists and we can conceive of some situations in which we would be prepared to use violence in defence of our persons. Violence in itself, however, is not a means of creating understanding. FREEDOM has often pointed out that the use of violence in the shape of prisons and police is useless when dealing with the problem of ‘ordinary’ delinquency. Surely the same applies to the problem of delinquents who wield political power? An attentat may result in a temporary relaxation of a repressive policy, as was sometimes the case in Czarist Russia, but such a relaxation arises from fear rather than from understanding. However effective fear may prove as a short-term ‘deterrent’, it is useless as a fundamental contribution towards abolishing tyranny.

On the other hand, the kind of blanket condemnation of assassinations in which pacifists tend to indulge is simply an inversion of that attitude which sees in violence a sovereign remedy for social wrongs. Non-violent direct action can

be a good tactic, but it is not a panacea and its advocates should refrain from insisting that others accept it as the only way to combat oppression.

Yours fraternally,
P. BRITTEN,
S. E. PARKER.

Bristol, May 13.

DEAR COMRADES,

I do not approve of the use of violence, which seems to be self-defeating in the struggle for freedom, but I am glad that you had the courage to publish the David Pratt article. After all, it is what lots of people thought, but did not care to commit to print. However much one may be against violence it is difficult to feel genuinely distressed about men like Verwoerd, and “A Pity He (David Pratt) Missed” would sum up the views of most people I talked to about it.

The danger of political assassination lies of course in the principle being extended. If one goes on from shooting the dictator to shooting the enemies of freedom in general. Many people no doubt supported the Second World War, despite their strong feelings against violence, because they could think of no other way of stopping the Nazis. Yet from fighting against Nazism they were led to the inexorable logic of events to waging a war against the German people themselves, to busting dams and drowning large numbers, to bombing cities and roasting the citizens alive in their cellars, to the final atrocity against the Japanese cities from which people are still dying today. In other words, by fighting the Nazis and their allies they became temporary Nazis themselves, and I think that to fight tyranny by tyranny's weapons will always lead to one becoming very like the thing one is fighting against.

book-sales (one major producer of paperbacks, Four Square, is a subsidiary of a tobacco firm and the books are marketed by tobacconists), quality paperbacks have been produced (firstly and notably in the United States but now increasingly in Britain).

The old mass-market and mass production methods have largely failed. Now and again a best-seller hits the jackpot but the pipe-dreams of publishers, to make every book a best-seller, cannot be realized and the book world sees the increasing value of a steady minority market. The cost of books is relatively high today because it is realized that the markets will be comparatively small in relation to the huge inflated overheads of the giant publishing combines. Many books are simply not being published because the financial success is doubtful. Publishers cannot afford slow-sellers (or even a huge backlist) and whereas at one time *Homage to Catalonia*, *Woman and the Revolution* and *Anarcho-Syndicalism*: to name only three titles familiar to readers of FREEDOM were remunerated, now, to quote a book-hunter, “they aren't publishing remainders any more.”

In the good old days, the hard cover book was the basis of an author's and a publisher's income. In the United States for some years the position has become reversed: the meat of all sales is the paperback edition, the hard-bound edition (generally for library sales) is the gravy. This position is gradually being reached in England where paperback rights are often sold for fabulous sums, sometimes even before publication. One of the consequences of this is that cheap editions follow so hard upon the heels of the ordinary edition that sales of the bound edition are affected by a public who, two days after publication ask “Is *Lolita* (for example) done in a Penguin?” There is supposed to be a gentleman's agreement delaying publication of cheap editions but publishing is not always exclusively an occupation for gentlemen.

Once it was said that there were authors who wrote with one eye on Hollywood. Now authors develop strabismus as a result of having the other eye on the paperback rights.

Some hard business ability in the author or his agent has now become a necessity to disseminate a work of art or, as it is now called, to fully exploit “a property”. The “property” is worked for all it can be, the play, the book of the play, the play of the book, the radio play, the radio feature based on the book, the serialization of the book, the digest of the book, the TV presentation of the book, the comic strip based on the book, the record of scenes from the film, from the play, from the book, the translation into the Danish from the book and so on, and so forth. In some cases the exhaustive exploitation of the ‘property’ spreads to gimmicks like children's toys, statuettes, clothes, hair-styles, etc., etc. In this paperback rights are one of the main assets of a ‘property’.

Many authors write for nothing else but paperbacks. To attain the dignity, as they think, of a hard-cover they have to change their names, and even their style but even so, some have found the pay-off better in reverse.

The flux into which the whole of publishing has been flung by these social and technical changes have made conditions in some quarters approximate to the early days of publishing. Many individuals and libraries find it more satisfactory to buy paperback editions and do their own binding. The book which has a small circulation very often is paid for by the author or his friends. A whole series of ‘vanity’ publishers have sprung up in the U.S.A. who will publish anybody's manuscript for payment. They could be admitted as a purely commercial transaction in book production except that their promises to promote the sales of the book are rarely, or never fulfilled.

The Book Club still relies on its mass membership and appeal but perhaps there is a case for Book Clubs which will sponsor publications rather than herd and brand more sheep?

The prospects in book-selling are fairly gloomy with two battles on the horizon. One concerns the net book agreement which fixes the prices of books, this will eventually come up for review by the Monopolies commission.

The second tournament which may enter the lists any day with Sir A. P. Herbert as champion is the claim by authors for royalties on books issued through the libraries.

Both of these issues will have wide-spread effects on a trade which has already found it necessary to ‘tart it up’.

BIBLIOS.

VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE

Continued from p. 3

Therefore, while I think it is very good that FREEDOM should speak up for David Pratt, I do not think he should be regarded as someone to be emulated. The disappearance of Verwoerd from the scene would probably make little difference. As far as the man himself is concerned the *attentat* has probably strengthened him in his views. Supposing Freedom Bookshop was wrecked by Mosleyite hooligans, wouldn't that make the editors of FREEDOM more determined than ever to carry on?

The problem of self-defence is of course a thorny one. Mankind, in all its history, has never really found any answer to the problem of tyranny. How is one to resist such a régime as that of the Nazis or the South African Nationalists without resort to war? I simply do not know. Non-violent resistance requires more courage than armed struggle, perhaps too much courage for most people. But it seems the only hope.

Yours fraternally,
Alfriston, May 16. ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

The Editors of FREEDOM.

"A Pacifist Viewpoint on Assassination" (FREEDOM, May 7th) is an apology for justifiable murder. As such, it knocks the props out of the Anarchist fight against capital punishment. For if Verwoerd can be justifiably murdered, why not the justifiable murder by the State of a murderer?

G. makes a great point of the assassin acting on his own responsibility. Agreed. But the importance of this statement escapes G. completely. The individual can not only choose to murder, but he can also choose *not to murder*. It is imperative that people come to realize that such a choice is open to them in the atomic age.

A man—one man—an assassin, if you will—will release the bomb that shall begin the destruction of our world. Let that man choose not to murder. Let all of us as individuals help him in that choice, so that that man—one man—one assassin, may help us.

G.'s choice of justifiable murder brings the day of total murder that much closer to every one of us.

Sincerely,
New York City, May 27. A.B.

DEAR EDITORS,

You suggested in your "Reply from the Editors" (FREEDOM, May 22) that counter-violence may be an effective policy for coloured South Africans. I suggest that this is not sound reasoning in view of the fact that such policies have resulted in the last big violent line-up—West versus East, with destruction threatened to all of the human race. Surely another way—if there is one—must be tried. You expose *Peace News* and "T.S." so beautifully and then commit *hara-kiri!* Is this the view of all of the Editors?
Slough, May 22. ERNIE CROSSWELL.

The 'Father Gapons' In Our Midst

DEAR EDITOR,

It might be always more to the point when discussing the so-called Pacifists, just as with the so-called Communists, to deal with their record rather than their alleged principles. The Pacifist movement in this country has nothing to do with non-violent resistance and everything to do with opportunist politics and permeation of the left-wing movement with "Father Gapons".

There are some sincere members of the P.P.U., no doubt, such as those who try to reconcile their consciences by selling *Peace News* and FREEDOM—how wrong it is of you to "embarrass" these poor souls by taking an anarchist point of view in FREEDOM! But the *Observer* would not embarrass them, as it combines militant liberalism with patriotism.

Note how the case of Mr. David Pratt shows them in their true colours. L. Otter and Arlo Tatum, it seems, know all about him—strange they never mentioned him before this incident and that their knowledge of his peculiar ways tallies with the statements issued by the press relations branch of the South African police! Can it be that they have no intention of boycotting this most typical South African product? But even if these slanders were true—is it that why they attack Mr. Pratt? One can usually evoke some sympathy from the Pacifists for the most diabolical criminal—Neville

Anarchism and the Flat Earth Mentality

DEAR FRIENDS,

I was surprised to see in this week's FREEDOM that a casual observation at a recent L.A.G. meeting should provide most of the fuel for the article "Anarchism and the Flat Earth Mentality". Being present at the meeting myself (and quite irrationally sympathetic towards not burning astrologers) I feel a little responsible for starting the whole tirade off as it was I who submitted the question dealing with minority groups within an anarchist society, and specifically mentioned an astrologer for want of a better example. I don't want to start a whirlwind on the subject by way of letters to the editors, as I feel that the reaction at the meeting in question was quite heated enough. However I can't let G. get away with all he does. First off he begins his article saying that the member of the audience observed that "anarchists should not be too critical of astrologers, because both anarchists and astrologers are regarded by society as 'cranks'". That simply is not true. What the comrade in question did say was that if a person has not studied a subject and admits he knows nothing about it, then it does not become him to dismiss it as rubbish because it is the popular image to regard it as rubbish. He compared it with anarchism to show that bigoted condemnation of anarchism stems from the same type of thinking. In fairness to him too he did add that he had no axe to grind about astrology, which is more than G. does! I think that G.'s article takes far too much for granted and justifies himself by saying "I'm rational—if you disagree you must be irrational".

Progress can never stand still, not even for G., and does it really seem unlikely to him that in years to come things will be discovered and proved which now to him seem totally irrational? I've never seen a germ in my life but am I a sucker if I take precautions against them? It seems to me that G. suffers from the flat-earth mentality himself a bit, because the whole article rewritten could be an attack centuries ago that the sun revolved around the earth. Taking a "rational" look at it all, it seems to me that the sun *does* revolve around the earth, but studying the subject shows how my "common-sense" fooled me, because other factors are involved of which I was ignorant. This seems the only point that was raised at the meeting, not that astrology was said to be right, but that any anarchist or progressive should not admit he knows nothing of a subject and "doesn't want to know anything of it" and then condemns it. How often I have met with this senseless bigotry in dealing with anarchist theories, and I was shocked to see it dragged out at an anarchist meeting. We will soon be told that all male ballet dancers are pansies!

Words like "Liberty" and "Freedom" seem to be used so much by some anar-

chists that they lose their original meaning. If my Mum wants to hold a spiritualist seance then good luck to her. Can G. say she is a potential menace to liberty because she is exercising hers? All that G. says about odd ideas flourishing under Fascism I agree with, but doesn't that show the basic immature fear that underlines Fascist beliefs that they have to have a mystic prop in order to make people swallow the bizarre nonsense of their political creed. But because astrology is used to bolster Fascism doesn't make astrology any the worse. What does G. have to say about predictions which have been made and with accuracy. The discovery of the planet Pluto was predicted years before it happened, both the year in which it would be discovered and the sign of the zodiac it would be in at the time. This can't be proved scientifically and there is no rational explanation, but it is silly to dismiss it as absurd and pretend it never took place. These things I agree are irrelevant to anarchism, but I don't think one's attitudes are.

I think that G.'s thinking towards the many unknown factors in life is dangerously like the old hooey that if the Lord meant us to smoke he would have put chimney stacks in our heads. One does not have to destroy irrational beliefs before the anarchist state, for in such a free climate they would ultimately destroy themselves. Total freedom would be the death knell for anything that could no longer justify its own existence, for there would be no interest to keep it going. If astrology can justify itself however, then like anarchism it will keep on marching until its value is accepted.

Yours truly,
Bexley Heath, May 28. D.G.

London Anarchist Group AN EXPERIMENT IN OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m.
At Jack and Mary Stevenson's,
6 Stainton Road, Enfield, N.9.

Day to be announced
At Dorothy Barasi's,
45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m.
At Colin Ward's,
33 Eilerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

(International Libertarian Group)
At David Bell's,
39 Bernard Street, W.C.1.
(Local Readers Welcome)

Japan

Continued
from p. 1

It is hard to believe that the "average man" of the Japanese population is too worried about the dislocation of his transport system when confronted with the following figures (as well as his daily contact with the victims of American experimentation):—

The Tumour Registry gives these figures for malignant growths in Hiroshima, May, 1957—December, 1958 (leukaemia is not included):—

Distance from hypocentre in metres	Surviving population	Incidence per 100,000 Cases
500-999	973	1,023.1
1,000-1,499	8,688	479.02
1,500-1,999	15,318	380.1
2,000-2,499	13,915	283.4
Non-irradiated	202,727	270.1

So far the increased incidence has been noted in cancer of the stomach, lung, breast, uterus and ovary.

It should not be forgotten by complacent people that the A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima after the "Japanese had sued for peace", and that within a radius of one and a half miles it was estimated in 1945 that 80,000 people were killed.

The dropping of that bomb surely proved that moral arguments will not prevent governments massacring people when mad political ends make it "necessary".

Can we hope that the people of Japan have "learned" their lesson—we in Europe certainly have not.

is the retreat of left-wing intellectuals from the Popular Front; and when one remembers that Thompson was himself a Communist until 1956 one may guess further what he is so angry about. For after all it is absurd to equate even McCarthyism with the *Zhdanovshchina*—let alone the fact that England was scarcely affected by McCarthyism, and this book is meant to be about England. Nothing in the West approaches the behaviour of intellectuals behind the Iron Curtain.

If former left-wing intellectuals in Europe have subsequently become right-wing, the fault lies with the Communist leaders as much as with anyone. Thompson may sneer at the idea that Communism has "failed", but he will not get rid of *The God that Failed* and all the rest of the published truth about Communist practice by trying to switch the blame into the "Natopolitan" leaders. Anyway, most people move to the right as they grow older (though I agree that scarcely excused the frightful gush Michael Young and Edward Shils wrote about the Coronation—see pp. 173-174). Altogether I think this is the worst essay in the book, and in particular the snide remarks about Stephen Spender on p. 158 are quite unforgivable.

Alasdair MacIntyre also deals with intellectual conformism, but his treatment could hardly be different. I don't pretend to understand his polysyllabic essay fully—"Breaking the Chains of Reason" is a thoroughly appropriate title—but it seems to be a Trotskyist version of the Marxist critique of Hegel, containing references to Karl Popper, Talcott Parsons, Wright Mills, Ludwig Wittgenstein, György Lukács and J. S. Mill. I should have thought it was so dense and abstract as to be practically meaningless to most of its likely readers; but I suppose it is a good thing that Colin Wilson is not the only young writer who thinks of freedom in metaphysical terms. I can't imagine what sort of editorial policy included it in this book; perhaps it is a case of Emperor's Clothes.

Into What?

The final section, from which the book takes its name, contains two essays. Kenneth Alexander's is a modest proposal for greater workers' control in industry on roughly Guild Socialist and moderate syndicalist lines. It is a well-thought-out essay that needs little comment; it is distinguished in this company by being concrete and sensible. He says, for example, that "the welfare services are an outstanding example of working-class values being imposed within and against capitalism" (his italics), which is not only true but is also in direct contradiction to what is usually said in the New Left. Perhaps the only defect of the essay is that it is so quietly and carefully argued that it will be overlooked—all the more so as Alexander is an active Labour Party supporter, which does rather limit his appeal for young people in the socialist and anarchist movements alike. But this is the best essay in the book, intelligent and useful.

Edward Thompson's "Revolution" (also published in *NLR* 3) is neither. It is a continuation of the thesis of his Introduction, and is intended to show what sort of revolution he envisages to carry us from "this last stage of capitalism" through into paradise. He rejects Fabian gradualism on the one hand and "the cataclysmic model of revolution" of the Marxists, whether Communist or Trotskyist, on the other. He believes that there is a precarious equilibrium between capitalist and socialist elements in our society: "It could be tipped back towards authoritarianism. But it could also be heaved forward, by popular pressures of great intensity, to the point where the powers of democracy cease to be countervailing and become the active of society in their own right. This is revolution." Is it? I prefer Hamlet's comment: "Words, words, words."

Thompson scarcely says just how this is to be done—how a concept of revolution originally based on "the explosive negatives of class antagonism" is to be humanised into such a relatively mild process. He calls for "the elaboration of a democratic revolutionary strategy", which surely means more than magazines and meetings, but then declares that "in the end, we must return to the focus of political power, Parliament"—this, from a disciple of William Morris!

Altogether I am afraid this is a most unsatisfactory book. Inevitably it will be compared with *Declaration and Conviction*, and inevitably it will suffer by the comparison; its essays are neither personal credos (interesting because of the personalities they reveal) nor pro-

found analyses (interesting for their sake). The contributors don't seem to have realised that what may well be good enough for a more or less ephemeral magazine is quite unsuitable for a book; anyway, these essays do not reach the standard of many of the articles, pamphlets and speeches produced in the last three years.

What is perhaps most serious, though is so far no proposal for the sort of mass movement that is necessary if the New Left is to be more than a sect or a gang group. A mass movement does exist in the CND; for, although the Campaigners are chiefly interested in the single demand for unilateral nuclear disarmament, a great many of its supporters have many other, more radical, libertarian—ideas. Whether Britain should abandon the Bomb or not, what should this mass movement do? Constitutional protest is ultimately useless, since it can be ignored (see the Chartists and Suffragists); and unconstitutional protest based on civil disobedience is almost as useless so long as the disobedience is not a damned civil for words. Bearing witness is not enough. Nor is it enough to muster as many people as watched the Cup Final or filed past Princess Margaret's wedding bouquet, if all they are going to do is to wave banners and listen to speeches. Sooner or later a great many laws must be broken by a great many people if anything radical is to be done on this island. At least the Direct Action group has realised this.

We should not shrug off these problems as of no account. We may feel that the New Left does not go far enough, but we must agree with Blumberg that it is "a source of constructive and responsible suggestions to dealing with the problems of society" (*Socialist Commentary*, February 1960). True, this book is a flop, but it was a brave experiment. After all, some of the libertarian socialism is greatly preferable to the present inanity of the Labour Party: William Morris and George Lansbury have something to say to us when Sidney Webb and Hugh Gaitskelli have not. What happens to the New Left may well be important. Let us hope that their next volume is better.
N.W.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

IMPORTANT

MEETINGS are now held at
CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS
"The Marquis of Granby" Public House,
London, W.C.2.
(corner Charing Cross Road and
Shaftesbury Avenue)
at 7.30 p.m.
ALL WELCOME

JUNE 5.—Max Patrick on
ECONOMIC DELUSION OF
MARXISM

JUNE 12.—Bonar Thompson
(Benefit Lecture)
REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS
PAST

L.A.G. SUMMER SCHOOL REMINDER

Don't forget when arranging your holidays, that the Summer School will take place during August Bank Holiday weekend. It will be held at Alan Albon's Farm at Hailsham, Sussex (under canvas), and those who wish to will be able to stay for a week. Further details of cost, lectures, etc. will appear later.

FREEDOM

The Anarchist Weekly

Postal Subscription Rates:
12 months 29/- (U.S.A. \$3.00)
6 months 9/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50)
3 months 5/- (U.S.A. \$0.75)

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

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

FREEDOM PRESS

27 Red Lion Street
London, W.C.1. England

Tel.: Chancery 8364